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Unedited notes, Revised March, 201

****1600****

Essex opens Essex house to discontents, proposes to certain theologians the question whether an ill-advised sovereign could be required to govern according to law, sends professions of attachment to James; the conspirators meet at Drury House, Southampton's residence, to discuss the succession, and promise support to James; Essex assembles his men to proceed to the Queen--"buoyed up with the belief in his own popularity, and the knowledge that a few years before the duke of Guise in similar circumstances, had, with the aid of the Parisians, successfully braved the authority of his sovereign" (Lingard); diverted by Sir Edward Coke who arrived and "accused Essex of hypocrisy and irreligion, because, while he pretended to be a Protestant, he had promised toleration to Blount, his father-in-law, a known Catholic; Essex protested his loyal Protestantism, but also "replied ... that he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship to put Catholics to death on account of their religion" (Lingard). He is tried and convicted, but left free. Southampton offers to flee with him to foreign exile, but Essex declines. Essex conspirators include Francis Tresham (son of Sir Thomas Tresham), who became part of Gunpowder plot. Essex had tacitly promised religious toleration to gain support of Catholics and other dissidents. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Essex ally, but opposed the rebellion

Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI (married him 1589), possibly converts to Catholicism in this year (or 1601-2). She presides over James's ecumenical literate court culture, revived in 1580's under leadership of Catholic poet, Alexander Montgomerie, imitating French Pléiade; Anne would give patronage to Ben Jonson and his Masques. (See their conversions 1598); see Albert Loomie, "King James I's Catholic Consort," Hunt. Lib Q 1971.

"Doleman" (1594) answered by Henry Constable (preferring the French connection), among others. Constable argues for James VI, in A Discoverye of a Counterfeite Conference helde at a counterfeite place, by counterfeit travellers, for the advancement of a counterfeit title, and invented, printed, and published by one (PERSON) that dare not avowe his name: "all men universally ... wish and desire the continuance & happie preservation of common quiet welth & felicitie of their native Countrye;" "none of the doubtles must seeme to touch her title, all thinges must seeme cleare duringe hir tyme;" otherwise the result will be "to supplant right & established lawes; to seize trewe heires of their lawfull inheritances, and consequently to haile and draw innocents through bloody shambles, to massacre all sortes of people bothe friends & foes;" they "set wyde open so large gappes, doores, and windowes for rebellious multitudes to enter and clayme authoritie over their lawfull Kinges;" "the unrulye must rule the unruly;" cites parallel of Buckingham overthrowing Queen of Scotland; "everie lawfull king is deposable for or without cause, if the commonwealth dislike him;" "though some have written in defence of kinges & kingly state & geven them more immunityes privileges or prerogatives then good kinges will

lived & died, And specially his most sacred mother who sealed the same at her death with her bludde for the which she is a Martyr, & by the meanes whereof he is a Martyrs sonne, which passeth the dignitie of a kinge or an other worldly tytyle.”

Henry Constable reports survival of an English Benedictine to Borromeo, and thereafter two priests were sent to become Benedictines.

1600 cont.

R.C. (Robert Chambers?), Palestina, promoting reconversion of England, addressed to Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary; Elizabeth is asked to reincubate the Catholic faith.

“We are all well and follow our accustomed trade with good gain, for our customers (thanks be to God) do daily increase, which is perceivable even to our enemies and hath caused the Chief Justice to complain very bitterly to her Majesty now of late of the great multitudes of Catholics in this land” (Richard Blount to Persons).

Persons: “I can no longer rest in mind or body, and my health has broken down under the strain of maintaining these seminaries in temporalibus et spiritualibus, producing priests and sending them clothed and provided ... into England.”

Essex gives Bodley's library a copy of Periera Portuguese's life of Saint John the Baptist.

Andrew Willet, Synopsis Papismi, 3rd edn. (orig. 1590), wished all papists were recusants “that we might the better take heede of them. But there be many close Papists in England, that are content for a while to temporize, waiting for an houre, which I trust they shall never see.” Do not feel compassion for the papists: “neither let it move us because they endure trouble and losse of their goods, and imprisonment of their bodies for their religion (which is falsely so called).” Willet quotation, in English trans., of Bellarmine on purgatory perhaps influences Hamlet (Milward).

Bruno burned at Rome@.

John Florio's trans. of Montaigne entered on Stationer's Rolls, pub.

estoit papiste; q'il retinoit les Jesuits en sa Maison ... qu'il avoit vendu la Ville de Londrese al Infate.” Attorney-General cited parallel of Richard II: “The pretence there was also to remove certain councillors; but it shortly after cost the King his life.” For prosecution, F. Bacon noted parallel: “The Duke of Guise thrust himself into the streets of Paris, on the day of the barricades, in his doublet and hose, attended only with eight gentlemen, and found that help in the city, which (God be thanked) you failed of here. And what followed? The King was forced to put himself into a pilgrim’s weeds, and in that disguise to steal away to escape their fury. Even such was my Lord’s confidence too; and his pretence the same--an all hail and a kiss to the city.” **Essex executed Feb. 25**; thereafter the Queen lost popularity, and often bewailed his execution. “The Hangman was beaten as he returned thence, so that the Sheriffs of London were sent for, to assist and rescue him from such as would have murdered him” (Stow). Garnet: “The Puritans strove to fix the blame of this disturbance ... on Catholics, and for this end pronounced from their pulpits that the Pope and the king of Spain had been plotting with the Earl;” a few young Catholics participated, blinded by the personal glamour of Essex and the “vain persuasion that if he won the day, there would be an end of the penal statutes against Catholics.” Garnet reported Earl's protests on scaffold: “Thank God I am no atheist, for I hold that there is a God. Neither am I a Papist, since I do not look to my own merits for salvation; Garnet added: “too true, for he had neither the Catholic faith nor any merits to trust in.” Southampton imprisoned in the Tower. At his trial, Southampton said “he knew no priests but only Wright.”

JOHN SHAKESPEARE DIES, BURIED SEPT. 8; HAD BEEN ASKED TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF STRATFORD IN A LAWSUIT.

Hamlet (1600-1); “**The Phoenix and the Turtle**” (c. 1601); **Troilus and Cressida** (-1602). “The Phoenix and the Turtle” included in Robert Chester's Love's Martyr, a long mysterious late-medieval allegory, like Copley's Fig for Fortune (1596), about turtle dove and phoenix.

****1602****

Elizabeth's last royal proclamation, 6 November, rebuffs the appellants.

Proclamation *ordering Jesuits and secular priests to leave* England.

“Here were three seminary priests hanged and quartered the last week, but what is that among so many?” (John Chamberlain letter).

Thomas Bluet's Sparing Discovery of English Jesuits, appellant tract.

Persons's A Manifestation of the Great Folly ... of ... secular priestes, against the appellants: they want “to acknowledge all the proceedings of the State of England against Catholics ... to have byn not only just, but also mild and merciful.” They “cast upon Catholics ... yea upon the best and most zealous sort, and upon the martyrs themselves all the fault, hatred and envy of the long and grievous persecutions and suffering for religion in England;” “yet they go further, and say that some of themselves, if they had byn of her Ma. counsel, and knowing what they now know, would have given their consents to that which hath byn done against Catholics.”

Persons: “By God's grace, the Catholic religion is spreading widely every day, more than could have been expected.”

Protestant, Catholic et al to separate religion and politics for social security; begins: "To all trew Englishmen that feare God and honor the Queene the Protesting Catholique, Purytan sendeth greeting"; addresses "my deare countrymen of whatsoever profession you be, Protestantes, or Puritans, or Papistes (for these wordes for distynction sake I am compelled to use);" uses interlocutors including More, Sidney, Persons,

Harington famous for his epigram, "Of Treason": "Treason doth never prosper, what the reason? / For if it prosper, none dare call it treason" (in 1609 Letter to Prince Henry, pub. 1615?) (see below, 1603).

Thomas Fitzherbert's A defence of the Catholic Cause, disputing official reports that Catholics were treated with leniency, describes tortures.

Persons' letter, explaining when Catholics can equivocate when pressed.

Nicholas Breton, Soule's Harmony.

Breton, Olde Mad-cappe's New Gally-mawfrey

...Oh where is now that goodly golden time ...

When Nymphs and Muses sweetly kept the woods,

And olde Hob-goblin kept within the caves:

The farmer sought not for his neighbours goods ...

When men would meet on Sundayes at the Church,

With true devotion, and not for fashion sake ...

Oh when mens Hartes lay bare upon their Brer0 0 (p)-4(16 cm0)2(t)2(h)-r0h.d 0 Td[(0 Tc 5s4(e)-

By helpe of such as can, or such as know" #103

Against Paulus an Atheist:

Lewd Paulus, led by Sadduces infection,
Doth not beleue the bodies resurrection:
And holds them all in scorne, and deepe derision,
That tell of Saints or Angels apparision;
And swears, such things are fables all, and fancies
Of Lunatiques or Fooles, possest with franzies.
I haue (said he) traueil'd both neere and farre,

That in the scripture nam'd, this in the Creed.
But, Lynus, either I my mark have mist,
Or thow of these may yet choose what thou list. #365

Of two religions.

exorcists, pub. A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the harts of her Maiesties Subjection from ... the truth of the Christian Religion ... under the pretence of casting out devils. Practiced by Edmunds, alias Weston a Jesuit, and diverse Romish Priests: argued “that the Pope, and his spirits he sendeth in here amongst you, do play Almighty God, his sonne, and Saints, upon a stage; do make a pageant of the Church, the blessed Sacraments, the rites and ceremonies of religioun; do cog and coine devils, spirits, and soules departed this life” etc., with series of parallels of Roman church and theater. Among exorcists in Harsnett's book is Robert Debdale. Harsnett quotes the recusant “Book of Miracles”: “By often invocation of the Blessed Trinitie, of our Saviour there present in the Blessed Sacrament: by often calling upon the blessed virgin with Salve Regina: and by calling on all the holy Martyrs, expecially blessed Fa. Campian, with the rest of the martyrs, that hath suffered at Tiburne, and by applying of their holy relics, unto the afflicted body: Frateretto, Fliberdigibet, Hoberdicut, Cocabatto, with fourtie assistants expelled.” Harsnett: “And who was the devil, the brocher, the herald, and perswader of these unutterable treasons, but Weston the Jesuit, the chiefe plotter and the arch-impostor, Dibdale the priest, or Stemp, or all the holy Covey of the twelve devilish Comedians in their several turnes: for there was neither devil, or urchin, nor Elfe, but themselves, who did metamorphoze themselves in every scene, into the person, eyther of the devil himselfe, or of his Interpreters, and made the devils names their Puppets, to squeak, pipe, and fume out what they pleased to inspire.” “And if they want devils in Italy to exorcize ... wee shal as

Former Lord Chamberlain's men, led by Burbage and Shakespeare, licensed by James I as King's men, to counter the Presbyterian attack on theater. Royal Patent from James I reads: "Knowe yee that Wee of our speciall grace, certeine knowledge, & mere motion have licenced and aucthorized and by theise presentes doe licence and aucthorize theise our Servautes Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustyne Phillippes, John Heninges, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyne, Richard Cowly and the rest of theire Associates freely to use and exercise the Arte and faculty of playinge Comedies, Tragedies, histories, Enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, Stageplaies, and Such ... as well for the recreation of our loving Subjectes, as for our Solace and pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them ."

1603 cont.

Last listing of Shakespeare's name in Jonson's actors lists, as one of principal Tragedians in Jonson's Sejanus (1603--see Taylor, 2001). Shakespeare's company performed for Lady Pembroke at Wilton House, "academy of learning where poets and artists were encouraged" (Campbell and Quinn). Reputed letter by Countess of Pembroke tells her son to invite James I for performance of As You Like It, and concludes: "we have the man Shakespeare with us." Chettle's

the Christian Reader”: “There is a certain foul fault (gentle Reader) for which we Catholikes are very ordinarilie and odiously reproched, which is, that we are passing light and exceedingly prone to beleeeve every fable: and upon this blynd simplicitie easilie drawne into any superstition and error touching the worship of God.” “By this every one may see, how Catholiks in honouring Gods Saincts, thereby more honour God himself ... we Catholikes are very very far from either iniurying or dishonouring God, or his Saincts, in that we make & honour their pictures and images, thereby the more to expresse, and professe the honour and reverence we beare unto our God, & to his happie heavenly frendes ... Then shal they see that we make no more of an image, then of an image: which is, a representation of the thing or person, whose image it is: & when we honour it, we honour either at the sight thereof the person of honour whome it representeth, or we honour it for that it is an honorable representation of such an honorable personage.” “whilst they were in prayer, the sayd Walter Unkelen espied a drop of blood upon the lip of the image of our Ladie, whereupon drawing neere to the image, he wiped off the drop with his finger, & he found that it was perfectly blood, and incontinently an other like drop returned, the which was wiped away ... and as an other the third tyme,” etc. Describes the various pilgrimages to Montaigne. “Wel here I must needes call upon you (Christian brethren) who under pretence of following a reformed Religion, have left the assured foot-steppes of your forefathers, and that royal way wherein so many Martyrs and Confessors ... have walked.” “Can it be possible that all these admirable things can be the woorks of the devil? Can he restore the sight to the blynde? ...”

Also Justus Lipsius, two Latin works on miracles at Halle (1604) and Montaigne (1605); Lipsius, great humanist scholar, longtime teacher at Protestant Leiden University, reconciled to Catholic church in 1590.

“The players do not forbear to present upon the stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing the king, state, or religion, in so great absurdity and with such liberty that any would be afraid to hear them” (Samuel Calvert); much was extempore interpolation by the actors.

Fr. Persons alludes to “Sir John Oldcastle, a Ruffian-knight as all England knoweth, & commonly brought in by comedians on their stages” (Examen of ... Protestant Saints)

Henry Constable imprisoned in Tower: “whether I remayn in prison, or go out, I have lerned to live alone with god.”

James Anderton?, The Apologie of the Romane Church, by an anti-Jesuit Catholic.

Southampton turning Protestant about now (Akrigg) (but Pearce 2008 says no evidence until 1620); but 1605 records confiscation of papist books at Southampton House: “above two hundred pounds of popish bookes ... [were] taken about Southampton house and burned in Poules Churchyard.” Akrigg reports that Southampton would often “do a good turn for his former co-religionists by the discreet use of his influence, or by taking nominal possession of estates that Catholic families such as the Uvedales and Philpots had forfeited to the law.”

De Thou, French Catholic historian, publishes *Historiarum sui temporis*

extremes [Puritan and Roman] ... this mean being the true portraiture and lineaments of God's own ordinance.”

Two priests executed in Lancaster. About this time, Lodge indicted for recusancy (1604-6) and probably flees country.

Garnet: “The courses taken are more severe than in Bess's time. Every six weeks [there] is a general court. Juries are appointed to indict, present, find the goods of Catholics, prize them, in many plac

Tudor version of history which claimed early British origins of the church and royal absolutism; Verstegan instead emphasized Anglo-Saxon roots (thus

driven to desperate measure"--(Sir Edward Coke at Garnet's trial).

Guy Fawkes day became official English holiday with thanksgiving service in Prayer Book until 1859.

After Gunpowder Plot, Privy Council asks Jonson, as loyal Catholic, to persuade priests to something, but Jonson says he is unable to penetrate the priests's network.

Bishop Richard Vaughan of London, in metropolitan injunctions, demanded "[w]hether there be any in your parish who are noted, knowne, or suspected to conceale or keepe hidden in their houses any masse bookes, portesses, breviaries, or other bookes of popery or superstition, or any challices, copes, vestments, albes, or other ornament of superstition, uncancelled or undefaced, which is to be coniectured, they doe keep for a day, as they call it?"

Southampton entertains the Catholic Queen Anne at his home with a performance of

and Rome withdrew it after a year. James saw Venice example as helpful to his own vision of Reformation rapprochement (MacCulloch 397).

New stricter Act of 1606 made it illegal that “any Stage play, Interlude, Shewe, Maygame, or Pageant jestingly or prophanely speake or use the holy Name of God or of Christ Jesus, or of the Hoy Ghoste or of the Trinitie.”

for failure to received communion at Holy Trinity (see above new laws, in wake of Gunpowder Plot); she increased the fault by ignoring the summons, though cited personally. John Wheeler and his son John also cited; the former had resigned from Stratford Corporation about the same time as John Shakespeare, and both had their names bracketed with John in 1592 .

Hamnet and Judith Sadler, Shakespeare friends and source of his children's names, cited for the same. Also Ben Jonson cited as recusant but argued (deceivingly) that he had conformed.

Macbeth.

Antony and Cleopatra (-1607).

****1607****

Executions of priests begin again, and continue until 1612 when stopped because of the Spanish policy. Under James, the Church of England came to be admired in Europe as the model, and nucleus, of a restored Erasmian ecumenical church (so Trevor-Roper argues).

James I, Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cuneus: or, An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance. (101.60 0 scmmm56)

of an imagin'd Martyrdome; or that the common Enemie find that doore worst locked against him in mee; Or that there bee a perplexitie and flexibility in the doctrine it selfe; Or because my Conscience ever assures me, that no rebellious grudging at Gods gifts, nor other sinfull concurrence accompanies these thoughts in me ... mee thinkes that I have the keyes of my prison in mine owne hand, and no remedy presents it selfe so soone to my heart, as mine own sword." (A satiric and anarchic book "written by Jack Donne, and not by D[r.] Donne" (Donne), sho

remitted him to the L. of Canterbury that now is, and he to other learned men. “One of the most complete surveys of the religious controversies in England over the preceding half-century” (Milward). Part 3, chap 10: “Of the Journey which I was forced to make: and FirscenturwLuy0.0071 Tci

blood ... than all our Acts of Parliament have done;" "as I am a Christian, I have been ever kept awake in a meditation of Martyrdome, by being derived from such a stocke and race, as, I beleeve, no family, (which is not of farre larger extent, and greater branches,) hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Romane Doctrine, than it hath done." "I had a longer worke to doe then many other men; for I as first to blot out, certaine impressions of the Romane religion, and to wrastle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken; and some anticipations early layde upon my conscience .. by Persons who .. had a power and superiority over my will ..." (qu. Hacket on Constable). Bacon had used term "Pseudo-Martyrs" in "Execution of Justice," 1583 attack on Campion.

1610 cont.

Shakespeare may have retired to Stratford about this time.

The Winter's Tale (-1611).

****1611****

King James Bible, "Authorized Version," published; influenced by M9 Tc 9d ubl-5(er)1(dh2 Tm(The

is more befitting the pen of his slanderous report than the credit of the judicious, being only grounded from this Papist and his poet, of like conscience for lies, the one ever feigning and the other ever falsifying the truth.” See Fuller 1655. Shakespeare defends his Stratford tithes in Court of Chancery.

The Tempest.

****1612****

They thought it should have canopied their bones
 Till doomsday; but all things have their end:
 Churches and cities, which have diseases like to men,
 Must have like death that we have. (5.3)

1613 cont.

Sir Henry Spelman, De non temerandis Ecclesiis; Churches not to be Violated: English Reformation overshadowed by the nation's sacrilege against churches; see Walsham, Reformation of the Landscape, 283 ff, on the resurgence of this theme, from the 1580s on.

Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present. Purchas collected narratives, also had Hakluyt's vast unsorted manuscripts. Would publish Purchas his Pilgrim. Microcosumus, or the Historie of Man ... (1619), and his masterpiece, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, & lande Travells, by Englishmen and others (1625); eventually 20 volumes in 1905 Glasgow edn.

Globe Theatre burnt during performance of Henry VIII.

Death of Shakespeare's brother, Richard. **Shakespeare buys Blackfriars Gatehouse**, notorious center of Catholic activities, both before and after Shakespeare owned it; **leases it to recusant John Robinson who will be only Londoner to witness Shakespeare's will** (see Wilson, 2000).

Shakespeare devises an impresa (insignia) for Southampton's friend, Earl of Rutland.

Shakespeare left legacy by Stratford neighbor, John Comber, whose father was apparently Catholic.

The Two Noble Kinsmen 1.1–2.1, 3.1, 4.2 uncertain, 5.1.3–173, 5.3–4 (rest by Fletcher).

1614

Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, satirizes Busy (Puritan), Overdo (Anglican), Wasp (Catholic), leaving Bartholomew Cokes stripped but free: thus, need for religious tolerance, thus evokes St. Bartholomew massacre, plus Smithfield executions (Pinciss).

Raleigh, History of the World, preface argues that the union of England and Scotland was an even greater gift of God than the union of York and Lancaster. Raleigh when asked why he wrote his history about ancient times, not modern, answered: "whosoever in writing a modern History, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth."

Lodge, trans. of de Granada, A Paradise of Prayers containing the purity of deuotion and meditation / gathered out of all the spirituall exercises of Levves of Granado; and Englished for the benefit of the Christian reader.

Casaubon's visits (1610-14), and occasional visits of Calixtus and Grotius, "helped make England a center of irenic activity" (W. B. Patterson). Grotius: "it is my opinion that if Luther had had the spirit of Melanchthon and the patriarch of the West [the Pope] had had the sympathies of Cassander, it would have gone better with things in Europe, which is now in a miserable state and has been tormented with these pestilential wars for more than a century under the pretext of the Gospel of Peace." (Meyjes, Grotiana, on Hotman 9)

The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges Priest, Crowned with Martyrdome at London ... in ... 1591, with prefatory poem comparing this real history to the fictional suffering in King Lear (see Brownlow 2007).

Shakespeare part of suit to prevent land enclosure in Welcombe so as to preserve his lease and tithes. Stratford Corporation gives him quarts of sack and claret to entertain a visiting preacher. ("Item, for on quart of sack, and on quart of clarrett winne, given to a preacher at the New Place, XXd"). See Jephson, 1864.

1615

YEAR OF SILENCE FOR SHAKESPEARE.

James begins to negotiate Spanish match (see above, 1613), between Charles and infanta Dona Maria, finally aborted in 1623.

William Camden, Annales ... regnante Elizabetha, regrets destruction of monasteries, which

imprisonments, confiscation of goods, ransacking and spoyling by Promoters and Pursuivants, &c. laid aside, ... it would please your Majestie to give order, that Disputations, Conferences, and sweet meanes may be used for the discussion of truth, according to the doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, which is Peaceable, modest, suasible, consenting to the good, full of mercie.”

Francis Bacon, Novum Organum,(1621?) on the “idols” of the mind: 1) “The human understanding is of its own nature prone to abstractions and gives a substance and reality to things which are fleeting ... Such then are the idols which I call Idols of the Tribe.” 2) “The Idols of the Cave take their rise in the peculiar constitution, mental or bodily of each individualMen become attached to certain particular science and speculation [i.e. Aristotle misled by his love of logic which he applied to natural philosophy] ... some minds are stronger and apter to mark the differences of things, others to mark their resemblance ... some minds given to an extreme admiration of antiquity, others to an extreme love and appetite for novelty.” 3) “The Idols of the Marketplace are the most troublesome of all: idols which have crept into the understanding through alliances of words and names ... The idols imposed by words on the understanding are of two kinds. They are either names of things which do not exist ... or they are names of things which exist, but yet confused and ill-defined” 4) “the Idols of the Theater are not innate ... but are plainly impressed and received into the mind from the play-books of philosophical systems ... in the plays of this philosophical theatre you may observe the same thing which is found in the theater of the poets, that stories invented for the stage are more compact and elegant, and more as one would wish them to be, than true stories out of history.”

****1622****

Dutch theologian, Hugo Grotius's De Veritate Religionis Christianae in Dutch (1627?); later Latin trans. influential on idea of uniting the Churches, based on Reason; defining beliefs which Christians, regardless of sect, had in common

according to Seneca, this solitude undoeth us, 'tis a destructive solitariness.”

1.3.2.4 “Symptoms of Maids, Nuns, and Widows' Melancholy: How odious and abominable

obscure questions, to vindicate the better and set a gloss upon them, that the light of the Gospel was quite eclipsed, darkness over all, the Scriptures concealed, legends brought in, religion banished, hypocritical superstition exalted, and the Church itself obscured and persecuted: Christ and his memb

Shakespeare First Folio, places The Tempest first and Cymbeline last. One of prefatory poems is Jonson's "To The Memory of My Beloved, The Author, Mr. William Shakspeare, and What He Hath Left Us," showing a special friendship (as Pope noted, preface; Pope a forerunner of Bloom. Dedicated to Sir William Herbert (son of second earl and Countess of Pembroke) and his brother Philip who thought "these trifles some-thing, heretofore; and have prosecuted them, and their Authour living with so much favour;" basis of William Herbert theory for the sonnets's "W.H." Second folio in 1632, third in 1663; second issue in 1664 added seven plays, only one of which is by Shakespeare, at least in part, Pericles; fourth folio in 1685, fifth c. 1700. First included 'patriotic' plays, 1 Henry VI, King John, Henry VIII—perhaps Protestant counter to Charles visit to Spain to woo the Spanish Infanta Isabella; and their disappointed return to general rejoicing (Merriam, Renaissance Bulletin 2009)

****1624****

Cardinal Richelieu becomes chief minister for Louis XIII, orchestrating anti-Austro-Spanish Hapsburg alliance, and using Protestant allies; works to create Gallican Catholic church.

Thomas Middleton, A Game of Chess (see Waste Land): pref. spoken by evil Ignatius Loyola, on negotiations for a Spanish match (offended James).

Reign of Charles I

****1625****

Charles I becomes king. Marries Princess Henrietta Maria of France; the marriage causes widespread expectation in Europe. Her French devout humanism (see Bremond, 1915) seen as opposed to Jesuit Spanish fanaticism (Veevers). The marriage promotes hopes for Catholic reconciliation. Donne sermon in these years: "our Nullifidians, Men that put all upon works, and no faith; and our Solifidians, Men that put all upon faith and no works, are both in the wrong."

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the elements” in the Eucharist.

Edwin Sandys, Europae Speculum, fancies a reunion of Christendom, if Papist will give up Indulgences, etc., and Protestants their stubbornness; “A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet with all in all Countryes, not many in number, but sundry of them of singular learning and pietie; whose godly longings to see Christendome reunited in the love of the Author of thyr name above all things, and next in brotherly correspondence and amitie ... that by the travaile and mediation of some calmer minds than at this day doe usually write or deale on eyther side, these flames of controversies might be extinguished or asslake, and some godly or tolerable peace r-e-established in the Church againe.”

William Chillingworth converts to Catholicism, but returns to Anglicanism under Laud’s influence ca. 1632, and would become part of Great Tew Circle; pub. The Religion of Protestants A Safe Way to Salvation (1635) often rpt.; disputed Roman infallibility, Christian unity more important than disputes; many agreements between Rome and Canterbury; defends mutual toleration; attacked by both sides.

Sir Nicholas L'Estrange (written 1629-55): “Shake-speare was Godfather to one of Ben: Johnsons children,” jest about giving him “a douzen good Lattin Spooones, and thou shalt translate them.”

****1630****

Philip Massinger, The Renegado, with Jesuit advisor, Father Frandisco, saving the good characters, promoting good works, penance, real presence; elevation of host revered.

The Non-Entity of Protestancy, anon.: “your Religion is in it selfe a meere Non-Entity; Its Being consisting in a Not-being, and Essence, in want of Essence.”

James Shirley (converted c. 1622), The Grateful Servant praises Benedictines; The Doubtful Heir (1640) praises miracles; also see his St Patrick for Ireland (1639-40).

****1631****

John Weever (see 1599), Ancient Funerall Monuments in ... Greate Britane and the Islands adjacent, with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained, dedicated to Charles I, praised monasteries; “the first broad expression of approval of the medieval Church to appear since the Reformation”, though at pains to acknowledge tradition of royal supremacy (Graham Parry,

overthrow Calvert, and substitute new Act that excluded Catholics and Episcopalians from protection; but he regained control, reinstated Act of Toleration in 1658. But in 1689 Protestants overthrew Calvert regime, in 1692 repudiated Act of Toleration, in 1704 closed St. Mary's Chapel which was soon demolished, and so ended the Calvert experiment which nevertheless was the seed for the First Amendment. Catholic colony numbered only 2000 in 1700.

Galileo convicted of heresy.

Shakespeare Second Folio (First Folio, 1623).

****1633****

Laud becomes primate of England, and tries to spread high church practices (sacrament and ceremony, good works, anti-predestination, vast restoration of altars, including reverence for communion as body of Christ). Laud called "the crime of those reformers" "sacrilege too often pretending to reform superstition." Also for laity to hold Church lands was sacrilege, and the land should be restored, perhaps gradually over several generations (but opposed toleration, insisted on Oath, destroyed devotional objects at St. Winifred's Well, burned de Sales's *Devotions* (he

evolution of Anglican particularism, pregnant with significance for the future relationship of the Church of England to all other churches” (Duffy, Saints, 30).)

****1634****

Franciscus a Sancta Clara (Christopher Davenport), Deus, Natura, Gratia, proposes in appendix reconciliation, that many of the 39 Articles are compatible with Catholic doctrine (influencing Newman later) (see 1865), “first attempt from the side of Rome towards a theological reconciliation of the Anglican Articles with the Council of Trent” (Sykes, “Ecumenical Movements ...” in History of the Ecumenical Movement, ed. Rouse and Neill). “I have laboured as you see, pious reader, to reconcile the articles of the Anglican Confession with the decrees of the roman Catholic Church.” Cites Montagu, Andrewes and Jewel; says schism was based on political bickering and harping on adiaphora; combines medievalism and regionalism, i.e. England's Catholic past, Catholicism's adaptation to England. Thus argues that the charge that “Church of Rome hath erred even in matters of faith” applies to distortions of some local churches; that attack “on Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons ... Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques” applies to enemies' distortion of “Romish” doctrine as distinct from official decrees. Attack on mass is really attack on “the vulgar and commonly-received opinionas d

Anthony Stafford, The Femall Glory; or the Life and Death of our Blessed Lady, the Holy Virgin Mary, God's Owne Immaculate Mother, 'Anglo-Catholic' celebration and Laudian praise of virginity and asceticism; "Kneelee downe before the Grand White Immaculate Abbess of your snowy Nunneries."

****1636****

Roger Williams makes settlement at Rhode Island, to be first state granting toleration to all Christians. "... noe person within the said colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civil peace of our sayd colony; but that all and everye person and persons may. . . have and enjoye his and their owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments . . . they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie. . . ." (Rhode Island Charter 1663).

Sir Kenelm Digby ("the *Mirandola* of his age"—Aubrey) (son of Everard Digby, Gunpowder plotter) reconverts to Catholicism (had turned Anglican in 1630); one of the "tribe of Ben,"

Browne's Religio Medici (1642), where the author takes an Erasmian approach to a religious doctrine, emphasizing the fundamentals that unite all Christians" (Marotti, in Writing and Religion, ed. Sell & Johnson).

And later James came in,
They never daunc'ed on any heath
As when the time had beene.

By which we note the Fairies
Were of the old profession,
Their Songs were Ave Maries,

Michaelmas, Christmas, Candlemass, Ashwednesday, Palm-Sunday, Corpus Christ day, All souls day, &c. But words expressing the dread Sacrifices and divine Ceremonies of the Cath[olic] Roman Faith? what Town or City can you enter but instantly you discover the track

****1659****

Milton, Treatise of "Civil Power inn Ecclesiastical Causes, attacked Protestant hegemony, promoted toleration for all Protestant sects, identified Protestantism with individual freedom to seek own way to God.

****1660****

law” etc.; “yet the wisdom of God doth order them for my good: 1. they make me abhor myself; 2. they keep me from trusting my heart; 3. they convince me of the insufficiency of all inherent righteousness; 4. they show me the necessity of flying to Jesus” etc.

****1667****

Bishop Sprat's History of the Royal Society of England, emphasizes newer notion of Christendom as a cultural unity, not so much religious; thus the Society freely admits as members “men of different religions, countries, and professions of life.” The members “openly profess, not to lay the Foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant Philosophy, but a Philosophy of Mankind.” Later Burke, in Reflections on the French Revolution will fully

Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written Records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
 Places, and titles, and with these to join
 Secular power, though feigning still to act
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
 The Spirit of God, promised alike and giv'n
 To all Believers; and from that pretense,
 Spiritual Laws by carnal power shall force
 On every conscience; Laws which none shall find
 Left them inrolled, or what the Spirit within
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
 But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind
 His consort Liberty; what, but unbuild
 His living Temples, built by Faith to stand,
 Their own Faith not another's: for on Earth
 Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard
 Infallible? yet many will presume:
 Whence heavy persecution shall arise
 On all who in the worship persevere
 Of Spirit and Truth; the rest, far greater part,
 Will deem in outward Rites and specious forms
 Religion satisfi'd; Truth shall retire
 Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of Faith
 Rarely be found: So shall the World go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign ...
 truth

With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left onely in those written Records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood ...
 Whence heavie persecution shall arise
 On all who in the worship persevere
 Of Spirit and Truth; the rest, farr greater part,
 Well deem in outward Rites and specious formes
 Religion satisfi'd; Truth shall retire
 Bestuck with slandrous darts, and works of Faith
 Rarely be found ...then wilt thou not be loath
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
 A paradise within thee, happier farr. ...;
 The World was all before them, where to choose
 Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
 They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
 Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way.

“Milton neither negates nor affirms the images of particular and exclusive dogmatic traditions. He uproots them; he rearranges them. And they come somehow to cohere in living novel patterns ... he discovers a brilliant substitute for liturgy, he invents a liturgical surrogate”, i.e. abandoning analogy since the world is entirely fallen, “titillates the imagination, gives to metaphor a nervous life ... The surfaces of pagan, ecclesiastical, and feudal rhetoric merge in an overpowering evocation of the feeling of power and grandeur”; “we allow ourselves to be moved by this tremendous if wholly artificial liturgy which accompanies a very personal and private vision of the nature of man and things ... The artist himself is at the centre of the new firmament of poetry, Milton’s firmament. He is free to use dogma, to use typology, as he is free to use whatever concept or image that can be made to serve his vision ... It is another step ... to the gnostic mythology of Blake and Yeats and to the visionary revival of our own day that

would have the source and end and test of 'truth' to be in the 'imagination,' in the myth-making faculty," [thus the Milton of promethean imagination celebrated by Harold Bloom as forerunner--would Bloom agree? Bloom notes Milton's "church with one believer" intro *Vis. Co.*, rev. edn.] (Malcolm Ross, 1954). Bloom, Map of Misreading (1975): "No poet compares

temporal power, and stated conservative doctrines on saints, justification, in conciliatory minimalist way

fundamental break of Protestant England with medieval international Catholicism; cited by E. Jones 1998 as seminal.

****1688****

James has son and heir (to be the Old Pretender), which dooms him in Protestant eyes.

Flight of James II destroyed last chance of restoration of Catholicism.

Glorious revolution puts William and Mary on the throne. (Mary, eldest Protestant daughter of James II.) (Ironically, supported by Catholic Austria and Spain and papacy, against French; thus official Williamite propaganda avoided anti-Catholic rhetoric—A. Williams, 2005). Begins dismal period for Catholics, deprived of heroic martyrdom, now enduring steady abrading of legal and financial penalties, while Catholicism was regarded as superstition of the past.

Anglican bishops and priests who refused to swear allegiance to William III dismissed, called “Non-Jurors.” They made important arguments against the erastianism of the Church of England, but did not question its nationalism (see E. Jones, 1998). I.e., Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), contra Burnet; Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, praising Becket. William Law was a non-juror.

Bossuet's Historie des variations des églises protestantes, blamed Protestantism for individualism and anarchy; argues for true inward Reformation and argues that the Protestant Reformation was really a destructive revolution. “Used a battery of arguments to try to unchurch the English establishment” (Brian Young in Protestantism and National Identity, ed. Claydon and McBride). Argued that wide variety of opinion was possible in matters not defined by Church. Bossuet would influence Boswell's and Gibbon's short-lived conversions (Gibbon also influenced by Persons's Treatise of Three Conversions). Bossuet would begin important series of letters of dialogue with Leibnitz; Leibnitz would separate freedom of conscience from fides sola. Lord Acton: “Bossuet's theory of history is not serious. He gives one explanation of the English Revolution ... [then] another. They are entirely arbitrary. It is the idea of Almighty God making opportunities for elected souls to be saved.”

Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave. A True History by Aphra Behn, much attracted to Catholicism if not an actual convert, dedicated to Catholic Lord Maitland, “such nob(by)cm0b(by)by

kindness” or through Leicester--later sources.) Davies’s note not published until 1848.

****1689****

- Bossuet, in this matter, to have been wrong, and Fénelon to be right" (Essays & Addresses).
- **1698**** Sir Henry Spelman, The History and Fate of Sacrilege pub. now, (reprinted 1846) (see 1632); Spelman unable to publish this during his lifetime.
- **1699**** Act reinforcing power of pursuivants against Catholics. Raphael's Cartoons hung at Hampton Court.
- **1700**** Papists forbidden to inherit or purchase land. Dryden dies.
Pope family moves to Binfield in Windsor Forest, in response to new effort to register Catholic estates, and acquires Whitehill House "despite the penal laws against Catholics" (DNB), through assistance of Protestant relatives. Sometime in childhood Pope began epic "Alcander, Prince of Rhodes" ("darling composition of his youth"—Mack) , about a "prince ,

Alexander Pope: "I will set before me that excellent example of that great saint, Erasmus, who in the midst of calumny proceeded with all the calmness of innocence, the unrevenging spirit of primitive Christianity!" (qu. Mansfield, Phoenix of His Age). Pope aetat 23.

Pope, Essay on Criticism, attacked by Dennis, praised by Addison.

"I. Know well each Ancient's proper character,
His fable, subject, scope in every page;
Religion, Country, genius of his Age"

On tradition:

"Still green with bays each ancient altar stands,
Above the reach of sacrilegious hands" ...

"Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside"

"Some foreign writers, some our own despise:
The Ancients only, or the moderns prize.

Thus Wit, like Faith, by each man is applied
To one small sect, and all are damned beside."

on 1688 revolution:

"The following licence of a Foreign race
Did all the dregs of bold Socinus drain;
Then unbelieving priests reformed the nation,
And taught more pleasant methods of salvation;
Where Heaven' free subjects might their rights dispute,
Lest God himself should seem too absolute."

"And the same age saw Learning fall, and Rome,
With Tyranny, then Superstition joined,

As that the body, this enslaved the mind;TJO T e(-2032p(o)2er917s9)2ecund -2032an -2032o(o):

****1712****

Pope, Essay on Criticism. Pope, The Rape of the Lock (written 1711, in 2 cantos, expanded into 5 cantos in 1714) (sylphs “guard with Arms Divine the British Throne”).

Addison, Spectator (1 July 1712) “Fantasy: writing out of the poet’s own invention”

“There is a kind of Writing, wherein the Poet ... entertains his Reader’s Imagination with the Characters and Actions of such Person as have many of them no Existence ... Such are Fairies, Witches, magicians, Demons and departed Spirits ... The Ancients have not much of this Poetry among them, for indeed, almost the whole Substance of it owes its original to the Darkness and Superstition of later Ages, when pious Frauds were made use of to amuse mankind, and frighten them into a Sense of their Duty. Our Forefathers looked upon nature with more Reverence and

opposition to everything established” (see 1619).

Swedish plot in favor of James III, apparently directed by Lord Oxford from the Tower. Between 1717 and 1723, Pope in greatest danger of exile, in communication with opposition; “Yet he behaved more defiantly at this crisis than at any previous point” (DNB).

Pope, Eloisa to Abelard.

Pope to Atterbury who urged him to convert as result of death of his father: “I am more certain that it is a duty of nature to preserve a good parent’s life and happiness, than I am of any speculative point whatever ... For she, my Lord, would think this separation more grievous than any other, and I, for my part, know ... little ... of the success of such an adventure. ... Whether this change would be to my spiritual advantage, God only knows: this I know, that I mean as well in the religion I now profess, as I can possibly ever do in another. Can a man who thinks

English mythology about Jesuits, still potent in the nineteenth century” (W. R. Owens, “Introduction,” Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe ed. Owens and Furbank, vol. 3 (L: Pickering, 2006), good discussion of Defoe and Catholicism).

****1726****

Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels, mocks Transubstantiation dispute in Lilliputian Big-Endians (Catholic ‘real presence’) versus Little-Endians (both trying to get at the meat of the egg).

****1727****

George II begins reign.

****1728****

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particularly the latter, where hardly one of us heretics can equal you.”

Hogarth painting, Transubstantiation Satirized, picturing Christ child fed into a mill from which hosts are made out of his body. “Enthusiasm Delineated,” (1739), i.e. ranting preacher, secretly a priest, confounding hearers in hope to guide them to ‘certainty’ of Rome. “The Roast Beef of Old England” or “The Calais Gate” (1748), contrasting English prosperity with French Catholic misery.

****1736****

Joseph Butler, Analogy of Religion, “had so much to do with the conversion to the Catholic faith of members of the University of Oxford” (Newman, Idea of a University).

****1737****

Charles Dodd (pseudo. for Hugh Tootle), Church History (-1742) (with Apology for the Church History)

below a patriarch ... or a saint." The Great Excommunication Curse, "my uncle Toby whistling Lillabullero, as loud as he could, all the time."

attack on Taxation policy, attended First Continental Convention in 1774 Philadelphia, in 1774 elected to the Maryland Convention, first Catholic to hold office since 17th Century, only Catholic to sign Declaration of Independence in 1776 ("When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only our independence of England but the toleration of all sects, professing the Christian religion, and communicating to them all great rights" (qu. Birzer, American Cicero). Catholics also helped by support of French, and by Enlightenment notions of freedom and toleration. Catholics supported separation of church and

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attacking corrupt monks and Papacy ("Becket ... with unhallowed crosier bruise'd the crown;" "wicked thrones combine / With papal craft, to gull their native land!"). The ruins are "now but of use to grace a rural scene; / To bound our vistas, and to glad the sons / Of **George's** reign, reserv'd for fairer times!"

Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

Pope—an 18th cent. formula?). Archbishop Carroll praised Berington for the “noble and generous freedom” with which he has portrayed both Catholic and Protestant, but Challoner denoun

Mendelssohn is forerunner of the "Haskalah," movement of Jewish intellectual enlightenment.

****1785****

William Paley, The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy: "I perceive no reason why men of different religious persuasions should not sit upon the same bench, deliberate in the

Reformation; the Achilles' heel of his reverence for tradition? Tradition becomes "property" and my property.] [See Conor Cruise O'Brien, intro. to Burke, Reflections (Penguin 1968) that Burke's Catholic sympathies led to "subtly subversive" argument that English interests were bound up with Catholicism, a force for order, in France, motivated by passion to defend Catholic Ireland; sees anti-Catholic Protestantism is "natural seed-bed of Jacobinism" (O'Brien)]

Helen Maria Williams's Letters Written in France, surprised that both Catholic and Protestants joined in the French Revolution, and surprised at her mixed reaction to papist worship: "the Roman Catholic worship, though a sad stumbling-block to reason, is striking to the imagination. I have more than once heard the service for the dead performed, and never can hear it without emotion ..."

****1791****

Second Catholic Relief Act grants freedom of worship in registered chapels (if clergy took Oath of Allegiance—see 1778), and thus repeals Uniformity law of 1559; repealed most of Catholic disabilities. In Act of 1793, universities, military and judiciary opened to Catholics, but not membership in Parliament and some offices (see 1829) (1817 Act opened up all military ranks to Catholics).

First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution: "Congress shall make no law

that the story of our Mary, Queen of Scots, has a peculiar effect on the feelings of a poet, or whether I have in the enclosed balled succeeded beyond my usual poetic success, I know not; but it has pleased me beyond any effort of my muse for a long time.”

Edmond Malone: “Some one has idly enough, from a passage in ‘Hamlet’ in which the Ghost tells of his having been cut off unhouzel’d, disappointed, unanel’d, inferr’d that Shakespeare was a Papist. I cannot at present call to mind by whom that observation was made, or where it is found. Do you happen

likelihood of William's papism from the ghost's speech in Hamlet, references to purgatory and confession ("regrettable that it was mixed up with so much other disputable and sometimes risible material"-- Chandler, 2006).

French Catholic exiles welcomed, and government grants given to maintain refugee priests. Jesuits establish houses at Stonyhurst (1794) (orig. at St Omers), and Benedictines at Ampleforth (1802) and Downside (1814). Also Oscott (1795). St. Cuthbert's at Ushaw, founded 1808 (by ex-Douai community which had regrouped near Durham in 1794) (orig. Allen's Douai seminary, ended by French Revolution in 1793); also St. Edmund's at Ware (1794)

John Milner, anti-Cisalpine, Serious Expostulation with the Rev. Joseph Berington.

****1798****

John Milner's History ... of ... Winchester (Catholic bishop and historian), defending Gothic architecture (Milner had pioneered building of St. Peter's Chapel in Winchester in 1792) argued Elizabeth's Catholic tendency, but forced into Protestantism; nevertheless her policy disastrous for Catholics; Milner combined "circumscribed intellect of a mendicant friar with the