

Shakespeare and Religion Chronology 1600-1624 and Post Shakespeare 1625-1799

Including
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****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 immunities privileges or prerogatives then good kinges will claime, or good commonwealths are bownde to yelde, yet that excuseth not these commonwealth men to straye so far forth out of the right waye." James has title through Mary Stuart; the Catholic Church has practiced "milde and modest courses toward the kinge of Scotland": "Though they see by dayly experience that ... princes ... that falle from the Catholicke Church being once in it ... yet since have reconciled themselves with great repentance ... as namely the most Christian kinge of fraunce;" "he [James] shall be the better incited when he shall thinke that it is he onely of his race that varryeth from the Catholicke Religion in which all his noble & Princely progenitors have

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 tytle.”

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. 1603, underway probably since 1598; Florio refers to 7 or 8 others who tried but failed to publish a translation.

John Dowland, “Lachrimae Antiquae;” Dowland had “especially important relation” with Essex who owned a Dowland lute ms. (David Price, Patrons and Musicians, 165).

“Children of the Chapel,” the boys of Chapel Royal licensed (perhaps to correct popular leaning of the theatre to Essex--Simpson, 1870) to perform private plays in Blackfriars. For them, Jonson composes Cynthia's Revels with Amorphus perhaps satirizing Shakespeare who replied with Malvolio as satire of Jonson (Simpson, 1870). These or Children of Paul's cited in Hamlet.

Thomas Hill, A Quartron of Reasons of Catholike Religion.

Elizabeth, only daughter of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, dies, unmarried (born c. 1582).

Shakespeare still delinquent in paying taxes, and not found in church list of residents.

Twelfth Night (-early 1601) .

1601

William Watson's Important Considerations, appellant tract (plus 1602 Quodlibets), defending Elizabeth's mercy (and hoping for more), attacking Jesuits and Papal Bull as cause of persecution, protests loyalty of seculars to Elizabeth, trying to get her to make a distinction: like argument of earlier Cecil's Execution of Justice! (1584): “none were ever vexed that way simply, for that he was either priest or Catholic, but because they were suspected to have had their hands in some of the same most traiterus designments.” Influenced much later anti-Jesuit Catholic history of England. Watson argued that “The treachery ... of Sir William Stanley as it was greatly prejudicial to us, that were Catholics, at home, so was the defence of that disloyalty, (made by a worthy man [Allen], but at the persuasion, we think, of Parsons.” Between 1601-1603, 18 books by appellants argued loyalism case, and blamed the 1584-96 resistance theory on Persons, esp. his Conference, appealed to Queen for toleration, said Elizabeth has by and larger been “mild and merciful” toward Catholics, attacked Jesuit equivocation. Seculars given passport to plead their view in Rome.

Arthur Dent, The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven: “This age indeed aboundeth with many hollow hearted Hypocrites ... Their heart is with Atheism: their heart is with Popery. They have a Pope, in their belly: they be Church-papists” (first OED citation of “church-papist” as “a Roman

Catholic who conformed outwardly to the Church of England”).

Persons attacks appellant priests as traitors to Catholicism, in A Briefe Apologie, or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiastical Hierarchie.

Thomas Worthington (president of Douay), A Relation of Sixtene Martyrs: Glorified in England in Twelve Monethes. With a Declaration that English Catholiques suffer for the Catholique Religion. And that the Seminarie Priests agree with the Jesuites. In answer to our Adversaries calumniations, touching these two points.

Thomas Lodge translates a Catholic devotional work, The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granada ... In which is handled the conversion of a sinner.

A discourse of the providence necessary to be had for the setting up the Catholic faith when God shal call the Quene out of this life (ms. tract written 1598-1601), proposing a Catholic uprising at that time.

A. Copley, An Answer to a letter of a Jesuited gentleman, proclaimed loyal Catholic Englishness over against “Hotspur Jesuits and the Spaniard.”

1601 cont.

William Barlow, A Defence of the Articles of the Protestants' Religion, argued, like others, for origin of English Christianity from Joseph of Arimathaea, whereas St. Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory only to adulterate the faith.

Markham, Marie Magdalen's Lamentations; Breton, A Divine Poem ...

Thomas Wright, The Passions of the Mind (1601, 1604) dedicated to Southampton who thus by implication is still sympathetic with papists. Also Southampton House was still a known Catholic center well into the 1600’s (see Akrigg 177-81).

Essex rebellion, included young Catholics hoping to gain toleration (including Robert Catesby and Jack Wright, later Gunpowder plotters); Essex had long opposed Burghley-Cecil, scheme for James VI's succession, and drew both papist and Puritan followers. Essex marched into London to lead a revolution on Feb. 7, but the populace did not respond. Essex followers had arranged staging of Richard II at Globe to incite rebellion (a member of Shakespeare's company questioned but no charges brought); performance includes Act IV deposition scene omitted from First Quarto of 1597.

Queen Elizabeth, seeing “Richard II” in list of Tower ms., said to William Lambarde (see 1570): “I am Richard II, know ye not that?” Lambarde [her attendant]: “Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind Gent. [i.e. Essex] the most adorned creature that every our majestie made.” Queen: “He that will forget God, will also forget his benefactors; this tragedy was played 40^{tie} times in open streets and houses.”

Cecil: “the queen is discontented at the great numbers of 'negars and blackamoors' which are crept into the realm since the troubles between her Highness and the King of Spain, and are fostered here to the annoyance of her own people;” followed by 1602 plan to transport them.

War of the Theatres at its height (Jonson vs. Marston and Dekker; Shakespeare's role in attacking Jonson noted in 1603.)

1601 cont.

Essex arrested. At trial, Essex, accused of offering toleration to his Catholic father-in-law, Blount, said he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship to put Catholics to death on account of their religion; reflects Catholic view of “religion” and “treason.” Cecil charged him: “God be thanked, we now know you [i.e. as a Catholic]; for indeed your religion appears by Blount, Davis and Tresham, your chief consellers, and by your promising liberty of conscience hereafter.” French ambassador recalled that accusations against Essex were “qu'il

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 Catholikes ... to have byn not only just, but also mild and merciful." They "cast upon Catholiks ... 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 Catholikes."

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

Garnet to Aquaviva: "The Catholics are increasing very greatly ... A few days ago the Queen rebuked Canterbury sharply and ordered him to carry out real persecution. This, however, was not necessary since they were already proceeding with the utmost severity in all parts of the country."

1602 cont.

William Perkins, Epeikeia: Or a Treatise of Christian Equity and Moderation, celebrated by John Bossy as representing the moral reconciliation tradition.

Sir John Harington, ms., A Tract on the Succession to the Crown, to defend Stuart claim, convince

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, Constable, Campion, Henry Walpole, and others. Harington beseeches new king “as a true father to sett a peace betweene his children ... that they may not devoure and spoile another as they now doe;” cites ideal of uniting Protestant England, Puritan Scotland, and Catholic Ireland, “to one due uniformity.” “I wishe as I said all rancour laid away on all sides, and that seeing experience hath taught that neither the burning used in Queen Marie’s tyme, nor the hanging used in this tyme, nor both used in King Henrie’s tyme, did any good at all ... It were greatly to be wished that matters of religion were devided from matter of state;” the Tract “is a powerful plea for religious moderation, for ‘peaceable parley’, and for religious faith to be completely separated from affairs of state,” only recognized now, i.e. by Gerard Kilroy, “Sir John Harington’s Protesting Catholic Gifts,” Downside Review 2004. Argues for James’s succession, from Protestant, Puritan and Papist (citing Dolman) points of view. Last chapter critiques Reformation: “And I conclude that which all honest men I think will assent with me, that the beginning of Reformation that K. Henrie the viiith made was not so sincere, but that it was mixed with private and politique respectes, of gayne, of revenge, of fancie; and finally that even in Protestants opinions it was not worthie the name of a Reformation; and I am sure the Papistes count it a confusion, a destruction, and a deformation.” “The sworde is no good decider of questions in religion”; “It were greatly to be wished that matter of religion were devided from matter of state ... I have said it, and therefore I may well write it, that these rigorous lawes, these odious tearmes of traytors used to Papists by those that have bene Papistes and served Papistes themselves, hath both encreased their number, and their malice.” “Harington’s disguise as a ‘wise pretender of foolery’ looks like a successful attempt to mask his serious moral purpose. Unfortunately for us, the disguise has been so effective that it has taken four hundred years before anyone [i.e. Kilroy] has bothered to peel away the mask of sprezzatura and discover beneath it a man with a passionate commitment to religious faith and religious freedom” (Kilroy, 2005). Duke of Somerset’s view: “If the union of the howses of York and Lancaster were a thing that bredd so much joy and quiet to this Realme as the best writers do testify ... how much more just cause of joy shall they have that all live to see the uniting of two nations of England and Scotland so often desyred.” Chapter, “Of Religion”: “The three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland ... ar ... somewhat diverslie affected in Religion: England for the greater parte, according to the now established forme, being Protestant, and Scotland ... enclyned to a purer manner of docteryne, which they taken from the reformed Chruches beyond the sea, and are in England blamed as Puritans. Ireland, and much of Wales ... is in manner altogether Catholique”: “how great a wysdome, learning, and temper will it require to frame three so dyverse enclyned nations to one due uniformity, Hoc opus, hic labor est. But this I will say, the next successor to hir Matye in blood ... is as likely to bring this to passe ... as any that wee can imagine.” “I am neither Papist, Protestant, nor Puritan, or [am rather] a protesting Catholique Puritan, professing good faith, good workes, good wordes ... Christian is my name, Catholique my surname, and this is I hope is a sound aunswer ... as long as the preachers call the Queen defendresse of the true, auncient, catholoique and Apostolique faith.” “The sworde is no good decider of questions in religion ... What shall the poore, ignorant sorte do, when they see the learned ar unresolved? One preaches wee ar justified by faith onely ... Another saith out of St. James, You see that of workes a man is jufitted, and not of faithe onely ... And I am sorrie to see the pulpit and churche, ordained for rthe place of praier and exhortation, turned to a schole of questions and controversies ... Give no offence to the Papist, to the Protestant, to the Puritan, but pray with the Letanie to God to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived ... It were greatly to be wished that matter of religion were devided from matter of state ... and some new course devised ... of a more mylde, and as I may call it more perswasive punishment.” (“Harrington’s 1602 self-designation as a ‘Protesting Catholic Puritan’ seems not so much an attempt to assert a distinctive new identity as a playful and ironic recognition of the extent to which religious labels had come to define and determine the contemporaneous scene, a back-handed tribute to their immense cultural and ideological importance” (P. Marshall, The Naming of Protestant England, Past and Present 214 (Feb. 2012).)

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 Brestes,
 While Wordes and Deedes were all one in effect ...
 Then was not borne that wicked Machavile,
 Whose Rules have metamorphos'de many a minde...

And then was Law the onely rule of Love ... "Nicholas Breton is another mainstream Protestant writer whose works seemed to at least allow for, if not encourage religious nostalgia" (Jensen, Revelry, 97).

Lodge, trans. The Famous and Memorable Workes of Josephus, suggesting a Catholic line on the Maccabean martyrs, refusing Nicodemism, as parallel to the English recusants (see Erin Kelly, Sixteenth Century Journal, 2003), a parallel cited often by Catholic writers, Gregory Martin, Persons, Garnet, etc. First 2 books of Maccabees considered canonical by Catholics, not by Protestants; second book served argument in favor of purgatory, prayers for the dead, and intercession of saints. Lodge includes Erasmus's introductory epistle.

Southwell's "The Burning Bate" pub. in 1602 edn. of St. Peter's Complaint; Jonson will tell William Drummond in 1619 that he "so he had written that piece of his ye burning babe he would have been content to destroy many of his."

Shakespeare purchases land in Stratford.

Ralph Brooke, York Herald, files formal complaint against King-of-Arms, Dethick, for abusing office by elevating undeserving individuals, including "Shakespear ye Player." But original grant of coat of arms (1596) is sustained.

Reign of James I

****1603****

Appellant priests (13 leading secular clergy) sign Protestation of Allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, acknowledging Pope only as spiritual pastor; first attempt at negotiation bet. Catholics (Appellants) and government.

Elizabeth turns down secular priests proposal for toleration of Catholicism of loyal countrymen, not for religious reasons, but because the "strain of allowing two religions would be the end of peace."

Death of Queen Elizabeth, March 24. Accession of James I (VI of Scotland); Catholics hope in him since he was son of Catholic Mary, though brought up a Protestant. (James had kept alive this hope, to get Rome's support.) One of James's first acts was to invite Southampton out of the Tower to meet him at York, causing alarm to the anti-Essex faction; James then restored their titles and estates to Southampton and the young earl of Essex.

James keeps alluding to himself as son of Mary Queen of Scots, whose martyrdom merits, Catholics hoped, would lead to his conversion. James writes letter: "As for the catholics, I will

neither persecute any that will be quiet ... “ He orders a costly pall to adorn Mary’s grave in Peterborough Cathedral. Spanish envoy comes to negotiate possible Spanish marriage and alliance. James’s speech to Parliament: “by my descent lineally out of the loins of Henry the seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the Union of the two Princely Roses of the two Houses of Lancaster and York, whereof that King of happy memory was the first Uniter, as he was also the first ground-layer of the other Peace. ... as it [the bloody dissension] was first settled and united in him, so is it now reunited and confirmed in me ... But the Union of these two princely Houses, is nothing comparable to the Union of two ancient and famous Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Person.” James, while still Scottish king, reportedly wrote to Rome: “we do especially desire a general council to be called, so that this division can be composed in a most Christian manner.”

Days after Elizabeth’s death, Sir Robert Cotton produced treatise extolling the name of “Britain.”

Garnet to Aquaviva: “Great hope [there] is of toleration,” James must be supported.

“It is hardly credible in what jollity they [papists] now live. They make no question to obtain at last a toleration of if not an alteration of religion; in hope whereof many who before did dutifully frequent the Church are of late become recusants” (contemporary account, qu. in Willson, King James VI and I, p. 222)

Persons softens radicalism and hopes for reconciliation between Spain and England; “such applause was here generated at this new King’s entrance as if he had been the greatest Catholic in the world ... His Holiness here is so far embarked to try what may be done by fair means with him.” “These bountiful beginnings raise all men’s spirits, and put them in great hopes, insomuch that not only Protestants, but Papists and Puritans, and the very Poets ... promise themselves great part in his favor.” Father Weston released from Tower.

On James’s accession, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, “converts” to Protestantism (will recant on his deathbed).

1603 cont.

Spanish diplomat claims that 1/4 of governing elite are favorably disposed to Catholicism.

Henry Constable given permission to return to England, again hoping to promote reconciliation.

Persons writes Constable in cause of reunion.

Sir John Harington, epigrams, first pub. in 1779 as “Nugae Antiquae”:

A gratulatory Elegy of the peaceable entry of King James gev’n to his Maiestie at Burleigh 1603.

Come, triumphe, enter Church, courte, citty, towne;

Heer James the sixt, now James the first proclaimed.

See how all harts ar healld, that earst wear maimed ...

Joy, protestant; let papists be reclaymed;

Leave, puritan, your supercilliows frowne,

Joyn voice, hart, hande; all discorde be disclaymed.

Make all one flock, by one great sheppard guided.

No forren woolfe can force a fould so fenced.

God for his house this Steward hath provided,

Right to dispose what earst was wrong dispenced ... # 425

Other Harington epigrams (ca. 1585-1603):

Of Blessing withoute a crosse.

A priest that earst was riding on the way,

Not knowing better how to passe the day,

Was singing with himselfe Geneua Psalmes.

A blind man hearing him, straight beg’d an almes.

Man, said the Priest, from coyne I cannot part,

But I pray God blesse thee, with all my heart.

O, said the man, the poore may liue with losse,

Now Priests haue learn’d to Blesse without a crosse. #18

That favorites helpe the Church.

“What rents and schisms among us dayly grow:

No hope appears of reconciliationm,

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,
 By sea, by land, in time of peace and warre.
 Yet neuer met I sprite, or ghost, or elfe,
 Or ought (as is the phrase) worse then my selfe.
 Well, Paulus, this, I now beleue indeede,
 For who in all, or part, denies his Creede;
 Went he to sea, land, hell, I would agree,
 A Fiend worse then himselfe, shall neuer see. #122

Against Swearing.

In elder times an ancient custome was,
 To sweare in weighty matters by the Masse.
 But when the Masse went downe (as old men note)
 They sware then by the crosse of this same grote.
 And when the Crosse was likewise held in scorne,
 Then by their faith, the common oath was sworne.
 Last, hauing sworne away all faith and troth,
 Only God dam'n them is their common oath.
 Thus custome kept decorum by gradation,
 That losing Masse, Crosse, Faith, they find damnation. #263

The Author to his wife: a rule for praying.

My deare, that in your closet for deuotion,
 To kindle in your brest some godly motion,
 You contemplate, and oft your eyes doe fixe
 On some Saints picture, or the Crucifixe;
 Tis not amisse, be it of stone or mettle,
 It serueth in thy mind good thoughts to settle...
 Yet doe I not allow thou kneele before it,
 Nor would I in no wise you should adore it.
 For as such things well vs'd, are cleane and holy,
 So superstition soone may make it folly.
 All images are scorn'd and quite dis-honoured,
 If the Prototype be not solely honoured...
 Nor let vs scorne such pictures, nor deride them,
 Like fooles, whose zeale mistaught, canot abide them...#338

Of the name Papist, Brownist, and Zwinglian.

Pure Lynus Papistry layes to my chardge,
 And that my verse bewraies my thoughts, he saith.
 I by deniall could myself discharge,
 Yet least some think then I denyde my fayth,
 Ev'n in my purest thoughts protest do I
 A christian Catholique to live and dy.
 As for these names, Papist and Hugonot,
 Brownist and Zwinglian, that but factions feede,
 I skorn; but christian Catholique, I note

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.

One by his father kept long time to schoole,
 And proving not unlearned nor a foole,
 Was earst by him demaunded one occasion
 Which was the sounder Church in his perswasion,
 If this Church of Geneva late reformed,
 Or that old Catholick that theis have scorned ...
 "Sure," quoth the sonn, "a man had needs be crafty
 To keepe his soule and body both in safty.
 But both to save, this is best way to houlde:
 Live in the new, dy yf you can in th'olde. #376

Of trying spiritts. A passage between two persons of great calling:

A Catholick had conference of late
 With one of our great Prelates of the state,
 Lamenting that the Church with schisme turmoyled
 Had eake her building and renews spoyled ...
 Now Sollomon be iudge, I wish none other,
 Which is the harlott, which the lawfull mother?
 This side saith, "Spare my childe alyve and take it.
 Lett it not perrish though I must forsake it."
 She, feelling no remorse of grace nor nature,
 Saith, "Neither thine not mine, but dividatur." #400

To his Wife against Women recusants.

The great Asuaerus to his royall feast
 Envited Vasti, his beloved Queene;
 But she not then disposed to be seene
 Refused to come; which did him so molest
 That straight, as if this had a treason beene,
 Yt was agreeede his Lordes and peeres betweene
 To banish her...
 Wherefore, my deerest Mall, I thee advise
 Ensew not Vasties sample but detest her,
 And rather follow her successor Esther. #401

Of only fayth.

Pure Cinna evermore disputing saith
 That Christians saved are by only fayth.
 But heerin Cinnas speeches are abusive,
 To foyst unto our fayth a worde exclusive;
 For we doe find, marking the scriptures scope,
 Sallvation comes by grace, love, fear, and hope.
 Wherefore, when Cinna speaks fayth saveth only,
 Tell him Misacmos saith he speaketh onely. #411

Of a preacher and his Hourglass.

To prove that works are needless to sallvation,
St. James his doctrine he doth quite deface ...
 But while yow make St. Paule fall out with Ieames,
 Yow trouble ours and all our neighbour reames. #415

Harington wrote epigrams during the 1590s, made 2 ms. collections in 1600; would send James a copy; and another to Prince Henry (in 1605), presented as “a serious attempt to portray the deep corruption ... in the establishment and in the new church, and by implication to see the Catholic cause with more compassion” (Kilroy 2005). Epigrams first pub. in 1779.

Act of Uniformity, however, reinforced. Catholics soon despaired or grew desperate.

Persons, A treatise of three conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion. The First under the Apostles, in the first age after Christ: The Second under Pope Eleutherius and K. Lucius, in the second age. The Third, under Pope Gregory the Great, and K. Ethelbert in the sixth age (vol. 2, “third part,” pub. in 1604): supports Stapleton (1565) and attacks the Camden-Fox-Harrison anti-Roman version of English religious history based on Joseph of Arimathea and defends Roman Catholic nature of all the early history; even attacks expediency of Queen Mary's burning so many heretics, again argues for toleration for Catholics here and heretics abroad; “Whersoever Erasmus did but point with his finger, Luther rushed upon yt, where Erasmus did but doubt, Luther affirmed. So as upon Erasmus Dubitations, Luther framed assertions and asseverations.” Includes “A Comparison of a true Roman Catholike with a Protestant, whereby may bee discovered the difference of their Spirits, not only in things belonging to faith and beleefe, but also concerning their lives, conversation and manners”: “First the Roman Catholike, touching matters of Faith and belief ... presumeth hee to determine nothing of himselfe, but remitteth that determination ... unto the judgment and decree of the universall Church ... Whereas Protestants ... following another Spirit of selfe-will and self judgment, and loosing the raynes of libertie to the pregnancie of each man's wit, doe hold and determine what their owne judgments for the time doe thinke to bee true, or most probable, and are subject to no authorities in this behalfe, but to their owne Spirit discusses sacraments, “satisfaction,” (“though a man performe never so little thereof in this life, yet doth it greatly availe him”) etc. “[Protestants] hold our grace of Justification to be no inherent qualities, but onely an externall imputation.” Protestants “seeke to assigne such a Church, as no man can tell where to find it; for that it rather imaginary, mathematicall, or metaphysicall, then sensible to mans eyes, consisting (as they teach) of just and predestinate men only, whom, where, or how to find, yow see how uncertayne and difficult a thing it is, in this mortall life.” Attempted to show England's debt to Rome, and the compatibility of Roman doctrine with early English Christian religion.

Persons may be the first use of “Roman Catholic” (also see Bishop, A Courteous Conference with the English Catholics Roman, 1598), despite OED's attribution to Sir Edward Sandys, Europæ Speculum (1605). (See 1838).

William Covel, A Just and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Policies: endorsed the “true use of a general councill” to restore soundness to the Roman Church, which like the Church of England is a part of the visible and Catholic Church.

Millenary Petition by Puritans for Reform in the Church of England (i.e. calling for a thousand signatures, though only 100 signed), called for removal of superstitious images from Book of Common Prayer, etc. (see Hampton Court Conference 1604).

“Treason of the Bye”, the “Bye Plot,” by priest William Watson, Sir Anthony Copley, and appellants, to kidnap the king, because they believe he had violated promises to them and in order to secure protection of Catholicism; exposed by Archpriest Blackwell and Jesuits to gain James's confidence. Exposed one month before coronation of king. Copley let off with banishment for giving evidence; later persuaded by Persons to renounce his anti-Jesuitism.

“Main Plot,” Cobham plot (include Puritans) to overthrow James in favor of Lady Arabella Stuart; Raleigh, implicated, imprisoned until 1616.

John Dove, A Perswasion to the English Recusants.

Plague rages in London (30,561 deaths). Theatres closed until April 1604.

Over 8500 recusants now. *Recusant forced to pay £20 every month*, though penalty only exacted of a few: so penalty for most was the insecurity, that recusant property was at the mercy of the government.

After 1603, sharp decline in English Catholic political engagement, because foreign governments lost interest.

1603 cont.

Samuel Harsnett, after a series attacking Puritan exorcists, now attacks Papist

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, especially 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 easily finde them a route, rable, swarme of giddy, adle, lunaticke, illuminate holy spectators of both sexes, but especially a Sisternity of mimpes, mops, and idle holy women, that shall grace Modu the devil, with their idle holy presence, and be as ready to cry out, at the mowing of an apish wench, and the lowing or bellowing of a braine-lesse empty fellow: O the glory of God: O the power of prayer: as the Romish gulls did trouble about Sara, Fid, and Anne Smith, and cry out at the conjuration of the Exorcist: O the Catholique fayth: O the power of the fayth Catholique.” “it may seeme that our vagrant devils heere did take theyr fashion of new names from our wandering Jesuits, who to dissemble themselves, have alwaies three, or foure odde conceited names in their budget!” “It [the booke of exorcisme] served wondrously aptly, ad terrorem, et stuporem incutiendum populo: in steede of thunder, and lightning to bring Jupiter upon the stage, by these dreadful frightful Exorcisms, thundring, clapping, and flashing out the astonishing of Gods names, Jehovah, Tetragrammaton, Adonai, and the rest: to amaze and terrifie the poore people, and to possesse them with an expectation of some huge monster-devil to appeare.” Text mentions executions of Edward Arden and John Somerville.

(Influences King Lear.)

Jonson (“recently converted Catholic”), Sejanus, on the corrupt Tiberias subject to corrupt advsisers Sejanus and Macro Sejanus and Germanicus as alternative views of Essex vs. tyrant Elizabeth etc. (see Peter Lake, “From Leicester his Commonwealth to Sejanus his Fall ...” 2005); Northampton prosecuted Jonson on the basis of Sejanus (see 1604).

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 these presentes doe licence and aucthorize these our Servauntes Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustyne Phillippes, John Heninges, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armys, Richard Cowly and the rest of their 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 England's Mourning Garment complains that Shakespeare did not write a mourning tribute to Elizabeth:

Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert,
Drop from his honied muse one sable tear
To Mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his lays opened her royal ear,
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, Death.

[note that a month after Elizabeth's death, A Mournful Ditty entitled England's Loss (anon.) challenged "You poets all, brave Shakespeare, Jonson, Green", to "Bestow your time to write for England's Queen"]

Measure for Measure (-1604). A Lover's Complaint perhaps written now (1602-5, 1608-9, pub. 1609). Shakespeare apparently undertakes revisions, and additional lines, for Sir Thomas Moore (see 1592) (-1605c, performed 1604c).

****1604****

Progress of James through London, with King's men probably in attendance. James I's speech to Parliament said he intended to tolerate conforming papists; proposed unification of the three kingdoms. By proclamation, James assumed title of King of Great Britain (i.e. vs. Lesser Britain which was Brittany); but parliament not enthusiastic. He stressed his descent from Henry VII, not Henry VIII. In 1606 James will insist on a British flag, thus the "Union Jack", though English ships could continue to fly the St. George's Cross: thus internationalism versus nationalism. ("Britain" as used by Spenser simply connoted "England") thus James evoked evoking antiquarian realm, and called attention to "the blessed Union, or rather Reuniting of these two mightie, famous, and ancient Kingdomes of England and Scotland, under one Imperiall Crowne"; "I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions ... how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first made cleane?" "I could wish from my heart that it would please God to make one of the members of such a generall Christian union in Religion, as ... wee might meete in the midst."

Hampton Court Conference, resisted the Puritan extremes (see Millenary Petition 1603), required subscription (as in 1583) to royal supremacy, Book of Common Prayer Book, 39

Articles, etc.; set up committee of 47 to work on Authorized version of Bible. Struggled with issues that the 16th century Protestant wave had been able to shelve. At conference, “Bishop of London took occasion to signifie to His Majestie, how very many in these daies, neglecting holiness of life, presumed too much of persisting of grace, laying all their religious upon predestination, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; which he termed a desperate doctrine, showing it to be contrary to good divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather ascendendo than descendendo, thus 'I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour, I follow my vocation, etc.; therefore I trust that God hath elected me and predestinate me to salvation;' not thus, which is the usual course of argument. 'God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore though I sin never so grievously yet I shall not be dammed; for whom He once loveth He loveth to the end.’”

Appellants present “Supplication to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.”

1604 cont.

Treaty of London ends conflict with Spain which doesn't insist on protectorate for Catholics, settles Netherlands conflict.

Bancroft, more moderate, succeeds Calvinist Whitgift as archbishop of Canterbury.

Miracles Lately Wrought by the Intercession of the Glorious Virgin Marie, at Mont-aigu, in French by Philip Numan, to be translated by Fr. Robert Chambers in 1606; possible occasion for All's Well; dedication to King James: “I doubt not (Dread Sovereaine) but that by some meanes the reporte of the straunge, and wunderfull things which lately have happened in these Netherlands are come to your graces knowledge, where at all the world here standeth so much amazed and astonished ...” Much emphasis on continuing of many miracles throughout Catholic history, defense of the humble nature of Montaigne, and the power of the Virgin Mary. “yet because there are many straunge and secret things that may be effectuated & wrought by natural power ... many things also that are mere superstitious and diabolical, and many things again that are divine and supernatural: sundrie of our Catholik writers have worthily travailed to discover and cleer ech part ...” “What heavy and dreadful doome they may avoyd if laying asyde all animositie and private affection, they would meekely, that is, with Christian modestie, patience, and humilitie for Christ his sake, and for their own soules salvation take the paines to vewe either with their corporal eies, or with the attentive eies of their mynde what is donne in the mountaine of Montaigne. Where they may see a most famous and frequent Pilgrimage to a picture of the Mother of God, or to a place chosen out by her, wherein shee sheweth her gracious favours to humble and distressed suppliants;” “both your subiects at home, and all Catholik Princes, People, & common welthes abroad persuaded themselves, that the sayd Catholiks in our cuntrie should cease to be tossed with the furious waves of persecution, so soon as they saw your Maiestie to be settled at our sterne,” i.e. because of his toleration, his mother, etc. “They thought your Graces deerest mother’s manifold sobs teares, and direful groanes in bringing you foorth into this world ... and finally on the tragical scaffo’d where the innocent Queene your graces kyndest Parent was bloudely deprived of her life: they thought (I say) these forcible groanes and showres of teares of so deere a Mother would not onely have inclined her most beloved Chyld with all dutiful reverence, but would even naturally that is, most forcibly have compelled him to respect ... the Catholik cause ... Whereby the dutiful behaviour of that heathen Roman Coriolanus cometh into mennes mindes, who was so natural as for his mothers sake” as to do her bidding even though she was wicked; “so much the more for your Christian mother.” “The Translator to

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, reviewing French attempts to resolve religious wars, urges James I to promote Christian unity, for which James

thanked him.

Bacon, Considerations touching better Pacification of the Church of England.

1604 cont.

Hayward, Sanctuarie of a troubled Soul (-1607).

William Bishop, A Reformation of a Catholic Deformed, answer to Perkins's Reformed Catholic of 1598.

Samuel Daniel's masque, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, performed for James, each goddess representing a blessing conferred on the realm by James.

John Dowland, Lachrimae or Seaven Teares.

Ben Jonson writes dedicatory sonnet for Fr. Thomas Wright's The Passions of the Mind with its loyalist preface. Jonson moves out of his house (to protect wife?) to the house of Aubigny, brother of Queen Anne's close friend, Henrietta.

Jonson, "A Panegyre, on the Happie Entrance of James, Our Sovereigne, to his First High Session of Parliament in this his Kingdom, the 19. of March, 1603":

[the reverend Themis] to his mind suggests
 How he may triumph in his subjects brests ...
 "She then remembered to his thought the place
 "Where he was going; and the upward race
 "Of kings, praeceding him in that high court ...
 "And thriving statutes she could promptly note;
 "The bloody, base, and barbarous she did quote;
 "Where lawes were made to serve the tyran' will;
 "Where sleeping they could save, and waking kill;
 "Where acts gave licence to impetuous lust
 "To bury churches, in forgotten dust,
 "And with their ruines raise the panders bowers ... "
 She blest the people ...
 She told them, what a fate
 Was gently falne from heaven upon this state;
 How deare a father they did now enjoy
 That came to save, what discord would destroy ...
 Hereat, the people could no longer hold
 Their bursting joyes ...
 And this confession flew from every voice:
Never had land more reason to rejoyce.

1604 cont.

Jonson, on occasion perhaps of printing of Sejanus, "called befor ye Councell for his Sejanus & accused both of popperie and treason by him [Northampton]" (Jonson told Drummond), leading to Jonson revising the play. "Generally supposed to have been, in part ... a plea for Essex; it certainly appears to me to be a satire on the methods of obtaining evidence employed in the Essex trial" (Winstanley, Macbeth); or trial mirrored Raleigh treason trial prosecuted by Northampton who included in charge "to alter religion, to bring in the Roman superstition" (Miola 2001). Tempest* Sejanus, pub. 1605, about a weak ruler who falls under influence of corrupt advisers, silences dissent, burns books, persecuted citizens, dangerous theme.

Proclamation banishing Jesuits and seminary priests.

Garnet: "But now what shall we think to have been the state of all Catholic minds when all these hopes did vanish away; and as a flash of lightning, giving for a time a pale light unto those that sit in darkness, doth afterwards leaven them in more desolation."

Lawsuit by Shakespeare against a Stratford apothecary for debt notes Shakespeare as lodging in house of a French Huguenot, Christopher Mountjoy, perhaps as way of avoiding detection for non-attendance at church.

All's Well That Ends Well (1602-5). Othello.

1605

James celebrated in London's Lord Mayor show as the second Brutus fulfilling ancient prophecy, that he would reunite what the original Brutus had put asunder.

Bishop John Overall, Convocation Book: Church of England "has found the mean betwixt both

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 places to drive away whatsoever they find *contra ordinem iuris*.”

Edwin Sandys's *Relation of the State of Religion* (orig. in ms, 1599), on reunion of Christendom by a new center party; proposed “an uniforme Lyturgy, a correspondent forme of Church-government to bee made of the points both should agree in, and so be established universally throughout al Christendome ... all other questions to be confined to the Schooles”--then suppressed in 1605 as result of Gunpowder Plot; but thereafter many edns., to be cited by Sarpi, Grotius, etc. Also, “both the Protestants and Papistes seeme generally in the greatest part of their stories, to be both to blame, though both not equally, having by their passionate reports much wronged the truth, abused this present age, and preiudiced posteritie: insomuch, that the onlie remedie now seeming to remaine, is to read indifferently the stories on both parts, to count them as advocates and to play the iudge betweene them.” DNB: “survey of the various faiths Sandys had encountered on the continent ... mainly on Catholicism, assessing strengths and weaknesses in the manner of an official report after a fact-finding mission ... notable for its even-handedness (there is even praise for the devoutness of Pope Clement VIII) ... The question Sandys posed was whether reconciliation, Christian unity, might be possible. After going through a succession of possible solutions, he left this ‘honest-hearted desire’ for God to effect, because it was inconceivable in practical terms (p. 206) ... probably the first comprehensive justification for peaceful co-existence in Reformation Europe, a call for pragmatic tolerance that reflected its author's sober temperament.” Became prominent as defender of Commons against the king; also helped defeat the Union. “His connections with Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, and, through his close friends John and Nicholas Ferrar, the Laudian piety of their eventual home, Little Gidding, all suggest a persistent high Anglicanism ... named to the council of the Virginia Company in 1607, and he may well have helped draw up the company's second charter in 1609. By 1611 he was signing official letters in his capacity as councillor, and he had also appeared as an investor in the East India Company ... His close associate in these enterprises was Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, a distant kinsman. Sandys was reputed to have converted the younger man from Catholicism in the 1590s, and they may have worked together to oppose the union. By the mid-1610s they also shared commitments to Virginia, the East India Company, and Bermuda” (DNB).

Southampton finances Virginia expedition to provide settlement for English Catholics.

Sir John Harington letter seeking preferment: “the world is a stage and we that lyve in yt are all stage players ... I playd my chyldes part happily, the schollar and students part to neglygently, the sowldyer and cowrtyer faythfully, the husband lovingly the contryman not basely nor corruptly.” Harington collected plays, including quartos of 15 of Shakespeare.

Harington, *The Prayse of Private Life* (c. 1605-), based on Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria*

“To these mighte wee add the Solytarie lives of Elias, Hieremias, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Barnard and others.” “Whoe will wounder that solytarie life shoulde be pleasinge to Men studious, when Emperors, Kinges and great Captaynes were therewith delighted? ... Cato ... was wount to saye of himselfe, he lived never lesse at laysor, then at such tymes, as he had most laysor; nor lesse alone, then when he was without compaine. The glorie of which prayse, Ambrose semeth to take unto himselfe, sayinge, that while the Civill Warrs of Rome held, and other men therein occupied, he was ever fightinge with his bookes.” “To serve God is true libertie, and to meditate on matters Celestiall no place is so fitt as Solytude.”

1605 cont.

Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, covert argument against

Tudor version of history which claimed early British origins of the church and royal absolutism; Verstegan instead emphasized Anglo-Saxon roots (thus connected to continent, Germany etc.) and its elective theory of kings; thus Catholicism is made intrinsic to English identity since Saxon beginnings, as emphasized by his glossary which often includes names with Catholic references; includes under “Spear” the name “Shakespeare” in a list including Pope Breakspear, connoting “valour and feates of armes,” just as Campion is associated with Champion, etc., implying perhaps a Catholic connection for Shakespeare. Opening verse by Tregian: “heer England: learn thy name, thy race, thy offspring ... what by discontinuance / Thow haste left or lost” (see Hamilton, 1999); thus argues for Catholic Englishness. (See Warren, Rage for Order, on Hopkins, under 1875).

William Byrd, in response to Catholic hopes at James's accession, published Gradualia (1605, 1607), a liturgical repertory, dedicated to prominent Catholics (i.e. Earl of Northampton), intended for secret masses, thus devotional chamber music in private rooms (not full scale ceremony). In 1611 Byrd will pub. Psalms, Sonets, & Songs of sadnes & pietie, with “Turn our Captivity” with clear allusion to captivity of English catholics. Byrd had earlier published madrigals under influence of Essex (see Ruff and Wilson, 1969).

Breton, Soul's Immortal Crown; Camden, Remains of a Greater Work Concerning Britain (influences Coriolanus).

Bacon, Advancement of Learning. Bacon enacts the move from political Protestantism to philosophical secularism.

Jonson's The Masque of Blacknesse, set by Inigo Jones, sponsored by Queen Anne as blatant apologia for loyalist Catholics (Murphy, Bibl Society Paper 1987) (“first of the great masques in which Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones collaborated” (D. G. James) and sequel, The Masque of Beauty, black daughters of Niger seeking a bright land ruled by a sun (James), and undergo white transformation, i.e. to Protestantism. (But the effect looks curiously reversible—Murray, on Jonson, SEL 2007). Both with sets and dress by Inigo Jones (1573-1652, tolerated as papist like Byrd).

Richard Smith, An Answer to Thomas Bels Late Challeng named by him the Downfal of Popery: “Now let us compare the practise of Protestants touching the deposition of Princes, with the practice of the Pope, since the tyme that Protestantism began. They have within this 70. years partely deposed partely attempted, as far as lay in their power, one Emperour, three French Kings, two Kings of Spaine, of Denmarke, or of Pole-land, one Queene of England, and one of Scotland ...”

Thomas Morton, An Exact Discoverie of Romish Doctrine in the Case of Conspiracie and Rebellion: “Whosoever doe professe any Civil power soveraigne over Kings, whether directly or indirectly, are to be accompted seditious: But all popish priests doe professe a double prerogative over all Kings: Democraticall, and Monarchicall; namely both of people, and Pope...”

1605 cont.

Jonson with Chapman, Eastward Ho, with with slur about knightships sold by new Scottish king, sent authors to jail.

Begins now the tightening of recusancy enforcement, leading to extortion or immunity purchased via a friend (Stone, Crisis of Aristocracy). James presses strong action against Catholics and Puritans.

Robert Catesby plots revenge (Jonson present at a dinner with Catesby). **Gunpowder** plotters were known to frequent the Mermaid Tavern; also met at Clopton House, Stratford. Conspirators, Robert Catesby, Francis Tresham, Francis Throckmorton, Thomas and Robert Winter, all from region of Stratford and neighboring counties. **Gunpowder plot** discovered Nov. 5, Catesby and Percy killed, Guido Fawkes imprisoned; likely that government knew in advance; Robert Cecil increased fines; *householders made responsible* for recusancy of their servants; *Catholics forbade within ten miles* of London. “If any green leaf was there for Catholics, they would not have been

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 superstaiton, 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 Love's Labour's Lost.

Shakespeare left bequest by fellow actor, Phillips; purchases half interest in tithes in Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton.

King Lear.

****1606****

Judicial Proceedings on Gunpowder Plot: "The matter now to be offered is matter of treason; but of such horror and monstrous nature that before now the tongue of man never delivered, the ear of man never heard, the heard of man never conceived, nor the malice of hellish or earthly devil ever practiced." Sir Edward Coke speech for prosecution: "Considering the monstrosousness and continual horror of this so desperate a cause ... This offence is ... without sufficient to express it."

New "Act for Better Repressing of Popish Recusants" including heavy fines (2/3 of property instead of monthly £20) for non-attending Anglican services and not receiving communion yearly; must have children baptized in parish church; no husband of a recusant could hold office. "Here they attend to nothing else but great preparations for the annihilation of the Catholic religion."

New *Oath of Allegiance* imposed, "denouncing as impious and *heretical the damnable doctrine* of papal authority." Oath requires "that I do abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical the damnable doctrine and position that princes which be excommunicated and deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatever." Bellarmine: the Oath is "so craftily composed, that no man can ... make profession of his Civill subjection, but he must bee constrained perfidously to denie the Primacies of the Apostolicke Sea." Some catholics might not agree with Pope's claim to depose, but could hardly swear under oath that this claim was heretical. James I, seeking some reconciliation, had removed clause denying Pope's right to excommunicate. James's conflict with Bellarmine led to accepting premise of separation of secular from sacred, otherwise obedience to king would have religious implications; thus "insinuated the notion of a secular state into the heart of Jacobean theological absolutism" (Shuger, 1990). See Johann Sommerville, "Papalist political thought and the controversy over the Jacobean oath of allegiance," in Shagan, ed. Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'; that the deposition claim was theologically important.

1606 cont.

Pope Paul V's letter condemning the oath arrives at end of 1606.

Persons's unpub., Discourse against taking the oath in England: on limits to using equivocation: "first in matters of faith, it is all one in effect to equivocate and deny if it be exacted; and this point of the pope's authority to depose princes, if it be not expressly defined as many learned men do hold, yet by all men's opinion it is so near unto faith that it cannot be denied without a notable error in faith ... To deny the pope's authority to depose the king is to deny the power of Christ given unto the pope over his Church, and exempting the king from his power is to acknowledge and swear the king's supremacy." On the oath's condemnation of assassination: there was good biblical precedents which "do seem to approve it. The General council of Lateran by a decree declareth it ... And must we Catholics only of all other needs swear that from our hearts we detest and abjure it as impious, heretical and damnable?"

Jesuit Provincial, Henry Garnet, executed as conspirator in Gunpowder Plot; doctrine of Jesuit

equivocation publicized. Treatise of Equivocation, by unknown author though influenced at least by Southwell, printed in 1851 (earlier printings unknown), from Bodleian ms, corrected by Garnet. Some Protestant willingness to believe Catholic defenses of patriotism and frame-ups converted into belief in Catholic guilt “by the exposure of this manual of contrivances for deception and justifications of falsehood” (Jardine, 1851 edn.).

New laws threatened to make James's reign more intolerant than Elizabeth's: Catholics now disqualified as attorney or child guardians or physicians or executors of wills; must not only appear at Church of England service, but receive the sacraments; could not travel 5 miles from home or remain within 10 miles of London unless in a recognized business.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, True and Perfect Relation of the Whole Proceedings Against the late most barbarous Traitors ... Garnet, a Jesuite, and His Confederates, i.e. by a Catholic loyalist or sympathizer, attacked papal usurpation of temporal power.

Thomas Morton, A Full Satisfaction Concerning a Double Rhomish Iniquity: “the authors of equivocation are by it, as by a Gyges ring, made in a sort invisible unto Protestants to plot and practice against them what and when they will, and Ulysses like make a very Polyphemous of [our] most noble state;” acknowledges cases where “one word ... does equally signify diverse things” but not meant to deceive. “The last anchor that man can cast for any security in this tumultuous and tempestuous world, in any commonwealth, is an oath.” “He that speaks truth has always a conformity between the intention of his mind and of his speech.”

Queen Elizabeth moved to new tomb with coffin of Mary Tudor, with inscription: “Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis”

1606 cont.

Southwell (or Arundel), Fourefold Meditation of Foure Last Things.

W. Perkins, The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience: “How may a man be in conscience assured, of his owne salvation?”

Persons, An anwere to ... Syr Edward Coke ... concerning the ancient and moderne muncipall lawes of England which do appertayne to spirituall power and jurisdiction: shows continuity of Catholicism in England “from our first days christened unto these days.”

Richard Broughton, A just and moderate Answer To a most injurious, and slaunderous Pamphlet, intituled, An exact Discovery of Romish doctrine in case of Conspiracie and Rebellion. Wherein the innocency of Catholike religion is proved.

Joseph Hall, The Art of Divine Meditation.

“The poor Catholics ... are still incredibly numerous, and are resolved for the most part to suffer anything than give up their religion” (French Ambassador).

Fr. Jones to Persons: “It is scarce credible what difficulty we have to keep up and underprop poor afflicted souls from ruin, and falling into errors and disorders, and all by reason of these late cruel laws.”

1606 cont.

Blackwell, the Archpriest (see 1598), imprisoned and under pressure from Lambeth Palace, does shocking about-face and defends taking the oath; takes oath in 1607, and recommends others do so; deposed by Pope in favor of George Birbeck in 1608. Thus, bankruptcy of appellat cause.

Thomas Dekker, The Whore of Babylon, i.e. Catholic Church, but Campeus (i.e. Campion) given sympathetic treatment, but as neglected scholar, not martyr.

Jonson, Volpone; to gain inheritance, Corvino would give his wife, Celia, to Volpone: Celia: “Are heaven and saints then nothing?” Corvino threatens to “at my window hang you forth, devising / Some monstrous crime, which I, in capital letters, / Will eat into thy flesh with ... burning corsives, on this stubborn breast.” Celia: “I am your martyr ... O God, and his good angels! whither, whither, / Is shame fled human breast?” ... [to Volpone] If you have touch of holy saints--or heaven--/ Do me the grace to let 'scape.” Judges vindicate Celia and send her “home to her father, with her dowry trebled.” R. Dutton (Shakespeare Survey (2005) argues that Sir Politic Would-Be's comic plot shows Gunpowder plot as red-herring, while real plot is that of Volpone and Mosca, parallel to the Fox and the Ape in Spenser's Prosopopoia (i.e. the two Cecils, both nicknamed ‘fox’).

Venice and Rome quarrel over jurisdiction of church property; Pope Paul V interdicts Venice which chooses Paolo Sarpi as its consultant. Sarpi, attacking papal overreaching and showing interest in Protestant theology, encouraged Venetians to ignore the interdict,

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.”

Susanna Shakespeare cited in 1606 on a list of “Persons popishly affected” 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.

1607 cont.

Persons, A Treatise Tending to Mitigation towards Catholicke-Subjectes in England, Wherein is declared, That it is not impossible for Subjects of different Religion, (especially Catholickes and Protestantes) to live together in dutifull obedience and subjection, under the government of his Maiesty: pleaded for toleration for what seemed now a permanent minority, more radical plea now than earlier pleas for Catholic toleration claiming it's the true religion (Jordan); opposing compromise, defending equivocation; “who knoweth not, but that the bowels of England are so combyned and linked together at this day in this point, as hardly can the sword passe the one, but it must also wound the other.” W.K. Jordan (1936): “In one of the amazing flights from orthodoxy of which he was occasionally guilty in order to drive his arguments home, Persons came close to holding that men should enjoy liberty of conscience as a natural right.” Argued that the two religions could co-exist peacefully. “how doe the Iewes & Christians live together under many Christian Princes in Germany and Italy? Under the state of Venice? yea under the Pope himselfe? How doe Christians and Turkes live together under the Turkish Emperour of Constantinople, as also under the Persian without persecution for their, Religion? how did Catholickes and Arrians live so many yeares together under Arrian Kinges and Emperours in old times, both in Spaine and elsewhere? how doe Catholickes and Protestantes live together at this day under the most Christian King of France? Under the great King of Poloma? and under the German Emperour in divers partes of his dominions ... and in the free-cities of the Empyre? ... the Hussites have lived now some hundreds of yeares in Bohemia under the Catholicke Princes and Emperours Lrods of that Countrey, with such freedom of conversation with Catholicke subjectes, and union of obedience to the said Princes, as at this day in the great City of Praga ...”

[in answer to the charge] "that we ascribe Monarchicall civil power and sovereignty over Kings unto the Pope ... we ascribe no such unto him over other Princes or their subjects, but that authority or sovereignty only which Catholicke doctrine ascribeth to the Bishop of Rome as successor to S. Peter Prince of the Apostles, & spiritual head of the universall visible Church of Christ, which is only spirituall, & for spirituall ends, to wit, for the direction and salvation of soules. And if at any time he be forced to passe further then this, and by a certeine consequence to deale in some temporall affaires also; it much be only indirectly in defence or conservation of the said spirituall, that is to say, when the said spirituall power appertaining to soules cannot otherwise be defended or conserved.”

“Political exigency would later cause Parsons to accept the value of toleration, after the hope evaporated of a military conquest of England by Roman Catholic Spain ... Parsons’ writings ...

however, demonstrate a mind concerned with the paradoxes of toleration” (J. Pepperney, “The Elizabethan Jesuits and Religious Toleration,” *Reformation* 12 (2007), 149.

Capt. John Smith settles Jamestown, Virginia.

Elizabeth Southwell, former royal maid and Catholic convert, *The Sickness and Death of Queen Elizabeth*, a view of the last days as nightmarish.

Barnabe Barnes, *The Devils Charter: a Tragædie Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the sixt*.

Jean Hotman composes ms. “Syllabus” of 62 eirenical works 1533-1607; pub. with additions by Grotius in 1642; Hotman, friend of Calvin, attached to Henry of Navarre, then worked for Earl of Leicester, then attached himself to Essex; “typical representative of the late renaissance *respublica literaria*, an international circle of scholars, magistrates and diplomats, all inspired by the same aristocratic-intellectual ideals. They were all obsessed with antiquity, both classical and Christian, and cherished the illusion that the ... ancient world ... could point the way to overcome the confusions of the present” (G. H. M. Meyjes, “Jean Hotman’s *Syllabus* of eirenical literature” in *Reform and Reformation* ed. Baker (1979)). Hotman: “Those who now know only the stake, torture and exile should know that in the last century there were upright, learned and pious men--catholics among them--who believed that religious disputes were nor irreconcilable in principle, but could be resolved by rational discussion” (1629)

*“Flight of the Earls” from Ireland, Earls of Tyrone (defeated at Kinsale 1601, submitted to James, but now fled) and Tyrconnell and 100 other chieftains leave Ireland forever, leaving Ulster to become a British Protestant plantation, end of Gaelic poets and scholars; but Geoffrey Keating (Hiberno-Norman) (A History of Ireland, ca. 1634), priest, poet and historian, would argue, that Irish-English Catholic nobility derived from Gaelic clan chiefs, and included Stuart dynasty; a lineage to be evoked later by Anglo-English Protestants seeking united Ireland. Keating uses “Irish” to designate Gaelic and Old English vs. New English, and defended Ireland as a “kingdom unique to itself, like a little world;” said Irish always characterized by Catholicism (contrast Ussher, Protestantizing the Irish past), learning, and valour; insisted on continuity between early Irish Christianity and Tridentine Catholicism; idea of Ireland as “land of saints and scholars” appropriated by Counter-Reformation argumentation; sees Adrian IV’s fateful bull (1155) as *felix culpa*, as Anglo-Normans brought in good things, including cathedrals; attacked Stanihurst’s anglofilia. BY 1633, New English had been in Ireland as many as 30 years and developed distinctive Irish accent; they adapted Old English aristocratic traditions. In 1622, Archbishop James Ussher argued continuity with Christianity of 5th century St Patrick (corrupted by St. Malachy in 12th century); thus identifying New English more and more with Ireland.*

Isaac Casaubon, *De Libertate Ecclesiastica* (1559-1614), in 1598 living in house of liberal Catholic, M. de Vicq, who presented him to Henri IV; lived in Paris until 1610, known to reject anti-popery but desired a church on pattern of primitive ages, welcomed by James I to England in 1610, saw Anglicanism as *via media* between Puritanism and Romanism. Alister McGrath (2007): “historians such as Diarmaid McCulloch have rightly pointed out that the ‘middle way’ developed in England in the late sixteenth century was between Lutheranism and Calvinism ... The ‘middle way’ which resulted was neither Calvinist nor Lutheran—but it was certainly Protestant.”

Elizabeth Cary’s *Tragedy of Mariam* (pub. 1613) known (1607-) in ms. by Shakespeare who borrows from it; based on Lodge’s *Josephus* (see 1602); interpreted as covert proto-Catholic play by Shell, 1999. (S. Hodgson-Wright, in *Marian Moments*, ed. Buccola and Hopkins, compares execution of Mariam both to Mary Queen of Scots and BVM.) A daughter would write hagiographic *The Lady Falkland: Her Life* c. 1643-50, pub. 1861, to celebrate mother’s Catholicism and note father’s harsh Protestantism [parallel to Herod the Great and royal-blooded Mariam, defends woman’s right to divorce and following conscience]. **In 1626** Elizabeth Cary defied husband’s authority by converting to Catholicism. Cary wrote saints’ lives, hymns to the Virgin, and *History of Edward II* (1627) positive portrayal of Pope John XXII as mediator. “Mariam’s emergence in the last act as a silent stoical heroine marks her successful transformation from an eloquent, ‘Protestant’ dissident into a reticent, ‘Catholic’ martyr, whose ineffable, saintly interior is both signified and stabilized by her withdrawal from

then sphere of 'public' speech" (Nandra Perry, "The sound of silence: Elizabeth Cary and the Christian Hero" ELR 2008).

Death of Shakespeare's brother, Edmund, "a player," and burial in St. Saviour's, Southwark. Mary Arden Shakespeare dies.

Marriage of Susanna, to Protestant Dr. John Hall (though with many Catholic patients) (when he healed a Catholic priest "beyond all expectation," he noted "Blessed be God", words omitted when his casebook was printed.)

Timon of Athens (-1608).

Coriolanus (-1608).

****1608****

Persons' The Judgment of a Catholicke English-Man Living in Banishment for his Religion: ... Concerning ... An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance, Against two Breves of Pope Paulus V [i.e. by James]: Persons plays credulous reader confident that James would disapprove of the above Apology for the Oath of Allegiance: "Who doth not know what afflictions were layd upon Catholicks, even in the very first yeare of his Ma[jesties] raigne ... and much more throughout all the second yeare ... the violence, and insolency of continuall searches grew to be such, as was intolerable; no night passing commonly, but that Souldiours, & Catch-poles brake into quiet mens houses, when they were asleepe" etc. "alas, is there no end of exprobatation against the Innocent for the Nocent [Plotters] ... If the clemency of his Majestie in his gracious Proclamation ... gave security, that, notwithstanding that headlong action of those few Catholycke Gentlemen, None of the profession should be the worse used for that cause; how commeth it to pass, that so many aggrievances have byn heaped upon them ever since ... as also by the new Oath, devised for the utter overthrow, both in soule, if they take it against their conscience, and of body, goods, and estimation, if they refuse it? How come so many searches of their houses, spoyle of their goodes, apprehensions of their persons, afflictions of their tennants, servants & friends, so many citations, attachments, vexations, and molestations, that dayly do flow upon them, as if they were the only malefactors of the Land?"; "And albeit at home, some were moved ... to thinke that in some sense the Oath might be taken: yet none abroad were of that mynd; For that they allowed not of any sort of Equivocation in matters touching faith & religion. And in these I heare say that the Jesuites were among the chief & most forward ... who notwithstanding before were most accused, bayted and exagitated ... for allowing in some points, the lawfull use of Equivocation." "I can assure you that it is the greatest affliction of mynd, among other pressures, that ever fell unto them. For that no violence, is like to that, which laid upon mens consciences; for so much, as it lyeth in a man's owne will and resolution, to beare all other oppressions whatsoever, whether it be losse of goods, honours, dignities, year of life itself; but the oppression of the conscience, no man may beare patiently"; "his Majesties sweete & mylde aspect toward Catholicks at his first entrance, was soone, by art of their enemyes, averted long before the conspiracy fell out." "Nothing can be more pitifull, then to see a Noble House divided in it selfe, & the one to beate, hunt, & pursue the other, & this to be their continuall exercise, especially of Children, under the sight of their Father."

Honoré d'Urfé, L'Astrée (-1610), pastoral romance, inculcated social graces and preciosity, echoed devout humanism of François de Sales, and reflected in the masques of Queen Henrietta (below); an alternative Catholicism to the fierce Spanish variety.

John Wilson, English Martyrologe.

1608 cont.

Breton, Divine Considerations of the Soul.

Thomas James, An Apologie for John Wickliffe: "Master Stow, not to defraud him of just praise, was a painefull Citizen ... his learning failed him: for not being able to understand his Auctors, how should he judge them? ... his reverend old age, and incredible zeale to the common good, shalbe to me instead of so many garments, to cover his historicall imperfections."

Donne, Biathanatos: A Declaration of that Paradoxe, or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is Not so Naturally Sinne, that it may never be Otherwise (c. 1608, pub. 1624), preface: "I have often such a sickly inclination. And, whether it be, because I had my first breeding and conversation with men of suppressed and afflicted Religion, accustomed to the despite of death, and hungry

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 thinks 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), showing contradictions of natural reasoning, without religion. "The tremendous vitalities of Elizabethanism prove irresistible to men of itching genius like John Donne. As we have seen, the new corporate mystique of royalism divests honest men from the ancient fact of unity in the Mystical Body ... The recusant made his peace with Leviathan—or fled to Douay. For him ... the analogical link between the political and the Mystical Body was broken" (Malcolm Ross, 1954). Also Donne had to question the Catholic claims for their martyrs, as part of competing discourses about which religion can claim true martyrs (see Monta 2005). Cites Stoic attraction of suicide, but warns against presumption that it is ok, except with acts like Samson's.

Champlain founds Québec as center of the new colony.

King's Men lease private indoor theatre in Blackfriars (1608-9).

Birth of Susanna's daughter, Elizabeth Hall (d. 1670) (Elizabeth!) (only grandchild Shakespeare would know), christened at Trinity; **death of Shakespeare's mother, Mary**. Shakespeare initiates suit for debt in Stratford.

Pericles (1607-1608), perhaps collaboration. **Richard II**, fourth quarto, advertised as first version containing "new additions of the Parliament Scene, and the deposing of King Richard" (i.e. deleted during Essex years).

****1609****

Douai Old Testament published (1609-10).

Bermudas claimed for England by the Virginia Company.

Tourneur's The Atheist's Tragedy; John Davies, The Holy Rood.

Mary Ward founds for women religious her Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the model the Jesuits, but eventually it would be forced to become an enclosed order by nervous papacy. Ward is eventually (2009) canonized.

Sir John Harington sends Prince Henry a copy of his 'Ariosto' and some verses attributed to Henry VI, and wrote his "Brief View of the State of the Church of England," attacking married bishops.

Jonson's The Masque of Queens, set by Inigo Jones, for Queen Anne, developing the anti-masque of band of witches opposing the band of heroines, "blatant apologia for the place of loyal Catholics in a Stuart court" (John Murphy on Lear, 1987).

Donne's Holy Sonnets begun now, including (c. 1615 or later): "Show me, dear Christ, thy spouse so bright and clear. / What! is it she which on the other shore / Goes richly painted? or which, robbed and tore, / Laments and mourns in Germany and here? / Sleeps she a thousand, then peeps up one year? / Is she self-truth, and errs? now new, now outwore?" [Donne thinking in binary Protestant vs. Catholic terms, vs. Herbert below, 1633; but also vs. Donne, Satire 3 (c. 1597-8), "Seeke true religion. O where? Mirreus ... at Rome ... Crantz ... at Geneva ...

Graius ... at home here ... To adore, or scorne an image, or protest, / May all be bad; doubt wisely ... on a huge hill ... Truth stands, and hee that will / Reach her, about must, and about must goe;" solution: "God himselfe to trust." Also see from "Songs and Sonets" (1590's-1601?): "The Will": "The Will": "Here I bequeath ... to such as have an incapacitie. / My faith I give to Roman Catholiques; / All my good works unto the Schismaticks / Of Amsterstam."

Donne's La Corona (usually dated now), Arminian, as in first sonnet, "Salvation to all that will is nigh."

John Baxter, A Toile for Two-legged Foxes (i.e. Jesuits): "they make their burrowes strong, they have so many streight passages, so many muses, so many winding corners, so many runnings, so many interturnings, and starting holes, that it is a matter full of difficultie to find the couch of a Catholicke, especially of a Priest or a Jesuite."

1609 cont.

Francis Walsingham, A Search made into Matters of Religion, by Francis Walsingham Deacon of the Protestants Church, before his change to the Catholicke. Wherein Is related, how first he fell into his doubts: and how for finall resolution therof he repaired unto his Maiesty, who

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 First How by that meanes I came acquainted with a certaine old Man that gave me much light on many things”: “endeavour first to apprehend well & briefly the true state of the Question ... As for example, in the Controversie about good workes, Protestants propose the Question thus: Whether a man may be saved by workes without Grace: which is easie for them to impugne, for that it is false. But the true state of the Question is, Whether by grace, and good workes that proceed from grace, and are dignified thereby, Christians be saved?” “The principall difference betweene a Catholicke and an Hereticke is this, that the one imbraceth traditum non inventum ... not invented of himselfe, as the Heretike doth, who thereof is called a Chooser, for that he followeth not that which is delivered, but preferreth his owne choice ... And by this occasion he entred into another short discourse, but very substantial, as to me it seemed, of the folly of the one, and true wisdom of the other: shewing first, that there could be nothing more fond, then the temerity of an hereticke or sectary, that will governe himselfe in matters belonging to his everlasting salvation or damnation by his owne head.”

Cholmeley's Men, Catholic players, present King Lear and Pericles along with anti-Protestant St. Christopher at certain recusant houses in 1609-10, i.e. in Gowthwaite, Yorkshire (see Sisson 1942) (i.e. at Sir John Yorke's house, Yorke, later investigated about Gunpowder plot connections--Murphy, Papers Bibl. Society 1987); performance accompanied by debates in which popish priest triumphs over English minister. The affair reported to Court of Star Chamber in Westminster. Sir Richard Cholmeley, known as follower of Essex in his rebellion, referred to as “stiff papists” but conformed in 1610. Deposition: “there was presented upon the stage an English minister and a popish priest ... to convict the English minister upon which conviction the devells with thundering and lightning ... compassed the minister about and carryed him away at it were to hell.” “secular revels were used as part of a concerted contemporary effort to re-create a sense of Catholic community” (Jensen, 2002).

Cymbeline (-1610). Shakespeare's **Sonnets** (see 1593) published by Thomas Thorpe and dedicated by T.T. to Mr. W.H, with A Lover's Complaint (see 1602).

****1610****

Royal Proclamation “for the due execution of all former laws against recusants,” ushers in “Reign of Terror,” James responding to news of French king's assassination.

Henri IV, after associating himself with recently formed Protestant Union, assassinated by Spanish party; succeeded by Louis XIII who will soon be served by Richelieu.

Joseph Cresswell, A Brief Admonition to all English Catholikes, concerning A late Proclamation set forth against them. Dedicated to the Queenes most Excellent Maiesty, emphasizing the inhuman cruelty and injustice of the penal laws.

About this time, Jonson formally rejoined Anglican Church.

Henry Constable rejoins exiled scholarly cultured Catholics in Paris (or 1609?).

Richard Field, Of the Church, still promoted general council, perhaps reflecting James's proposal in his Premonition; Field argued that belief in justification existed alongside papal tyranny in medieval church, until latter was imposed more absolutely by Council of Trent.

W. Crashaw, sermon defending colonization of Virginia: “As for Plaiers ... they play with Princes and Potentates, Magistrates and Ministers, nay with God and Religion, and all holy things; nothing that is good, excellent or holy can escape them: how then can this action? But this may suffice, that they are Players: they abuse Virginea, but they are but Players.”

Robert Persons S. J. dies.

Donne, Pseudo-Martyr, restating king's arguments, urges taking of oath of allegiance, argues that Persons's rhetoric has “occasioned more afflictions, and drawn more of that [Catholic]

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 wrestle 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. Hackett 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 Rheims New Testament which is cited in the Introduction. (Douai Old Testament pub. 1609-10, too late for these translators.) “Tyndale accepts corrections of his work flung in controversy by More; the Jesuits [sic] who make the Rheims version draw upon Coverdale's Diglott and Geneva; and it is pretty to see that some phrases pass from Geneva through Rheims into the Authorized. In spite of all its divisions all western Christendom is involuntarily collaborating; it is as if 'this rich thing' (like the Grail) 'went about' among them of its own will” (C. S. Lewis).

Jonson, Oberon, typical Jonsonian masque (learnedly annotated), with anti-masque, celebrating James as host; leads up to moment when onlookers and players mingle; celebrates the successful virtuous society; with sets by Inigo Jones.

Jonson, Hymenaei (1606) for the marriage of Robert Devereux and Frances Howard, celebrates the union of the kingdom, sets by Inigo Jones.

Donne, Ignatius His Conclave.

1611 cont.

William Crashaw, Manuale Catholicorum. A Manuall for True Catholickes; a medieval book of prayers, claiming Anglican piety existed in the dark papistical ages.

Biography of Teresa trans., after her beatification in 1610; she will be canonized in 1622.

William Weston, composes Autobiography (to be pub. by John Morris as “The Life of Father William Weston”, 1875): “Catholics now saw their own country, the country of their birth, turned into a ruthless and unloving land. All men fastened their hatred on them. They lay in ambush for them, betrayed them, attacked them with violence and without warning. They plundered them at night, confiscated their possessions, drove away their flockes, stole their cattle ... In the common thoroughfares and crossways watchmen were abruptly posted, so that no traveller could pass peacefully on his way or escape stringent scrutiny.”

Arminian Baptists in London publish statement, implying religious toleration.

Henry Fitzsimon S. J.'s “Swearing” publ. in Douai:

In elder times an ancient custome t'was,
to sweare in weightie maters by the Masse.
But when Masse was put down, as Ould men note,
They swore then by the Crosse of this graye grote.
And when the Crosse was held like wise in scorne
Then Faith, and trowth, for common oathes weare sworne.
But now men banisht have both faith & trowth,
So that God damne me, is the common oath.
So custome keeps Decorum, by gradation,
Loosing masse, Crosse, Faith, trowth, followth damnation.

Donne's “An Anatomie of the World: The First Anniversary ... By Occasion of the Untimely Death of Mistress Elizabeth Drury”; followed in 1612 by “An Anatomie of the World: The Progresse of the Soul.” Ben Jonson wd. say: “if it had been written of the Virgin Mary it had been something.”

John Speed linked Persons and Shakespeare, “this papist and his poet,” as cooperating in blackening the reputation of the Protestant saint, Sir John Oldcastle (Falstaff): “And his [Person's] authority, taken from the stage-players,

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****

James orders the exhumation of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots and her reburial in Westminster Abbey.

Webster's The White Devil; notice its use of a crucifix implying family continuity (Williamson, SEL 2007).

John Ford, “A Funeral Elegy,” formerly attributed to Shakespeare (see Vickers 2002).

Sir John Harington dies.

Drayton, Poly-Olbion (mentioned in 1598 as in preparation), cites many of the local Catholic saints; antiquarian love, deplored destruction of the abbeys. [On Drayton's Catholic (and Protestant) connections, see Newdigate, Michael Drayton and His Circle (1941); and Donna Hamilton, Anthony Munday (2005).]

Death of Shakespeare's brother, Gilbert. Shakespeare is witness in lawsuit against Christopher Mountjoy by his son-in-law, whose marriage Shakespeare had helped arrange. But Shakespeare cannot remember details agreed to.

Henry, Prince of Wales, James's son, with ambitions to achieve religious reunion, dies. Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, dies.

Henry VIII (“probably with John Fletcher”--Greenblatt, Norton Edn.) (-1613).

Cardenio (-1613) (with Fletcher), lost play; but basis of Lewis Theobald's Double Falsehood (1728): “It is a great pity that the play is lost because of the fascinating possibilities offered by the meeting of Shakespeare and Cervantes” (Wood 1995).

****1613****

Henry Constable dies, “an obscure death, it may be thought, for one who once hoped to turn the course of English history.” “He was beloved of all, but especially by the chief men of the country.”

Bill introduced to make Catholics wear red cap or party-colored stockings, narrowly defeated.

In early months of the year, a new Spanish Armada is assembled, though it never sailed.

Count Gondomar, Spanish ambassador, arrives, signaling closer relationship with English government; will propose marriage between Charles and the Infanta, Philip's sister. The Spanish match would be negotiated seriously (see 1615), much to Puritan discomfiture; James hoped the English-Spanish alliance would force Spain to intervene against Germany in behalf of Frederick, the Elector e.

Marriage in February of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, leader of the Protestant Union of German princes. Leads to Spanish invasion of the Palatine, and Thirty Years War.

John Ford, Christes Bloodie Sweat, recording “some kind of conversion.” Ford, The Golden Meane, ded. to Earl of Northumberland imprisoned for accusation re. Gunpowder Plot. “Critics note Ford's 'persistent choice of the resistant or isolated individual' [Farr]” (Vickers). Shakespeare was Ford's great mentor.

Webster, The Duchess of Malfi (1613?): note these pre-Gothic-novel Jacobean dramas, dramatizing a corrupt Italy: “Delio: 'Yond's the cardinal's window. This fortification / Grew from the ruins of an ancient abbey ...” Antonio:

I do love these ancient ruins:

We never tread upon them but we set

Our foot upon some reverend history.

And questionless, here in this open court,

Which now lies naked to the injuries

Of stormy weather, some men lie interr'd

Loved the church so well, and gave so largely to't

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

were monuments of devotion and sources of learning, despite some weeds.

Galileo constructs telescope, defends heliocentric theory.

****1616****

Jonson, Works.@

Executions of priests discontinued for sake of Spanish policy.

Editor of St Omer's selection of Southwell replaced Southwell's introductory letter, "To his loving cosin," with "To my worthy good cosen Maister W.S.," thus thinking that Southwell's preface referred to Shakespeare (see Brownlow 2007).

Judith Shakespeare marries Thomas Quiney; they are excommunicated for failing to appear at Ecclesiastical Court and secure Protestant marriage license; their first son, "Shaksper," dies 1617.

Shakespeare makes will on March 25, and dies on April 23; "first I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator, hoping and assuredly believing through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Savior to be made partaker of life everlasting" (compare John Shakespeare's will, 1581). **Will's beneficiaries include Thomas Combe, listed as recusant, William Reynolds, perhaps same man who, like his father, was jailed for recusancy, Hamnet Sadler listed as recusant; mentions John Robinson perhaps a noted Catholic.** "Item I gyve unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture;" left nothing to Church which it did not mention.

Tomb inscription reads:

Good Friend For Jesus Sake Forbeare,

To Digg The Dust Enclosed Heare:

Blest Be The Man That Spares Thes Stones,

And Curst Be He That Moves My Bones.

Post-Shakespeare Chronology 1616-1699

****1617****

De Dominis's De republica ecclesiastica (1617-22), dedicated to James, advocating church unity based on general reform, a utopia.

Jonson denounces Inigo Jones as villain.

****1618****

Council of Dordt hardens English Protestantism into firm dissenting Calvinism, just as Trent had hardened Catholicism.

Thirty Years War begins in Europe (1618-48), with Richelieu eventually as major player.

****1619****

Pericles listed in book-list of the Jesuit college at St Omers.

Masque, Pleasure Reconciled to Vertue, will influence Milton's Comus; James as Hercules beats middle path between papist and puritan extremes of excess and restraint.

Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent (in Italian), pub. now in England, English trans. in 1620, dedicated to King James, on how the opportunity was lost of uniting England by a general council; Trent dominated by Roman curia; the Council "hath ... made the parties so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable," opposed the French compromisers. Sarpi asked: how did Trent consolidate the schism, and so embitter parties that reconciliation became impossible? How did bishops's authority end with complete submission to Pope? How did Roman Curia emerge as more powerful? Samuel Johnson intended to translate Sarpi; Boswell regrets that "the able performance of that celebrated genius, Fra Paolo, lost the advantage of being incorporated into British literature by the masterly hand of Johnson." See 1656, 1717.

****1620****

Thomas Doughty, An Humble Appeale to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie: begins "O heavy, for many yeares, hath been the hand of Protestant Ministers, upon us Catholikes, your auncient and faithful subjects, that heaven is full with our cries, the world with our afflictions; the earth is drunk with our bloud ..." "we humbly beseech your Majestie, that converting of us by killing,

imprisonments, confiscation of goods, ransacking and spoiling 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 individual ... Men 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; later argued that inner reform of RC Church could have achieved same result as Reformation. “It is a tragic picture. The closer Grotius comes in spiritual experience and theological thought to the Roman Catholic Church, the claims of which he had in earlier years so energetically refuted, the lonelier he becomes ... It is symbolic that he died in distant Rostok as an unknown foreigner rescued from shipwreck ...” (M. Schmidt in A History of the Ecumenical Movement, ed. Rouse and Neill). “Many Catholics valued the book” (Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution). Also see Grotius's Via et votum ad pacem ecclesasticam (1642) which proposed scheme of accommodation. “[I]n relation to popery ... the more Grotius defined his aversion from its particular abuses, the nearer he was said to approaches its idealized form” (Trevor-Roper, From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution 71)

Canonization of St. Teresa, provokes English interest.

Jonson's Motives (lost), on reasons for his turn from Catholicism. Jonson told Drummond, ca. 1619 that he was tolerant of both branches of the Christian faith, being “versed in both.”

Robert Burton, An Anatomy of Melancholy: 1.2.2.6 “Solitariness a Cause: I may not deny but that there is some profitable meditation, contemplation, and kind of solitariness to be embraced, which the fathers so highly commended, Hierom, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Austin ... as many of those old monks used it, to divine contemplations ... Methinks, therefore, our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all; they might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings, and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion, consecrated to pious uses; some monasteries and collegiate cells might have been well spared, and their revenues otherwise employed, here and there one, in good towns or cities at least, for men and women of all sorts and conditions to live in, to sequester themselves from the cares and tumults of the world, that were not desirous, or fit to marry; or otherwise willing to be troubled with common affairs, and know not well where to bestow themselves, to live apart, for more conveniency, good education, better company sake, to follow their studies (I say), to the perfection of arts and sciences, common good, and as some truly devoted monks of old had done, freely and truly to serve God. For these men are neither solitary, nor idle, as the poet made answer to the husbandman in Aesop, that objected idleness to him; he was never so idle as in his company; or that Scipio Africanus in Tully, never less solitary, than when he was alone, never more busy, than when he seemed to be most idle ... it is far otherwise with these men,

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 are those superstitious and rash vows of Popish monasteries, so to bind and enforce men and women to vow virginity, to lead a single life, against the laws of nature, opposite to religion, policy, and humanity, so to starve, to offer violence, to suppress the vigour of youth ... it troubles me to think of, much more to relate those frequent abortions and murdering of infants in their Nunneries, their notorious fornications, those male-prostitutes, masturbators, strumpets, &c., those rapes, incests, adulteries, masturbations, sodomies, buggeries of monks and friars.”

2.1.3 “Whether it be lawful to seek to Saints for Aid in this Disease ... The papists on the one side stiffly maintain how many melancholy, mad, demoniacal persons are daily cured at St. Anthony's Church in Padua, at St. Vitus' in Germany, by our Lady of Loretto in Italy, our Lady of Sichem in the Low Countries; she cures halt, lame, blind, all diseases of body and mind, and commands the devil himself, saith Lipsius: 25,000 in a day come thither; who brought them? new news lately done, our eyes and ears are full of other cures, and who can relate them all? They have a proper saint almost for every peculiar infirmity ... But we on the other side seek to [trust?] God alone. We say with David, God is our hope and strength, and help in trouble, ready to be found. For their catalogue of examples, we make no other answer, but that they are false fictions, or diabolical illusions, counterfeit miracles ... we have a just volume published at home to this purpose: A declaration of egregious popish impostures, to withdraw the hearts of religious men under the pretence of casting out of devils, practised by Father Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish priests, his wicked associates, with the several parties' names, confessions, examinations, &c. which were pretended to be possessed.”

3.2.3 “Symptoms of Love... But I conclude there is no end of Love's Symptoms, 'tis a bottomless pit.”

3.2.5.1. [quotes] “Who ever heard a story of more woe, / Than that of Juliet and her Romeo.”

3.2.5.3 “Remedies of Love ... Consider withal how free, how happy, how secure, how heavenly, in respect, a single man is ... Consider the excellency of virgins, marriage replenisheth the earth, but virginity Paradise; Elias, Eliseus, John Baptist, were bachelors: virginity is a precious jewel, a fair garland, a never-fading flower ... And although there be some inconveniences, irksomeness, solitariness, &c., incident to such persons, want of those comforts, tending in sickness, &c., embracing, dalliance, kissing, colling ... yet they are but toys in respect, easily to be endured, if conferred to those frequent encumbrances of marriage. Solitariness may be otherwise avoided with mirth, music, good company, business, employment ... And methinks some time or other, amongst so many rich bachelors, a benefactor should be found to build a monastical college for old, decayed, deformed, or discontented maids to live together in, that have lost their first loves, or otherwise miscarried, or else are willing howsoever to lead a single life.”

3.2.5.5 “For and Against Marriage ... 'Tis a hazard both ways I confess, to live single or to marry, [5960] Namet uxorem ducere, et non ducere malum est.”

3.4.1.2 “Causes of Religious melancholy. From the Devil by miracles, apparitions, oracles. His instruments or factors, politicians, Priests, Impostors, Heretics, blind guides ... our priests ... one saith they tyrannise over men's consciences more than any other tormentors whatsoever ... But above all others, that high priest of Rome, the dam of that monstrous and superstitious brood, the bull-bellowing pope, which now rageth in the West, that three-headed Cerberus hath played his part ... Now for their authority, what by auricular confession, satisfaction, penance, Peter's keys, thunderings, excommunications, &c., roaring bulls, this high priest of Rome, shaking his Gorgon's head, hath so terrified the soul of many a silly man, insulted over majesty itself, and swaggered generally over all Europe for many ages, and still doth to some, holding them as yet in slavish subjection, as never tyrannising Spaniards did by their poor Negroes, or Turks by their galley-slaves ... a rope of popes ... to enrich themselves, brought in such a company of human traditions, purgatory, Limbus Patrum, Infantum, and all that subterranean geography, mass, adoration of saints, alms, fastings, bulls, indulgences, orders, friars, images, shrines, musty relics, excommunications, confessions, satisfactions, blind obediences, vows, pilgrimages, peregrinations, with many such curious toys, intricate subtleties, gross errors,

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 members crucified more, saith Benzo, by a few necromantical, atheistical popes, than ever it was by Julian the Apostate, Porphyrius the Platonist, Celsus the physician, Libanius the Sophister; by those heathen emperors, Huns, Goths, and Vandals ... we have a mad giddy company of precisians, schismatics, and some heretics, even, in our own bosoms in another extreme, Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt; that out of too much zeal in opposition to Antichrist, human traditions, those Romish rites and superstitions, will quite demolish all, they will admit of no ceremonies at all, no fasting days, no cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, no church music, &c., no bishops' courts, no church government, rail at all our church discipline ... They will admit of no holidays, or honest recreations, as of hawking, hunting, &c., no churches, no bells some of them, because papists use them; no discipline, no ceremonies but what they invent themselves; no interpretations of scriptures, no comments of fathers, no councils, but such as their own fantastical spirits dictate ... a company of giddy heads will take upon them to define how many shall be saved and who damned in a parish, where they shall sit in heaven ... And as Plato gives out, the gods in commiseration of human estate sent Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses, qui cum voluptate tripudia et soltationes nobis ducant, to be merry with mortals, to sing and dance with us. So that he that will not rejoice and enjoy himself, making good use of such things as are lawfully permitted, non est temperatus, as he will, sed superstitiosus. "There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour," Eccles. ii. 24. And as one said of hawking and hunting, tot solatia in hac aegri orbis calamitate, mortalibus taediis deus objecit, I say of all honest recreations, God hath therefore indulged them to refresh, ease, solace and comfort us."

3.4.2.3 "These and the like places terrify the souls of many; election, predestination, reprobation, preposterously conceived, offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, solicitude, wherein they trouble and puzzle themselves about those questions of grace, free will, perseverance, God's secrets; they will know more than is revealed of God in his word, human capacity, or ignorance can apprehend, and too importunate inquiry after that which is revealed; mysteries, ceremonies, observation of Sabbaths, laws, duties, &c., with many such which the casuists discuss, and schoolmen broach, which divers mistake, misconstrue, misapply to themselves, to their own undoing, and so fall into this gulf."

3.4.2.6 "But the best remedy is to fly to God, to call on him, hope, pray, trust, rely on him, to commit ourselves wholly to him ... Last of all: if the party affected shall certainly know this malady to have proceeded from too much fasting, meditation, precise life, contemplation of God's judgments (for the devil deceives many by such means), in that other extreme he circumvents melancholy itself, reading some books, treatises, hearing rigid preachers, &c. If he shall perceive that it hath begun first from some great loss, grievous accident, disaster, seeing others in like case, or any such terrible object, let him speedily remove the cause, which to the cure of this disease Navarras so much commends, turn away his thoughts from the painful subject, by all opposite means, art, and industry, by all honest recreations, "refresh and recreate his distressed soul ..."

Philip Massinger (with Dekker), The Virgin Martyr, "the only post-Reformation saint's play on the London stage before ... 1642" (Clubb, Italian Drama, 1989); using medieval legend of St. Dorothy. Controversy over whether the virgin is Protestant (Dorothy rejects pagan idolatry) or Catholic martyr (her female virginity and bodily sanctity stressed). Some speculate that Massinger lost protection of earl of Pembroke after becoming Catholic at Oxford.; play permitted perhaps because of negotiations for the Spanish match of Prince Charles.

****1623****

John Abbot, Jesus Praefigured, hoping for English return to Catholicism under Charles.

Viscount Falkland, son of Elizabeth Cary, turns his manor of Great Tew in Oxfordshire into a convivium theologorum, where Clarendon, Chillingworth, etc., were visitors; "a last attempt to recover the irenic vision of Erasmus" (Mansfield, Phoenix of his Age).

Gatehouse, across a small courtyard from Shakespeare's Blackfriars, collapses, with 300 secret Catholic attending mass, plunged to their death. Jesuit Robert Drury had been saying mass; known as "Fatal Vespers."

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."

Richard Montagu's Appello Caesarem, argued English and Roman Catholics shared the "Essentials and Fundamentals." Montagu acknowledges legitimacy of papist view of images, distinguishes valid Roman doctrines from corrupt practices, accepts Roman view of saints as only mediators; traced English Church "back to 'ancient founts' derived from classical and patristic authority, and to early Christianity in England;" described Predestination as "desperate doctrine."

Richard James, in "Legend and Defence of the Noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastle," vs. Shakespeare's treatment; James's point picked up by Fuller, below.

****1626****

William Roper's biography of Thomas More published (see 1555).

On Jonson: "It is widely recognized that he returned to Catholicism late in his life, and three 'Poems of Devotion' at the beginning of Underwood have been dated after 1626" (Van Den Berg, in Cambridge Companion 2000, here citing Ian Donaldson 1975 edition).

****1627****

John Cosin's Manual of Private Prayer, commissioned by Charles I, provides richer ceremonial than Book of Common Prayer, makes Anglican services more like the Mass. Von Hügel (1917): "The second stage [of Protestantism] yields a century and a half of mostly conservative consolidation [i.e. ca. 1560-1700], during which parts of the practice and convictions of the old Church are bit by bit resumed; but generally with only a heightened denunciation of Rome, and certainly with little consciousness of the provenance of these resumptions" (Essays and Addresses).

Peter Heylin, argues against Foxe, that Anglicanism was apostolic and a purified Catholic church (argument expanded in Ecclesia Restaurata 1661).

****1628****

Syllabus aliquote Synodorum Coloquiorum Doctorum pro Pace Ecclesiae by Theodosius Irenaeus', listed all the irenical works on each side, to promote reconciliation.

****1629****

XCVI Sermons by Lancelot Andrewes, ed. Laud and Buckeridge; had become bishop of Winchester in 1619; claimed Eucharist was both sacrament and sacrifice; saw "transmutation of

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 thy 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, Trophies of Time).

John Milton, “Il Penseroso” (c. 1631): “Come pensive Nun, devout and pure, / Sober, steadfast, and demure ... Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes: / There held in holy passion still, / Forget thyself to Marble ... And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet ... But let my due feet never fail / To walk the studious Cloister's pale . . . And may at last my weary age / Find out the peaceful hermitage.” Influenced by Cambridge; “It has been often observed that ... Milton could not yet have developed his later extreme antipathy to the liturgy and its ... consecrated ... building” (Woodhouse, Bush, eds. Variorum Commentary). Chesterton 1926: “The very simple explanation is that the Milton family was largely a Catholic family; and it was the celebrated John who specially separated himself from its creed but retained its culture.”

Jonson's last masques. Donne dies.

****1632****

Henry Spelman (1564?-1641), History of Sacrilege bemoaning and listing the strippings of the altars, and the bad end that came to those who profited; Spelman unable to publish this during his lifetime (see 1698).

Jonson, The Magnetic Lady: Compass's reconciling the humours of diverse characters is an undertaking conducive “to the reconciliation of both Churches;” “the quarrel between humours have been much the ancients, and in my poor opinion, the root of all Schism and Faction, both in Church and Commonwealth” (Opening chorus by Master Probee); later religious fanaticism will be conventionally associated with such medical views.

Thomas Massinger The Maid of Honour: celebrates chastity, Camiola at end enters convent, and her humble lover resumes role as knight of Malta.

George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, convert to Catholicism (in 1624-5), given grant of Maryland (named for Henrietta Maria) by Charles I; George died in 1632, and son, Cecil Calvert began the colonization; wd. sail on ships the Ark and the Dove in 1634 (with Fr. Andrew White, SJ and two colleagues; landed on St. Clement Island, Maryland.) Calvert would create the “Maryland designe,” with the Act of Toleration (see 1649) for business reasons. In 1667 St. Mary’s city incorporated, with baroque designs planned and a new visible Catholic chapel; Puritans would

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 Devout Life). See Mark Pattison, 1860.

Donne's poems published: "The Canonization" using Catholic piety about saints, canonization procedures, intercession, and relics; also see "The Relic" ("If this fall in a time ... When mis-devotion doth command").

Herbert (d. 1633), The Temple pub., including "To All Angels and Saints," regretting prohibition on praying to them and Mary ("we dare not from His garland steal, / To make a posie for inferiour power") . Also "The British Church" as via media between Catholicism and Puritanism:

I joy, deare Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments ...
Neither too mean, nor yet too gay,
Shows who is best.

Outlandish looks may not compare:
For all they either painted are,
Or else undrest.

She on the hills, which wantonly
Allureth all in hope to be
By her preferr'd,

Hath kiss'd so long her painted shrines,
That ev'n her face by kissing shines,
For her reward.

She in the valley is so shie
Of dressing, that her hair doth lie
About her eares:

While she avoids her neighbours pride,
She wholly goes on th'other side,
And nothing wears.

But dearest Mother, (what those misse)
The mean thy praise and glorie is,
And long may be.

Blessed be God, whose love it was,
To couple-moat thee with his grace,
And none but thee.

("And none but thee. In that breath-takingly arrogant phrase we cross a threshold in the

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 opinion about it.” Distinguishes “Church of Rome” (attacked by Articles), as one of many churches (i.e. “Church of Jerusalem” etc.), from “Roman Church ...[as] Church Universal” designated in Council of Constance. “[W]e must examine ... not ... what the Romans or Catholics) for the words are synonymous in their way of speaking) hold, but what is supposed to be their doctrine.” “What is here opposed as ‘Transubstantion’ is the shocking doctrine that ‘the Body of Christ’ is carnally pressed with the teeth”; “the authors only condemn the old error of the Capharnaïtes.” Anne Davenport, “Scotus as the Father of Modernity: The Natural Philosophy of the English Franciscan Christopher Davenport in 1652,” Early Science and Medicine (2007): Sancta Clara, a chaplain for Queen Henrietta, his Catholic irenicism competing with that of the Hartlib circle touting Comenius's “pansophia”; his Deus, Natura, Gratia, endorsed by Charles I as “being full of complaisance for the Protestant systems,” critiqued by both Catholics and Puritans, and helped to lead to Stuart downfall. He promoted Franciscan regional heterogeneity vs. Jesuit ultramontaniam; in 1652, pub. Paralipomena philosophica de mundo peripatetico: argued that Oxford Scotism was real source of 17th century English scientific creativity; sacramental Catholicism more open-minded, skeptical, inquiring than evangelical Protestantism; thus “undermines the Protestant millenarianism of Hartlib's circle.” Sancta Clara became a chaplain for Charles II's Queen, Catharine of Braganza; was elected three times Provincial of the Franciscans.

****1635****

The Temple of Love, masque for Queen Henrietta Maria, covertly presents a recovered Catholicism, integrated with Platonic love interpreted as Christian charity, combining ancient Roman and Catholic themes; “sets out to demonstrate that the distance between the king and queen's faiths is not that great. Sharpe and Bailey have both suggested that Davenant's writings for the queen in the mid to late 1630s encourage her to pursue a moderate path ...”; “anti-masque clearly associates Calvinist Protestantism with chaos and disruption” (Britland). In Albion's Triumph (1632) set by Inigo Jones, classical gods and priests sing joint valediction to Mary-Charles, one of many such masques 1630-40; Coelum Britannicum (1634) set by Inigo Jones, laments: “your deities / Are for my sake slighted, despised, abused, / Your temples, shrines, altars and images / Uncovered, rifled, robbed and disarrayed by sacrilegious hands,” celebrates various unities, of the 3 kingdoms, matrimonial union, king with his people; “The classical deities, released from the strictly classical antecedents given them by Jonson, were free to take on again associations with religion that they had never entirely lost; to suggest a Christian hierarchy” (Veevers); Tempe Restored (1632) design by Inigo Jones, with Maria taking lead (based on earlier politique masque for Catherine de Medici) begins with lament: “The muses being long since drawn out of Greece by the fierce Thracians, their groves withered and all their springs dried up ... they wandered here and there indecently without their ornaments and instruments, the arch-flamens and flamens, their prophetic priests being constrained either to live in disguises or hide their heads in caves;” See Lyly 1587. Tempe Restored reflects “Protestant peers advocating an alliance with Catholic France for their mutual benefits. It manages to hold in tension the highly allusive Catholic imagery associated with the queen consort and the political desires of her Protestant adherents” (Britland).

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; "Kneele 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 theire 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," received Jonson's manuscripts after his death in 1637.

At Little Gidding, Nicholas Ferrar established first 'religious' house after Reformation, with daily offices, 3 church visits a day, silent meals. See Shorthouse (1881), and Eliot, "Little Gidding," (1939). Destroyed by the Puritans in 1647.

****1637****

Milton, Comus: the nun in Il Penseroso who makes contemplation visible is succeeded by the Lady in Comus, a purely ethical symbol, chastity replacing charity (Malcolm Ross 1954).

****1638****

Milton tours Italy. Milton, Lycidas: "With quite a brilliant Protestant audacity, Milton has St. Peter (keys and all) repudiate his apostolic successors, both Anglican and Roman." In Comus, (1637), River-god and saint are allies in a conflict which overrides the properties of traditional [] by assaulting gradation itself" (Malcolm Ross).

Jeremy Taylor, "A Sermon ... upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder-Treason," compares plotters to James and John in Luke 9.54; classic attack on the Catholic Church for having used violence against princes: "let his Holiness ... condemne these doctrines [of papal control over sovereigns] ... containe himself within the limits of causes directly and merely Ecclesiastical, disclaim all power ..." (p. 51).

Luminalia, design by Inigo Jones, another masque for Queen Henrietta, secular version of Candlemas.

****1640****

Robert Baillie complained that none of the Laudians "these twelve years bygone hath layed to the charge of Rome in earnest, either idolatrie, heresie or schisme, but by the contrary absolved them clearly in formall terms of al those three crimes."

The Short Parliament. The Long Parliament (-1653).

Laud and King Charles imposed new canons justifying all ceremonial innovations, and demanding loyalty to the hierarchy.

****1641****

Catholics about 5% of population. About 31,000 recusants in England and Wales (Bossy). Eleven priests executed (-1642).

Irish Revolt. Irish Massacre, estimated at 100,000 by Parliamentary pamphlets (source of the "Myth"), in fact about 4000 Protestants killed by rebelling Irish; finally broken by Cromwell, though resistance continued until 1652; imposition of more new English and Puritan landlordry; flight of many Irish families, including old Anglo-Irish-Catholics, to continent; New English in Ireland tended to castigate the Irish though eventually re-accepting the label Irish; but as Protestant settlers increased, widespread use of English minimized learning of Gaelic; there would be some recovery for Anglo-Irish Catholics under the Stuarts.

Urban VIII, urged to excommunicate the kings of France and Sweden, said: "We may declare them excommunicate, as Pius V. declared Queen Elizabeth of England and before him Clement VII. the King of England, Henry VIII ... but with what success? The whole world can tell. We yet bewail it with tears of blood. Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V. or Clement VII. but Paul V. who, in the beginning, being many times urged by the Spaniards to excommunicate James, King of England, never would consent to it."

Milton, Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it: Wycliffe's early pioneering of gospel religion stifled by later time-servers Cranmer, Latimer, etc. "how it should come to pass that England (having had this grace and

honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all Christendom) ... although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns; yet methinks that precedency which God gave this island, to be first restorer of buried truth, should have been followed with more happy success ... yet in discipline ... we are no better than a schism from all the Reformation." Translations from Of Reformation ... (on RC Church as a corrupted good): "Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was Cause, / Not thy Conversion, but those rich Domains / That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee (Dante, Inferno, XIS, 115-17). Jonson, Timber, pub. Posthumously with Works, on Shakespeare: "Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open, and free nature; had an excellent phantsie; brave notion, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that faculty, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd".

****1642****

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon on Papists: "Their strength and number was then thought to be so vast within the kingdom ... that if they should be drawn together and armed ... they might ... be able to give the law to both King and Parliament," but Papal Agent in 1630s thought only 5%.

John Denham, "Cooper's Hill," rept. fourteen times between 1642 and 1794, an originating model of what Samuel Johnson called "local poetry," and a major antecedent of what Abrams has discussed as "the greater romantic lyric," with its interaction of meditation and landscape:

Here should my wonder dwell, & here my praise [on Windsor Castle];
 By my fixt thoughts my wandring eye betrays,
 Viewing a neighbouring hill, whose top of late
 A Chappel crowned, till in the Common Fate
 The adjoining Abby [Chertsey Abbey] fell: (may no such storm
 Fall on our times, where ruine must reform.)
 Tell me (my Muse) what monstrous dire offence,
 What crime could any Christian King incense
 To such a rage? Was't Luxury or Lust? ...
 And yet this Act, to varnish o're the shame
 Of sacrilege, must bear devotions name ...
 Thus he the Church at once protects, and spoils ...
 Is there no temperate Region can be known,
 Betwixt their Frigid, and our Torrid Zone?
 Could we not wake from that Lethargick dream,
 But to be restless in a worse extrem? . . .
 Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand
 What barbarous Invader sackt the land?
 But when he hears, no Goth, no Turk did bring
 This desolation, but a Christian King; . . .
 What does he think our Sacrilege would spare,
 When such th' effects of our devotions are. (1668 edn.)

Browne's Religio Medici, reconciling faith and reason, commented that Protestants and Catholics share one faith. "We have reformed from them, not against them; for (omitting those Improperations and Terms of Scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our Affections, and not our Cause,) there is between us one common Name and Appellation, one Faith and necessary body of Principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them"; "I confess there is cause of passion between us: by his sentence I stand excommunicated; Heretick is the best language he affords me; yet can no ear witness I ever returned him the name of Antichrist, Man of Sin, or Whore of Babylon." "The French took Browne for a Catholic; but he was such only in his attachment to prayers for the dead, and in his protest against the word 'protestant'" (Russell Kirk, intro). "A kind of proto-Latitudinarian attitude toward religious diversity, associated with the Cambridge Platonists, the Great Tew circle, the writings of William Chillingworth and (later) John Toland, shows up in Sir Thomas

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).

Fr. Roe executed, addresses sheriff: "Pray, Sir, if I will conform to your religion, and go to church, will you secure me my life?"—"That I will," said the sheriff ... "See then," observed Mr. Roe ... "what the crime is for which I am to die; and whether my religion be not my only reason."

****1643**** **Susanna Shakespeare, residing at New Place with her daughter and son-in-law, acts "as hostess to Queen Henrietta Maria during the latter's visit" (Campbell and Quinn, Reader's Encyclopedia).**

****1644**** Milton, Areopagetica, cannot praise a "fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary" (see Mill, On Liberty, 1859). "And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huns and Jerome, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours;" "while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood and hay and stubble, forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms;" "this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian, than many be tolerated, rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated popery, and open superstition, which, as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itself: but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which, though they may be many, yet need not interrupt 'the unity of spirit,' if we could but find among us 'the bond of peace.'

****1645**** Archbishop Laud executed; accused of having "traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome." Battle of Naseby defeats forces of Charles I.

****1646**** Crashaw, having converted to Catholicism (ca. 1644-6), publishes Steps to the Temple in 1646; Carmen Deo Nostro posthumously in 1652. Praz, The Flaming Heart (1958), describes his work as "the literary counterpart, though a minor one, to Rubens's apotheoses, Murillo's languor's and El Greco's ecstasies." Influenced by Marino, Jesuits, St. Teresa, and the Spanish Mystics. A. Warren (1939): "would boldly appropriate the whole range of sensuous experience as symbolic of the inner life;" his poetry "implies prospects larger than its own; European culture and Catholic Christendom." See "baroque" discussed in 20th Century. Jeremy Taylor, A Discourse on the Liberty of Propheying, proclaiming toleration. (I haven't read)

****1647**** Thomas White, alias Blacklo, a secular priest, with Sir Kenelm Digby tried to get compromise from government, a Gallican style Catholicism, that would expel the Jesuits; they claimed a pre-Reformation tradition of national churches independent of Rome, except in spiritual matters. Richard Corbett, "A Proper new Balad, intituled The Fairies farewell" (nostalgia, or satire?): Lament, lament old Abbies

The Fairies lost command,
They did but change Priests babies,
But some have chang'ed your land
And all your children stolne from thence
Are now grown puritanes ...
Witnesses those rings and roundelayes
Of theirs which yet remaine,
Were footed in Queene Maries dayes
On many a grassy plaine.
But since of late Elizabeth

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,
Their daunces were procession;
But now alas they all are dead
Or gone beyond the Seas ...

****1648****

Walter Montague, Miscellanea Spirituality, or Devout Essaies, dedicated to Queen Henrietta, representing Honnêteté, the “attempt to make piety and virtue compatible with pleasure and social grace” (Veevers).

Herrick's Hesperides, incl. “The Temple” on the Elves's “mixt Religion ... Part Pagan, part Papistical;” altar contains “Shew-bread” and “Fairie Psalter, “copes” made of “cobweb,” “Holy-water” in nut shell, prayers to “Our Lady of the Lobster;” “Elves ... much affect the Papacie; / And since the last is dead, there's hope / Elve Boniface shall next be Pope” etc. (Herrick expelled from ministry by Puritans in 1647); also see “Mattens, or morning Prayer” (“When with the Virgin morning thou do'st rise, / Crossing thy selfe ... Give up thy soule in clouds of frankinsence. / Thy golden Censors fil'd with odours sweet, / Shall make thy actions with their ends to meet” (see Deming 1967).

Treaty of Westphalia ends Thirty Years War, perhaps beginning a new internationalism (notion attacked by revisionists), establishing principles of state sovereignty and political self determination, legal equality between states, non-intervention of states in other's internal affairs; Catholics and Protestants in Germany defined as equal before the law, principle of “cuius regio, eius religio” reestablished (reinstating 1555 Peace of Augsburg), or worship allowed in non-denominational countries. For some historians, the Thirty Years War definitively ended the idea of a united European Christendom. Hart (2009) cites Henri Daniel-Rops: “The Treaties of Westphalia finally sealed the relinquishment by statesman of a noble and ancient concept ... which had dominated the Middle Ages: that there existed among the baptized people of Europe a bond stronger than all their motives of wrangling—a spiritual bond, the concept of Christendom”.

****1649****

Susanna Shakespeare dies. Her epitaph reads:

Witty above her sex, but that's not all:
Wise to salvation was good Mistress Hall.
Something of Shakespeare was in that, but this
Wholly of Him with whom she is now in bliss,
Then, passenger, hast ne'er a tear
To weep with her that wept with all
That wept, yet set herself to cheer
Them up with comforts cordial?
Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
When thou hast ne'er a tear to shed.

Charles I executed (said he was to die for “maintaining the true Protestant religion”). Prynne blames Execution on the Jesuits and their maxims for deposing and killing kings. Eikon Basilike pub., defense of divine right and Charles I.

Act of Toleration passed in Maryland, world's most formal declaration so far of religious liberty (see 1632): “...whereas the inforcing of the conscience in matters of Religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous Consequence in those commonwealthes where it hath been practised, And for the more quiett and peaceable governement of this Province, and the better to preserve mutuall Love and amity amongst the Inhabitants thereof, Be it Therefore also by the Lord Proprietary with the advise and consent of this Assembly Ordeyned and enacted (except as in this present Act is before Declared and sett forth) that noe person or

persons whatsoever within this Province ... professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province ... nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, soe as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil Governement established or to bee established in this Province under him or his heires." But anti-Roman Protestants would take over , and when Calverts regained control in 1663, Md. had become Protestant. (Rhode Island charter of 1663 said no religious opinions should be punished (but it discouraged other churches); Virginia in 1786 adopted Jefferson's statute of religious freedom, calling state coercion "tyrannical." Then First Amendment, see 1791.

The Commonwealth (-1660).

****1650****

Andrew Marvell, "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland" (c.1650) (pub. 1776); oddly qualified tribute to Cromwell who followed "the forced Pow'r" and "cast the Kingdome old / Into another Mold. / Though Justice against Fate complain, / And plead the antient Rights in vain ..." Charles I's execution sympathetically described: "the Royal Actor born / The Tragick Scaffold might adorn: / While round the armed Bands / Did clap their bloody hands. / He nothing common did or mean / Upon that memorable scene ... But bow'd his comely Head, / Down as upon a bed." Poem concludes perhaps warningly, "The same Arts that did gain / A Pow'r must it maintain". Chesterton (Chaucer): "supposed to be a complement to Cromwell, but sounds to me like a prolonged sneer at him. The long parenthesis on the dignified and courageous death of Charles the First can hardly have been very cosy reading for Cromwell."188

****1651****

Many defections from Anglicanism to Rome.

Hobbes, Leviathan, the Pope is "the Ghost of the deceased Romane Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof." . "To ... such like resemblances between the Papacy, and the Kingdome of Fairies, may be added this, that as the Fairies have no existence, but in the Fancies of ignorant people, rising from the Traditions of old Wives, or old Poets: so the Spiritual Power of the Pope ... consisteth only in the Fear that Seduced people stand in, of their Excommunication; upon hearing of false Miracles, false Traditions, and false Interpretations of the Scripture

****1652****

Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" c. 1652; contrast onetime nunnery to modern Protestant house, but early nunnery had positive qualities (dedicated to "holy things," "Here Pleasure and Piety doth meet") with similarities to Marvell's seclusion theme, "like some great Prelate of the grove" ("behind these trees I incamp'd my mind ... here so close your Circles lace, / That I may never leave this place") though nunnery interpreted as subtle nuns imprisoning Isabella; yet late in poem, her daughter Maria called the genius of the woods, "more Pure, Sweet" etc. not unlike the earlier Isabella in convent. Thus that unconscious spell of things Catholic. Overtly Marvell defends taking of nun's property as due to past injustice to the Thwaites; thus "an effort to relieve Fairfax's fears" of "Divine retaliation for such sacrilege" i.e. à la Spelman (P. Griffin, "'Twas no Religious House till now': Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House'" (SEL 1988); "the cloister parodies retired life, whereas the wood provides a true retirement."

****1653****

Cromwell becomes Lord Protector; "there can have been few Christians of any kind, Catholics and Episcopalians included, who did not benefit from his broad tolerance" (Claire Cross, Church and People: England 1450-1660@, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999@), p. 189).

Edward Thimelby, Catholic poet arguing against secular/Protestant debasement of Catholic images, "Letters to Mr. Normington": "A rapture, alter, sacrifice, a vowe, // A relique, extacye, words budy now, // Our fathers could for harmles termes alow. / But now the very spring of poesy // Is poysond quite."

****1654****

Father Clarke's c. 1654 play, Innocentia Purpurata seu Rosa Candida et Rubicunda, celebrating the holiness of Henry VI, and influenced by Shakespeare, performed at St Omers (see Wiggins, 2005).

Edward Eyston, A Cleer Looking-Glass for All Wandring Sinners (1654): "What is

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 of this Religion? when the old wals of Churches and Monasteries, the defaced ruines of Altars, images, and crosses do cry with a loud voice, that the Romain Catholique faith of Christ Jesus did tread this way? behold the words and deeds of the Christian world: behold the Characters of our Cath[olic] belief printed on the frontispiece of all times and places.”

Thomas Washbourne, “Scylla and Carybdis” from Divine Poems (1654):

Two gulfs there are 'twixt which 'tis hard to sail,
 And not be shipwrackt: here prophanenesse stands
 With all it's brood of vices at its tayle,
 There superstition with its numerous bands
 Of false traditions; 'twas the main intent
 Of our late Pilots between both to steere:
 But froward fate, to seamen incident,
 Made them mistake their way; for whiles they fear
 To sink into the gulf of superstition,
 They in the gulfe of profanation fal,
 And in the furious heate of opposition
 'Gainst Papists, are like to turn Atheists all...

Father Southworth, executed at Tyburn: “Heretofore, liberty of conscience was pretended as the cause of the war; and it was held, as a reasonable proposition, that all the natives enjoy it, who behave themselves as obedient and true subjects. This being so, why should their consciences, acting and governing themselves according to the faith received from their ancestors, involve them, more than all the rest, in an universal guilt.”

****1655****

Thomas Fuller, Church History of Britain, used many original documents, praised moderation of the Reformation: “Stage poets have themselves been very bold with ... the memory of sir John Oldcastle ... Sir John Falstaff hath relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle and of late is substituted buffoon in his place, but it matters as little what petulant poets as what malicious papists have written against him.” Fuller here praises monks for learning and hospitality, traditions lost since Reformation; vs. his earlier The Holy State (1642) which warned against seductive power of medieval monastic culture.

Sir William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, Monasticon Anglicanum, 1655@, vol. 1 (further vols. 1662,1673), describing medieval architecure (source of later Gothic Revival), defence of monastic life, regretting stripping of the altars, widely read by Anglicans, royalists, and recusant gentry.

****1656****

Jesuit Cardinal Pallavicino publs. new history of Trent, to answer Sarpi (see 1619). “In order to get a balanced view of the Council--surely one of the most important events in the religious history of Europe--both work\$ ought to be read” (Yates, 1944).

****1657****

John Trappe, Commentary upon Nehemiah, echoing Speed 1611: “But if dirt will stick to a mudwal, yet to marble it will not ... N. D. Author of the three conversions, hath made Sr. John Oldcastle the Martyr, a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebel. His authority is taken from the Stage-players, of like conscience for lies; as all men know.”

Archdeacon Plume of Rochester (c. 1657) notes “Ben Johnson at the Christning of Shakespeare his child to which he was invited god Father;” “He was a glovers son--Sir John [Matthew?] Mennis saw once his old Father in his shop--a merry Cheekd old man--that said--Will was a good Honest Fellow, but he durst have crackt a jest with him at any time” (Chambers).

Augustine Baker, Benedictine, Sancta Sophia (Holy Wisdom or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation), compiled from various ms.

- **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**** **Restoration of Charles II.** Pressure for Catholic toleration brought to bear by the queen mother, Henrietta, Abbé Montagu, Sir Kenelm Digby, and others. About now recusants estimated at 200,000, not counting crypto-Catholics.
- **1661**** "Black rubric" put back in Prayer Book of 1662 ("the Natural Body and Bloud of our Saviour Christs are in heaven and not here") denying any form of real presence (renewing Edwardian Prayer Book rubric of 1552). Test Act for membership in town corporations.
- **1662**** Judith Shakespeare dies. (Prayer book in final form.)
John Ward, Stratford vicar, reports story that "Shakespear, Drayton and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting and it seems drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a feaver there contracted."
Final version of Book of Common Prayer authorized by Parliament.
"Despite the Laudian recovery of sacramentalism in the reign of Charles I, it is not until the Restoration that an attempt is made to undo Cranmer's mutilation of the liturgy [elimination of Catholic superstition in the liturgy]. In the Revised Prayer Book of 1662 the offertory and the fraction ? are both, in some degree restored. But the emphasis on a sacrificial oblation of the elements remains uncertain" (Ross, Poetry and Dogma).
- **1663**** Shakespeare Third Folio.
- **1665**** Great Plague of London, kills c. 75,000.
- **1666**** Great fire of London, blamed on the Jesuits. Destroys many historical records.
Rev. John Tillotson, The Rule of Faith, reply to Anglican convert to Catholicism; Tillotson famous for latitudinarianism, and admired by Dryden.
John Bunyan, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, classic of the individualistic wrestle with Protestant conscience (see Malcolm Ross theme). One can at any moment throw the faith down, like Poe's imp of the perverse: "But how can you tell you have faith?" "the tempter came in with this delusion, that there was no way for me to know I had faith." "But how if the day of grace should be past and gone?" "for though I, if I be not called, what then can do me good?" "nothing shall separate me from my love" ... I would write this down before I go any further, for surely I will not forget this, forty years hence; but alas! within less than forty days I began to question all again;" "then darkness seized me; after which whole floods of blasphemies, both against God, Christ, and the Scriptures, was poured upon my spirit, to my great confusion and astonishment;" "when I have heard others talk of what was the sin against the Holy Ghost, then would the tempter so provoke me to desire to sin that sin;" "that scripture came in my mind, He hath made peace by the blood of his cross ... this was a good day to me, I hope I shall not forget it;" "the tempter came upon me ... with a more grievous and dreadful temptation ... And that was to sell and part with this most blessed Christ, to exchange him for the things of this life." Like Esau's selling of his birthright. "none knows the terrors of those days buy myself." "[Peter's] was but a denial of his master, but mine was a selling of my Savior." "I saw that there was but one way with me, I must go to him and humble myself unto him, and beg that he, of his wonderful mercy would show pity to me ... Which when the tempter perceived, he strongly suggested to me, that I ought not to pray to God." "Sometimes again, when I have been preaching, I have been violently assaulted with thoughts of blasphemy, and strongly tempted to speak them with my mouth before the congregation ... so estranged from the things I have been speaking." "The Conclusion": "Of all the temptations that ever I met with in my life, to question the being of God, and the truth of his gospel, is the worst, and worst to be borne; when this temptation comes, it takes away my girdle from me, and removeth the foundation from under me." "I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible than I could well tell how to stand under, and yet at another time the whole Bible hath been to me as dry as a stick." "I find to this day seven abominations in my heart: 1. Inclinations to unbelief; 2. Suddenly to forget the love and mercy that Christ manifesteth; 3. A leaning to the works of the

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 develop the idea of “European civilization” (see Franklin Le Van Baumer, “The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England,” Journal of the History of Ideas (1945)). Sprat: “The Poets began of old to impose the deceit. They tried to make all things look more venerable than they were, devis’d a thousand false Chimaeras; on every Field, River, Grove, and Cave, they bestow’d a Fantasm of their own making: ... And in the modern Ages these Fantastical Forms were reviv’d, and possess’d Christendom, in the very height of the Schoolmens time: An infinite number of Fairies haunted every house; all Churches were filled with Apparitions; men began to be frighted from their Cradles ... All which abuses if those acute Philosophers did not promote, ye they were never able to overcome: nay, even not so much as King Oberon and his invisible Army.” (Compare Blake, “The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,” “The ancient poets animated all sensible objects with Gods or Geniuses ... adoring them with the properties of woods, rivers, mountains, lakes ... Till a System was formed ... thus began Priesthood ... Thus men forgot that All Deities reside in the Human Breast” Contrast Wordsworth, “The World is Too Much with Us,” Blake restoring the imaginative world, Wordsworth regretting its loss.)

Milton, Paradise Lost, Bk 3: Satan, coming to Earth, sees the Limbo of Vanity” into which fly like vapors from the earth:

Embryos, and Idiots, Eremites and Friars
 White, Black and Grey, with all thir trumpery.
 Here Pilgrims roam, that stray’d so far to seek
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heav’n;
 And they who to be sure of Paradise
 Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis’d ...
and now at foot
 Of Heaven’s ascent they lift thir Feet, when lo
 A violent cross wind from either Coast
 Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry
 Into the devious Air; then might ye see
 Cows, Hoods and Habits with their wearers tost
 And flutter’d into Rags, then Reliques, Beads,
 Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,
 The sport of Winds ...

Vs. Adam’s “other Rites / Observing none, but adoration pure / Which God likes best” (4.736-7).

Bk 12:

To whom thus *Michael* ... from Heav’n
 Hee to his own a Comforter will send,
 The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
 His Spirit within them, and the Law of Faith
 Working through love, upon thir hearts shall write,
 To guide them in all truth ...
 They (first apostles] die; but in thir room, as they forewarne,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heav’n
 To their own vile advantages shall turn

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 to Milton in his intensity of self-consciousness as an artist and in his ability to overcome all negative consequences of such concern." [But Bloom tends to restrict Milton's originality to that which is of the devil's party (like Blake, Shelley, Coleridge, Chateaubriand, Keble); Ross carries it into the heart of Milton's Christianity.] However see Bloom, "Keats and the Embarrassments of Poetic Tradition," in Hilles and Bloom, ed. From Sensibility to Romanticism (1965): "the sanctuary of Milton's psyche is his vast heterocosm, the worlds he makes and ruins. His shrine is built, not to the human soul in love, but to the human soul glorious in its solitude, sufficient, with God's aid, to seek and find its own salvation." "Like Milton, he [Blake] desired to identify all of man's capabilities with imaginative redemption" (Blake's Apocalypse, 1963). Also see Wordsworth, "Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour." Chesterton 1907: "Whenever Milton speaks of religion, it is Milton's religion; the religion that Milton has made. Whenever Shakespeare speaks of religion (which is only seldom), it is of a religion that has made him." See Andrew Hadfield, "Milton and Catholicism" in Milton and Toleration, ed. Achinstein and Sauer (OUP 2007): Pandemonium a "parody of a gorgeous Counter-Reformation building ... St Peter's"; Satan like Spanish papist corrupting the New World; Eve's Catholic idolatry for the tree. [If Milton is unconsciously of the devil's party, is he unconsciously of the Catholic?] [See "Il Penseroso" 1631, Sypher 1955, Guibory 1998]. Also see Benjamin Myers, "'Following the Way Which is Called Heresy': Milton and the Historical Imperative" (Jrnl Hist Ideas 69.3 2008, pp. 375-): for Milton, individualist religion is the new orthodoxy, and submission of the mind to authority or tradition is the new heresy.

Dryden, "Prologue" to The Tempest by Dryden and Davenant:

Shakespear, who (taught by none) did first impart
To Fletcher Wit, to labouring Johnson Art.
He Monarch-like gave those his subjects law,
And is that Nature which they paint and draw

...

But Shakespear's Magick could not copy'd be,
Within that Circle none durst walk but he.
I must confess 't was bold, nor would you now
That liberty to vulgar wits allow,
Which works by Magick supernatural things:
But Shakespear's pow'r is sacred as a King's.
Those Legends from old Priest-hood were receiv'd,
And he then writ, as people then believ'd.

****1668**** Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, praising Shakespeare, "largest and most comprehensive soul," "he was naturally learned."

****1670**** Charles makes secret Treaty of Dover with France to declare himself a Catholic when opportune.

Pascal, Pensées, transl. into English in 1850. Spinoza, Theological-Politica Treatise: "the purpose of the state ... [is] to enable them to develop their mental and physical faculties in safety, to use their reason without restraint ... Thus, the purpose of the sate is, in reality, freedom." influences Locke and thus American founding fathers.

****1671**** Milton, Samson Agonistes: "Samson is much more suggestive of the Christ of Catholicism ... the poem simulates, however precariously, the liturgical act [of corporate sacrifice] ... History is again made valid ... This is a recovery of the analogical symbol. This is Milton's most perfect poem ... The poem stands as the miraculous and solitary victory over Milton's anti-sacramental theology" (Malcolm Ross, 1954).

- Milton, Paradise Regained: In the desert, before the third temptation, “morning fair / Came forth with Pilgrim steps in amice gray” (4.427).
- **1672**** Charles II publishes a “Declaration of Indulgence” for both dissenters and papists; quickly withdrawn.
- Milton, Of True Religion Haeresis Schism and Toleration: “Toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their [Catholic] Religion, as far as it is Idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way; not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal giv'n to all conscientious Beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declar'd against all kind of Idolatry, though secret.”
- **1673**** Test Act, preceded by widespread panic about growth of popery, extended to all public offices, and drove last remaining Catholic peers from House of Lords.
- **1676**** Catholics 1% of population according to Compton Census. A census produced 11,867 Recusants over age 16 in Anglican province of Canterbury. William Hubert, The Puritan Convert, said: “many are afraid to have a better opinion of them [Catholics] ... lest they should be convinced of the truth of their Religion, and then be obliged either to damn their souls ... or loose their Estates and Preferments:” thus, a haunting dilemma inherited from church papists.
- **1678**** Rumors of Popish Plot to assassinate Charles II and put in James II, story invented by Titus Oates; in resulting frenzy, many Catholics killed. Oates revived Prynne's theory that Jesuits contrived Civil war and execution of Charles I (see 1649). “Oates was afterward convicted of perjury, and his evidence declared a tissue of the most improbable falsehoods: yet the disqualifications to which it gave birth have never been removed,” despite English minimization of these—Lingard in 1813 (Tracts)
- Ralph Cudworth, The True Intellectual System of the Universe, representing Cambridge Platonists (include Henry More, etc.), anti-puritan: “the theological project of the Cambridge Platonists was an Anglican version of the intellectual programme of Italian Renaissance Catholicism in the late fifteenth century” (Aidan Nichols).
- Andrew Marvell, An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government: “Popery is such a thing as cannot ... be called a religion; nor is it to be mentioned with that civility which is otherwise decent to be used in speaking of the differences of human opinion about divine matters.”
- John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress: At the end of the Valley of Death, “I espied a little before me a cave, where two giants, Pope and Pagan, dwelt in old time, by whose power and tyranny the men whose bones, blood, ashes, &c., lay there, were cruelly put to death. But by this place Christian went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since that Pagan has been dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.” Vanity Fair may be Catholicism. Chesterton 1926: “The Puritan allegory is much neater ... more national ... certainly much narrower than the mediaeval allegory. Piers Plowman deals with the death or resurrection of a whole human society, where men are members of each other. In the later work schism has ‘isolated the soul’; and it is certainly mere individualism ...” (see Malcolm Ross comments throughout this Chronology).
- **1679**** Gilbert Burnet's anti-romanist and anti-Tory Whig History of the Reformation (1679-1714) used documentary sources. Burnet was major champion of accession of William III. Burnet would do new translation of More's Utopia in 1685.
- **1680**** Catholics about 10% according to one estimate. Henry Care, fearing advent of James, asked his readers to imagine “Yourselves forced to fly destitute of bread and harbour, your wives prostituted to the lust of every savage bog-trotter, your daughters ravished by goatish monks, your smaller children tossed upon pikes, or torn limb from limb, whilst you have your own bowels ripped out ... or else murdered with some other exquisite tortures and holy candles made of your grease (which was done within our memory in Ireland), your dearest friends flaming in Smithfield, foreigners rendering your poor babes that can escape everlasting slaves, never more to see a Bible, nor hear again the joyful sounds of Liberty and Property. This, this gentlemen is Popery.”
- Roman Catholick Principles in Reference to God and the King: rejected Papal claims to

- temporal power, and stated conservative doctrines on saints, justification, in conciliatory minimalist way to satisfy Protestants. Became basis of Cisalpine argumentation in late 1700's.
- **1681**** Last Catholic martyrdom, of Fr. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, connected with Oates plot.
- John Aubrey, Brief Lives, based on information from William Beeston, son of Christopher Beeston, member of Shakespeare's company in 1598: anecdotes about Shakespeare, incl: "he understood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country."
- Dryden, The Spanish Fryar, Friar Dominic=Titus Oates, Gomez=old persecuted Catholics, King Sancho=martyred Stafford: though Friar Dominic is expelled, Sancho is found alive, general reconciliation (i.e. of Whigs and King Charles) (A. Gardiner, 2003, David Haley, 2003).
- Dryden, Absalom and Achitophel: satirize Whigs, led by Shaftesbury, to make Charles II's heir his illegitimate son, Duke of Monmouth, in place of future James II; satirizes Titus Oates as Corah (Monmouth supporters came to be known as Whigs, from Whiggamores, the name of Scottish Presbyterians; applied ca. 1679 to opponents of succession of Catholic James, Duke of York, after 1689 applied to the liberal party, then applied to American colonists who supported the American Revolution; versus Tories, a name for dispossessed Irish who terrorized Protestants, then applied (with capital T) to those who opposed exclusion of James, Duke of York, after 1689 applied to the conservative party.)
- **1682**** Dryden, Religio Laici, defending Christianity against Deism, and Anglicanism against Catholicism.
- Gallican Declaration by Bossuet, classic formulation, Pope no temporal power, etc., later withdrawn.*
- William Penn, Frame of Government of Pennsylvania: "all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious / worship, place or ministry whatever."
- **1685**** **James II becomes king.**
- Edict of Nantes, protecting Huguenots, revoked by Louis XIV, leading to devastation of French Huguenots, horrifying English Protestants.*
- Copy of Persons's A Memorial for the reformation of Englande perhaps presented to James upon his accession (see 1690).
- Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate son, "Protestant Duke," executed 1685 after leading the Monmouth rebellion that year; supporters brutally prosecuted in the Bloody Assizes of Judge Jeffreys.
- Shakespeare Fourth Folio.**
- **1686**** *Pierre Bayle, Commentaire Philosophique, classic defense of toleration. Also see his Historical and Critical Dictionary (1697), argued that reformation threat had in fact inspired new ardor for faith in Catholicism: "Zeal cools when we are not taken notice of, nor surrounded by another sect, and rekindles when we are."*
- Leibnitz, Discourse on Metaphysics, continued the project promoted by his early employers, Baron von Boineburg and the Duke John Frederick, Catholic converts from Lutheranism, to heal the Reformation and reconcile Catholics and Protestants. Under them, Leibnitz had early written Catholic Demonstrations (1671).*
- **1687**** William Penn, Good Advice ... To Abolish the Penal Laws and Tests, referred to English Catholicism as "a Spirit without a Body" and to James II as a "General without an Army."
- Dryden (Catholic convert in 1686), "The Hind and the Panther;" panther accuses Catholics of being alien and then contradictorily acknowledges their ancient roots in England.
- Obadiah Walker, "Church Government," Part 5 of his series of Tracts (1687-8), showing the

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 noble Principles of Loyalty and Religion this Nation Sighs for.” “Trefry, Marten and Behn herself as narrator—stood for the increasingly powerless English loyalists of 1688, while ... Banister and ... Byam did duty for Burnet and William of Orange”. Oroonoko killed by “the evils of democracy”: “a coded warning to King James of what might happen if he were not on his guard,” not a simple parallel but “informed by the impending political tragedy;” “many parallels between the black slave and the ‘black’ Stuart; both called Caesar, both speak heroic Restoration language, both noble and naïve, make mistaken premature forgiveness of enemies (fr. Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*. London: Deutsch, 1996). Oroonoko at end butchered in gruesome detail, including cutting off of genitals, quartering, with quarters sent to various places. Oroonoko dies replying to his enemies, “A Blessing on thee; and asur'd them, they need not tie him, for he would stand fix'd like a Rock.” (Also see Alison Shell, “Popish Plots; *The Feign'd Curtizans* in Context,” *Aphra Behn Studies*, ed. Todd (1996).) Also see Aphra Behn's *Love Letters Between a Nobleman and His Sister* (1684) which, in a context of Restoration libertinism, valorizes at end the Catholic monastic setting (beautiful, free, open, by contrast to English Protestant Christian fortress space seen as confining), though the male monastery seems to leave the heroine out (H. Duncan, Stonehill C.).

Alexander Pope born, son of Alexander Pope, successful linen merchant and Catholic convert, and Editha Turner, also Catholic, of a genteel Yorkshire family.

William Fulman dies, and Anglican, clergyman, Richard Davies (d. 1708) adds note to Fulman's memoirs that Shakespeare “dyed a papist”; also that he was “much given to all unluckiness in stealing venison and rabbits particularly from Sir Lucy who had him oft whipt and sometimes imprisoned and at last made Him fly his native country.” (Also that he owed his release “to the Queen's

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

****1689****

Toleration Act for Dissenters, not for papists.

****1690****

Edward Gee publishes Persons's Memorial (see 1596, 1685) and claims a Jesuit had presented this to James II.

At accession of William III, fear of Jacobite uprising on behalf of exiled Stuarts. James II defeated at the Battle of the Boyne, *definitive defeat of Catholic Ireland*; “flight of the wilde geese,” many Irish aristocracy, to France; remaining owned about 1/7 of the land, severe penal laws; Ulster Presbyterian Dissenters (who started flooding into the country about now) less persecuted but shared resentment at paying tithes to a hated Church; a century of misery begins, though a Gaelic-speaking culture remained, hoping for restoration of “the Dark Rosaleen” by the Stuarts. New English in Ireland began appropriating Irish history (with decline of power of the Old English) and applying constitutional rights to themselves, vs. mother country, thus the writings of Jonathan Swift; they fear that Britain will side with Ulster dissenters, and seek to end British control over Irish institutions; thus take on the name of “Patriot”—leading later to Wolfe Tone.

John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration: “Another more secret Evil, but more dangerous to the Commonwealth, is, when men arrogate to themselves, and to those of their own Sect, some peculiar Prerogative. opposite to the Civil Right of the Community. For Example, We cannot find any Sect that teaches expressly, and openly, that Men are not obliged to keep their Promise; that Princes may be dethroned by those that differ from them in Religion; or that the Dominion of all things belongs only to themselves. . . . But nevertheless, we find those that say the same things, in other words. What else do they mean, who teach *that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*? Their meaning . . . is that the privilege of breaking Faith belongs unto themselves. What can the meaning of their asserting that *Kings excommunicated forfeit their Crowns and Kingdoms*? . . . That Church can have no right to be tolerated by the Magistrate, which is constituted upon such a bottom, that all those who enter into it, do thereby, *ipso facto*, deliver themselves up to the Protection and Service of another Prince.”

****1692****

Dryden's “Eleonora: A Panegyric Poem Dedicated to the Memory of the Late Countess of Abingdon”, in Donne's Anniversaries tradition, but presenting Eleonora with imagery of Catholic saint; celebrates her Catholic humility, reflecting Catholic hagiographical works on holy women; “humility was not a virtue for which Donne praised Elizabeth Drury” (Anne Gardiner, Religion and Literature (2002)).

****1695****

Locke's The Reasonableness of Christianity, tellingly named.

Law careers closed to Catholics. *By now (since James 1, Cromwell, and William III) nearly all good Irish land taken over by English plantations; Irish Parliament excludes Irish Catholics from law and parliament, Catholics could not teach their children or send them abroad, no mixed marriages, Protestant son received all inheritance, could not hold permanent leases, only 1100 priests allowed, no jury trials, bounties to informers.*

****1697****

Treaty of Ryswick ends continental War of the Grand Alliance (1688-97) (which included King Williams’ War in North America) with England and Austria et al opposing France; required Louis XIV to recognize William’s claim to English throne.

Fénelon, Maxims of the Saints (1697) praising quietist ideas; would then attack Jansenism; also see utopian Les Aventures de Télémaque (1699), on good rulers (vs. Louis XIV absolutism), Treatise on the Education of Girls (1687) etc; archbishop of Cambrai (1695-); defended Quietist ideas, with Madame Guyon, against Bossuet but lost and was exiled to his parish; influenced Madame de Maintenon and her school at St. Cyr (1686-). Fénelon championed by Channing in America, Stowe, Whittier, and by the Quakers (along with Mdm. Guyon) (see P. Ward) (Louisa May Alcott cited Mdm. Guyon as one of her favorite writers.) Von Hügel (1920): “Fénelon found the human soul, at every stage of its spiritual career, to remain within the characteristically human kind of freedom, our poor little liberty of choice; whereas Bossuet considered the soul, in its fullest supernaturalization . . . literally established in grace, and to get beyond the imperfect liberty of choice. . . . I believe

- 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, driven from the throne.”
- **1701**** Act of Settlement forbids Catholic ever to become king of England, thus confirmed House of Hanover; this law is still in force. War of Spanish Succession (1701-14) begins, with England and Grand Alliance again opposing French Catholic power. (see Grand Alliance above)
- **1702**** **Queen Anne**, second daughter of James II, and high Tory, begins reign.
- **1704**** Swift’s *A Tale of a Tub*, mocking papists, dissenters, and (to a lesser degree) Anglicans in Peter (serving up brown penny loaf as mutton), Jack, and Martin.
Anon., *Essay toward a proposal for a Catholic Communion* (republished 1812), cited by G. Tavad: “This irenicism failed to obtain a hearing.”
Duke of Marlborough’s victory at Blenheim, followed by Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), Malplaquet (1709), halted advance of Catholic forces into the North.
- **1705**** Pope publishes lampoon on William III, and a tragedy on the legend of St. Genevieve. Starts visiting Will’s coffeehouse in London. Friendship with William Walsh who “used to tell me that there was one way left of excelling, for though we had several great poets, we never had any one great poet that was correct—and he desired me to make that my study and aim” (Spence, Mack)
- **1706**** *Handel in Italy, c. 1706-8, makes musical texts, antiphons, cantatas, based on Marian themes (i.e. “Haec est Regina Virgium,” influenced by Scarlatti, Corelli, called by Italians “their beloved Saxon”); focuses on the suffering Christ in contrast to the triumphalist Messiah (1741).*
- **1707**** Act of Union, leading to growing sense of Britishness (see L. Colley, 1992); thus “Great Britain” from now on, composed of England, Scotland, Wales; see 1800 for “United Kingdom.”
- **1708**** John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation* (1708-9), collecting many original documents.
- **1709**** Nicholas Rowe, *Life* printed with *Works*: “I could never meet with any further account of him ... than that the top of his performance was the ghost in *Hamlet*.” For deer poaching, Shakespeare “was prosecuted by that gentlemen, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first essay of his poetry be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the persecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire, for some time, and shelter himself in London.” The satire of Shallow in *Merry Wives* was directed at Lucy.
- **1710**** Swift, in *Tatler*, Sept 28: “To Isaac Bickerstaff ... I should be glad to see you the Instrument of introducing into our Style ... Simplicity ... The Writings of *Hooker*, who was a Country Clergyman, and of *Parsons* the Jesuit ... are in a Style that, with very few Allowances, would not offend any present Reader; much more clear and intelligible than those of ... others who writ later.” In 1705 Swift had read and annotated Parsons’s *Conference About the Next Succession*.
- **1711**** Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, “brought into question the conventional link between religion and (moral) virtue,” thus important for the new cult of sensibility designed for ‘modern’ men and women (Purves, 2009).
Addison, “Theodosius and Constantia,” romanticizes monasticism, influential, see Purves 68ff.

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;
Much was believed, but little understood,
And to be dull was construed to be good;
A second deluge Learning thus o’erran,
And the Monks finished what the Goths begun.

At length Erasmus, that great injured name,
(The glory of the priesthood and the shame!)
Stemmed the wild torrent of a barbarous age,
And drove the holy Vandals off the stage.

But see! each Muse, in LEO’s golden days,
Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays.”

[also see Dunciad II on Leo X encouraging poets]

John Dennis, Reflections Critical and Satyrical, Upon a Late Rhapsody Call’d, An Essay Upon Criticism. (“One of the most striking features of Popiana is the sheer persistency of the attacks”; most commonly attacked are his deformity and his Catholicism—J. V. Guerinet, Pamphlet Attacks on Alexander Pope 1711-1744: A Descriptive Bibliography (NY: NYU Press, 1969)).

Dennis: “Now I humbly conceive that he who Libels our Confederates, must be by Politicke a Jacobite; and he who Libels all the Protestant Kings that we have had in this Island these threescore Years, and who justifies the Dispensing Pow’r so after we are free’d from it, a Pow’r which ... was set on foot on purpose to introduce Popery: He who justifies this when he lyes under the Tye of no Necessity, nor ev’n Conveniency to approve of it, must, I humbly conceive, derive his Religion from St. Omer’s, as he seems to have done his Humanity and his Criticism” (Guerinet 4).

Pope, defending some lines from Essay on Man from Catholic attacks: “I dare to stand to posterity in the character of an unbigoted Roman Catholic and impartial critic.”

Pope, letter to Caryll: “I took occasion to mention the superstition of some ages after the subversion of the Roman Empire, which is too manifest a truth to be denied, and does in no sort reflect upon the present Catholics ... What these therefore in their own opinion are really angry at is that a man whom their tribe persecuted and oppressed (Erasmus by name) should be vindicated after a whole age of obloquy, by one of their own people who is free and bold enough to utter a general truth in behalf of the dead” (Cruwell 398).

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 Horror, before the World was enlightened by Learning and Philosophy, and loved to astonish themselves with the Apprehensions of Witchcraft, Prodigies, Charms and Enchantments. There was not a Village in England that had not a Ghost in it ... Among all the Poets of this Kind our English are much the best ... Among the English, Shakespear has incomparably excelled all others. That noble Extravagance of Fancy, which he had in so great perfection, thoroughly qualified him to touch this weak superstitious Part of his Reader’s Imagination ... There is something so wild and yet so solemn in the Speeches of his Ghosts, Fairies, Witches, and the like Imaginary Persons, that we cannot forbear thinking them natural.” See Sprat, Blake.

1713

Peace of Utrecht, ending the War of the Spanish Succession, ending French hegemony over Europe (Tories happy, Whigs complained of capitulation to France), and beginning ‘balance of power.’

Pope, *Ode for Music on St. Cecilia’s Day* pub. “Hers [numbers] lift the soul to heaven.” Pope begins translating *Iliad*. Pope, *Windsor Forest* (“demonstrates its opposition to Whig war panegyric ... by obscuring its own political stance,” A. Williams 2005, not to mention its Jacobite hints).

The fields are ravished from th’ industrious swain,
From men their cities, and from Gods their fanes:
The leveled towns with weeds lie covered o’er;
The hollow winds through make temples roar;
Round broken columns clasping ivy twined;
O’er heaps of ruin stalked the stately hind;
The fox obscene to gaping tombs retires,
And savage howlings fill the sacred quires.
Awed by his Nobles, by his Commons curst,
Th’Oppressor rule tyrannic where he durst,
Stretched o’er the Poor and Church his iron rod,
And served alike his Vassals and his God ...

Here o’er the Martyr King [Henry VI] the marble weeps

[In Anna’s peace] And persecution mourn her broken wheel

Pope to Caryll: “the great respect I bear Mr. Steele as a man of wit, has rendered me a suspected Whig to some of the over-zealous and violent [Catholics]. But as old Dryden said before, it is not the violent I design to please, and in very truth, sir, they will find me, at the long run, a mere papist.”

Pope Clement XI rejects Jansenist opinion that outside the church there is no salvation.

1714

Catholic about 5%.

George I, son of James I’s granddaughter, and nearest Protestant heir, house of Hanover, begins reign. Whig Prime Minister Robert Walpole will appoint bishops for next 44 years; thus hated by Tory Dr. Johnson, remote cause of Oxford Movement.

Pope, letter to Caryll after the death of Queen Anne: “I am sure, if all Whigs and all Tories had the spirit of one Roman Catholic that I know [Caryll], it would be well for all Roman Catholics; and if all Roman Catholics had ever that spirit, it had been well for all others; and we had never been charged with so wicked a spirit as that of persecution. It is indeed very unjust to judge of us in this nation by what other members of our communion have done abroad. Our Church

Triumphant there is very different from our Church Militant here (if I may call that a Church Militant which is every way disarmed). The greatest fear I have under the circumstances of a poor papist is the loss of my poor horse ... If I had a house and they took it away, I could go into lodgings; if I had money and they took it away, I could write for my bread ... if my own works would not do, I could turn writing master at last and set copies to children.”)

Pope, The Rape of the Lock expanded into 5 cantos.

****1715****

Jacobite uprising in the north by son of James II, James, the Stuart Catholic pretender, the Old Pretender (see 1745).

Pope, A Key to the Lock, or, A Treatise proving, beyond all Contradiction, the dangerous Tendency of a Late Poem, entitled, The RAPE of the LOCK, to GOVERNMENT and RELIGION by Esdras Barnivelt, Apoth. Epistle Dedicatory: “my Duty, to trample upon and destroy ... that Dragon, or baneful Serpent, Popery.” Commendatory Verses: “Can Popish Writings do the Nations good? ... A Papist wear the Lawrel! is it fit?”; “The Spaniard hides his Ponyard in his Cloke, / The Papist masques his Treason in a Joke.” The lock represents the “Barrier Treaty” (i.e. Peace of Utrecht), Belinda represents Great Britain or her late Majesty, as shown by the “On her white Breast a sparkling Cross,” i.e. white cliffs and cross is Ensign of England; Baron is Oxford trying to sabotage the treaty. Thalestris who provokes Belinda to resent her loss is Duchess of Marlborough, etc. Popery insinuated in use of sylphs (guardian angels and patron saints), Toilette is the Mass, goddess decked with jewels is Lady of Loretto, Belinda is whore of Babylon with popish sparkling cross. “I hope a proper authority may be used to bring him to a condign punishment.”

Act to make Catholics register land for 2/3 tax (though not enforced), but terrifying.

****1716****

Popes sell Binsfield and move to rented quarters in Chiswick, under protection of Lord Burlington, “at a time when the oaths to be tendered to papists, nonjurors ... were administered with special rigour” (DNB). Wycherley converts on deathbed.

Reflecting on the current pressure against Catholics, Pope to Caryll: “Methinks, in our present condition, the most heroic thing we are left capable of doing is to endeavour to lighten each other’s load, and, oppressed as we are, to succour such as are yet more oppressed ... The misfortune of private families, the misunderstandings [of people] whom distress makes suspicious, the coldness of relations whom change of religion may disunite, or the necessities of half-ruined estates render unkind to each other,—these at least may be softened some degree by a general well-managed humanity among ourselves ... I write this from Windsor Forest, to which I am come to take my last look and leave of. We here bid our papist neighbors adieu, much as those who go to be hanged to do their fellow prisoners, who are condemned to follow them a few weeks after.”

John Dennis, A True Character of Mr. Pope: “a very little but very comprehensive Creature, in whom all Contradictions meet, and all Contrarieties are reconcil’d; when at one and the same time, like the Ancient Centaurs, he is a Beast and a Man, a Whig and a Tory, a virulent Papist and yet foresooth, a Pillar of the Church of England ... a Jesuitical Professor of Truth, a base and a foul Pretender to Candour ... and to sum up all Villains in one, a Traytor-Friend, one who has betrayed all Mankind.”

Pope Gregory XI draws up permissible oath for Catholics: “I swear, and promise a true and universal submission to king George; and that I will attempt nothing in order to disturb the peace and tranquility of the realm”: “Government, it is said was willing to countenance the project; but it miscarried as other such projects had done,” now because of Jacobite Catholics (Berington, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England (L 1813).

****1717****

William Wake, future Archbishop of Canterbury, negotiates (1717-20) for reunion with members of the French Gallican church. Queen Caroline (wife of George II) became interested in Wake’s ideas, and would support the French priest Father Pierre Le Courayer’s new trans. of Sarpi’s History of Trent. Yates, 1944: “Le Courayer does not make the mistake of supposing Sarpi to have been a rampant Protestant disguised as a friar. ‘The Pope,’ he says, ‘was not for him Antichrist, nor the Mass an idolatry ... He did not think that his religion obliged him to adopt everything from one side and condemn everything on the other; and, establishing himself in the wise mediocrity of Erasmus, Cassander, and so many others, he did not take from the Catholics a blind submission to everything proposed to them, nor from the Reformers a spirit of

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 so, justify a change, even if he thought both equally good.” “I am not a Papist, for I renounce the temporal invasions of Papal power, and detest their arrogated authority over Princes, and States. I am a Catholick, in the strictest sense of the word. If I was born under an absolute Prince, I would be a quiet subject; but I thank God I was not. I have a due sense of the excellence of the British constitution. In a word, the things I have always wished to see are not a Roman Catholick, or a French Catholick, or a Spanish Catholick, but a true Catholick: and not a King of Whigs, or a King of Tories, but a King of England. Which God of his mercy grant his present Majesty to be.”

****1719****

Pope builds villa at Twickenham. About now Pope begins to socialize with Walpole.

Defoe, The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: portrays pious gentlemanly pastoral French priest, from wreck of French merchant ship: “a grave sober, pious, and most religious Person; exact in his Life, extensive in his Charity, and exemplar in almost every Thing that he did”: “if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholick Christians, whatever Church or particular Profession we join’d.” Priest: “I may think it my duty ... to use my utmost endeavours ... to bring all the souls I can ... to embrace the Catholick doctrine; but as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners ... and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the point of religion ...” “tho’ perhaps we could not join with him, and he could not pray with us, he hop’d he might pray for us...” “tho’ we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion; and it is very unhappy that it is so ... yet there are some general principles in which we both agree, viz. first, that there is a God ... and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily own’d by us all’.” Encourages the local concubinages toward marriage. “I was amaz’d so see ... such true warmth for the preserving people he had no knowledge of, or relation to.” “I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far as to think that He cannot receive you into the bosom of His church in a manner to us unperceivable ... and I hope you have the same charity for us’.” “I was astonish’d at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist ... and it presently occur’d to my thoughts, that if such a temper was universal, we might all be Catholick Christians, whatever church or particular profession we join’d to.” Crusoe recommends, and priest agrees, that in converting the Savages, “never make any Distinction or Papist or Protestant ... but teach them a general Knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ.” Later meets another priest, Portugese Father Sinon, jolly and urbane and ecumenical like the first, but not with the same degree of piety. (See summary in F. M. Steele, “Catholicism and English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,” American Catholic Quarterly Review (Oct 1911).) Also see John Traver, “Defoe, Unigenitus, and ‘Catholic Crusoe,’” SEL 51.3 (2011: 545--), on Defoe’s and the British empathy for the French Jansenists and emphasis on ecumenical charity (condemned by papal Bull, Unigenitus). Compare Pigafetta’s 1597 praise of priest in Congo (see Boruchoff, Ren Q 2010, p. 816).

****1724****

Defoe, The Great Law of Subordination Consider’d: on papism, “ ‘tis the universal Scare-crow, the Hobgoblin, the Spectre with which the Nurses fright the Children, and entertain the old Women all over the Country ... I believe there are 100000 stout Fellows, who would spend the last Drop of their Blood against Popery, that do not know whether it be a Man or a Horse.” In 1712, Defoe in his Review recommended ‘Considerations on Eternity by Drexelius S.J. as “an Excellent Piece, and has been as Useful to, and Valu’d by Protestants, as any Book on that Subject in the World.” However, in A New Family Instructor (1727) the Father attacks Jesuit sophistry and persuasion, “gives us a vivid representation of what would be a long-lasting

- 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**** Pope begins *Dunciad* (1729, 1742, 1743 in four books).
Dunciad I: “Here one poor word a dozen clenches makes,” and Pope footnotes Dennis: “Alexander Pope hath sent abroad into the world as many Bulls as his namesake Pope Alexander.—let us take the initials and final letters of his name, viz. A P-E, and they give you the idea of an Ape.—Pope comes from the Latin word Popa, which signifies a little wart,” etc.
 William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*: “If we had a Religion that consisted in absurd superstitions, that had no regard to the perfection of our nature, People might well be glad to have some part of their life excused from it. But as the Religion of the Gospel is only the refinement, and exaltation of our best faculties, as it only requires a life of the highest reason ... who can think it grievous to live always in the spirit of such a Religion ...” Law letter of 1782: “Doctrines of Religion I have none, but what the Scripture and first-rate Saints of the Church are vouchers for ... [including the] deep mystic writers of the Romish Church”
- **1729**** Swift, *A Modest Proposal*, i.e. to raise Irish children as food. The author of a good proposal would deserve “to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation;” “as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose with a design to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender.”
- **1733**** Lewis Theobald, in note to his Shakespeare edition, cites Harsnett influence on *King Lear* and argues that Shakespeare joins in Harsnett’s satire of exorcism, the traditional view later held by William Elton and H. N. Paul (*The Royal Play of Macbeth*, 1950). Theobald also confirms the details of Shakespeare’s satirical allusions to Oldcastle. He also says he was convinced by Warburton that the “fast in fires” text in *Hamlet* “is not to be disturbed, but ... the Expression is purely metaphorical.” Note on “Unhousel’d, unappointed, unaneal’d” says that the customs of the “Romish Church” are being referred to (Chandler, 31).
Bach, Mass in B Minor, for Catholic court at Dresden, “at once Catholic and Protestant” (A. Schweitzer). Bach had evolved from early Lutheranism, through pietism, to “Evangelical Catholicity” (Pelikan 1986).
 Pope, *Epistle III To Allen Lord Bathurst ... of the Use of Riches* (Moral Essay III):
 “... London’s column, pointing at the skies,
 Like a tall bully, lifts the head, and lies.”
 Pope, *First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated ... To Mr. Fortescue*:
 “Verse-man or Prose-man, term me which you will,
 Papist or Protestant, or both between,
 Like good Erasmus in an honest Mean,
 In moderation placing all my glory,
 While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory”
- **1734**** Pope, *Essay on Man* (1734-5).
Voltaire Lettres philosophiques (1734), promoting religious toleration, against Pascal’s religious penitence but argued for happiness by progress in sciences and arts. Would write Candide (1758), attacking Leibnitzian Doctor Pangloss (“the best of all possible worlds”) and promoting practical anti-ideal philosophy, “to cultivate one’s garden.” Voltaire often used phrase, “écrasez l’infâme,” in his letters, to denounce the Church.
- **1735**** Swift letter to Pope: grieved to hear about Pope’s illness “for my sake and the world’s more than for yours; because I know how little you value life both as a philosopher and a Christian,

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 in 1642), Catholic history in appellant anti-Jesuit tradition.
Pope, The Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace:
 ... Bred up at home, full early I begun
 To read in Greek, the Wrath of Peleus' Son.
 Besides, my Father taught me from a Lad,
 The better Art to know the good from bad ...
 But knottier Points we knew not half so well,
 Depriv'd us soon of our Paternal Cell;
 And certain Laws, by Suffrers thought unjust,
 Deny'd all Posts of Profit or of Trust:
 Hopes after Hopes of pious Papists fail'd,
 While mighty WILLIAM'S thundring Arm prevail'd.
 For Right Hereditary tax'd and fin'd,
 He stuck to Poverty with Peace of Mind;
 And me, the Muses help'd to undergo it;
 Convict a Papist He, and I a Poet,
 But (thanks to *Homer*) since I live and thrive,
 Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive.
- **1738**** John Wesley's Methodist Revival begins; John's “conversion” followed by his brother, Charles; joined by George Whitefield who had great success in his mission to America 1738; called “Methodists” “because of their emphasis on devotional reading, ascetic practice, and frequent communion ... these rigoristic Anglo-Catholics (as we might term them now)” (Ahlstrom, Religious History of the American People); represented 'transconfessional Evangelicalism' in proclaiming non-sectarian Christianity (though respecting churches), forecasting Billy Graham, important force for eventual ecumenical outreach; “certain sectarian movements [later] borrowed the sensationalism without the sacramentalism of Wesley” (G. K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age in Literature).
- Pope, Epilogue to the Satires in Two Dialogues Dialogue 1:
 “Virtue may choose the high or low Degree ...
 Dwell in a Monk, or light upon a King,
 She's still the same, beloved, contented thing.”
- **1739**** David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, against the rationalists like Descartes; in 1777 Dialogue Concerning Natural Religion. Hume woke Kant from his “dogmatic slumbers.”
- **1740**** Pope refurbishes Grotto at Twickenham; incised stone represents Crown of Thorns and another represents the Five Wounds both in “prominent position.” (Mack, Garden 63)
 Bishop Challoner, The Garden of the Soul. A Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who, living in the world, aspire to devotion. Challoner translated various pious works including Francis de Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life, his major influence, in 1762.
- **1742**** Richard Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests (-1743), refuting Foxe, introducing new era in English Catholic literature.
- **1743**** Pope defends Essay on Man against charge that it is heresy, writes Racine's son that his religious views were far from “those of Spinoza, or even of Leibnitz”, but on the contrary “conformable to those of Mons. Pascal & Mons. Fénelon: the latter of whom I would most readily imitate, in submitting all of my Opinions to the Decision of the Church.”
- **1744**** Pope dies at Twickenham, 30 May. Walpole describing Pope on deathbed: “he is not in his senses; t'other day at Chiswick he said to my Lady Burlington, ‘Look at Jesus there! How ill they have crucified him!’”

Johnson on Pope's deathbed, where Pope said, on having a priest called: "I do not think it essential, but it will be very right; and I thank you for putting me in mind of it." [compare Waugh scene]. And after receiving the last rites, Pope said: "There is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship; and indeed friendship itself is only a part of virtue." "The religion in which he lived and died was that of the Church of Rome, to which in his correspondence with Racine he professes himself a sincere adherent ... to whatever levities he has been betrayed, it does not appear that his principles were ever corrupted, or that he ever lost his belief of Revelation. The positions which he transmitted from Bolingbroke he seems not to have understood, and was pleased with an interpretation that made them orthodox" (Johnson). Spence reports that on arrival of priest, "he exerted all his strength to throw himself out of his bed, that he might receive the last sacraments kneeling on the floor."

****1745****

Jacobite uprising in the north by Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender; son of Old Pretender; Prince Charlie defeated at Culloden Moor in 1746, *thus diminishing fear of Jacobites in Ireland*. Pretender's declaration pub. in name of James III: "We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the church of England as by law established in all her rights ... We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Protestant Dissenters, being utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of conscience and religion ... We come not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at the present established in England, Scotland and Ireland" (prepared at Rome!-- Berington, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England (L 1813)).

Thomas Wharton the Younger, "The Pleasures of Melancholy": "O let me sit / Far in some distant aisle of the deep dome, / There listen to the solemn sounds, / Which as they lengthen through the Gothic vaults, / In hollow murmurs reach my ravished ear."

Colley Cibber (hero of Dunciad, final edn.), Papal tyranny in the reign of King John; pref.: "In all the historical Plays of Shakespear there is scarce any FACT, that might better have employed his Genius, than the flaming Contest between his insolent Holiness and King John. This is so remarkable a passage in our Histories, that it seems surprising our Shakespear should have taken no more Fire at it ... Shall we suppose, that in those Days, almost in the Infancy of the Reformation, when Shakespear wrote, when the Influence of the Papal Power had a stronger Party left, than we have reason to believe is now subsisting among us; that this, I say, might make him cautious of offending? Or shall we go so far for an Excuse, as to conclude that Shakespear was himself a Catholick? This some Criticks have imagin'd to be true, from the solemn Description of Purgatory given us by his Ghost in Hamlet; yet here, I doubt, the Conjecture is too strong; that Description being rather to be consider'd simply as a poetical Beauty, and critically proper to a Catholick Character than offer'd as a real Point of Declaration of his own Faith. Had Shakespear been a Romanist, he would scarce have let his King John have taken the following Liberty with his Holiness, when he contemns the Credulity of Philip the French King that can submit to --

Purchase corrupted Pardon of a Man,
Who in that Sale, sells Pardon from himself.

This is too sharp a Truth to be suppos'd could come from the Pen of a Roman-Catholick. If then he was under no Restraint from his religion, it will require a nicer Criticism than I am master of to excuse his being so cold upon so warm an Occasion.// It was this Coldness than, my Lord, that first incited me ..." [apparently first to cite Hamlet Purgatory bit as reflecting S's papism—Chandler 2006, but see Theobald above]

- **1747**** William Warburton, edn. of Shakespeare, asserts that Holofernes in Love's Labour's Lost is a satiric portrait of John Florio, Protestant tutor in Southampton's household, a point later developed by Francis Yates and others. Notes Catholic nature of Purgatory lines in Hamlet but does not think S. a Catholic (Chandler 31).
Jonathan Edwards, in Connecticut, preaches "A Concert of Prayer, or A humble attempt to promote the agreement and union of God's people throughout the world," which begins Great Awakening, with its feel for Christian unity.
- **1749**** William Collins, "An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" (c. 1749-50), precursor of Hurd (see 1762).
Wesley, Letter to a Roman Catholic, plus sermon "Catholic Spirit," ecumenical, but would support Gordon for political reasons.
- **1750**** William Oldys, in Life c. 1750, younger brother described seeing Shakespeare "act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein being to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was As You Like It."
- **1752**** P.T., "Observations on Shakespeare's Falstaff," Gentleman's Magazine: treats as absurd that Shakespeare could have satirized Oldcastle, "who stood foremost on the list of English reformers and Protestant martyrs, and that too at a time when reformation was the Queen's chief study."
- **1753**** Samuel Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison, the gentleman torn between Protestant Harriet and pious Catholic Italian Clementina who gives him up because of religious difference, though there is much discussion of how the marriage could be a compromise. (See summary in F. M. Steele, "Catholicism and English Literature in the Eighteenth Century," American Catholic Quarterly Review (Oct 1911): "One of the remarkable features of this novel": "The author has not only dealt fairly with the Catholics ... but he has made his Protestant characters respect them ... Indeed, one of the great lessons ... is charity to those who are of another faith.") (Grandison blames Clementina's illness on her religion, and refuses to convert; also wards off Italian Lady Olivia and marries English Harriet; Charles proposes to establish 'Protestant nunneries' in England for excess women; precursor of Gothic themes.)
Edward Gibbon converts to Catholicism, temporarily (until 1754).
- **1755**** British export 6,000 Acadians from their homeland. See Longfellow.
- **1756**** John Lawrence Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, trans. now into English, highly influential example of anti-medievalism, used by Gibbon.
Seven Years War 1756-1763, first "world war" (W. Churchill), engulfing Europe and North America; Prussia, Great Britain and her North American colonies etc. against Austria, France (including the North American colony of New), Russia, Sweden etc.; soon involving Spain and Portugal; see 1763. Result was end of French Empire and beginning of British empire.
- **1759**** David Hume, History of England (1754-1761). Notes twin corruptions of superstition and enthusiasm (parallel Catholicism and Protestantism). On More: "Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition." The usual nationalist notion of England, but describes Queen Elizabeth as "excellent hypocrite" politically attaching herself to Protestantism. Bashes monasteries, hierarchic church, middle ages.
Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy (1759-67), with satire of Dr. Slop. Drenched with mud by Obadiah's horse, "never was a Dr. Slop so beluted, and so transubstantiated." Mr. Shandy proposes to read Yorick's sermon and Dr. Slop has no objection "for it does not appear on which side of the question it is wrote ... 'Tis not wrote upon neither side, quoth Trim, for 'tis only upon Conscience, an' please your Honours." As Yorick attacks Rome's religious persecution, Dr. Slop interjects after waking, "They may thank their own obstinacy," but joins in pity for story of a victim of the Inquisition, but then says "'Tis only a description, honest man, quoth Slop, there's not a word of truth in it—There's another story, replied my father." "We preach much in that way with us, said Dr. Slop ... But in this, added Dr. Slop, a little piqued, --our sermons have greatly the advantage, that we never introduce any character ...

below a patriarch ... or a saint." The Great Excommunication Curse, "my uncle Toby whistling Lillabullero, as loud as he could, all the time." Toby pooh pooh's Rome's seven sacraments. Slawkenbergius's Tale, about noses, given Catholic contexts. Trim gives tale of Count Solmes "made a shift to tell his story so, that priests and virgins might have listened to it." On marriage: "I think the procreation of children ... beneficial to the world, said Yorick ... It replenishes the earth; said my mother—But it keeps heaven empty—my dear; replied my father. —Tis Virginity, cried Slop, triumphantly, which fills paradise. // Well push'd nun! quoth my father." Story of poor Maria: plays an air on her pipe: "It is the evening service to the Virgin, said the young man—but who taught her to play it—or how she came by her pipe, no one knows; we think that Heaven has assisted her in both; for ever since she has been unsettled in her mind, it seems her only consolation—she has never once had the pipe out of her hand, but plays that service upon it almost night and day." Sterne's anti-Catholicism lessened after his trips abroad [2 journeys abroad, 1762-4, 1765] [reflected in Tristram's trips to France in Vol. 7?]; did this effect late picture of Maria? Maria also appears in A Sentimental Journey (1768) (shows "evidence of the author's changing attitude toward Roman Catholicism;" Sterne "positioning himself somewhere between the usage of Catholicism as a sentimental tool, as an accessory, and the recognition of Catholicism as a spiritual discourse") which contrasts with Smollett's travel narrative disparaging Europe. Toby when irritated whistles "Lullibullero", i.e. satirizing defeated Irish Jacobites, at time of Glorious revolution; it "sung James II out of three kingdoms;" portrayed Pope as dupe of the devil, tyrannical, etc.

****1760**** **George III** begins reign. Boswell converts to Catholicism and retains respect for it, despite soon opting for the libertinism of Lord Eglinton (see F. Pottle).

Macpherson, Fragments of Ancient Poetry.

****1762**** Bishop Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, defending Gothic against classical, establishing influential ideal of chivalric knight. He would have preferred the "feudal ages" for their "improved gallantry" and "the superior solemnity of their superstitions." "There is ... in the revolutions of taste and language, a certain point, which is more favourable to the purposes of poetry than any other ... somewhere between the rude essays of uncorrected fancy, on the one hand, and the refinements of reason and science, on the other."

Rousseau's Émile, includes "The Creed of a Savoyard Priest," great humility about what can be asserted--doctrines degrade ideas of the Supreme Being--guided by inner light--true worship is of the heart, but: "Called to the service of the Church in my own religion, I fulfill as scrupulously as I can all the duties prescribed to me ... I carry out the whole ritual exactly; [at the consecration] I strive to annihilate my own reason before the Supreme Mind; I say to myself, Who art thou to measure infinite power?" "I shall never teach ... No salvation outside the church;" "go back to the religion of your fathers, and follow it in sincerity of heart (but treat all with charity); thus in Montaigne (a favorite of Rousseau) and Erasmus tradition. "He represented the deepest modern challenge to Christianity because he was the first to offer man the benefits of religion without appealing to revelation" (Mark Massa, The Stillborn God 2007).

****1763**** Treaty of Paris, end of Seven Years War. Spain hands over Florida territory to England; Britain's triumphs also swept away entire continental empire of the French; "marked the end of an epoch" (Ahlstrom), thus Catholics seen as less of a threat with the predominance of the British empire.

End of French and Indian War (1754-63), and of French empire. But in 1774, the Quebec Act allowed French Catholic Canadians to retain their religious traditions; striking departure from anti-papist British tradition. The acquisition of colonies with large Catholic populations helped lead to relief act of 1778.

****1764**** Gibbon resolves to write his Decline and Fall, "on the fifteenth of October 1764, in the close of evening, as I sat musing in the Church of the Zoccolanti or Franciscan friars, while they were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter on the ruins of the Capital" (Memoirs)

****1765**** Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story (given its influential subtitle in second edition) (see Branagh's Hamlet, 1996) influenced by Gothic interests of Thomas Gray and Thomas Warton. Preface: "found in the library of an ancient Catholic family in the North of England" "printed at Naples ... in ... 1529" (sic), perhaps by an "artful priest" who is trying "to confirm the populace in their ancient error and superstitions;" basic moral is "that the sins of the fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation." Manfred calls on priest

to aid him in divorcing his wife and marrying Isabella, daughter of usurped ruler of Otranto (Knight of the Gigantic Sabre); she escapes with peasant Theodore's help; Father Jerome refuses. Gigantic sword found by Isabella's father in Holy Land, on which was written that only the blood of Manfred could atone for his wrongs committed on the family of the true ruler of Otranto (the peasant Theodore). At end appears giant ghost form of dead Prince Alfonso proclaims Theodore to be true heir as his grandson. On Walpole: "Middleton taught him that prayer was a delusion" (and compared papist and pagan rites) ... But aesthetically he found Catholic church services ... irresistible ... While he was in Italy he behaved as an honorary Catholic, still claiming to despise priestly authority and corruption ... Eventually he added a pseudo-chapel, the Tribune, a cross between a church and an art gallery, to Strawberry Hill" (Mowl, Horace Walpole).

Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, bringing "a vital picture of medieval Catholicism to the attention of the middle-class" (Morris, 1984); includes "The Rising in the North," on Northumberland and the Nortons, "declaring their intent was to restore the ancient religion, to get the succession of the crown firmly settled, and to prevent the destruction of the ancient nobility, &c. Their common banner (on which was displayed the Cross, together with the five wounds of Christ) was borne by ... Richard Norton ... who with his sons ... distinguished himself on this occasion" (preface). (See Wordsworth 1815). Also includes "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne": "Robin thought on Our Ladye deere, / And soone leapt up again ... And he Sir Guy hath slayne." Also "The Friar of Orders Gray" begins: "It was a friar of orders gray / Walkt forth to tell his beades; / And he met with a lady faire / Clad in a pilgrim's weede's;" friar is her former scorned lover and they are reunited, since he is "haply" only a novice. Similar story in "Gentle Herdsman, tell to Me": she asks way to Walsingham, her scorned lover having died: "And for his sake these weeds I weare, / And sacrifice my tender age; / And every day Ile begg my bread, / To undergoe this pilgrimage." "Little John Nobody," "witty libel on the Reformation under Edward VI" (Percy forenote): "I little John Nobody dare not speake" i.e. because Cranmer has ordered services in English; "For bribery was never so great since born was our Lord, / And whoredom was never les hated sith Christ harrowed hel."

Parliamentary census shows about 70,000 papists.

Blackstone's Commentaries (1765-9): "if a time should ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very distant, when all fears of a pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the pope shall become feeble, ridiculous and despicable, not only in England, but in every kingdom of Europe, it probably would not then be amiss to review and soften these rigorous edicts ... for it ought not to be left in the breast of every merciless bigot, to drag down the vengeance of these occasional laws upon inoffensive, though mistaken, subjects, in opposition to the lenient inclinations of the civil magistrate, and to the destruction of every principle of toleration and religious liberty" (qu. in C. Haydon, Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England (Manchester UP, 1993).

****1766**** Pope recognizes George III and Hanoverian dynasty (with the death of 'James III' in 1766).

****1768**** Ann Radcliffe, The Italian but Inquisitor "reasonable, honourable judge" (Sage quoted by Purves, 2009).

****1770**** Catholics about 80,000 (Bossy).

John Shakespeare's "Spiritual Testament" found, ca. 1770, by bricklayer in rafters of Shakespeare house on Henley street, then occupied by Thomas Hart, a direct descendant of Shakespeare's sister, Joan; witnessed by alderman and vicar of Stratford (see 1790).

****1771**** *Irish penal land restrictions begin to be relaxed; 1782 repeal of Poyning's Law achieved by Grattan (see 1495); 1792 relax marriage and education laws; 1793 allow Catholics to vote and hold most offices. "Protestant Ascendancy" coined late in century.*

****1773**** Dissolution of Jesuits by Clement XIV, under pressure from Bourbons; "No Pope made so instant and so favourable an impact upon general opinion" (Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution).

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under sobriquet of "First Citizen" published notable

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 state, often used English in church liturgy, used lay trustees for churches. In 1789 John Carroll appointed first bishop of Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all states and territories (Catholics 10% of 4 mill. pop.); but after ordination and because of French Revolution, turned back liberal reforms. Maryland and Kentucky key pre-1820 Catholic centers, and thus attached to slavery. In 1817, all U.S. bishops save one were French; thus eventual conflict with Irish Catholicism.

****1774****

Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (-1781): on medieval: “Their pageants, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory.” Warton: “The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion of the Middle Ages, were favourable to poetry”; “ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination.” Elizabethan age combined imagination and reason; there was still alive a “degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, and the adoption of the machineries of romance.” “The Reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanting all the strongholds of superstition;” “Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry”: thus the witches and fairies in Shakespeare thus 3 stages of literature, primitive imaginative, Elizabethan synthesis, final period of correctness (but at a cost).

“Warton [“The Pleasures of Melancholy”] was one of the first to associate monasticism with the cult of pensive melancholy” which Milton had disassociated (Morris, 1984).

Cowper’s important friendship with the Catholic Throckmorton begins, c. 1774 (see F. M. Steele, “Catholicism and English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,” American Catholic Quarterly Review (Oct 1911)), though he retained his overt anti-Catholicism.

John Adams visits St. Mary’s Catholic Church in Philadelphia: “This afternoon, led by curiosity and good company, I strolled away to mother Church, or rather grandmother Church. I mean the Romish chapel. I heard a good, short moral essay upon the duty of parents to their children ... how shall I describe the picture of our Savior in a frame of marble over the altar, at full length, upon the cross in the agonies ...the assembly chanted most sweetly and exquisitely. Here is everything which can lay hold of the eye, ear, and imagination—everything which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell.”

****1775****

Beginning of American Revolution (1775-1783), dividing the Protestant English, and reducing sense of the Catholic threat.

****1776****

George Washington issues intercolonial order banning Pope’s Day, New England version of Guy Fawkes Day, to avoid offending Canadian French Catholics. French alliance of 1778 softened intense colonial anti-papalism. Earlier, American revolutionists denounced George III for allowing Catholic establishment in Canada, i.e. George no genuine king if he betrayed the Glorious Revolution (thus anti-Catholicism higher standard for Protestants than royal authority) (see Conor Cruise O’Brien, God Land).

American Revolution, leading to separation from Church of England (which had been formally instituted 1607 in Virginia) and forming of American Episcopal Church. After an Act of Parliament, English bishops were empowered to confer the episcopate upon men who were not subject to the British Crown: first American Episcopal bishops consecrated by Archbishop of Canterbury in 1787. *American Revolution would influence the Irish Protestat “Patriots.”*

William Shenstone’s Works includes “The Ruin’d Abby; or, The Effects of Superstition,”

attacking corrupt monks and Papacy (“Becket ... with unhallowed crosier bruised 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, to portray mankind’s emergence from “the darkness and confusion of the middle ages,” (1776 pref.); vol. 1, including chapters 15 and 16 portraying earliest Christianity as fanatical and superstitious -- thus enforcing the dilemma: Catholic Christianity or no Christianity. Vol. 5, chap. 54, on the Reformation: “Myriads of ... the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life;” “the credulity of the people is no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions,” replaced by “a pure and spiritual worship ... the least unworthy of the Deity.” “The chain of authority was broken;” “each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience;” thus a “secret Reformation” where the Reformer’s appeals to private judgment were accepted far beyond what they intended; “the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation.” “Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished; the web of mystery is unraveled ...” Further volumes in 1781, 1788.

Also from chap 15: “since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been some period in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church.” Argues for the urbane tolerance in paganism—attacked by Hart (2009).

Johann Pütter, Lutheran lawyer, coins term, “Counter-Reformation,” to designate move of German Catholic princes against Lutherans.

****1777****

Chatterton’s Rowley Poems (1767-70): his “empathy for religious medievalism in the Rowley and Canynge poems was total” (Morris, 1984); uses persona of imaginary 15th century poet-monk.

****1778****

First Catholic Relief Act removed a few disabilities, enabled Catholics, who gave allegiance to House of Hanover (i.e. deny Stuart claims and Pope’s civil jurisdiction), to inherit or purchase lands, and children no longer forfeited to nearest Protestant relatives for attending continental schools; ended prosecution of Catholic priests by informers; still banned public worship, excluded from military and from law, double tax, etc. (Motivated partly by Lord North’s need for Catholic soldier vs. the Colonies.) Provoked No-Popery riots of 1780. **See 1791**. Preceded by Quebec Act of 1774 giving Catholics rights in lower Canada.

Edmond Malone, Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare were Written, important pioneer work.

****1779****

James Fordyce, A Sermon ... on the Delusive and Persecuting Spirit of Popery: on liberal Catholics: “If many of them have acquired new light, by the diffusion of learning and philosophy, what effects has it produced upon the face of their Church? Have they publicly reprobated a single error in the established system, or dropped a single practice of their former superstition? Have they in a body expressed one sentiment of toleration?” Fr. Joseph Berington, A Letter to Dr. Fordyce: denounced Bellarmine conservatism and Jesuitical plotting, said that “universal toleration” was the “true spirit of Christianity,” denounced union of church and state. On cisalpine era (roughly 1780-1800) following, see Duffy, “Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected,” Recusant History 1970-75.

****1780****

Catholics about 1%. Lord Gordon presents petition of the Protestant Association of England to repeal the 1778 Catholic Relief Act: then, “Gordon riots.”

Joseph Berington, liberal Catholic, The State and Behaviour of the English Catholics from the Reformation to the year 1780, in response to Gordon riots: basic Catholicism, stripped of its accretions and politicized papacy, is true, original Christianity; both Reformation and Counter-Reformation were tragic aberrations; how could Protestant be blamed for persecuting a temporarily distorted Catholicism? Yet now everything changing, with Protestants losing interest in their dogma, and Catholics discarding Counter-Reformation accretions. Catholics had always been loyal, and were very few now anyway. Denounced fanatical James II, praised 1688 revolution as dawn of liberty, and British Constitution as great glory. Denounced “Roman” Catholicism as in Spain and Italy (“I am no Papist, nor is my religion Popery”) (like

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 denounced it. Helped lead eventually to founding of Cisalpine Club in 1792 (dissolved 1830, year after Catholic Emancipation). “This notion of true devotion, shared in various degrees by Lingard, Archer, Butler, Berington, and Fletcher, was at the core of the Cisalpine mentality;” the condemnation of Quietists had impeded such a focus, “la deroute des mystiques;” “man’s inner experience of the divine had been forced underground.” “Archer’s view of devotion, like John Fletcher’s, recalled that of Francis de Sales.” “Fletcher also appealed to the reform tradition that combined humanism and mysticism.” (Chinnici, 1980, p. 182-5)

****1781****

Edward Capell notes source of Gonzalo’s speech in Montaigne’s “Of the Canibales.” *Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, a “Copernican Revolution in-reverse”*.

****1782****

St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, praising America as land of “religious indifference” where Quakers and Catholics etc. live side by side, with religion being “nobody’s business”. “Let us suppose you and I to be traveling; we observe that in this house, to the right, lives a Catholic who prays to God as he has been taught ... his belief, his prayers offend nobody. About one mile farther on the same road, his next neighbour may be a good honest plodding German Lutheran, who addresses himself to the same God ... he also works in his fields ... He persecutes nobody and nobody persecutes him,” etc. “In a few years, this mixed neighbourhood will exhibit a strange religious medley, that will be neither pure Catholicism nor pure Calvinism ... Thus all sects are mixed as well as all nations; thus religious indifference is imperceptibly disseminated from one end of the continent to the other.” Thus religious version of the melting pot (“individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men”). Influenced romantics’ view of America.

*Irish Constitution (-1800), result of increasing prosperity, need of Irish support during American Revolution; founding of Maynooth Seminary in 1795 for training Catholic priest (their bishops horrified by French Revolution); Pitt offering sanctuary to fleeing French priests; era of Henry Grattan (Protestant) (“Ireland is now a nation!”) and Wolfe Tone (Protestant, believed Catholicism would disappear under influence of Enlightenment ideas) (heads Society of United Irishmen) who sought French Revolutionary support (opposed by Catholic bishops); proposed idea of “Erin” uniting Anglo-Irish elite and Gaelic antiquity; United Irishmen objective was “To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and dissenter”. Thus Irish Rebellion of 1798; but Tone (hated Catholicism and knew little of the common people—F. Shaw) was defeated and killed himself in prison in 1798, defeat making the Union (1800-1921) inevitable. Grattan got independent Parliament but proved ineffective. In prior decades, Anglo-Irish found themselves allied with Catholic against British oppression (reflected in Swift, Berkeley ...); and Anglo-Irish Ascendancy began to regard Irish cultural heritage as their own; i.e. Charlotte Brooke’s 1789 *Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry*; but “paternalist Patoriot model” eventually replaced after French Revolutionary with “insurrectionary separatist one” (Leerssen, *Mere Irish*) “Initially Anglo-Ireland was unimpressed by Catholic claims on a Gaelic past ... its purpose [i.e. late 18th cent. Anglo-Irish antiquarians] were far removed from any revitalizing of the national spirit: the task was to preserve and catalogue the remnantrs of a dead society ... Anglo-Irish revivalism (later) then was an astonishing *volte face*,” as in “Ferguson’s ‘discovery’ of a new Anglo-Irish nationality ... and O’Grady’s insistence.” (Platt, “Voice of Esau,” JJQ 1992) See below, 1840. ...*

****1783****

Moses Mendelssohn, Jerusalem, preaching tolerance; trans. 1838; ecumenical model for Christians; also reflected Moses Maimonides’s Guide for the Perplexed (12th century) with its Neoplatonic Aristotelianism. Mendelssohn made prototype of the hero in Lessing’s Nathan the Wise (1778-9), showing tolerance between Moor, Jew, and Christian.

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 same council, or fight in the same ranks, as well as men of various religious opinion upon any controverted topic of natural history, philosophy, or ethics" (qu. Canuel, Religion, Toleration, and British Writing 1790-1830).

Variorum Shakespeare, ed. Isaac Reed, note by Peter Whalley on Hamlet Purgatory, that "Shakespeare talks more like a Papist, than a Platonist" (Chandler: "remarkable .. in the most distinguished edition of Shakespeare then published").

****1788****

Bonnie Prince Charlie dies, succeeded by Henry Stuart, Cardinal York, "Henry IX" (d. 1807), whose portrait hangs at Hoghton Castle. Legitimist claim then passed to descendants of Queen Henrietta, daughter of Charles I, i.e., the family of Louis, prince of Bavaria (d. 1921).

****1789****

French Revolution begins. Storming of the Bastille. In 1791, Claude Fauchet will preach sermon at Notre Dame declaring Revolution a "divine work" that will show the "accord of religion and liberty"; but the accord is ephemeral. Earlier persecuted Jansenists preceded philosophie revolutionists who rejected the royal reliance on Jesuits (expelled 1760s) and on universalist Counter-Reformation in favor of puritan nationalism though this connection has been effaced (see Conor Cruse O'Brien, God Land, p. 44-5).

****1790****

Malone publishes, in his edn. of Shakespeare, Plays and Poems, John Shakespeare's papist testament and is "perfectly satisfied it is genuine" (but see 1796). (In 1784 John Jordan had sent a copy of the testament to the Gentleman's Magazine but the editor rejected it as spurious; in 1789 James Davenport, Stratford vicar, told Malone that alderman Payton reported that bricklayer Moseley had earlier found the testament, which Davenport examined: "it appears to be the confession of our poet's father's faith drawn up by himself, and by which it appears he was a strict Roman Catholic ... [later] "the bricklayer ... bore the character of an honest, sober, industrious man, and no doubt found the manuscript in the manner before described. His daughter remembers him finding it, and that he showed it at the time to many of his neighbours.") Malone here "one of the first to contemplate that possibility" [that Shakespeare was a Catholic—because of the Will, Davie, and intenal evidence.] Malone also the first to argue for Fletcher's lines in the final scene of Henry VIII.

Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, bemoaning the violent sacrilege wreaked upon the French Catholic church: "the age of chivalry is gone." Has to defend the moderate English reform against the French: "Who that had not lost every trace of humanity could think of casting down men of exalted rank and sacred function, some of them of an age to call at once for reverence and compassion, of casting them down from the situation in the commonwealth, wherein they were maintained by their own landed property, to a state of indigence, depression, and contempt?" Defends French clergy against charges of corruption: "They seemed to me, beyond the clerical character, liberal and open, with the hearts of gentlemen and men of honor, neither insolent nor servile in their manners and conduct ... amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a Fénelon. I passed my evenings with three clergymen ... two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western, particularly in their own profession." "I see the confiscators begin with bishop and chapters, and monasteries, but I do not see them end there ... we have never dreamt that parliaments had any right whatever to violate property." Defending monks: "Suppose them no otherwise employed than by singing in the choir. They are as usefully employed as those who neither sing nor say." [Burke's usual clarity becomes obfuscated in trying to distinguish French Revolution from English

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 respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (see 1649, Maryland Act of Toleration).

Mrs. Elizabeth Inchibald's A Simple Story (1791) (her "Lover's Vows" is the play in Mansfield Park): "the surviving eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English novels of religious experience are different. They do not proceed from religious absolutists [like Greene and Waugh], but show the virtues of a candid testing of the value, the strength and the weaknesses, of a religious culture as it actually existed. Thus Mrs. Inchibald's pioneer novel of this kind, A Simple Story (1791) ... though written by a good Catholic... [She] sets herself to enquire, by means proper to the novel, what were the differences between the character typically produced by a Protestant and Catholic education, what the qualities of mind and feeling, what attitudes that promote or threaten happiness ... with very little authorial comment and that impartial ... Even Charlotte Brontë ... shows herself in Villette (1853) holding a similar balance ... At the end of the century Mrs. Humphrey Ward's one fine novel, Helbeck of Bannisdale ... is an exploratory novel which ends inevitably in tragedy for both the leading characters, a profound and moving work of art ... Mrs Ward managed to achieve such imaginative partiality that, as her husband had predicted, some readers thought the novel pro-Catholic ... Without having behind her these novels of religious controversy, George Eliot would hardly have opened Middlemarch with a symbolic first chapter ..." (Q. D. Leavis, "The English of the English Novel," Collected Essays, vol. 1 (Cambridge UP 1983). Also see Q. D. Leavis, "Mrs. Inchbald: A Simple Story," in Collected Essays, vol. 2. (Cambridge UP 1989): "a novel superior to Pride and Prejudice in interest and not less witty, or rich in memorable scenes ... [there is] no bias in exhibiting the character of either religion's representatives ... This is so unthinkable in any nineteenth-century novel on the same theme ... Yet it is in line, as we have seen, with the attitudes of Catholic and Protestant writers, whether novelist, critic or theologian, in the calmer waters of the century before the Victorians arrived to change all that" (pp 7, 10).

United Irishmen founded, calling for a "cordial union among all the people of Ireland" to resist England, and saying "That no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion." Alternative republican movement to elitist Ascendancy "patriotism."

Boswell's Life of Johnson: "We talked of the Roman Catholick religion, and how little difference there was in essential matters between ours and it." "'True Sir,' commented the doctor, 'all denominations of Christians have really little difference in point of doctrine, though they may differ widely in external forms. There is a prodigious difference between the external form of one of your Presbyterian churches in Scotland and church in Italy; yet the doctrine taught is essentially the same'."

****1792****

8,000 French bishops and priests find refuge in England.

****1793****

Wordsworth's Descriptive Sketches, with descriptions of Chartreuse; developed thereafter in various works, concluding with The Prelude (1850).

Burns, "Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots, on the Approach of Spring." Burns: "Whether it is

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 to recollect by whom it was made? Is there any instance of a Roman Catholick, either in former or modern times, being buried in the church or churchyard of the parish church of Stratford? Are there any Roman Catholicks now living at Stratford, or in its neighbourhood, and where are they buried?” (Original Letters from Edmund Malone to John Jordan, ed. J. O. Halliwell (London: T. Richards, 1864).

Joseph Berington, The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani [papal envoy to Charles I], “standard Cisalpine history of English Catholicism” (Duffy 1970), anti-Rome, defended Elizabeth; pioneer in use of authoritative document, set standard for later historians (Vidmar 2005); cites Sancta Clara.

Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (c.1790-93): “The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it.”

Charlotte Smith, The Emigrants, empathetic account of the traumatic experience of the French clerical exiles: “Whate’er your errors, I lament your fate.”

****1794****

Walter Whiter, A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare, sees “The Phoenix and the Turtle” as intending “a serious allusion to the great mystery of the Catholic faith” (258).

Joseph Milner (evangelical founder) and brother Isaac, History of the Church of Christ (1794-1819, 5 vols.) with “long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the other Fathers” (“produced a deep impression on me” (Newman, Apologia)).

Ann Radcliffe, The Mysteries of Udolpho. Emily, loved by Valancourt, taken by her aunt’s evil husband, Montoni, to Udolpho castle in Appenines where he also imprisons Valancourt; Montoni, trying to get estates, locks up aunt who dies; his depredations of countryside move Venetian army to seize him; Emily’s lands restored and she marries Valancourt. (Meanwhile Montoni’s former wife discovered in convent; she had fled to join her lover, but in repentance for his poison plot against his wife, had gone into convent). (Ghostly noises in Udolpho then naturalistically explained as caused by smugglers; also mystery of what is behind black veil in Udolpho is waxen image of a corpse used as penitential object by old Marquis of Udolpho). “Radcliffe’s nuns are sometimes, famously, protestantized ... manifest an impartial, universal benevolence” (Purves, 131).

****1796****

Malone changes his mind about the John Shakespeare testament, “the will could never have been written by any of the poet’s family,” but does not give reason, perhaps doubting the Italianate style and John Shakespeare’s literacy (Borromeo template not yet known).

Monk Lewis’s The Monk: Father Ambrosio, pure superior of Madrid Capuchins, condemns pregnant Agnes to torture by Inquisition; she is imprisoned by evil prioress in basement of a convent where she will eventually be discovered by her brother, Lorenzo; Ambrosio is then seduced by wanton witch-like Matilda whose images merges with that of the Madonna, then loves, pursues and eventually rapes and murders Antonia, beloved by Lorenzo; tortured by Inquisition, he compounds with Devil who reveals that Antonia was his sister and betrays him to eternal damnation.

****1797****

George Chalmers, An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers, which were Exhibited in Norfolk-Street: argues John Shakespeare’s recusancy, on the basis of the will and his removal from Stratford corporation; and the

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 uncaptivated universality of a scholar" (reviewer); "to the orthodox clergy of 1800 it was terrible ... most reviewers treated Milner as a popish wolf in the clothing of an antiquarian sheep" (K. Clark, Gothic Revival); "the success of Milner's book alone complicates the argument That the Gothic revival loosened the association of Gothic architecture with Catholicism" (Purves, 50).

Coleridge, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner": tale of Catholic supernaturalism leading to shiving hermit.

Wordsworth, "Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey."

Wolfe Tone's Irish Rebellion.

Papal States invaded by French forces who declare a Roman Republic (Pius VI died in exile in France in 1799), but restored in 1800 (Pope Pius VII returned), but invaded again by French in 1808, restored in 1814 with fall of Napoleonic system. In 1849, a Roman Republic was declared, but French Louis Napoleon Bonaparte restored papal rule (vs. Garibaldi). See 1870.

****1799****

French threat to Papal states, created alliance between England and the Pope.

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