

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

\* On “Catholic,” see 1838.

\*\* On “Protestant,” see 1529.

On “Puritan,” see 1573

**Including**

*Continental Contexts*

@=confirmed by 2 sources

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

By tradition, Joseph of Arimathea led Christian hermits to found abbey at Glastonbury, at foot of Tor hill in Somersetshire. English Protestant historians (i.e. Camden in Remains (“The true Christian Religion was planted heere most auntiently by Joseph of Arimathia ... yea by Saint Peter and Saint Paul ...”); Foxe in Acts (“All this while about the space of foure hundred yeares, Religion remayned in Britayne uncorrupt ... till about the comming of Austen and of hys companions from Rome, many of the sayd Britayne preachers were slayn by the Saxons”); Harrison in Holinshed (Description of Britaine, prefixed to Holinshed’s Chronicles): how Philip





**\*\*1155\*\***

**\*\*1341\*\*** 89, when Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III, invaded France.  
Petrarch crowned poet laureate in Rome; first of humanists, sonnets to Laura; see Trinkaus, 1970. Richard Rolle's The Fire of Love (ca. 1340).



varietate) (its meaning much disputed). *Dramatis Personae* include a Greek, An Arab, a Jew, an Englishman, etc. etc.; traditional use of dialogue form, as in *Constable and Harington* to come. "Some have admired its tolerance of all religions; others, like Etienne Gilson [in *Metamorphosis of City of God* 1992], believe that Christianity pays the whole price ... Others still look







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

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

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

More's Utopia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





message ... is ... especially ... of importance, in this vicious age of sects.” “Concerning The  
Freedom of the Will



St. Stephen whom h

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

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

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

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

*D*

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



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

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

Sinne is where our Ladie sate,  
Heaven turned is to hell;

*Christendom as a whole to recover anything like a common discourse. Yet this was altogether unclear at the time to the participants in the drama, to the apocalyptic Luther ... or the*

homilies was a minister who could not lapse into theological error” (Bond, ed. Homilies); Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury in 1690 “chafed under the stringent solidianism of the original book.” Homily 1: “A Fruitfull Exhortacion to the Readyng of Holye Scripture”: “if we lacke a learned man to instruct and teache us, yet God hymself from above will geve light unto our myndes.” Homily 2: “Of the Misery of All Mankynde” (by John Harpesfield, chaplain to Bonner): “Let us not. therefore, be ashamed to confesse plainly our state of imperfeccion ... even in all our awne best workes;” “If wee thus humbly submit our selves in the sight of God, wee maie bee sure ... he will lifte us upon unto the kyngdome.” Homily 3 (by Cranmer): “Of the Salvacion of All Mankynde”: “yet that faithe dooth not exclude repentaunce, hope, love, dread and the

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

F C C ( ) ,  
 . (RIII likens himself to the “formal Vice, Iniquity.”)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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

JOHN SHAKESPEARE FINED FOR UNAUTHORIZED D25

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

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

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

ROBERT ARDEN, MARY'S FATHER, SIGNS CATHOLIC WILL AND DIES, BEQUEATHS HIS SOUL "TO ALLMIGHTYE GOD AND TO OUR BLESSED LADYE SENT MARYE"; FAVORED MARY ARDEN BY MAKING HER EXECUTOR AND GIVING HER MOST VALUABLE PROPERTY. ROBERT SON OF THOMAS,

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





medieval perversions; mocks those who in ceremonial matters sought “a golden, or as it seems to me, a leaden mediocrity;” said general reformation had been necessary, that local churches had right to legislate for their own needs through provincial synods

given occasion to many superstitions.

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

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

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

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

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







*that St. Paul and the Prince of the Apostles have in many places minutely described to us not only the dignity but also the duties of the married state ... [and] well understood the numerous and important advantages which must flow to Christian society from a knowledge, and an*

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

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

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

Jewel's Defense (see 1562), followed by Harding's Rejoindre to M. Jewels Replie against the sacrifice of the Masse: “Ye have examined us, ye have deprived us, ye have condemned us, some to prisons, some to certaine places, ye have debarred us of libertie to see our deare frendes, to enioye our swete Countrie, ye have taken from us great summes of money, ye have thirsted our







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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85).*

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

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

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

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

Campion to Bishop of Gloucester: "Once more consult your own heart, my poor old friend; give me back your old beauty, and those excellent gifts which have been hitherto smothered in the mud of dishonesty. Give yourself to your mother [Church], who begot you to Christ, nourished you, consecrated you; acknowledge how cruel and undutiful you



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

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

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

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

Catholics undergo major persecution.

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

Richard Bristow's [Motives to the Catholike Faith] A Briefe Tr2 45e eth5 ( 10e) rte e 0. hre 4 (r) nt 10 i ei

**\*\*1576\*\*** Earl of Worcester's men perform at Stratford; Leicester's men play at Stratford.





John Cottom (Cottam), from Dilworth and neighbor of Thomas Hoghton, begins to teach at Stratford (1579-81); leaves in 1581, a month after his brother's arraignment (his brother Thomas Cottom, initially a Jesuit, then a seminary priest, then readmitted as Jesuit, executed in 1582). Thomas had been found with letter

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

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

Persons'

*or understanding, that we have received our religion, it is by a forreine authority, and commandement."*

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

**Shakespeare aetat 16.**

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

Act, “To Retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due Obedience,” heavily raised recusancy fines; earned year in prison and fine of 100 marks; C

would be £20 per month. Made treason to be reconciled with Catholic Church (because of failed Irish expedition, a failure which diminished work of Campion et al). Proclamation against Catholics studying abroad, and against retaining of Jesuits and “massing Priests” (Stow). “The act ... was now rigorously applied with no need, after the departure of the French mission, to observe even perfunctory moderation in the persecution of the Catholics.”“No man could enjoy security in the privacy of his own house, where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob” (Lingard).

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

Pamphleteer cites “the hotter sort of protestants called puritans.”



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

1581 cont.

Allen's Apologie of and True Declaration of the Institution and endeavours of the two English

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

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

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

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

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

### **Shakespeare aetat 17.**

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

Plague in London.

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

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

George Peckham, Catholic like his 2 brothers, kinsman of Southampton, signs articles with T.



that is, for our conscience in the auncient religion?" "For whoe would not esteeme it more greevous than all other incommodities, yea than death it selfe, to be wrested in conscience, to be forbidden all exercise in religion, to be enforced to sweare & make profession of newe straunge opinons, which his hart doth reiect, detest, and abhor: and yf by chance he should be taken servinge god accordinge to his owne manner, and the manner of his fathers and auncestors, & of the most parte of Christianities besides, (albeit it were alone, albeit it were previlye, and in most secrete wise): yet to be plucked owt, as an offender of the supreme maiestie of the prince, as an enymie of the commonwealthe, as a wicked and flagitioius caitife, unworthie of life, or the companie of men?" "at this daye in England the father is bownde to accuse hys sonne, the husband hys wyfe, the brother his brother, the penitent his ghostlie father, the servant hys master." "These are the braynsick phantasies onlie of oure dayes, the variable innovacions of particular places, the flexible willfullnesse of mans mynde, the moste vaine cogitations of fleshe and bloode, whereby men doe attempt to exchaunge the unmutable truthe of Christe for their owne phantasies to serve their own turnes in respect of their owne commodities." "it can not be doubtful (I think) to anie, how manye men, and what maner of men, have bene put to most paynfull deathe, as strangled, bowelled, cut in sunder, boyled, and dispersed by peece meal in the ayre, and all for religon." "Yf they take a priest at masse: a man wold marveyle, how impiouslye & how despitefully they behave them selves.

annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons: answers Munday (see below). On scaffold, “notwithstanding he forgave, as he would be forgeuen, desiring all them to forgeue him whome he had confessed upon the racke.” “they ... pressed him to declare his opinion of Pius quintus Bull concerning the excommunication ... To which demaunde he gave no aunswere. Buf (-1 (r) 2 ) 3 (n) -1 (g) -1 ( ) -8



William Hart, secular priest, letter to his mother: “perhaps you will say: I weepe not so much for your death, as I do for that yow are hanged, drawne, and quartered. My sweet mother it is the honourablest and happiest death that ever could have chanced to me. I dy not for knavery, but for vertue. I dy not for treason, but for religioun. I dy not for any ill demeanour or offence committed, but onley for my faith, for my conscience, for my Preisthood, for my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ ... How glad then may he bee to see mee a mart



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

. **Lucy appropriates estate of a Catholic exile.**

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

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

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

Charles Arundell et al, Leicester's Commonwealth (so titled 1641, orig. Copie of a leter, wryten by a master of arte of Cambridge, to his friend in London ...

themselves, do most frequently appear again.” “Great is the vilany of Necromancers, and wicked Magicians, in dealing with the spirits of men departed; whom they invoke ... compelling the Ghost to present it self before them.” “I have heard many wonderful Relations from Lunaticks or such as are almost natural fools, who have asserted, That being for many daies together conversant

discontentment: so also in respect of their owne consciences (being forced to sweare to such Articles of this new faith, & her Maiesties ecclesiastical Regalities, as they as







**\*\*1586\*\*** **Shakespeare aetat 21.**  
Southwell, Garnet, met by Weston (

said: "You know I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood of Henry the Seventh,



Churches despoiled, Gods Priests & servants murdered, the blessed Sacramentes profaned, yea even the dread soveraigne holies of Christ's owne bodie & bloud. What death should not à true Catholike Knight suffer, rather then for to see, such horrible wickedness committed? or to be in such base servitude of Haeresie, & her dishonorable defenders, as with their owne handes, to be ministers of such sacrilegious impietie, and which is yet more pitiful, that one Catholike man should be brought, to destroy an other, that in fine everie one may be the instrument of his owne destruction? In their civil governement at home, they cause the Catholike iudge, to geve sentence of death, against the Priests whose innocencie they knowe, and whose Religion in hart, they believe to be true. They make one Catholke neighbour, to accuse an other, and one nobleman to condemn an other. In their warres, they serve themselves of Catholikes: & by English Catholikes, they destroy Catholikes abrode: that forceing Catholikes being overthrown, they may more easely, ouerthrowe their owne at home. Alas for my deare bretheren: alas for our desolate countrie; which no noble hart can nowe serve, either in Politike, or Martial matters, but upon such detestable conditions, of assured damnation, and in fine to their owne utter ruine also in this life. // Of al men in the world, the souldiar should most specially attend to his conscience: and stand upon good &

and the sentence of law satisfied” etc.

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

JOHN SHAKESPEARE EJECTED BY STRATFORD CORPORATION FROM ALDERMAN OFFICE FOR FAILING TO ATTEND MEETINGS. **Shakespeare aetat 23. Did**

**Shakespeare leave Stratford in this year?**

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

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

“At this critical juncture the English Catholics, forgetting the cruelty with which they had been treated, remained true to their queen and their country. With the memory of all they had endured and were still enduring, with the rack and the gibbet to reward their patriotism, they read the bull of deposition which had been published against their sovereign, they saw the shores of their country surrounded by an armament commissioned to enforce it; they felt that the moment had arrived when a breath might turn the balance in their own favour, and they generously flung aside the



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

1588 cont.

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

Marlowe's Dr. Faustus: "Faustus ... Faustus vows never to look to heaven, / Never to name God, or to pray to him, / To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers, / And make my spirits pull his churches down. Lucifer: So shalt thou show thyself an obedience servant ..." Devil enables Faustus in Rome : "Be cunning in thine art to cross the Pope, / Or dash the pride of his solemnity; / To make his monks and abbots stand like apes, / And point like antics at his triple crown: / To beat the beads about the friars' pates, / Or clap huge horns upon the Cardinals' heads; / Or any villainy thou canst devise." [mocking the proud or the holy?] Faustus to Mephistopheles: "Follow the Cardinals to the Consistory; / And as they turn their superstitious books, / Strike them with sloth, and drowsy idleness; / And make them sleep ..." Pope Adrian disputes emperor's power, "In token of our sevenfold power from Heaven, / To bind or loose ..." Faustus disguised as Cardinal gets Pope to condemn Bruno as heretic. "Faustus: Fall to, the devil choke you an you spare. Pope: How now? Who's that which spake ... Friar: Here's nobody ..." [like Macbeth]. Archbishop tells Pope "I think it be / Some ghost crept out of Purgatory"; Pope tries prayer, but Faustus strikes him, and beats the friars who chant with bell, book, and candle. In Act 5, "Enter an O-37 (c (,) 4 3(l) 3 0-5 (o) -1 (k

*occasionally suspected of being Protestant heretic.*



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

I know full well you know, what discord long hath raig'n'd  
 Betwixt us two; how much that discord foule hath stain'd  
 Both our estates, while each the other did deprave,  
 Profe speakes too much to us that feeling triall have.  
 Our names are quite forgot, our temples are defac' d:  
 Our offrings spoil'd, our priest from priesthood are displac'd  
 Is this the fruite of strife? those thousand churches hie,

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

1591 cont.

Swithin Wells, one-time tutor in Southampton household (Countess -648.5 (0801 5801



factions, that when they begin to work, there can be no invasion of equal misery to the civil mutinies that are likely to ensue.”

“we doe assure your Maiestie that what Army soever should come against you, we will rather yeald our brests to be broached by our Cuntrie swords, then use our swords to th’effusion of our Cuntries bloud” (short of saying he would fight—Bald).

Defending his disguises and low apparel, “David



yet notwithstanding hathe ever utterly perswaded her from marriage, thereby to bury her posteritie in her owne body. // It is he, that was one of the most principall contrivers of the devysed plott, for the trecherous slaughter of the Scottish Queene, which will redownde unto the eternall infamy of England, and dothe threaten a continuall revenge. “ etc.

1592 cont.

Verstegan calls above book “a commentary upon Chaucer's prophecy” (prophecy also quoted in anon. A Letter by a Spanish Gentleman (1589)). Thus fool in King Lear.

*Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) (after 3 short pontificates).*

Persons, Philopater in Latin, mocking Cecil, as an actor, a comedian, a rhetorician, puny against Spain; if he could have been Elizabeth's confessor, he might have saved her: “Without any of this sacrament's benefit, without any examination of conscience, without remorse or remedy, piling one sin upon another, offence upon offence;” cites Gaveston parallel.

Verstegan, An Advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurer of England ... accusing ministers of instigating Elizabeth to harsh measures: argued that England's greatest weakness lay in absence of unity, “the greate, and irreconcilable differences and warres in religion, not onely with the Catholiques, but especially betweene the Protestants, and Puritanes them selves;” mocks Cecil's descent from innkeeper and attempt to inflate number of lions in his coat of arms; mocks Cecil: “yf a foole ... upon a stage shoulde avouch such stuffe in a comedy, he would be hissed out.”

Letter from Verstegan correspondent: “In one parish in Warwickshire, there were found 7 score recusants; but in the provinces afore named, great numbers have bene by the commissioners constreyned by force to go to heare sermons, where at was hard such weeping, lamentation and sighes as was most wonderful.’

Allen's letter to English priests: “As the excessive troubles and pains and perils that you suffer daily and hourly in that extreme heat of persecution give me continual sorrow of mind ... [and] the daily intelligence ... of your notable patience, constancy, and fruitful labours in the harvest ... I would have you use great compassion and mercifulness toward the laity esp. as from mere fear, or for saving their family, wife, and children from ruin ... come sometimes to their churches ... And therefore be not hard ... in absolving them.”

Thomas Stapleton, Apologia pro rege Catholico Phillippo II, vivid portrayal of Catholic suffering plus defense of their loyalty; warns Cecil: “Think of the Spencers, the Gavestons, the Empstons, the Dudleys and the Cromwells, who in their day enjoyed the favour of their princes ... consider what will be the case with you.”

John Stow, The Annales of England, revision of earlier Chronicles, describing the list of priests and citizens executed by Henry VIII, and the stripping of the monasteries: “It was ... a pitifull thing to heare the lamentation that the people in the countrie made;” calls Oldcastle “most perverse enimie to the state of the church at that time,” thus returning to 15<sup>th</sup> cent. tradition of portraying Oldcastle as traitor.

and shaking of thy spangled crest, / Where women's favours hung like labels down" [Edward's decadence like Richard II's] while his Queen Isabel continues lamenting. Abbot receives fleeing Edward: "As silent and as careful we will be, / To keep your royal person safe with us". Edward: "Father, this life contemplative is Heaven. / O that I might this life in quiet lead!" Abbot later:

Greene's attack





State: The English Experience 1991).

Persons (or group of exiles; but Houliston, 2007, argues Persons as final author) (“R. Doleman”), A conference about the next succession to the crown of England. Table of Contents summarizes book,



Hamlet, the Ur-Hamlet, performed. Theater resumes at the Rose, after 2 years suspension. Lord Strange dies, having recently become Earl of Derby, perhaps of poisoning. Lord Strange's men disband this year, and the actors (including Kempe, Heminges, etc.) come under patronage of Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain; and for rest of Elizabeth's reign, known as Chamberlain's men (Shakespeare listed this year as one of its shareholders) (became King's Men in 1603), one of only two professional companies still prospering at end of century. Chamberlain's men perform at the Theatre from 1594-6, ca. 1588 move to the Swan, in 1599 construct the Globe, south of the river for an audience "whose tastes were less conservative [than that for the Admiral's Men in city], more open to political debate, less committed to the Tudor Settlement" (Peter Thomson 1992).

1594 Quarto of Titus Andronicus says: "played by the Right Honourable Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Sussex, their Servants," i.e. Lord Strange's men, and Pembroke's men.

Pembroke's Men sell off dramas for publication in 1594-5, including

glorious Union of Hen.7: from whence is descended our present Happinesse.”

Spenser, Amoretti, Epithalamion (“recyue this Saynt ... This day is holy ... That we may raise a large posterity ... And for the guerdon of their glorious merit / May heavenly tabernacles there inherit, / Of blessed saints for to increase the count.”)

Sidney, Defence of Poesie, source for Menenius's fable in Coriolanus. Sidney: “what Philosophers counsell can so redily direct a Prince, as the fayned Cyprus in Xenophon? ... or a whole Common-wealth, as the way of Sir Thomas Moores Eutopia? I say the way, because where Sir Thomas Moore erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet, for that way of patterning a Common-wealth was most absolute ... ”

1595 cont.

Henry Constable puts his hopes in Essex for restoration of Catholicism.

Nicholas Breton, Mary Magdalen's Love. “His praise of the Virgin and his references to Mary Magdalene have suggested that he was a Catholic, but his prose writings abundantly prove that he was an ardent Protestant” (Wikipedia)

John Dowland, pleads with Cecil that he now rejects Catholicism and vows loyalty to the Queen; that he had long suffered reverses because of his reputation as an “obstinate papist,” due to his conversion in France in 1580.

Southwell's poems pub. immediately following his death, presumably with approval of Archbishop of Canterbury. Southwell, Moeoniae, or Certain Poems; includes Triumphs over Death (see 1591) (“that fear of speedy passage might keep us in readiness, and hope of longer continuance cut off unripe cares”).

Southwell, preface to St. Peters Complaint, calls for a new sacred poetry in place of the profane poetry (a common Protestant/Catholic theme--see Lily Campbell). St. Peter's Complaint published (probably written 1591, reprinted thirteen times by 1638, “probable source for Rape of Lucrece” (Evans/Tobin), and brings meditative practice to poetry (see Martz 1954).

Preface,”The Author to His Loving Cousin”: “Poets, by abusing their talents, and making the follies and feignings of love the customary subject of their base endeavours, have so discredited this faculty, that a poet, a love, and liar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification ... the devil ... hath ... possessed also most Poets with his idle fancies. For in lieu of solemn and devout matters, to which in duty they owe their abilities, they now busy themselves in expressing such passions as serve only for testimonies to what unworthy affections they have wedded their wills. And because, the best course to let them see the error of their works is to weave a new web in their own loom, I have here laid a few coarse threads together to invites some skillfuller wits to go forward in the same, or to begin some finer piece, wherein may be seen how well verse and virtue

in intermediate editions).

Saint Peter's Complaint: “Ah! whither was forgotten love exiled; / Where did the truth of pledgèd promise sleep?” Brownlow on Southwell, 1996: “can be read as a private, inward rite of reconciliation for an alienated soul deprived of the ministrations of a priest”; thus Peter can represent the Catholic apostate needing forgiveness (85-6).

**Shakespeare living in St. Helen's Parish, Bishopsgate**; receives payment as member of Chamberlain's company. Did Southampton give him “a thousand pounds” now, to help purchase share in Chamberlain's men? (yet see shareholder above).

**Richard II** (note 1608 below); **Romeo and Juliet** (-96); **Midsummer Night's Dream** (-96), perhaps performed at court wedding of Earl of Derby and Lady Eliz.

England and its queen, and Doblessa, Copley's answer to Spenser's Duessa, is Protestantism in all its iconoclastic fury" (Brownlow on Southwell, 1996). Written, Copley said, "in attestation to the world of my Catholike soul to God and his Church, and of my resolution against ... Jesuitical obloquie" (Shell 137). An Elizian "out-cast of Fortune" tempted by spirits of **despair** (Cato's ghost: "rather would I die magnanimous / Then live to see a Caesar over us" [thus Brutus]: "One stab will send thee to eternity ... Out with thy candle, let it burne no more ... Champion-like confound calamitie" but when ghost fades with sulphur stench, "therewithal my sword fell to the ground / And I misdoubted some illusion") and **revenge** ("I rear'd Corelian from his exile state / To triumph over Romes ingratitude ... What manhood is it still to feed on Chickins / Like infant





Lucy's three white pikes on his heraldic griffin: Slender made the attendant of Justice Shallow in Merry Wives of Windsor (evokes Wayte).

**Hamnet dies.**

**The Merchant of Venice** (-97); **I Henry IV** (-97).

**\*\*1597\*\***

2nd Spanish Armada scattered by bad weather.

Henry Constable defends loyalty of English Catholics to the Queen and makes a plea for their recognition; "hence will come the union of religion, now only hindred by want of due inquiry and too much party passion." Constable writes Essex--they seem to have held friendly understanding since 1595 (Guiney).

Garnet writes Persons: "We have lately heard for certain that the Earl of Essex praised his [Gerard's] constancy, declaring that he could not help honouring and admiring the man" (Gerard, 238).

Nashe's Isle of Dogs, prosecuted, with collaborator and actor, Ben Jonson who is imprisoned in

*Edict of Nantes, by Henri IV, ends civil wars, grants French Protestants limited toleration and right to hold office, establishing toleration of Huguenots in France: establishes full liberty*



Alabaster's pamphlet (lost) on seven motives for his Catholic conversion.  
Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, *Wit's Treasury*: cites Shakespeare's "Venus

one fayth, one beleefe, one forme of service, one number of sacraments, one tonge in celebration, one sacryfice, one head of the Church, one obedience, one iudgement in all; with other lyke poyntes and circumstances of union and unitie, which made a generall uniformitie also in the peace of mens myndes;" "the first blessing, which Sir Francis in particuler thinketh to have receyved by this



Verstegan pub. first English post-tridentine translation of roman-breviary primer, Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis, one of most popular Catholic devotionals for next 2 centuries.  
Juan Mariana S. J., “On a King and the Education of a King” (Toledo 1599), on reasons against and for tyrannicide (even of legitimate kings), seen as argument for the latter (to warn the future Philip