

**From tendency to feature:  
The development of anti-Catholicism in early  
modern English drama**

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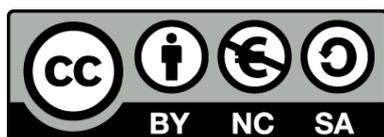
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Meiner Familie

## Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Dissertation behandelt die Darstellung und Entwicklung antikatholischer Ansichten und Meinungen im reformatorischen England der frühen Neuzeit. Anhand der Verknüpfung faktischer Rechtstexte, historischer Gegebenheiten und fiktionaler Dramentexte wird gezeigt, dass innerhalb eines Jahrhunderts der Glaube in England vollständig vom Katholizismus abrückte und sich dem Protestantismus zuwandte. Da dies unter dem Druck der Regierungen geschah, die mit erheblichen Geld- und Freiheitsstrafen drohten, sollten ihre Forderungen, Vorgaben und Verbote nicht eingehalten werden, waren Konflikte unumgänglich. Wie diese Konvertierung ablief, welche Spuren sie in der Gesellschaft und dem Drama bzw. dem Theater der Zeit hinterließ, ist Gegenstand dieser Arbeit. Der Fokus liegt hierbei auf dem wechselseitigen Einfluss von Politik, Gesellschaft und Drama, dessen Analyse und Darstellung zum Ziel hat aufzuzeigen, dass vor allem in dieser Epoche (die jedoch sinnbildlich für jede andere sich im Umbruch befindende Ära stehen kann) die Beziehung zwischen Bevölkerung/Theaterzuschauer, Drama/Theater und dem machthabenden Herrscher bzw. dessen/deren Regierung keineswegs einseitig gesteuert war, sondern durch einen gegenseitigen, unterschweligen Einfluss bestimmt wurde.

Im einleitenden Teil der Arbeit wird der historische Hintergrund beleuchtet. In einer ausführlichen Darstellung wird veranschaulicht, wie es unter Heinrich VIII. zu ersten reformatorischen Schritten und einer Eindämmung der römisch-katholischen Macht in England kam. Die Herrschaften von Maria I. und Eduard VI. und deren Auswirkungen auf die Reformation werden ebenfalls kurz skizziert. Den größten und ausführlichsten Teil nimmt jedoch die Herrschaft Elisabeth I. ein, da ihre Regierungszeit zum einen von den größten (einschränkenden) Änderungen der Gesetzeslage, das katholische Leben in England betreffend, gezeichnet war, zum anderen aber auch die Entwicklung einer einzigartigen und bis dahin noch nicht dagewesene Theaterlandschaft nicht nur zuließ, sondern auch förderte. Erst durch das Faible der Königin zum Theater war es Autoren wie William Shakespeare und Christopher Marlowe möglich, Stücke zu schreiben und damit bis heute ein breites Publikum anzusprechen.

Den Abschluss bildet eine kurze Darstellung der Herrschaft Jakob I. und dessen Bemühungen die Reformation weiterzuführen, um das katholische Leben in England weiter zu unterdrücken und einzuschränken.

In einem Zwischenkapitel wird der Übergang von historischen und rechtlichen Fakten hin zur dramatischen Fiktion geleistet. Ein kurzer vergleichender Abschnitt zeigt die mittelalterlichen Wurzeln des frühneuzeitlichen englischen Dramas, gleichzeitig wird jedoch eine Abgrenzung von eben diesem dargestellt, da die einzigartige Diversität und Komplexität des frühneuzeitlichen Dramas und dessen Charaktere in starkem Kontrast zu den mittelalterlichen Moralitäten und Mysterienspielen und deren Bühnentypen steht.

Der dritte Abschnitt der vorliegenden Arbeit leistet eine umfassende Analyse zehn ausgewählter Dramentexte von Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, Thomas Dekker, John Webster, Thomas Middleton und James Shirley und deckt den Zeitraum von 1587 bis 1641 ab. Dieses Kapitel bietet neben Erläuterungen zu der Entwicklung der Charaktertypen auch eine detaillierte, textnahe Analyse der katholischen Charaktere, ebenso wie eine Einbettung der jeweiligen Stücke in ihren zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext. Im Mittelpunkt steht jedoch eine detaillierte Dramen- und Charakteranalyse, die den Umgang der katholischen Charaktere mit ihren Mit- und Gegenspielern offenlegt, die Rolle der katholischen Kirche und des Papstes hinterfragt und deren Ziel es ist aufzuzeigen, dass die Geschehnisse und Entwicklungen abseits der Bühne ein Spiegelbild dessen waren, was auf der Bühne und in den Dramen verarbeitet und aufgeführt wurde.

Die abschließende Diskussion führt schließlich zum einen die historische und literarische Ebene zusammen und liefert zum anderen einen neuartigen Erklärungsansatz für die Entwicklung des frühneuzeitlichen englischen Antikatholizismus basierend auf der phänomenologischen Theorie des „Anderen“ des französischen Philosophen und Holocaust-Überlebenden Emmanuel Levinas.

Der letzte Abschnitt dient der Zusammenfassung und einem abschließenden Resümee.

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# 1. Introduction

“English nationalism rests on a foundation of anti-Catholicism”<sup>1</sup> is the first sentence of Arthur F. Marotti’s extensively researched study *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and anti-Catholic discourses in early modern England*. This provocative but comprehensive statement suggests that early modern English national identity was defined as a non-Catholic one. Furthermore, it implies that, on the one hand, English nationalism also had to be defined as something inherently different than Catholic and that, on the other hand, England must have undergone some significant and remarkable changes during the early modern period which transformed a Catholic nation into a country declaring Catholicism as its archenemy. These circumstances, of course, raise questions concerning the catalysts of these processes and developments as well as the circumstances which helped shape such a hostile brand of nationalism.

For a better understanding, Marotti further specifies his statement by claiming that “[in] the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English identity was defined as Protestant, so Roman Catholicism, especially in its post-Tridentine, Jesuit manifestations was cast as the hated and dangerous antagonist, most fearfully embodied in a papacy that claimed the right to depose monarchs.”<sup>2</sup> Taking a closer look at Marotti’s claim, three aspects can be singled out which will aid in understanding the transformation towards anti-Catholicism that England underwent during the sixteenth century. The first aspect related to the condition that the religious component of English nationalism rests on a binary foundation, comprised of equally strong pro-Protestant and anti-Catholic sentiments which began to emerge and develop during the time of the English Reformation. Furthermore, English nationalism was defined by the belief that no one other than God himself has the right to install and depose monarchs. This belief helped to introduce into contemporary minds the papacy as the ultimate enemy, largely due to the pope’s expressed right to dictate and thus deprive monarchs of their power.

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and anti-Catholic discourses in early modern England*, Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2009, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

And the third aspect concerns a relatively strong fear of Catholicism, especially of the Jesuits, who were suspected of trying to re-convert and seduce the English population back to Catholicism.

With regards to the time span during which the English conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism took place, Marotti, in his numerous studies<sup>3</sup> on early modern English culture and literature, as well as several other scholars and researchers<sup>4</sup> have defined these hundred years between the beginning of the Reformation in 1535 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 as the decisive period during which anti-Catholic sentiments and convictions became a significant part of English national identity. Anthony Milton writes about this period that “one of the more important findings of recent historians of early modern England has been the extraordinary prominence of anti-Catholicism in that society. Violently anti-Catholic language drenched the religious literature being produced, not just by Puritan fanatics, but by the most learned bishops of the Church of England”<sup>5</sup> and concludes that “anti-Catholicism thus constituted a fundamental political language and ideology which enabled contemporaries, both to explain and to identify solutions to the political conflicts of the period.”<sup>6</sup> Vanessa Harding, in her study on early modern London, finds equally

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<sup>3</sup> Arthur F. Marotti and Cedric C. Brown (eds.), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997; Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999; Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley and Arthur F. Marotti (eds.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2007; Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies”, in: *Criticism* 46/1 (Winter 2004), pp. 167-190; --- (eds.), *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Postmodern Perspectives*, Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Robin Clifton, “The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution”, in: *Past & Present* 52 (Aug., 1971), p. 23-55; Christopher Haigh, “From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England”, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981), pp. 129-147; Vanessa Harding, “Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London”, in: *The Historical Journal* 47/2 (June 2004), pp. 435-450; Peter Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England,” in: *Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, New York/ London: Longman, 1989, pp. 72-105; Raymond D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination. Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660-1745*, Cambridge: CUP, 1998; Carol Z. Wiener, “The Beleaguered Isle: A study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism”, in: *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), p. 27-62; Julian Yates, “Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England”, in: *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999, pp. 63-84.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Milton, “A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism”, in: *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85-86.

unambiguous words: “By the end of the century, religion was embedded in both party politics and the rhetoric of popular disturbance. Religious affiliation formed an intrinsic part of ideological and political identities well into the eighteenth century, and differing attitudes towards toleration or conformity caused sharp divisions between individuals and groups.”<sup>7</sup> Lastly, Robin Clifton goes as far as to suggest that “intolerance of Catholics and Catholicism is one of the best-known features of seventeenth-century England”<sup>8</sup>, but at the same time it is also “in some ways [...] one of the least explored. In particular, little is known of the essential feature of this intolerance – the nature, extent and causes of the Protestant *fear* of Catholics.”<sup>9</sup>

With regards to the second and third aspect of the anti-Catholic component of English nationalism, which was the fear of the English that either their monarch might be deposed by the pope or that the English population might be seduced to re-convert to Catholicism by Jesuits and seminary priests working from a secret Catholic underground network, it has to be assumed that this fear stemmed from the events that had taken place during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I and, in fact, was a direct result of the government’s political polemics and propaganda measures of the sixteenth century.

The fact that these seminary priests were working from the underground was also important for the development of a polemical anti-Catholic language. Julian Yates, in his enlightening essay on “Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England”<sup>10</sup> takes this underground network into consideration and explains that:

[...] there were places, however circumscribed, that lay beyond the state’s control. It was the existence of this ‘elsewhere’ – of the ‘secret caves, dennes, and holes, to which the Romish Foxe, that devoureth the innocent Lambes of Christ’s fouled, resorteth daily’ as the turncoat and propagandist, Thomas Bell, called them – that contributed to the image of Catholics as a clandestine community working to undermine the realm.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Harding, p. 441.

<sup>8</sup> Clifton, p. 23

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> For full bibliographical details see Fn 4.

<sup>11</sup> Yates, p. 65.

This imagery of a Catholic underworld was also applied to the Catholics themselves – irrespective of whether they belonged to this Catholic network or not. They were described as “‘two-legged foxes’, ‘locusts’, ‘venomous vipers’, ‘caterpillars’, ‘serpents in the bosome’”<sup>12</sup> which only come to the surface to “invade both the realm’s cycle of production (material goods) and reproduction (good subjects), redirecting them to their own ends.”<sup>13</sup>

Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century, after a series of events had taken place, either on part of the government or the Catholic opposition, England had become a nation which identified itself as Protestant and equally hated and feared Catholicism for reasons concerning the realm’s, the monarch’s and the nation’s welfare and safety. A conviction, which, according to Arthur F. Marotti, would be persisting far beyond the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras: “Catholicism was for the majority of nationalistic English both an enemy within, and an enemy without. A vocabulary of anti-Catholicism or anti-Popery was developed and deployed for a wide variety of national and international circumstances, becoming immersed finally in the post-1688 era in a Whig narrative of English history.”<sup>14</sup>

One aim of this thesis, therefore, will be to establish the historical background comprising information and explanations about the essential time period of approximately one hundred years, from King Henry VIII’s first reformatory steps in 1533 to the death of King Charles I in 1649 and show the gradual development and increase of English anti-Catholicism and the successive banishment of Catholics and Catholicism from England. For this purpose, “a number of religiously coded events”<sup>15</sup> like the execution of Mary Stuart, the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot<sup>16</sup> will be put into context with the governmental

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<sup>12</sup> Yates, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> Yates, p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> The selection of historical events roughly corresponds with those selected by Marotti, who maintained: “In the early modern era, a number of religiously coded events helped to shape English nationhood and the narrative accounts of English history: these include the Northern Rebellion of 1569, the Spanish Armada of 1588, the proposed Spanish Match for James I’s son Charles in the early 1620s, the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the “Popish Plot” of 1678-81, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688.” (*Ibid.*, p. 10).

For the purpose of this thesis, however, a brief excursus to the Middle Ages will be made in order to show that restricting Catholic powers in England had its roots in the years before the Reformation. Apart from that, the events taken account of in the present thesis will be limited to the years 1534 (First Act of Supremacy) to 1642 (Civil War), due to the fact that the theatres

measurements – in the form of decrees and statutes – that were passed as a direct response and attempted to restrict and finally banish Catholic life from England. Thus, not only a historical view, but also a legal view will be provided by taking into account some of the most important decrees passed under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth I and James I.

Against this historical and legal background, it seems to be a fruitful approach to analyze a selection of exemplary dramatic texts, ranging from the late sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century, with regards to the literary reaction to the political and social changes. In doing so, the present thesis aims to uncover new findings and explanations concerning English nationalistic anti-Catholicism. Literature can be a valuable historical source, when relying on its function as a proverbial mirror of the society and the times it was written in, which reflects the sentiments and convictions of these times.<sup>17</sup>

This essential connection between the early modern drama and its time of origin, and the possibility that contemporary anti-Catholic sentiments were reflected in the texts of this time has only recently gained some attention in early modern scholarship. The historian Kevin Sharpe, for instance, claimed in 2000 that “the subject of religion in seventeenth-century culture and politics calls out for [...] an interdisciplinary approach. Historians are only just beginning to explore religion as a visual, sensual and emotional experience – as opposed to a theological system or polemical sermon.”<sup>18</sup>

Yet, neither the need for, nor the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary approaches was recognized beforehand. Carol Wiener in the early 1970s, for example,

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were closed in 1642 by the Puritans and the number of plays produced decreased significantly. The last play included in this thesis will be James Shirley’s *The Cardinal*, which was written and performed in 1641 and which was one of the last plays produced in the early modern period. Thus restricting the historical and literary discussion to the time span from 1534 to 1642 appeared to be suitable and reasonable.

<sup>17</sup> “Shakespeare’s theater and his society were interrelated in the sense that the Elizabethan stage, even when it reflected the tensions and compromises of sixteenth-century England, was also a potent force that helped to create the specific character and transnational nature of that society. Thus, the playgoers did not determine the nature of the plays, for although the latter certainly responded to the assumptions and expectations of the spectators, the audience itself was shaped and educated by the quality of what it viewed.” Robert Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimensions of Dramatic Form and Function*, ed. by Robert Schwartz, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. xii.

<sup>18</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics*, Cambridge: CUP, 2000, p. 389-390.

complained that “although recent events in Northern Ireland have focused attention on the problem of British anti-Catholicism, and work has appeared recently on the meaning of the phenomenon in nineteenth-century England, very little has done to explore anti-Catholic feeling in its formative years”<sup>19</sup>, whereas Peter Lake in the late 1980s was already beginning to see that “religion is back in fashion as an explanation for the English Civil War.”<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, besides Carol Wiener, who focused her research on English anti-Catholic propaganda texts and Peter Lake, who gave “most attention to the drama, whose religious coordinates he identifies”<sup>21</sup>, other scholars like Robin Clifton and Raymond Tumbleson did comprehensive research on early modern Catholicism and anti-Catholicism during the 1970s and 1980s as well, either focusing on the early modern Protestant fear of Catholicism or the nature and roots of English nationalism<sup>22</sup>. With regards to historical-critical approaches, Sharpe recommends the work of literary scholars like Michael Schoenfeldt, Elizabeth Skerpan and Thomas Corns<sup>23</sup> “for demonstrating the value of literature and other kinds of rhetoric as historical evidence.”<sup>24</sup> Thus researching traces of anti-Catholicism in early modern literature and interpreting them against the background of the historical events of the early modern era has certainly been of interest for some scholars, but it never truly attracted the attention of a larger audience.

The groundbreaking works that finally led to a “turn to religion”<sup>25</sup> in early modern studies were written by Stephen Greenblatt at the turn of this century. According to Marotti and Jackson, the publication of Greenblatt’s essay on the “Remnants of the Sacred in Early Modern England”<sup>26</sup> in 1996 and his book *Hamlet in Purgatory*<sup>27</sup> in 2001 brought religion back to the “centre of

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<sup>19</sup> Wiener, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England”, p. 72.

<sup>21</sup> Jackson, Marotti, “The Turn to Religion”, p. 172.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Fn 4.

<sup>23</sup> Michael Schoenfeldt, *Prayer and Power: George Herbert and Renaissance Courtship*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991; Elizabeth Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992; Thomas N. Corn, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

<sup>24</sup> Jackson, Marotti, “The Turn to Religion”, p. 169.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>26</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, “The Remnants of the Sacred in Early Modern England”, in: *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Margareta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass, Cambridge: CUP, 1996, pp. 337-45.

<sup>27</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

interpretations of early modern culture.”<sup>28</sup> Since then numerous enlightening essays and monographs have been published, amongst them Vanessa Harding’s study “Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London”<sup>29</sup> in which she focuses on the writings of an early modern Londoner, John Stowe, who died in 1605 and “was one of the last of the last generation to have grown up under Henrician Catholicism, and to have experienced the upheavals of Edward’s and Mary’s reigns as an adult”<sup>30</sup>; Peter Lake and Michael Questier in their monograph *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* combine anti-Catholic discourses and the theatre with historical evidence and thus contribute a well researched and comprehensive historical-critical study<sup>31</sup>; and last but not least, Arthur F. Marotti’s numerous studies on anti-Catholic discourses in early modern England, including his and Ken Jackson’s essay on “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern Studies” from 2004 have not only enriched early modern scholarship, but, moreover, simplified researching and working on early modern anti-Catholicism immensely. As a matter of fact, many ideas and interpretative approaches of the present thesis were developed on the basis of Marotti’s work, due to the fact that Marotti not only provides information from a most extensive collection of sources, but furthermore opens new paths for research by answering questions and raising numerous others. Thereby, he encourages and motivates recent and future early modern scholars to continue research of this topic.

The present thesis, therefore, can be regarded as an attempt to answer several of these questions and promote early modern research by means of a combination of well-known historical facts and literary and philosophical interpretations. By doing so, it will bring together two highly influential textual media – legal and literary texts – and therewith show that, to a large extent, the religious conversion of England took place on a textual level, regardless of the fact that the majority of the English population was illiterate. Moreover, its research will be based on a selection of early modern dramatic texts, which mostly have neither enjoyed much

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<sup>28</sup> Jackson, Marotti, “The Turn to Religion”, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup> For full bibliographical details see Fn.5.

<sup>30</sup> Harding, p. 439.

<sup>31</sup> Peter Lake, Michael Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

attention for the last 400 years nor have been researched sufficiently with regards to their anti-Catholic undertone.

Based on this historical-literary foundation the major aim of the present thesis will be to analyze the reciprocal cooperation and impact of the political and the literary level and the consequences this cooperation entailed on a higher social level, thus the degree of influence politics and literature had on each other. In order to prove this mutual influence, a medium has to be determined which stands between politics in the form of governmental statutes, acts and anti-Catholic measurements and literature in the form of the drama and is not dependent on literacy. This medium is the audience. Since the early modern English theatre audience consisted of people from every class regardless of their social background, education or working area, it can be taken as representative of the average, ordinary early modern English population which was subjected to anti-Catholic state measurements and influenced by anti-Catholic statutes and propaganda.

Referring back to the cultural-materialist approach the present thesis will attempt to show that in early modern England, politics were equally influenced by the theatre as the theatre was by politics and will prove this by applying the French phenomenological idea of alterity and ‘otherness’ to the processes on the stage and off the stage. Up until now “discussions of alterity or ‘otherness’ in early modern studies limited themselves mainly to historical examinations of how one culture ‘othered’ another culture or how one part of a culture ‘othered’ another part of the same culture for purposes of ‘self-fashioning’ or political dominance.”<sup>32</sup> Julia Reinhard Lupton in 2000 went one step further and discussed alterity and ‘otherness’ with regards to Christians and Turks, Moors or Jews within Shakespeare’s plays.<sup>33</sup> The present thesis will, however, take another step and discuss the existence of alterity between two denominations of the same religion – Catholicism and Protestantism.

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<sup>32</sup> Jackson, Marotti, “The Turn to Religion”, p. 176,

<sup>33</sup> Julia Reinhard Lupton, “Othello Circumcised: Shakespeare and the Pauline Discourse of Nations,” in: *Representations* 57 (Winter 1997), pp. 73-89; ---, “Exegesis, Mimesis, and the Future of Humanism in *The Merchant of Venice*”, in: *Religion and Literature* 32/2 (2000), pp. 123-39.

For the literary part of this discussion, which – next to the historical background information – forms the second and more important part of the foundation of this thesis, a range of early modern dramatic texts has been selected which, as has been mentioned before, have found not much critical interest of early modern anti-Catholic research to date.

To fulfill the requirements needed for such a literary analysis the dramas selected were chosen for different reasons. Firstly, it was a requirement that one or more Catholic characters be amongst the characters. Secondly, these Catholic characters had to be complex and in some way provoking the audience and/ or the other characters. Furthermore, these characters needed to be influential and in some position of power, so that the possible abuse of their office would be of major consequence. So, for example, plays like *Romeo and Juliet* or *Richard III* by Shakespeare which feature friars and other Catholic dignitaries, or Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* und *Edward II* whose dramatis personae list a Friar Jacomo and a Friar Bernardine were not considered because these Catholic characters do not act in any provoking or troubling way and do not influence the course of the plot. Certainly the friar in *Romeo and Juliet* did not deliver Juliet's letter to Romeo on time, so that Romeo could not know that Juliet was only sleeping – but this failure does not have anything to do with anti-Catholic sentiments on part of the playwright or evil intent on part of the friar.

Further, plays by Thomas Kyd (*The Spanish Tragedy*), George Chapman (*The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*) or John Ford (*The Broken Heart; 'Tis pity she's a whore*) were also considered, but regarded as unsuitable, because either the Catholic characters had no major or at least no important role so that their doings were of no, or only minor consequences for the plot and the other characters. Additionally, plays set in Italy and consequently featuring a thoroughly Catholic character list, like John Webster's *The Changeling* or Cyril Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy*, were not included as well for the reason that these plays often critically approached court life, especially Italian court life, without focusing specifically on one or more explicit Catholic characters.

Thus, finally ten plays from the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline era were selected, which fulfilled the aforementioned criteria. All plays contain one or

more Catholic characters, who are in relatively powerful positions and either abuse their power or manipulate those around them to achieve higher political and personal aims. In the case of the Elizabethan plays, it is the Bishop of Winchester, later Cardinal Beaufort of Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Parts One & Two*, Cardinal Pandulph of Shakespeare's *The Life and Death of King John*, and the Catholic league around Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Guise in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*. *Doctor Faustus*, which does not feature a Catholic character excluding the pope was chosen because of the open derision of Catholicism displayed on stage, and opens the chapter on Elizabethan drama. However, it will be made clear from the beginning that the Elizabethan dramas functioned as a foundation for the development of a theatrical and thus literary anti-Catholicism. Since anti-Catholic propaganda measures of the government only just began to emerge, and the actual threat of European Catholics trying to re-conquer the British Isles grew over time, this issue slowly also featured prominently on the stage.

With the succession of James I and the Jacobean era anti-Catholicism became further established in the English law as well as the English mind and thus also found its way to the stage. This development is exemplified in the present thesis on the basis of four Jacobean dramas and their respective Catholic characters. In Thomas Dekker's allegorical play *The Whore of Babylon*, the plot centers on a Catholic league led by the Empress of Babylon – an allegorical figure representing the pope and the Vatican. John Webster's plays *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* both show a cardinal who considerably – and negatively – influences the strand of the plot, either by abusing his position or by manipulating other characters. The last Jacobean play, Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, is an allegory again, staging a game of chess in which the Black House is representative of a Catholic league, and the White House stands for the English Protestants.

The last play discussed in this thesis, James Shirley's *The Cardinal*, was written and performed during the Caroline era, i.e. the reign of Charles I, and was one of the last plays produced and performed in the early modern period. By Charles I's succession, anti-Catholicism had become a solidly established pillar of

English nationalism and of English drama which is presented and reflected in this play unambiguously.

## 1.1 Source material

As previously mentioned, the majority of these plays has received little attention over the last decades and has only sparsely been included in research. Thus, the body of critical source material is rather poor. Additionally, if there are studies available, they mostly do not focus on anti-Catholic issues, so that some sections of the present thesis are completely lacking in quotes and citations from secondary literature.

Whereas the body of source material concerning anti-Catholicism and anti-Catholic character studies available for Shakespeare's *The Life and Death of King John*, Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* and Middleton's *A Game at Chess* is quite satisfactory and useful, in the case of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, for example, research has mainly focused on puns and comical aspects<sup>34</sup>, the practice of confession<sup>35</sup> or the magical and necromantic features<sup>36</sup> of the play. Adrian Streete wrote a short article on "Calvinist Conceptions of Hell in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*"<sup>37</sup> and Noam Reisner compared Sidney and Marlowe with regards to "The Paradox of Mimesis"<sup>38</sup>, but no article or essay actually focused on or explained the pope-hoaxing in scene three.

Taking a look at Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy, the body of source material provides not one essay which brings the intrigues of the Bishop of Winchester, later Cardinal Beaufort, to the centre of interpretation. Research over the last

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Ruth Stevenson, "The Comic Core of Both A- and B-Editions of *Doctor Faustus*", in: *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 53/2 (Spring 2013), pp. 401-419; Bryan Rivers, "A Roaring Piece of Work": A Neglected Biblical Echo in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*", in: *Notes and Queries* 59/257 (Dec. 2012), pp. 518-520.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. John Parker, "Faustus, Confession, and the Sins of Omission", in: *ELH* 80/1 (Spring 2013), pp. 29-59.

<sup>36</sup> Tobias Döring, "Magic, Necromancy, and Performance: Uses of Renaissance Knowledge in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*", in: *Magic, Science, Technology, and Literature*, ed. by Jarmila Mildorf, Hans Ulrich Seeber and Martin Windisch, Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006, pp. 39-55.

<sup>37</sup> Adrian Streete, "Calvinist Conceptions of Hell in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*", in: *Notes and Queries* 47/245 (Dec. 2000), pp. 430-432.

<sup>38</sup> Noam Reisner, "The Paradox of Mimesis in Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*", in: *Cambridge Quarterly* 39/4 (2010), pp. 331-349.

decade has mainly focused on television and stage adaptations of the play<sup>39</sup> or on case studies dealing with topics like witchcraft, piety or the representation of soldiers<sup>40</sup>.

By contrast, Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* quite surprisingly caught the attention of early modern scholarship; however, most articles merely focus on Dekker's commentary on the Gunpowder Plot<sup>41</sup>, leaving out the majority of anti-Catholic allusions made in the play. Regina Buccola's essay on "Virgin Fairies and Imperial Whores: The Unstable Ground of Religious Iconography in Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*"<sup>42</sup>, for example, only treats – despite the promising title – subjects concerning femininity, gender issues and prostitution, completely marginalizing the anti-Catholic nature of the play.

In the case of John Webster's Jacobean tragedies *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, research as well has mainly focused on other themes and motifs than anti-Catholic sentiments, although both plays feature a dubious and manipulative Catholic character. Studies of the last decade discussing *The White Devil* are restricted to such topics as law<sup>43</sup>, sexuality and violence<sup>44</sup>; the only

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Martin Randall, "'A Woman's General: What Should We Feare?': Queen Margaret Thatcherized in Recent Productions of *3 Henry VI*", in: *Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in Performance*, ed. by Edward J. Esche and Dennis Kennedy, Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2000, pp. 321-338; Patricia Lennox, "*Henry VI*: A Television History in Four Parts", in: *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. by Thomas A. Pendleton, New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 235-52; Steven Urkowitz, "*Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3*", in: *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. by Thomas A. Pendleton, New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 27-37; James N. Loehlin, "Brecht and the Rediscovery of *Henry VI*", in: *Shakespeare's History Plays: Performance, Translation and Adaptation in Britain and Abroad*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars and Dennis Kennedy, Cambridge: CUP, 2004, pp. 133-150.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Frances Barasch, "Folk Magic in *Henry VI*, Parts 1 and 2: Two Scenes of Embedding", in: *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. by Thomas A. Pendleton, New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 113-125; Thomas J. Moretti, "Misthinking the King: The Theatrics of Christian Rule in *Henry VI*, Part 3", in: *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 60/4 (2008), pp. 275-294; William Leahy, "'Thy Hunger-Starved Men': Shakespeare's Henry Plays and the Contemporary Lot of the Common Soldier", in: *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 20/2 (2003), pp. 119-134.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Susan E. Krantz, "Thomas Dekker's Political Commentary in *The Whore of Babylon*", in: *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 35/2 (Spring 1995), pp. 271-91; Anne Marie James, *Reading, Writing, Remembering: Gunpowder Plot Literature in Early Modern England, 1605-1866*, Dissertation University of Alberta, 2011, in: *Dissertation Abstracts International* 73/2 (2012).

<sup>42</sup> Regina Buccola, "Virgin Fairies and Imperial Whores: The Unstable Ground of Religious Iconography in Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*", in: *Marian Moments in Early Modern British Drama*, ed. by Regina Buccola, Lisa Hopkins and Arthur F. Marotti, Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 141-160.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Raymond Lurie, "Language, Conflict and Power in the Trial Scene of Webster's *White Devil*", in: *Voices of Power: Co-Operation and Conflict in English Language and Literatures*,

exception being Elizabeth Williamson's article on "The Domestication of Religious Objects in *The White Devil*"<sup>45</sup> which, however, completely focuses on the use and function of religious objects within the displayed families. Secondary sources about *The Duchess of Malfi* share this lack of relevant essays focusing on dramatized anti-Catholicism. Similar to *The White Devil*, scholars have focused on topics like violence<sup>46</sup>, gender roles<sup>47</sup> or lycanthropy<sup>48</sup> leaving out any discussion or analysis of the character of the Cardinal.

In the present thesis, the discussion and analysis of these dramatic texts therefore is mainly based on personal findings and interpretations as well as editorial and introductory notes. However, in the case of Shirley's *The Cardinal* not even these editorial notes are available due to the lack of a commented edition of the play. The last notable – albeit less extensive – research on *The Cardinal* was done between the 1950s and 1970s and merely discussed topics such as "The Death of Hernando in Shirley's *The Cardinal*"<sup>49</sup> or "Shirley's *The Cardinal*:"

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ed. by Marc Maufort and Jean-Pierre van Noppen, Liège, Belgium: L3-Liège Language and Literature, 1997, pp. 105-115; Luke Wilson, "The *White Devil* and the Law", in: *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, ed. by Garrett Sullivan, Patrick Cheney and Andrew Hadfield, Oxford: OUP, 2006, pp. 225-236.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Laura L. Behling, "'S/He Scandals Our Proceedings': The Anxiety of Alternative Sexualities in *The White Devil*" in: *English Language Notes* 33/4 (June 1996), pp. 24-43; Anthony Ellis, "The Machiavel and the Virago: The Use of Italian Types in Webster's *The White Devil*", in: *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 20/2 (Spring 2006), pp. 49-74; Sheryl A. Stevenson, "'As Differing as Two Adamants': Sexual Difference in *The White Devil*", in: *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, Volume 149, ed. by Thomas J. Schoenberg and Lawrence J. Trudeau, Farmington Hills: Gale, 2008, pp. 102-109; Lisa Dickson, "Theatrum Mundi: Performativity, Violence, and Metatheater in Webster's *The White Devil*", in: *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Allie Terry-Fritsch, Erin Felicia Labbie and W.J.T. Mitchell, Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 163-178.

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth Williamson, "The Domestication of Religious Objects in *The White Devil*", in: *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 47/2 (Spring 2007), pp. 473-490.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew McIntyre, *Corporeal Violence in Early Modern Revenge Tragedies*, Dissertation Georgia State University 2012, in: *Dissertation Abstracts International* 73/9 (2013).

<sup>47</sup> Leah S. Marcus, "The Duchess's Marriage in Contemporary Contexts" in: *The Duchess of Malfi: A Critical Guide*, ed. by Christina Luckyj, New York: Continuum, 2011, pp. 106-118; Laura Tosi, "Mirrors for Female Rulers: Elizabeth I and the Duchess of Malfi", in: *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina, Laura Tosi and Stephen Orgel, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, pp. 257-275.

<sup>48</sup> Brett Hirsch, "Lycanthropy in Early Modern England: The Case of John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*", in: *Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Diseases in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Yasmin Haskell and German Berrios, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011, pp. 301-340; Michael Steffes, "The Wilderness Metaphor in *The Duchess of Malfi*", in: *Cahiers Elisabéthains: A Biannual Journal of English Renaissance Studies* 79 (Spring 2011), pp. 35-44.

<sup>49</sup> Frank Manley, "The Death of Hernando in Shirley's *The Cardinal*", in: *Notes and Queries* 12 (1965), pp. 342-343.

Some Problems and Cruces”<sup>50</sup>. Due to these circumstances, quotes and citations within the drama analysis are rare, and in the case of *The Cardinal* are even completely lacking and most findings, interpretations and conclusions are the achievement of the author.

## 1.2 Structure

To provide a coherent structure consisting of both information and analyses in a logical and consistent way, the present thesis is divided into three chapters which are consecutive and based on each other. The first chapter will offer historical background information, providing a summary and discussion of the most important, religious-oriented events and legal acts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Beginning with a short excursus to the year 1353 and the acts of *Praemunire* and ending with a brief description of Charles I’s reign until 1642, this chapter comprises a presentation of the major incidents and legal measurements which led to the political and mental conversion of England from a former Catholic to a largely Protestant nation.

A brief intermediate chapter will lead over to the literary analysis by providing information about the early modern theatre landscape and the status of the theatre in the English population, which is an important and highly potent medium between factual politics and fictional plots.

The third chapter will then provide a comprehensive analysis and discussion of ten Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline dramatic texts and, on doing so, contributes the necessary ingredients for this historical-literary approach to English anti-Catholicism. The analyses will, furthermore, offer brief reflections in which the plays’ political impact and the correlation between the dramatic texts and the times they were written in, is made clear. By relating literary texts to events which happened previously or at the time of their creation, the texts’ commenting and evaluating reaction to these events can be made clear.

Finally, the fourth chapter will bring together the historical and the literary facts and provide evidence for a mutual interdependence between politics and the

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<sup>50</sup> Charles R. Forker, “Shirley’s *The Cardinal*: Some Problems and Cruces”, in: *Notes and Queries* 6 (1959), pp. 232-233.

theatre. By applying Emmanuel Lévinas' concept of alterity to both the actual political proceedings and the fictional dramatic proceedings, as well as by presenting remarkable parallels between these two entities, it becomes clear that in forming their opinion about Catholics, part of the English population was equally influenced by the political measurements of the government and their visits to the theatre. Additionally, the possibility will be addressed that the English population, in the form of the theatre-goers, i.e. the audience, functioned as the embodied medium between the theatre and real life.

The concluding chapter will then summarise all previous findings and ideas and offer an explanation for the initial question of how it was possible to convert the national identity of a whole country not only to Protestantism, but to fierce anti-Catholicism within only one century.

Finally, the appendix will provide a collection of all statutes and acts discussed in this thesis, ranging from the era of Edward III, through the Henrician and Elizabethan era concluding with the reign of James I.

## 2. From *Praemunire* to legal religious persecution – the development of anti-Catholicism in early modern England

### 2.1 The English Reformation

A thorough understanding of the influences and impacts the English Reformation had on national drama, the theatre and society can only be accomplished by taking into account not only the preceding, medieval events and incidents, which in certain ways facilitated and led to the Reformation during the 1530s, but also the legal measures and political circumstances which were implemented to enforce the religious conversion of an entire nation during the time of the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.

The first part of the following chapter will, therefore, shed some light on the initial noteworthy measures of the English clergy against papal jurisdiction and supremacy during the Middle Ages, the development of a certain anti-papal sentiment among the English as well as briefly consider the series of events which led up to the Anglican Reformation.

The second part will then have a look at the events and incidents during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. It was particularly during their reigns when religious conflicts, anti-Catholic policy and Catholic prosecution were ‘on the agenda’. A brief note on the reign of Charles I will conclude the chapter. The time span of nearly one hundred years (1533-1625) is of major importance for understanding the changes and developments of the English drama which can be seen as a direct consequence of the political and religious conflicts of that age.

#### 2.1.1 *Praemunire facias* (1353) as a tool for supremacy

During the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) an act had been passed that significantly influenced Henry VIII’s mid 16<sup>th</sup> century dealings with the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy See. The so-called acts of *Praemunire*<sup>51</sup> prohibited papal jurisdiction or any other foreign claim of supremacy against the English

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<sup>51</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 1.1, p. iv.

throne and were regarded as a “humble” method of procedure “against elusive persons who defied the jurisdiction of the royal courts in cases where Papal claims of provision had affected royal rights.”<sup>52</sup> Thus, *Praemunire* was a legal method to increase the power of royal judges in administering the law and in proceeding against cases of foreign jurisdiction without royal consent.<sup>53</sup> Penalties attached to this statute included the loss of all civil rights, lands, goods and imprisonment. These acts of *Praemunire* can, therefore, be seen as a first measure of the English crown to limit papal jurisdiction and power and to secure the supremacy of the English Crown against the Catholic Church.

During the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Praemunire* had almost completely lost its support and importance. However, Henry VIII reinvigorated this law during the early 1530’s as a means to bring charge against the whole English clergy on the ground that they had cooperated with Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey – the last papal legate in England – had, according to Thomas Cromwell, “use[d] his position as cardinal and legate to intercept, as it were, the stream ecclesiastical administration in its natural course between England and Rome by deciding most of the appeals himself, though always professedly as the Pope’s delegate, and thus concentrating in his own hands the power of the Church.”<sup>54</sup> Wolsey confessed that he had received papal bulls and “unlawfully vexed the greater number of the prelates of this realm and of the king’s subjects, thereby incurring the penalties of praemunire [sic].”<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, shortly after Wolsey’s death in November 1530, the English clergy was confronted with two more legal attacks by the English crown. The first case involved 15 higher clerics who were issued with acts of *Praemunire* based on two offences: “clerical oaths of fealty to the pope incompatible with their loyalty to the king and acknowledging Wolsey.”<sup>56</sup> Strange about this *Praemunire* case, however, is that other members of the clergy, who had also come to arrangements

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<sup>52</sup> Maurice Powicke, *The Reformation in England*, London: OUP, 1965, p.15

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> Taken from John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, in: *TAMO*, (<<http://www.johnfoxe.org>>; accessed: 01/10/11, 10:07 pm); there are, however, considerable discrepancies between the reasons for the *praemunire* charge, comp. John J. Scarisbrick, “The Pardon of the Clergy, 1531”, in: *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12/1 (1956), p. 22.

with Wolsey, were excluded from the list of the accused. J. Scarisbrick mentions the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham and Bishop Booth of Hereford<sup>57</sup> – as two who could have been indicted as well, but they were not. Scarisbrick thus suggests that there must have been an ulterior motive and mentions that among the 15 accused were clerical supporters of Queen Catherine in the divorce case and that the other victims could all be associated with Catherine of Aragon and with raising objections against the divorce.<sup>58</sup>

This first *Praemunire* case against a small group of clerics then seems to have been an attempt to either change the clerics' minds or to silence them with regards to the divorce case. It remains unknown whether this case ever was settled or not, because historiography becomes inaccurate and questionable. The only account existent fails to distinguish between the first *Praemunire* case against this small group of clerics and the subsequent case against the whole English clergy in 1531. This second attack was constructed on the basis of the first case and involved a general pardon from the clergy and a subsidy payment of £ 100,000 in five annual instalments.<sup>59</sup>

Scarisbrick points out that “no adequate reason can be offered for the two-fold volte face in royal policy”<sup>60</sup> and that the whole proceedings were on the edge of becoming legally disputable, especially when the clergy – after having agreed on paying the whole sum at once “due to anxiety less for their own private well-being than for the future of their church, i.e. for the immunities and privileges which had suddenly been contested and stood in danger of being denied them”<sup>61</sup> – withdrew their offer to pay the full balance and demanded not only that “the volition of which they had been deprived by a writ called *Praemunire* should be restored to them”<sup>62</sup> but also that the king shall provide a definition of the range of *Praemunire* for future instructions. Delicate about this last demand is, as J.A. Guy points out, that:

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<sup>57</sup> Scarisbrick, p. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

Henry VIII and his council were, in fact, at odds over the definition of *praemunire* in 1531, and it will be argued that the wider charge of ‘illegal’ exercising of spiritual jurisdiction was ultimately adopted as the alleged basis of the government’s action for immediate reasons of tactics and parliamentary management, and not for more significant reasons of ideology or principle.<sup>63</sup>

The clergies’ demand for a definition of *Praemunire* certainly confronted the king being with a difficult situation, since by doing so he would deprive himself of a powerful weapon and give the clergy a *carte blanche* for future proceedings. Thus, *Praemunire* remained undefined. The king, however, agreed “to stand by the original compact concerning the payment [...] and granting them a restoration of their ‘volition’.”<sup>64</sup>

Shortly after this compromise had been settled, Henry VIII introduced five articles, of which the first one made him sole and supreme head of church and state – suggesting further conflict of interests. With few changes by the clergy those five articles were passed, suggesting that – as Scarisbrick puts it – “[i]n the light of subsequent events, of course, the title assumes more than face value; even at the time it revealed which way the royal mind was moving.”<sup>65</sup> The only reason why Henry VIII did not already break with the clergy in 1531 is that he might not yet have decided over a course as far-reaching as severing ties with the Roman Catholic Church and that he still hoped “papal approval of the decision and blessing upon the subsequent marriage.”<sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile, the two scholars Edward Foxe and Thomas Cranmer had compiled a record of the divorce case, known as *Collectanea satis copiosa*.<sup>67</sup> This compilation had originally been worked out to provide Henry VIII with a new strategy to make a case for the divorce in Rome. It was set out to empower English legates to annul Henry’s marriage without the pope’s consent:

Foxe and Cranmer, setting out to prove the case for annulment of his marriage, justified the royal position not from short-term, personal or dynastic circumstances, as hitherto, but from general legal and historical

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<sup>63</sup> J.A. Guy, “Henry VIII and the *praemunire* manoeuvres of 1530-1531”, in: *The English Historical Review*, 97/384 (Jul., 1982), p. 490.

<sup>64</sup> Scarisbrick, p. 33.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>67</sup> Guy, p. 496.

principles. For the first time, the righteousness of the king's case was established as an aspect of monarchic power from Scripture, traditional catholic sources, and English texts and chronicles – the Old Testament, the Early Church Fathers, the Donation of Constantine, Ivo of Chartres, Hugh of St Victor, the fifteenth-century conciliarists, Anglo-Saxon laws, Geoffrey of Monmouth and a cacophony of other authorities – against which the pope's hostile attitude was deemed to be a flagrant usurpation.<sup>68</sup>

Yet, the *Collectanea* was more than just a brilliantly compounded collection of evidence in favour of the divorce – according to Guy it also offered a new interpretation of English regal power by attributing the power to convene church councils within his realm and impose their resolutions on his subjects, i.e. the divorce.<sup>69</sup> Foxe and Cranmer, thus, had endowed the king with a powerful new instrument – a historically proved and coherent affirmation that he is the rightful sovereign and supreme head of state and church. “As a result, Henry answered objections by Bishop Tunstall to his supremacy article as eventually conceded by convocation in 1531 with the argument that Justinian had made laws *De episcopis et clericis* and would not have done so had he not been charged with a God-given supremacy.”<sup>70</sup>

In conclusion it can be said that the *Praemunire* manoeuvres were primarily employed to raise a huge sum of money from the clergy and the subjection of opponents of the divorce. On a larger scale the *Praemunire* cases can be seen as a first step towards papal independence and certainly with hindsight a first indicator of the break with the Roman Catholic Church. The *Collectanea* further influenced the king's understanding and interpretation of his own supremacy and paved the way towards a radical change concerning ecclesiastical matters – “it was thus prophetic of future royal attitudes and later events.”<sup>71</sup>

### 2.1.2 The *Act of Supremacy* (1534)

The next step towards an independent English church, after having enforced the divorce from Catherine of Aragon, was the *Act of Supremacy* from 1534.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 496.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 496

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 496.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 503.

However, as William Lilly points out the *Act of Supremacy* was only the last of a series of statutes which paved the way for this last crucial statute.<sup>72</sup>

To name just a few, the *21 Hen. VIII, c.13*,<sup>73</sup> for example, prohibited receiving licences from Rome “for pluralists or non-residence.” The *23 Hen. VIII, c.6*, bearing the title *Concerning the restraint payment of annates to the See of Rome*, prohibited the payment of “first-fruits” to Rome. If, as a consequence, the bulls for a bishop’s consecration were denied, “he might be consecrated without them.” The statute *24 Hen. VIII, c.12* forbade any objections from Rome, be that testamentary, matrimonial or other causes and allowed the clergy to “continue their ministration in spite of ecclesiastical censures from Rome” (*24 Hen. VIII, c.12*). The following act “for the submission of the clergy to the King’s majesty” (*24 Hen. VIII, c.19*)<sup>74</sup> finally forbade any objections from Rome. Eventually, two acts were passed of which the first “abolished annates, forbade, under the penalties of *praemunire*, the presentation of bishops and archbishops to ‘the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope’” (*24 Hen. VIII, c.20*)<sup>75</sup>, whereas the second act prohibited the king’s subjects to sue the pope ““for licences, dispensations, compensations, faculties, grants, rescripts, delegacies or other instruments or writings’, to go abroad for any visitations, congregations, or assembly for religion, or to maintain, allow, admit or obey and process from Rome” (*24 Hen. VIII, c.20*).<sup>76</sup> In short, these statutes not only withdrew from the pope the headship of the Church of England, which then was conferred to the king by means of the *Act of Supremacy*,<sup>77</sup> but furthermore secured the king’s rights to

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<sup>72</sup> William Lilly, “England (Since the Reformation)”, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909, (<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05445a.htm>>; accessed: 02/10/11, 10:03 am). No number of pages available.

<sup>73</sup> The information about the following acts (*21 Hen. VIII, c.13*, *23 Hen, VIII, c.6*, *24 Hen. VIII, c.12*) are taken from Lilly. For full text versions see: Appendix 2.1, p. v and 2.2, p. xvi.

<sup>74</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 2.3, p. xxii.

<sup>75</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 2.4, p. xxvi.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Lilly.

<sup>77</sup> “Albeit the king’s Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ’s religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicans Ecclesia;” (taken from: *English History*,

the payments he had deprived of the pope by means of those statutes mentioned above.

The *Supremacy Act*<sup>78</sup> finally accomplished what numerous sovereigns had tried to achieve in the centuries before. Thomas Macaulay even suggests that this “struggle between the monarch and the pope was the last phase of a contest between the papal and the regal power which had been waged, with longer or briefer truces, from the days of the Norman Conquest.”<sup>79</sup>

In 1535 Thomas Cromwell was installed as vice regent, vicar-general and principal official and was anointed full power in all matters ecclesiastical. The settlement of doctrine remained in the king’s hand, who in 1539 formulated his theological views in *The Statute of the Six Articles*. The statute was passed in the same year. The penalty for denying or disobeying the first article was the death at the stake; the others were imposed with imprisonment and confiscation of property as in the case of felony.<sup>80</sup> Henry VIII, thus, had laid the foundation stone for the reformation of an entire nation entailing a chain of events that was marked by a brutal and rigorous procedure; the first being the Dissolution of the Monasteries between 1536 and 1540 which involved the extermination of about 550 buildings and the dispersal of approximately 7000 religious objects.<sup>81</sup> Powicke states that the first stage of the Dissolution was “contemporary with the absorption of Papal into royal interests in the financial administration of the Church”<sup>82</sup>, hence, when the first monasteries were being closed, the crown already possessed a huge amount of monastic wealth. Act 27 *Henry VIII, c.28*<sup>83</sup> further secured that the actual property of the monasteries “which have not in lands, tenements, rents, tithes, portions, and hereditaments, above the clear yearly value of two hundred pounds” passed into the king’s hands.<sup>84</sup>

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<<http://www.britainexpress.com/History/tudor/supremacy-henry-text.htm>> accessed: 05/10/11; 3:16 pm).

<sup>78</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 2.5, p. xxxii.

<sup>79</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Lord Macaulay*, London: Longman, Green & Co., 1898; cited in Lilly.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Lilly.

<sup>81</sup> Powicke, p. 24.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 2.6, p. xxxiii.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

By the end of Henry's reign in 1547 large amounts of property and land which once had belonged to the Catholic Church had passed into the crown's possession. Yet, at this time, the reformation of the English church had only touched the surface; its theologies and doctrines, its liturgical, spiritual and behavioural characteristics remained very close to Catholicism. Therefore, reformers were pressing for a reformation of the very nature of church and religious doctrines.

### 2.1.3 The *Act of Uniformity* and the *Second Prayer Book*

Under the reign of Henry's young son Edward VI reformation matters were further pursued. In 1549 the *Act of Uniformity*<sup>85</sup> was passed and entailed many changes and novelties in the following years: "the Prayer Book, the Ordinal, the Articles; at this time the right of the clergy to marry was acknowledged by Convocation and ratified by Parliament. The innumerable chantries were abolished, and a crusade undertaken against images, crucifixes, and so-called idolatry of all kinds."<sup>86</sup> Moreover, the teachings of the bishops and clergy and religious procedures – like the sacrifice of the altar – became more and more Protestant. According to penalties, the *Act of Uniformity* was similar to Henry's *Six Articles*: "Refusal to adopt the new Book of Common Prayer, or agitation and speaking against it, involved the offender in penalties imposed by the State"<sup>87</sup> and people who still possessed and used books and practices ascribed to the Catholic faith were persecuted as well.

Later in the same year, the first *Prayer Book* was introduced in Parliament of which Edward VI and his council wished they would "not only considering the said Book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of primitive Church, &c."<sup>88</sup> Some changes were made, for example the substitution of the words *flesh* and *blood* for *bread* and *wine*.<sup>89</sup> Due to the fact that the first *Prayer Book* still featured many Catholic rites and ideas

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<sup>85</sup> For a full text version see: Appendix 3.1, p. xxxviii.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>88</sup> Letter sent by Edward VI to the archbishop in 1549, quoted in: Powicke, p. 90.

<sup>89</sup> Powicke, p. 95.

and that the teaching of it, “in spite of its Protestant tendencies and colouring, was not clearly heterodox”<sup>90</sup> a thorough revision was desired.

In 1552 a second *Act of Uniformity* imposed a second *Prayer Book*. The new act was “mainly concerned to secure the diligent and faithful attendance of the people at their parish churches at times of common prayer and other services of the Church.”<sup>91</sup> With forcing his subjects to attend Protestant service and forbidding Catholic practices and books, Edward VI went farther into a militant Protestant direction than his father and predecessor had ever done.

#### 2.1.4 Mary I’s reign

The short reign of Mary I from 1553-1558 shall only be treated briefly, due to the fact that it set the work of the reformers back several years. However, it is of vital importance with regards to the impression the English gained of the Catholics and their way of violently enforcing the Catholic faith on the queen’s subjects and their attempt to destroy the new religion before it even had the chance to prosper. Yet, the work of Cranmer and his fellow reformists could not be erased completely and later formed the basis of Elizabeth’s religious legislation.

With regards to the effects and consequences of Mary’s reign William Lilly writes that “Mary’s fiery zeal for the Catholic faith failed to undo the work of her two predecessors, and unquestionably did ill service to the Catholic cause.”<sup>92</sup> The impression of prosecuted Protestants who burned at the stake left a deep impression on the English Nation. John Green in his *Short History of the English People* writes that “the bitter remembrance of the bloodshed in the cause of Rome which, however, partial and unjust it must seem to an historic observer still lies graven deep in the temper of the English people.”<sup>93</sup> Greenblatt as well comments on the impression the violent actions executed under Mary’s reign left on the English nation: “The memory of these executions – which formed the core of John Foxe’s great Protestant *Book of Martyrs* – haunted the later sixteenth century

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>92</sup> Lilly.

<sup>93</sup> John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People*, New York: Burt, 1921, p. 467.

and sharpened violently anti-Roman Catholic sentiments of the committed reformers.”<sup>94</sup>

Thus, the actual political effects of Mary’s reign did not cast long shadows; instead the harsh and brutal procedures against Protestants remained not only in the memory of the reformers themselves, but also in the memory of the subjects. It is therefore debatable, whether Mary’s reign served the Catholic faith in England or caused irreversible harm to it and perhaps even prompted the wish to reform the church and comply to the new religion within the people.

## 2.2 The Elizabethan Era

The Elizabethan Era was a time marked by religious and political changes, upheavals and conflicts on a national as well as international level. With Elizabeth’s succession to the throne, Protestantism was installed once again and the reformation was brought back on its track. During the first stages of Elizabeth’s reign her subjects seemed to accept the new religion and the moderate measures implemented by means of several acts which secured the attending of the masses and practicing of Protestant doctrines. Yet, with the papal excommunication of Elizabeth and the increasing danger emanating from European Catholicism against the English Queen, which involved several assassination attempts, the Spanish Armada and Jesuit missionaries who were sent from Europe to re-establish the Catholic faith in England, measures against Catholics and recusants were tightened.

The following chapter will serve to align national and international events and proceedings with the religious, political and legal actions these events entailed. Furthermore, it will shed some light on the measures taken against English and European Catholics, anti-Catholic propaganda tactics and the consequences these processes entailed with regards to the changing image of Catholicism in England.

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<sup>35</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World. How Shakespeare became Shakespeare*, London: Pimlico, 2005, p. 91.

2.2.1 *First Acts of Parliament* (1559)

The first act of Elizabeth was to abrogate Mary's and Philip's *Heresy Act* "repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII, and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity [...]" (*1 Eliz. c.1*)<sup>95</sup> and re-established several acts passed under Henry which were particularly concerned with reformatory issues and the formation of a new Protestant church. Apart from reviving her father's acts she further reintroduced an act passed under Edward VI's reign concerning persons worshipping Catholic symbols and rites.

Any person belonging to the English church in particular, and any person dwelling in the queen's realm, in general, therefore, had to accept the *Supremacy Act* by declaring: "I, A.B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal [...]" (*1 Eliz. c.1*). As a consequence for not accepting the oath, churchmen lost their admission, position and benefices, any other person forfeited the right and ability to "retain and exercise any office" (*1 Eliz. c.1*).

If someone was caught supporting a foreign power or the pope in particular, this person would lose all his or her property and be imprisoned for at least one year, "without bail or mainprize" (*1 Eliz. c.1*). If this happened twice, said person would "incur into the dangers, penalties, and forfeitures ordained and provided by the statute of Provision and Praemunire [...]" (*1 Eliz. c.1*). Having committed this offence a third time, the person would be sentenced to death.

Thus, Elizabeth reintroduced old rules and acts, secured her own status as supreme head of church and state and, furthermore, integrated rules that should have prevented any person – ecclesiastical or not – from not accepting and obeying her status. The reintroduction of the *Act of Uniformity* (*1 Eliz. c.2*) in the same year then secured the precedence of *The Book of Common Prayer* developed

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<sup>95</sup> For full text versions of all cited Elizabethan acts see: Appendix 4.1 to 4.7, pp. xlv-lxxx.

during Edward's reign and introduced several penalties to prevent a violation of these uniformity rules:

And that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, [...], refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church, [...], or shall preach, declare, speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this realm, [...], shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offences suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. (*1 Eliz. c.1*)

If the rules were contravened twice by the same person he or she was removed from office and was imprisoned for one whole year. After a third offence, he or she was convicted to life imprisonment. The *Uniformity Act* further prohibited any open declaration against or depraving, despising or derogation of the *Book of Common Prayer* and any interruption of the service and punished offenders with a fine of "a hundred marks" for the first time, "four hundred marks" for the second time and the loss of "all his goods and chattels" and life imprisonment after the third offence.

The third rule fixed by the *Uniformity Act* prohibited the absence during services on Sundays and 'holy days' and dictated the regular attendance "orderly and soberly during the time of common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered" (*1 Elizabeth, c. 2*); offences were fined with twelve pence. To supervise these regulations, all members of the church were demanded to observe the people in their parishes:

And for due execution hereof, the queen's most excellent majesty, the Lords temporal (sic), and all the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God, for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justly punish His people for neglecting this good and wholesome law. (*1 Eliz. c.2*)

With the two first acts of her reign Elizabeth, on the one hand, secured her supremacy and re-established rules originally passed during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and, on the other hand, introduced a system for penalties for

the case of disobedience. She further induced the clergy to work for her and the law by reporting those who have not attended service or who have uttered any adverse remark against the *Book of Common Prayer*.

All in all, it can be noted that the first legal measures by the new government merely served to revive and ensure reformatory matters and to firmly install the new Protestant religion. The statutes came into effect on St. John Baptist's day in 1559 and abolished the old worship in England: "altarpieces, and statues that had been reerected were taken down, altars were again transformed into simple tables, and the ancient Catholic liturgy was replaced by the Book of Common Prayer."<sup>96</sup> For the time being, measures were directed at any person disobeying the rules introduced to ensure submissiveness towards Protestant services and prayers and not only against Catholics. According to Greenblatt, "Queen Elizabeth made it clear that she was interested more in obedience and conformity than in purity of conviction."<sup>97</sup> From then on Catholic rites had to be performed secretly and at the constant risk of punishment. Many Catholics therefore freely attended Protestant worship to keep up appearances and secretly participated in celebrations of Catholic rites. Catholic priests, however, "were compelled either to conform to the Protestant doctrine or to vanish once again. Either they fled into exile abroad, or, more dangerously, they took on disguises and hid themselves in the houses of Catholic gentlemen."<sup>98</sup>

This lack of caution and foresight in dealing with priests and others who remained faithful to the old religion can be regarded as one of the major reasons for the developing of a Catholic underground movement in England between the 1560's and 1570's.<sup>99</sup> Lilly points out that "Elizabeth and her counsellors calculated that when the old priests dropped off, through death and other causes, people generally would be won over to the new religion."<sup>100</sup> They did not

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<sup>96</sup> Greenblatt, p. 91-92.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Christopher Haigh, "From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England", in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981), p. 132: "The task of the seminary priests and later the Jesuits who crept into England from 1574 was not the creation of a new form of Catholicism, but the sustaining of existing loyalties: they inherited, if not a safe seat, at least a strong minority vote in need of careful constituency nursing, and their success should be measured by their ability to maintain party allegiance."

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Lilly.

consider, however, the possibility that the Catholic clergy already searched for possibilities to train new priests – in England and abroad. William Allen, who later became cardinal, for example founded the seminary at Douai, which – for generations – served to train seminary priests and Jesuits.

The next section will focus on the events which took place during the 1560s and 1570s, including a discussion of the excommunication of Elizabeth and the consequences thereof. It will conclude with a brief examination of the first anti-Catholic propaganda texts and pamphlets.

### 2.2.2 The early years 1560-1580, and the beginnings of anti-Catholic propaganda

With regards to those Catholics who remained in England and attended Protestant worship, but secretly adhered to the Catholic faith, one has to distinguish between the ones who remained loyal to their sovereign and those who attempted to harm her. A distinction unthinkable for many Englishmen, as Carol Wiener points out: “In sixteenth- and seventeenth century England, it was a common belief that all Catholics were potential traitors, or in contemporary language, ‘[n]ot one good Subject breathes amongst them All.’”<sup>101</sup> It was impossible for them to understand that a Catholic could be loyal to the queen without resenting to Protestant worship: “Most contemporaries remained too trapped within their own set of preconceptions to understand this. They saw no difference between those who left England to stir up trouble and those who remained peacefully at home.”<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth herself was the one who drew a distinction between the two groups of Catholics and even showed signs of understanding their problems:

The Jesuites and the Secular Priests their adherents seeking and practizing by their continuall plottes and desseignes not onely to stirre up forraine Princes against us to the invasion of Conquest of our kingdome, but also even to murther our person: the other Secular priests not onely protesting against the same as a thing most wicked [...] but also offering themselves [...] to be the first that shall discover such traitorous intentions [...] So it is plaine that the treason which is lodged in the hearts of the Jesuites [...] is fraughted with

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<sup>101</sup> Carol Z. Wiener, “The Beleaguered Isle: A study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism”, in: *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), p. 37.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

much more violent malice [...] than that disloyalties and disobedience which is found in the other Secular Priests [...].<sup>103</sup>

Yet, she did not go as far as to accept their requests for tolerance, simply because as Catholics they spiritually belonged to Rome and thus to the pope, “our mortal enemy.”<sup>104</sup> A crucial point for understanding the English fear of the Catholics lies within the role and position they ascribed to the pope – an omniscient and omnipresent “mythical figure”<sup>105</sup> who seemed to command and control every plot and rebellion Catholics executed in England, and the propagandists who supported and amplified this picture.

With regards to the Northern Rebellion in 1569, for example, the influence of Pope Pius V remains unclear. Pamphleteers and propagandists, however, used to draw a connection between the Rebellion and the publication of the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* – which excommunicated Elizabeth – notwithstanding the fact that the Bull was published three months later in 1570. Wiener refers to Anthony Munday’s work *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion and his Confederates whereto is added the execution of Edmund Campion, Raphe Sherwin, and Alexander Brian* in which Munday maintains:

The Popes wyll in this [John Felton’s nailing the Bull to the gates of the Bishop of London] hath been put in execution, as through the yll demeanour of divers persons to him affected, it was mooved in the North: where, maintaining themselves on the authoritie of the Pope, and his traiterous Bull, secretly dispersed abroad, they entered into a plaine and manifest rebellion.<sup>106</sup>

Wiener further mentions officials like Walter Mildmay, pamphleteers like John Fielde and Anthony Marten, who all were laying the blame for the Northern Rebellion on the pope without having any evidence.<sup>107</sup> In his study *Mirrors for Rebels*, James K. Lowers points out that Mary, Queen of Scots played a larger role in the Northern Rebellion than the pope. The pope supported the rising of the earls of the Northern territories in so far as he considered Mary Stuart to be legitimate successor to the English throne. Overthrowing the English Queen and installing

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<sup>103</sup> Elizabeth’s *Proclamation Against Jesuits*, quoted in: Wiener, p. 39.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>106</sup> Quoted in: Wiener, p. 31.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Mary Stuart as Queen of England would consequently imply a recovery of the English territories to Catholicism.

Elizabeth, however, offered Mary the possibility to marry Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and a “dependable English nobleman – one who would see to it that Mary did not adopt a policy hostile to Protestant England.”<sup>108</sup> If she married Dudley and left the Church of Rome, Elizabeth would recognize her as legitimate heir.<sup>109</sup> Mary Stuart did not comply to this and instead married Lord Darnley, a Catholic nobleman, whose mother had been distantly related to Henry VII, to strengthen her claim to the English throne. When Darnley died unexpectedly, she married the Earl of Bothwell, who had been accused of killing Darnley, and with this fell from grace in Scotland. In 1568 she fled from Scotland to England and managed to encourage a party of English Catholics to follow her course, one of them, the Duke of Norfolk, who was seen as the leader of the Northern Rebellion a year later.<sup>110</sup> To help these Catholics Mary Stuart asked Philip II of Spain to assist them<sup>111</sup> and received support from Catholic peers who “stood ready to serve the Spanish ruler and awaited only for the landing of Spanish troops to rise against the government.”<sup>112</sup>

The involvement and support of the Spanish Crown in this plot planned by the Duke of Norfolk and the northern Catholics actually raised the Duke’s chances for success; yet, when he was forced to act, that is, to explain to Elizabeth his actions, he failed completely and was put in “technical custody”<sup>113</sup>. Norfolk tried to warn his followers, especially the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and prevent them from moving, yet, they saw no possibility to “extricate themselves from the intrigue”<sup>114</sup> anymore. In November 1569 the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland started their campaign and led their forces through several

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<sup>108</sup> James K. Lowers, “Mirrors of Rebels. A Study of Polemical Literature Relating to the Northern Rebellion 1569”, in: University of California Publications, *English Studies* 6 (1953), p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Lowers, p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> In a letter to the Duke of Alva, in February 1569, Philip II wrote: “Don Guerau points out ... the good opportunity ... to remedy religious affairs in that country by deposing the present Queen and giving the crown to the Queen of Scotland, who would immediately be joined by all the Catholics ...” (Quoted in: Lowers, p. 19).

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>113</sup> Lowers, p. 19.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

cities edging their way towards Staffordshire, where Mary Stuart was held prisoner. The royal forces, however, had her removed to Coventry as soon as they received the information and intelligence of the earls' plans to free her.<sup>115</sup>

Nevertheless, only five weeks after the rebels had started their revolt they began to retreat anew, because royal forces under the command of the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Admiral were advancing from the South. Yet, although the revolt was suppressed, Elizabeth and her government maintained their course and "Sussex [Lord President of the council of the North] was ordered to apprehend, try, and execute not only the common sort but more particularly all constables, bailiffs, and priests."<sup>116</sup> Lowers writes that more than seven hundred men were executed in the course of the trials; of the two leaders Westmoreland and Northumberland, the first fled to Spain, whereas the latter was imprisoned for seventeen months and executed in August 1572.<sup>117</sup>

With regards to the influence of the papal excommunication of Elizabeth<sup>118</sup> on the rebellion, Lowers points out that although the rebels had written to the pope on November, 7<sup>th</sup>, 1569, hoping for his support – financially and legally – he did not receive this letter until February 1570. However, the pope had already begun to initiate proceedings against Elizabeth which culminated in the proclamation of the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* on February, 25<sup>th</sup>, 1570, which "solemnly pronounced sentence upon Elizabeth, denouncing 'that servant of all iniquity, Elizabeth, pretended Queen of England' who had 'monstrously usurped throughout England the supreme head of the Church.'"<sup>119</sup>

In particular it charged Elizabeth with having "destroyed the true religion [...]. Embracing and following the errors of the heretics, [having] dismissed the royal council of England, composed of the English nobility, and [having] replaced them with obscure heretics" (*Regnans in Excelsis*).<sup>120</sup> She was further sentenced for

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 20-21.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>118</sup> For further details on this topic, see for instance: John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., *The English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. A study of their politics, civil life and government*, London: Longman, Green and Co., 1920. Especially chapter V "The Excommunication (1570-1573)", p. 142-184.

<sup>119</sup> Lowers, p. 29.

<sup>120</sup> Pius V, *Regnans in Excelsis*, on: *Papal Encyclicals Online* (<[http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5\\_regnans.htm](http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5_regnans.htm)>; accessed: 05/05/14, 9:17 p.m.).

having “oppressed those who cultivated the Catholic Faith” and for having “ordered the circulation of books containing a system of manifest heresy, and of impious mysteries” (*Regnans in Excelsis*). With regards to her subjects, she was accused of having “prescribed, that, by oath, they shall recognize her as sole mistress, alike in things spiritual and temporal. She has inflicted penalties and punishments upon those whom she could not persuade, and those who persevered in the unity of the faith and in obedience” (*Regnans in Excelsis*). Stating that such deeds are proved “by the gravest testimony and no room is left for tergiversation, excuse or defence” (*Regnans in Excelsis*) Pope Pius concludes:

We, seeing these impieties multiplied, and seeing that still other crimes are added to the first; seeing that persecutions against the faithful are increasing, in consequence of the compulsion and self-will of the said Elizabeth, we are persuaded that her heart is more than ever hardened. Not only does she despise the pious prayers of good Catholics, that she should be converted and brought back to her right mind, but, further, she has even refused to receive in England the nuncios whom we have sent. [... we] declare the said Elizabeth a heretic, an aider and fautor of heretics, and that her adherents, in the above cited acts have incurred the sentence of anathema, and are separated from the unity of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. We declare her deprived of the pretended right to that kingdom, and of all domain, dignity and privilege. (*Regnans in Excelsis*)

Regardless of the fact that the papal bull had reached the rebels in February 1570 at the earliest, and thus, two months after the Rebellion had broken out, most commentators regarded the bull as the cause for the uprising. Walter Mildmay used this reversed version of the story, for instance, in a speech to the House of Commons<sup>121</sup>, and pamphleteers like John Fielde or Anthony Marten offered the same analysis of the events stating that “it was that man of sinne which caused the commotion of the North against King Henrie the eight, it was he that raised up divers Rebellion against that vertuous yong prince king Edward the sixt, and also against her Maiestie.”<sup>122</sup>

Interestingly, Marten writes that in all three cases it was the same man who stirred up the rebels, disregarding the fact that during the Northern Rising of 1536

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<sup>121</sup> Wiener, p. 32.

<sup>122</sup> Anthony Marten, *An exhortation, to stirre vp the mindes of all her Maiesties faithfull subiects, to defend their countrey in this dangerous time, from the inuasion of enemies. Faithfullie and zealouslie compiled by Anthonie Marten, sewer of her Maiesties most honorable chamber.* Quoted in: Wiener, p. 32.

Paul III was Bishop of Rome, whereas during the Northern Rebellion of 1569 Pius V was head of the Catholic Church. This serves to underline the fact that pamphleteers and propagandists, on the one hand, refrained from any “complicated explanations to comprehend the evil of the Bishop of Rome”<sup>123</sup>, and, on the other hand, did not shy away from reversing the sequence of events or manipulating facts with regards to the pope in order to blame him and the Catholic Church for all rebellions and assaults against the queen and her government.

This habit of blaming the pope increased even further during the following years, especially the 1580s, during which the Jesuit mission began to evolve in England. The next chapter will focus on the events which took place during the 1580s, including a brief examination of the beginning development of a Catholic missionary underground<sup>124</sup> and a discussion of the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the consequences thereof.

### 2.2.3 The Jesuit landing, and the French Match 1580 – 1585

The period of the 1580s was marked by many consequential and significant events when considering the changing attitude of the English with regards to Catholicism. No other time span during the reign of Elizabeth brought forth more Catholic attempts to intervene in the politics of the queen and change her course in religious matters. As a response to these attempts, the fiercest acts and statutes to suppress and eliminate the Catholic faith in England were passed and implemented.

The plans for the so-called “Jesuit mission” at the beginning of the 1580’s were laid five years earlier on the continent. William Allen, founder of the Jesuit seminary in Douai, suggested sending missionary priests to England to the Father General of the Society, Everard Mercurian.<sup>125</sup> Mercurian initially did not approve of sending permanent missionaries to England, Scotland and Ireland, but when Allen – urged by Robert Parsons – again proposed a mission in 1579, Mercurian

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<sup>123</sup> Wiener, p. 32.

<sup>124</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the role of the Jesuits and their possible connections to the British bard William Shakespeare, see: Sonja Fielitz, “Shakespeare and Catholicism: The Jesuits as Cultural Mediators in Early Modern Europe”, in: *Critical Survey*, 21/3 (2009), p. 72-86.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas M. McCoog, “The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581”, in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 87/2 (April 2001), p. 185.

approved of it and promised to financially support the missionaries.<sup>126</sup> Thomas McCoog argues that Mercurian possibly changed his mind, because the mission could be put in the context of the marital negotiations between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou – the “French Match”.<sup>127</sup> Catholics in the Privy Council and in other influential positions saw the French Match as a unique opportunity to change Elizabeth’s religious course, whereas the Earl of Sussex and Lord Burghley supported the marriage negotiations, hoping for a progress in dealing with international affairs.<sup>128</sup> Among Protestants on the other hand, the idea that the queen had invited a Catholic to court to discuss marriage contract details was alarming:

Opponents of the marriage stirred up public disapproval. Preachers, horrified that their Queen had invited a Catholic to court, denounced it. Prayers and fasts were organized in churches; polemics, the first famous of which was John Stubb’s *Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, warned the English people. On September 27 a royal proclamation condemned preachers to echo its sentiments. Elizabeth sought to stifle opposition through censorship, intimidation, and coercion.<sup>129</sup>

Moreover, she agreed that – should she marry the Duke of Anjou – he and his entourage were allowed to practice religion in a private place. This, of course, led to enthusiastic proclamations from English Catholics as well as Catholics from the continent, praising the queen as their “sister [who] affords them underhand much favour and assistance, and shuts her ears to all bitter reports.”<sup>130</sup> However, there was one Catholic who did not approve of the marriage negotiations – King Philipp II of Spain. Thus he sent his ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza to convince Elizabeth “of the inappropriateness of the marriage, [...] of French duplicity, of possible French intervention in Ireland, and of domestic discontent that would follow the marriage.”<sup>131</sup> Elizabeth, however, was not to be convinced.

Since the marriage negotiations were well known on the continent, Thomas McCoog attempts to establish a connection between the possible marriage,

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 185-187.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 189-190.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

William Allen's and Robert Parson's renewed proposal for a Jesuit mission and Everard Mercurian's final authorization of the mission.

Allen arrived in Rome in October of 1579. With Parson's assistance he again petitioned for Jesuit involvement. [...]. Mercurian hesitated because he feared the English government would interpret the mission as a political enterprise; that the Jesuits on the mission would be unable to live a style of life in conformity with the Society's Institute; and that the absence of hierarchical structure would lead to discord. Oliver Mannaerts, Assistant for Germany, and Claudio Acquaviva, Provincial of Rome, persuaded Mercurian to authorize the mission.[...] No extant account of the consultation mentioned the French match. Nor does any account elaborate the arguments advanced by the General's advisors. Whatever they were, they were persuasive enough to convince Mercurian to reverse his earlier decisions. Could the prospect of the French match have been the framework within the mission was discussed?<sup>132</sup>

While Mercurian and Allen were selecting missionaries, councillors warned Elizabeth that "any toleration of Roman Catholicism so disturbed the English people that Elizabeth risked her throne, [... and] admonished her to be attentive lest after the marriage, Anjou repudiate her as illegitimate and excommunicated, and govern alone."<sup>133</sup> Thus Elizabeth, recognizing the danger, wrote to Anjou that "popular opposition could be overcome only if he withdrew his demand for freedom of worship."<sup>134</sup>

As a consequence, the French – unwilling to abandon their suit – changed the contract and inserted a clause agreeable for the English government. They, however, also wanted to force Elizabeth into a secret agreement which would allow Anjou to practice his religion. Elizabeth rejected this, and the negotiations were suspended.<sup>135</sup>

News, however, arrived too late in Rome and the missionaries, including Campion and Parsons, started their quest in April 1580. They did not receive information about the changing conditions in England until they arrived in Reims.<sup>136</sup> During their voyage to Reims they had felt relatively secure because "the prospect of marriage had reduced persecution and executions."<sup>137</sup> However,

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 195-96.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 196-97.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 197; 198.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

upon their arrival in Reims, William Allen informed them about certain rumours claiming that the English government knew about the expedition and that English spies from Rome were posting descriptions of priests.<sup>138</sup> Consequently, a delay of the missionaries' departure to England was discussed. Finally, they agreed that Parsons and Campion would proceed to England – alone and separately. So, Parsons arrived in early June and Campion followed at the end of the same month.<sup>139</sup>

Unfortunately, a Hispano-Papal invasion was launched at the same time, which was, as Parsons later complained: “[...] laid against us and other priests that should be taken in England as though we had been privy or partakers thereof [...]”. This invasion also posed a problem for Elizabeth, who was still determined to marry a French Catholic. Thus, she tried to diminish all rumours:

[...] that, whatsoever rumors by speeches or writings they shall hear of, as maliciously dispersed by traitors abroad or by their secret complices and favourers murmured at home, that they be not moved therewith to alter their duties and courage, as by God's grace her majesty certainly hopeth there shall be no just cause; but that all such murmurers and spreaders of like rumours may be apprehended and speedily brought to the justices and public officers by them to be chastised according to their demerits as sowers of sedition.<sup>140</sup>

In the meantime, Parsons met with George Gilbert who had organized a circuit of houses where Catholic priests could find shelter during their stay in England. Due to this secret system they were able to conduct Campion upon his arrival to a “safe house” in London.<sup>141</sup> Campion, however, was not very discreet and “semipublicly proclaimed his arrival on June 29, Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, with a sermon in the great hall of Lord Paget's palace near Smithfield.”<sup>142</sup> The Privy Council received information about Campion's activities and sent spies to infiltrate the developing Catholic underground. Forced into discretion, Campion and Parsons continued their mission by moving to and from the secret houses of the Catholic gentry, “preaching, advising on cases of conscience and reconciling to the faith:

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>140</sup> Quoted in: Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 200-201.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

they attracted to their service a number of young gentlemen, led by George Gilbert, who acted as guides and naturally led the priests to the homes of their own gentry relations.”<sup>143</sup>

Later on in 1580 Parsons published the first Jesuit work written in England, *A brief discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to church*, and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth: “IESUS Christ, in abundance of mercye, blesse your Maiestye, to whome (as he knoweth) I wyshe as much good as to mine owne soule: perswading my selfe, that all good Catholicks in England do the same.”<sup>144</sup> On the one hand, this “brag” made Parsons the most sought-after priest in England, but on the other hand, it also had consequences for the marriage since opponents of the marriage asserted that it would disrupt the religious settlement. As a response and to strengthen their position Catholics began to publicly discuss religious topics because “a marriage with Anjou would embolden Catholics; they would demand a re-examination of the religious settlement with disastrous consequences.”<sup>145</sup> This did not remain unknown to officials for very long, so that they began spreading rumours about “Catholic plots against the Queen.”<sup>146</sup>

This and another incident involving the Earl of Oxford’s confession of being a Catholic led to several changes concerning the government’s approach. The government claimed that they had revealed the Catholic threat and warned that

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<sup>143</sup> Haigh, p. 137.

Haigh further draws attention to the problem that once the missionary priests had settled with moving through the gentry households, they adhered to it: “But what may have begun as a pastoral technique, aiming at the poor thorough their masters and landlords, seems to have become an end in itself. John Gerard gave much of his attention to London society and to courtiers, and moved his lodgings near the Strand to be closer to his fashionable friends: his missionary journeys to the North were not directed to the poor, but to the noble benefactors of his order. The Jesuit annual reports to Rome deal almost entirely with the conversion and piety of ‘one of high position’, ‘the head of a distinguished family’, ‘a lady of rank’, ‘a lady of noble birth’, ‘a certain gentleman’, and ‘a lady of no mean condition’.” (Haigh, p. 137)

This problem is also mentioned in Michael L. Carrafiello’s study “English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581”: “By preferring to remain in the relative comfort and safety of southern England rather than undertaking a hazardous ministry in the North where in fact the majority of catholics lived, and by devoting a disproportionate share of time and effort to the gentry rather than to middling and poorer catholics, missionary priests prematurely condemned English catholicism to the ‘seigneurial’ status described so brilliantly by Bossy.” (Michael L. Carrafiello, “English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580-1581”, in: *The Historical Journal* 37/4 (1994), p.763.)

<sup>144</sup> Quoted in: McCoog, p. 201-202.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

enemies, who planned Elizabeth's downfall, were lurking everywhere in the kingdom.<sup>147</sup> Consequently, a "stronger anti-Catholic legislation followed: An *Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in Their Due Obedience* (23 Eliz. c.1). Since the old religion refused to pass away quietly, in the terse summary of Christopher Haigh, "it would have to be murdered".<sup>148</sup> Additionally, an *Act Against Seditious Words and Rumours* made it a crime to convert anyone or be converted to Catholicism, to attend mass and increased the fines for recusancy.<sup>149</sup>

In light of the increasing anti-Catholic proclamations, the French – desperate to get the marriage contract signed – banned English Catholics from France and even considered "subjecting Anjou to English religious laws."<sup>150</sup> In April 1581 Elizabeth stopped the marriage negotiations because "missionary priests in England had exacerbated popular fears of Anjou's Catholicism."<sup>151</sup> These fears were not unfounded. In a letter to Agazzari, the rector of the English College in Rome, Parsons utters his conviction that the mission was "inextricably tied to the very survival of catholicism in Europe"<sup>152</sup>:

[...] the mission entrusted to me is of the greatest importance both for the reputation of the Society and for the restoration of this kingdom as also for the cause in general of the Catholic church ... I can see that the continuation of the mission is of the greatest importance for the restoration of the whole of the North and that it cannot be given up without exceeding hurt of many souls and the whole Catholic religion.<sup>153</sup>

The idea that the missionaries intended to overthrow the queen and re-establish Catholicism in England has also been worked out by G.R. Elton, who writes that "the 'spiritual heads' of English Catholicism worked for the return, forcibly or otherwise, of England to the Catholic fold and that they in no way promoted or even countenanced 'toleration' for themselves or for their adversaries in anything approaching the modern sense of the term."<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>149</sup> John Warren, "Elizabeth and the Catholic Threat", in: *Access to History*, (<<http://www.historyshareforum.com>> ; accessed: 30/03/12, 4:38 pm).

<sup>150</sup> McCoog, p. 204.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>152</sup> Carrafiello, p. 768.

<sup>153</sup> Quoted in: Ibid., p. 768.

<sup>154</sup> Quoted in: Ibid., p. 768, fn. 35.

Yet, since the government had tightened anti-Catholic measures, they were not able to reach their goals, but were forced further into the underground. Persecutors were able to capture Campion in July 1581. He was sent to the tower, sentenced and executed in December of the same year, whereas Parsons was able to flee to the continent in mid-August. At the time of Campion's execution and in the light of the existing threat posed by the Jesuits, Elizabeth cancelled the marriage with the Duke of Anjou to avoid any further discrepancies and to secure the religious settlement.<sup>155</sup>

As a reaction to the Jesuit mission, the queen passed an *Act Against Jesuits and Seminarists* (27 Eliz. c.2) in 1585, which accused Jesuits of “not only [withdrawing] her highness's subjects from their due obedience, but also [stirring] up and [moving] sedition, rebellion, and open hostility within the same her highness's realms and dominions, to the great endangering of the safety of her most royal person, and to the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm [...]” (27 Eliz. c.2). In order to prevent Jesuits and Seminary priests from accomplishing their missionary work, this act compelled them to leave England “and out of all other her highness's realms and dominion, if the wind, weather and passage shall serve for the same, or else so soon after the end of the said forty days as the wind, weather, and passage shall so serve” (27 Eliz. c.2). If a Jesuit or seminary priest offended against this statute and did not leave England after 40 days, he was “adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in case of high treason” (27 Eliz. c.2). Moreover, if a neutral person offered help to any Jesuit or seminary priest after those 40 days, this person was “also for such offence be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, lose, and forfeit, as in case of one attainted of felony” (27 Eliz. c.2). Additionally, if any person financially supported a known Jesuit, a member of the Catholic church, or a college led by Jesuits “every such person so offending, for the same offence shall incur the danger and penalty of a Praemunire, mentioned in the Statute of Praemunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard II” (27 Eliz. c.2). Finally the act demanded that everyone who knew about a Jesuit or seminary

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<sup>155</sup> McCoog, p. 204; 205.

priest and did not report this to the government “every such offender shall make fine, and be imprisoned at the queen’s pleasure” (27 Eliz. c.2).

The *Act against Jesuits and Seminarists* can be seen as the climax of Elizabeth’s prosecution<sup>156</sup>, because it finally identified Catholics as “‘traitors’ and pronounced them and the laypeople who assisted them guilty of a capital crime.”<sup>157</sup> Since this and the other anti-Catholic laws were designed to “prevent the spread of Catholicism” (27 Eliz. c.2), Catholics during this time faced “imprisonment and, possibly, either exile or execution as well if they stood by their belief in papal supremacy, declined to enter a Protestant church or engage in any religious practices with Protestant Christian, or refused to acknowledge the moral and legal authority of the state.”<sup>158</sup> According to Edwin Burton, “[under] this statute over 150 Catholics died on the scaffold between 1581 and 1603.”<sup>159</sup>

Yet, according to Marotti, the more far-reaching aim behind these laws was “to alienate the recusant laity and the priests who ministered to them as disloyal, un-English.”<sup>160</sup> During the following years, however, not only Elizabethan acts and statutes served to fuel anti-Catholicism, but also several attempts by English and European Catholics to overthrow Elizabeth and her kingdom; events which did not result in sympathy or appreciation by the English people, but in fear and hatred. The next two chapters will, therefore, focus on the events leading up to the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots and finally the defeat of the Spanish Armada

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<sup>156</sup> When talking about Elizabethan prosecution it has to be kept in mind that prosecution was almost exclusively restricted to the cities. Catholics in the country lived a relatively normal life, as Caroline M. Hibbard has pointed out: “The seventeenth century was, for recusancy too, the ‘age of the gentry.’ Discussion of these lay Catholics was long dominated by a tradition of ‘sufferings.’ Until the beginning of this century such a perspective was supported by the available evidence – largely English government records and memoir of missionaries. Studies based chiefly on the statute book, ‘recusant rolls,’ and state trials, with a dollop of Catholic martyrology thrown in, naturally portrayed the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as an era of persecution. The existence of harsh legislation was often mistaken for evidence that it was enforced.

The great value of the county studies has been to demonstrate in detail how mistaken this picture was, and how normal, even uneventful, was the life led by many English Catholics.” Caroline M. Hibbard, “Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-Revisions”, in: *The Journal of Modern History* 52/1 (Mar. 1980), p. 3-4.

<sup>157</sup> Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, p. 35.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>159</sup> Edwin Burton, et al., “Penal Laws”, in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 11. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. (<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11611c.htm>>; accessed 24/07/12, 10:16 am).

<sup>160</sup> Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, p. 35.

in 1588, which proverbially set the seal on English Protestantism and Elizabeth's integrity and legitimacy.

#### 2.2.4 The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots

At the time Mary Stuart came to England in 1568, she was already condemned. Accused of having killed her husband, Lord Darnley, she had to give up the Scottish crown and concede her throne to her infant son, James. Her decision to escape to England was founded on her believe that Elizabeth would help her regain the Scottish throne. However, Elizabeth cautious of Mary, had her taken into protective custody in Carlisle Castle. She remained a prisoner there for more than 18 years until she was found guilty of treason and was executed in Fotheringay Castle in 1587.<sup>161</sup>

Although Mary Stuart was under lock and key for all these years, the rumours concerning her involvement in various plots to topple the English Queen never ceased and making her incapable of discarding the image of the dangerous conspirator. Nevertheless, Mary who due to her captivity was confined to an exchange of information in letters never ceased to approve of such plots which would promise the end of her arrest and her restoration as a monarch.<sup>162</sup>

As a result of such threats to the English monarchy and the constant danger posed by the Jesuit missionaries, who were slowly building up a Catholic underground, Elizabeth and – first and foremost – her principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, had established a well-working and large-scaled spy network to undermine and detect plots and machinations before they could even be carried out. Jayne Lewis remarks that “Elizabeth's subjects had always been prone to uncover plots against their queen. They spied them in every corner with a zeal that has been read as paranoia, and accordingly as a warped, but perversely efficient, psychological means of defending an illusion of collective integrity.”<sup>163</sup>

Mary Stuart obviously belonged to a category of persons Walsingham deemed necessary to put under constant surveillance, because he placed “at least one and

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<sup>161</sup> Cf. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots. Romance and Nation*, London/ New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 25; 41.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 39-43.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

probably more spies in the heart of Mary's councils in Paris."<sup>164</sup> So it happened that in 1583 one of his most successful agents, Charles Paget, provided information concerning the so-called Throckmorton Plot which involved a Spanish invasion of England and the release of Mary Stuart.<sup>165</sup> When Throckmorton was arrested he confessed and incriminated Mary by stating that she had been in favour of the plot and had known "every detail of the invasion plans."<sup>166</sup> Apart from the satisfaction of having thwarted a plot against the queen, Walsingham further used this incident in order to once more provoke a wave of hatred against the Catholics and, above all, Mary Stuart as their prime example:

Walsingham was building up her image as this dangerous conspirator, the spider at the center of a network of plans with agents at every foreign Catholic court, Mary herself was actually becoming increasingly alienated from her own organization abroad. She was accused increasingly in the popular imagination of crimes in which she was decreasingly involved.<sup>167</sup>

When in 1585 William Parry undertook the next attempt to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, investigations by Walsingham revealed that he was collaborating with Mary Stuart's agent in Paris, Thomas Morgan, who was arrested for his part in the plot. The fact itself, however, enabled Walsingham to lay the plot "squarely at [Mary's] door."<sup>168</sup>

In answer to these plots a new bond of allegiance was brought up by Parliament. This *Bond of Association*, as it was called, sentenced not only those to death who actively plotted against the queen, but also those who approved of such plots. This means that "if it could be proved that a particular conspiracy had been aimed at the elimination of Elizabeth and the placing of Mary on the throne, Mary herself was much eligible for execution as any of the plotters, even if she had been in complete ignorance of what was afoot."<sup>169</sup> And although Mary offered to sign this bond, it was clear that this could not rescue her, because sooner or later a new plot would be developed with the plan to assassinate Elizabeth and reinstall Mary. Antonia Fraser observes her situation rightly by saying that "her position in

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<sup>164</sup> Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969, p. 469.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 469.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 469.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

England may be compared to that of someone tied down unwillingly over a powder keg, which may at any moment be exploded by a match held by an over-enthusiastic friend.”<sup>170</sup>

With the *Act of Association* passed in 1585 it seemed only a matter of time until Mary would be associated with some kind of plot intended to depose the queen and free herself. Therefore it came quite in handy that Walsingham received intelligence about a conspiracy known as the Babington Plot which again involved the assassination of Elizabeth and the rescue of Mary. However, the carrying out of such a plan necessarily involved:

foreign aid in the shape of a foreign invasion of England [...]: although Queen Elizabeth might fall a victim of the assassin’s dagger, unless these assassins had sufficient resources to rescue Queen Mary immediately, they might find that by the time they reached her place of imprisonment, their candidate for the English throne had either been killed by her captors or else spirited away.<sup>171</sup>

Walsingham’s smartest move was to completely overstate the threat of such a foreign invasion to convince the English conspirators that a Spanish invasion was absolutely certain. As a second step he placed his agent Gilbert Gifford, a Catholic from the English college in Rome, whom he intercepted upon entering England to arrange a secret agreement. Gifford then established the connection between Mary and John Babington. Every letter that was passed between them was intercepted and read by Walsingham, before it reached its actual recipient.<sup>172</sup> Babington’s first letter to Mary, which she received on 14 July, included every detail of the plot:

first an invasion from abroad, of sufficient strength to ensure success; secondly, the invaders to be joined by ‘a strong party at every place’ of English Catholic sympathizers; thirdly, the deliverance of Mary; fourthly, ‘the dispatch of the usurping Competitor’, as Babington put it, ‘for the effectuating of all which it may please your Excellency [Mary] to rely upon my service’.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 474.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 480.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 480-83.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 487.

In her responding letter Mary approved of the plans and provided Babington with further practical details, although she was already condemned by the *Act of Association*. However, Walsingham was not completely satisfied with Mary's response and "added a forged postscript to the end of the letter [...] in which she was made to ask for the names of the six gentlemen who would perform the deed."<sup>174</sup>

Babington's reply reached Walsingham in early August, and Babington himself was arrested later the same month. When he made his confession, he incriminated Mary Stuart as well. Mary then was brought to trial under the *Act of Association* at the castle of Fotheringay.<sup>175</sup> Yet, unsurprisingly, there were legal difficulties concerning the trial of a sovereign:

How, indeed, could it ever be legal for Mary as sovereign, the queen of a foreign country, to be tried for treason, when she was in no sense one of Elizabeth's subjects? [...] Elizabeth herself was the first to perceive the dangers for the future of pulling down any monarch to the rank where he or she could be punished like any other subject – let alone the monarch of another country. If Mary had partaken in treasonable activities in England where in any case she was a prisoner, held against her will – the correct remedy [...] was surely to expel her from the country. The mere judicial proceedings for trying a sovereign presented enormous difficulties by English common law. In England it was the foundation-stone of justice that every man had a right to be tried by his peers; Mary being a queen had no peers in England except Elizabeth herself. Neither privy council or earls nor barons gathered together in no matter what profusion could be said to be the equals of one who was an anointed queen.<sup>176</sup>

Pondering these questions, Elizabeth herself then concluded that since Mary was in England she had to be subject to the laws of the country. However, throughout the whole trial Elizabeth hesitated to issue the proclamation of death, let alone the death warrant.<sup>177</sup> She finally passed the proclamation in December and signed the warrant in January. Mary Stuart was executed on February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1587 and unlike Elizabeth herself, who still pondered the questions how France and Scotland would react, whose goodwill and continuing alliance was of vital importance for

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 489.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, p. 503.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 504-05.

<sup>177</sup> Lewis, p. 49.

the looming war with Spain<sup>178</sup>, “London itself suffered from no such doubts: the bells were rung, fires were lighted in the streets and there was much merry-making and banqueting to celebrate the death of her whom they had been trained to regard as a public enemy.”<sup>179</sup>

All in all, it seems as if the English government wanted to set an example with the execution of Mary Stuart, to show that their anti-Catholic policy and conviction did not even spare members of royalty. Mary Stuart had to die because she was Catholic, not because she posed a noteworthy risk to Elizabeth or the English throne. However, it was not until the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which will be discussed in the next chapter, that English Protestantism, Elizabeth as a monarch and the English naval power were constitutively secured and stabilized for the following decade until the queen’s death in 1603.

#### 2.2.5 The Spanish Armada and the *Act Against Recusants*

The Anglo-Spanish conflict had simmered since the early 1570s, partly caused by concurrent colonial interests in the Low Countries, opposing opinions concerning piracy and trade and the religious conflict which separated England from the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, neither England nor Spain wanted war, fearing the economic and international consequences, although both parties did nothing to prevent it. Elizabeth, for example, supported rebels in the Low Countries, a sphere of Spanish interest, justified and based on the conviction that Philip had never been able to secure peace in this region; she did not even desist from intervening after both monarchs had signed the Treaty of Bristol which meant to re-establish ancient amity.<sup>180</sup>

Being as intransigent as Elizabeth in terms of the Low Countries conflict, Philip ordered a large fleet to “sweep the Sea Beggars from the seas and destroy their bases in Holland and Zealand”<sup>181</sup> in 1574, an enterprise which highly disturbed the English government. They feared that the Spanish Fleet, once in the

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<sup>178</sup> Fraser, *Mary*, p. 521.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 541.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. James McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada. The Necessary Quarrel*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 117-121.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

English Channel, could attack England. As a counter measure Francis Drake was sent to undertake several expeditions to Spain and Spanish colonies between 1574 and 1577 during which he gathered considerable pillage. Such acts of piracy increased significantly during the late 1570s, so that by 1579 English plundering of Spanish ships had become a daily occurrence. The English government, however, did near to nothing to discourage such raids.<sup>182</sup>

Philip, on the other hand, maintained contact to and supported Irish Catholic rebels and allied himself, albeit loosely, with “the newly constituted, Guise-led Catholic League in France”<sup>183</sup>, which of course was seen as an attempt of conspiring against the Protestant faith by the English government. McDermott points out the circumstances that these irritations and misunderstandings in the Anglo-Spanish relationship gathered pace at the same time in the early 1580s when the anticipated and feared Catholic conspiracy against England took the next step by the landing of Jesuit missionary priests in England<sup>184</sup>, only served to further alienate England from Spain: “Despite Philip’s continuing strong resistance to fronting or assisting the projects of successive popes against England, the perception among Englishmen was that Spain and Rome were already in unshakeable alliance.”<sup>185</sup> However, what Englishmen did not realize, was that the actions and growing pressure from the continent were only reactions to their continuing interference in the Low Countries and Drake’s raids in the Spanish Pacific.<sup>186</sup>

The situation was further aggravated when the English allowed the re-deployment of privateers. Philip was convinced that the English attempt to establish colonies in territories claimed by Spain grew directly from privateering activity and that the intrusions in Spanish colonies were becoming more frequent.<sup>187</sup> Thus, in August 1583 Philip’s admirals urged him for the first time to

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.2.3 of this paper.

<sup>185</sup> McDermott, p. 130.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p. 139. Regarding English piracy activity and the lush governmental regulation, McDermott further notes that “Elizabeth’s government, torn between temptation and its consequences, attempted to balance its toleration of spectacular far-horizon depredations by discouraging those in home-waters which hurt English trade almost as severely as that of Philip’s subjects. Yet official attempts to end lawlessness at sea (by 1575, Elizabeth’s

invade England, but Philip refused this request.<sup>188</sup> Obviously, despite the growing indifferences, Elizabeth and Philip were hesitant to provoke a military strike and still hoped for reconciliation.

Walsingham, however, neither believed in nor thought about reconciling with Spain. Rather, he believed that England's ability to defend itself against Spain was diminishing with every passing minute and, therefore, supported assaults against Spain hoping that Philip would be pushed towards a definitive reaction against England.<sup>189</sup> When Philip's involvement in the Throckmorton Plot became public, Walsingham "accomplished the ejection of Mendoza and his embassy from England, brought Mary Stuart a significant step closer to the scaffold and, [...], further impressed upon his compatriots the image of Catholicism as not only un-English but an engine of foreign-inspired subversion that must be confronted if the nation were to survive."<sup>190</sup> By this, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, he convinced his sovereign and the English people of the necessity of war against Spain and, in turn against Catholicism, which seemed to pose a more dangerous threat than ever before. Walsingham seemed to know that controversies over colonial claims, piracy and trade were not sufficient to convince Elizabeth to wage war with Spain. Yet, after discovering that Philip had, albeit loosely, joined the Treaty of Joinville, which united several European Catholic powers and could be seen as yet another threat against England and the Protestant faith, and that he had further been involved in the Throckmorton plot, the Babington plot and assumedly in the assassination of William of Orange, Elizabeth and her councillors were "genuinely alarmed."<sup>191</sup>

As Felipe Fernández-Armesto claims, "[r]eligion was the most obvious source of an ideology of enmity. Religious fervour is hard to sustain, but, in short spurts, easy to encourage."<sup>192</sup> However, not only England was becoming more and more sensitive in terms of the underlying, but emerging religious aspect of the

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government had issued fully nine proclamations intended to suppress piracy) had long proved ineffectual." (Ibid., p. 123)

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>192</sup> Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada. The experience of war in 1588*, Oxford: OUP, 1988, p. 33.

upcoming war; the execution of Mary Stuart issued a challenge to Europe to strike against England. Thus, upon receiving news of Mary Stuart's death, Philip ordered all naval resources to be able to put to sea before summer.<sup>193</sup>

The Navy Royal had orders to wait for the Spanish Armada, which was more than unsatisfactory for the queen's admirals. John Hawkins, commander of the Navy Royal, wrote to Walsingham with the intention to persuade him to begin the war:

[...] Hawkins, after reminding the Queen's secretary (had he needed it) that papistry was synonymous with servitude, poverty and slavery, once more urged an end to prevarication and the commencement of full-blooded hostilities against Spain. Appealing to one of Walsingham's particular prejudices, he suggested that a fighting war would bring together the English people and undermined the effectiveness of Jesuit proselytizers.<sup>194</sup>

Francis Drake then sent Fire Ships to Calais forcing the Spanish fleet to leave the harbour, where they had been relatively secure. However, as soon as they had entered the Channel, the English ships, which were smaller and lighter, began to attack the Armada and caused more damage to the Spanish ships than vice versa.<sup>195</sup> The battle has been waged for merely one week, when on the evening of 8 August 1588, the commander of the Armada, Medina Sidonia, decided to circumnavigate Scotland and Ireland in order to return to Portugal. On their way, however, they were caught in a storm which destroyed nearly half of the ships. The battle of 8 August was claimed as the victory of England and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, although part of the Armada could escape and the English did not achieve their aim of completely destroying it.<sup>196</sup>

In the aftermath of the campaign, both nations tried to depict themselves as the vanquishers of the war and published pamphlets and propaganda texts which were full of "lies, hyperbole and *schadenfreude*"<sup>197</sup>, mocking the enemy and undermining their claim to the siege. Nevertheless, one aspect was featured in both nations' texts, that is "the admission that the fugitive seminary priests in

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<sup>193</sup> McDermott, p. 166.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Simon Adams, "The Spanish Armada", on: *BBC History* (<[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/adams\\_armada\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/adams_armada_01.shtml)> ; accessed: 05/05/2014, 10:59 pm).

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> McDermott, p. 297.

England – ‘manifest traytors’ to a man – had failed utterly in their mission to subvert the political loyalties of English Catholics.”<sup>198</sup> The Armada campaign, necessarily, shifted focus on the fugitive English Catholics, the so-called recusants, who continued to “represent a potential Trojan Horse for foreign military ambitions.”<sup>199</sup>

As noted, arrests of seminary priests had accelerated as the threat from the armada grew during the spring months of 1588. In the aftermath of the campaign, the number of those who, with their abettors, were brought to trial and execution rose to a level unmatched at any other moment of Elizabeth’s reign. Three died in Derby on 24 July, one at Stafford on 27 July (the latter suffering the full agony of a traitor’s execution); in the three months thereafter to 28 November, a further twenty-seven priests and lay Catholics went to the scaffold. Fourteen perished in just three days, 28-30 August.<sup>200</sup>

In the first session of parliament after the defeat of the Spanish, Christopher Hatton clearly stated in his session’s opening speech that the fight against Catholicism, and English recusants in particular, was not over, but that measures were to be tightened in order to gain control over Catholicism and the threats it posed to English Protestantism:

And here I maie not forget those vile wretches, those bloodie preists and false traiters, here in our bosomes ... Thei have incorporated themselves into the bodie of all mischeif, and are accordingle to be employied by the heades of the same. But to make this thinge out of question, (Cardinal William) Allen himself hath set it doune as a pointe of the Romish religion that all preistes and catholickes are bound under paine of damnation ... still to sollicite the Pope and the Spaniarde, and never to geve over their former or the like attempts [...].<sup>201</sup>

Thenceforth, the measures against recusants were tightened. They were forced to hand over or sell their weapons and became subject of a “campaign of fear and rumour-mongering.”<sup>202</sup> In the counties members of court were at first appointed to observe known recusants and prevent them from having contact of any sort; later on, however, they were arrested by order of a newly passed statute, the *Act Against Recusants* (35 Eliz. c.2) from 1593.

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>201</sup> Quoted in: Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>202</sup> Fernández-Armesto, p. 44.

This act was intended for “the better discovering and avoiding of all such traitorous and most dangerous conspiracies and attempts as are daily and practised against our most gracious sovereign lady the queen’s majesty and the happy estate of this commonweal, by sundry wicked and seditious persons, who, terming themselves Catholics, and being indeed spies and intelligencers” (35 *Eliz. c.2*) and who were suspected to hide “their most detestable and devilish purposes under a false pretext of religion and conscience.” (35 *Eliz. c.2*) Everyone, who was over 16 years old and classified as a Catholic and who lived in the queen’s dominions was not allowed to leave the place he lived in within a radius of five miles. If anyone violated this law, he or she would lose all goods and chattels, and forfeit his or her “lands, tenements and hereditaments” (35 *Eliz. c.2*) and all rents and annuities to the queen. Further, everyone had to report his names to the local parish and was entered into a book. Moreover, “for not pestering and overcharging this realm with the multitude of such seditious and dangerous people” those who were unable to give anything due to poverty were sent to prison, because there they could live better than at liberty (35 *Eliz. c.2*).

If recusants whose names were registered did not regularly attend divine service, they were forced to leave the queen’s realms. If they refused to leave, they were sentenced for felony “without benefit of clergy”. The act further stipulated that whenever someone was judged as a Jesuit, a seminary or massing priest and refused to report in the manner prescribed in the statute, he or she was committed to prison without bail. (35 *Eliz. c.2*) Everybody who violated this act after it had been passed was forced to openly declare his obedience to the Protestant Church by stating the following:

I, A.B., do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God in contemning her majesty’s godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm: and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience that the bishop or see of Rome has not, nor ought to have, any power or authority over her majesty, or within any her majesty’s realms or dominions: and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any colour or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will from time to time obey and perform her majesty’s laws and statutes, in repairing to the church, and hearing service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same. (35 *Eliz. c.2*)

Following the *Act Against Jesuits and Seminary Priests* this act was the second one directly aimed at Catholics. It not only served to further restrict their freedom and scope of action in England, but also to push the process of alienating Catholics in the minds of the English people. By categorising them as “wicked and seditious” and depicting their manner, type and nature as “most detestable and devilish” this act further demonised Catholics and Catholicism. Thus, due to the anti-Catholic laws passed by the government and the recent assaults by English and European Catholic allies on the English monarchy, the English mind-set was turned towards the conviction that being or dealing with a Catholic was wrong and liable to prosecution.

The *Act Against Recusants* also constitutes Elizabeth’s last legal measure to control and ‘eliminate’ Catholicism and the more or less acute dangers emanating from it in her realm. Thus, to briefly conclude on the reign of Elizabeth I and its impact on English Catholicism, it has to be said that the queen’s initial lax management concerning religious matters led to the inevitable conflicts between the two religious denominations. If she had been more determined during the beginning of her reign, that is, if she had strictly enforced the Protestant faith, perhaps fewer measures would have been taken by her religious opponents – at least in England. However, since Elizabeth only asked her subjects to attend divine service regardless of their true religion and opinion she raised hope within them that a return to the Old Faith was still a possibility. Due to her lax government and her insufficient decisiveness neither her own subjects nor foreign sovereigns truly acknowledged her reformatory means or her ability to rule a country.

Her manner of ruling, however, also shows a certain sensibility concerning the favour of her powerful Catholic nobles and landed gentry and reluctance against warfare. She obviously did not want to unite Catholic Europe in revulsion for her regime, but tried to establish Protestantism in a peaceful way. This, however, proved to be impossible and she was forced, partially by her councillors and advisors, to tighten measures. Yet, her establishment of the Anglican Church and

the Protestant faith helped to shape English nationalism, which rested, as has already been pointed out “on a foundation of anti-Catholicism.”<sup>203</sup>

By her death in 1603 hopes were high that her successor, James VI of Scotland, might loosen the grip on English Catholicism and reverse or at least relax Elizabethan decrees concerning the legitimacy of Catholicism in England. The next chapter will, therefore, briefly elucidate the reign of James I and his measures against Catholicism.

### 2.3 The Jacobean Era

When James VI of Scotland was about to become King of England, his succession was accompanied by one big controversy, that is, his origin. Being the only son of Mary Stuart, who had been demonised by the English government as Elizabeth’s fiercest enemy, and stemming from a Catholic nation, raised a degree of uncertainty concerning his religious motivations.

Regarding his relationship to Mary Stuart, James had signalled quite early during his reign that he was sympathetic to Elizabeth rather than to his mother. He and the English Queen had signed a treaty in 1586 consolidating their shared interests and their cooperation as well as totally excluding Mary’s interests.<sup>204</sup> In the autumn of 1587, after his mother’s arrest, James “continued to maintain in public that he had no objections to his mother being imprisoned in the most rigorous manner”<sup>205</sup>, and at no point did he say “that he would break the Anglo-Scottish league if his mother’s death was brought about by England.”<sup>206</sup> However, as Watkins states, it was the task of the ruling elite to “downplay James’s foreign birth and descent from a Catholic woman popularly decried as Elizabeth’s greatest enemy.”<sup>207</sup>

Concerning his religious policies, on the other hand, Catholics and Puritans had good cause to hope since his “policies in Scotland made him appear tolerant of

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<sup>203</sup> Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, p. 9.

<sup>204</sup> Fraser, *Mary*, p. 490.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>207</sup> John Watkins, “‘Out of her Ashes May a Second Phoenix Rise’: James I and the Legacy of Elizabethan Anti-Catholicism”, in: *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999, p. 118.

Catholics and inclined toward Calvinist church discipline.”<sup>208</sup> The Venetian envoy Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, for instance, was certain that greater religious tolerance would be a pillar of security of the new regime; he “‘held for certain’ that James would ‘permit the rights of the Roman Catholic Church’ after his accession.”<sup>209</sup> However, James could not be pinned down to a decisive statement. Answering a letter of the Earl of Northumberland in which he tried to elicit a statement of the king concerning Catholic mass, James said he would “‘neither persecute any [Catholic] that will be quiet and give but an outward obedience to the law, neither will I spare to advance any of them that will by good service worthily deserve it.’”<sup>210</sup> However tolerant this may have sounded, James knew that if he decided to follow in Elizabeth’s footsteps and continue the process of alienating Catholicism, he would be sure of “‘the support of the powerful southern gentry and urban mercantile classes whose Protestantism was fiercely anti-papist.’”<sup>211</sup> If he conceded to Catholics, on the other hand, he could ensure the support of “‘recusant gentry and nobles who still had power in many sections of the country.’”<sup>212</sup> Moreover, tolerating Catholics would also reduce the “‘threat of assassination, obviate the need for a large and potentially militant Catholic underground, and simplify diplomatic relationships with the Catholic Continent.’”<sup>213</sup>

Yet, James also knew that after decades of anti-Catholic propaganda and legal measures a change towards tolerating the very same could lead to unrest and uncertainty within the English population. Concerning this point, Watkins states that “[s]ince popular anti-Catholicism tended to increase during national crises, the period following Elizabeth’s death was a bad time to broach toleration.”<sup>214</sup> Thus, James had to choose a non-decisive strategy to repel neither his Catholic, nor his Protestant subjects and avoided to make a clear statement concerning his religious policy. His court writers, however, had already begun to paint an

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<sup>208</sup> Norman Jones, “The Politics of Renaissance England”, in: *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p. 19.

<sup>209</sup> Watkins, p. 116.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

unambiguous picture of the new king as the Phoenix<sup>215</sup> who had risen from the ashes of his ‘mother’ Elizabeth and who would continue as she had ended: “The Phoenix trope asserted not just continuity but absolute identity between the regimes. [...]. The Image of the bird rising from the flames also associated her with a resurgent Protestantism that prevailed despite the burning of the Marian martyrs.”<sup>216</sup>

In 1605, however, James was forced to adhere to the picture painted of him as Elizabeth’s ‘son’, when militant Catholics tried to blow up the Houses of Parliament. After this incident he followed a strict and rigorous anti-Catholic policy and further pushed the demonising and alienating process of Catholics and Catholicism in England.

The following two sections will, therefore, briefly elaborate on the events of the Gunpowder Plot and the Spanish Match and their consequences for English Catholicism.

### 2.3.1 The Gunpowder Plot and the *Act for the better discovery and repressing of Popish recusants*

In his extensive study *Gunpowder: The Players behind the Plot*, James Travers aptly points to the most parlous circumstances under which the plans for the gunpowder treason could emerge by stating: “As the investigations of the plot continued, it became evident just how close James and his ministers were to the plotters.”<sup>217</sup>

The best example of this closeness between state and plotters is the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, who became a member of the Privy Council in April 1603 and recruited Thomas Percy one month later. Thomas Percy, however, later joined the inner circle of the plotters and rented the chamber underneath the

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<sup>215</sup> “*Eliza’s Memoriall. King James His Arriuall. and Romes Downefall* (London, 1603) [...]:  
O! But is not your hope frustrate and vaine?  
Succeedeth not King Iames our Soueraigne?  
A Phoenix from Elizaes bred.” (Quoted in: Watkins, p. 121).

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>217</sup> James Travers, *Gunpowder: The Players behind the Plot*, Kew: The National Archives, 2005, p. 13.

parliamentary rooms where they stored the gunpowder and combustibles.<sup>218</sup> According to Alan Haynes, the leader and main conspirator, Robert Catesby, contacted Thomas Percy one month after Percy had become part of the gentleman pensioners and, in doing so, first hinted at a planned conspiracy against the king.<sup>219</sup> They agreed that “the king was far removed in his actions from what they had hoped”<sup>220</sup> – that is, his commitment for establishing an Anglo-Scottish Union rather than Catholic toleration – and remained in contact over the following months.<sup>221</sup>

By October 1604 Robert Catesby had already recruited Thomas Wintour, Guy Fawkes, John Wright and Robert Keyes. The initial plan of the plotters was to dig a tunnel that would directly lead under the House of Lords, where they planned to store the gunpowder.<sup>222</sup> Although they had recruited John Grant and John Wright’s brother, Christopher Wright, by January 1605, their tunnelling efforts remained fruitless as they had got “perhaps halfway through.”<sup>223</sup> In March 1605, they, however, noticed that a cellar room directly underneath the chamber of the House of Lords was vacated; Thomas Percy took the chance and rented the space, “[s]o by lucky coincidence (or something more sinister?) they had a depot for the gunpowder.”<sup>224</sup>

By October 1605 Ambrose Rookwood, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Wintour and Francis Tresham had joined the conspirators.<sup>225</sup> Their final plan was to blow the Houses of Parliament during its opening session on November 5<sup>th</sup> while the royal family and all members of parliament were assembled. Guy Fawkes was the one to light the combustibles while the others waited in nearby lodgings. After the explosion they planned to flee to the country.<sup>226</sup>

However, on October 26<sup>th</sup> Lord Monteagle received an ill-composed letter which informed him about the plot. It stated:

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<sup>218</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 8; 17-20.

<sup>219</sup> Alan Haynes, *The Gunpowder Plot: Faith in Rebellion*, Stroud: Sulton, 1996, p. 15, 46.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Antonia Fraser, *Faith and Reason: The Story of the Gunpowder Plot*, New York: Doubleday, 1996, p. 143; 145; 147.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

My Lord, out of love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift of your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country [county] where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be condemned because it may do you good and can do you no harm; for the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.<sup>227</sup>

Concerning the author of this letter, opinions are divided. Some scholars think the Earl of Salisbury, Robert Cecil, may have been the writer<sup>228</sup>, others believe Francis Tresham, the last plotter who joined the conspiratorial circle, had penned the letter<sup>229</sup>; and still others maintain that Lord Monteagle himself had concocted the warning.<sup>230</sup> Whoever the author was, the Monteagle letter definitely fulfilled its objective and constituted the first major hindrance for the plotters.

Monteagle, once in possession of this letter, informed the Earl of Salisbury who took a late supper with other members of the council at Whitehall. "Salisbury, by his own account, took the whole matter seriously from the start. [...]. Nevertheless he did not choose to alert the king, busy at his usual 'hunting exercise' near Royston in Cambridgeshire."<sup>231</sup> Thus, although he informed the other earls about the warning, nothing was done until James arrived on 1 November and read the letter himself. The king, however, immediately detected the message behind the letter and assumed "that the intention was to exceed in violence the infamous explosion at Kirk o'Field in February 1567 when his own father had been a victim."<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>228</sup> "On 9 November in drafting a letter to English ambassadors, Salisbury let slip that the Monteagle letter had been 'in a hand disguised'. A Catholic historian, Father Francis Edwards declares that he could only know this if he penned the letter himself. Secondly, the letter was written on paper from the Spanish Netherlands where both Salisbury and Thomas Phelippes had many active contacts." (Haynes, p. 77-78).

<sup>229</sup> "The plotters themselves identified the author of the warning letter as Francis Tresham, the lukewarm plotter who had offered Catesby money to forget the whole thing." (Travers, p. 48)

<sup>230</sup> Whether Monteagle wrote the letter himself or (as seems more prudent) got another to do so, there was certainly nothing miraculous about the process. Someone had let Monteagle into the secret of the Powder Treason. Who was his source? In this case the obvious suspect, Francis Tresham, is surely the right one." (Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 155.)

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>232</sup> Haynes, p. 82.

While the earls were waiting for the return of their royal master, the plotters, however, were being informed about the treasonable letter by Monteaule's servant, Thomas Ward, who had recusant connections. Although no names were revealed, they were under immense pressure and had to be even more cautious in guarding the gunpowder than before.<sup>233</sup>

On Monday, 4 November, the Lord Chamberlain led a search party through the Parliament buildings. "Isolated in one area and hence remarkable they came upon an uncommonly large pile of billets and faggots"<sup>234</sup> and a man who seemed to be guarding the cellar room. Upon being asked for whom he worked, he replied that it was Thomas Percy. John Whynniard, who participated in the tour and, above that, was the owner of the cellar, told Suffolk that Thomas Percy had rented the room. "That made the unusual quantity of firewood even more astonishing, since Percy was well known to have his own house elsewhere in London and seldom slept at Westminster."<sup>235</sup>

Having considered this news a second search party, led by Lord Knyvett of Esrick, went back to Westminster around midnight on 4 November. At the same time "Guy Fawkes had occasion to open the door to the under room. Whatever caused this – the furious barking of dogs close by perhaps, or the sound of a sword scraping the outer wall – Knyvett took advantage of the moment to order his arrest."<sup>236</sup> Fawkes gave his name as John Johnson<sup>237</sup>, servant of Thomas Percy. Knyvett immediately informed those members of the Privy Council who were around and alerted them to "prepare for an immediate meeting in the king's bedchamber, and it was there that Fawkes was brought before them for preliminary questioning at about four in the morning of 5 November."<sup>238</sup>

Upon hearing that Fawkes was taken the other conspirators fled from London. Most of them fled to Holbeach, north-east of London, where they were accommodated by Stephen Littleton.<sup>239</sup> However, on Friday 8 November, the sheriff's force surrounded the house and opened fire. "In the mêlée Thomas

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<sup>233</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 152.

<sup>234</sup> Haynes, p. 86.

<sup>235</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 168.

<sup>236</sup> Haynes, p. 88.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>239</sup> For the complete travel route cf. *Ibid.*, p. 89-93.

Winter [Tom Wintour] was shot in the shoulder; the Wright brothers were killed and Rookwood further wounded. Catesby, Thomas Percy and Thomas Winter stood close together in a defensive knot before the former two died [...] shot with one bullet.”<sup>240</sup> Robert Keyes and John Grant were also arrested at Holbeach; Digby, who had been able to flee, was soon “recaptured” and Francis Tresham was arrested in London on 11 November.<sup>241</sup>

In his speech to Parliament on 9 November, James took a stand on the failed Gunpowder conspiracy. He did not initially condemn all Catholics, instead he even showed himself grateful “towards the English Catholics who had not been involved in the Powder Treason as it did not follow ‘that all professing the Romish religion were guilty of the same’. The ‘seduced’ Papists could still be good subjects.”<sup>242</sup> This attitude, however, significantly faded in the course of the investigations, and the “English recusant community was suffering exactly that kind of relentless investigation which it had feared so long. There was now no reason for the authorities to let sleeping recusants – and their priests – lie.”<sup>243</sup> This treatment went together with the legal proceedings against the plotters which were conducted by Sir Edward Coke, the principal counsel. Coke was known for his anti-Catholic policy and justified his approach by stating: “I never yet knew a treason without a Romish priest; but in this there are very many Jesuits, who are known to have dealt and passed through the whole action.”<sup>244</sup> During the trial he forged the link between the plotters and the Jesuits:

Working up his revulsion, he went on: ‘the studies and practises of this sect [the Jesuits] principally consisted in two D’s, to wit, in deposing of Kings and disposing of Kingdomes.’ The effect was that ‘Romish Catholics’ had put themselves under ‘Gunpowder Law, fit for Justices of Hell’. This in turn led him back to Roger Bacon, ‘one of that Romish rabble’, as the supposed inventor of the explosive material. The allusion offered two hits; ‘all friars, religious, and priests were bad’, but still the principal offenders were ‘the seducing Jesuits ... men that use the reverence of Religion ... to cover their impiety, blasphemy, treason, and rebellion, and all manner of wickedness’.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>242</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 191.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., p. 191, 196.

<sup>244</sup> Haynes, p. 103.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

The key confession which underlined Coke's assumption was made by Thomas Bates, the servant of Everard Digby, in December 1605, who reported that Father Tesimond had been involved in the treason. Since Francis Tresham had already mentioned Father Garnet during his trial in November, the prosecutors soon had the desired links between plotters and priests and thus could develop a "case [...] against the Jesuits."<sup>246</sup>

What followed was that the king's "memory of his kindnesses to the Catholics – the ungrateful Catholics – was beginning to loom large in his own mind, while the important distinction between the guilty and the innocent Papists was beginning to blur."<sup>247</sup> He felt imposed and used and raged that "I shall, most certainly, be obliged to stain my hands with their blood, though sorely against my will."<sup>248</sup> As a consequence, discussions about new anti-Catholic legal measures commenced in February and according to Fraser "much virulent anti-Catholic talk followed"<sup>249</sup>:

The Papists were divided into three, of which the first group, 'old, rooted, rotten', were unlikely to be reclaimed at this stage, but fortunately they were more superstitious than seditious. The second group, the converts (described as the 'Novelists'), were the greatest danger. As for the third, 'the future tense of the Papists' – its youth – this was a group which must be nipped in the bud, with great care taken that recusants should not get away with their own marriages and christenings, as opposed to those of the state.<sup>250</sup>

Above that, the king's own attitude towards Catholics had changed dramatically, he was of the opinion that "the English Catholics 'were so infected with the doctrine of the Jesuits, respecting the subordination of the royal to the papal authority', that he could do nothing."<sup>251</sup> Instead, he left it to his Parliament which introduced an *Act for the better discovery and repressing of Popish recusants* (3 Jac. cc.4+5.) in May 1606. This act reintroduced the Elizabethan system of fines and restrictions and was directed against the king's subjects who:

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<sup>246</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 206-207.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>248</sup> Haynes, p. 119.

<sup>249</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 236.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

adhere in their hearts to the Popish religion, by the infection drawn from thence, and by the wicked and devilish counsel of JESUITS, Seminaries and other like persons, dangerous to Church and State, are so far perverted in the point of their loyalties and due allegiance unto the King's Majesty and the Crown of England, as they are ready to entertain and execute any Treasonable Conspiracies and Practices, as evidently appears by that more than barbarous attempt to have blown up with Gunpowder the King, Queen, Prince, Lords and Commons in the House of Parliament assembled, tending to the utter subversion of the whole state, lately undertaken BY THE INSTIGATION OF JESUITS and Seminaries. (3 *Jac. cc.4+5.*)<sup>252</sup>

It further introduced a new *Oath of Allegiance* which required of recusants and other minority groups to officially acknowledge the king as their sovereign and “to deny that the Pope had any power to depose him, authorize invasions by foreign princes of his dominions, or free his subjects from their allegiance.”<sup>253</sup> Any refusal of taking the oath would lead to imprisonment without bail and “incurred the penalty of praemunire: deprivation of all civil rights; loss of all property, and perpetual imprisonment.”<sup>254</sup>

Thus, shortly after James' succession to the throne and his initial intention to not shed any innocent Catholic blood, the Catholic community found itself in an even worse state than during the reign of Elizabeth. Haynes writes that “the harshness of the laws was a profound shock to most of them and caused widespread fear and anxiety”<sup>255</sup>, many of them were even preparing to go into exile. In the following years additional laws were enacted which further restricted their everyday lives: “Catholics could no longer practise law, nor serve in the Army or Navy as officers [...], act as executor of will or guardian to a minor, nor even possess a weapon [...], receive a university degree, and could not vote in local elections nor in Parliamentary elections.”<sup>256</sup>

Anti-Catholicism and anti-Catholic policy, therefore, steadily increased, while in 1611 the official Anglican Bible, the King James Bible, was published and became the standard reference work in Anglican and English speaking Protestant churches. However in the 1620s, the Catholic community again had good cause to hope for toleration, when James negotiated marriage plans for his son Charles and

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<sup>252</sup> For a full text version of the cited act see: Appendix 5.1, p. lxxxviii.

<sup>253</sup> Haynes, p. 120.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>256</sup> Fraser, *Faith and Reason*, p. 282-283.

the Spanish *infanta* Maria Anna, daughter of Philipp III. The next chapter will briefly delineate and close with the so-called Spanish Match.

### 2.3.2 The Spanish Match

The most controversial policy of James' reign was his attempt to secure peace with Spain by marrying his son Charles to the Spanish princess Maria Anna. Officially James pursued such negotiations because he "saw himself in the unique position to restore the balance of powers across Europe. While the Reformation had polarized Europeans and turned the once universal church into an array of warring factions, James [...] used marriage alliances as a way to forge diplomatic alliances across the continent."<sup>257</sup> However, another reason was the Spanish dowry which "was larger than the annual royal income" and therefore had "obvious attractions for a monarch congenitally unable to balance the budget."<sup>258</sup>

Yet, neither his subjects nor his parliament understood – or wanted to understand – James' line of thinking, since the assumption that an alliance with Spain would secure continental peace was based on the belief "that the Spaniards could be trusted."<sup>259</sup> The history of the Hapsburg Empire as well as "the recollection of the hard-fought fifteen-year war under Elizabeth I made an Anglo-Spanish marriage hard to swallow."<sup>260</sup> The English feared, on the one hand, that the Spaniards only supported the marriage negotiations as a means of expanding their empire and, on the other hand, that it might also bring England back to the Catholic faith, because dealing with Spain also meant dealing with the pope, whom many regarded as the 'Antichrist'.<sup>261</sup>

While some contemporaries were beginning to grasp the wide distinctions among Catholics, all understood that Spanish Catholics represented the most ardent supporters of the Counter-Reformation and the most implacable opponents of the

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<sup>257</sup> Adam H. Kitzes, "The Spanish Match", in: *Sites of Cultural Stress. From Reformation to Revolution*, ed. by David Cressy and Lori Ann Ferrell, Washington: Folger Institute, 2003. (<[http://www.folger.edu/html/folger\\_institute/cultural\\_stress/theatre\\_spanish.html](http://www.folger.edu/html/folger_institute/cultural_stress/theatre_spanish.html)>; accessed 09/12/12, 1:59 pm).

<sup>258</sup> Thomas Cogswell, "England and the Spanish Match", in: *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in religion and politics 1603-1642*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, London/New York: Longman, 1989, p. 111.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Reformed creeds. Therefore the match would introduce into the royal bedchamber, not the modest devotions of James's Catholic consort, Queen Anne, but rather the most aggressive strain of contemporary Catholicism.<sup>262</sup>

Apart from past struggles with Spain, the domestic anti-Catholic policies of Elizabeth and James had clearly left their traces in the minds of the English. Each violent Catholic attempt to gain ground in England had been answered by a law which had not only restricted (innocent) Catholics in their everyday life, but had also led to an alienation – even demonisation – of Catholics in the Protestant minds of their neighbours and colleagues. The English thus feared that once Charles had married Maria Anna, their Protestantism and their independence from Rome might be at stake. Their greatest fear therefore was that the Catholics “will move from ‘toleration’ to ‘equalitie’ to ‘superioritie ... till they have used all plotts and practices for the quite extirpation of our religion’.”<sup>263</sup>

Meanwhile, tensions between the Hapsburgs and Bohemia were escalating when the Bohemian Protestants had ousted their king and installed the Elector Palatine: “When Hapsburg forces moved to drive out the Protestant King, Parliament called upon James for military and political support; in the eyes of many, it was King James' personal obligation to defend his son-in-law from the Hapsburg armies.”<sup>264</sup> James, however, used this conflict to shed new light on the Spanish Match by declaring the marriage between his heir and the Spanish princess as the foundation for a peaceful solution.<sup>265</sup>

James' mistake was that he had not considered the reaction of his parliament. On 29 November 1621 the government petitioned against a marriage and for a war with Spain. James's response was the dissolution of the Parliament.<sup>266</sup> With regards to the climax of the marriage negotiations, Cogswell writes that

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>264</sup> Kitzes, n.p.

<sup>265</sup> Cogswell, p. 114: [James'] solution was not war, but rather an expansion of the Anglo-Spanish marriage negotiations. Disavowing both the rebels and his son-in-law, the King pressed for a ceasefire and a return to the status quo ante bellum. The cement for the general peace was to be the marriage of Frederick's brother-in-law, Prince Charles, to the daughter of Ferdinand's chief paymaster, Philip III of Spain. As always James was flexible; once the Spanish troops overran the Palatinate in 1620, he simply added it to the Infanta's dowry. In short the Bohemian war transformed the Spanish match into a diplomatic instrument concluding the continental religious war and removing the pressure for English military intervention.”

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

“acceptance of the Spanish match and James’s non-interventionist policy had become the litmus test of loyalty, a test which many, notwithstanding their own best efforts, failed.”<sup>267</sup> Thus, scholars, pamphleteers and writers openly uttering their opinion against the marriage or recalling the events of the Spanish Armada, were imprisoned and restricted in their freedom of expression.<sup>268</sup>

However, good news for marriage opponents came in July 1623. King and council had approved the marriage terms, and James and Philip had agreed on terms, yet one person had not given his consent: Urban VIII. Thus, the already languid negotiations were further adjourned *sine die*. “[E]xasperated by the delays Charles announced that he would leave with or without the Infanta. Although Charles remained formally espoused and both sides spoke of a spring wedding, it was clear in August that the best chance to conclude the match had passed.”<sup>269</sup>

Charles’ return to England was exuberantly celebrated: “The bells of the metropolis, the guns of the tower, and the drums and horns on every street produced a deafening din. Amid the noise, the main concern of the citizens was the creation and maintenance of the largest possible bonfire.”<sup>270</sup> Cogswell aptly remarks that the people were not only celebrating the prince’s safe return, “they were also celebrating their own deliverance from Spain.”<sup>271</sup>

The prospect of an Anglo-Spanish marriage had deeply divided the sovereign and his subjects. Whereas the king had seen it as a chance to secure peace, his people had feared the consequences of a treaty with a Catholic monarch. After the failure of the match many proposed and hoped for a military campaign against Spain with which the king did not comply. “Consequently, when the expectations about an active war against Spain abroad and Catholics at home were not immediately fulfilled, it was only natural that contemporaries should revert to the political pattern which had developed earlier in the decade.”<sup>272</sup> Among the people anti-Catholic feelings were growing stronger, when, for example, the Catholic chapel in house of the French ambassador in London, Tillières, “collapsed killing

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. Ibid., p. 118-119.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

nearly 100 recusants. When a Catholic girl was pulled half dead from the wreckage, a crowd attacked, eager to finish the job, and Tillières, fearful of another incident, ordered the victims buried on the embassy grounds rather than attempt to remove the corpses.”<sup>273</sup>

James’ attempt to bring peace to Europe and, thus, to the two warring Churches did not work out, but in fact backfired. The judicial and political decisions over the past 100 years had led to an underlying anti-Catholic attitude within the English people which could neither be reversed nor mitigated by the prospect of a dynastic marriage with Spain. Due to the demonization of Catholicism, Catholics and the pope, the English might have feared that any contact or contract with Catholics might lead to the extinction of their religion and a relapse to a condition comparable with the reign of Mary I. This fear had, therefore, rather fueled than reversed anti-Catholic feelings within the English minds and overridden any chance of toleration for Catholics in England.

When James died in 1625, he remained a controversial figure. He had not only united England and Scotland with his succession, but had remained at peace and without military conflict during his reign. However his exuberant and wasteful lifestyle had estranged him from his people, as had his foreign policy and his dealings with his parliament.

With his son’s succession a somewhat “brighter time began for English Catholics”,<sup>274</sup> because Charles I ceased to prosecute them. During his reign the number of Catholic clergy increased significantly, however, his lax policy was one of the major causes for the split between the king and the parliament. William Lilly writes that at the time when “war broke out between Charles I and the Parliament, English Catholics, to a man, espoused the cause of the king [...] Hatred of Catholicism was a dominant note of the Parliament party, who bitterly resented the quasi-toleration which the Catholics had for some years enjoyed.”<sup>275</sup> During the puritan interregnum, the oppression of Catholics increased, and

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>274</sup> Lilly.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

according to Lilly “one hundred and seventy” Catholics died under the Commonwealth.<sup>276</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusion

English political anti-Catholicism, thus, is a phenomenon which had developed over more than 200 years. Acts like the Henrician and Elizabethan *Supremacy Acts* and the Edwardian *Uniformity Act* unquestionably served to form a legal foundation for the Reformation and later the consequential implementation of the very same; yet, the reign of Mary I and the prosecution of Protestants certainly also contributed to the common consent that a reformation of the church was necessary.

Whereas the first statutes introduced by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I merely served to reduce Catholicism and Catholic activities in England by imposing a penalty system and forbidding the possession of Catholic books and the practicing of Catholic rites, the later years of Elizabeth’s reign were marked by more resolute and harsher legal measures to completely banish and forbid Catholicism in England. From a pro-Protestant view, the Elizabethan measures can be regarded as replies to the activities from the Catholic continent. After her excommunication, the Northern Rebellion and the landing of the missionary priests, Elizabeth was forced to act against the increasing threat coming from national and foreign Catholics. Whereas the Pro-Catholic point of view claims that Catholics and Catholicism merely tried to gain a foothold in England again after they had been ‘forbidden’ and banished. Notes from this time are seldom neutral, and researchers and historians always have to keep in mind that neither description is completely objective.

In consequence, the events of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot only served to further complete the picture meticulously combined from legal acts, propaganda texts and a harsh penalty system of evil Catholics aiming at the destruction of England and her respective sovereign. The English saw proof for their governmentally induced belief that the pope, being the highest authority of

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

the Catholic Church, in consultation with the Spanish King and other influential Catholics had planned and authorized any attempt to either kill their sovereign or regain the supremacy over England and the English church.

By the time of the Spanish Match, the English subjects and the Parliament had developed such a fundamental anti-Catholic attitude that the prospect of a Protestant-Catholic marriage with Spain created upheavals and riots and caused the Parliament to table a petition against this marriage. This and Charles's attempted toleration of Catholics was one of the main reasons war broke out between him and his Parliament. English anti-Catholicism, thus, had grown so strong and fundamental that not even the king had the chance to open up his country to a religiously more tolerant policy.

Against the background of these historical and legal facts the next chapter will provide a transition from actual political and social circumstances and conditions to the fictional representation of the very same on the English stage. It will serve to illustrate the development of the theatre and work out the importance of the drama and the English stage as the only open medium of entertainment during this time. By staging actual political and historical events and by focusing on the religious struggle between Catholics and Protestants the dramatists of this time hit the nerve of the audience and helped to nurture the development of English anti-Catholicism.

### 3. Transition – From actual politics to fictional plots

Against the background of these historical events and politico-legal developments the next step will be to bridge the gap between actual politics and fictional plots, hence to trace the connections between politics, and the theatre and other factors that served to establish a possible mutual influence between these two instances. Assuming a mutual influence, this would mean that not only playwrights and dramatists were influenced by politics, but that politics in turn were equally influenced by the dramas staged during this time.

The understanding of a reciprocal connection between literature – in this case, drama – and the political and historical events of the time in which it was written leads back to the New Historicist approach, which examines literature in its historical context. Robert Weimann aptly stated that:

criticism itself must be a kind of historical activity which, ideally, can be both a product and a ‘producer’ of the history of the effect of Shakespeare’s work. [...] For the literary historian and critic, the problem, then is, not whether to accept both worlds and points of reference, but rather, since each is so inevitable and necessary, how to relate them so as to discover the degree and consequences of their connections.<sup>277</sup>

Literature, therefore, is more than just art or a cultural form; it is a product of its time. It is a collection of thoughts, mentalities and opinions, which offers “a record, highly mediated, of the period’s perceptions of itself, sometimes of an event or series of events”<sup>278</sup>, and in the case of the early modern era, literature actually was able, more than any other device, to capture the collective mind of this time. Since there were no newspapers or any other kind of opinion-forming media or entertainment, the drama – and with it the theatre – took and held a dominating position of presenting and representing “topical events”<sup>279</sup> and in shaping the public opinion.

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<sup>277</sup> Weimann, p. xiii.

<sup>278</sup> Michael Hattaway, “Drama and Society”, in: *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R. Braummuller and Michael Hattaway, Cambridge: CUP, 2003, p. 97.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Margot Heinemann, “Political Drama”, in: *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R. Braummuller and Michael Hattaway, Cambridge: CUP, 2003, p. 168.

However, as politics cannot be understood without history, the early modern theatre cannot be understood without knowing the “specific sociological conditions upon which the Elizabethan theater, its audiences and their tastes, were based.”<sup>280</sup> Robert Weimann, in his extensive study on the influences of the popular tradition on Shakespeare’s theatre, has worked out the importance of the medieval theatre and the folk play on the early modern theatre and has shown that England had been a theatrical nation since the beginnings of historiography. According to his study, the first substantial form of theatre was the medieval theatre, especially the forms of the morality plays and the mystery plays, which were simple representations of struggles between good and evil or biblical stories. However, unlike early modern theatre, popular medieval drama was “controlled by conservative guilds”<sup>281</sup> and thus not yet able to develop either complexity or versatility. This development began with the first permanent playhouses<sup>282</sup>, and the increasing number of spectators, which implied a higher demand for plays. To satisfy this demand the playwrights had to be creative, thus they availed themselves of the existing material and began mixing and expanding it: “It was a multiple unity based on contradictions, and as such allowed the dramatist a flexible frame of reference that was more complex and more vital to the experience of living and feeling within the social organism than the achievement of any other theatre before or since.”<sup>283</sup> Thus, the substance of early modern drama consisted of a mixture of popular theatrical traditions and newly formed ideas, which was, on the one hand, responsible for its success and on the other hand, the reason for its complexity:

Against the ‘hodge-podge’ of a transitional age, the medieval estates of the realm were no less mixed and transformed than the various dramatic genres: the craft cycle tradition, the drama of the schools, the interlude in the hall, the masque and courtly revels were now no longer ‘serued in seuerall dishes.’ Instead they were so ‘minced’ that in the country’s metropolis the result was a drama neither farcical nor learned nor courtly. It was a drama unlike any of the continental burghess or classical or pastoral genres, but one whose

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<sup>280</sup> Weimann, p. 169.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>282</sup> “The Theatre, the first permanent public playhouse, was built by James Burbage in 1576; the Curtain followed shortly after, and a few years later the Rose (1587), the Swan (1595), and the famous Globe (1599), which was built with materials from the dismantled Theatre.” Weimann, p. 170.

<sup>283</sup> Weimann, p. 174.

bewildering medley of kinds could indeed be defined as ‘tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited.’<sup>284</sup>

That is to say that the fusion of all these medieval genres with new elements<sup>285</sup> constituted the breeding ground of Elizabethan drama, and that this fusion “in the light of a unifying and exalting experience of nationhood, [...] brought forth something new which nevertheless appealed to all sections of the audience.”<sup>286</sup>

Society and theatre were thus linked in many ways, and society regarded theatre as a “national institution”<sup>287</sup>, which is also based on the fact that “the London theatre was not exclusively a courtly, academic, or guild theatre that there developed a stage and a mode of production the theatrical possibilities of which were as diverse as the models and sources from which it drew.”<sup>288</sup>

Therefore, theatre was the only open medium and form of entertainment which was accessible for all social classes. Referring to Thomas Platter, “a Swiss visitor who saw *Julius Caesar* performed at the Globe in September 1599”, R.A. Foakes quotes: “[T]he spectator paid one penny to stand in the arena, another penny to sit in a gallery, and a penny more ‘to sit on a cushion in the most comfortable place of all, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen’”<sup>289</sup>, and sees this as evidence that “the playhouses provided a hierarchy of accommodations in the expectation that the audience would be socially and economically diversified.”<sup>290</sup> Margot Heinemann adds that:

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>285</sup> “Once the humanist contribution to the drama is seen in its wider moral and imaginative implications, it can more significantly be related to the popular tradition. The interplay of popular taste and humanist endeavor has indeed often been observed; it has been pointed out that classical models, Senecan or Terencean, enriched the popular drama while the popular tradition, in its turn, saved the drama from academic stiffness.” Weimann, p. 180.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>289</sup> R.A. Foakes, “Playhouses and players”, in: *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway, Cambridge: CUP, 2003, p. 8.

<sup>290</sup> Foakes, p. 9.

the most important thing about the audience was its broad social and political mix. No doubt, the leisured and well-to-do had the opportunity to go to the theatre more often than the craftsmen or the labourer. But it does not follow that London playgoers as a whole were the ‘privileged’ in society. Careful study of the evidence (by Andrew Gurr and Martin Butler in particular) confirms what the plays themselves always suggested, that the audiences for the various kinds of public theatres included more or less everyone except the very poorest.<sup>291</sup>

What is more, going to the theatre did not “demand literacy in an age when most of the population was illiterate”<sup>292</sup>, and when books were reserved for the literate few, that is to say that even the uneducated ‘groundlings’ – as they were called – formed a welcome part of the audience. Thus, the early modern playhouses were a form of entertainment for everyone regardless of birth, social class, income or education, which consequently helped to increase their popularity. Foakes quotes the pamphleteer Philip Stubbes who “voiced what had already become a regular complaint, that people flocked to ‘Theatres and curtains’ when ‘the church of God shall be bare and empty’.”<sup>293</sup>

The theatre therefore brought together people from different social classes, different parts of the country and different origin to watch tragic, comical or historical plays written by dramatists from among their number which all had one thing in common: reality. The playwrights, the privileged and the poor had experienced the same historical events: the reformation of the English church, the bloody reign of Mary I, the succession of Elizabeth, the execution of Mary Stuart, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the tightening up of laws against Catholics, the prosecution of Catholics. And these topics finally made their way to the stage: “The plays of the first permanent commercial theatres in the 1580s represent both controversial political issues and the common people’s grievances in a way that seems extraordinarily bold and direct compared with what came later. Raw nationalism, warlike monarchism, anticlericalism, fear of Catholic invasion and plotting”<sup>294</sup> were prevalent topics of the plays staged at the London theatres.

The Master of the Revels actually played a huge role when it came to what was staged and what not. Plays directly criticizing the monarchy or containing and

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<sup>291</sup> Heinemann, “Political Drama”, p. 168-169.

<sup>292</sup> Foakes, p. 34.

<sup>293</sup> Foakes, p. 3.

<sup>294</sup> Heinemann, “Political Drama”, p. 173.

discussing delicate contemporary political decisions and topics were not allowed to be performed on stage<sup>295</sup>, whereas plays with more or less harsh anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish contents retelling past events in an almost militant Protestant way seemed to have been wished for on the stage. The Master of the Revels, therefore, can be regarded as a rather influencing institution in the opinion-forming of the public by deciding which plays were staged and which not.

However, not only censorship, but also economic and financial factors played a major role in the selection of the plays. On the one hand, Elizabeth I and James I were benefactors of the theatre, and it was the owners' and companies' wish to please their sovereigns<sup>296</sup>; on the other hand, the audience had to be pleased as well. If the playwrights had not produced what the audiences wished to see, the theatres' profits and popularity would not have increased the way they did. Thus, the audience was – as Heinemann puts it – a “powerful influence” on the dramatist:

The traditions of Lollardy, popular anti-clericalism and religious radicalism went back long before the Reformation, especially in London and the south-east, and the highly profitable audiences there were probably more strongly nationalist, anti-Popery, anti-Spanish and anticlerical than either the monarchy or the government, as was shown in public opposition to the Alençon marriage for Elizabeth at one end of the great period of drama, or the tumults over a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles at the other.<sup>297</sup>

In addition, another aspect the audience highly appreciated on stage was English supremacy in the fight against Catholicism. Such ‘Elect plays’ implied that England and the English were God’s chosen nation, and that all historic events happened for the purpose of manifesting English supremacy in the “cosmic

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<sup>295</sup> Cf. Heinemann, “Political Drama”, p. 170: “We know of a number of cases where the companies and writers collided directly with the censorship. Almost every dramatist of importance was involved at some time or other – Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Daniel, Day, Chapman, Middleton, Massinger, Brome, for a start. But the effects went far beyond such specific cases. As G.E. Bentley showed, while only a small number of the 2,000 or more plays produced in the fifty years before the Civil War directly offended, all managers and dramatists knew that severe punishments and loss of livelihood were within the censor’s power.”

<sup>296</sup> “The Queen not only protected actors, she also saw their performances, for, as some complained, the common players ‘present before her maiestie such plaies as haue ben before commonly played in open stages before all the basest assemblies in London and Middlesex...’ Such points of contact between court art and plebeian drama were indeed remarkable. It was not unknown for the Queen to decline a play prepared for her in favor of a ‘company of base and common fellows.’” Weimann, p. 172.

<sup>297</sup> Heinemann, “Political Drama”, p. 168.

struggle against Antichrist.”<sup>298</sup> According to Margot Heinemann, “politics and religion become inseparable” in such plays, because “for what is felt to be at stake, at the popular level, is the survival of England as an independent and prosperous nation, the freedom of individual conscience, and hostility to the Pope. (Religion in the sixteenth century, as Namier put it, is often another word for nationalism.)”<sup>299</sup>

Thus, one major reason for the production of numerous plays with anti-Catholic contents and a display of Protestantism as the ‘true’ religion is reducible to the demands of the audience and the court – it is therefore questionable, if dramatists acted out of ideological conviction or merely out of economic reasons, when they wrote anti-Catholic plays.

One last aspect to be named for the selection of the plays during the early modern period was a direct consequence of the Reformation. Due to the expropriation of the Catholic Church much of its land, property and patronage were transferred to the monarchy, and to supportive aristocratic and noble families. Regarding these families and their influence on the theatrical scene, Margot Heinemann writes:

Among those whose families were thus enriched were several of the greatest patrons of poets and players, the Dudleys, Earls of Leicester and Warwick (patrons of radical Protestantism from the 1540s); the Walsinghams; the Sidneys, the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke; the Devereux, Earls of Essex; the Rich family, the Russels, Earls of Bedford. Under Elizabeth their wealth and influence helped to patronize and protect a spectacular secular culture. To offer entertainment to the Queen was indeed a necessary investment in their world, and this they did at first through their own troupes of players. Many later became patrons of the new theatrical companies, as well as of preachers whom they appointed to livings in their gift or as private chaplains. [...] In political and religious terms many of these patrons inclined to militant Protestantism which on a broad definition could be called ‘puritan’, supporting, for example, a strongly anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic foreign policy.<sup>300</sup>

It was, thus, also in the interest of the patrons of the companies and theatres to stage plays with definite anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant contents, which obviously was to the liking of the reigning monarchs, as well.

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<sup>298</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

Therefore, the historical events and politico-legal decisions and developments of Reformation England offered the most beneficial conditions for the emergence of anti-Catholic and anti-Popish plays. Yet, not only those shaping, financing and contributing to the dramatic programme of the London theatre scene were decisive factors in the emergence of anti-Catholic plays, but moreover those who went to the theatre to watch a play. Thus, playwrights producing evil Catholic characters and warrior-like redemption bringing good Protestant characters definitely had their fingers on the pulse of the audience.

The question, however, which remains is whether or not the influence of history, and the wishes of the audience and patrons which shaped the theatrical scene, had – combined with the popularity of the theatre – as much influence on politics as politics had on the audience and the theatre. How powerful and manipulating was the drama of this time, and did it contribute to the prosecution of Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I? Did it actually help to establish the firm English nationalism which was inextricably linked to anti-Catholicism?

However, before these questions can be approached, a look at early modern drama as such is necessary. The next chapter, therefore, will give a short overview of the different medieval and contemporary influences on early modern drama and discuss and analyse a selection of plays, ranging from 1588 to 1642 with regards to their portrayals of Catholicism and Protestantism. It will help to understand the dramatic devices used, show the machinations with which dramatists worked to establish an ultimately evil picture of Catholicism with or without opposing Protestant forces and explain the tactics behind the display of changing constellations of Catholic characters on stage.

## 4. Anti-Catholicism in early modern drama – from tendency to feature

### 4.1 Cultural embedding

Before turning to early modern drama, a short excursus to some of the most established roles models concerning plot, setting and character conception will be necessary and helpful for understanding the origin and development of theatrical anti-Catholicism and the character concept of the Catholic villain to be discussed below.

This excursus will include a short retrospect to the theatre of the Middle Ages focussing on the development of one specific character type and foregoing a detailed analysis of the theatrical developments and progression from the Middle Ages to early modern times.<sup>301</sup> Further, the relation between the Senecan tyrant and the early modern villain will be considered as well as the effect Machiavelli's works had on Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights. Finally, the preference of Italian settings among the playwrights, the possibilities offered by these settings and the inevitable Italian colouring of the plot and character concept will constitute topics of discussion.

#### 4.1.1 Medieval drama – an influential ancestor

As previously mentioned, early modern drama is “unthinkable without the popular tradition”<sup>302</sup>; however, Weimann also states that these two theatrical forms should be seen in a “comparative” rather than a “generic” way, and research should focus “not on the sources but the forms in which Shakespeare made use of structural and verbal elements comparable to those in the folk play.”<sup>303</sup> That is to say, Shakespeare and his contemporaries employed certain elements from the morality

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<sup>301</sup> For a brief description, see chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>302</sup> Weimann, p. xvi.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

plays, developed and enhanced them by means of other sources and their own ideas and with this created a more complex type of character.

One of these elements, which is of essential importance for the sections to follow, is the Vice figure. Generally known today as an “old allegorical figure of the sardonic intriguer who tries to bring about the ruin of Humanum Genus”<sup>304</sup>, the origins of the Vice are not necessarily entirely rooted evil. Quite to the contrary, as Francis Hugh Mares has pointed out, “the Vice comes into the drama from the popular festival [... and] is already established as a stage clown before he appears in the morality at all.”<sup>305</sup> Mares bases his assumption on the works of R.J.E. Tiddy<sup>306</sup> and Robert Withington<sup>307</sup> who suggested that “the folk-game fool had an influence on the mystery-play devil, and thence on the morality Vice”<sup>308</sup> and underlines this connection by pointing out the special relationship all these character types had with the audience: they were the audience’s favourites, because they shared a certain intimacy with it by cracking jokes with or directly commenting to it and, by this, foretelling the action of the play or letting the audience into their confidence.<sup>309</sup> Most importantly, however, the fool, the devil and the Vice are not bound to the limitations of the other characters and often seem to be “outside the moral law,”<sup>310</sup> which means that they were able to trespass moral boundaries. Mares leads this back to the suggestion that the Vice was “always acted in a mask”<sup>311</sup> and thus had more opportunities and room to act – physically and morally.

Thus, the Vice figures became highly important and potent character types which actively influenced the developing process the English drama was experiencing and opened doors to new and enriching possibilities. They became

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<sup>304</sup> Matthias Bauer, “Count Malvolio, Machevill and the Vice”, in: *Connotations* 1/3 (1991), p. 235.

<sup>305</sup> Francis Hugh Mares, “The Origin of the Figure Called ‘the Vice’ in Tudor Drama”, in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 22/ 1 (1958), p. 13.

<sup>306</sup> R.J.E. Tiddy, *The Mummers’ Play*, Oxford: OUP, 1923.

<sup>307</sup> Robert Withington, “The Ancestry of the ‘Vice’”, in: *Speculum* 7 (1932), pp. 525-529.

<sup>308</sup> Mares, p. 13.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29. Additionally Mares suggests that the Vice took his name from the mask he wore: “This character was always acted in a *mask*; it probably had its name from the old French word *Visage*, for which they now use *Visage*, though they still retain it in *vis a vis*, which is, literally, face to face.” (p. 29)

the centre of the play and the source of energy for the plot: “They are the playwrights, the chorus, the comedians, the satirical moralists, and the agents of destruction of every play in which they appear.”<sup>312</sup> This new demand of a higher complexity entailed the abandoning of old structures and concepts, for example, the traditional stage devil from the mystery plays, who did not only suffer the “disqualification of his nonallegorical nature” but also lacked the demanded talents of being “a nimble trickster, dissembler, and humorist.”<sup>313</sup> Therefore, the traditional devil was too flat and static to satisfy the growing demand of character complexity.

However, besides its extended function, the core characteristic of this merged figure of the Vice remained the same: the opposition to and provocation of virtue and the illustration of “the moral evils in human life.”<sup>314</sup> Whether he did this in an entertaining or repulsive, gay or evil way remained the Vice’s paradox and the source of his fascination.<sup>315</sup> Nevertheless, the comic side of his character became more and more marginal over the course of time, so that by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the Vice had become the incarnation of evil and sin. As proof of this Bernard Spivack exemplarily quotes from a play called *The Longer Thou Livest*<sup>316</sup> (1568) by William Wager in which a character called Incontinence announces Idleness to be the mother of all vices:

INCONTINENCE      What, Idlenes, the parent of all vice?  
    Who thought to have found thee here.  
 IDLENESS          Then art thou neyther mannerly nor wise,  
    As by thy salutation doth appeare;  
    For if I of vice be the parent,  
    Then thy parent I must needed be.  
    Thou art a vice by all mens consent,  
    Therefore it is like that I begat thee. [595-602]

Spivack concludes that this dialogue contributes to “the evidence that the word *vice*, as a moral designation for *all* personifications of evil, is prevalent in the texts

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<sup>312</sup> Bernard Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: The History of a Metaphor in Relation to his Major Villains*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 126.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>315</sup> Weimann and Spivack related this bipolarity to the Psychomachia as a possible source. Cf. Spivack, p. 136; Weimann, p. 154.

<sup>316</sup> Quoted in Spivack, p. 140.

of the moralities and is as old as the oldest of them.”<sup>317</sup> Robert Weimann argues similarly (“the Vice is an allegorical manifestation of sin”<sup>318</sup>) and additionally works out three different structural functions of the Vice: “the Vice as protagonist and opponent to the figures of Virtue; the Vice as intriguer and manipulator of the representatives of humanity; and the Vice as producer, manager, and commentator.”<sup>319</sup>

Besides this enhanced functional scope, the Vice, however, had not lost one of his original characteristics: the role of mediator between the stage and the audience. Quite to the contrary, by keeping this original trait while developing others, the Vice achieved a completely new and powerful position:

In so standing between the text of the play and its theatrical realization, the Vice mediates between fiction and reality, the drama and the social occasion. Although his predetermined opposition to the virtuous figures does subject the Vice to a more or less prescribed range of attitudes and actions, his developing capacity for original intrigue and his theatrical buoyancy made him an incessant plotter.<sup>320</sup>

Spivack remarks that in the case of allegories – which will be of importance later on – there are mostly several vicious characters. The relationship between these different Vices is marked by the fact “that one of the vices is almost always distinguished from the others as their *immoral* superior and dramatic leader. He is captain of the forces of evil and they are his privates. When they contest his supremacy or show him insufficient deference, he puts them down with threats and blows.”<sup>321</sup> One of the elements of the morality plot therefore became the demonstration of hierarchical strength among the Vices and the aim to identify the “Vice-in-chief.”<sup>322</sup> Hence, with a growing complexity of the plot during the Elizabethan and Jacobean era, the number of good and evil characters also became variable. The plays by Shakespeare, Webster or Middleton no longer featured one good and one evil character, but a multitude of characters belonging to either side or located in the grey zone in between. Thus, the medieval element of a hierarchy

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<sup>317</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>318</sup> Weimann, p. 154.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid. p. 156.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>321</sup> Spivack, p. 141.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

among the Vices had remained interesting for early modern playwrights since then, and will also be part of the discussion below. Nevertheless, the medieval Vice figure was not the only influence on the later Elizabethan stage villain.

#### 4.1.2 Roman roots – the Senecan tyrant

Apart from the morality Vice, the Senecan villainous tyrant was another “stock character”<sup>323</sup> adopted and employed by the Elizabethan playwrights to upgrade and enhance the complexity and depth of their characters.<sup>324</sup> Seneca’s tragedies as such were highly popular amongst the Elizabethans and later the Jacobean, partly due to his “preoccupation with power and its corruption”, his “atrocious crimes [... and] outrageous acts of bloodthirsty revenge”, and moreover, he was admired for “his loftiness of style, sententiousness and moral seriousness.”<sup>325</sup> According to Janet Clare, “Seneca gave the new, popular and commercial Elizabethan theatre cultural capital”<sup>326</sup>, thus the employed elements of his academic drama revaluated the writings of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists.

However, Senecan tragedies initially found their way to England by means of Italian imitations, especially those by G.B. Giraldi Cinthio. These Italian Senecan dramas mostly displayed the conflict between “a villain, usually a sovereign who is enabled by his position to exert his power for his private ends, and a heroine.”<sup>327</sup> Cinthio, thus, as Mario Praz assumes, brought “the Senecan tyrant [...] and the maxims of villainous conduct” up to date and provided the “link between the Senecan tyrant and the Elizabethan villain.”<sup>328</sup>

Yet, the Senecan model of the tyrant soon became blurred and mingled with another phenomenon that emerged in the mid sixteenth century: Machiavelli and *Il Principe*. However, similar to the alteration of Seneca’s tragedies by Cinthio

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<sup>323</sup> Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli, and Other Studies in the Relations between Italian and English Literature from Chaucer to T.S. Eliot*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958, p. 109.

<sup>324</sup> For a comprehensive study, cf. J. W. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London: Macmillan, 1907.

<sup>325</sup> Janet Clare, *Revenge Tragedies of the Renaissance*, Horndon: Northcote House Publishers Ltd, 2006, pp. 18-19.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>327</sup> Praz, p. 111.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

when they became popular in England, Machiavelli's ideas also found their way to London in a modified state, via the *Contre-Machiavel* by Innocent Gentillet, who completely condemned Machiavelli's ideas and principles. These construed ideas, of Seneca and Machiavelli, proved to be highly compatible and thus were combined and employed in the conception and construction of new villainous characters:

The Senecan drama was [...] the medium through which the Machiavellian principles, distorted as they had been, came to be uttered from the stage. Machiavellism, as epitomized by Gentillet, provided an up-to-date equipment of ideals to the worn-off classical tyrant. [...] But the very fact that Machiavellism was merely grafted in a pre-existent Senecan type ought to warn us to be very cautious against detecting it everywhere, as Wyndham Lewis has done in his book *The Lion and the Fox*. According to Mr. Lewis, 'the master figure of Elizabethan drama is Machiavelli [...] he was at the back of every Tudor mind.' But Seneca was at the back of every Tudor mind much more than Machiavelli, and sometimes what may be construed as Machiavellism is merely Senecan.<sup>329</sup>

Thus, besides the medieval Vice figure and the Senecan tyrant, the ideas of Niccoló Machiavelli – albeit distorted and exacerbated by Gentillet – additionally helped to shape the Elizabethan and later Jacobean villains.

#### 4.1.3 Niccoló Machiavelli and the stage Machiavel

When considering the Machiavellian influence on English drama and especially on the villainous characters, a differentiation has to be made between the truly Machiavellian characters and the so-called Machiavels. The first type of character, which is based upon the unaltered ideas and principles of the Florentine statesmen and presupposes a perusal of the original texts, is found rather seldom in Elizabethan drama. Scholars suppose that only those playwrights who had attended university – the so-called university wits – had access and the ability to read Machiavelli's texts. Margaret Scott, for instance, states that "Machiavelli was widely read, much debated, and quoted at length in literary circles and at the universities. Moreover, the nondramatic works of some practicing playwrights such as Jonson, Chapman, or Greene can sometimes evidence a detailed, firsthand

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

acquaintanceship with Machiavelli's political theory."<sup>330</sup> Mario Praz further suggests that "Marlowe certainly, and Kyd very likely, had a fair knowledge of Machiavelli's doctrines. There can be little doubt in the case of Marlowe, whom Greene rebuked for having imbibed the 'pestilent Machiavilian policie'."<sup>331</sup>

Edward Meyer, however, the author of *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, an "impregnable monument"<sup>332</sup> with regards to research in Machiavellianism, concluded after having studied the dramas of Shakespeare and his contemporaries – including the university wits – that they had all "perverted the maxims of the Florentine statesman 'in a manner infinitely unjust'. The Machiavel, he decided, could not have sprung directly from 'the works of the great politician' but must have his origins in some secondary source. This, in the course of his ransacking, Meyer discovered in the *Contre-Machiavel* of Innocent Gentillet."<sup>333</sup> Regardless of the doubts concerning the originality of the playwrights' sources, it nevertheless remains clear that Machiavelli's ideas and principles found their way into early modern drama, and significantly helped to shape a certain type of villainous character – the Machiavel.

The Elizabethan understanding of Machiavelli and his writings matched their idea of pure evil and sin. They regarded him as the opposite of their religion and their morality, as the epitome of "whatever was most loathsome in statecraft, and indeed in human nature at large"<sup>334</sup>. He was not only "associated with every kind of sin", but was moreover regarded as "a danger to all order":<sup>335</sup>

He was the inevitable foe of piety and virtue; in the pursuit of his own desires he would murder individuals or even wipe out whole communities; if it suited his purpose, he would pull down kings, stir up revolts, and throw states into havoc; his destructiveness could even create reverberations in the realm of nature, until, finally, he brought destruction on himself and his soul was consigned to damnation.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Margaret Scott, "Machiavelli and the Machiavel", in: *Renaissance Drama* 1/15 (Jan. 1984), p. 151.

<sup>331</sup> Praz, p. 122.

<sup>332</sup> Scott, p. 148.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>334</sup> Praz, p. 95.

<sup>335</sup> Scott., p. 153, 164.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

In the end, the Machiavel had become a symbol of manipulation, seduction, murder and deceit and seemingly overshadowed his “dramatic ancestors”<sup>337</sup>, hence “we will not be surprised in finding not only the Senecan tyrant dressed in the new Florentine garb, but also other older stock characters of drama brought up to date with Machiavellian trimmings.”<sup>338</sup> However, only a few of these newly developed characters complied with the original Machiavellian ideas, for example the principle of *virtù*, *necessità* and *fortuna*. Machiavelli implied that a virtuous politician can only be successful if he decides on necessities and not on traditional ideas of virtue and legality.<sup>339</sup> His ulterior motive was the maintenance of public welfare, and he advised his prince only to murder if it was strictly necessary.<sup>340</sup>

The Elizabethan stage Machiavel on the other side did not care for public welfare but was rather preoccupied with reaching his own personal aims and satisfying his needs for power, possession and sensual pleasure.<sup>341</sup> To show in how far the original Machiavelli differed from the stage Machiavel, Ulrich Broich refers to the examples of Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*: “Sein Weg zur Macht wird von geradezu barocken Massakern markiert, während Machiavelli dem Fürsten geraten hatte, nur in Notfällen und möglichst sparsam zu morden”<sup>342</sup>, and *The Jew of Malta*: “... der Titelheld [hat] kaum noch etwas mit dem historischen Machiavelli zu tun. An die Stellen von Macht und Ordnung sind Reichtum und Rache als die höchsten Werte getreten; und die Handlung spielt sich ausschließlich im privaten Bereich ab.”<sup>343</sup> Broich concludes that these plays initially feature what he calls the “Machiavelli-Stereotyp der elisabethanischen Tragödie”<sup>344</sup>, and that the first real discussion of the original Machiavelli can be found in Ben Jonson’s work.

The Elizabethan image of Machiavellianism, however altered it might have been, therefore significantly helped to shape the stage villain. However, the influence of Machiavelli, and the *Contre-Machiavel*, respectively, was so strong

<sup>337</sup> Bauer, “Count Malvolio”, p. 235.

<sup>338</sup> Praz, p. 130.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Ulrich Broich, “Machiavelli und das Drama der Shakespeare-Zeit”, in: *Anglia* 89 (1971), p. 331.

<sup>340</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 327, 330.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336-337.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

that it blurred the lines between the different character types which formed the basis of the Elizabethan stage villain. As previously mentioned, the medieval Vice as well as the Senecan tyrant by and by both were coloured with Machiavellianism, which ultimately brought about the type of the multifaceted, dynamic and complex Elizabethan stage villain.

However, in the case of the characters discussed later on, one last factor was significant for their development. Since most of the Elizabethan and Jacobean plays discussed in this thesis are set in Italy, and those which are not have a connection to Italy nonetheless – be it by characters belonging to the Catholic Church or being in contact with the pope – the features of the characters appearing in these plays, in the end, were shaped by a local Italian colouring as well. Since the Elizabethan idea of Italy was anything but flattering, this source of influence certainly must have contributed to the way the villainous characters were sketched by Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

#### 4.1.4 A local colouring – Italy

The Elizabethan image of Italy was highly ambiguous. On the one hand, Italy was worshipped for “the most advanced civilization of the time, the most progressive society”<sup>345</sup> and it was customary to send “young men, often in the company of guardian tutors”<sup>346</sup> to Italy for “rounding out” their education. On the other hand, however, Italy was seen as “the fountain-head of all horrors and sins”<sup>347</sup>, because it was home of the Catholic Church, the pope and Machiavelli. Michele Marrapodi states that “Protestant England’s aversion to Papistry was greatly influential in inspiring the evil side of the Italian picture”<sup>348</sup> and refers to the travel reports of travellers like Roger Ascham and Fynes Moryson. Ascham, Moryson and other contemporary travellers had visited Italy during the sixteenth

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<sup>345</sup> Murray J. Levith, *Shakespeare’s Italian Settings and Plays*, London: Macmillan, 1989, p. 4; Cf. Praz, p. 98.

<sup>346</sup> Levith, p. 5.

<sup>347</sup> Praz, p. 98.

<sup>348</sup> Michele Marrapodi, “Introduction”, in: *Shakespeare’s Italy: Functions of Italian locations in Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Michele Marrapodi, A.J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo, L.F. Santucci, Manchester: MUP, 1993, p. 3.

century and had written accounts of their experiences and impressions. These, however, more often than not turned out to be rather unflattering.

Ascham, for example, wrote after nine days in Venice “but I thanke God, my abode there, was but ix dayes: And yet I sawe in that little tyme, in one Citie [Venice], more libertie to sinne than ever I heard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix yeare.”<sup>349</sup> Moreover, he feared that any Englishmen who travelled to Italy may return “*Italianato, e un diavolo incarnato*” and bring home with him “Papistrie or worse.”<sup>350</sup>

Thomas Nashe in his prose fiction *The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton*, uses the same rhetoric when Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey and travel partner of the titular hero tells him that men who travel to Italy bring home:

the art of atheism, the art of epicurizing, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodomy. The only probable good thing they have to keep us from utterly condemning it is that it maketh a man an excellent courtier, a curious carpet-knight, which is, by interpretation, a fine close lecher, a glorious hypocrite. It is now a privy note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular mark or brand on a notorious villainy, to say, he hath been in Italy.<sup>351</sup>

A more balanced view is only provided by Fynes Moryson. He notably observed the more positive aspects of the places he travelled to and wrote about six major cities of Italy: “Touching the Cities of Italy, it is proverbially said [that] ... Rome [is] the holy, Padua the learned, Venice the rich, Florence the beautiful, Milan the great, ... [and] Naples the gentile.”<sup>352</sup> William Thomas, as well, in his *History of Italy* examines the more positive aspects of Italy which he sees as a “model of refinement: ‘the Italian nation... seemth to flourish in civility most of all other at this day’.”<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, ed. by Edward Arber, London: Constable, 1920, quoted in: Levith, p. 6.

<sup>350</sup> Levith, p. 6.

<sup>351</sup> Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton*, ed. by Nina Green [www.oxford-shakespeare.com], 2002, p. 54; ([http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Unfortunate\\_Traveller.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Unfortunate_Traveller.pdf); accessed: 2014/04/19, 2:27 pm).

<sup>352</sup> Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 4 vols., Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1907, quoted in: Levith, p. 9

<sup>353</sup> William Thomas, *The History of Italy*, ed. by George B. Parks, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963, quoted in: Levith, p. 6.

However, despite the existing positive accounts of Italy, the prevailing view among the people and playwrights was that of Ascham and Nashe. The latter, in his prose work *Pierce Penilesse* offers the most applicable description of the Elizabethan view of Italy:

O Italy, the academy of manslaughter, the sporting place of murder, the apothecary shop of poison for all nations; how many kind of weapons hast thou invented for malice? Suppose I love a man's wife, whose husband yet lives, and cannot enjoy her for his jealous overlooking. Physic, or rather the art of murder (as it may be used), will lend one a medicine which shall make him away in the nature of that disease he is most subject to, whether in the space of a year, a month, half a year, or what tract of time you will, more or less.<sup>354</sup>

Thus, for Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights, Italy had become a setting, “a place where everything might be presented – irrational jealousy, passionate love, religious corruption, real adventure, horrible violence”<sup>355</sup>, and a scenery which “offered a constant source of allusion with which poets more interested in resources of allusion than in those of a regional setting could charge their tragic scenes.”<sup>356</sup>

The first plays touching Italy restricted themselves to presenting Italian characters as comic foreigners. However, it did not take the playwrights very long to draw the connection between Machiavelli and his home country and to combine the Machiavellian stereotype with the Italian setting:

At first Italian characters presented in English plays were merely depicted as comic foreigners. But then the Machiavellian stereotype took over, most often in his native Italian setting. This Machiavel became a symbol for what the Renaissance English hated and feared but, at the same time, were fascinated by about Italy. Machiavelli was a devil linked with the Pope and his religion, and he personified power-hungry ruling Italian families like the Borgias. He evolved into a melodramatic stage villain associated with the morality Vice character. The real Machiavelli's work, of course, was misunderstood by the English. Books written by antagonists, some of them with little comprehension of the philosopher's ideas, were more read than Machiavelli himself.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*, ed. by Nina Green [www.oxford-shakespeare.com], 1999, 2001, p. 18; ([http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce\\_Penilesse.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pierce_Penilesse.pdf); accessed: 2014/04/19, 2:56 pm).

<sup>355</sup> Levith, p. 7.

<sup>356</sup> Robert C. Jones, “Italian Settings and the ‘World’ of Elizabethan Tragedy”, in: *English Literature 1500-1900* 10/2 (Spring 1970), p. 268.

<sup>357</sup> Levith, p. 8.

Thus, the character type which had evolved from the medieval Vice, the Senecan tyrant and the Machiavel had finally found a suitable setting that fully corresponded to his character traits. Additionally, this Italianate setting allowed the dramatists to address contemporary issues – like the religious struggles – without being subject to censorship<sup>358</sup>. Considering the avoidance of censorship, Andreas Mahler states:

In medieval drama, the repertoire of world-creating elements had been largely sacred; the world of the mystery and morality plays is dominated by the ethical values of a ubiquitous religious discourse which invariably divides the world and characters into good or bad. In the early modern process of secularization, however, religiously dominated strategies of world-making find themselves more and more replaced by other techniques. The semantic identification of Italy with vice makes it possible for Renaissance dramatists to avoid immediate Christian and overtly didactic connotations by placing their dramatic worlds outside the traditional religious context.<sup>359</sup>

Italy, therefore, did not only bring about the possibility to touch upon problematic contemporary issues on stage, it moreover significantly influenced and changed the nature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy. On the one hand, Machiavelli – albeit unintentionally – contributed to the English stage a new type of villain, on the other hand, his Italian origin and the distorted Elizabethan image of Italy further shaped and refined this villainous stereotype and with this sustainably changed English tragedy.

One example of these changes is the so-called *beffa* motif – the mocking of the victim – which was brought to England by Giraldi's adaptations of Seneca's tragedies<sup>360</sup> and which was later frequently applied by Jacobean playwrights like John Webster:

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<sup>358</sup> Cf. Mariangela Tempera, "The rhetoric of poison in John Webster's Italianate plays", ed. by Michele Marrapodi, A.J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo, L.F. Santucci, *Shakespeare's Italy: Functions of Italian locations in Renaissance drama*, Manchester: MUP, 1993, pp. 229-230: "[Webster's] forays into the dark deeds of the Italian aristocracy is nothing but a ploy to comment on the contemporary London scene without running foul of censorship."

<sup>359</sup> Andreas Mahler, "Italian vices: cross-cultural constructions of temptation and desire in English Renaissance drama", ed. by Michele Marrapodi, A.J. Hoenselaars, Marcello Cappuzzo, L.F. Santucci, *Shakespeare's Italy: Functions of Italian locations in Renaissance drama*, Manchester: MUP, 1993, p. 50.

<sup>360</sup> Cf. Michele Marrapodi, "Retaliation as an Italian vice in Renaissance drama", ed. by Michelle Marrapodi and A.J. Hoenselaars, *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama. Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality*, London: Associated University Presses, 1998, p. 201.

[Giraldi] brings the device of the mocking of the victim to its highest spectacular level. This last issue, only hinted at in Seneca, becomes the climactic event of the dramatic action. What progressively assumed the semantic constriction of an “Italian vice” in the performance of revenge was to Elizabethan eyes precisely the rhetoric of excessive theatricality, that kind of sadistic mockery enjoyed by the evil-doers and fashioned with such macabre effects as to appear perversely appealing on the stage.<sup>361</sup>

The Italian colouring thus allowed the English drama to become more complex, more open and – in the case of the Jacobean – more brutal. As it is the same with the characters, which – over the course of time – also were becoming more complex and more brutal – especially those with affiliations to the Catholic Church. These changes, however, will be the subject of the following sections, which will offer a detailed discussion and analysis of ten Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies with special regards to the development of anti-Catholic sentiments and the evolution of the Catholic stage villain.

## 4.2 Elizabethan Drama – setting the stage

In the following section a selection of five plays from the late Elizabethan era will be discussed and analysed in terms of portrayals and handlings of the Catholic stage villain and Catholicism as a whole. As has been mentioned before, these dramas were selected with regards to the appearance of Catholic characters and the way in which they are portrayed on stage. Their own demeanour and the way other characters are facing and treating them played a major role in the selection of the dramas; as did the image of Catholicism that is drawn at large in the respective plays.

However, although from a political perspective anti-Catholicism was increasing during the late Elizabethan era, anti-Catholic sentiments only slowly – albeit steadily – found their way into English drama. Thus, the anti-Catholicism found in these plays is still marked by a certain brand of caution and not as obvious as it would become in the course of the time, especially during the Jacobean era. This, nevertheless, does not mean that the Elizabethans did not

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<sup>361</sup> Marrapodi, “Retaliation”, p. 192.

prescribe to anti-Catholic sentiments; quite to the contrary, the plays were imbued with anti-Catholicism, although the violence and brutality acted out by the Catholic characters were kept within limits. Their wrongdoing was confined to manipulative techniques, intriguing and provoking trouble, which would later on – during the Jacobean era – escalate into excessive use of violence and brutality on stage.

The Elizabethans, therefore, set the stage for the development of a strong anti-Catholicism in the English theatre by extending their villains' features by another strong characteristic – they dressed them in Catholic garbs. They continued to act like Vices: on their own and against the other characters without caring for their welfare, their dignity or the consequences their actions might entail and, by this, inflamed the hatred of these other characters against themselves and the institution they came from – that is, they did it dressed as Catholics.

In the following section the plays *Doctor Faustus* and *The Massacre at Paris* by Christopher Marlowe, parts 1 and 2 of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy as well as Shakespeare's *The Life and Death of King John* will be analysed both with regards to the portrayed Catholic characters, their demeanour and the way the other characters approach them as well as general anti-Catholic sentiments and critical attitudes towards the Catholic Church and the pope as head of the Church. Furthermore, they will be regarded within the context of their time, in order to find out in how far political decisions and factual events might possibly have influenced the playwrights in conducting the dramas.

#### 4.2.1 Christopher Marlowe – *Doctor Faustus* (1588)

The first play to be discussed in this thesis, *Doctor Faustus*<sup>362</sup>, was written around 1588 by Christopher Marlowe, who himself was a rather ambiguous figure, a suspected atheist and spy for the queen's secret service. His play *Doctor Faustus* is a dramatisation of the German *Faustbuch* and can be categorised as a “dark Morality, [which] ‘tells the world-story of a man who, seeking for all knowledge, pledged his soul to the devil, only to find the misery of a hopeless repentance in

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<sup>362</sup> All quotes are taken from: Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. by Frank Romany, Robert Lindsey, London: Penguin Books, 2003.

this world and damnation in the world to come’.”<sup>363</sup> Standing in the tradition of the morality play, *Doctor Faustus* meets certain criteria of this medieval type of drama, in which the protagonist meets personifications of moral attributes or static characters with telling names, like Justice or Revenge. This, for example, is true for scene seven when Faustus and Mephistopheles encounter the Seven Sins.

Moreover, *Doctor Faustus*, offers a first open display of disrespectfulness towards the Catholic Church. Marlowe does not directly attack or demonise Catholicism, rather he hoaxes it. Upon his first encounter with Mephistopheles, Faustus orders him “to return and change thy shape,/ Thou art too ugly to attend on my./ Go, and return an old Franciscan friar,/ That holy shape becomes a devil best.” (Scene iii, 24-27) Claiming that the frock of a friar is the best disguise for a devil suggests Faustus’ notion that friars – or anybody dressed in a “holy shape” – might not be trusted, because they might follow some devilish and malicious plan. Since, in this case, the devil himself returns as a friar intending to take possession of Faustus’ soul, the scholar’s utterance might also imply the belief that friars or any member of the Catholic Church are aiming at the souls of non-Catholics trying to convert them to the Catholic faith. Faustus’ statement, thus, can be seen as an alienation of members of the Catholic Church.

When Mephistopheles and Faustus visit the pope in Rome they take part in the holy feast which is attended by the Cardinal of Lorraine and friars. Mephistopheles promises Faustus that he might do what he wants, “thou shalt not be discerned” (viii, 58f). At first Faustus, who is invisible to the pope and the cardinal, just utters “Fall to, and the devil choke you an you spare” (viii, 61) and by this confuses those attending the banquet (Pope: “How, now, who’s that which spake? Friars, look about”; viii, 62), but then decides to physically cause unrest by snatching plates and cups from the pope’s hands.

POPE [*presenting a dish*] My lord, here is a dainty dish was sent  
me from the bishop of Milan.

FAUSTUS I thank you, sir. (*Snatch it*)

POPE How now, who’s that which snatched the meat from me?

Will no man look? My lord, this dish was sent me from the  
cardinal of Florence.

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<sup>363</sup> Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey, Introduction, *Christopher Marlowe. The Complete Plays*, Penguin Books, 2003, p. xxi.

FAUSTUS [*snatching the dish*] You say true. I'll ha't.  
POPE What, again? My lord, I'll drink to your grace.  
FAUSTUS [*snatching the cup*] I'll pledge your grace.  
LORRAINE My lord, it may be some ghost, newly crept out of  
purgatory, come to beg a pardon of your holiness.  
POPE It may be so. Friars, prepare a dirge to lay the fury of this  
ghost. Once again, my lord, fall to. [Scene viii, 64-76]

When the pope crosses himself, Faustus “hits him a box of the ear” (viii, 80) after which the pope and his guests flee. Mephistopheles, who has not joined Faustus in the prank, minds that they “shall be cursed with bell, book, and candle” (viii, 82-83), which means that they will be excommunicated. Faustus does not take him seriously; instead he makes fun of him and the excommunication by mixing the order of bell, book and candle: “How? Bell, book, and candle, candle, book, and bell,/ Forward and backward, to curse Faustus to hell./ Anon you shall hear a hog grunt, a calf beat, and an ass bray,/ Because it is Saint Peter’s holy day” (Scene viii, 84-87). These lines show that Faustus knows that his soul is lost and that he cannot be saved and, in turn, they also show a huge disrespect for the Catholic Church and its rites. Faustus makes fun of the excommunication and jokes that those taking part in Saint Peter’s feast are behaving like animals while eating, drinking and talking. With regards to character types, Faustus can possibly be regarded as standing in the tradition of the neglected mischievous side of the Vice – that is the fool – who entertained the audience and cracked jokes with and about the other characters.

However, by stultifying the pope openly on stage, Marlowe must have hit the nerve of his audiences. Romany and Lindsey write that “Elizabethan audiences probably enjoyed Faustus’ pope-baiting as a liberating defiance of an exploded religious solemnity.”<sup>364</sup> Thus, *Doctor Faustus* can be regarded as one of the first plays which openly, albeit mildly, challenges Catholicism and hoaxes the figure of the pope. All in all, the play cannot be characterised as anti-Catholic, however, it might be regarded as one of the first plays to criticise Catholicism on the open stage.

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid., p. xxiv.

4.2.2 William Shakespeare – *Henry VI, Part One* (1592)

The first part of Shakespeare's trilogy<sup>365</sup> concerning the reign of Henry VI mainly deals with the loss of French territories and the outbreak of the War of the Roses between the houses of York and Lancaster. Remarkable about this play is the offensively anti-Catholic tone the characters take in addressing Henry Beaufort, the Bishop of Winchester, which is quite uncommon for Shakespeare, who, in his other plays, always refrained from openly criticising or demonising Catholicism.<sup>366</sup> Yet, as Michael Taylor states, the play's anti-Catholic tone was crucial for its success:

The play's popularity has to be seen today against the backdrop of an extraordinary efflorescence of interest in political history in the last two decades of the sixteenth century fed by self-conscious patriotic Protestantism's fascination with its own biography in history. (It is not for nothing that Part One is persistently anti-Catholic in a number of ways despite the fact that in the fifteenth century the entire population of England was nominally Catholic (though not of course in 1592)). In the play the French are presented as decadently Catholic, the English (with the exception of the Bishop of Winchester) as attractively proto-Protestant (at least).<sup>367</sup>

Taylor explains this interest in historical displays on stage as a direct result of the publishing of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, also known as *The Book of Martyrs*. This pro-Protestant recount of English history gave a "grisly account of Protestant martyrdom"<sup>368</sup> and was so popular that editions of it were "chained, along with the Bible, to lecterns in cathedrals and many parish churches."<sup>369</sup> Thus, despite Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* are known to be Shakespeare's main historical sources, Taylor does not exclude the possibility that Foxe's work might also have influenced him in writing the *Henry VI* trilogy.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> All quotes are taken from: William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part One*, ed. by Michael Taylor, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. Levith, p. 9: "In all but his classical plays Shakespeare avoids Rome, the headquarters of the Papal States. By omitting Rome as a setting, Shakespeare kept controversial Christian religious issues only implicit in some of his plays."

<sup>367</sup> Michael Taylor ed., *William Shakespeare, Henry VI, Part One*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 16.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17, 18.

In *Henry VI, Part One*, the Bishop of Winchester first appears during the funeral march for Henry V, where his blessings for the dead king and his claim that “[t]he church’s prayer made him so prosperous” (I.i.32) is commented on harshly by the Duke of Gloucester: “The church? Where is it? Had not churchmen prayed,/ His thread of life had not so soon decayed./ None do you like but an effeminate prince/ Whom like a schoolboy you may overawe” (I.i.28-36).

With regards to this accusation, Michael Taylor quotes Andrew Cairncross, editor of the Arden Shakespeare, who states that “Winchester is being accused of ‘praying against’ Henry as a ‘foe’ and hence of having ‘contriv’d to murder’ him.”<sup>371</sup> Taylor further explains that “although the ‘not’ before ‘churchmen’ is clear in F [the First Folio edition of Shakespeare’s plays, published in 1623], the accusation struck Vaughan<sup>372</sup> as sufficiently extreme for him to suggest ‘but’ as a conjectural emendation. The rhyme prayed/ decayed is probably deliberate and is the first of many occasions where rhyme is used for special emphasis.”<sup>373</sup> Moreover, Taylor draws attention to the possible pun of ‘prayed’ and ‘preyed’, which would make the churchmen prey for his life<sup>374</sup> and suggest that members of the Church did not pray for the king’s welfare, but rather sought to kill him. This accusation clearly positions Winchester outside the boundaries of moral law and shows first signs of his relation to the medieval Vice character.

In his response Winchester tries to appease Gloucester by affirming his position as Protector and says that he looks to “command the prince and realm” (I.i.38) and that his wife is proud of him and admires him “more than God or religious churchmen may” (I.i.39-40). Yet, the duke again answers by attacking the bishop and by questioning not only his motifs but his whole ethos as a man of the church: “Name not religion, for thou lov’st the flesh,/ And ne’er throughout the year to church thou go’st,/ Except it be to pray against thy foes” (I.i.37-43). Gloucester here openly calls into question Winchester’s credibility as a Catholic churchman and his trustworthiness as a member of the court. He accuses him of disregarding celibacy and depicts him as a devious and intriguing character who

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid., p. 97, fn. 33-4.

<sup>372</sup> Henry H. Vaughan, *New Readings and Renderings of Shakespeare’s Tragedies*, London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1886.

<sup>373</sup> Taylor, p.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., p. 97, fn. 33.

obviously strives for a power inappropriate for his position, which, en passant, strengthens the assumption that his roots lie with the Vice figure.

When news arrives concerning French attacks, and the earls and dukes leave to fulfil their respective tasks, Gloucester's assumption about Winchester is confirmed. The bishop is left alone on stage and first laments about having no function and task to accomplish ("Each hath his place and function to attend;/ I am left out; for me nothing remains; I.i.173-174), but then, rather quickly decides to change this situation: "But long I will not be Jack-out-of-office./ The King from Eltham I intent to steal,/ And sit at chiefest stern of public weal" (I.i.173-177). Here it becomes clear that Winchester plans to use the new king to achieve a more powerful position at court. Apart from his intention to 'steal' the king, he further means to become "the most important helmsman of the state. Burns [editor of the Arden Shakespeare edition of *Henry VI, Part One*] suggests that '[s]it makes him sound almost comically complacent, and *chiefest* is a self-aggrandizing tautology'."<sup>375</sup> Moreover, by being alone on stage and by solely talking to the audience, the audience become the bishop's accomplice. Leaving him alone on stage, scheming and informing the audience about his plans further strengthens the traditional Vice features of his character as do his plans to overthrow Gloucester. Winchester is, thus, clearly marked as the villain of the play.

However, his hatred for Gloucester becomes unmistakably evident when he refuses Gloucester access to the tower. Gloucester, being the protector of the realm, fears furtive dealings in London's prison. In the following dialogue both characters accuse the other of being a usurper and conspirator:

GLOUCESTER Peeled priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

WINCHESTER I do, thou most usurping proditor –

And not Protector – of the King or realm.

GLOUCESTER Stand back thou manifest conspirator.

Thou that contrived'st to murder our dead lord,

Thou that giv'st whores indulgences to sin,

I'll canvas thee in thy broad cardinal's hat

If thou proceed in this thy insolence. [I.iii.30-37]

Furthermore, Gloucester alleges that the bishop suffers from "Winchester goose" (I.iii.53) which, according to Taylor, could be interpreted as a "swelling in the

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<sup>375</sup> Ibid., p. 107, fn. 177.

groin caused by venereal disease, [...], and by further extension Winchester himself [...] may be suffering from a disease brought on by one of his licensed whores.”<sup>376</sup> By calling him “a wolf in sheep’s array” and a “scarlet hypocrite” (I.iii.55-56) the duke once again alludes to the bishop’s dubious and increasingly Machiavellian character traits before he orders his men to beat the bishop’s men down. However, the Mayor of London enters the scene and keeps the parties from fighting each other.

MAYOR Fie, lords, that you, being supreme magistrates,  
 Thus contumeliously should break the peace.  
 GLOUCESTER Peace, mayor, thou know’st little of my wrongs.  
 Here’s Beaufort – that regards nor God nor king –  
 Hath here distrained the Tower to his use.  
 WINCHESTER [*to Mayor*] Here’s Gloucester, a foe to citizens,  
 One that still motions war and never peace,  
 O’ercharging your free purses with large fines –  
 That seeks to overthrow religion,  
 Because he is Protector of the realm,  
 And would have armour here out of the Tower  
 To crown himself king and suppress the Prince. [I.iii.57-68]

Upon parting, both swear to take revenge, while the bishop even threatens to kill Gloucester: “Gloucester, we’ll meet to thy cost, be sure./Thy heart-blood I will have for this day’s work” (I.iii.81-82). This threat beguiles the Mayor, who addresses the audience in an aside: “This Cardinal’s more haughty than the devil” (I.iii.84). Here again, the audience are involved and addressed by a neutral character who also compares Winchester with the devil and even states that the churchman is prouder than the devil. The decision-making process of the audience, thus, is manipulated once again to the detriment of Winchester.

When Gloucester wants to present a bill and is scolded by Winchester for being unable to speak freely (“Com’st thou with deep premeditated lines?/ With written pamphlets studiously devised?” III.i.1-2), a skill Winchester thinks he possesses, the enmity between Gloucester and Winchester takes new dimensions:

GLOUCESTER Presumptuous priest, this place commands my patience,  
 Or thou shouldst find thou hast dishonoured me.  
 Think not, although in writing I preferred  
 The manner of thy vile outrageous crimes,

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<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p. 121, fn. 53.

That therefore I have forged, or am not able  
Verbatim to rehearse the method of my pen:  
No, prelate, such is thy audacious wickedness,  
Thy lewd, pestiferous, and dissentious pranks,  
As very infants prattle of thy pride.  
Thou art a most pernicious usurer,  
Forward by nature, enemy to peace,  
Lascivious, wanton – more than well beseems  
A man of thy profession and degree.  
And for thy treachery, what's more manifest  
In that thou laid'st a trap to take my life,  
As well at London Bridge as at the Tower?  
Beside, I fear me, if thy thoughts were sifted,  
The King, thy sovereign, is not quite exempt  
From envious malice of thy swelling heart. [III.i.1-26]

Gloucester's response once again focuses on the bishop's dubious character traits and the abuse of his position as a member of the church and implicitly positions his character among the stage Machiavels and Vices. Winchester, acting in accordance to his character tradition, answers by hiding his guilt under the guise of religion and the church:

WINCHESTER Gloucester, I do defy thee. Lords, vouchsafe  
To give me hearing what I shall reply.  
If I were covetous, ambitious, or perverse,  
As he will have me – how am I so poor?  
Or how haps it I seek not to advance  
Or raise myself, but keep my wonted calling?  
And for dissension, who preferreth peace  
More than I do? – except I be provoked.  
No, my good lords, it is not that offends;  
It is not that that hath incensed the Duke.  
It is, because no one should sway but he,  
No one but he should be about the King;  
And that engenders thunder in his breast  
And makes him roar these accusations forth.  
But he shall know I am as good – [III.i.27-41]

Winchester presents himself as the pious churchman who does not aim at advancing himself, which is, as Taylor points out, “[a]nother disingenuous question: Winchester begins the play as a Bishop and ends it as a Cardinal.”<sup>377</sup> Concerning his poorness the bishop forgets to mention or tries to conceal the property and wealth of the Catholic Church which enables him to live a good life.

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<sup>377</sup> Ibid., p. 165, fn. 31-2.

He soon contradicts his own claim when he becomes a cardinal and gives money to a legate whom he orders to pass it on to the pope: “The sum of money which I promised/ Should be delivered to his holiness/ For clothing me in these grave ornaments” (V.i.52-54). This does not only demonstrate Beaufort’s affiliation with the traditional Vice figure and strong features of the Machiavel, but it also proves that within the Catholic church paying the pope for appointing cardinals seems to be a common habit. Thus, it is not only the cardinal, who cannot be trusted, but also the pope, who proves to be corruptible and does not punish Beaufort for his deeds, but rewards him.

The fact that no character really trusts Beaufort, and the omnipresent fear that he lusts for a higher position proves true when they come to know that Beaufort has become cardinal:

EXETER [*aside*] What, is my lord of Winchester installed  
And called unto a cardinal’s degree?  
Then, I perceive, that will be verified  
Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy:  
‘If once he come to be a cardinal,  
He’ll make his cap co-equal with the crown.’ [V.i.28-33]

This proves true as soon as Beaufort is alone on stage and utters his plans concerning Gloucester:

WINCHESTER [*aside*] Now Winchester will not submit, I trow,  
Or be inferior to the proudest peer.  
Humphrey of Gloucester, thou shalt perceive  
That neither in birth or for authority  
The Bishop will be overborne by thee.  
I’ll either make thee stoop and bend thy knee,  
Or sack this country with a mutiny. [V.i.56-62]

This allows the audience to perceive the idea that Beaufort’s intrigue against Gloucester might entail that Henry VI will lose his closest advisor and confidant and that the cardinal will either take over Gloucester’s position or at least obtain a higher position at court. His first contribution as a cardinal is his participation in the peace negotiations between France and England and the arranged marriage

between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou – a fact which neither Gloucester nor the other nobles appreciate<sup>378</sup>:

RICHARD DUKE OF YORK Is all our travail turned to this effect?  
After the slaughter of so many peers,  
So many captains, gentlemen, and soldiers  
That in this quarrel have been overthrown  
And sold their bodies for their country's benefit,  
Shall we at last conclude effeminate peace?  
Have we not lost most part of all the towns  
By treason, falsehood, and by treachery,  
Our great progenitors had conquered? [V.v.102-110]

Beaufort, however, seems to be convinced that a marriage between the two monarchies is the best way “to ease your country of distressful war” (V.v.126) and does not accept any other opinion. Thus, the first part of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*-trilogy ends with a peace treaty to which Beaufort did contribute and which promises to secure peace between France and England. Beaufort's act – in the first place – seems to be generous and obliging, however – on closer inspection – it becomes evident that the nobles obviously did not agree on this treaty and were simply ignored by Beaufort, who then again, could simply be vying for the king's favour. This treaty, therefore, remains as dubious and shady as the character of Beaufort himself, whose character concept might be seen as a first sketch of the newly merged Catholic villain. In creating Beaufort Shakespeare seemed to have taken inspiration from the Vice figure and the Machiavel and combined these two types to form this new, more complex type of Catholic villain. The second part of *Henry VI* takes up the plot of the first part and will be subject of the following section.

#### 4.2.3 William Shakespeare – *Henry VI, Part Two* (1592)

The second part<sup>379</sup> begins with the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret, during which Gloucester begins to read the “articles of contracted peace” (I.i.40), but

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<sup>378</sup> Cf. Carolina Bauer, „Produktion von Wissen in der Sinnkultur: Techniken der Manipulation unter dem Deckmantel religiöser Motivation im frühneuzeitlichen englischen Drama“, in: *Präsenz Interdisziplinär. Kritik und Entfaltung einer Intuition*, hg. von Sonja Fielitz, Heidelberg: Winter, 2012, S. 106.

then is unable to continue, because “[s]ome sudden qualm has struck me at the heart” (I.i.54), handing it over to Beaufort. When Henry, Margaret and Suffolk leave the stage, Gloucester expresses his displeasure about the marriage by referring to the sacrifices, deeds and endeavours his family had rendered in the fight against France:

DUKE HUMPHREY Brave peers of England, pillars of the state,  
To you Duke Humphrey must unload his grief,  
Your grief, the common grief of all the land.  
[...]  
Have you yourselves, Somerset, Buckingham,  
Brave York, Salisbury, and victorious Warwick,  
Received deep scars in France and Normandy?  
Or hath mine uncle Beaufort and myself,  
With all the learned council of the realm,  
Studied so long, sat in the Council House  
Early and late, debating to and fro,  
How France and Frenchmen might be kept in awe,  
And had his highness in his infancy  
Crowned in Paris in despite of foes,  
And shall these labours and these honours die?  
Shall Henry’s conquest, Bedford’s vigilance,  
Your deeds of war and all our counsel die?  
O peers of England, shameful is this league,  
Fatal this marriage, cancelling your fame,  
Blotting your names from books of memory,  
Razing the characters of your renown,  
Defacing monuments of conquer’d France,  
Undoing all, as all had never been! [I.i.74-102]

It becomes clear that the marriage contract was decided upon without Gloucester’s consent, and he now seems to regard everything which was won and lost during the war against France as having no purpose. The other lords and dukes – Warwick, Salisbury, Somerset, Buckingham and York – agree with Gloucester and do not approve of the marriage. In a moment of deep resignation Gloucester wishes the queen “should have stayed in France and starved in France” (I.i.134), upon which Beaufort stops him and bids him to check his temper and states that “[i]t was the pleasure of my lord the King” (I.i.137) to get married to Margaret. However, Gloucester’s response is marked by resignation and the understanding that he is a thorn in Beaufort’s side:

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<sup>379</sup> All quotes are taken from: William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part Two*, ed. by Roger Warren, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

DUKE HUMPHREY My lord of Winchester, I know your mind.  
‘Tis not my speeches that you do dislike,  
But ‘tis my presence that doth trouble ye.  
Rancour will out, proud prelate, in thy face  
I see thy fury. If I longer stay  
We shall begin our ancient bickering.  
Lordings, farewell, and say when I am gone,  
I prophesied France will be lost ere long. [I.i.138-145]

As soon as Beaufort and the other dukes are alone on stage, the cardinal begins to intrigue against Gloucester by questioning his motivation, his trustworthiness and reliability:

CARDINAL BEAUFORT So, there goes our Protector in a rage.  
‘Tis known to you he is mine enemy;  
Nay more, an enemy unto you all,  
And no great friend, I fear me, to the King.  
Consider, lords, he is the next of blood  
And heir apparent to the English crown.  
Had Henry got an empire by his marriage,  
And all wealthy kingdoms of the west,  
There’s reason he should be displeased at it.  
Look to it, lords, let not his smoothing words  
Bewitch your hearts, be wise and circumspect.  
What though the common people favour him,  
[...]  
I fear me, lords, for all this flattering gloss,  
He will be found a dangerous Protector. [I.i.146-163]

At this point, the manipulative Machiavellian techniques of the cardinal are clearly visible. At first he tries to create understanding and trust by confessing that the relationship between him and Gloucester is rather tense, only to question the dukes’ confidence in Gloucester in the end and maintaining that he is an enemy to all of them. His main argument is that Gloucester “is the next in blood/ And heir apparent to the English crown” and thus raises objections to the marriage. Beaufort skilfully defames Gloucester’s character to not only secure his own position but to clear the path for even higher position, i.e. Gloucester’s position as Protector. The dukes credit him and agree to depose Gloucester; only Somerset remains wary and remarks that despite Gloucester’s pride and position, they should rather observe “the haughty Cardinal;/ His insolence is more intolerable/ Than all the princes in the land beside./ If Gloucester be displaced, he’ll be Protector” (I.i.173-176)

Thus, the cardinal's motivation and self-interest has not remained undetected. As soon as Salisbury, his son Warwick and York are alone, Salisbury, who, as editor Roger Warren remarks "is presented as a (perhaps the only) representative of moderation [... and] can distinguish between true loyalty and self-interest here"<sup>380</sup>, clearly points out to Warwick and York what he thinks of the cardinal, Gloucester and the other two nobles:

SALISBURY Pride went before, ambition follows him.  
While these do labour for their own preferment,  
Behoves it us to labour for the realm.  
I never saw but Humphrey Duke of Gloucester  
Did bear him like a noble gentleman.  
Oft have I seen the haughty Cardinal,  
More like a soldier than a man o'th' church,  
As stout and proud as he were lord of all,  
Swear like a ruffian, and demean himself  
Unlike the ruler of a common weal.  
[...]  
Join we together for the public good,  
In what we can to bridle and suppress  
The pride of Suffolk and the Cardinal  
With Somerset's and Buckingham's ambition;  
And as we may, cherish Duke Humphrey's deeds  
While they do tend to profit of the land. [I.i.179-203]

In his monologue, Salisbury criticizes Beaufort, Somerset and Buckingham of only following their own aims instead of supporting the country – which makes Somerset and Buckingham co-Vices of Beaufort to some extent – and comes to Gloucester's defence by stating that he never behaved like a gentleman and worked for the benefit of the realm and not just for his own profit. Thus, Salisbury concludes that these men must be prevented from adopting higher positions and from harming the king and the people.

During their next encounter Beaufort provokes Gloucester by accusing him of trying to steal the crown of England: "Thy heaven is on earth, thine eyes and thoughts/ Beat on a crown, the treasure of thy heart,/ Pernicious Protector, dangerous peer,/ That smooth'st it so with King and common weal" (II.i.19-22). Gloucester tries to stay calm and bids Beaufort to "hide such malice" (II.i.25), as well as the king, who begs them to stay calm and peaceful which is completely

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<sup>380</sup> Roger Warren ed., *William Shakespeare, Henry VI, Part Two*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 121, fn. 179-203.

ignored by the cardinal, who wants to draw his sword “against this proud Protector” (II.i.36).

Gloucester and the cardinal arrange a duel “on the east side of the grove” (II.i.42) to solve their problem once and for all. Beaufort, however, has never planned to duel with Gloucester, or by any chance, to take him to court. Instead he reaches an agreement with Suffolk, York and the queen to hire an executioner and to kill Gloucester before he could do him any harm:

CARDINAL But I would have him dead, my lord Suffolk,  
Ere you can take due orders for a priest.  
Say you consent and censure well the deed,  
And I'll provide his executioner;  
I tender so the safety of my liege.  
SUFFOLK Here is my hand; the deed is worthy doing.  
QUEEN MARGARET And so say I.  
YORK And I. And now we three have spoke it,  
It skills not greatly who impugns our doom. [III.i.273-281]

When news about Gloucester's murder reaches the king he is completely devastated to hear that his closest advisor is dead. Beaufort tries to downplay the deed by saying that it was “God's secret judgement” (III.ii.31), because he had dreamed of the duke that night. The king, however, is grief stricken as are his subjects:

WARWICK It is reported, mighty sovereign,  
That good Duke Humphrey traitorously is murdered  
By Suffolk and the Cardinal Beaufort's means.  
The commons, like an angry hive of bees  
That want their leader, scatter up and down  
And care not who they sting in his revenge.  
Myself have calmed their spleenful mutiny,  
Until they hear the order of his death. [III.ii.122-129]

Although Warwick mentions Suffolk and Beaufort, only Suffolk is called to account and sentenced to death by Henry. Beaufort is not going to be punished for the murder he has committed by any earthly court, because he falls ill shortly after Gloucester's murder. A messenger brings news of Beaufort's condition to Queen Margaret.

VAUX To signify unto his majesty  
That Cardinal Beaufort is at point of death.  
For suddenly a grievous sickness took him  
That makes him gasp and stare and catch the air,  
Blaspheming God and cursing men on earth.  
Sometimes he talks as if Duke Humphrey's ghost  
Were by his side; sometime he calls the king,  
And whispers to his pillow, as to him,  
The secrets of his overcharged soul;  
And I am sent to tell his majesty  
That even now he cries aloud for him. [III.ii.371-382]

Beaufort longs to see the king, because he wishes to confess his sins and the “secrets of his overcharged soul” to him. When the king visits his deathbed, the cardinal, however, does not seem to recognize him, instead he thinks he is confronted with death and offers him “England's treasure/ Enough to purchase such another island” (III.iii.1-2) if he lets him live. The king is shocked and believes that this is “a sign [...] of evil life/ Where death's approach is seen so terrible” (III.iii.4-5). The cardinal, however, does not really notice the king's presence and continues to wail:

CARDINAL Bring me unto my trial when you will.  
Died he not in his bed? Where should he die?  
Can I make men live, whe'er they will or no?  
O torture me no more, I will confess.  
Alive again? Then show me where he is.  
I'll give a thousand pound to look upon him.  
He hath no eyes! The dust hath blinded them.  
Comb down his hair – look, look, it stands upright,  
Like lime twigs set to catch my winged soul.  
Give me some drink, and bid the apothecary  
Bring the strong poison that I bought of him. [III.iii.8-18]

Henry is dismayed about the cardinal's condition and begs the “eternal mover of the heavens” to “look with a gentle eye upon this wretch” (III.iii.19-20) and he begs the cardinal to give him a sign if he is received by God, yet, the sign never comes and the cardinal dies without redemption. Warwick comments on this by saying that “[s]o bad a death argues a monstrous life” (III.iii.30), which concludes the sinful life of the cardinal in an appropriate way.

The cardinal is not condemned by any earthly court or authority for his deeds; the church misses out on punishing him, instead the pope rewards him with

becoming a cardinal, and the king fails to punish him for Gloucester's death. Yet, when Henry prays for Beaufort's salvation he goes unheard, and the cardinal receives just punishment. This circumstance can be interpreted as Shakespeare's sense for a godly punishment which signals that nobody – neither churchman nor soldier – remains unpunished for what he has done and that even those who turn rules topsy-turvy are not safe from the consequences. With regards to this relationship between disorder and consequence, Margaret Scott states:

The three parts of *Henry VI*, for instance, reveal a world where all order is discounted, loyalty sacrificed to ambition, truth and trust set by, and the law of God and man displaced by force and fraud. In such a world no man, including the Machiavel, loves in safety. However politic a Winchester, a Suffolk, or a York may be, he is unable to survive for long in the milieu he has created.<sup>381</sup>

In comparison to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy does not deride Catholicism to entertain the audience. In Shakespeare's plays Catholicism is openly criticised and demonised, even if on a small scale, since the cardinal only has a minor role. Nevertheless, Beaufort is presented as a sinful, intriguing, plotting and murdering character who does not respect human dignity and life, the church and his office. He defies the limits of his office, of morality and of all good manners and does in no way represent a pious churchman who lives to serve God and mankind. Beaufort is the intriguing villain who tries to beguile all those around him to pursue his own aims without thinking about the consequences his actions might have and with this emerges as a prototype of the Machiavellian Vice. He combines the evil of the Vice and the manipulative and deceptive techniques of the Machiavel into one complex and inscrutable Catholic stage villain.

When compared with Gloucester, whose character is displayed as being modest, reliable and conscientious, the deceptive and manipulating nature of the cardinal becomes all the more noticeable. Gloucester, who has always acted to the best of his knowledge and belief, loses the respect of his fellows due to the machinations of the cardinal and his allies and has to die. The cardinal, who has pulled out all the stops to gain more power and influence, is not even punished for

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<sup>381</sup> Scott, p. 171.

his deeds by the king. However, his death leaves the audience with the feeling that in the end he has been punished for what he had done and that the failure of the earthly courts has been revised by a divine justice.

Thus, unlike Marlowe, Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, does not coax Catholicism, but presents it as something evil, powerful and Machiavellian which defies moral and just limits to pursue and reach completely egoistic goals that do not have any added value for society. In Shakespeare's plays Catholics do not serve public welfare, they only serve themselves. Taylor writes that "the play's popularity at that time has to be seen today against the backdrop of an extraordinary efflorescence of interest in political history in the last two decades of the sixteenth century fed by self-conscious patriotic Protestantism's fascination with its own biography in history."<sup>382</sup> Although the English in the fifteenth century all were Catholic in this play "the French are presented as decadently Catholic, the English (with the exception of the Bishop of Winchester) as attractively proto-Protestant."<sup>383</sup> Where Marlowe wanted to entertain his audience, Shakespeare wanted them to ponder what they had seen. In his later plays, Shakespeare has never again taken such an anti-Catholic tone to address religious controversies, contrary to Christopher Marlowe, whose last play *The Massacre at Paris* describes the mass murder of French Protestant Huguenots in Paris and "is virulently anti-Catholic."<sup>384</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Christopher Marlowe – *The Massacre at Paris* (1593)

According to Penny Roberts, Marlowe's depiction of the St. Bartholomew's Massacre at Paris "reflects specifically English political and religious opinion"<sup>385</sup>; partly due to the fact that the "massacre was the most infamous incident of the French Wars of Religion"<sup>386</sup> and was viewed by Protestant England with "horror", and partly due to Marlowe's portrayal of "evil and unscrupulous Catholic

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<sup>382</sup> Taylor, p. 16.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>384</sup> Romany and Lindsey, p. xxi.

<sup>385</sup> Penny Roberts, "Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*: a historical perspective", in: *Renaissance Studies* 9/4 (1995), p. 430.

<sup>386</sup> Roberts, p. 430.

murderers alongside pious and virtuous Protestant martyrs.”<sup>387</sup> Other critics like Rick Bowers<sup>388</sup> and Maryann Feola<sup>389</sup>, however, argue that, on closer inspection, *The Massacre at Paris* might not be exclusively regarded as anti-Catholic, but that “woven into the drama of what was once discussed as anti-Catholic propaganda are threads which bind *The Massacre at Paris* to Marlowe’s earlier work and his fascination with controversy.”<sup>390</sup> Clayton G. McKenzie, then again, points out that it was “impossible, of course, for Marlowe, to express any open admiration for the Guise”<sup>391</sup> and that despite the possible fascination for the Catholic league, anti-Catholic tones still dominate the work.

The play<sup>392</sup> opens with the marriage of the Huguenot King Henry of Navarre and the French King’s sister, Margaret of Valois, which was arranged to bring about peace between the religiously divided fractions of the Protestant Huguenots, the French Catholics and the royal family. However, the tension between the Huguenots and the Catholics is palpable from the beginning, when Catherine de Medici immediately after the marriage addresses this intra-familial conflict: “Thanks, son Navarre, you see we love you well/ That link you in marriage with our daughter here;/ And, as you know, our difference in religion/ Might be means to cross you in your love” (Scene i, 13-16).

In response, her son Charles bids her to “let that rest” (i, 17). However, when the wedding party leaves, Catherine reveals her true intentions to the audience and utters in an aside that she will “dissolve [the union] with blood and cruelty” (i, 25). Thus, within the first 30 lines of the play, Marlowe exposes Catherine de Medici as one of the play’s Vice figures by revealing her cruel intentions. Her evilness is not only marked by her willingness to shed blood, but furthermore by her unscrupulous plans to betray her own son. And it is, of course, her background which serves to amplify her evil nature, namely by being Italian.

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<sup>387</sup> Roberts, p. 430.

<sup>388</sup> Rick Bowers, “*The Massacre at Paris*: Marlowe’s Messy Conesus Narrative”, in: *Marlowe, History, and Sexuality: New Critical Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Paul Whitfield White, New York: AMS, 1998, pp. 131-141.

<sup>389</sup> Maryann Feola, “A Poniard’s Point of Satire in Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*”, in: *English Language Notes* 35/4 (1998), pp. 6-12.

<sup>390</sup> Quoted in: Clayton G. MacKenzie, “*The Massacre at Paris* and the *Danse Macabre*”, in: *Papers on Language & Literature* 43/3 (2007), p. 315.

<sup>391</sup> MacKenzie, p. 315.

<sup>392</sup> All quotes are taken from: Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris*, ed. by Frank Romany, Robert Lindsey, London: Penguin Books, 2003.

The distrust, however, is based on reciprocity. When the French leave the church, the Huguenot leaders, Navarre, the Prince of Condé and the Lord High Admiral, remain on stage and discuss their insecurities concerning the Duke of Guise:

NAVARRÉ Prince Condé, and my good Lord Admiral,  
Now Guise may storm, but does us little hurt,  
Having the king, queen-mother on our sides,  
To stop the malice of his envious heart  
That seeks to murder all the protestants.  
Have you not heard of late how he decreed  
If that the king had given consent thereto,  
That all the protestants that are in Paris,  
Should have been murdered the other night?  
ADMIRAL My Lord, I marvel that th'aspiring Guise  
Dares once adventure, without the king's consent,  
To meddle or attempt such dangerous things.  
CONDÉ My Lord, you need not marvel at the Guise,  
For what he doth the Pope will ratify,  
In murder, mischief, or in tyranny. [Scene i, 26-40]

Apart from the Huguenots' obvious fear for the Duke of Guise, who is presented as a slaughtering monster, here again, the pope is presented as someone exceeding his powers by defying the king's authority and by tolerating violence and tyranny under the guise of religious intentions. The pope, proverbially, offers the Duke of Guise a 'free ride' by giving his consent to the planned massacre.

The Duke of Guise, however, soon turns out to be the major villain of the play, namely the one who becomes the centre of the play and the source of energy for the plot. His first action is to order poisoned gloves for the Queen of Navarre and to hire a soldier to kill the Lord Admiral. The ordering of the poisoned gloves is, according to Roberts, a singling out of one major villain, because in the original Huguenot propaganda, Catherine de Medici was accused of having ordered the poisoned gloves and not the Duke of Guise: "The use of poison reflects the belief that Catherine de Medici brought with her from Italy the skills made famous by the Borgias, [...]. Yet Marlowe chooses to develop the image of Guise as the archetypical Machiavellian villain, [...], by attributing the poisoning to him, rather than to Catherine as Huguenot propaganda claimed."<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> Roberts, p. 433.

Guise outlines his further aspirations in a long monologue, in which he also confirms the Huguenots' mistrust and worst fears. Fully corresponding to his function as the play's main Vice and Machiavel, his aims are higher than those of "every peasant" (ii,41), and thus his ultimate goal is nothing less than "the diadem of France" (ii, 44). To reach this goal, he is willing to do whatever is necessary, because he knows that he can count on Spain's and the Vatican's support:

GUISE For this, from Spain the stately Catholics  
Sends Indian gold to coin me French écus;  
For this, have I a largess from the Pope,  
A pension and a dispensation too;  
And by that privilege to work upon,  
My policy hath framed religion.  
Religion: *O Diabole!*  
Fie, I am ashamed, how ever that I seem,  
To think a word of such a simple sound,  
Of so great matter should be made the ground. [Scene ii, 60-69]

Besides the financial support, Guise receives ideological support as well. Yet, whilst the Spaniards and the pope are principally religiously motivated, Guise just uses religion for his own purposes. The pope, however, does not seem to be bothered by this fact, since he consents to everything the duke does although he knows about his methods. He possibly assumes that as soon as Guise takes over France, he and the Catholic Church will profit from the new sovereign. Guise, on the other hand, knows that Catholic support will improve his chances.

GUISE Paris hath full five hundred colleges –  
As monasteries, priories, abbeys, and halls –  
Wherein are thirty thousand able men,  
Besides a thousand sturdy student Catholics;  
And more – of my knowledge, in one cloister keeps  
Five hundred fat Franciscan friars and priests.  
All this, and more, if more may be comprised,  
To bring the will of our desires to end. [Scene ii, 80-87]

With the Catholic Church on his side Guise plans to take over Paris, and as soon as Paris is conquered the way to the throne will be a short one. However, he first has to liquidate those that "hinder our possession to the crown" (ii,97), before he deals with the Parisian Protestants. At this point, however, proof can be found concerning Marlowe's lack of knowledge of the true Machiavellian ideals. As

Ulrich Broich has pointed out, Machiavelli had advised the Prince to commit murder only when necessary. Marlowe's Machiavellians, however, "strut the stage in innumerable guises, committing every conceivable crime, revelling in villainous stratagem to the horrified enjoyment of the audience"<sup>394</sup> and with this constitute a perfect example of the merged and mixed villain type, combining the Vice, the Senecan tyrant and the blurred Machiavellian ideals eagerly accepted by the Elizabethans. And since Guise openly boasts about killing Protestant Huguenots in the name of Catholicism, he perfectly corresponds to the newly formed Catholic stage villain.

The mother of the King of Navarre is the Duke of Guise's first victim. She accepts the poisoned glove from the Apothecary and dies immediately. Navarre realises that they are betrayed and rushes to the French King to tell him. The Admiral foresees that this was just the beginning, and that the marriage is the reason for their calamity: "These are the cursed Guisians that do seek our death./ O, fatal was this marriage to us all" (iii, 37)

In contrast to Guise and his mother, King Charles remains hesitant about the planned massacre and expresses his concerns about the fact that this will not remain unnoticed by the world and might be interpreted to their disadvantage. Guise interrupts him harshly and advises him in how to rule his country: "And rather choose to seek your country's good/ Than pity or relive these upstart heretics" (iv, 19-20). The king gives in to Guise and his mother and "will ratify" whatever they "determine" (iv, 25). Having the king's consent, Guise outlines his plans for the massacre:

GUISE They that shall be actors in this massacre  
Shall wear white crosses on their burgonets,  
And tie white linen scarfs about their arms;  
He that wants these and is suspect of heresy,  
Shall die, be he king or emperor. Then I'll have  
A peal of ordinance shot from the tower,  
At which they all shall issue out and set the streets;  
And then, the watchword being given, a bell shall ring,  
Which when they hear, they shall begin to kill,  
And never cease until that bell shall cease;  
Then breathe a while. [Scene iv, 29-39]

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<sup>394</sup> Broich, p. 329, 330.

By having the murderers dressed partly in white, the Duke gives them a perversely innocent appearance. By wearing white linen scarves and white crosses they are wearing symbols signalling the righteousness of their deeds and the acceptance of the Catholic Church. What is more, his order to ring a bell during the time of the massacre further underlines the Church's acceptance in this scheme. The Duke, thus, abuses insignia of the Catholic Church at the behest of the pope to underline the righteousness of killing French Protestants. Penny Roberts interprets this as a "cynical use of religion as a cloak for personal political gain – a cynicism which runs as a theme throughout the play [...]"<sup>395</sup> By including kings and emperors the Duke ensures that Navarre and his fellows will be killed as well and further signals that he does not shrink from committing regicide to reach his goals.

The Duke is interrupted when the Admiral's men inform Charles about an assassination attempt on the Lord High Admiral. After consultation with his mother and Guise he decides to visit the Admiral. His mother, however, will "take order for his death" (iv, 50). Guise orders that "The Admiral,/ Chief standard-bearer to the Lutherans,/ Shall in the entrance of this massacre/ Be murdered in his bed" (v, 10-13) and that no one in his house shall leave it alive. The Duke of Anjou exclaims that "Catholics [shall] flourish once again" (v, 21) as soon as the Admiral is dead. When they have murdered the Admiral, they throw his body to the ground and the Guise "stamps on [his] lifeless bulk" (v, 41) and decides to "[c]ut off his head and hands,/ And send them for a present to the Pope" (v, 42-43). This is just one exemplary scene that shows the "wanton brutality"<sup>396</sup> with which the Catholic nobles randomly slaughter and violate Protestant Huguenots. The Duke of Guise's exclamation "There shall not be a Huguenot breathe in France" (v, 50) is enthusiastically answered by Anjou, who swears by "this cross, we'll not be partial,/ But slay as many as we can come near" (v, 51-52). Considering the brutal *modus operandi* of the murderers, while killing hundreds of Protestant citizens and leaders, MacKenzie states:

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<sup>395</sup> Roberts, p. 439. She further mentions scenes i and iv-ix.

<sup>396</sup> MacKenzie, p. 322.

Within the space of less than fifteen minutes, an array of social representatives – an admiral, a preacher, a professor, a group of schoolteachers – are assailed, reviled and executed. The murderers enter, kill, and exit with a mechanical repetitiveness, claiming absurd heresies for their victims and straining for a kind of crass, loutish wit in every death-dealing deed they perpetrate. It is as if the task of killing Protestants has become such a familiar vocation that its horrors have not simply been routinized into indifference but have actually become the source of mirth.<sup>397</sup>

Even when King Charles dies, his mother does not lose any time, but continues to act in this “routinized indifference” and demands her son Henry, the Duke of Anjou, to return from Poland and become King of France. Navarre, however, realises that he is not safe anymore, now that his ally, the king, is dead and decides to “steal from France and hie me to my home,” (xiii, 32) in order to “muster up an army secretly,/ For fear that Guise, joined with the King of Spain,/ Might seem to cross me in mine enterprise” (xiii, 37-39). For this venture, however, Navarre places his faith in God alone, who “always doth defend the right” (xiii, 39) and will “show His mercy and preserve us still” (xiii, 40); a typical Elizabethan English conviction.<sup>398</sup>

Catherine and the cardinal, however, plan further steps to convert France back to Catholicism. She wants to use her son’s idleness and his lack of interest in state affairs to manipulate him so that he does whatever she wants:

CATHERINE My Lord Cardinal of Lorraine, tell me,  
How likes your grace my son’s pleasantness?  
His mind, you see, runs on his minions,  
And all his heaven is to delight himself;  
And whilst he sleeps securely thus in ease,  
Thy brother Guise and we may now provide  
To plant ourselves with such authority  
As not a man may live without our leaves.  
Then shall the Catholic faith of Rome  
Flourish in France, and none deny the same.

CARDINAL Madam, as I in secrecy was told,  
My brother Guise hath gathered a power of men,  
Which are, he saith, to kill the Puritans;  
But ‘tis the house of Bourbon that he means.  
Now, madam, must you insinuate with the king,  
And tell him that ‘tis for his country’s good,  
And common profit of religion.

CATHERINE Tush, man, let me alone with him,

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<sup>397</sup> MacKenzie, p. 319.

<sup>398</sup> Cf. Chapter 5 of this thesis, p. 185 ff.

To work the way to bring this thing to pass;  
And if he do deny what I do say,  
I'll dispatch him with his brother presently,  
And then shall monsieur wear the diadem,  
Tush, all shall die unless I have my will,  
For, while she lives, Catherine will be queen.  
Come, my lord, let us go to seek the Guise  
And then determine of this enterprise. [Scene xvi, 43-68]

Catherine unambiguously states that her sons are dispensable and that she is the true sovereign of France and assures him that her son will not be a bar to their venture. Additionally, the background of this conversation complies with Bernard Spivack's idea of a multitude of Vices, as long as Marlowe does not present the audience with one single Vice figure, but with many vicious characters whose relationship is marked by the fact "that one of the vices is almost always distinguished from the others as their immoral superior and dramatic leader."<sup>399</sup> In the case of *The Massacre at Paris*, the Duke of Guise is made the "Vice-in-chief", because Marlowe transferred all scheming, all deeds and the major responsibility to him. Catherine, the Cardinal and the rest of the league help and support him, but are discharged of all responsibility.

To oppose the Guises, Navarre has gathered an army as well with which he wants to defy "the proud disturbers of the faith,/ I mean the Guise, the Pope, and King of Spain,/ Who set themselves to tread us under foot,/ And rent our true religion from this land" (Scene xvi, 13-6). He believes in the righteousness of the Protestant faith and in his right to live in France and is determined to fight the usurping Catholic authorities who challenge this freedom – in particular because he can count on the English Queen as his ally: "And with the Queen of England join my force/ To beat the papal monarch from our lands,/ And keep those relics from our countries' coasts" (xviii, 15-17).

The French army, on the other hand, faces unexpected royal resistance when the Duke of Guise is taken to task by King Henry, who wishes to know about the purposes for which Guise has formed an army and utters his concerns that Guise's intentions are not in the best interests of the king. The Duke's answer that what he has done "'tis for the Gospel sake" (ixx, 21), is retorted by the king's advisor

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<sup>399</sup> Spivack, p. 141.

Epernoun: “Nay for the Pope’s sake, and thine own benefit” (ixx, 22). Epernoun’s remark again draws the attention to the pope, who obviously exceeds his authorities and interferes in state affairs by empowering and authorising confidants to wage war under the guise of religion in order to enhance the power of the pope and the Vatican. Epernoun’s comment further confirms that those who are allegedly fighting for the Catholic cause always pursue their own Machiavellian aims, which in the case of Guise, is the crown of France. King Henry obviously suspects the Duke of Guise to turn against him and thus writes a letter to Navarre to call for his help – a circumstance, however, which is ample proof for Margaret Scott’s assumption that even the Machiavel “is unable to survive for long in the milieu he has created”<sup>400</sup>, because now loyalties and affections are changing detrimental to Guise’s interests. Navarre seizes this chance and ensures Henry his assistance:

NAVARRE That wicked Guise, I fear me much, will be  
The ruin of that famous realm France,  
For his aspiring thoughts aim at the crown,  
And takes his vantage on religion  
To plant the Pope and popelings in the realm  
And bind it wholly to the see of Rome.  
But if that God do prosper mine attempts,  
And send us safely to arrive in France,  
We’ll beat him back and drive him to his death  
That basely seeks the ruin of this realm. [Scene xx, 20-29]

Following the correspondence between Navarre and Henry, the French King hires three murderers to kill the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Seeing the dead body of the Duke, Henry gives a speech in which he sends Guise to hell and exclaims that he never felt more like the King of France than in this hour. What is more, he addresses contemporary Elizabethan issues, when he asks: “Did he not draw a sort of English priests/ From Douai to the seminary at Rheims/ To hatch forth treason ‘gainst their natural queen?/ Did he not cause the King of Spain’s huge fleet/ To threaten England and to menace me?” (xxi, 100-104). By connecting the action on stage to recent events it is likely that he made the whole plot even more palpable to the English audience who were contemporary

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<sup>400</sup> Scott, p. 171.

witnesses of what they were seeing on stage. He talks about their queen who has defeated the Spanish Armada and whose government propagates that seminary priests, Jesuits, are “wicked and seditious persons” (35 *Eliz. c.2*) and have to be avoided. Moreover, the fictional Henry confirms the righteousness of her sovereignty by calling her “their natural queen” and thus clearly and directly contradicts the pope who excommunicated Elizabeth in the early 1570’s and has ever since denied her legitimacy.

The contradiction between the good Protestant cause and the evil Catholic machinations is further amplified when a friar offers to kill King Henry “for [his] conscience sake” (xxiii, 24). When the friar stabs Henry, the dying king asks: “What irreligious pagans’ parts be these/ Of such as hold them of the holy church?” (xiv, 41-43), and again questions the nature of the Holy Church which shelters men like the friar. He orders the English agent to tell Elizabeth what has happened and proclaims “eternal love” to “the Queen of England specially,/ Whom God hath blessed for hating papistry” (xiv, 68-69). Again, the English audience is given confirmation for the Protestant cause of their queen, and the dying fictional king on stage even exclaims his love for her and her anti-papal and anti-Catholic policy. The English and their monarch are presented as a unity which is doing the right thing in condemning and prosecuting Catholics in their country.<sup>401</sup> When Henry dies, Navarre swears to take revenge for him “as Rome and all those popish prelates there/ Shall curse the time that e’er Navarre was king,/ And ruled France by Henry’s fatal death” (xiv, 109-111).

When comparing *The Massacre at Paris* with Shakespeare’s *Henry VI* it has to be mentioned that in contrast to Cardinal Beaufort, who acted on his own, in Marlowe’s play the audience are confronted with a whole Catholic league which, of course, has far more power and influence than just one single character.

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<sup>401</sup> Penny Roberts, however, critically approaches the dying scene of Henry by referring to the actual historical circumstances of Henry’s death and Navarre’s succession: “[...] Henry III at his death appears more worthy (in English eyes at least) than he has done throughout the rest of the play: forgiving his assassin, denying the Roman church, and praising anti-papal rulers such as Elizabeth. This belated advocacy of Protestantism serves to reinforce the image of his hypocrisy, and such an ally would have been seen as of rather dubious benefit in the fight against papistry. The reality was that, far from advocating Protestantism, Henry urged his heir Navarre to convert to Catholicism if he was to stand any chance of securing his right to the throne.” Roberts, p. 439. Upon closer inspection this could also serve to underline the aforementioned cynical “use of religion”, which appears to be a theme throughout the play.

Another difference is that Beaufort plots against the closest advisor of the king and, in the end, is involved in the murder of Gloucester. The Duke of Guise, Catherine and the cardinal, on the other hand, do not shrink from murdering at least two French kings – and in the case of Catherine, two sons – to have their will. The plays further differ in the way the characters are punished or rewarded for their deeds. Beaufort, as has been mentioned, is not punished by any earthly court, but in the end dies a painful death and is judged by God. However, during the play, the pope rewards him for his deeds by appointing him as cardinal. In *The Massacre at Paris*, King Henry at least does not fail to punish the Duke and the cardinal for what they have done and thus restores justice.

Concerning the conceptual similarities of Shakespeare's trilogy and Marlowe's ultimate play, both feature one or more characters who "proceed by cunning, murder, and a devious sowing of dissention" and recognize "no moral barrier to the wholesale slaughter of any who opposes [them], to rebellion, civil war, or usurpation"<sup>402</sup> and with this stand in the tradition of the stage Machiavel. In *Henry VI* not only Beaufort, but also Suffolk and York show features of the Machiavel. But Beaufort turns out to be the character combining elements of the evil Vice and the manipulating Machiavel and, thus, can be seen as the typical Elizabethan stage villain – extended by his Catholicism.

*The Massacre at Paris* as well features numerous Vice characters: Catherine de Medici, the Cardinal and the Duke of Guise. However, like in *Henry VI*, only one character exhibits the complexity of the Catholic villain by combining the Vice, the Machiavel and Catholic commitment: the Duke of Guise. He is made the Vice-in-chief by Marlowe, who assigned all murderous deeds, the scheming and responsibility to him.

Within the scope of these three plays the first types of this more complex, villainous Catholic character appeared on stage and began to develop. As has been mentioned above, Shakespeare and Marlowe took elements from the medieval Vice character, combined them with Gentillet's interpretation of Machiavelli's ideals and extended them by Catholicism and thus created a villain with the ability to manipulate, murder, deceive and seduce, with no scruples and no moral

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<sup>402</sup> Scott, p. 166.

limitations. This new type, therefore, can also be seen as part of the foundation stone the Elizabethans laid during the sixteenth century and which was resumed and further refined by the Jacobean later on during the seventeenth century.

Apart from that, the three plays have another thing in common, which is the influential power of the pope. In all plays the pope is presented as the driving power behind the machinations and actions of his henchmen. He tolerates and authorises anything as soon as he senses a chance to enhance his own power. In *Henry VI, Part One* Beaufort pays the pope for having clothed him “in these grave ornaments” (*Henry VI, Part One*; V.i.52-54), thus the pope’s dealings can be regarded as encouraging the bishop to continue his way in order to enhance his power and influence in the English court. By paying the pope, Beaufort, on the other hand, signals that he still serves the see of Rome and ensures that the pope will have a share in whatever position or office he is going to hold.

In Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*, Condé depicts the pope as being the one who pulls the strings in the background. When he says about the Duke of Guise that “[f]or what he doth the Pope will ratify,/ In murder, mischief, or in tyranny” (*The Massacre at Paris*; i, 26-40), he implies that the pope exactly knows about the means and instruments Guise employs to reach his goals – even if it implies killing a hundred Protestants – and still gives his consent. Penny Roberts interprets this “broader message” as “the futility of seeking the destruction of others for political gain concealed behind a facade of religious respectability.”<sup>403</sup>

Thus, like Shakespeare’s pope, this pope is depicted as a reckless and unscrupulous head of the church who defies the limits of his office and of morality to strengthen the Catholic Church and to widen the influence of the Vatican and himself. Like his allies he does not shrink back from royal authority and divine legitimacy and does not even hesitate to give his consent to regicide. In other words, or in Gloucester’s words, he “regards nor God nor king” (*Henry VI, Part One*; I.iii.60) but only his own advantages and their enforcement at all costs. Thus, from another point of view, the pope might be seen as the Vice-in-chief, whereas those, who are committing the deeds – Beaufort, Guise, Catherine, etc. –

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<sup>403</sup> Roberts, p. 440.

are only his privates; they are far below him in the hierarchy and are not able to contest his supremacy.

#### 4.2.5 William Shakespeare – *The Life and Death of King John* (1595/ 1596)

The last Elizabethan play discussed in this thesis, *The Life and Death of King John*<sup>404</sup>, is rather controversial with regards to its featured Catholic character, Cardinal Pandulph. As mentioned before, after the *Henry VI* trilogy, Shakespeare was never as explicitly anti-Catholic as he had been in dealing with Cardinal Beaufort. This also proves true when considering his play about the medieval King John, especially when taking a closer look at a play which might have been an influential source, if not, as Roy Battenhouse suggests, “the immediate source”<sup>405</sup> for Shakespeare’s recount of the life of King John: *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* from 1591 by an unknown author<sup>406</sup>. There are some major differences between Shakespeare’s play and this earlier version, especially with regards to religious topics dealt with in both versions, which may provide grounds for believing that Shakespeare was not as fiercely anti-Catholic as suggested by the *Henry VI* trilogy. Battenhouse points out several scenes which were included in the earlier play but were omitted or ignored by Shakespeare: “Shakespeare, for instance, has no parallel to the *Troublesome Raigne*’s depicting a visit to a monastery where lecherous friars hide nuns in their chests, nor to another scene which devotes a hundred lines to a friar conspiring with his Abbot to poison King John and being absolved in advance.”<sup>407</sup> However, despite the lack of such obvious anti-Catholic scenes, Shakespeare’s *The Life and Death of King John* is not completely void of religious issues and anti-Catholic sentiments. Eamon Grennan draws similar conclusions from a direct comparison of both plays:

In *TR* [*Troublesome Raigne*] Pandulph is little more than a vehicle for the play’s anti-Rome stance. Whether he is speaking the bare prose of a Papal

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<sup>404</sup> All quotes are taken from: William Shakespeare, *The Life and Death of King John*, ed. by A.R. Braummuller, Oxford: OUP, 1989.

<sup>405</sup> Roy Battenhouse, “Religion in *King John*: Shakespeare’s View”, in: *Connotations* 1/ 2 (1991), p. 140.

<sup>406</sup> Battenhouse suggests that “*The Troublesome Raigne of King John* (1591) is either the immediate source of Shakespeare’s play (as most critics think) or else a rival author’s response to an early John play by Shakespeare (as supposed by Honigmann and Matchett).” p. 140.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.

decree or the bad verse of a stage Catholic, the Cardinal is the pawn both of the princes and the historical dramatist. His only real power over John is given to him at the latter's death.[...] In *King John*, however, Pandulph is the central figure in the ominous, absurd game of political machination. The princes are his pawns, not he theirs, and his clear-eyed Machiavellian cynicism must, in this world, be taken as a genuine perception of political truth.<sup>408</sup>

Thus, Shakespeare might have moderated his anti-Catholic tone and given it less scope than in his earlier plays, but he did not avoid it completely. His Cardinal Pandulph might turn out to be a negotiator of peace in the end, but he nevertheless remains a dubious and Machiavellian character. Battenhouse states that neither John nor Pandulph are depicted as obviously villainous, but "each is shown to be a counterfeiter of religious duty."<sup>409</sup> He is of the opinion that in his play Shakespeare is in concordance with the biblical maxim that "cupidity is the root of all evil"<sup>410</sup> and that the concept of Pandulph's and John's characters is built upon this maxim.

Upon their first encounter, the Cardinal's tone is courteous. He greets the "anointed deputies of heaven" (III.i.136) and avoiding any unjust or inappropriate accusation, demands to know "Why thou against the church, our holy mother,/ So wilfully dost spurn; and force perforce/ Keep Stephen Langton, chosen Archbishop/ Of Canterbury, from that holy see?"<sup>411</sup> (III.i.141-144). King John's answer lacks this courtesy and is more "boastful and scoffing"<sup>412</sup>

KING JOHN Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name  
 So slight, unworthy and ridiculous,  
 To charge me to an answer, as the pope.  
 Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England  
 Add thus much more, that no Italian priest  
 Shall tithes or toll in our dominions;  
 But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,  
 So under Him that great supremacy,  
 Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,  
 Without the assistance of a mortal hand:

<sup>408</sup> Eamon Grennan, "Shakespeare's Satirical History: A Reading of *King John*", in: *Shakespeare Studies* 11 (1978), p. 28-29.

<sup>409</sup> Battenhouse, p. 140.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>411</sup> According to Battenhouse, this greeting is "unlike the bullying Pandulph of *The Troublesome Raigne*." p. 140.

<sup>412</sup> Battenhouse, p. 141.

So tell the pope, all reverence set apart  
To him and his usurp'd authority. [III.i.149-160]

While this answer, on the one hand, leaves no question with regards to King John's opinion of either the pope or the cardinal and "Protestant auditors at the Globe probably delighted to hear the Pope labeled a usurper,"<sup>413</sup> on the other hand, it beguiles Pandulph into cursing and excommunicating the king and proclaiming "blessèd shall he be that doth revolt/ From his allegiance to a heretic,/ And meritorious shall that hand be called,/ Canonizèd and worshippèd as a saint,/ That takes away by any secret course/ Thy hateful life" (III.i.174-179). This announcement (and later on his prophecy that John will be provoked to kill Arthur) "places him on an even lower moral plane than John. There is no overseeing the plays' anti-papalism."<sup>414</sup>

Thus, having just made peace with King John, King Philip of France is forced by Pandulph to break these ties and instead "raise the power of France upon his head,/ Unless he do submit himself to Rome" (III.i.193-194). Philip, however, remains uncertain, considering the value peace with England would bring his own country. He seeks the cardinal's advice hoping to receive it from a churchman, but is confronted with the advice of a "canon lawyer who seeks to discipline John"<sup>415</sup>:

PANDULPH All form is formless, order orderless,  
Save what is opposite to England's love.  
Therefore to arms! be champion of our church,  
Or let the church, our mother, breathe her curse,  
A mother's curse, on her revolting son.  
France, thou mayst hold a serpent by the tongue,  
A chafed lion by the mortal paw,  
A fasting tiger safer by the tooth,  
Than keep in peace that hand which thou dost hold. [III.i.253-261]

Battenhouse states that whoever seeks the cardinal's advice receives none, because "Pandulph's focus is on the canonical prerogatives of his office, rather than on the church's mission to cure souls."<sup>416</sup> This is also mirrored in his wish for Philip to be "champion of the church", which comes to mean not "a fulfilling of

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<sup>413</sup> Battenhouse, p. 142.

<sup>414</sup> Tom McAlindon, "Swearing and Forswearing in Shakespeare's Histories: The Playwright as Contra-Machiavel", in: *The Review of English Studies* New Series 51/ 202 (2000), p. 221.

<sup>415</sup> Battenhouse, p. 143.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

the law of charity, but rather a supporting of ‘a mother’s curse’.”<sup>417</sup> Thus, he does not fulfill his duty as a Christian by avoiding war; he rather supports it, by offering no other advice to the French King than to raise arms against the English. This manipulative side also proves the Machiavellian nature of Pandulph’s character.

When the French are defeated the only comfort the cardinal can offer is that out of cupidity John might be provoked to kill young Arthur and that this deed will “cause disaffection by John’s subjects”<sup>418</sup> and have them turn towards France. As has been mentioned before, this advice “places him on an even lower moral plane than John”<sup>419</sup> and makes him a Machiavellian “preacher of power politics [and] a portrait of a commodity-minded perversion of churchly Holiness.”<sup>420</sup>

The death of Arthur – although not caused by any of John’s men – actually causes a revolt of the English nobles and King John, recognizing that he is close to losing everything, makes a deal with Pandulph. He swears allegiance with the pope and wants Pandulph to negotiate with the French. Although these negotiations are disrupted by the Bastard and initially unsuccessful due to Lewis’ stubbornness, in the end Pandulph arrives with a peace treaty from the French and with this ends the war between England and France. Battenhouse, however, does not regard Pandulph as the causer of the peace, “but only a useful messenger between the two camps when their selfish ambition has turned to ashes.”<sup>421</sup>

When comparing Pandulph to the other Catholic characters discussed so far, he lacks the villainous and violent nature of the Vice character which is exhibited by Guise or Beaufort. His manipulative techniques are not as penetrating and venturous as Beaufort’s, even though he clearly shows traits of the Machiavellian, when he suggests that John’s probable murder of Arthur might convince the English to join the French side. He does not care for the individual soul, and accepts losses as long as it serves the greater goal, which stands, as Battenhouse points out, in stark contrast to the biblical ideal of true religion: “A well-known passage in the Epistle of James sums up true religion as a visiting of the fatherless

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<sup>417</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>418</sup> Battenhouse, p. 145.

<sup>419</sup> McAlindon, p. 221.

<sup>420</sup> Battenhouse, p. 145.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

and widows in their affliction and keeping oneself unspotted from the world (James 1:27). Pandulph is shown by Shakespeare to be not only spotted by worldliness but also unconcerned for the welfare of Constance and Arthur, the widow and the orphan of the play.”<sup>422</sup>

The play itself also cannot be classified as anti-Catholic propaganda, as it is the case with *The Massacre at Paris*. It lacks both an obvious manipulative and villainous Catholic character and a basic anti-Catholic undertone. Nevertheless, as Battenhouse suggests, it is not completely void of critical religious issues, because “the central event in his play [...] is a confrontation between John and the papal legate Pandulph, an event which Protestant historians considered to be analogous to Henry VIII’s break with the church of Rome.”<sup>423</sup> However, Shakespeare deals with and depicts this event and its consequences more delicately than he would have done earlier in his career. His portrayal of Pandulph does not show an evil churchman, but rather a careful manipulator, who in the end contributes to establishing peace – the price for this peace, however, is just a means to an end.

Thus, Shakespeare did not completely banish anti-Catholic sentiments from his play; he merely handled them more sensitively and carefully. This, however, does not make him a sympathizer of the Catholic cause. Rather, it could be seen as mirroring Queen Elizabeth’s stance considering English Catholics, which showed understanding for the problematic condition of English Catholics in England and a clear distinction between those loyal to the queen and those leaving England to visit Catholic seminaries on the continent. Perhaps Shakespeare merely suggested – like the queen – that not all Catholics were evil and that some of them might even contribute to welfare.

#### 4.2.6 Reflections

Against the background of the historical events preceding the composition and staging of the plays analysed above, a discussion of the noticeable increase in brutality and injustice on the part of Catholics and the Catholic Church is necessary to understand the development of factual anti-Catholicism in England.

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<sup>422</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

Considering the historical events of this period as outlined in chapter two of this thesis, the plays could be interpreted as a response to these events. Since the beginning of the 1580's the missionary priests, coming from the continent, had posed a noticeable risk to English Protestantism, and the government did not tire in warning the English subjects of the danger emanating from these "seminarists" and Jesuits by means of propaganda measures and legal acts, which accused them of "[stirring] up and [moving] sedition, rebellion, and open hostility" in England and its dominions "to the great endangering of the safety of her most royal person, and to the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm" (27 *Eliz. c.2*). Thus, Jesuits and any other member of the Catholic Church were declared by law to be dangerous for the queen and her subjects.

Following the legal measures against the Jesuits, the Spanish Armada in 1588 marked another significant landmark in the English religious struggle. Although the Spanish attack was caused by many reasons, the foundation was the wish to turn England back into a Catholic country and thus back into the power of Rome. Yet, Elizabeth defeated the Armada and stood up to European Catholicism and legitimized her sovereignty by this victory.

When going to the theatre and watching the plays by Marlowe, Shakespeare and many others, what the English audience saw on stage must have had the effect of a confirmation of the governmental actions and measurements against English and European Catholics. They did not only witness how a Machiavellian cardinal plotted against the closest advisor of the English King to succeed him in this position and remained unpunished; they moreover witnessed the slaughter of hundreds of Protestants by a whole Catholic league in Paris. They saw and heard how the pope cooperated with the plotters and enabled them – be it by financial or ideal measures – to pursue their goals. They watched Cardinal Pandulph giving immoral advice to King John and being depicted as a peacemaker in the end. They witnessed that the Catholic Church obviously lacked some kind of moral instance which stopped its villainous members from plotting against and murdering monarchs; that to "maintain face for mother church" was more important than "to fulfil the duty of Christ's faithful servant"<sup>424</sup>; that the pope consented to any

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<sup>424</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

measure which served his office; and that those plotting under the guise of religion had no scruples to do so which suggests a complete lack of respect for God, the church or the king. The superiority of the pope in the plays mirrors the picture the English had of the real pope during the Elizabethan era. Carol Wiener, for example, claims that:

The greatest misunderstanding [concerning the power of the Catholic Church] arose with regard to the position of the head of the Roman Church, the very symbol of England's fears, the Pope. In such superhuman proportions did the typical observer see the Catholic leader that individual popes were rarely distinguished from one another, even by name; all popes became one arch-villain – the Pope. Englishmen consistently over-estimated the control which this mythical figure exerted over Catholics.<sup>425</sup>

This assumed superiority of the pope was taken over into the plays and the theatres and served to magnify the picture of the omniscient and overpowering 'Romish' villain who tried anything to eliminate the English Queen and to convert England – or any other Protestant country – back into a Catholic subordinate.

The Elizabethan stage, therefore, can be regarded as another setting for a developing anti-Catholicism which would significantly increase during the years of James I's reign. With the exception of *The Massacre at Paris* which presents the religious struggle between Catholics and Protestants and the unrighteous superiority of the Catholics in a highly disadvantageous way for the Catholic Church or any member of the same, *Doctor Faustus* and Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and *King John* certainly hold anti-Catholic sentiment – although barely perceptible in the latter case – but do not display any physical violence or brutality on the part of the Catholics. This, however, most certainly changed with the beginning of the Jacobean era.

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<sup>425</sup> Wiener, p. 30.

### 4.3 Jacobean Drama – setting the mind

Since the anti-Catholic foundations had been laid by the Elizabethan playwrights, the Jacobeans only needed to pick up the threads; however, as a result of the upheavals and uncertainties the reign of James I entailed as well as the increasing anti-Catholic propaganda and legal measures, Jacobean dramatists extended these threads significantly. This extension included *inter alia* a development from more or less lax anti-Catholic sentiments on the Elizabethan stage into a fierce and hateful anti-Catholicism on the Jacobean stage. Additionally, the newly merged character of the Machiavellian Catholic villain was taken over, refined and variously employed. In most cases the Jacobean plays featured more than one villain which demanded a higher versatility of the character type and which led to the phenomenon that at times the Catholic villain showed more features of the medieval vice, while at other times he was definitely more Machiavellian or he featured qualities of both of them. However, he almost always stood out from the other vicious characters.

The Jacobeans also tended to set more plays in Italy than the Elizabethans did, which further broadened the complexity of the villain and led to an increasing brutality and violence on part of the Catholic characters.

Away from the theatre, this development can also be regarded as a mirror for actual Elizabethan and Jacobean politics: Whereas Elizabethan politics laid the foundation for English anti-Catholicism, it was solidifying during the Jacobean era, and became a part of English nationalism at last.

The next section will, therefore, present the five selected Jacobean dramas *The Whore of Babylon* by Thomas Dekker, *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* by John Webster, *A Game at Chess* by Thomas Middleton and James Shirley's *The Cardinal* which were chosen with regards to the appearance of Catholic characters and the way in which these characters are portrayed on stage. It will discuss in how far these plays exemplify the increasing hatred against and fear of

Catholicism and the increasingly excessive brutality and violence committed by Catholic characters on the English stage. Furthermore, the plays will be regarded in the context of their time and analysed in terms of actual political incidents, which might have been of considerable influence on the playwrights and their story telling.

#### 4.3.1 Thomas Dekker – *The Whore of Babylon* (1607)

According to Susan E. Krantz, *The Whore of Babylon*<sup>426</sup> is a “long allegorical account of the various assassination attempts on Queen Elizabeth [...] by representatives of Roman Catholicism.”<sup>427</sup> In Dekker’s play England is represented by *Fairie Land*, and Elizabeth by Titania, the *Fairie Queene* which is a direct reference to Spenser’s pro-Elizabethan poem “The Faerie Queene” (1590). Catholicism, the Catholic Church and the pope, on the other hand, are represented by a whorish empress riding on a beast who allies with several cardinals and the Kings of Spain, France and the Holy Roman Empire. This league stands in the medieval tradition of the hierarchy of vices, whereas the empress stands out as the major Vice character, whose leading position in the hierarchy is undisputed and who appears to be a good example of the Jacobean adaptation of the Catholic stage villain.

When the Empress of Babylon first appears on stage, she is carried by four cardinals and is enjoying herself and her appearance “in pompe, in peace, in god-like splendor,/ With adoration of all dazeled eies” (I.i.1-2). This demonstrates right from the beginning the lavish and extravagant nature of the Catholic Church to divert attention from its vices and faults. However, the Empress complains about having lost her omniscient power and “true sovereignty”, her titles and a throne:

EMPRESSE [...]

That this vast Globe Terrestriall should be cantled,  
And almost three parts ours, and that the nations,

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<sup>426</sup> All quotes are taken from: Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, Cambridge: CUP, 1955.

<sup>427</sup> Susan E. Krantz, “Thomas Dekker’s Political Commentary in *The Whore of Babylon*”, in: *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 35/2 (Spring 1995), p. 271.

Who suspiration draw out of this aire,  
With vniuersall *Aues*, showtes, and cries,  
Should vs acknowledge to be head supream  
To this great body (for a world of yeares:)  
Yet now, when we had made our Crowne compleat,  
And clos'd it strongly with a triple arch,  
And enrich'd it with those pretious jewels  
Few Princes euer see (white haire) euen now  
Our greatnesse hangs in balance, and the stampe  
Of our true Soueraignty, clipt, and abas'd. [I.i.9-20]

She further complains that her image “which (like Romane *Caesars*) stamp'd/ In gold, through the whole earth did currant passe;/ Is now blanch'd copper, or but guilded brasse” (I.i.36-38). The third king asks whether “[...] yonder roof, that's nailed so fast with starred, [can]/ Couer a head so impious, and not cracke?” (I.i.39-40), and wants to know who has committed such a “horrid sinne” (I.i.43). The Empress then names the “Fairie Queene”, thus the Queen of England, who has committed the sin of disobeying and harming her, and encumbers herself about the fact that the Heavens seem to tolerate her:

EMPRESSE Heauen suffers it, and sees it, and giues ayme,  
Whilst euen our Empires heart is cleft in sunder:  
That strumpet, that inchantresse, (who, in robes  
White as is innocence, and with an eye  
Able to tempt stearne murder to her bed)  
Calles her selfe *Truth*, has stolne faire *Truths* attire,  
Her crowne, her sweet songs, counterfets her voice,  
And by prestigious tricks in sorcerie,  
Ha's raiz'd a base impostor like *Truths* father:  
This subtile Curtizan set vp againe,  
Whom we but late banish, to liue in cause,  
In rockes and desart mountaines. [I.i.54-65]

The Empress does not only accuse the Fairy Queen of having discredited the Catholic Church and having claimed Protestantism to be the “true religion”, she moreover accuses her of having used witchcraft to achieve her position and status – which is in fact something the Protestants accused the Catholics of.<sup>428</sup> When the second king tries to calm the Empress by assuring her that this woman is “but a shadow” (I.i.66) and thus cannot constitute a real threat, the Empress compares her with a spider who wraps up everything and everyone in her net. Upon hearing

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<sup>428</sup> Cf. Chapter 5 of this thesis, p. 185 ff.

that Titania has called her the Whore of Babylon<sup>429</sup> the three kings swear to wage war against Fairy Land. The Empress, however, stops them by explaining that Fairy Land is hard to attack and that they instead have to flatter her:

EMPRESSE

Draw all your faces sweetly, let your browes  
Be sleekd, your cheeks in dimples, giue out smiles,  
Your voyces string with siluer; wooe (like louers)  
Swear your haue hils of pearle: shew her the world,  
And say shee shall haue all, so shee will kneele  
And doe us reuerence: but if shee grow nice,  
Dissemble, flatter, stoope to licke the dust  
Shee goes vpon, and (like to serpents) creepe  
Vpon your bellies, in humilitie;  
And beg shee would but with vs ioyne a league,  
To wed her land to ours: our blessing, goe. [I.i.102-112]

Since Fairy Land is surrounded by the sea and guarded by rocks, trying to attack it would be unwise. The Empress, therefore, suggests that the three kings travel to Fairy Land and woo the queen. They shall promise her riches and tell her that she can have the world, an offer which she cannot reject. Here, the Empress judges Titania by her own standards and is sure that she could not resist “hils of pearle” or even the world, since the Empress herself cannot resist such things. In this scene the Empress shows traits of the stage Machiavel, on the one hand, because she is mainly preoccupied with satisfying her needs for power, possession and sensual pleasure.<sup>430</sup> On the other hand, she acts according to the real Machiavellian ideals by refraining from attacking Fairy Land and instead suggests manipulating and seducing their leader. This fact could be interpreted as Dekker’s insufficient knowledge of Machiavelli’s ideas or as a clever combination of both elements to form an even more inscrutable and complex villain.

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<sup>429</sup> By calling the Empress “Whore of Babylon” Middleton’s Titania expresses the common Elizabethan English idea of Rome and further underlines the interpretative argument that the Empress is representing Rome and the pope: “The name ‘Whore of Babylon,’ frequently applied to Rome as the locus of papal corruption, sums up the religious aspect of English prejudice following Henry VIII’s break with the Catholic Church. Although the laudable memory of classical Rome persisted in England, the Reformation lent immediate weight to the notion of ‘the corrupt popish Babylon of Foxe’s martyrology, a Jezebel to be feared rather than studied.’” In: Anthony Ellis, “The Machiavel and the Virago: The Uses of Italian Types in Webster’s *The White Devil*”, in: *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* (Spring 2006), p. 53.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. Broich, p. 327.

The cardinals, however, have their own schemes and plans concerning the assassination of Titania. Moreover, they do not conceal the fact that they thoroughly hate the Fairy Queen:

I. CARDINAL It is not strong of poyson, to fetch vp  
Thats back't within: my gall is ouerflowne,  
My blood growne ranke and fowle: An inflammation  
Of rage, and madnes so burnes vp my liuer,  
That euen my heart-strings cracke (as in a furnace)  
And all my nerues into my eye-balles shrinke,  
To shoot those bullets, and my braines at once  
Against her soule that ha's halfe dambd vs: falls  
Fetcht hie, and neare to heauen, light on no ground,  
But in hels bottome, take their first rebound. [I.i.117-126]

The cardinal refers to the disequilibrium of gall and blood in his body, signalling that his humours are unbalanced, thus, he feels choleric and melancholic. The anger he has for Titania is connected to his physical condition, and it seems as if he cannot be content as long as she lives. The other cardinals agree with him and lament about having been expelled from their “mountaine-growth,/ With Pines and Cedars” (I.i.127-128). Moreover, they are not content with the Empresses’ plan to woo Titania, because they are not willing to “licke the dust/ The Fairie treads on, nor (like serpents) creepe/ Vpon our bellies in humilitie” (I.i.135-137), but they rather wish to “strike the heart through” (I.i.139) with one blow. The relationship between the cardinals and the Empress can be regarded as exemplary of what Spivack described as a group of vices, which consists of an “*immoral* superior and dramatic leader [..., a] captain of the forces of evil” and “his privates.”<sup>431</sup> The cardinals are inferior to the Empress and have to act according to her wishes, but are undoubtedly highly committed to the evil side and willing to perform evil deeds.

They agree to undermine Fairy Land by sending priests who shall try to indoctrinate the Fairies and take revenge for the wrongs the Fairy Queen has done to them. Here Dekker most probably refers to the missionary priests who were sent to England in the 1580's with the order to undermine Protestantism and re-convert people to the Old Faith.

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<sup>431</sup> Cf. Spivack, p. 141.

I. CARDINAL You therefore (the best consort of soule)  
[*To priests.*]  
Shepherds (whose flocks are men, lambs, Angels,) you  
That hold the rooffe of yon Starre-chamber vp,  
From dropping downe to grinde the world to dust,  
You shall to Fairie land. [...]  
Those that sing there the holy Hymnes, as yet  
Haue not their voyces cleere, the streame of ceremony  
Is scarcely settled, trouble it more: bayte hookes  
To take some, some to choake: cast out your net  
At first, for all the frie: let vs spread sayles  
To draw vnto our shores the Fairie whales. [I.i.191-201]

The cardinal most probably refers to the fact that the Protestant service and mass are based on ceremonies and traditions of the Catholic Church and expresses his assumption that the reformation of these ceremonies and masses is not yet completed, that people have not yet got used to the new rites and rules. He orders the priests to disrupt this process.

In Fairy Land, Titania holds conference with her councillors, Fidely, Florimell and Elfiron. They discuss past plots “laid to barre vs hence” (I.ii.3) and the present threat posed by the Empress of Babylon. Until now Titania has relied upon a transcendental power which has protected her and her realm: “That Arme, that cannot let a white soule fall,/ Hath held vs vp, and lifted vs thus hie:/ Euen when the Arrowes did most thickly flie,/ Of that bad woman, (*Babilons* proud Queene)/ Who yet (we heare) swells with Inuenomed Spleene” (I.ii.6-10). Fidely assures her that the Empress’ poisonous arrows only will lead to her own downfall, upon which Titania generously utters that she does not want to kill her: “I seeke no fall of hirs, my Spirit wades,/ In Clearer streames; her bloud I would not shed,/ To gaine that triple wreath that binds her head,/ Tho mine shee would let forth, I know not why,/ Only through rancke lust after Souereigntie” (I.ii.16-20). Apart from being generous, Titania is presented as a modest ruler who neither lusts after the death of her enemies nor after their power and wealth. This is why she cannot understand the motifs of the Empress of Babylon, whose sole motivation seems to be her craving for power.

She praises Fairy Land as a country of “ancient beauty” (I.ii.50), in which the “flowers we set, and the fruits by vs sowne,/ Shall cheere as well the stranger as our owne” (I.ii.55-56). She is determined to protect her realm from foreign attacks

and all those present swear: “On which wee le spend for you our latest liues” (I.ii.64).

In contrast to the empire of the Babylonian Empress, Fairy Land is represented as a peaceful haven in which everyone is willing to sacrifice himself for the survival of their queen and their country. Titania herself is displayed as a wise and modest ruler, who tries to protect her country and her subjects and tries to avoid any violence and bloodshed. This nationalism and devotion contrasts sharply with the dreaded and furious display of the Empress, of Babylon and of her supporters. Although Babylon is never actually described, the imagination of it resembles what Margaret Scott describes as the sphere of the Machiavel: “the chaos that the Machiavel creates is commonly reflected in images of a sterile and disordered universe, one of crooked trees and savage beasts, of darkness, fire, tempest, poison, and disease.”<sup>432</sup> Dekker supposedly tried to establish a dualistic picture of heaven and hell, heaven being represented by Protestant England, and hell being represented by the Catholic continent.

The meeting of Titania and her councillors is interrupted by the arrival of the three kings sent by the Empress of Babylon who are disguised as fairies. Titania invites them in and is surprised to hear that they are no fairies, but “wounded louers” (I.ii.81) who came to woo her. They offer her the riches of their countries and mention Ireland, her “[r]ebellious, wild, ingratefull, poore” (I.ii.142) son, who is “(by adoption)/ Our mothers now” (I.ii.148-149) and promise her to bring him home again, if she agrees to marry one of them. Titania, however, remains cautious, “rashly nothing must we doe” (I.ii.161) and asks her councillors for advice. Florimell warns her:

FLORIMELL Vultures are not more rauenuous than these men,  
 Confusion, tyranie, vproars will shake all,  
 Tygres, and wolues, and beares, will fil your seat,  
 In nothing (but in miserie) youle be great:  
 Those black and poisonous waters that bore down  
 In their rough torrent, Fairie townes and towers,  
 And drownd our fields in *Marianaes* daies,  
 Will (in a mercillesse inundation)  
 Couer all againe: red Seas will flow again:  
 The Deuill will roare againe: if these you loue,

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<sup>432</sup> Scott, p. 167.

Be (as the Serpent), wise then, tho a Doue. [I.ii.196-205]

Florimell compares Fairy Land with the “Holy Land” (I.ii.189) and praises Titania for her peaceful sovereignty, which she, as he warns her, would both lose if she accepted one of these marriage proposals. Thus, he advises her to act as the wolf in sheep’s array if she decided to choose one of the kings. Titania, however, does not dismiss them immediately; instead she swears that she will love one of them and allow them to “kill Princes lawfully” (I.ii.240) if a certain day will come:

TITANIA [...]

When a Court has no Parasite,  
When truth speakes false, and falsehood right:  
When Conscience goes in cloth of gold,  
When Offices are giuen, not sold:  
When merchants wiues hate costly clothes,  
When ther’s no lies in tradesmens oathes:  
When Farmers by deere yeeres do leeze,  
And Lawyers sweare to take no fees:  
(And that I hope will neuer, neuer bee)  
But then (and not till then) I sweare,  
Shall your bewitching Charmes sleepe in mire eare.  
Away. [I.ii.241-252]

Titania never really considered accepting one of the three proposals; instead she draws up the image of a utopian court where no one lies, deceives and cheats and so her offer of marriage stands, if this utopia is achieved one day. Her aversion to the three Catholic monarchs, however, is so huge that she hopes it will never happen.

The King of Spain vows revenge for this dismissal and orders the others to “[f]lie to our Empres bosome, there sucke treason,/ Seditiō, Herezies, confederacies,/ The violation of al sacred leagues,/ The combination of all leagues vniust” (I.ii.254-257) and when they are “swolne with theis” to come back and “let their poison raine down here in showres” (I.ii.261-260). The Spanish King admits that all those involved with the Roman Catholic Church are poisoned by it and willing to spread this “disease” to every place they can reach. This corresponds to Margaret Scott’s “disordered universe.” The kings of the Holy Roman Empire and of France agree and swear to “torne [her],/ Euen ioynt from ioynt: to haue her baited wel,/ (If we cannot) wee will vn-kennell hell” (I.ii.266-

268), underlining the King of Spain's statement and confirming the malevolence and brutality of the Catholic Church and its ability to "unkennel hell". The King of Spain decides to stay in Fairy Land to "suck allegiance from the common brest,/ Poyson the Courtier with ambitious drugs,/ Throw bane into the cups where learning drinks" (I.ii.271-273), thus to stir up treason among the Fairies. Considering the Spanish King's role, Susan E. Krantz writes:

Dekker exhibits more poetic license in his account of the Third King (Spain) sent by the Whore than he does for any other character or incident in the play. Spain is the only king who is given a name, Satyrane, and he speaks more lines than either France or the Roman Empire, [...]. Because he is more individualized than any other representative of Catholicism, he is more threatening. [...]. Dekker's decision to cast Spain, rather than another Catholic suitor, as the principal threat to Protestant Fairie Land has much more to do with political ideology and contemporary events than with allegorical history. Historically, of course, Philip II did launch the Armada against England and had put forth his name for marriage to Queen Elizabeth shortly after the death of Queen Mary – proposal that never was given serious consideration. Dekker not only gives Satyrane serious consideration; he keeps Spain in Fairie Land for most of the play [...].<sup>433</sup>

Dekker does not only present the audience with a demonised Catholic Church, he furthermore gives this demonised Catholicism the face of another contemporary foe, which is Spain. By keeping the Spanish King in Fairy Land to infiltrate and cause trouble among the inhabitants of Fairy Land he further magnifies the threat coming from European, and especially, Spanish Catholicism. The Spanish King, thus, is assigned an important role in the Empress' league. He seems to be second highest vice in the hierarchy and to enjoy a certain freedom which allows him to act and decide individually. Spain, in Dekker's eyes, seemed to be a credible threat, but it nevertheless was dependent on Italy.

In Fairy Land, Paridel – the character portraying William Parry<sup>434</sup> – who was sentenced to death, is pardoned by Titania and is given permission to leave Fairy Land. Titania's servant then enters with a character called Campeius – portraying Edmund Campion, one of the leaders of the Jesuit Mission in the early 1580s.<sup>435</sup> He is introduced as "*Campeius*: deeply learnd" (II.i.186), but Titania knows about his soul which is "framde of a thousand wheelles:/ Yet not one stedly" (II.i.188-

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<sup>433</sup> Krantz, p. 277-278.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid., p. 282

<sup>435</sup> Ibid., p. 278.

189) and warns her servant, Parthenophill that “[s]uch swelling spirites hid with humble looks,/ Are kingdoms poisons, hung on golden hookes” (II.i.200-201). Having been seen out by Parthenophill, Campeius then meets the Spanish King who speaks with him and tells him about Babylon and the Empress, who “with her owne hand/ Will fil thee wine out of a golden bowle./ There’s Angels conduct thee” (II.ii.149-151). Campeius is impressed and confesses that he “would venter/ A soule to get but thither” (II.ii.144-145), upon which the Spanish King orders him to “[s]teal o’re, behold, here’s one to waft thee hence,/ Take leaue of none, tell none, th’art made, farewell” (II.ii.152-153). Campeius, having been a doubtful and discontented Catholic, is seduced and follows his orders to visit the Court of Babylon.

However, before Campeius arrives in Rome, the King of Spain visits a Conjurer who has made a wax replica of Titania, which he will “[b]urie [...] in slimie putred ground, /Where it may peace-meale rot” (II.ii.168-170), he further sticks pins “like daggers to her heart, turne there to gripings,/ Cramp-like Convulsions, shrinkin vp her nerues,/ As into this they eate” (II.ii.172-175). The Spanish King praises him for his “labours” and promises him that the “Babylonian Empress shall thee honour” (II.ii.178). Here again, Dekker exaggerates the threat posed by the Spanish King by implying that he uses witchcraft to harm the Fairy Queen. With regards to this, Krantz suggests:

Additionally, Dekker has Spain hire a conjurer to bury a wax likeness of the queen in a dunghill (II.ii). Although similar stories of witchcraft circulated with some regularity during Queen Elizabeth’s reign, the culprits were rarely identified. John Stow in his *Annales* (1605), however, records the arrests and prosecution of two persons involved in such incidents. [...]. As mentioned earlier, in the play Dekker uses the double evil of Spain and Catholicism (as depicted in the *Third King*) to threaten the queen’s life; in Stow, not only is the practitioner English and apparently acting on his own, he is a Protestant fanatic, fervently anti-Catholic. That Dekker chose, in a play teeming with treasonous characters, to concentrate so much evil in a single character testifies to the playwright’s strong political and religious bias.<sup>436</sup>

When the Empress consults with the cardinals and the kings once again, she is criticised for her “motherly” behaviour and advised to “leaue the Mother/ And be the steptdame” (III.i.35-36) if she wants to defeat Titania. According to the

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<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

cardinal, she has been “[t]oo cold in punishment, too soft in chydying,/ And like a mother (cause her yeares are greene)/ Haue winck’t at Errors” (III.i.30-32), thus, he advises her to “wanton her no more/ On your Indulgent knee, signe no more pardons” (III.i.36-37) and “make way for him that shall kill her” (III.i.42). The cardinal then further reports on the doings of the King of Spain in Fairy Land:

I. CARDINAL [...] All schollers that doe eate,  
 The bread of sorrow, want, and discontent,  
 Wise *Satyrans* takes vp, presses, apparels  
 Their backes like Innocent Lambes, their minds like wolues,  
 Rubs or’e their tongues with poison, which they spet  
 Against their owne anointed; their owne Country,  
 Their very parent. And thus shippes ‘em thither,  
 To make em yours. [III.i.70-77]

The king obviously has found and proselytised more (English) Catholics like Campeius, whom he promised a better life, honour and freedom of religion. The Empress wants to know if they were “wrought”, which is answered positively by the cardinal. He states that they have been made drunk and voluntarily “tooke their own damnation” (III.i.87) to serve her and her purpose. The Empress plans to send them back to Fairy Land “when their venomous bags/ (Which they shall stuffe with scandales, libels, treasons)/ Are full and vpon bursting: let them there/ Weaue in their politicke loomes nets to catch flies” (III.i.121-124). The attendees then welcome Campeius und Ropus, the fictionalised version of Doctor Lopez<sup>437</sup>, who were chosen by the cardinals and kings to travel to Fairy Land to infiltrate the court and kill Titania.

EMPRESSE [...]
   
 Backe must we send you to the Fairie Land,  
 [...]
   
 Being landed, if suspition cast on you  
 Her narrow eyes, turne your selues then to Moles,  
 Worke vnder ground, and vndermine your countrey,  
 Tho you cast earth vp but a handfull high,  
 To make her stumble: if that bloud-hound hunt you,  
 (That long-ear’d Inquisition) take the thickets,  
 Climbe vp to Hay-mowes, liue like birds, and eate  
 The vnderflowered corne:  
 [...]
   
 Have change of hairs, or eyebrows; halt with soldiers,

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<sup>437</sup> Ibid., p. 282

Be shaven and be old women, take all shapes  
To escape taking. But if the air be clear,  
Fly to the court and underneath the wings  
Of the eagle, falcon, or some great bird, hover;  
Oaks and large beech trees many beasts to cover.  
He that first sings a dirge tun'd to the death  
Of that my only foe, the Fairy Queen,  
Shall be my love and, clad in purple, ride  
Upon that scarlet-coloured beast that bears  
Seven kingdoms on seven heads. [III.i.142-172]

By having the Empress giving instructions to Campeius and Ropus on how to infiltrate and undermine the Fairy court, Dekker might allude to the Jesuit Mission of the 1580's. He, however, directly links the mission with the pope and Rome, by suggesting that the missionary priests received their orders directly from Rome.

As soon as Campeius and Ropus left, the conspirators continue their conference discussing the ultimate destruction of Fairy Land. The first cardinal points out that as soon as Titania is dead "out of her ashes may/ A second Phoenix<sup>438</sup> rise, of larger wing/ Of stronger talent, of more dreadfull beake" (III.i.234-236), who may pose an even greater danger to the Babylonian court than Titania had done. He warns them that it does not suffice to cut off one branch of a tree; if they want to make sure that Fairy Land will never again pose a real threat to them, they have to fell the whole tree. Upon the Empress' question how he intends to achieve this, he answers:

I. CARDINAL                      Easie: whilst our thunderbolts  
Are aniling abroad, call *Satyrans* home,  
He in his fadome metes vast *Argozies*,  
Huge Galeasses, and such wodden Castles,  
As by enchantment on the waters moue:  
To his, marry yours and ours; and of them all  
Create a braue *Armado*, such a Fleete,  
That may breake *Neptunes* backe to carry it:  
Such for varietie, number, puissance,  
As may fetch all the Fairie Land in turfes,  
To make a greene for you to walke vpon  
In *Babilon*. [III.i.249-260]

Here, Dekker suggests that even the Spanish Armada was originally contrived in Rome and not by the Spanish King, although – as mentioned in chapter two of this

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<sup>438</sup> The topos of the Phoenix who was bred from the ashes of Elizabeth was regularly applied to King James I. Cf. Watkins, "Out of her Ashes", p. 121.

thesis – the background of the Spanish Armada was more diverse and not solely to be pinned down to the religious conflict. Dekker again conflates historical facts and contemporary assumptions in order to magnify the threat posed by Catholicism and Spain.

At the Fairy Court, Titania receives information about the capture of Campeius and the arrival of Paridell at their coast. Titania's personal physician, Ropus, is present as well and Titania asks him to bring her a draught. Ropus promises her something new, but before she can take it, Fideli stops her suspecting treason: "If't be his brewing, touch it not –/ For 'tis a drench to kill the strongest Deuill" (IV.ii.8-9). He has intercepted a letter in which Ropus is ordered to kill Titania. Fideli tries to force Ropus to drink the draught himself, but Ropus confesses and is carried away by the guards.

Paridell then turns up and confesses to Titania that he has been away at the Court of Babylon and has been "infected" (IV.ii.165) by them. He admits that he was sent to kill her and begs her to "make himself clear" (IV.ii.167) and forgive him. She agrees and leaves him alone.

In Babylon, however, the Armada is launched, "which is ordained to swallow vp the kingdome of *Faiery*" (IV.iii37). The Spanish King reports on the condition in Fairy Land, telling the Empress that "the Faiery Adders hisse: they call you/ The superstitious Harlot: purple whore:/ The whore that rides on the rose-coloured beast" (IV.iv.22-24). He has, however, not only witnessed hatred and fear of the Empress amongst the Fairies, but of whole Babylon and Catholicism as such:

III. KING They say the robes of purple which you weare,  
Your scarlet veiles, and mantles are not giuen you  
As typed of honour and regality,  
But dyed so deepe with bloud vpon them spilt,  
And that (all or'e) y'are with red murder gilt:  
The drinke euen in that golden cup, they sweare  
Is wine sophisticated, that does runne  
Low on the lees of error, which in taste,  
Is sweete and like the neate and holsome iuyce  
Of the ture grape, but tis ranke poyson downe. [IV.iv.39-48]

The king's report suggests that the people in Fairy Land do not merely hate Babylon and its Empress, but everything which is connected to her. They see her

as “a dangerous beast in a god-forsaken world of beasts”<sup>439</sup> and they believe that the wine she drinks is poisoned and used by her to bend the cardinals and kings to her will, to make them “slaues to sate your lust” (IV.iv.28). The attending kings and cardinals are indignant about these insinuations and claim: “Haue we not all it tasted?” (IV.iv.49), implying that they have all been poisoned by the Empress without knowing it. The Empress, however, proverbially boils with indignation and demands to know about the Armada’s progress, upon which the first cardinal reports that their “Galeons, Galeasses, Zabraes, Gallies./ [...] For number, rib and belly are so great,/ That should they want a Sea near Faiery land/ Of depth to beare them vp, they in their wombs/ Might swim with a sea thither” (IV.iv.70-75). Hearing this the Empress issues the order to destroy Fairy Land and Titania:

EMPRESSE Goe: cut the salt fome with your mooned keeles,  
And let our Galeons feele euen child-birth panges,  
Till their great bellies be deliuered  
On the soft Faiery shoares: captiue their Queene,  
That we may thus take off her crowne, whilst she  
Kneeles to these glorious wonders, or be trampled  
To death for her contempt: burne, batter, kill,  
Blow vp, pull downe, ruine all, let not white haire,  
Nor red cheeks blunt your wrath, snatch babes from brests,  
And when they crie for milke, let them sucke bloud,  
Turne all their fields to lakes of gellyed goare,  
That Sea-men one day sayling by the land  
May say, there Faiery kingdome once did stand. [IV.iv.114-126]

Here Dekker intends to display the Empress’ mercilessness and brutality, her insatiability and her propensity towards violence. He accuses the Catholic Church of tolerating and initiating the shedding of blood, of being voracious and lacking any kind of tolerance and sympathy, of neither respecting the old nor the young and of stopping at nothing. The Empress’ monologue further displays her lack of control, her fury and her pride – and, above all, a decrease in character complexity. Whereas she initially refrained from shedding blood and showed traits of a manipulating, scheming and clever Machiavellian statesmen, she is unable to keep up this cunning side and transforms into the brutal Marlovian stage

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<sup>439</sup> Scott, p. 161. Scott draws his comparison with regards to the Machiavellian lawgiver in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*, who finally emerges “as a dangerous beast in a god-forsaken world of beasts.”

Machiavel, whose way is drenched in blood and marked by massacres. Nowhere else in the play is the Catholic Church portrayed as more disdainful or despicable than in this monologue.

In Fairy Land Florimell informs Titania about the imminent danger from Babylon; she, however, remains calm and orders to send out Drake, the character most probably portraying Sir Francis Drake, because he is known for his courage and smartness. When her councillors leave, she remains alone with Paridell and confronts him with their last meeting and questions him about his true allegiance. She has heard that “some of those worser spirits,/ And most malignant that at midnight rise/ To blast our Faiery circles by the Moone,/ Are your Familiars” (V.ii.61-64) and wants to know “[w]ho i’st must let vs bloud?” (V.ii.69). Paridell, showing his hesitation through asides (“O vnhappy man”; V.ii.69), refuses to betray the Empresse. Titania, accepting this, offers to turn her back on him, so that he can stab her from behind, but warns him to “take heede,/ They are no common droppes when Princes bleede” (V.ii.73-74); Paridell, however, kneels down, unable to commit the deed and confesses that her “wordes haue split my heart in thowsand shiuers” (V.ii.86), that he has seen in her face “those Vertues drawne alieue/ Which did in Elfilyne the seauenth suruiue” (V.ii.95-96) and begs her to pardon him – which Titania does.

Here, Dekker portrays Titania as the complete opposite of the Empress, once again. Where the Empresse shows no signs of mercy or even the ability to forgive and tolerate her enemies, Titania forgives Paridell, who intended to kill her. Protestantism, thus, is portrayed as a forgiving and tolerant religion, which does not only pardon repentant sinners, but, moreover, gives them a second chance.

The play ends with the defeat of the Armada and the victory of Fairy Land which was, according to *Time*, “bownd [...] by the higher lawes” (V.vi.58), thus achieved by God’s help. As a last treat, *Time* offers to show Titania the reaction of “this *Concubine* of Kinges,/ In her maiesticke madnes with her sonnes” (V.vi.77-78) when learning that they were defeated.

Therefore, the very last scene shows the Empress, the Kings of Spain, France and the Roman Empire and four cardinals. The Empress, being beside herself with anger, curses them all for being “Scorpions to my brest,/ Diseases to my bloud”

(V.vi.89-90) and accuses them of being “blacke and close conspirator/ In our disgrace” (V.vi.93-94), thus for having worked against her and for having planned and caused her defeat.<sup>440</sup> The cardinals and kings try to convince her that they have been loyal to her and try to save their hide. The Empress, however, rages on “Earth, Ile sucke all thy venome to my brest,/ It cannot hurt me so as doe my sonnes,/ My disobedient, desperate, dampned sonnes,/ My heauy curse shall strike you” (V.vi.114-117). Upon seeing this, Titania remarks that “those that most adore her, most are slau’d” (V.vi.133) and asks *Time* to sail home to Fairy Land.

#### 4.3.2 Reflections

Written shortly after the failed Gunpowder Plot, Dekker’s play can be seen as a retribution and warning against Catholicism and a form of Elizabethan England nostalgia – the latter implying a “form of covert criticism of the contemporary Jacobean court.”<sup>441</sup> The play’s strong anti-Catholic tone is combined with a “simplistic and singular identification of Roman Catholicism with every assassination attempt in England since the Reformation”<sup>442</sup>, which inevitably leads to an alienation of Catholics and the Roman Catholic faith. Above that, Dekker fuels the common hatred against Spain and the Spanish King by displaying him as the closest confederate of Rome and puppet master of the other nations’ kings and Catholic allies. Thus, Spain and Catholicism quickly become a menacing unity with one single goal, which is the defeat of England and the English Queen, who “poses a threat to the global domination of the Whore [who represents an international popish empire].”<sup>443</sup>

Against the background of the Gunpowder Plot and the relatively newly fanned fear of Catholicism, the play’s theme was “in tune with the strong traditional anti-Papist, anti-clerical, and nationalist feelings of the popular London audience.”<sup>444</sup> The failure of the Parry Plot, the unsuccessful assassination attempt of Dr Lopez

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<sup>440</sup> Cf. Spivack, p. 141: When those lower in the hierarchy of the vice group show “insufficient deference, he [the Vice-in-chief] puts them down with threats and blows.”

<sup>441</sup> Krantz, p. 271.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>443</sup> Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice*, Cambridge: CUP, 1997, p. 179.

<sup>444</sup> Margot Heinemann, “Rebel Lords, Popular Playwrights, and Political Culture: Notes on the Jacobean Patronage of the Earl of Southampton,” in: *YES* 21 (1991), p. 75.

and the defeat of the Spanish Armada must have deeply satisfied the audiences, who were contemporary witnesses of all the events displayed on stage. Krantz states that in reality, as well as on stage, the defeat of the Spanish Armada was celebrated as proof of Protestantism's righteousness:

That militant Protestantism found an outlet in anti-Spanish propaganda is small wonder; the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the final event dramatized in *The Whore of Babylon*, had by the time of the play become an historic symbol of Popish treachery, and the English victory served to illustrate God's protection of Protestantism as the True Church, Protestant soldiers as the army of Christ described in Paul's letter to the Ephesians, and England as the chosen leader in an international 'war' against Catholicism in which Spain was the chief adversary.<sup>445</sup>

Above that, Dekker mingles the overall anti-Catholic feelings "with a covert criticism of the Jacobean court."<sup>446</sup> According to Krantz, James I refused to take up a more severe policy against Catholicism and its sympathisers in England, even immediately after the Gunpowder Treason, but was anxious to maintain peace with Spain.<sup>447</sup> The king's reluctance to wage war against Spain was, according to Robert Kenney, owed to "an almost pathological dislike for physical violence" which was, however, looked upon by his subjects "almost as disloyalty."<sup>448</sup>

*The Whore of Babylon*, thus, does not only address the audience's anti-Catholic attitude, but also its dissatisfaction with the king's reluctance to plunge his country into war with Spain. The king's attitude contrasts sharply with the depicted English Queen on stage, whereas she "appears in full armor and stirs her troops to victory, the pacifistic James lacks the martial spirit present in even the oldest crippled female in Fairie Land."<sup>449</sup>

At the end of the play, after the glorious defeat of the Armada, Dekker issues a warning that Roman Catholicism is not yet defeated, perhaps directly addressing James I, and advising him to abandon his peacekeeping efforts:

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<sup>445</sup> Krantz, p. 272-273.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid., p. 271; cf. fn 435.

<sup>447</sup> Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>448</sup> Robert W. Kenney, "Peace with Spain, 1605," in: *History Today* 20 (1970), p. 199.

<sup>449</sup> Krantz, p. 279.

Dekker depicts the English victory against the purple whore of Rome as magnificent and providential, but he also tempers the celebration with a warning implicitly addressed to the audience of 1606: the peace is only temporary. The Elizabethan victory stunned but did not eradicate Roman Catholic powers in Europe, and Dekker closes the play with an angry Whore whose machinations should never be ignored or tolerated as they were in England, especially in the Spanish peace alliance at the time of the Gunpowder Plot.<sup>450</sup>

*The Whore of Babylon*, like *The Massacre at Paris*, does not present the audience with fictional characters or displays of past conflicts, but with recent historical events. Although written as an allegory, the play unmistakably broaches every religious conflict since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign and ascribes them to the pope and the Roman Catholic Church. *The Whore of Babylon*, therefore, takes the same line as the previous plays in demonising the pope and over-estimating his power and influence. However, unlike Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy or *Doctor Faustus*, it does not confront the audience with one single mischievous Catholic character, but with a whole union consisting of several influential and powerful Catholics whose only goal is either the elimination of the English Queen, or of the Protestant faith as such.

The effect of *The Whore of Babylon* with regards to its anti-Catholic propagandizing purposes must have been immense since the play was staged only one year after the failed Gunpowder Plot. It probably did not only intensify the hatred against Catholics, but it also must have confirmed any fear of Catholics and the Roman Catholic Church the audience had. When they witnessed the Empress on stage, vowing vengeance after she had been defeated by the English fleet, they knew that she was serious, because they had only recently witnessed how Catholics had tried to blow up parliament and the royal family. Thus, Dekker's warning that Catholicism could not be defeated by maintaining peace with the enemy camp but by waging war against it, must have lingered in the audience's memory for a long time, especially when James I tried to marry his son to the Spanish infanta, Maria Anna, a marriage of which most English disapproved.<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> Ibid., p. 282.

<sup>451</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.3.2 of this thesis, pp. 62-66.

4.3.3 John Webster – *The White Devil* (1612)

John Webster's play<sup>452</sup> is a prototypical Italian revenge tragedy, its major conflict being the secret love relationship between the Duke of Bracciano and Vittoria Corombona, who, in order to be able to live together, have their respective spouses killed. Isabella, Bracciano's first wife, is revenged by her brother Francisco, who kills Bracciano, whereas Vittoria is murdered by Lodovico, a former admirer of Isabella's.

The setting of the play is not further specified. However, it is clearly set in Italy<sup>453</sup>, and it features characters from many different Italian cities: Vittoria is from Venice, Francisco is the Duke of Florence, and Lodovico is a count banished from Rome. Thus, the exact coordinates of Webster's court are unknown – which, however, does not seem to be of great importance for the plot: the label “Italian” seems sufficient to justify the events taking place at this court, because it goes along with every negative idea the English had of Italy and her citizens. Thus, the characters and their activity, the corruption and violence are in accordance with the Italian background and as such acceptable for the audience and especially the Lord Chamberlain – although Webster might have chosen a foreign setting only to address domestic nuisances.<sup>454</sup>

Cardinal Monticelso, who stands in the tradition of the Machiavel and can be categorized as the play's Catholic villain<sup>455</sup>, is of major interest for this thesis, because he wants to charge Vittoria for murdering her husband at the beginning of the play, but lacks the necessary evidence. He, thus, is forced to change tactics

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<sup>452</sup> All quotes are taken from: John Webster, *The White Devil*, ed. by René Weis, Oxford: OUP, 1996.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. Jones, p. 264: “Insofar as Italy is the setting, it is so by way of names or by actions that naturally suggest the Italian scene, such as the election of the Pope in *The White Devil*. It was not the basis of local allusions, however, that Mr. Lucas (F.L. Lucas; editor of Webster) found Webster ‘far truer to the atmosphere and colour of Renaissance Italy than his contemporaries generally troubled to be,’ and asserted that in his tragedies ‘we have really crossed the Alps.’”

<sup>454</sup> Cf. Tempera, p. 229-230: “[Webster's] ... forays into the dark deeds of the Italian aristocracy as nothing but a ploy to comment on the contemporary London scene without running foul of censorship.”

<sup>455</sup> *The White Devil* features another villainous character, Flamineo, who, however, rather resembles the medieval vice character, because much of his plotting and his true intentions are revealed through asides. He furthermore does not have as much influence as Monticelso and does not act under the guise of the Catholic Church, thus, the chaos he causes, is “less extensive and its political consequences less overt.” (Scott, p. 167) Flamineo is only a henchman and thus of less importance for this thesis.

and trespasses the legal grey area in order to have his will. However, Monticelso's first appearance on stage presents him in an elusive way which belies the audience's expectations. During a quarrel between Bracciano and his brother-in-law, Francisco, Monticelso appears as mediator and moraliser and duns them to behave as honourable gentleman in front of Bracciano's son Giovanni, whom he praises as the next heir to the throne:

MONTICELSO No more, my lord, here comes a champion  
Shall end the difference between you both,  
Your son, the prince Giovanni. See, my lords,  
What hopes you store in him; this is a casket  
For both your crowns, and should be held like dear.  
Now is he apt for knowledge; therefore know  
It is a more direct and even way  
To train to virtue those of princely blood  
By examples than by precepts. If by examples,  
Whom should he rather strive to imitate  
Than his own father? Be his pattern then. [II.i.94-104]

Monticelso admonishes the two dukes, and especially Bracciano, to behave as a virtuous role model for Giovanni. However, later in the scene Monticelso proves to be anything else but honourable, when he confesses that he would risk a brother's life in order to take revenge – for him or for his brother: “It may be objected I am dishonourable,/ To play thus with my kinsmen; but I answer,/ For my revenge I'd stake a brother's life/ That being wronged durst not avenge himself” (II.i.385-387). Monticelso thus admits to stop at nothing to re-establish justice in his own sense. This ignorance of moral barriers and his cunning and misleading behaviour at the beginning of the scene are traces of his Machiavellian nature. These increase when he brings Vittoria to trial and charges her for murder without having ample proof. Due to this lack of evidence, Vittoria is charged in open court for being a whore, because she has been caught with Bracciano. This again constitutes a legal misconduct to the extent that the new charge is a constructed deed that serves as a substitute for the original *causa*.

The lawyer, who should read the plea, is asked to leave the court after coming into conflict with Vittoria and Francisco for using incomprehensible and opaque language, and Monticelso seizes the chance and takes over the role of judge – disobeying the necessary neutrality of judges which is essential for a just

jurisdiction – and converts his accusation into an assault against Vittoria: “I must spare you till proof cry whore to that./ Observe this creature here, my honoured lords,/ A woman of a most prodigious spirit/ I her effected” (III.ii.56-59). Being called a “creature” and a “woman of a most prodigious spirit”, Vittoria realises soon that she has no chance to receive a fair trial as long as Monticelso is her prosecutor. Therefore, she points out to him that it does not “suit a reverend Cardinal/ To play the lawyer thus” (III.ii.60-61). Monticelso, however, unceasingly continues to assault and deride her:

MONTICELSO O your trade instructs your language!  
You see, my lords, what godly fruit she seems;  
Yet like those apples travellers report  
To grow where Sodom and Gomorrah stood,  
I will but touch her and you straight shall see  
She'll fall to soot and ashes. [...]  
Were there a second paradise to lose  
This devil would betray it. [III.ii.62-70]

By suggesting that under his touch she would pulverise, he implies his holy status as a churchman, his righteousness and his infallibility. Being a man of the church, he inevitably is with God and justice and is blessed with the gift to detect and defeat all evil. Vittoria, however, realises again that the cardinal is the exact antithesis of what he claims to be and utters “O poor charity,/ Thou art seldom found in scarlet” (III.ii.70-71), implying that cardinals, who are clad in red robes, seldom are merciful or compassionate, despite being men of the Christian Church. Even though he clearly acts outside the moral law and outside legality, he nevertheless bases himself on the authority of the Catholic Church and signals that the Church tolerates what he is doing. Monticelso, therefore, can be regarded as fulfilling every criterion for the Catholic villain.

When Monticelso calls Vittoria a whore and explains to her that whores like her are “[s]weet meats which rot the eater”, “shipwrecks in calmest weather”, “[c]old Russian winters, that appear so barren/ As if nature had forgot the spring” and that they “are the true material fire of hell” (III.ii.80-85), not only the attending ambassadors comment on the cardinal’s seemingly unbridled way of insulting the accused (“True, but the Cardinal’s too bitter”, III.ii.107), but also Vittoria herself correlates this “Christian court” with the “uncivil Tartar”

(III.ii.128-129). To undermine the next assault by Monticelso, Francisco interrupts the hearing and reminds the cardinal that they have no evidence for murder: “My lord, there’s great suspicion of the murder,/ But no sound proof who did it. For my part/ I do not think she hath a soul so black/ To act a deed so bloody (III.ii.181-184)”.

Although the cardinal ignores Francisco, he changes his tactics and shows a letter in which “’twas plotted he and you should meet,/ At an apothecary’s summer-house” (III.ii.193-194) and where they had a bath, met at a banquet and slept together. Vittoria then realises that Monticelso suddenly tries to condemn her “for that the Duke did love me?” (III.ii.203) and prompts him to lay bare her faults.

The cardinal confronts her with the fact that the “Duke sent you a thousand ducats,/ The twelfth of August” (III.ii.221-222), which he believes were an “interest for his lust” (III.ii.224), thus that Bracciano did pay her for having slept with him. Vittoria then bids him to leave the bench:

VITTORIA [...] If you be my accuser  
Pray cease to be my judge; come from the bench,  
Give in your evidence ‘gainst me, and let these  
Be moderators. My lord Cardinal,  
Were your intelligencing ears as long  
As to my thoughts, had you an honest tongue  
I would not care though you proclaimed them all. [III.ii.225-231]

She points out to him and to the attending ambassadors that Monticelso is abusing the legal system and violating the law by breaching the adjudicative neutrality, accusing and sentencing Vittoria without having sound evidence or giving her the chance to defend herself or to be advocated. Monticelso, however, oversees her comment and admits no contradiction; instead he sentences her to live in a “house of penitent whores” (III.ii.266-267):

MONTICELSO For you, Vittoria, your public fault,  
Joined to th’condition of the present time,  
Takes from you all the fruits of noble pity.  
Such a corrupted trial have you made  
Both of your life and beauty, and been styled  
No less in ominous fate than blazing stars  
To princes. Here’s your sentence: you are confin’d  
Unto a house of convertites, [III.ii.257-164]

Hearing her sentence Vittoria rages that Monticelso has “ravished justice,/ Forced her [justice; C.B.] to your pleasure” (III.ii.273-274) and curses him that “the last day of judgement may so find you,/ And leave you the same devil you were before” (III.ii.297-280). She accepts the sentence and exclaims that this house of convertites is “honester to me/ Than the Pope’s palace, and more peaceable/ Than thy soul, though thou art a cardinal” (III.ii.290-292), implying that the Vatican, the Catholic Church and Monticelso are more corrupted and vicious than any whore could be. By stating that not even his position as a cardinal, as a man of the church, hindered him from becoming a treacherous lawbreaker Vittoria indicates her astonishment concerning the fact that not even churchmen – or the church as a whole – can be trusted anymore.

Unlike Vittoria, Bracciano is not punished for the murder of his wife Isabella as well as his infidelity. Isabella’s brother, Francisco, asks for Monticelso’s advice and confesses that he is uncertain about seeking revenge for the murder of his sister. Monticelso is astonished about his hesitation and urges him to revenge the death of his sister. Francisco is convinced and asks for a book he knows the cardinal possesses and which contains the “names of all notorious offenders/ Lurking about the city” (IV.i.31-32). Monticelso readily lends him the book, although he knows it will be used for a criminal act, which makes him an accomplice in the murder of Bracciano.

However, instead of being held responsible for his deeds or being punished, Monticelso is elected pope. Immediately after his election he is told by Francisco that Bracciano and Vittoria have fled to Padua, upon which Monticelso excommunicates them:

MONTICELSO My lord reports Vittoria Corombona  
Is stol’n from forth the house of convertites  
By Bracciano, and they’re fled the city.  
Now, though this be the first day of our seat,  
We cannot better please the divine power  
Than to sequester from the holy church  
These cursed persons. Make it therefore known  
We do denounce excommunication  
Against them both. All that are theirs in Rome  
We likewise banish. Set on. [IV.iii.62-71]

Monticelso states that the excommunication of Vittoria and Bracciano pleases the holy church, but refrains from mentioning that he does so in the first place to please himself. His endeavours to punish them for their infidelity were of no use, and thus, in his new position as pope, his first action is to excommunicate them and banish their relatives and friends from Rome.

*The White Devil*, therefore, presents the audience again with a single manipulating Machiavellian Catholic character, who like Cardinal Beaufort in *Henry VI* abuses his position in the Catholic Church to enforce his own interests. However, unlike Beaufort he is not punished for his deeds in the end. Quite to the contrary, he is rewarded – with regards to the system of values of the Catholic Church – by being elected pope. Within this system Monticelso's deeds, thus, prove valuable and rewarding and expose the Catholic Church as a promoter of injustice and criminality.<sup>456</sup>

The increasing anti-Catholicism in this play is not reflected in more brutality or bloodshed on the part of the Catholic Church, but in its ignorance of the very same and its insufficient penalty system to control and punish its own members. Furthermore, the helplessness of individual persons with regards to the power and arbitrariness of the Catholic Church is paramount in *The White Devil* and only serves to magnify the evil and injustice and the lacking philanthropy and charity which once were fundamental principles of the Church.

#### 4.3.4 John Webster – *The Duchess of Malfi* (c.1614)

John Webster's most popular play, *The Duchess of Malfi*<sup>457</sup>, tells the story of a young widow, whose brothers Ferdinand and the Cardinal – who is of particular interest for this thesis – forbid her to marry again. The Duchess, however, ignores her brothers and marries her steward Antonio. Her brothers hire Bosola, a convicted scholar from Padua, to observe the Duchess and provide them with information about her life and love affairs. When Bosola reports that she

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<sup>456</sup> Cf. Bauer, „Produktion von Wissen“, p. 110.

<sup>457</sup> All quotes are taken from: John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. by René Weis, Oxford: OUP, 1996.

disobeyed her brothers, married again and gave birth to three children, Ferdinand and the Cardinal vow vengeance and order Bosola to kill their sister.

This play again features a group of villainous characters, each with different motifs and methods. Categorising the Cardinal as Vice-in-chief is based on two assumptions: he gives orders and he does not act according to his tumultuous emotions. In direct comparison, Bosola initially only functions as the one who receives and executes the Cardinal's orders, and Ferdinand decides and acts upon his chaotic emotional condition. Thus, Bosola and Ferdinand are unable to act on their own or to make 'rational' and expedient decisions. The Cardinal, on the other hand, is the Italian, the scheming and manipulating stage Machiavel, committed to the Catholic Church and thus fulfills the Jacobean ideal of the Catholic stage villain and Vice-in-chief.

The Cardinal's first appearance on stage directly marks him as a dubious and guileful character. He is confronted by Bosola, whom he had once hired for committing a murder, but has never paid for it – and who, due to this deed, “fell into the galleys” (I.i.34). The Cardinal, unwilling to dispute with Bosola about the past, leaves the stage. Bosola, however, tells Antonio and Delio that he has known many fellows who “are possessed with the devil, but this great fellow [the Cardinal; C.B.] were able to possess the greatest devil, and make him worse” (I.i.43-45). Being asked to explain what he means by this, Bosola says:

BOSOLA He and his brother are like plum-trees that grow crooked  
over standing pools; they are rich, and o'erladen with fruit, but  
none but crows, pies, and caterpillars feed on them. Could I be  
one of their flattering panders, I would hang on their ears like a  
horse-leech till I were full, and then drop off... [I.i.47-51]

Bosola explains that the Cardinal and his brother could theoretically be of use and value for society, yet they do not employ their wealth for the good, but for those who smooth-talk them regardless of their intentions. Moreover, his metaphorical description matches Margaret Scott's assumption that the sphere of the Machiavel is reflected in “images of a sterile and disordered universe, one of crooked trees and savage beasts, of darkness, fire, tempest, poison, and disease.”<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> Scott, p. 167.

Furthermore, Delio knows that the Cardinal is known to be a “brave fellow,/ Will play his five thousand crowns at tennis, dance,/ Court ladies, and one that hath fought single combats” (I.i.146-148), implying that the Cardinal obviously disobeys the behavioural rules of the Catholic Church and instead indulges in gambling, betting, fighting and philandering. Antonio, however, knows that the Cardinal has two sides:

ANTONIO Some such flashes superficially hang on him, for form; but observe his inward character: he is a melancholy churchman. The spring in his face is nothing but the engendering of toads; where he is jealous of any man, he lays worse plots for them than ever was imposed on Hercules, for he strews in his way flatterers, panders, intelligencers, atheists, and a thousand such political monsters. He should have been Pope; but instead of coming to it by the primitive decency of the church, he did bestow bribes so largely, and so impudently, as if he would have carried it away without heaven’s knowledge. Some good he hath done. [I.i.149-158]

According to Antonio, the Cardinal is notorious for his plotting, his jealousy and for bribery. His good deeds, however, are not even worth mentioning as it seems. Antonio, therefore, underlines Bosola’s statement and characterises the Cardinal as a dubious, manipulating and treacherous stage Machiavel who should not be trusted.

Apart from being politically corrupted the Cardinal also breaks his celibacy vow and has a secret relationship with a married woman called Julia, whom he constantly insults and derides. Julia, however, is unable to leave the Cardinal and, thus, endures his behaviour.

When Ferdinand and his brother next meet, Ferdinand has received intelligence about their sister’s breach of trust and loses his mind (“Rhubarb, O for rhubarb/ To purge this choler! Here’s the cursed day/ To prompt my memory, and here’t shall stick/ Till of her bleeding heart I make a sponge/ To wipe it out”; II.v.12-16). The Cardinal, being the more reasonable character in comparison to Ferdinand, asks him why he makes himself “[s]o wild a tempest” (II.v.16-17). Ferdinand, who will not calm down, asks his brother whether he does not feel this rage, upon which the Cardinal answers:



Inquire him out, and kill him” (V.ii.120-121). When Bosola asks him how to find Antonio, the Cardinal refers to a man called Delio and advises Bosola that “[t]here are a thousand ways/ A man might find to trace him” (V.ii.133-134). Being alone on stage, Bosola utters that:

BOSOLA This fellow doth breed basilisks in's eyes.  
He's nothing else but murder; yet he seems  
Not to have notice of the Duchess' death.  
'Tis his cunning. I must follow his example;  
There cannot be a surer way to trace  
Than that of an old fox. [V.ii.142-157]

By comparing him with a Basilisk<sup>460</sup>, he implies that the Cardinal personifies death, sin and the devil, namely that he is the reincarnation of evil. This proves true when the Cardinal next meets Julia, and she wants to know what oppresses him. He refuses to tell her, but when she does not give up questioning him, he tells her “[b]y my appointment the great Duchess of Malfi,/ And two of her young children, four night since,/ Were strangled” (V.ii.264-266). Julia is shocked by this revelation and has to swear on the Bible to not tell anybody. This Bible, however, is poisoned, and Julia dies. Mariangela Tempera points out that “the swiftness of the Cardinal’s reaction to his lover’s importunate question catches

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by which Ferdinand aims to cure his sister’s faults by bringing her to therapeutic despair. [...] At the end of the madmen’s dance, a final jest anticipates the actual murder. Bosola, disguises as a bellman, offers her the deadly instruments sent from the ‘Arragonian brethren’: a coffin, some cords and a bell carried by ‘Executioners’. [...] Like the tyrant Sulmone, Ferdinand rejoices at his sister’s suffering. The fact that ‘she’s plagu’d in art’ (4.1.111) reveals a secret passion for inflicting perverse punishment intended to scorn his victim’s defences through shocking visual effects. If we examine Webster’s tragedies against the background of Cinthio’s theory and practice, a connection which in the case of *Orbecche* may also have arisen from its narrative version, it is possible to assess better the dramatic significance of his tendency toward intense gnomic verse and visual imagery. In Bester’s concern with a grand rhetoric of moral spectacle and dumb shows is conveyed the idea of learning through scorn and didactic horror, especially transmitted by theatrical instances of sensational effects, which the dramatist, notorious for his intertextual activity, may have borrowed from Cinthio’s new tragic form.” Marrapodi, “Retaliation”, pp. 201-203.

<sup>460</sup> In mythology “this animal was called the king of the serpents. In confirmation of his royalty, he was said to be endowed with a crest, or comb upon the head, constituting a crown. He was supposed to be produced from the egg of a cock hatched under toads or serpents. There were several species of this animal. One species burned up whatever they approached; a second were a kind of wandering Medusa’s heads, and their look caused an instant horror which was immediately followed by death. In Shakespeare’s play *Richard III*, Lady Anne, in answer to Richard’s compliment on her eyes, says ‘Would they were basilisk’s, to strike thee dead!’” Thomas Bulfinch, “Bulfinch’s Mythology: The age of Fable or Stories of Gods and Heroes”, on: *GreekMythology.com* ([http://www.greekmythology.com/Books/Bulfinch/B\\_Chapter\\_36/b\\_chapter\\_36.html](http://www.greekmythology.com/Books/Bulfinch/B_Chapter_36/b_chapter_36.html); accessed: 03/11/2013, 5:21 pm)

Julia and the audience completely unaware, and creates a context where suspense is forgone in favour of sudden shock”<sup>461</sup>, because the Cardinal does not act in the way it is known from villains and does not tell the audience what he is going to do next. Thus, his character is, unlike the old Vice, as far from the audience as he is from the other characters. He acts completely on his own and for his own personal aims. The more or less “honourable” traits of the old Vice character have vanished completely and left a new type of villain, who is even more Machiavellian and more unpredictable than his predecessors.

Bosola enters the scene, and the Cardinal orders him to help him carry her corpse to her bedchamber the following night, and reminds him of his promise to kill Antonio. When the Cardinal is alone again, he shows signs of fear when stating “I would pray now, but the devil takes away my heart/ For having any confidence in prayer” (V.iv.26-27). Yet, his bad conscience soon vanishes when he comes to the decision that Bosola, as soon as he has removed Julia’s corpse and killed Antonio, must die as well. The Cardinal here confirms Bosola’s assumption that he is the personification of evil and stops at nothing to save his own hide.

When Bosola overhears that the Cardinal plans to kill him, he decides to anticipate him and kill him before. When he, however, steps into the Cardinal’s bedchamber, he accidentally stabs Antonio, who also wanted to murder the Cardinal. Realising his fatal mistake, Bosola then vows to not only avenge the Duchess, but also Antonio: “I have this Cardinal in the forge already,/ Now I’ll bring him to th’ hammer” (V.iv.78-79). This again underlines Margaret Scott’s assumption that not even then Machiavel is able “to survive for long in the milieu he has created”<sup>462</sup>, because Bosola now turns against him and poses a significant threat.

When Bosola finally stabs him, the Cardinal realises that he now suffers “for what hath former been: Sorrow is held the eldest child of sin” (V.v.54-55) and prays to let him “[b]e laid by, and never thought of” (V.v.89). The Cardinal dies, probably realising that he has done wrong, as a victim of Bosola’s revenge and hopes that neither he nor his deeds will be remembered. Again, the church did not

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<sup>461</sup> Tempera, p. 233.

<sup>462</sup> Scott, p. 171.

intervene in the Cardinal's actions, and no penalty was imposed to keep the Cardinal from murdering his sister and his lover, or from hiring contract killers. Unlike Beaufort he does not die a painful death and, thus, the audience do not know whether he is judged by God or not. However, having died the same way his victims did, the justice on stage is partially restored, and hope is given to the audience that those who were spared might be willing to avoid another massacre.

In comparison to the other cardinals and Catholic characters, Webster's Cardinal further increases the level of manipulation and brutality and redefines the type of the Catholic stage villain by becoming as unpredictable to the audience as he is to the other characters. In contrast to Monticelso, he is not rewarded for his deeds, yet his deeds easily outshine those of Monticelso. Whereas Monticelso 'merely' breaches the law and indirectly supports the murder of Bracciano and Vittoria, the Cardinal in *The Duchess of Malfi* actively hires a murderer to kill his sister, single-handedly poisons his mistress and plans to murder Bosola. From the beginning of the play, he is characterised as a dangerous and insincere person, who, although he is a man of the church, cannot be trusted. This open display of anti-Catholicism on stage must have served the early modern audience to believe in what their governments and sovereigns had told them over the past thirty years and further fuel anti-Catholic feelings among the people.<sup>463</sup>

#### 4.3.5 Thomas Middleton – *A Game at Chess* (c.1623)

Middleton's last and most successful<sup>464</sup> play, *A Game at Chess*<sup>465</sup>, displays the religious and political conflicts between England and Spain in an allegorical way

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<sup>463</sup> Tempera quotes the Italian traveler Horatio Busino who visited England and coincidentally witnessed a performance of *The Duchess of Malfi*, after which he confirmed in his travel reports that the play's anti-Catholic tones stuck out and mirrored the English derision of anything Catholic: "Another time they represented the pomp of a Cardinal in his identical robes of state, very handsome and costly, and accompanied by his attendants, with an altar raised on the stage, where he pretended to perform service, ordering a procession. He then reappeared familiarly with a concubine in public. He played the part of administering poison to his sister upon a point of honour, and moreover, of going into battle, having first gravely deposited his Cardinal's robes on the altar through the agency of his chaplains. Last of all, he had himself girded with a sword and put on his scarf with the best imaginable grace. All this they do in derision of ecclesiastical pomp which in this kingdom is scorned and hated mortally." Quoted in: Tempera, p. 231.

<sup>464</sup> Cf. Richard Dutton, *Thomas Middleton. Women Beware Woman and Other Plays*, Oxford: OUP, 1999, p. xxx: "Middleton's last surviving play is unique among the plays of its era on at

by staging both nations as rivalling parties in a game of chess. The English nation and its representatives, i.e. King James I, Prince Charles, the Duke of Birmingham, are personified by white chess pieces, whereas the Spanish and its representatives, i.e. King Philip IV, Gondomar, ambassador in London, the infanta Maria Anna, are personified by black chess pieces. Dutton writes that this presentation is a “polysemous metaphor of any conflict between white and black, right and wrong, good and evil, but organized by contrasting states, with their monarchs, aristocrats, bishops, knights, and lower orders.”<sup>466</sup>

The play begins with an induction, presenting the ghost of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order and as such once more a Machiavellian incarnation of personified evil<sup>467</sup>, with another character called *Error* lying sleeping at his feet. Loyola has somehow landed in England and is wondering about this country and its lack of Jesuit priests:

IGNATIUS Hah! Where? What angle of the world is this,  
That I can neither see the politic face  
Nor with my refined nostrils taste the footsteps  
Of any of my disciples, sons and heirs  
As well of my designs as institution?  
I thought they'd spread over the world by this time,  
Covered the earth's face and made dark the land  
Like the Egyptian grasshoppers.  
Here's too much light appears, shot from the eyes  
Of truth and goodness (never yet deflowered.)  
Sure they were never here. Then is their monarchy  
Unperfect yet: a just reward I see  
For their ingratitude so long to me [...] [The Induction, 1-13]

Apart from being astonished that his order has not yet spread all over the world, Loyola compares the Jesuits with one of the ten plagues of Egypt, the locust swarm which was sent to cover the whole earth and make it dark:

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least three counts, which all derive from its phenomenal contemporary popularity: in having been performed nine days running (when plays were normally spaced out in a changing repertory, to maintain the interest of regular playgoers); in having survived in no less than eight different forms, six of them manuscript and two distinct printed versions; and in having left a wealth of contemporary record and comment, including one detailed eye-witness account of a performance, unrivalled by any other dramatic text of the time.”

<sup>465</sup> All quotes are taken from: Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Oxford: OUP, 1999.

<sup>466</sup> Dutton, p. xxxiv.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Praz, p. 131: “Machiavelli is associated with Ignatius Loyola, and we actually come across the monstrous combination of *Ignatian Matchevill*.”

Exodus 10:3-6 “This is what the Lord, the God of the Hebrews, says: ‘How long will you refuse to humble yourself before me? Let my people go, so that they may worship me. If you refuse to let them go, I will bring locusts into your country tomorrow. They will cover the face of the ground so that it cannot be seen. They will devour what little you have left after the hail, including every tree that is growing in your fields. They will fill your houses and those of all your officials and all the Egyptians – something neither your fathers nor your forefathers have ever seen from the day they settled in this land till now.’”

Dutton states that this comparison was “commonly applied to Jesuits in Protestant propaganda”<sup>468</sup>, and having Loyola making use of it only serves to “establish a specifically anti-Jesuit satiric dimension from the beginning.”<sup>469</sup>

When *Error* wakes up, it tells Loyola that it has dreamt about a game of chess between their Black House and the White House. Loyola wants to know if any of his “sons” are set in the game which is confirmed by *Error*. When the pieces enter the board, Loyola rages that his “son and daughter” are only pawns:

IGNATIUS Pawns argue but poor spirits, and slight preferments,  
Not worthy of the name of my disciples.  
If I had stood so nigh, I would have cut  
That Bishop’s throat but I would have had his place,  
And told the Queen a love-tale in her ear  
Would make her best pulse dance. There’s no elixir  
Of brain or spirit amongst’em. [The Induction, 62-68]

Loyola states that pawns are not worthy of his order and that he would have intrigued in his own ranks until he would have been adviser to the queen. In the subsequent dialogue between *Error* and Loyola, Middleton presents Loyola as a worthy heir to the stage Machiavel: When *Error* asks him why he wants them “play against themselves” (Ind.69), since this was “quite against the rule of the game” (Ind.70), Loyola replies that he does not want to watch but rule himself. *Error* then wants to know why he wants to play at all if he only wants to rule himself, upon which Loyola states: “I would do anything to rule alone;/ It’s rare to have the world reigned in by one” (Ind.73-74).

Catholicism, and especially the Jesuit order, is not only presented as intriguing, power-hungry and unscrupulous for others, i.e. the White House, but also for its

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<sup>468</sup> Dutton, p. 413, fn. 7-8.

<sup>469</sup> James Doelman, “Claimed by Two Religions: The Elegy on Thomas Washington, 1623, and Middleton’s *A Game at Chesse*”, in: *Studies in Philology* 110/2 (Spring 2013), p. 337.

own members. By stating that he would cut “that Bishop’s throat” to become adviser to the queen, Loyola admits that he would stop at nothing to build up his influence and power and thus combines elements of the medieval vice, the Senecan tyrant and the Machiavel; therefore, he ranks high amongst all the Catholic stage villains presented so far.

In a first move, the Black Queen’s Pawn<sup>470</sup> and the Black Bishop’s Pawn try to seduce the White Queen’s Pawn<sup>471</sup> to convert to their side. The White Queen’s Pawn symbolises an innocent and pure Protestant virgin, whereas the two black figures are members of the Jesuit Order (“*Enter the Black Bishop’s Pawn, [a Jesuit]*”; I.i.29-30/ “I am myself a secular Jesuitess”; I.i.40) and are vices in Weimann’s sense as “protagonist[s] and opponent[s] to the figures of Virtue.”<sup>472</sup> The Black Queen’s Pawn describes the Jesuits as not being “idle” and “true labourers in the work/ Of the universal monarchy, which he/ And his disciples principally aim at” (I.i.48-51), but also admits that they all serve “in notes of intelligence” (I.i.56). Yet, she does not think the White Queen’s Pawn is able to understand the deep “mystery” (I.i.62) of the Jesuit Order. The Black Bishop’s Pawn then praises her beauty and tells her what good deeds she could do as a member of their order. The White Queen’s Pawn is taken with the idea and confirms: “To that good work I bow, and will become/ Obedience’s humblest daughter, since I find/ Th’assistance of a sacred strength to aid me” (I.i.89-91). The Black Bishop’s Pawn, however, in his function as the Vice, in an aside reveals his true intentions:

BLACK BISHOP’S PAWN [*Aside*] Now to the work indeed, which is to catch  
Her inclination; that’s the special use  
We make of all our practice, in all kingdoms,

<sup>470</sup> With regards to the Black Queen’s Pawn, Caroline Bicks, points out parallels between this character and Mary Ward, “a Catholic Englishwoman who had founded a religious institute modeled on the Society of Jesus” in which she trained “English girls in theatrical performance and public speaking [...]. The goal of this training, from Ward’s perspective, was to turn girls into eloquent and pious Christian women who then could go back to England to save Catholicism one household at a time.” Caroline Bicks, “Staging the Jesuitess in *A Game at Chess*”, in: *SEL* 49/2 (2009), p. 463, 464.

<sup>471</sup> In contrast to the Black Queen’s Pawn, the White Queen’s Pawn cannot be pinned down to one specific historical figure. Instead, T.H. Howard-Hill suggests that she can be regarded as “representing the pristine virtues of Anglicanism”, which would also explain why she is the major victim of the Black House; T.H. Howard-Hill, “Political Interpretations of Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* (1624)”, in: *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991), p. 284.

<sup>472</sup> Weimann, p. 156.

For by disclosing their most secret frailties,  
Things, which once ours they must not hide from us,  
(That's the first article in the creed we teach'em)  
Finding to what point their blood most inclines,  
Know best to apt them to our designs. [I.i.107-114]

Dutton comments on this speech that “the Black Bishop’s Pawn confirms a Protestant suspicion about auricular confession, that the Church uses it to pry into private desires (*inclination*) and weaknesses (*frailties*), so as to involve people in their machinations”<sup>473</sup>, maintaining that the Black House only needs the White Queen’s Pawn for their own plans, which probably implies the overthrow of the White House. The White Queen’s Pawn is willing to confess to the Black Bishop’s Pawn and tells him that her former devotee, the White Bishop’s Pawn, was heavily injured “in the unmanliest way” (I.i.157) by the Black Knight’s Pawn, who castrated him (“any crime of that unmaning nature” I.i.162) and that she, thus, feels deep hatred towards the Black Knight’s Pawn. The Black Bishop’s Pawn, however, reproaches her for having left the White Bishop’s Pawn due to his “defect” (I.i.163) and claims that she is “not pure from the desire/ That other women have in ends of marriage” (I.i.164-165). The White Queen’s Pawn vehemently denies this and claims that her “desires/ Dwell all in ignorance” (I.i.171-172), which forces the Black Bishop’s Pawn, whose only aim seems to stain her innocence, to develop new tactics. His way to present his plans to the audience in asides stands in the tradition of the Vice figure, his “meddlesome”<sup>474</sup> way of changing tactics and manipulating the White Queen’s Pawn, however, is thoroughly Machiavellian:

BLACK BISHOP’S PAWN [*aside*] I was never so taken, beset doubly  
Now with her judgment; what a strength it puts forth.  
[*To her*] I bring work nearer to you: when you have seen  
A masterpiece of man, composed by heaven  
For a great prince’s favour, kingdom’s love,  
So exact, envy could not find a place  
To stick a blot, on person or on fame;  
Have you not found ambition swell your wish then,  
And desire steer your blood? [I.i.174-182]

<sup>473</sup> Dutton, p. 418, fn. 107-14.

<sup>474</sup> Praz, p. 133: “An adjective frequently used in connexion with both Machiavelli and the Jesuits was *polypragmatic*, i.e. meddlesome.”

The White Queen's Pawn, however, remains steadfast and vows to never act viciously, thus the Black Bishop's Pawn gives her a book, a "small tract of obedience" (I.i.190), which she should read. The White Queen's Pawn accepts the book gladly and promises to read it, when the White Bishop's Pawn, her former lover and victim of the Black Knight's Pawn, enters the scene and immediately suspects that the members of the Black House are up to no good:

WHITE BISHOP'S PAWN [*aside*] What makes yond trouble of all  
Christian waters  
So near the blessed spring? But that I know  
Her goodness is the rock from whence it issues,  
Unmovable as fate, 'twould more afflict me  
Than all my suff'rings for her; which, so long  
As she holds constant to the House she comes of,  
The whiteness of the cause, the side, the quality,  
Are sacrifices to her worth, and virtue,  
And (though confined) in my religious joys  
I would marry her and possess her. [I.i.194-204]

As soon as the Black Knight's Pawn sees his former victim, he shows signs of regret, saying that he has "been guilty/ Of such base malice that my very conscience/ Shakes at the memory of" (I.i.212-214), nevertheless, he addresses the White Queen's Pawn. The White Bishop's Pawn interrupts him and calls him an "Ignoble villain" (I.i.219), warning him to keep away from the White Queen's Pawn. He accuses him of not knowing "nobleness" and "virgin chastity", of being shamefully violent and night's company (I.i.221-223). The Black Knight's Pawn asks him for forgiveness, which the White Bishop's Pawn does not accept, but promises to consider at least.

When they have left the stage, the Black Knight consults with the Black Bishop's Pawn about the international progress of the Jesuit Order<sup>475</sup>. They are reading letters from their "Assistant Fathers" (I.i.297) from "Anglica", "Gallica", "Germanica", "Italica" and "Hispanica" (I.i.298-302), when they are surprised by the White King's Pawn. The Black Bishop's Pawn is alarmed and fears that they are "trapped", the Black Knight, however, reassures him and tells him that the

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<sup>475</sup> With regards to this conversation, Mario Praz writes: "Also in Middleton's political play, *A Game at Chess*, we find Machiavellism and Jesuitism, this time working in agreement, in the characters of the Black Knight, i.e., the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar, and the Black Bishop's Pawn, i.e., the Jesuit Father John Floyd." Praz, p. 140.

White King's Pawn is "made our own, man, half *in voto* yours;/ His heart's in the Black House, leave him to me" (I.i.308-309). The White King's Pawn confirms this: "You see my outside, but you know my heart" (I.i.311) and provides the Black Knight with information from the White House. As soon as he has departed, the Black Knight derides his spy and reveals his true intentions: "Excellent estimation, thou art valued/ Above the fleet of gold, that came short home./ Poor Jesuit-ridden soul, how art thou fooled/ Out of thy faith, from thy allegiance drawn;/ Which way soe'er thou tak'st thou'rt a lost pawn" (I.i.322-326).

In the meanwhile, the White Queen's Pawn is reading the book which was given to her by the Black Bishop's Pawn. He observes her while she is reading and is satisfied with her devotion and will to obey until he receives a letter from the Black King who writes on behalf of the Black Knight and points out that the Black Knight is interested in the White Queen. Since the Black Bishop's Pawn is in contact with the White Queen's Pawn the Black House hopes that he could use the influence he has over the White Queen's Pawn:

BLACK BISHOP'S PAWN [...]

[*Reads*] 'Pawn, sufficiently holy, but immeasurably politic: we had late intelligence from our most industrious servant (famous in all parts of Europe) our Knight of the Black House, that you have at this instant in chase the White Queen's Pawn, and very likely by the carriage of your game to entrap and take her. These are therefore to require you by the burning affection I bear to the rape of devotion, that speedily upon the surprisal of her, by all watchful advantage you make some attempt upon the White Queen's person, whose fall or prostitution our lust most violently rages for.' [II.i.14-23]

The Black Knight's sexual interest in the White Queen is a good example of the Black House's obsessive focus on lust and sex, which is, as Dutton notes, "the besetting vice of the Black House."<sup>476</sup> This addiction directly takes possession of the Black Bishop's Pawn, who, when asked by the White Queen's Pawn what she could do to prove her obedience, demands a kiss from her. When she refuses to do so he scolds her for her disobedience and demands her virginity. A voice from

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<sup>476</sup> Dutton, p. xxxiii.

within, however, distracts the Black Bishop's Pawn, and the White Queen's Pawn is able to escape.

Having witnessed the scene, the Black Queen's Pawn and the Black Bishop confront the Black Bishop's Pawn with his attempted rape and the consequences this could have for the Black House: "Are you mad?/ Can lust infatuate a man so hopeful?/ No patience in your blood? The dog-star reigns sure;/ Time and fair temper would have wrought her pleasant" (II.i.149-152). The Black Knight fears that their mission to build a universal monarchy is in danger due to the Black Bishop's Pawn's behaviour and persuades him to go into hiding and destroy all evidence that he has been there. Thus, when the White Queen's Pawn informs her House, there will be no evidence for her allegation.

Besides the White King's Pawn, with the Fat Bishop another character is introduced, whose alliance with the White House is more than questionable. The audience learns that he once worked for the Black House, but then turned to the White House and now writes books condemning the Black House. He is boasting about his life and the good food which is served in the White House when the Black Knight and Bishop enter. They curse the "greasy-turn-coat, gormandising prelate" (II.ii.54) for having betrayed and "wrought our House more mischief by his scripts,/ His fat and fulsome volumes,/ Than the whole body of the adverse party" (II.ii.55-57). They vow revenge and want to trick him into turning back to their house and "then damn him/ Into the bag for ever, or expose him/ Against the adverse part (which now he feeds upon)/ And that would double-damn him" (II.ii.59-62).

Shortly after this, both Houses enter the game board and the White Queen's Pawn claims that the Black Bishop's Pawn tried to rape her ("Would have committed a foul rape upon me"; II.ii.117) and that her "life and honour" were only "preserved" (II.ii.108) by a wonder. Hearing that the young virgin almost fell victim to a rape committed by a member of the Black House shocks the White King. He demands to know who it was, but the White Queen's Pawn cannot find the Black Bishop's Pawn in the ranks of the Black House and suspects that "[h]is guilt hath seized him" (II.ii.145).

The members of the Black House, however, deny that their Pawn had been involved in any kind of criminal act and are outraged by this accusation. Instead, they insinuate that the White Queen's Pawn might be a liar and threaten her: "Fall down and foam, and by that pang discover/ The vexing spirit of falsehood strong within thee;/ Make thyself ready for perdition./ There's no remove in all the game to 'scape it'" (II.ii.172-175). The White Queen's Pawn is unaware of the looming threat and keeps to her claim. However, having destroyed all evidence of the Black Bishop's Pawn's presence, the Black Knight presents a falsified document sent by the Black Bishop's Pawn and maintains that "[t]hat holy man,/ So wrongfully accused by this lost pawn,/ Has not been seen these ten days in these parts "(II.ii.205-207). Having no evidence against the Black Bishop's Pawn, the White King sees no other chance than to deliver the White Queen's Pawn to the Black House and have them punish her.

In this scene, the Black House seems predominant and superior to the White House. By treachery and lies they redeem themselves and shed a doubtful light on the White House and especially the White Queen's Pawn, who is doubly punished for trying to achieve justice and punish the Black Bishop's Pawn. The White House seems helpless against the Black House, simply due to their good faith and credulity.

The White Queen's Pawn's punishment matches the aforementioned assumption that the Black House's main vice is lust, since they force her to fast for four days, kneel for twelve hours in "a room filled all with Aretine's pictures" (II.ii.255) which are, according to Dutton, "famous pornographic pictures by Giulio Romano (1499-1546), accompanied by explanatory poems by Pietro Aretino (1492-1557)."<sup>477</sup> Thus, the Black House has no real interest in punishing the virgin; their main goal is to seduce her.<sup>478</sup>

The Fat Bishop, in the meanwhile, seems to be dissatisfied with the White House, because it spares titles, honours and rewards, something the Black House obviously lavished its members with. Unfortunately, the Black Knight enters and,

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<sup>477</sup> Ibid., p. 432, fn. 255.

<sup>478</sup> Cf. Praz, p. 141: "He [the Black Knight; C.B.] would have the White Queen's Pawn for her calumny to be condemned, in a room filled all with Aretine's pictures' to 'more then the twice twelve labours of [luxurie]'. One sees that in the minds of the authors of the age, Machavelli, Loyola, and Aretino were three closely associated figures."



This revelation shocks the White King and again underlines the vulnerability of the White House, which is characterised as trustful and ingenious. They obviously are unable to suss the machinations and intrigues of the Black House, whose thoroughly Machiavellian strategy seems to be based on the White's naivety. This naivety is, naturally, innate to any member of the White House, thus, also to the White King's Pawn, who has hoped to be honoured and rewarded for his service, but is instead sent to the "empty bag" (III.i.305).

As soon as all other characters have left, the Black Queen's Pawn again tries to involve the White Queen's Pawn into some dubious machination by telling her that she has foreseen her marriage to an "absolute handsome gentleman, a complete one" (III.i.321). Her last comment refers to her anatomically defect former lover, the White Bishop's Pawn, who had been castrated by the Black Knight's Pawn. The White Queen's Pawn cannot believe that she should marry, since she "promised single life to all my affections" (III.i.325) and wants to know how the Black Queen's Pawn could know of such an event. The Black Queen's Pawn tells her of a magical glass which reveals her future husband as soon as the Black Queen's Pawn calls her name.

This alleged future husband of the White Queen's Pawn is the Black Bishop's Pawn in disguise. He appears in the magical looking glass, "richly habited" (III.iii.49-50) and is praised by the Black Queen's Pawn as a "gentleman/ Most wishfully composed; honour grows on him/ And wealth piled up for him; h'ath youth enough, too,/ And yet in the sobriety of his countenance,/ Grave as a tetrarch" (III.iii.60-64). The supposed wooer fulfils every criterion demanded by the Black House, however, since he is only the Black Bishop's Pawn in disguise he can be regarded as a mirror for the superficial principles of the Black House. Honour, wealth and countenance clad the surface, whereas treason, lies and lust seethe underneath. And with the White Queen's Pawn, the symbol of innocence and White-House-naivety, a member of the White House again falls for an illusion conjured up by the Black House and is tricked into another intrigue.

When the White Queen's Pawn meets with the disguised Black Bishop's Pawn for the first time, he immediately suggests they should spend the night together, since they are destined for each other. The White Queen's Pawn, however, is

reluctant and wants to wait until they are married. The Black Queen's Pawn reassures the angry Black Bishop's Pawn, whose intentions are not to marry the White Queen's Pawn, but deflower her that she will arrange things and that he will have his will.

On their second meeting, however, she recognises him and understands that she has been tricked. The Black Bishop's Pawn – thinking that he has spent the last night with her – talks to her in “hot-burning/ syllables of sin” (V.ii.42-43); she, however, does not remember any night she might have spent with him. The Black Queen's Pawn then enters and explains that she has tricked them both – the White Queen's Pawn into believing she has met her future husband – and the Black Bishop's Pawn into believing that he spent the night with the White virgin, when instead he spent the night with the Black Queen's Pawn. At the end of the scene the Black Bishop's Pawn and the Black Queen's Pawn are captured by the White Queen and the White Bishop's Pawn and are sent to the bag. From another point of view this mutual tricking among the black figures also complies with Margaret Scott's assumption that not even the Machiavel, who has caused the disorder and chaos, can survive long in this corrupt milieu<sup>479</sup>. Thus, step by step, it is not the White House that defeats the Black House; it is the Black House's inability to cope with its own chaos that brings about the Black House's decline.

Moreover, the whole intrigue again shows that the Black House's main vice is lust, and that its members obviously only act following their own lust, aiming only at deflowering virgins or spending nights with unknowing persons. The White Queen's Pawn's steadfastness and reluctance to save her virginity is a virtue completely unknown to the Black House, and it seems as if the main goal throughout the whole play has been to deflower the White Virgin.

In the meanwhile the Black Knight tells his Pawn that he plans to “entrap the White Knight and with false allurements/ Entice him to the Black House – more will follow:/ Whilst our Fat Bishop sets upon the Queen;/ Then will our game lie sweetly” (IV.ii.77-81). The Black Knight, thus, follows plans to win the White King's son – Charles I – for the Black House, hoping that once the Knight is seduced more will follow.

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<sup>479</sup> Cf. Scott, p. 171.

The rest of the scene is used by Middleton to satirise the Catholic policy of pardoning confessors and sinners. The Fat Bishop gives the Black Knight a “book of general pardons of all prices” (IV.ii.83) and both try to find the penance for the Black Knight’s Pawn deed:

BLACK KNIGHT [*reads*] ‘For wilful murder, thirteen pounds, four shillings and six pence’ (that’s reasonable cheap) ‘For killing, killing, killing &c’ –  
Why here’s nothing but killing, Bishop, on this side.  
FAT BISHOP Turn the sheet over, you shall find adultery  
And other trivial sins.  
BLACK KNIGHT Adultery?  
O, I’m in’t now. – ‘For adultery a couple  
Of shillings, and for fornication five pence’ –  
These are two good pennyworths! I cannot see  
How a man can mend himself. – ‘For lying  
With mother, sister, and daughter’ – ay, marry, sir –  
‘Thirteen pound, three shillings, three pence’ –  
The sin’s gradation right; paid all in threes. [IV.ii.88-100]

They further find fines for “Simony” and “Sodomy” (IV.iii.103;106), but nothing which would absolve the Black Knight’s Pawn for having castrated the White Bishop’s Pawn. Thus, the Fat Bishop quite aptly states that “[w]ere you to kill him I would pardon you;/ There’s precedent for that, and price set down,/ But none for gelding” (IV.iii.125-128). With regards to this, Dutton states that the work Middleton refers to, the *Taxa Poenitentiarum*, was not available in English in 1624, “and Middleton probably only knew about it from Protestant propaganda”<sup>480</sup> which suggests that Middleton’s knowledge about this book was tinted with a propagandistic stain ridiculing and stultifying ecclesiastical pardon for sins.

In the meantime the White Knight has arrived in the Black House and is welcomed by the Black Knight, who promises him: “Of honour you’ll so surfeit and delight/ You’ll ne’er desire again to see the White” (IV.iv.47-48). While the White Knight and the Black Knight are negotiating<sup>481</sup>, the Fat Bishop tries to capture the White Queen, telling her that “The Black King’s blood burns for thy prostitution/ And nothing but the spring of thy chaste virtue/ Can cool his

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<sup>480</sup> Ibid., p.446, fn. 82.

<sup>481</sup> These negotiations can be compared with Charles I’s visit to Spain in the 1620s to negotiate the marriage with the Spanish infanta, Maria Anna. Cf. Chapter 2.3.2 “The Spanish Match” of this thesis.

inflammation; instantly/ He dies upon a pleurisy of luxury/ If he deflower thee not” (IV.v.16-19). This again shows that the only aim male members of the Black House pursue is to deflower female members of the White House. However, the White King and the White Bishop anticipated the Fat Bishop’s move, rescue the White Queen and send the Fat Bishop to the bag (IV.v.60).

Throughout the whole play, Middleton consistently ascribes a central function to lust as the main Vice and the main motivation defining the Black House which is absolutely contrary to their Machiavellian cunning and plotting. Thus, their motivation completely hampers their action and will finally prevent them from reaching their goals. The White House, on the other side, seems to consist only of female virgins and thoroughly virtuous males. Innocence and virtue, therefore, are clearly ascribed to the “white” English Protestants, whereas lust, intrigue and treason are ascribed to the “black” Spanish Catholics.

The White Knight seems to see through this pattern and uses this knowledge when visiting the Black House. He says of himself that he is “as covetous as a barren womb” (V.iii.106) and that as soon as he “stopped the mouth/ Of one vice, there’s another gapes for food” (V.iii.104-105). He describes himself as ravenous, which the Black Knight is delighted to hear. The White Knight, however, seems to be uncertain in how far all his supposed vices can be compatible with the rules of the Catholic Church: “But how shall I bestow the vice I bring, sirs?/ You quite forget me, I shall be shut out/ By your strict key of life” (V.iii.118-120). When he explains that he suffers from “infirmity of blood, flesh-frailty”, the Black Knight again is delighted and reassures the White Knight that this is merely a trifle:

BLACK KNIGHT The trifle of all vices, the mere innocent,  
The very novice of this house of clay: venery!  
If I but hug thee hard I show the worst on’t.  
It’s all the fruit we have here after supper;  
Nay, at the ruins of a nunnery once  
Six thousand infants’ heads found in a fishpond. [V.iii.124-129]

The White Knight, however, is not completely convinced and states that his other vice is “ten times worse than the forerunners” and “will divide us, questionless” (V.iii.140;139). The Black Knight assures him that nothing can divide them and is

eager to know about this vice, and when the White Knight confesses that he is an “arch-dissembler” (V.iii.145), thus a hypocrite, the Black Knight seems amused:

BLACK KNIGHT                      And call you that a vice?  
Avoid all profanation, I beseech you:  
The only prime state-virtue upon earth,  
The policy of empires! O take heed, sir,  
For fear it take displeasure and forsake you.  
[...]  
You never came so near our souls as now. [V.iii.149-158]

Having confessed that being hypocritical is the uniting aspect of their souls the Black Knight reveals the Black House’s true intentions and with this betrays his house. The White Knight admits that he has only said these words to tempt the Black Knight and thus was able to turn and win the game: “There you lie then;/ The game is ours – we give thee checkmate by/ Discovery, King, the noblest mates of all” (V.iii.160-162). The White King and all members of the White House appear and send the Black House into the bag, ending the play and the game with the words:

WHITE KING So let the bag close now, the fittest womb  
For treachery, pride and falsehood, whilst we (winner-like)  
Destroying, through heaven’s power, what would destroy,  
Welcome our White Knight with loud peals of joy. [V.iii.217-220]

In the end, the Black House is defeated by its own means. Having understood the method of the Black House, the White Knight adopts the Machiavellian pattern and is able to trick them and thus, win the game. Therefore it is not virtue, innocence or credulity that win but hypocrisy and manipulation defeat themselves.

*A Game at Chess* is another allegory presenting the fight between white and black, good and evil, vice and virtue, Protestantism and Catholicism. Like *The Whore of Babylon’s* display of the events of the Spanish Armada, *A Game at Chess* also addresses actual contemporary events, like Charles I’s visit to Spain. Such fictional, partly symbolical displays of factual events presented on stage enable the audience to establish a connection between the spectacle on stage and recent historical events. This is further reinforced by the fact that “the Black

House is repeatedly associated with Hell, a connection that partook of the general militant Protestant identification of the Church of Rome with the Anti-Christ.”<sup>482</sup>

The major difference between the previously discussed dramas and *A Game at Chess* is that Middleton draws back from a violently anti-Catholic tone and does not restrict himself to presenting brutal and blood-spilling cardinals or other dignitaries; moreover, he characterises the Catholics as insidious and cunning and as operating tactically and strategically – appropriate to a game of chess. They are perfectly combined types of the Vice figure, the Senecan tyrant and the Machiavel – thus, they are complex and changeable and can effortlessly adapt to changing situations. Yet, Middleton’s Spanish Catholics are in so far inferior as they are only focussed on sexual satisfaction and seduction, which constricts their moves and possibilities.

*A Game at Chess*, therefore, does not aim at establishing a hateful anti-Catholic tone on stage; it is based on the existing, fundamental anti-Catholic attitude of its audience, which after nearly 100 years of Protestantism in England must have internalised anti-Catholicism as part of their nationalism. Middleton satisfies his audience by deriding and mocking Catholics on stage and presenting them as insidious but dumb and non-forward thinking characters, whose pride and self-confidence proves to be their downfall, and by presenting another way of English superiority in the fight against Catholic Europe with a triumphal victory in the end.

Against the background of the Spanish Match, especially the play’s end must have been more than satisfactory for the audience. Only one year earlier, in 1623, London had welcomed Charles back from his trip to Spain. They had celebrated the failed marriage negotiations and the safe return of their prince with bonfires and fireworks<sup>483</sup>; a spectacle which is mirrored in the White King’s last line: “Welcome our White Knight with loud peals of joy” (V.iii.220).

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<sup>482</sup> Doelman, p. 337.

<sup>483</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.3.2 of this thesis, p. 62-66.

4.3.6 James Shirley – *The Cardinal* (1641)

The last play to be discussed in this thesis is in many respects a ‘last play’. *The Cardinal*<sup>484</sup> was not only James Shirley’s last play – but also the last play of a whole era. English drama, which began to flourish during the reign of Elizabeth I and continued to prosper during the Jacobean and Caroline era, and which significantly shaped and influenced national and international literature, found a temporary end when the London theatres were closed by the government in 1642 as a direct consequence of the Puritan movement. Thus, with *The Cardinal* a whole dramatic era ended which has been unrivalled with regards to its variety, diversity and richness until today. For present purposes, *The Cardinal*, however, does not only constitute the last play to be discussed, but – first and foremost – presents the textual and symbolic climax of this analysis, because its titular character surpasses all other characters introduced and analysed so far with regards to their cruelty, their viciousness and the damage their actions cause.

The play begins with a dialogue between two lords and Antonio. In the course of the play, these lords function as some kind of commentary on the action of the play, reminding the audience of what has happened so far and informing them about the events which had not been displayed on stage. In the first scene they talk about the young widowed Duchess Rosaura and her possible new husband. The first lord knows that she “dotes upon” (I.i.14) the Count D’Alvarez, although she is promised to “our great Cardinal’s nephew, Don Columbo” (I.i.19). The second lord criticises the Cardinal for arranging this marriage to “advance/ His nephew to the Duchess’ bed; ‘tis not well” (I.i.17-18), whereupon he is silenced by the first lord: “Take heed, the Cardinal holds intelligence/ With every bird i’th’air” (I.i.19-20) and the audience is given a first hint with regards to the Cardinal’s influence and power. The second lord intensifies this first impression by replying: “Death on his purple pride,/ He governs all” (I.i.20-21) and implies a certain discontentment with the Cardinal and his position. The two lords, however, decide not to meddle with decisions made by the government, still less with familiar matters, since it is “not safe, you’ll say,/ To wrestle with the king” (I.i.36-37). The

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<sup>484</sup> All quotes are taken from: James Shirley, *The Cardinal*, ed. by E.M. Yearling, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

first lord, however, corrects this statement and says: “More danger if the Cardinal be displeased,/ Who sits at helm of state; Count D’Alvarez/ Is wiser to obey the stream than, by/ Insisting on his privilege to her love,/ Put both their fates upon a storm” (I.i.38-42), and by this suggests that acting against the Cardinal’s wishes is even more dangerous than acting against the king’s wishes, which only underlines the previous statements concerning the Cardinal’s power and obvious influence over the king.

The Duchess, in the meanwhile, confesses to her two ladies in waiting, Valeria and Celinda, that she is in love with Alvarez and is not looking forward to getting married to Columbo. Antonio enters and tells her that the king has appointed Columbo as general to lead his army into war against Aragon, which inwardly pleases the Duchess. Columbo then personally tells her that “We must not use the priest till I bring home/ Another triumph, that now stays for me/ To reap it in the purple field of glory” (I.ii.115-117). When he has left, the Duchess proclaims that “[t]his is above all expectation happy” (I.ii.151) and signals to the audience that she plans to use Columbo’s absence to “secure/ The promise I first made to love and honour” (I.ii.154-155). She tells Alvarez about this, who is not convinced that they might have a chance: “‘Tis not a name that makes/ Our separation: the king’s displeasure/ Hangs a portent to fright us, and the matter/ That feeds this exhalation is the Cardinal’s/Plot to advance his nephew” (I.ii.208-212)

Fearing she might lose Alvarez the Duchess contrives a scheme how to get rid of Columbo without provoking or offending him and his uncle. Thus, being afield Columbo receives a letter from the Duchess in which he is asked to “send her back a free/ Resign of all my interest to her person” (II.i.99-100) and flies into a fit of anger for being made a “cheap, dull, phlegmatic fool” (II.i.105). He suspects her to be with “some bold devil” (II.i.103) who needs to be exorcised.

In the meantime, the Cardinal visits the Duchess and promises her a daily visit while his nephew is away. He probably does this to have an eye on her. When he leaves her telling her to “[b]e confident you have a friend, whose office/ And favour with the king shall be effectual/ To serve your grace” (II.ii.13-15), the Duchess reveals what she thinks about the Cardinal and her own situation:

DUCHESS Do not I walk upon the teeth of serpents;  
And, as I had a charm against their poison,  
Play with their stings? The Cardinal is subtle,  
Whom 'tis not wisdom to incense, till I  
Hear to what destiny Columbo leaves me; [II.ii.18-22]

Obviously, Rosaura understands that the Cardinal poses a threat and that she has to be careful when dealing with him. Thus, she can only reveal her true intentions when she has received an answer from Columbo – which is delivered to her by Antonio this very instant. When she reads that Columbo agrees to set her free she immediately consults with the king and asks him to officially break her engagement with Columbo. The king is surprised to read Columbo's letter, but agrees and "sets her free" to get married to Alvarez (II.iii.51-55).

Hearing of this agreement, the Cardinal instantly demands to read his nephew's letter, and is observed by the Duchess, who remarks: "He looks as though his eyes would fire the paper./ They are a pair of burning glasses, and/ His envious blood doth give'em flame" (II.iii.76-78). Having read the letter the Cardinal tries to change the Duchess' mind by telling her "that Columbo's love is yet more sacred" (II.iii.81), that "his kisses hang/ Yet panting on your lips" (II.iii.86-87) and that he "[e]xchanged religious farewell to return/ But with more triumph to be yours" (II.iii.88-89). The Duchess, realising that he thinks the letter is a fake, assures him that it was written by his nephew, upon which the Cardinal becomes angry:

CARDINAL Desert and honour urged it here, nor can  
I blame you to be angry; yet his person  
Obliged you should have given a nobler pause,  
Before you made your faith and change to violent  
Form his known worth, into the arms of one,  
However fashioned to your amorous wish,  
Not equal to his cheapest fame, with all  
The gloss of blood and merit. [II.iii.96-103]

The Duchess defends herself merely by accusing him of being biased and points out that his insinuations are unjustified: "This comparison,/ My good lord Cardinal, I cannot think/ Flows from an even justice" (II.iii.103-105). The Cardinal, however, does not peg away with insulting the Duchess:

CARDINAL I fear, madam,  
Your own takes too much licence, and will soon  
Fall to the censure of unruly tongues;  
Because Alvarez has a softer cheek,  
Can like a woman trim his wanton hair,  
Spend half a day with looking in the glass  
To find a posture to present himself,  
A bring more effeminacy than man  
Or honour to your bed; must he supplant him?  
Take heed, the common murmur when it catches  
The scent of a lost fame – [II.iii.104-116]

The Duchess compares her supposedly threatened fame with the devotions he “pays to heaven” (II.iii.118) and instead questions his integrity as a churchman. The Cardinal, however, advises her – in his function as a “reverend churchman” (II.iii.121) – to leave Alvarez, which is rejected by the Duchess who insists on marrying him even if it meant to “break through all your force and fix/ Our sacred vow together there” (II.iii.130-131). When the Cardinal threatens to reprimand her for her behaviour she accuses him of hiding his crimes underneath the cloak of the church and, for the first time, openly articulates his sins and deeds:

DUCHESS Begin at home, great man, there’s cause enough;  
You turn the wrong end of the perspective  
Upon your crimes, to drive them to a far  
And lesser sight, but let your eyes look right,  
What giants would your pride and surfeit seem!  
How gross your avarice, eating up whole families!  
How vast are your corruptions and abuse  
Of the king’s ear! At which you hand a pendant,  
Not to adorn, but ulcerate, while the honest  
Nobility, like pictures in the arras,  
Serve only for court-ornament; if they speak,  
‘Tis when you set their tongues, which you wind up  
Like clocks, to strike at the just hour you please;  
Leave, leave, my lord, these usurpations,  
And be what you were meant, a man to cure,  
Not let in agues to religion;  
Look on the church’s wounds. [II.iii.139-155]

When all attempts to calm down the Duchess fail, the Cardinal sees only one way to deal with her, which is “action and revenge” (II.iii.171). The Cardinal is absolutely determined to have his will, even if this means to take extreme measures. Due to his incomparable power and influence he can be seen as standing more in the tradition of the Senecan tyrant than in that of the medieval

Vice. Although he also exhibits strong features of the Machiavel, he nevertheless seems to lack complexity and depth of character.

Before meeting with the king and Hernando, the Cardinal meditates alone on stage about the impact of the Duchess' marriage plans on his nephew's glory. He fears that Columbo has "not won so much upon the Aragon/ As he has lost at home" (III.i.24-15) and admits to the audience that he had wished to "add/ More lustre to our family by the access/ Of the great Duchess' fortune" (III.i.26-28), having lost this perspective "cools his triumph,/ And makes me wild" (III.i.28-29). The Cardinal is interrupted when the king enters and directly confronts him with knowing about the conversation he had with the Duchess and demanding of him to become friends with Rosaura. The Cardinal again expresses his annoyance about the Duchess' marriage to Alvarez and the way she dealt with his nephew, but is ignored by the king as far as possible, who just tells him to await Columbo's report.

On the wedding day of the Duchess and Alvarez, shortly before the ceremony begins, five masked men appear on stage and lay down a sixth man; four of the six men disappear again and two remain on stage. When the wedding party demands to know who the masked man lying on the floor is, the one standing takes off the masque and reveals Alvarez who has been murdered. The king demands to know who committed the crime at which point the fifth takes off his masque, revealing Columbo who admits to have murdered Alvarez. The king has him arrested immediately and sentences Columbo for having murdered Alvarez, which does not "please" the Cardinal (III.ii.235-241).

In a conversation between two lords and Hernando they discuss the murder of Alvarez and the fact that Columbo seems to be "graced now more than ever" (IV.i.6) at court without having been pardoned for his deed. Hernando, unlike the two lords, does not talk about "wondrous mischief" (IV.i.1), but believes in an intrigue by the Cardinal: "But as the murder done had been a dream/ Vanished to memory, he's courted as/ Preserver of his country; with what chains/ Or magic does this Cardinal hold the king?" (IV.i.8-11).

The second lord underlines the first lord's remark concerning their use of witchcraft to "advance a marriage to Columbo yet" (IV.i.13-14). Hernando

confessing that his “faith has been so staggered since” (IV.i.18), however, vows that if the king restores Columbo, “I’ll be now/ Of no religion” (IV.i.19-20). He, thus, admits that he does not trust the church anymore, as long as men like the Cardinal control its destiny. Columbo, however, is pardoned by the king in the end.

When the Cardinal meets the Duchess again, he tries to lead her to believe that Columbo’s pardoning was just and right. The Duchess, however, blames the Cardinal for being uncharitable with regards to her person; he, however, convinces her of being a “good man” (IV.iii.272) when admitting that he had been shocked by Columbo’s deed and pleads her to understand him and his actions because Columbo is “one so near my blood” (IV.iii.277). The Duchess signals that she understands him and seemingly accepts his peace proposal. However, when the Cardinal leaves her, she reveals her true thoughts and feelings:

DUCHESS How would this cozening statesman bribe my faith  
With flatteries to think him innocent!  
No, if his nephew die, this Cardinal must not  
Be long-lived; all the prayers of a wronged widow  
Make form Hernando’s sword, and my own hand  
Shall have some glory in the next revenge;  
I will pretend my brain with grief distracted;  
I may gain easy credit, and beside  
The taking off examination  
For great Columbo’s death, it makes what act  
I do, in that believed want of my reason,  
Appear no crime, but my defence; [IV.iii.310-321]

The Duchess clearly mistrusts the Cardinal and senses some kind of intrigue or conspiracy. Having Hernando as her accomplice, she obviously plans to take revenge for Alvarez’ death and, moreover, seems to be determined to kill not only Columbo but also his uncle.

In a fight Hernando mortally wounds Columbo, which is again commented on by the lords, who state that the king has been “much afflicted” (V.i.1) by Columbo’s death, whereas the second lord fears the Cardinal might lose “his wits” (V.i.2). They further inform the audience that Hernando has fled and that the Duchess, who has “turned a child again; a madness/ That would ha’ made her brain and blood boil high” (V.i.16-17), is under the custody of the Cardinal, who has been made “[h]er guardian” (V.i.13). They are interrupted, when the Cardinal

appears on stage and asks them to leave him alone; he then ponders aloud about his plans for the Duchess:

CARDINAL It troubles me the Duchess by her loss  
Of brain is now beneath my great revenge;  
She is not capable to feel my anger,  
Which like to unregarded thunder spent  
In woods, and lightning aimed at senseless trees,  
Must idly fall, and hurt her not, not to  
That sense her guilt deserves; a fatal stroke,  
Without the knowledge for what crime, to fright her  
[...]  
And I but wound her with a two edged feather;  
I must do more, I have all opportunity,  
She by the king now made my charge, but she's  
So much a turtle I shall lose by killing her,  
Perhaps do her a pleasure and preferment;  
That must not be. [V.i.29-46]

These thoughts do not only expose the degree of brutality and violence the Cardinal is willing to use, but further reveal the true nature of his soul. Up to now the audience has only received hints concerning the Cardinal's nature from other characters but never truly experienced or witnessed what the others were talking about. With this monologue the Cardinal reveals himself, his intentions and his will to take revenge for Columbo's death whatever the cost. The degree of his brutality is displayed in his wish to really hurt the Duchess. He is not content with killing her; he wants to make her suffer:

CARDINAL [*Aside*] 'Tis in my brain already, and it forms  
Apace, good, excellent revenge, and pleasant!  
She's now within my talons; 'tis too cheap  
A satisfaction for Columbo's death  
Only to kill her by soft charm or force;  
I'll rifle first her darling chastity,  
'Twill be after time enough to poison her,  
And she to th'world be thought her own destroyer. [V.i.86-93]

By revealing his plans the Cardinal confirms the Duchess' accusation of being a criminal who abuses his position in the church and the church herself for committing his deeds and achieving his goals. The Cardinal proves to be a cold-blooded, audacious and unpredictable villain whose only connection to the church seems to be his robe – his mind-set, however, is far from being a pious and

reverend churchman. Thus, he only continues the tradition of the Catholic stage villain to that extent that he still displays traits of the Machiavel and the Senecan tyrant; but in contrast to the other Catholic villains, his complexity yields to raw violence and his Catholicism. Shirley seems to attach greater importance to the fact that his cardinal is a violent Catholic than to his character depth and the possibilities his Senecan and Machiavellian tradition are offering.

When the Cardinal visits the Duchess, intending to “poison all her innocence” (V.iii.128), she has forehandedly asked Hernando to hide in the room in case she might run into danger. When he is alone with her, he embraces her and tells her that she is “safe in my arms, sweet Duchess” (V.iii.132), then begins to kiss her, proclaiming his kisses to be “swift messengers to whisper/ Our hearts to one another” (V.iii.142-143). The Duchess begins to suspect what the Cardinal wants and wonders whether “Hernando is asleep, or vanished from me” (V.iii.148), whereas the Cardinal himself is confused by his own feelings: “[*Aside*] I have mocked by blood into a flame, and what/ My angry soul had formed for my revenge/ Is now the object of my amorous sense;/ I have took a strong enchantment from her lips,/ And fear I shall forgive Columbo’s death” (V.iii.149-153). The Duchess, however, tries to keep away from his embrace and tries to hinder him from pushing her to the bed, where he promises she will “wonder to what unknown world you are/ By some blest change translated” (V.iii.162-163); he notices her reluctance and demands from her to “be kind” (V.iii.167). The Duchess, however, starts to scream that she is being raped, whereupon Hernando leaps from his hiding place and stabs the Cardinal.

Having heard the screaming, the king, the lords and all servants enter the scene and find Hernando dying and the Cardinal wounded. With his last words, Hernando tells the king that he has “preserved the Duchess from a rape” (V.iii.193), whereupon the king turns to the Cardinal and demands an explanation.

CARDINAL I have deserved you should turn from me, sir,  
 My life hath been prodigiously wicked,  
 My blood is now the kingdom’s balm; O sir,  
 I have abused your ear, your trust, your people,  
 And my own sacred office, my conscience  
 Feels now the sting; O show your charity,  
 And with your pardon like a cool, soft gale



CARDINAL That was my own prediction to abuse  
Your faith; no human art can now resist,  
I feel it knocking at the seat of life,  
It must come in; I have wracked all my own  
To try your charities, now it would be rare,  
If you but waft me with a little prayer,  
My wings that flag may catch the wind; but 'tis  
In vain, the mist is risen, and there's none  
To steer my wandering bark. *Dies.* [V.iii.275-283]

In direct comparison to Beaufort and Monticelso, this Cardinal acts more ruthlessly and more aggressively in implementing his plans. While Beaufort 'only' tries to reach a higher position at court, Monticelso and the Cardinal additionally pursue personal revenge schemes and abuse their assigned position of power within the Catholic Church – which, in all three cases, fails to punish them and restore justice within and without the ecclesiastical world.

Compared to the other dramas discussed so far, Shirley surpasses the degree of anti-Catholicism, hate and violence. The brutality and belligerence of this cardinal exceeds all other dignitaries of the Catholic Church presented on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage so far. He does not only abuse his position in the church but also his position at court. He uses the king as much as he uses religion to gain the people's trust, only to pursue his own goals. He neither respects the rules of the church, the dignity of his office, nor humanity or anything which does not comply with his attitude. This cardinal is void of all human feelings and only concerned with pushing his own objectives. In creating this character, Shirley mainly focused on violence and revenge much to the detriment of any cunning, plotting and manipulation. His character lacks the complexity of the other Catholic villains discussed so far and does not seem entitled to achieve his goals by means of clever tricks and manipulative techniques. Shirley only sparingly employs traits of the traditional Vice or the Machiavel and thus misses chances to increase the dramatic credibility of his character. Thus, indeed he fulfills some aforementioned criteria of the Vice by standing "outside the moral law"<sup>486</sup>, or the Machiavel who was notorious for not caring for public welfare. However, by relentlessly pursuing his own aims and satisfying his own needs for power, possession and sensual

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<sup>486</sup> Withington, p. 14.

pleasure, Shirley makes clear that the Cardinal's most striking feature is his Catholic background.

Thus, the complexity and character depth the Catholic stage villain had obtained by means of creative combination of traditional types in the plays of Shakespeare, Webster or Middleton, seemed to decrease again at the end of the dramatic era. Creativity and wit yield to brutal monotony and its justification: anti-Catholicism. Anti-Catholicism started out as a tendency, and has become a feature, seemingly the only motif and motivation.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

In order to summarise the result of anti-Catholicism within the selected dramatic texts, it – first of all – has to be pointed out that anti-Catholicism as described in the texts above cannot be pinned down to one individual or single factor but has to be regarded as a phenomenon fed from many sources and shaped by many ideals and beliefs. This short conclusion will serve to outline these different aspects which were employed in the dramatic texts discussed above and to draw up the techniques and devices that helped to establish this anti-Catholic tone found in many texts of this time.

Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* can be seen as one of the first plays of the anti-Catholic development. His titular character shows no respect for the pope or the Catholic Church and its rites; instead he hoaxes and derides the pope on stage. Further he shows no signs of fear concerning a possible punishment for his behaviour, which on the one hand signals godlessness, but on the other hand exemplifies a complete lack of deference for the Catholic Church. Faustus certainly sold his soul to the devil, but especially the last scene of the play shows that he nevertheless hoped for redemption.

Shakespeare then draws back from hoaxing Catholicism, and instead sketches a character that symbolises the evil and power-abusing, Machiavellian side of Catholicism. With the Bishop of Winchester, later Cardinal Beaufort, he stages a character that the audience is supposed to hate. By plotting and intriguing against the lord protector of the king he first loses the audience's trust and in the course of

the plays loses the other characters' trust, as well. Beaufort's way of acting can be regarded as indicative for the development within the texts discussed in this thesis. He begins by manipulating the lords and earls and by actively influencing the king, however, without pursuing charitable purposes or serving public welfare. He defies moral and just limits and does not shrink back from hiring executioners to murder Gloucester. Yet, the increasing belligerence of his deeds is not punished in any earthly way; instead he is rewarded by the pope by being appointed cardinal.

In Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy, however, divine justice is still intact since Beaufort dies in agony and is unable to show any sign of redemption when dying. Thus, God restores justice by punishing the cardinal which neither the church nor the king were able or willing to do.

With *The Life and Death of King John* Shakespeare draws back from such obvious anti-Catholic tones, and instead offers the audience the opportunity to reconsider their attitude towards members of the Catholic Church and thereby follow Queen Elizabeth's example, who did not apply one villainous standard to all English Catholics and instead differentiated between those loyal to her and those leaving England. Yet, although Shakespeare's Cardinal Pandulph contributed to the Anglo-French peace, in the end, he is never depicted as a thoroughly good and philanthropic character.

Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, then again shows a significant increase in violence and brutality on the part of the Catholics. Marlowe sketches the events leading up to the massacre, the killing of the Protestant Huguenots itself and the consequences this massacre had for Catholicism in France by focusing on the cold-bloodedness and mercilessness with which this mass murder is planned by the French Catholics. His display of this Catholic league, which is led by the Duke of Guise, is extraordinarily belligerent and vicious since they do not even shrink from committing regicide.

The Protestant party, in contrast to the Catholics, is depicted as considerate and peace-loving. The King of Navarre only reluctantly wages war against the opposing Catholic league, but recognises that he has no other choice. Yet, he

staunchly believes in the righteousness of the Protestant faith and thus is convinced that God is on his side and will support him, his army and his faith.

However, in the end, Catherine's last son, King Henry allies with Navarre and takes drastic measures to stop his mother and Guise from murdering further Protestants and sovereigns. Thus, in contrast to Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Marlowe's king restores justice by punishing those who abused either their position at court or in the church and committed criminal deeds under the guise of religion and the church. Moreover, for the first time, the righteousness of the Protestant faith is instanced as a decisive factor for the defeat of the Catholic league and the prevailing of Protestantism.

Then again, both Shakespeare and Marlowe grant the pope an influential, almost omniscient power and present him as the Vice-in-chief and driving force behind the plots and intrigues of Beaufort and Guise. As soon as it serves to enhance and broaden the church's power, the pope exceeds his powers and defies moral and just limits to support purely egoistic and infamous goals.

The Elizabethan plays by Shakespeare and Marlowe discussed in this thesis, thus, practically set the stage for a developing theatrical anti-Catholicism. By introducing a powerful pope, immoral Catholic stage villains and bloody religious struggles. They proverbially provided the basic ingredients which were resumed and worked out by their succeeding Jacobean colleagues who created stronger anti-Catholic sentiments by increasing not only the hatred against Catholics, but also the violence executed by Catholics on stage.

The first Jacobean play discussed here, *The Whore of Babylon*, thus presents the audience with an allegorical display of the long waging religious war between Protestant England and a fictional alliance of the three most powerful Catholic nations Spain, Italy and France. The titular whore symbolises an almighty and omniscient Catholic leader from Rome and can be construed as a pope-figure.

Dekker's display of this fictional Catholic league intends a demonization of both the Catholic Church and Spain. He implies that Spain is Rome's closest confederate and that their common goal is the destruction of England and Protestantism and presents the three Catholic sovereigns as dependent and

subordinate “sons” of the whore who all have been indoctrinated and poisoned by their “mother”.

Like Marlowe, Dekker depicts the Protestant party as considerate, generous and peaceful characters. The fictional Elizabeth is a modest and wise ruler, and her subjects are willing to sacrifice themselves for their queen and their country. Both Navarre and Elizabeth confide in the righteousness of their faith and in the help of God.

When compared to Shakespeare’s *Henry VI* trilogy and Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*, Dekker as well sketches an omniscient and almighty pope who pulls the strings and has long ceased to serve public welfare. However, unlike his contemporaries, Dekker’s pope does not act in the background but is taking centre stage and actively directing his allies. Moreover, he is presented as a short-tempered, vicious and pretentious character who loves the splendour and wealth the Catholic Church provides him with. Since the whore represents the highest authority of the Catholic Church, there is no one to punish her for her deeds; the only punishment is the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the loss of the war. Yet, the whore survives the end of the play which implies that she will regain power and strike again – a fact, the audience is given to consider against the background of the then recently failed Gunpowder Plot.

*The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, then present the audience with two single Machiavellian characters once more, who both hold high positions in the Catholic Church and abuse these positions for their personal revenge and for pursuing private goals. Webster’s Cardinal Monticelso sees himself as a restorer of justice when he charges Vittoria Corombona for having committed a murder without having any evidence for his accusation and demonstrates that neither the church nor the court can keep him from having his will and that he can bend the law to his wishes.

The anti-Catholic tone in this play does not stem from excessive violence or perfidious murder, but from the assumption that neither the church nor the law is safe from exploitation by members of the church. By breaching the law, Monticelso does not only defy ecclesiastical rules, but also worldly rules and

signals to the audience that individual persons are completely powerless with regards to the arbitrariness of characters like Monticelso.

Webster's Cardinal in *The Duchess of Malfi*, however, is a notorious character, known to violate any rule imposed by the Catholic Church. During his personal revenge campaign against his sister he uses all available means to punish his sister's disobedience and orders the murder of the Duchess, her husband Antonio and their children. However, his plan to kill the hired assassin, Bosola, backfires, because he is overheard by the very same and stabbed before he can commit the murder.

This Cardinal, therefore, is punished for his deeds albeit not by the church or any court, but by Bosola, who revenges the death of the Duchess and Antonio. Again, the church fails to intervene and punish its wayward member for his deeds and is presented as tolerating violence and murder. The pope, however, is not once mentioned in Webster's plays, thus, the cardinals' actions and influence can only be ascribed to their own position and power, which makes them even more powerful and clearly shows the Machiavellian nature of their characters.

Another difference between Monticelso and the Cardinal in *The Duchess of Malfi* is that the latter does not restrict himself to plotting and manipulating in the background; he actively interferes and commits murder. And although he is punished, the audience do not know whether he experiences redemption or is punished by God like Beaufort.

Thus, Webster's anti-Catholicism cannot be pinned down to one single factor or strategy; he, moreover, presents a wide range of techniques used by his characters to achieve their goals and serve their own profit. While one character is manipulating the law and abusing his position to exceed moral and just limits, the other is actively committing murder and most willingly eradicates his own family. Both characters symbolise the Machiavellian, evil and unjust side of the Catholic Church, and in turn show how this church cloaks itself in silence and tolerates such deeds.

The penultimate drama discussed in this thesis, *A Game at Chess*, once more presents the audience with an allegorical display of the long-waging struggle between England and Catholic Spain. According to the long tradition of

symbolism and imagery Spain is represented by the black – i.e. the dark and evil – set of figures, whereas England is represented by the white – i.e. the innocent and good – set of figures. Sometimes the white figures seem to be too good and innocent to see through the machinations and intrigues of the black figures, yet, like every English Protestant union staged so far, they also trust in God and are backed by their intrinsic belief that God serves the good, thus the English Protestant side.

Yet, the Spanish black figures are depicted in such a contradictory way that they simply have no chance to pursue their goals to the end. On the one hand, Middleton furnishes them with Machiavellian wit and cunning, and on the other hand, he sets two major objectives for them, the first one being the establishment of a universal monarchy, the second – unfortunately overtopping – one being the seduction of every virgin belonging to the White House. However, due to the fact that the Black House wastes most of its energy and manipulative skills with pursuing the second goal, the idea of a universal monarchy is put more and more into the background – as is their cunning and wit.

As has been mentioned before, Middleton does not need to stage blood-thirsty, manipulating and devious Catholic characters to establish an anti-Catholic atmosphere; he simply takes a certain anti-Catholic basic attitude of the audience for granted and nourishes this by staging doltish and lusty Spanish Catholics who, at no time during the play, actually pose a real threat to the English Protestants.

Shirley's final play then presents the audience with a climactic and ultimately evil character that continues the tradition of the Catholic stage villain, but at the same time curtails its character traits. This cardinal plots and bribes, influences the king, murders and rapes; in short: he overshadows all Catholics characters, leagues and alliances in evilness and brutality.

Shirley's *The Cardinal*, therefore, reaches a new dimension of anti-Catholicism: by increasing the amount of violence and injustice on stage, he also must have increased the amount of hatred and anti-Catholic feelings of the audience.

Shakespeare, Marlowe and their contemporaries therefore employed manifold techniques – visual, textual and imaginary – in presenting Catholic viciousness and violence on stage. From manipulating and intriguing to hiring assassins, to personally murdering opponents, their Catholic stage villains use all available means to achieve their objectives. Not one Catholic character in these examples respects moral or just limits, human dignity or the rules imposed by their church. With the exception of Pandulph, they all exceed their power, always aiming at a higher position or their own advantage, and most of them are supported by either the pope or other higher authorities of the Catholic Church.

This picture presented on stage in combination with the propagandistic measures imposed by the English government must have had a significant impact on the English people. The next chapter will attempt to explain the processes which led to this characteristic anti-Catholic foundation on which English nationalism is based by bringing together the historical and literary strands and combining them with selected philosophical ideas and theories which will help to understand these machinations and processes of demonising one entity and worshipping the other.

## 5. Discussion – Mutual influences, mind forming and the Catholic 'other'

### 5.1 Socio-political influences and the shaping of a public opinion

Extensive processes like the English Reformation always operate on several different levels and entail various reactions and consequences. Two of these levels – the politico-historical and the literary level – have been connected and discussed in this thesis so far. However, what still remains unclear and has yet to be researched in detail is the reciprocal cooperation and impact of the political and the literary level and the consequences this cooperation entailed on a higher social level.

To understand the interdependences it is first of all necessary to take a look back and examine the processes that influenced literature during that time. Having established this basis it will be possible to draw a connection between the social and political changes and the contemporary developments literature experienced, and finally to analyze to what extent literature not only experienced a turn towards anti-Catholicism, but moreover helped to shape and manifest anti-Catholic convictions in the English mind.

In a first step the events stemming from the beginnings of the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII and later shaping the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, which have already been outlined in chapter two, need to be examined in a larger context, especially with regards to the effects the legal and political measurements had on the English population.

Establishing a Protestant Church in England, first of all, meant defining a new religion with doctrines distinctively different from the Old Faith. Changes needed to be made which helped the English to distinguish between Protestantism and Catholicism and – at best – to convince them not only of the necessity, but further of the rightfulness of a new Protestant Church. One of these changes was the abolishing of mass. Protestant service was meant to serve and worship God and

not its creatures, thus, the Catholic practice to worship symbols and images and above all the Virgin Mary was interpreted as idolatry and commonly seen as evidence for the falseness of the Catholic faith:

Crucial to the Protestant analysis of the falseness of these practices and beliefs was the concept of idolatry. That the worship of the one true God had been supplanted and subverted by the worship of his creatures was evident in the papists' reverence for the worship of idols and images, their use of the saints as intercessors and their virtual deification of the Virgin Mary.<sup>487</sup>

The central aspect instanced by Protestant leaders to prove the idolatrous nature of Catholicism was the doctrine of transubstantiation. They questioned the Catholic belief that the substance of the bread and the wine used in the sacrament actually was Christ's body and blood, and the ritual to incorporate Christ's body and blood during the sacrament. According to Peter Lake, Protestant leaders demonized this tradition as witchery concealed by the "surface glitter of popish ceremonies and images [which] were all intended to appeal to 'the heart of carnal man, bewitching it with great glistening of the painted harlot'. Popery was a religion based on illusion and trickery."<sup>488</sup>

They further accused the Catholic Church of hypocrisy due to the practice of achieving salvation through words or deeds. Lake writes that "the importance of religious works of human devising as a means to achieve salvation established hypocrisy as a central characteristic of popery. The guilt of virtually any sin could be assuaged and salvation attained through some form of external religious observance or act of clerical absolution."<sup>489</sup>

Another target for Protestant attack was the doctrine of celibacy which they saw as further evidence for the hypocritical nature of the Catholic Church. They interpreted celibacy, on the one hand, as the pope's intention "to set aside and alter at will the laws of God and nature, which had, after all, established marriage as an honourable state."<sup>490</sup> By forbidding its priests to marry or to have any sexual relations, the Catholic Church directly ignored creation, which, through Adam and Eve, had provided for the propagation and continued existence of the human

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<sup>487</sup> Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 74.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

species. To address this, Edward VI passed an act in 1549 (*2&3 Edward VI, c. 21*) and legalized the marriage of priests. On the other hand, rumours about sexual intercourse among monks served to complete this idolatrous image, because it symbolized the hypocritical attitude of the monks towards the rules of their church:

Indeed, for many Protestants buggery became an archetypically popish sin, not only because of its proverbially monastic provenance but also because, since it involved the abuse of natural faculties and impulses for unnatural ends, it perfectly symbolized the wider idolatry at the heart of popish religion. Again the Protestants made great play with the papists' notorious laxity towards heterosexual promiscuity, citing there the stews of Rome and the papal revenues produced by licensing them.<sup>491</sup>

With regards to this Peter Lake assumes that the Reformation can be viewed as a process of Enlightenment: "Protestants claimed that while popery, through magic, symbols, false miracles and seeming common sense, appealed to the lower, carnal and corrupt side of human nature, their own religion sought to free all Christians from this world of illusion and inversion through the propagation of the unvarnished word."<sup>492</sup>

Contrary to that, Protestantism was characterized by an unspectacular form of worship and the abolishment of any images, rituals and symbols and thus represented a more 'reasonable' religion. According to Raymond Tumbleson, reason was a major theme not only in "Anglican anti-Catholic polemics"<sup>493</sup>, but also as a force against Catholicism. Protestants claimed that "reason consists in the Protestant replacement of the spectacle of Mass with verbalization"<sup>494</sup> and with this presented "Catholicism as contrary to reason itself."<sup>495</sup> However, the most important change with regards to this verbalization process which, according to scholars such as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, marked a significant step towards an enlightened culture, was the Protestant understanding of the Eucharist. In a Protestant service the bread and blood did not stand for the body of Christ, but, moreover, symbolized it on a purely metaphorical level. Gumbrecht includes and

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<sup>491</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>493</sup> Tumbleson, p. 98.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

explains this new Protestant view within his presence philosophy and works out the different meanings of the old, medieval Catholic interpretation and the modern, enlightened Protestant interpretation:

[...] die lateinischen Worte *hoc est enim corpus meum* („denn dies ist mein Leib“) durch die die Transsubstantiation – also die Umwandlung der Substanz des Brots in die Substanz des Leibs Christi im Sakrament des Abendmahls – vollzogen wurde, [waren] ebenso wie die damit einhergehenden deiktischen Gesten für die mittelalterliche Kultur vollkommen einleuchtend. Dass Brot die ‚Form‘ sei, durch die die ‚substantielle Präsenz‘ des Leibs Christi wahrnehmbar wird, war eine unproblematische Vorstellung. Das ist zugleich der Grund, weshalb man vom anthropologischen Standpunkt sagen könnte, dass das vormoderne und katholische Abendmahl wie ein magischer Akt funktioniert, durch den eine zeitliche und räumliche entfernte Substanz präsent gemacht wurde. Und es war gerade die substantielle Präsenz des Leibs Christi und seines Blutes, die in der protestantischen (d.h. frühneuzeitlichen) Theologie zum Problem wurde. Durch Jahrzehnte währende, intensive theologische Diskussionen gelang es der protestantischen Theologie, die Präsenz des Leibs Christi und seines Blutes neu zu bestimmen und in eine Evokation des als ‚Bedeutung‘ aufgefassten Leibs Christi und seines Blutes zu verwandeln. Daher muss das Wort ‚ist‘ in dem Satz ‚...dies ist mein Leib‘ zunehmend im Sinne von ‚dies bedeutet‘ oder ‚dies steht für‘ meinen Leib aufgefasst worden sein. Die Bedeutungen des Leibs Christi und seines Blutes evozierten dann das Abendmahlsereignis, ohne dass man jedoch annahm, dass sie das Abendmahl wieder präsent machten.<sup>496</sup>

Gumbrecht also points to the magical nature of the Catholic understanding of transubstantiation, which made Christ's body present during mass and which was highly problematic and difficult to bring in accordance with the newly reason-based Protestant religion. He further maintains that the transition towards a symbolic meaning-based interpretation of the Lord's Supper not only constituted a major achievement for the Protestant faith, but in broader terms for the whole Enlightenment movement – it meant a step forward to modernity.

Modernity as such also played a major role for the development of anti-Catholic sentiments, because, as Tumbleson puts it, “[p]apacy served as an emblem of evil against which a modern, centralized nation-state could be organized in England, justified by an ideology of capitalism, nationalism and Protestantism.”<sup>497</sup> By regarding England as a modern, progressing and Protestant

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<sup>496</sup> Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Diesseits der Hermeneutik. Die Produktion von Präsenz*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004, p. 47.

<sup>497</sup> Tumbleson, p. 14.

nation, it was easy to present Catholicism as something “old and foreign”<sup>498</sup>, as something blighting England’s process.

However, to better spread these propagandist creeds in a largely illiterate population a medium was necessary to reach all classes regardless of their education, social background or working situation. According to Robin Clifton, sermons served as vehicles for spreading the new teaching during Protestant service. Besides elaborating on the “moral and spiritual dangers of popery”<sup>499</sup>, themes of these sermons were the corruptibility and hypocrisy of the Catholic Church: “Catholicism was presented as the corruption of Apostolic Christianity, depraved because for centuries it had permitted man to cover the Gospel’s basic simplicity with the corrupt promptings of his fallen nature,”<sup>500</sup> and moreover as an “anti-religion”<sup>501</sup> which was “not inspired by God but essentially made by man for his own comfort.”<sup>502</sup> And they, of course, presented the old teaching as an abusive and obsolete “system of lies, superstition and fraud practiced by priests upon a gullible and ignorant public.”<sup>503</sup>

Apart from being verbally degraded and demonized the Catholic Church was forced to face real loss of influence, wealth and property during the early stages of the Reformation. By dissolving the monasteries, for example, Henry VIII physically took action against the Catholic Church; an act which not only reduced the power of the church but certainly served to demonstrate the strength and power of the English monarch and the English church, on the one hand, and the growing weakness and powerlessness of the Catholic Church, on the other hand. Supported by various legal acts, within a few years the Catholic Church had lost large amounts of its property and wealth to the English crown.

Thus by 1553 – shortly before Mary I would succeed to the throne – Protestantism was not only largely accepted as the new faith, but also as the only legally accepted faith in England. And although those adhering to Catholicism were not yet prosecuted, it was an initial step towards the repression of the old

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<sup>498</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>499</sup> Robin Clifton, “The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution”, in: *Past & Present* 52 (Aug., 1971), p. 35.

<sup>500</sup> Ibid., p. 36

<sup>501</sup> Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England”, p. 75.

<sup>502</sup> Clifton, p. 36.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

Faith and the installment of the new church, and many English probably had already begun to see Catholicism as something forbidden and undesirable. However, since Catholics and Catholicism posed no real threat to the Protestant English, they certainly still tolerated Catholics in their neighbourhoods, communities and towns. This more or less peaceful co-existence, however, found a rash end when Mary I was crowned and forcefully reintroduced Catholicism to England.

During her first parliamentary session Mary declared her parents' marriage valid, annulled all religious laws installed by Edward and by this restored church doctrines from the pre-Reformation era. However, whereas parliament did not hesitate to reintroduce religious ceremonies and rituals, its members were reluctant to return the monastery lands to the Catholic Church, which now partly belonged to them, or to accept the pope as head of church. They feared that strengthening the pope's power and influence could automatically result in a reduction or loss of their own wealth and power.<sup>504</sup>

Accepting this, Mary I and Pope Julius III in 1555 revived the *Heresy Acts*<sup>505</sup> from the 14<sup>th</sup> century which allowed them to prosecute and arrest Protestant leaders due to non-conformity with the Catholic Church. Mary was certain that if she sentenced and executed the most prominent Protestant leaders and supporters, Catholicism soon would gain a foothold in England once again. This, however, proved to be a mistake. Especially the small communities and towns adhering to Protestantism were not willing to accept the revived papal authority.<sup>506</sup> Thus, the prosecution was being extended to the civil population and cost the lives of nearly

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<sup>504</sup> Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor. England's First Queen*, London: Bloomsbury, 2010, p. 199.

<sup>505</sup> *Revival of the Heresy Acts (1 & 2 Ph. & M. c.6)*: "For the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies, which of late have risen, grown, and much increased within this realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith: be it therefore ordained and enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the statute made in the fifth year of the reign of King Richard II, concerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers, and one other statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry IV, concerning the repressing of heresies and punishment of heretics, and also one other statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry V, concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy, and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several Acts, and every of them, shall from the twentieth day of January next coming be revived, and be in full force, strength, and effect to all intents, constructions, and purposes for ever." Gee, p. 225.

<sup>506</sup> Another reason for this failure could also have been the fact that those who had been signed over former Catholic properties during the reign of Henry VIII were unwilling to return them to the state.

300 religious dissenters. Whereas prosecution and burning was intended to deter people, it actually had the opposite effect. Not only did the English people start to feel sympathy for the Protestant martyrs, but criticism from the Continent became louder as well. Although prosecution of religious dissenters was quite common in Europe, it mostly involved fanatics or extremists. In England, however, common people were prosecuted and burnt for their religious beliefs and for the fact that they merely respected the law.<sup>507</sup>

Thus, Mary's reign, as has been mentioned before, "did ill service to the Catholic cause"<sup>508</sup> and "sharpened violently anti-Roman Catholic sentiments"<sup>509</sup> because it left a lasting impression of brutality and mercilessness on the contemporary mind which was in no way comparable to the Henrician and Edwardian approaches to establish Protestantism in England. Besides having been indoctrinated with the belief that Protestantism was the only rightful and God-chosen religion, the Marian Prosecution probably served as further confirmation for the English people that Catholicism was something harmful and undesirable. Up to this point Catholics in England had not suffered such fierce prosecution in comparison to the Protestants during the reign of Mary, thus the desire to continue the reformatory proceedings must have grown after the death of Mary I.

With the succession of Elizabeth I a new era began, not only with regards to a flourishing of England in all respects, but also with regards to the religious developments and the conflicts with the European continent these entailed. By re-establishing Protestantism in England and renewing the *Act of Supremacy*, Elizabeth, on the one hand, prepared the grounds for continuing the reformatory process, and on the other hand, set up the Catholic European continent as her enemy. However, although she demonstrated strength and fierceness in fighting Catholicism when confronted with her foreign opponents, her inner-English attempts remained lax. English Catholics knew that all she required was their attendance at Protestant service. This was a chance for them to continue to practice their old faith and display superficial obedience. This is one reason why

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<sup>507</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011, p. 107.

<sup>508</sup> Lilly.

<sup>509</sup> Greenblatt, p. 91.

English Catholics were able to establish an underground network operating between England and the continent during the early years of her reign.<sup>510</sup>

Thus, by the time the pope had excommunicated Elizabeth, and the first Jesuits were landing in England, she began to realise that requesting obedience and conformity instead of purity<sup>511</sup> was not enough to curb Catholicism – and especially radical Catholics – in England. These circumstances were responsible for the development of a new concept of the enemy amongst Protestants. This concept consisted of three major, albeit critically unquestioned assumptions: 1) Catholics formed a strong and powerful, highly ordered community; 2) the pope was an almighty leader and responsible for all attacks, assassination attempts and rebellions by Catholics on English ground and against the queen; 3) especially the Jesuits were cunning and intelligent enough to “lead a deluded man to turn against his lawful monarch.”<sup>512</sup>

To understand how these assumptions could have been taken for face value, they have to be regarded from the point of view the Protestants had of themselves in contrast to their image of the Catholics. With regards to the first assumption, they saw themselves and their church as of yet incomplete, as “a collection of disparate individuals”<sup>513</sup> against which the Roman Catholic Church could have been viewed as “a highly organized and united front.”<sup>514</sup> The Protestants, however, completely overlooked the fact that their assumed driving forces of the Catholic mission, the “popes, Jesuits, secular priests, the Kings of France and Spain, the English Catholics”<sup>515</sup> all had individual aims and plans, and that these Catholic ‘leaders’ seldom worked as a united force. Wiener quotes Sir Robert Cotton, Member of Parliament during Elizabeth’s reign and later advisor to King James, who expressed his own feelings concerning the strength of the Catholics:

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<sup>510</sup> For more information on this topic, cf. for example: Earle Havens, “Notes from a Literary Underground: Recusant Catholics, Jesuit Priests, and Scribal Publication in Elizabethan England”, in: *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 99/4 (Dec. 2005), pp. 505-538; Sonja Fielitz, “Religion Revisited: William Shakespeare, Nicholas Owen, and the Culture of Doppelbödigkeit”, in: *Critical Survey* 25/1 (2013), pp. 72-89.

<sup>511</sup> Greenblatt, p. 91-92.

<sup>512</sup> Wiener, p. 44.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

To what purpose serves it to muster the names of the protestantes or to vaunt them to be then for one of the Roman faction? as if bare figures of numeration could prevaile against an united party, resolved and advised beforehand how to turn their faces with assurance, unto all dangers...<sup>516</sup>

Vital for this image was the Protestants' understanding of the pope's power, which was, according to Wiener, "consistently over-estimated."<sup>517</sup> She writes that they saw the Catholic leader "in such superhuman proportions [...] that individual popes were rarely distinguished from one another, even by name; all popes became one arch-villain – the Pope."<sup>518</sup> Thus, although, the pope probably only came to know of a rebellion or a plot long after it had actually taken place, he was nevertheless made responsible for it. This myth of the almighty pope could also prevail because commentators contributed to it by reporting wrong facts:

The influence which Pius V exerted on the rebels of 1569, for instance, cannot be determined definitively. We know that by March of that year he had already discussed an invasion of England, and shortly after had sent Dr. Nicholas Morton there to explore the possibility with potential allies. It is highly probable that the papal emissary served as a catalyst for discontent among the nobility. Still, certain facts cannot be disputed. The rebels complained of more than religion; they resented all the interference of the central government, as well as Elizabeth's increasing use of commoners to advise her. They sought not to overthrow the Queen, as the Bull "Regnans in Excelsis" would have suggested, but merely to change some of her policies. More indisputably, the Rebellion broke out in November 1569, three months before the publication of that Bull. It is likely that most Catholics knew nothing of the Bull until 1571, or even, perhaps, until the arrival of the missionaries. Therefore, the Rebellion cannot be explained away as a fruit of papal intervention, nor certainly can it be blamed on the infamous Bill. The Elizabethans refused to acknowledge this sequence of events. From the beginning they depicted the Rebellion as the work of Pope Pius.<sup>519</sup>

Peter Lake, however, points out that Protestant disdain for papacy was not only fuelled by the blurred reports, but moreover, "resided [...] in the pope's denial of Christian princes' just and God-given powers over the church and [...] in his claim to be able to dissolve and alter the dictates of both natural and divine law."<sup>520</sup> Among these alterations was his right to excommunicate and depose foreign rulers. With regards to this, Lake states that "[t]he experiences of Elizabeth's

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<sup>516</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>517</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>520</sup> Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 78.

reign served to associate popery indelibly with the aggression of foreign popish powers, particularly Spain.”<sup>521</sup> Therefore, in Protestant eyes, the pope’s and the Catholic Church’s main achievement must have been that they had allowed “human authorities, traditions and practices to take over the Church; the most obvious of these was the pope’s usurpation of Christ’s role as head of Church.”<sup>522</sup>

From the Protestant point of view, Protestantism and Catholicism were two opposing forces in a binary system, in which Catholicism symbolised anti-religion, and Protestantism true religion. The differences between this anti-religion and true religion were manifold and described in a series of opposing characteristics like carnal and spiritual, inward and outward.<sup>523</sup> Peter Lake meditates on the contrasts between tyranny and liberty and light and dark – which will be of importance in this thesis later on:

The tyranny of popery consisted most obviously in the pope’s usurped claim to be the head of the Church. Through the exercise of that claim he trampled on the rights and liberties not only of the other bishops and patriarchs but also those of Christian princes. However, the tyranny of the pope was not limited to the ‘high politics’ of Church government. It consisted also in the spiritual oppression inherent in popish religion, whereby the spiritual rights and liberties of ordinary believers were subverted and destroyed. Their sense of full and free redemption in Christ was undercut by the popish stress on works; in consequence their own consciences were oppressed by the vain human traditions and laws laid upon them by the pope and his clergy. [...] Of course, this tyranny could not exist without the ignorance of the laity. The papists realized that their hold over laity would not survive exposure to the clear light of the gospel and had in consequence always opposed the spread of ‘good letters’ amongst the learned and scriptural knowledge amongst the people.<sup>524</sup>

As a consequence, the Reformation, and with it the gospel, was believed to contribute to the process of enlightenment which would bring knowledge to the people and free them from the popish stronghold. The Reformation therefore was seen as light, which would enlighten and in the end destroy the popish darkness.<sup>525</sup>

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<sup>521</sup> Ibid., p. 79. See also: Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, p. 9: “In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England was defined as Protestant, so Roman Catholicism, especially in its post-Tridentine, Jesuit manifestations, was cast as the hated and dangerous antagonist, most fearfully embodied in a papacy that claimed the right to depose monarchs.”

<sup>522</sup> Ibid., p. 74

<sup>523</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

In this vein, papacy formed “a perfectly symmetrical negative image of true Christianity”<sup>526</sup> and with this of its Protestant counterpart. A comparison of the two religions would lead to the recognition that “every negative characteristic imputed to Rome implied a positive, cultural, political or religious value which Protestants claimed as their own exclusive property.”<sup>527</sup>

However, besides the belief that they were confronted with a disciplined and unified order of Catholics which was led by an omniscient and super-human pope, Protestants feared the intelligence and propagandist measures of the Jesuits. According to Wiener, Protestants categorised Catholics into two groups, “the wily seducers and their unfortunate dupes”<sup>528</sup>, of which the first group induced the strongest notions of fear:

At every turn they feared that a loyal Protestant might be pulled into the ranks of the latter group through the clever tactics of the former. It was generally agreed that the missionaries had ‘stirred up rebellious thoughts and deeds in many, which otherwise might have shewed themselves loyall subjects’. Everywhere, lapses from the faith were blamed on the work of the clever few, such as one Henry Comberforde, who, according to the archbishop of York in 1577, had been behind most of the conversions in his jurisdiction, or Edmund Campion himself, who was marched through the streets of London, bearing the inscription, ‘This is Campion, the seducer of the People’.<sup>529</sup>

The allegedly irresistible appeals and seductive methods of the missionary priests were more than legendary and soon “grew in English mythology to seem mysterious and somehow beyond the resistance of ordinary mortals.”<sup>530</sup> Carol Wiener quotes Lewis Lewkenor, who in 1595, desperately admonished: “all Gentlemen in England ... [to] take heed and beware of their mischievous broode of caterpillars, for they spake so devoutly, looke so smoothly, and write with such counterfeited gravitie and holiness, that it is hard for any man to eschue their deadly baits...”<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid., p. 73-74.

<sup>528</sup> Wiener, p. 42.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>531</sup> Lewis Lewkenor, *A Discourse of the usage of the English Fugitives by the Spaniard*, London: printed by Thomas Scarlet for Iohn Drawater, 1595, quoted in: Wiener, p. 43.

In the Protestant mind, the Jesuits' williness sometimes verged on witchery, which was, however, quite in accordance with the overall assumption that Catholicism was tantamount to devil worship, and mass was based solely on trickery and allusion.<sup>532</sup> Wiener cites contemporary writers who expressed their fear of the supposedly extraordinary powers with which Jesuits were able to seduce ordinary men:

'Prophecies, conjuration, Nicromancie, Piromancie, and Calculation ... Witches and Sorcerers' were described as the standard equipment of papists in their attempts 'to delude thee, and all the Subiects of the Queenes most excellent majestie.' The Jesuit was said to have 'a Mandrakes voice, whose turns are cries/so piercing that the Hearer dies'. He possessed poison as venomous as the spider's, which would 'infect the heart and stomake' of those around him. He could make you believe that white is fayre black'. So great was the evil capacity of such men that they could convince a son that it was just to kill his own father.<sup>533</sup>

In opposition to the Protestant belief that all Catholics were evil, however, was the fact that in reality the majority of all English Catholics remained loyal to their sovereign and were willing to attend Protestant service. Despite their conformity they were put on the same level with those who had left England to visit Catholic seminaries on the continent. Moreover, their conformity was even regarded as dangerous, due to the fact that radical Catholics could seduce loyal and conform ones just as they were able to seduce Protestants. As has been mentioned before, Elizabeth was one of the very few who was able to distinguish between loyal English Catholics and those missionary priests who had come back to England to stir up trouble. Nevertheless, she was not willing to grant their request for toleration – because “[a]ny connection with Rome must mean disloyalty.”<sup>534</sup>

A few years later, Elizabeth's cautious policy towards all kinds of Catholics turned out to be too lax. She did not seem to have recognised the true danger of Catholicism within and without England and the strong Catholic allegiance on the European continent which had also supported the Armada in 1588. Thus, from

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<sup>532</sup> Cf. Tumbleson, p. 99: “Reason consists in the Protestant replacement of the Mass with verbalization. In attaching Catholicism, Anglican theologians redefined religion itself as based more on reason than on faith, because Papists could lay equal claim to faith, but only the Church of England possessed reason as they defined it.”

<sup>533</sup> Wiener, p. 43-44.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

then on until well into James I's reign, Catholicism had changed from an ideological threat into a real danger to the autonomy and progressing modernity of Protestant England. English Protestants feared an overthrow of their values, their ideologies of capitalism and nationalism and of their Protestantism<sup>535</sup> – and this fear would become the “fundamental emotional response towards Rome”<sup>536</sup> and the driving force behind every ideological or physical fight against Catholicism. By allowing fear to become the driving force, however, the whole rational idea of Protestantism, with which the reformers had tried to distance the new religion from the Old Faith, was somehow nullified.

However, various different reasons can be identified for this fear. On the one hand, they knew about man's nature and thus placed special emphasis on religious education:

It was this fear which was responsible for some of the stress the English placed on religious education. Since the nature of man was to choose evil, and since the Catholic evil was so potent, constant action and energy must be enlisted on the side of the truth, or evil would certainly triumph. Without proper study of the Gospel, argued Robert Cotton, ‘of what Religion is it likeliest the people will be? I suppose that few men will gainsay my assertion, that outward sence will direct them to Popery, which is fuller of Pageants than if spiritual doctrine’.<sup>537</sup>

Wiener further explains that this pessimistic view about the nature of man and the state of his soul was part of their belief, for the reason that Lutheran and Calvinistic Protestant teachings were based on the “Augustinian emphasis on the utter depravity of man after the Fall, on man's total dependence on the grace of God.”<sup>538</sup> Hence, Protestants believed they were constantly risked to be seduced by wily Catholics who promised them something more pleasing and delightful than the pleasure-void bleakness of the Protestant faith. Naturally, this persuasiveness was another reason for the Protestant fear of Rome, because it was aimed at and thrived on the depraved and pessimistic nature of the human soul, which – tired of constant self-control – was prone to seduction:

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<sup>535</sup> Cf. Tumbleson, p. 14.

<sup>536</sup> Wiener, p. 49.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

When we consider that the Protestant placed especial emphasis on the individual's responsibility for the state of his own soul and that the theme of self-discipline appeared constantly in English religious writings, we may see that to perceive the enemy as unusually persuasive was to express the fear than one might lose one's own self control. [...] All the trappings of the old faith, all the skill of her missionaries, could not have frightened Protestants so badly had they been sustained by great faith in the wisdom of the human mind. However, the Elizabethans were not optimists on the subject of human nature, and hence had not great confidence about man's ability to resist evil.<sup>539</sup>

To resist Catholicism, therefore, meant to fight it by educating people in Protestant values as well as by real physical action. A victory, however, was not dependent on superiority but on "God's providential care for the English."<sup>540</sup> The defeat of the Spanish Armada and the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason were two such incidents of sheer serendipity – the Spanish Armada, in actuality, was vastly superior to the English fleet, while the Gunpowder Plot was detected by coincidence. Thus, the basis for English certainty that God was on their side rested on their belief that the Catholics would not accept defeat:

The drive and determination of the Roman Church were articles of faith for many Englishmen. They found it difficult to imagine the Catholics accepting a set-back. After the dispersal of the Armada in August 1588, Lord Admiral Howard wrote to Francis Walsingham that he fully expected another attack, 'for I thynk they dare not retourne with this dishonor and shame to ther k[ing] and overthrow of there pop[e]s credit'. The Pope was a creature of 'unsatiabie desire'.<sup>541</sup>

Furthermore, to deny that God was on their side would question God's omnipotence. English Protestants, therefore, believed that they were forced to fight against Catholicism whenever it was necessary and to rely on God's help. These circumstances, however, did not serve to strengthen their hope; they rather increased their anxiety: "Englishmen, on the whole, over-estimated the abilities of their enemy; [...] when they spoke of God's intervention on their behalf, the emotional emphasis was most often on their inability to do without that

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<sup>539</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>540</sup> Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 79.

<sup>541</sup> Wiener, p. 49-50.

intervention,<sup>542</sup> so that they did not primarily focus on the intervention itself, but on the possibility of their failure.

Carol Wiener points out that the irrational Protestant fear was additionally fuelled by a certain frustration concerning their high expectations at the beginning of the Reformation, and that this combination of fear and frustration was essential for the development of a national anti-Catholicism:

English anti-Catholicism was a nation-wide response to an international situation which probably appeared very threatening. The fact that the Protestants had hoped for so much in the early days of reform, the fact that many had expected to see the Roman Church fall within their own generation, simply made the long, drawn-out struggle seem more intolerable.<sup>543</sup>

The English brand of anti-Catholicism, thus, can be seen as a result of events and beliefs and, moreover, as a product of fear and misconceptions. Yet, whereas it fuelled the anxieties, on the one hand, it helped to shape a new national unity on the other hand – a Protestant national identity, which helped to strengthen the Protestant optimism and confidence in their fight against Catholicism. Wiener, therefore, interprets English anti-Catholicism as symbolic of Elizabethan optimism and pessimism and suggests that:

The anti-Catholicism which permeated the age expressed both aspects. Elizabethan optimism was the optimism of conviction. Protestantism gave England an ideology, and ideology can give a people the energy and drive which belong to those who are sure that they alone see the right way. The fears and doubts did not concern the direction which should be taken, but the possibility of staying on the path. Ideologues have few qualms about what is right, but infinite misgivings about the rest of the world. The English felt surrounded by hostile forces; despite their great hopes, they could not overcome pessimism which told them that they might be swamped, eventually, by the forces of evil.<sup>544</sup>

Thus, besides generating fear, anti-Catholic sentiments also probably supported the emergence of another phenomenon – a feeling of unity among Protestants. Individualism and the feeling that everyone was fighting for his or her own against a united and disciplined Catholicism had shaped the self-image of

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<sup>542</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

Protestantism during the first years of reformatory England; the events during Elizabeth's and James' reigns helped English Protestants to develop the feeling that they had finally formed a unified front. Furthermore, the nature of this unity was inherently English with a common faith and a common goal. However, this sense of community could only emerge from the belief that the English were united in their Protestantism and Englishness, which eventually formed their nationalist image. Thus, as Marotti has claimed, English nationalism was inherently Protestant. The enemy, therefore, had to be characterised as un-English and foreign in order to be able to demarcate good from evil and to finally characterise Catholicism as something 'other', something strange, which was neither native to nor desired in England. With regards to the process of 'othering' Catholicism in England, Peter Lake points out:

[...] the Protestant image of popery allowed a number of disparate phenomena to be associated to form a unitary thing or force. That force could then be located within a certain eschatological framework, which, by explaining where popery came from, accounted for its awful more-than-human power, but did so in a way that made it quite clear that in the end Antichrist would fall and the gospel triumph. Viewed in this way, the world took on the shape of a progressive and therefore ultimately predictable struggle between Christ and Antichrist, and thus became the ground for the collective action of Protestants, who had been called together positively by their common apprehension of the truths of right doctrine and negatively by their common opposition to the threat of Rome. Popery thus became a unifying 'other' in the presence of which all those not directly implicated in the problem (popery) became part of the solution (non-popery). In this way Protestants, who had started Elizabeth's reign as a minority (probably a small minority) had been able to produce an image of England as inherently Protestant because Protestantism's opposite, popery, was inherently foreign.<sup>545</sup>

Thereby, Protestants were united in their common belief that their religion was the only true religion and that they had to protect England from foreign Catholic forces. In this way, English Catholics lost their national identity and became as un-English as Spanish or Italian Catholics. Being English was not a matter of being loyal to the sovereign anymore, but of being Protestant. Anti-Catholicism, thus, became a pillar of English nationalism.

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<sup>545</sup> Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 82.

With regards to the exclusion of English Catholics, Peter Lake draws a parallel with the prosecution of witches and healers during the Middle Ages and points out that “anti-popery operated through precisely the same sort of binary oppositions and inversions”<sup>546</sup>, which when appearing during a time when “the moral and cultural boundaries of groups or societies shift or are placed under threat”, help to develop such “threatening ideal types of deviance and ‘otherness’”<sup>547</sup> as was the case with both the alleged witches and the English Catholics.<sup>548</sup> Thus, externalising the enemy enabled Protestants to physically and mentally refrain from their own compatriots and actually made them believe that being Catholic equated being un-English and foreign. This opinion forming process, however, eventually developed so far that James was unable to carry through with his plans to marry his son to the Spanish infanta. The sheer notion of a Catholic at court created panic among his subjects<sup>549</sup>, so that Charles in the end abandoned the idea of marrying a Spaniard and withdrew from the contract – which, as has been mentioned before, caused exuberant celebrations among the English.

Thus, Catholicism had become “a unifying ‘other’<sup>550</sup>, an inherently un-English or alien force whose intrusive influence within the English Church and political system brought disagreement and conflict in its wake.”<sup>551</sup> To avoid conflicts and protect the church and state, the only response was anti-Catholicism – a common English anti-Catholicism which – during the short period of about 100 years – had had a lasting effect on English nationalism for the near and distant future.

That choice [anti-Catholicism] may not often have been approached in a spirit of rational detachment, but that need not surprise us given what was at stake. Certainly anti-popery appealed to people’s emotions. It did so because it incorporated deeply held beliefs and values and it helped to dramatize and

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<sup>546</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>548</sup> As will be discussed later on, the process of prosecuting Catholics did not only have parallels with the prosecution of witches and healers during the Middle Ages, but also with the prosecution of Muslims during the Holy Crusades or the prosecution of Jews during the Third Reich.

<sup>549</sup> Cf. Clifton, p. 23.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. also Tumbleson, p. 101: “Anglican attacks on Catholic doctrines such as transubstantiation assume for themselves a central subject position of rationality from which they construct the Catholic other as irrational, its ‘lived body’ of traditive accretion ‘revealed to erudite curiosity through a corpus of texts’ as an ‘exoticism, similar to that which once attracted the ethnologist to the ‘savages’ of the forest or the French sorcerers.”

<sup>551</sup> Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England”, p. 94.

exorcize the fears and anxieties produced when those values came under threat. But that, surely, is what political ideologies do, and it is from their capacity to do it that they derive their ability to motivate and mobilize large numbers of people.<sup>552</sup>

Thus, anti-Catholicism, which once had been “the private obsession”<sup>553</sup> of a few religious fanatics, became a mass movement and part of English national ideology. Wiener claims that “no good Englishman could have defined his national identity without some mention of his distaste for Rome”<sup>554</sup> by the time Elizabeth had died and thus implies that anti-Catholicism had permeated every social class regardless of ethnicity, position, education or work.

One group, which was held in high regard during Elizabeth’s and James’ reigns, were the playwrights. Not only were they supported and promoted by their respective sovereigns, moreover, they were highly respected and well-loved among the people, because their works were the foundation for the most popular form of entertainment – the theatre. And since theatre was so popular, the demand for new plays was high, so that the playwrights were under pressure to constantly produce new material for the theatres. Certainly, the most important criteria for a play were to please the audience, to present them with plots that appealed to their emotions and their taste and thus with impressive and memorable characters. However, since these playwrights were witnesses of the same contemporary events like their audience, their ideas for stories and plots were influenced by these very same events.<sup>555</sup>

As has been shown in the previous chapter, contemporary topics like the fear of Catholics, anti-Catholicism as such and the attacks by foreign and English Catholics necessarily found their way into the dramatic works composed during this time. In a second step, however, these dramatic texts and their representation of anti-Catholicism have to be compared with the actual events and developments in England and of the collective mind, in order to be able to establish a mutual link between literature and politics and current events. It will be necessary to find out to what extent the fear of Catholicism is mirrored in the dramatic texts as well

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<sup>552</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>553</sup> Wiener, p. 27

<sup>554</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>555</sup> This notion resembles, among others, the theoretical approach of the New Historicists.

as to how far the process of 'othering' and alienating Catholics was picked up and implemented by the playwrights. In a final step, the discussion will aim at proving that the reciprocal quality of the influence between literature and politics was decisive for the emergence of an intrinsic anti-Catholic English national identity.

## 5.2 Literary dependence and influence on the English mind-set

### 5.2.1 Single Catholic characters

The two parts of *Henry VI*, *The Life and Death of King John*, *The White Devil*, *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Cardinal* present individual Catholic characters mostly holding higher and powerful positions in the Catholic Church. The first impression the audience receives of these characters is given by other characters who are talking about these churchmen or addressing them in an unkindly manner. The first thing that is known about the Bishop of Winchester, for example, is Gloucester's accusation that he had prayed against the former king and, thus, is responsible for his death, and in addition, that he loves the flesh more than religion (*IHVI*, I.i.41).<sup>556</sup>

Despite his polite and humble greeting, Pandulph is verbally attacked by the king, who claims that the cardinal is disrespectful and defiant. The same is said about the cardinal brother of the Duchess of Malfi, who is known to gamble, to fight, to court ladies, and to have connections to the underworld (*DM*, I.i.146-148), of which he infamously makes use for achieving his goals. The titular character of James Shirley's play, however, is most notorious for his power and influence over the king – namely, he is known to have spies in every corner of the kingdom. Monticelso, on the other hand, initially does not appear to be a devious character, but disproves this assumption as soon as he enters the court and takes over the roles of lawyer and judge in order to condemn Vittoria Corrombona.

Thus, the first impressions of these characters are throughout marked by mistrust and hypocrisy. First of all, none of the cardinals seem to respect or obey

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<sup>556</sup> In the following all plays will be abbreviated as follows: *Doctor Faustus* – *DF*; *Henry VI, Parts One & Two* – *IHVI*, *2HVI*; *The Life and Death of King John* – *KJ*; *The Massacre at Paris* – *MP*; *The Whore of Babylon* – *WB*; *The White Devil* – *WD*; *The Duchess of Malfi* – *DM*; *A Game at Chess* – *GC*; *The Cardinal* – *TC*.

any higher authority. Some of them disrespect the church by breaking their vows of celibacy, by indulging in carnal desires, pursuing secular delights or abusing their position in the church to gain power and influence at court when, on the surface, they pretend to be pious or reverend churchmen.

However, their deeds must be common knowledge for the public, because the other characters would neither know nor talk about them otherwise. Yet, since they are protected by the Catholic Church no one is able to take action or proceed against them. Thus, from the beginning these Catholic characters are presented as "godless and totally egocentric"<sup>557</sup> Machiavels<sup>558</sup>, as untrustworthy and corrupt and the dramatic world in which they appear seems to be unable to resist and act against them. The Catholic Church turns a blind eye to their deeds and instead protects and rewards them for the very reason that the cardinals' power is always also the church's power.

On the one hand, these characters were shaped after the model of the Vice and the Machiavel and thus intrinsically signalled to the audience that they were evil; on the other hand, the audience knew from governmental decrees and statutes that Catholics posed a danger to the realm and the monarch, and that their single purpose was to "stir up foreign princes against us to the invasion of conquest of our kingdom."<sup>559</sup> Thus, the combination of these old theatrical evil types with contemporary models of evil on stage must have served to magnify the impression that being *Catholic* meant being *evil*. The Catholic danger displayed on stage, thus, was fed from two different sources: the Machiavellian Vice character and, for instance, the notorious seductive and alluring powers of the Jesuits and

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<sup>557</sup> Scott, p. 161.

<sup>558</sup> Here again the difference between Machiavelli and the stage Machiavel becomes clear. According to Marrapodi, "This mixture of political plotting and excessive sexuality characterizes the Elizabethan exploitation of Italy's Renaissance courts in many Jacobean plays. Moreover, the frequent misinterpretation of Machiavelli's prince as an atheistic, deceitful villain and plotter, as derived from the *Contre-Machiavel* by Gentillet, was responsible for the pejorative meaning that "policy," "politic," and derivatives carried on the Tudor and Stuart stages. Finally, the Italophobic prejudice arising from contemporary travelers' reports and various defamatory writings completes the evil side of the Italian picture, providing a perfect setting for both comedy and tragedy and contributing to the semantic construction of the Italianate court as a crossroads to multiple vices." Marrapodi, "Retaliation", p. 196-197.

<sup>559</sup> Elizabeth's *Proclamation against Jesuits*, quoted in Wiener, p. 39.

seminary priests. The display of murdering, raping and abusing cardinals, therefore, must have at least partly fed into the audience's real fear of Catholics.

The Bishop of Winchester, for example, tries to manipulate the dukes in act I by telling them that Gloucester is the next heir to the throne and therefore poses an imminent danger to the king (*IHVI*, I.i.146-163). Gloucester, however, had pointed out shortly before that the bishop was a "scarlet hypocrite" (*IHVI*, I.iii.56) and that dealing with him was dangerous – a claim the bishop later confirms when he tries to stir up the others against Gloucester. Pandulph, having been harshly addressed by the king, curses and excommunicates him and promises to bless the one who takes away his "hateful life" (*KJ*, III.i.179).

Monticelso, on the other hand, manipulates and abuses the legal system in order to sentence Vittoria Corrombona – neither having evidence for his accusations, nor any reason for it but personal revenge and satisfaction. And Shirley's Cardinal finally has so much power at court that he can accuse the king of having ruined his nephew, Columbo, although the Cardinal himself has contributed to his nephew's downfall and death. Nevertheless, the Cardinal's manipulative powers are so far-reaching that he can actually give orders to the king and not vice versa (*TC*, III.ii.175-177).

Besides the fact that "the corruption of the law, sartorial excess, papacy in all its aspects [...] and the frailties of the feminine sex"<sup>560</sup> were subjects frequently used and "satirized"<sup>561</sup> by the Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights, the influence and power displayed on stage was what the audience must have feared most about the Catholics. Besides being able to manipulate and seduce the common Protestant soul, the greatest threat to the Protestant court was that Catholics gained power and influence and perhaps being able to manipulate the sovereign and endanger the progress of the Reformation – wanting to throw England back into Catholic structures.

It seems as if the violence and brutality these cardinals display and indulge in on stage helped to stir up the fantasy of the audience. On the one hand, the playwrights had these characters clad in the well-known vestments of the Vice and the Machiavel and thus, induced the audience to prejudge them as evil. On the

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<sup>560</sup> Spivack. p. 118.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

other hand, the brutality of Mary I's reign was still fresh in their minds and irreversibly linked to Catholicism, so that they could easily see parallels between their memories and the action on stage and thus ran the risk of completely overestimating the physical threat Catholics, off-stage, actually posed.

Cardinal Beaufort, for example, provokes and irritates Gloucester so heavily that the latter challenges the cardinal to a duel. Beaufort, however, never intends to fight a duel against the duke and instead hires an executioner (*2HVI*, III.i.273-277). The most provocative aspect of this scene is that the queen consents to this duel because she desires Gloucester to be eliminated as well. Thus, in this case Beaufort does not only prove to be a dangerous character, but an influential one as well, because he can convince the queen of the necessity to kill Gloucester and thus represents the worst nightmare of the audience.

Pandulph's prophecy that John will probably have to kill young Arthur and his advice to the French King to wage war against the English King (*KJ*, III.i.253-261) whom he wants to "discipline"<sup>562</sup> confirm fears that the cardinal neither intends to avoid war nor respects the English King. To establish justice – in his own sense – he would without any scruple support a military campaign.

Cardinal Monticelso, on the other hand, poses a different kind of threat. Besides being able to manipulate a whole court and defy the law, he further attracts attention by his statement that he would not shrink back from murder to take revenge (*WD*, II.i.385-387). Thus, personal justice by revenge seems to be of higher value for him than a human life.

Further evidence of his malign character is given when he persuades Francisco to take revenge for his sister's murder and lends him a book containing the names of murderers, thieves and panderers (*WD*, IV.i.46-62). By only providing the book he keeps his hands clean, although he actually actively participates in a murder. For an impartial audience this could have looked like the workings of a traditional stage Machiavel; however, due to the fact that he is clad in the vestments of a cardinal, this must have looked like a symbolic display of the devious and dangerous nature of Catholic dignitaries the English have been warned about by their government.

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<sup>562</sup> Battenhouse, p. 143.

In contrast to Monticelso, the brother of the Duchess of Malfi is not particularly concerned with keeping his hands clean and is notorious for actively or passively committing homicide. Bosola even compares him with murder and states that the cardinal is the personification of death, sin and evil (*DM*, V.ii.142-143), and thereby clearly puts him in the tradition of the medieval Vice and the stage Machiavel.<sup>563</sup> Yet, as in *The White Devil*, the stage villain is again wearing the robes of a Catholic dignitary and thus prone to being prejudged. However, proof for Bosola's accusation is not long in coming, when the cardinal first kills his mistress Julia by having her kiss a poisoned Bible – a deed which in itself is most gruesome, because he uses the foundation of Christendom, the book which serves as a guideline for a good, Christian life, a religious item most people do not associate with evil – and then plans to kill Bosola, whom he had hired to kill his sister.

Shirley's cardinal, however, unites all evil character traits of the others in one person. He is not only feared for his intelligencers, who lurk all over the kingdom, but also for his influence on the king and thus at court and for his merciless dealing with persons he does not approve of or simply does not like. His behaviour confirms all stereotypes and worst prejudices the audience could have with regards to the threat posed by a Catholic villain. He is not only manipulative and able to influence the king and his decisions; moreover, he reveals to the audience his plans for Rosaura, which entail not only her murder, but her destruction. His monologues, in which he plans the rape and the poisoning of Rosaura and regrets the fact that she lost her mind and thus probably is unable to really feel the full extent of his revenge (*TC*, V.i.29-46; 86-99), offer the audience an insight into his character, which is so horrible and shocking that it must have played to the core, elemental fears of the Protestant audience.

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<sup>563</sup> Cf. Weimann, p. 154: "Insofar as the Vice is an allegorical manifestation of sin, this conflict cuts right through his motley being, drawing sustenance from quite orthodox sources: the Psychomachia, traditions of allegory like the Seven Deadly Sins, and contemporary sermons.;" Armstrong, p.32: "[There are] multiple connexions which an educated Elizabethan saw between the ambitious, usurping Machiavellian tyrant and the supreme author of evil. His evil yet titanic passion of ambition was epitomized for them by the aspiring pride of Lucifer, while his several deadly sins made him seem an embodiment of vice, and his resemblance to Satan and the denizens of hell is asserted by recurring patterns of imagery. The Machiavellianism of the stage tyrant was yet another characteristic which associated him with the forces of Antichrist."

Yet, Shirley still was able to increase the brutality, when he has the Cardinal first poison Rosaura and then when facing death himself, giving her an antidote which in the end was the actual poison (*TC*, V.iii.254-258). Therewith, he first sparked a sense of hope in the Duchess and the audience that she might be saved but he then crushes this hope by revealing to her that she was not going to die until the moment she drank the alleged antidote.

The Cardinal does not only unite all evil traits in one character, he also surpasses all the evil deeds of the other Catholic villains by far. Thus, with the continuing development and maintenance of anti-Catholic sentiments in the English population over the time span of more than a hundred years, the viciousness and the degree of manipulative techniques of Catholic characters on stage increased as well. The rise in theatrical violence, therefore, could be regarded as a mirror for the growing Protestant fears of Catholics and for the increasing amount of brutality the Protestants thought all Catholics capable of. In the English mind it seems to have become an established fact that the longer the European Catholics fought to re-conquer England, the more brutal and reckless they proceeded and the more manipulative they became.

The third source of Protestant fear which found its way to the stage constituted the power of the pope and his toleration of the criminal acts committed by members of his church. Thus, in *Henry VI, Part One* Winchester is rewarded for his deeds by becoming cardinal, and the audience witnesses how he gives money to a messenger and tells him to deliver it to the pope for "clothing me in these grave ornaments" (*IHVI*, V.i.54). Although there is no evidence that the pope was involved in the execution of Gloucester by ordering or approving it, he nevertheless rewards Winchester for his deeds. In this case the pope is not portrayed as a superhuman, but rather as a patron. He rewards Winchester instead of punishing him and thus does not participate in the re-establishment of justice.

The same happens in *The White Devil* when Monticelso, who proved to be an unreliable, dishonourable or deceptive character, is elected pope. Although the Catholic dignitaries who elected him pope must have known of his breeching the law in the Paduan court and his tendency to engage in personal revenge schemes, they nevertheless made him the head of their church. A circumstance which was

suspected by Vittoria Corrombona, who upon hearing her sentence, says that the "house of convertites" to which she was confined was "honester [...] Than the Pope's palace" (*WD*, III.ii.290-291). Here she implies and confirms to the audience that the Vatican must be corrupt and allows people like Monticelso, whose deeds prove to be valuable within the moral system of the church, to rise in the same. Again, injustice is not punished, but quite to the contrary, fully rewarded.

The other cardinals mostly work without direct order or influence of the pope. They are nevertheless protected by the Catholic Church, and their deeds are tolerated and hushed up as far as possible. In all cases the church fails to punish them, and moreover, there seems to be no interest on the part of the church to prevent or investigate the criminal acts their cardinals commit under the guise of religion and the church. The Catholic Church in these plays, thus, is presented as an institution accepting and supporting dubious and, in most cases, criminal activities by their members and consequentially is portrayed as an institution which is not serving and protecting men, but endangering and harming them.

### 5.2.2 Catholic leagues

In contrast to the five plays discussed above, *The Massacre at Paris* features not one single villainous character, but a whole Catholic league which tries to exterminate the Protestant Huguenot minority in Paris. Marlowe's play, nevertheless, contains the same contemporary topics and themes, yet due to the fact that Catholicism is not represented by one single villainous character but by many different vicious characters, Marlowe is able to intensify the aspects of fear and unity and elaborate on them in more detail. So right from the beginning, a bilateral basis consisting of the dangerous nature of the French Catholics and the fearful attitude of the Protestant Huguenots towards the French is established.

Right after the wedding the Catholic queen mother, one of the leading Vice characters, swears to break the union between her daughter and the Protestant Navarre with "blood and cruelty" (*MP*, i,25), and Navarre utters his fears about the Duke of Guise to the Lord Admiral and the Prince of Condé, stating that he does not trust Guise, because he had sworn to "murder all the Protestants" (*MP*,

i,30). Further misgivings among the Protestants are generated by the Duke's close connection to the pope, because they know that the Duke only bears true allegiance to the pope and that the pope, on the other hand, "ratifies" anything the Duke does (*MP*, i,39). This and the Duke of Guise's statement that he receives support from "the stately Catholics" (*MP*, ii,60-62) of Spain and the Vatican in his plans to murder all Parisian Huguenots, serve to establish an image of a united and strong Catholic front against which the Huguenot minority does not stand the slightest chance. This image was familiar to the audience, because they had lived with the assumption that their enemy was a "highly organized and united front"<sup>564</sup> against which they – a "collection of disparate individuals"<sup>565</sup> – stood no chance. Moreover, their misconception of the pope, whom they accused of supporting and initiating any attack against England and the English monarch, was ratified, if not magnified, on stage by Condé's statement that the pope approves of anything the Duke of Guise does.

However, fears about the Duke of Guise, both of the audience's as well as the characters', are absolutely justified. The Duke's first action is to poison Navarre's mother, and when he orders the killing of the Protestants he demands of his troops to "wear white crosses on their burgonets/ And tie white linen scarfs about their arms" (*MP*, iv,30-31). This is a clear misuse and perversion of a colour symbolising innocence, peace and purity. On the one hand, the prospect of these white linen scarves drenched in blood can be seen as a metaphorical besmirching of Protestantism itself, which always presented itself as pure and innocent. Yet, by being stained in blood, Protestantism seems to be converted to Catholicism, which is often represented as scarlet or purple. On the other hand, the perversion of the colour white symbolises the justified mistrust in Catholics, because by disguising themselves as innocent Protestants, the French Catholics feign allegiance and gain trust, only to abuse this trust in the worst way and kill the Protestants. This could also be seen as an exaggerated and magnified image of the Protestant fear of being seduced and lured into a trap by the seminary priests.

However, after the massacre Marlowe successfully turns the page by presenting the audience with the actual disunity of the French Catholics, while

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<sup>564</sup> Wiener, p. 30.

<sup>565</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

building up a Protestant unity. Catherine decides to sacrifice her son, Charles, King of France, for the cause of the Catholics and introduces her son Anjou to the French throne. Anjou, now Henry III, however, soon changes sides and allies with Navarre, who has raised an army to fight against the French. Navarre, however, can not only count on Henry's support, but also on the English Queen (*MP*, xviii,15). Thus, within a very short time the Protestants establish a united front, whereas the French Catholic camp begins to disintegrate.

Marlowe even offers the audience an explanation for this twist by revealing Guise's true intentions and Navarre's trust in God's help – which is characteristically Protestant. When Guise is asked for what purpose he raises an army against the Huguenots, his answer that it was “for the Gospel sake” (*MP*, ix,21) is retorted by Henry's advisor with the accusation that it was only “for the Pope's sake, and thine own benefit” (*MP*, ix,22). Marlowe disunites the Catholic league by compromising the Vices and strengthening the good Catholic characters.

Navarre, then raises an army against the Duke, confiding in God's help which reflects the English Protestant conviction that God was on their side in the fight against Catholicism (*MP*, xx,26) and the help of the Catholic French King, Henry III. In this scene Marlowe confronts Catholic greed and self-indulgence with Protestant faith and trust in God, thus confronts evil with good, but moreover also shows that not all Catholics are entirely evil. He rather tries to convince the audience that those fighting for the good cause will prevail and grow, whereas those on the evil side will soon turn against each other and with this weaken themselves – and he shows that even a Catholic like Henry can be beneficial for the Protestant cause.

Thus, in the end the Protestants defeat Guise and his allies, and although a friar stabs Henry, he leaves the audience with the impression that the newly formed Protestant bond will prevail and be able to stand up against the Catholics by proclaiming “eternal love” (*MP*, xiv,68) to the English Queen and blessing her for hating Catholics. This must have made an ambiguous impression on the audience: on the one hand, they were confirmed in the righteousness of their queen's actions, but on the other hand, this confirmation was made by a Catholic and thus

to be viewed with caution. It could be assumed that besides all anti-Catholic notions in *The Massacre at Paris*, Marlowe tried to show the audience that not all Catholics are automatically evil – or that they can be used for good as long as the cause is Protestant.

Yet, when Navarre becomes King of France, he swears to take revenge for Henry's death – with this, France not only becomes Protestant again, but also, the first Protestant nation which vows to attack "Rome and all those popish prelates there" (*MP*, xiv,109). Thus, in the scope of the play the Protestants develop from a prosecuted and more or less defenceless minority to a strong unity which considers itself able to attack Rome and the pope.

### 5.2.3 Allegorical Catholics

The most comprehensive conversion of contemporary topics into thematic aspects of a drama, however, can be found in the two allegorical plays *The Whore of Babylon* and *A Game at Chess*. In the case of *The Whore of Babylon* the one major theme which functions as the basis for the development of the plot is the dichotomy of good and evil. This binary system is represented in the settings Fairy Land and Babylon, in the rulers Titania and the Empress, and in the mentality and quality of the characters of the opposing fractions. Peter Lake's assumption that in the Protestant mind, Protestantism and Catholicism formed a binary opposition in which papacy represents anti-religion and with this a "perfectly symmetrical negative image of true Christianity"<sup>566</sup>, which was then again represented by the only true religion, Protestantism, is perfectly implemented in *The Whore of Babylon*. The Empress, Babylon and her allies constitute the ultimate evil, whereas Titania and Fairy Land are presented as the ultimate good.

The Empress' reign is based on tyranny and oppression. In creating her and her realm Dekker used many well-known elements ranging from the medieval Vice to the Senecan tyrant and the prejudged English image of Italy. He never mentions the religious affiliations of the two opposing parties, but trusts on the audience's

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<sup>566</sup> Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 73.

biased mind-set which would automatically interpret the action on stage as a representation of the religious conflict between Protestant England and the Catholic continent.

Thus, Dekker's accomplishment to create a dualistic world of heaven and hell is mainly based on the common mind set of his audience, in which Protestantism and the Protestant world represent heaven, light, freedom and peace, whereas Rome/ Babylon represent hell, darkness, oppression and tyranny.<sup>567</sup> Within this fictional binary world he then incorporates Senecan tyranny, medieval viciousness and Machiavellian cunning and trusts on the audience's prepossession to reduce all evilness to one common denominator: Catholicism. Thus, among other things, his Protestant audience recognized the accusation that Catholics have ceased to worship God and instead worship his creatures and practice idolatry, which is mirrored in the Empress' first appearance and her assumption that her appearance equals that of God or Caesar (*WB*, I.i.1;36). This, however, directly corresponds to another accusation, which is that the pope usurped Christ's role as head of church and even aggravates this claim by comparing the Empress to God in her splendid and magnificent appearance.

The Empress' plans to re-conquer Fairy Land entail the deployment of Catholic sovereigns who shall woo Titania, in order to flatter her into marrying one of them and the deployment of missionary priests who shall seduce and indoctrinate Titania's subjects. Besides this planned double infiltration, the cardinals discuss the status of their spies at Titania's court, implying that Fairy Land already is spied out and "infected" (*WB*, IV.ii.165). These manipulative techniques can be interpreted as the audience's worst fears that this might happen in England sooner or later, too and appealed to the common conviction that the pope was the driving force behind any infiltration or assassination coming from the Catholic continent.

Moreover, the fictional Spanish King references actual English fears and beliefs when he reports to the Empress that the Fairies accuse her of being a tyrant and gives an account of their hatred and fear of the Empress and anything which is connected to her. This fear proves to be true, when the Empress reveals to her allies and the audience her plans for the Armada and demands of her soldiers to

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<sup>567</sup> Cf. Lake, "Conflict in Early Stuart England", p. 76.

kill the newborns and the elderly, to soak the grounds in blood, to “burn, batter, kill/ Blow up, pull down, ruin all” (*WB*, IV.iv.120-121). Here again, Dekker applied many traditional stereotypes, above all the destructive nature of the stage Machiavel, whose ignorance of all “moral barriers to the wholesale slaughter of any who oppose him, to rebellion, civil war, or usurpation”<sup>568</sup> is perfectly resembled in the Empress’ demand. Nevertheless, in the end, her actual complex evilness might be reduced to one single root: Catholicism.

In opposition to this, Dekker’s description of Fairy Land appealed to the audience’s belief that Fairy Land was England and their deep-held conviction that their religion was the only true religion by having the Empress raging about the fact that God seems to tolerate and support Titania (*WB*, I.i.54). Dekker further increases this notion by calling Fairy Land the Holy Land (*WB*, I.ii.189) and implying that the defeat of the fictional (and real) Armada “was bound by higher laws” (*WB*, V.vi.58), confirming “God’s providential care for the English.”<sup>569</sup>

*The Whore of Babylon*, therefore, can be regarded as a mirror and retrospective of the common Protestant convictions, fears and prejudices towards Catholicism and as a manipulated retelling of past events from a pro-Protestant point of view. Dekker’s play confirms and pursues Wiener’s assumption that a “consistent misinterpretation of the sequence of events”<sup>570</sup> and “the reporting of wrong facts”<sup>571</sup> led to an over-estimation of the pope’s powers and the Catholic unity by presenting a pope-like figure, the Empress, on whom he put the responsibility for almost all attacks aimed at England or the English Queen. Dekker’s Empress initiates and plans the Armada as well as the assassination attempts of Lopez and Parry and delegates tasks to the Spanish and French King, to seminary priests and cardinals. In Dekker’s allegory any attack can be interpreted as directly coming from Rome or the pope, which then again was in compliance with the pamphlets and ballads published a few years earlier during Elizabeth’s reign. This simplified way of retelling events and accusing the enemy was in direct relation to what the audience knew from propagandist texts and thus probably had come to believe.

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<sup>568</sup> Scott, p. 166.

<sup>569</sup> Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England”, p. 79.

<sup>570</sup> Wiener, p. 33.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Thus appealing to and corresponding with the audience's knowledge, emotions, beliefs and convictions. Dekker, therefore, probably just focused on what his audience expected to see when he composed the binary world of this anti-Catholic allegory.

Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, however, presents a completely different type of allegory. Although the world he creates works most obviously off of a dichotomy – as symbolized by the good White House and the evil Black House – his opposing factions are not fighting against each other in a bloody or warlike way – they are rather operating tactically and strategically. Furthermore, Middleton's black pieces are not ultimately evil or dangerous and they do not follow plans of violently overthrowing the White House, they are more interested in seducing members of the White House. In portraying the members of the Black House, which are mostly introduced as Jesuits, Middleton simply expanded the meaning of the word 'seducing' to cover not only mental or spiritual seduction, but moreover, sexual seduction. Thus, the essential difference between the Black and the White House is their excessive, or lack of sexual interest, respectively. Whereas the White House consists of virgins and noble gentlemen, who do not seem to be interested in their own sexuality, not to mention that of the female members of their house, the Black House's members are obsessively focussed on their lust and sexual activities. Thus, whenever a member of the White House is confronted with a member of the Black House, he or she is forced to reject their sexual advances, be it the White Queen's Pawn who is nearly raped by the Black Bishop's Pawn, or the White Queen for whose "prostitution" the Black King's "blood burns" (*GC*, IV.v.16).

Although the Black House claims that their ultimate goal is the erection of a universal monarchy and that they already have infiltrated the White House with intelligencers, their only way of operating and of conquering the White House seems to be a libidinal one. Middleton, therefore, does not create hateful and despicable Catholic characters that appeal to the audience's fears; rather he plays with the audience's prejudices and depicts them in a completely harmless way. Although the Black House at times manages to capture a member of the White

House, the captives are never seriously exposed to danger. In fact, after a short time they are freed again, because the White House – naive as it might be – finds out about the Black's techniques and lies and is able to turn the match for its benefit.

Thus, neither the use of witchcraft nor characters like the White King's Pawn or the Fat Bishop, who defect to the Black House, can weaken the White House. Quite to the contrary, those who decided to join the Black House are not even able to serve it, because they are instantly removed from the game and put into the bag. Due to their singular sexual interest the members of the Black House are doomed to failure.

In the end it is the White Knight who understands the nature of the Black House and exposes the Black King by eliciting from him the confession of being hypocritical, which he calls the "only prime-state virtue upon earth" (*GC*, V.iii.151). Thus, Middleton's saviour of the White House uses the manipulative techniques of the Blacks to defeat the Black House. Thus, it is not only the White's innocence and virtuousness which saves them, but also their ability to see through and apply the Black House's methods. The White House, therefore, is just as innocent as the Black House is evil.

In his allegory Middleton goes one step further than his predecessors by not generating fear, prejudices or anti-Catholic sentiments, but by relying on them. The success of his play is based on the audience's beliefs and convictions and the ridiculous way in which he portrays the Catholic Black House.

#### 5.2.4 Methods of isolation and alienation

Besides the unfavourable and fear-inducing portrayal of their Catholic characters, all the plays have in common that these portrayals always are based on or lead to a dissociation from society. This means that the way Catholics are depicted in the plays creates a dividing line between those Catholics and the rest of the characters. Concerning the rest of the characters, it does not seem to play any role if they committed a crime or did wrong. As soon as they fall victim to a Catholic character, their victimhood qualifies them for membership on the good side.

This isolation of single Catholic characters or, in the case of Catholic groups, the erection a moral-deterministic wall between the Catholic group and the Protestant group, which decides incontrovertibly which of the two sides is good and which is evil, is accomplished by the employment of different methods and techniques and by applying certain symbols and motifs. In both cases the Catholic characters are isolated from the rest of the characters.

#### 5.2.4.1 Isolating spheres

Before turning to character isolation, it is important to consider the 'sphere' of the plays. The word 'sphere' implies not only the spatial setting of the play but also connections to other settings, and as such, the whole atmosphere of the play. In the case of *The Whore of Babylon*, *The White Devil*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Cardinal* the play is either completely or partially set in Italy, or in an allegorical version of Italy, respectively. As has been mentioned earlier, the English idea of Italy was tainted by prejudices and the fear for Rome; thus the Italian setting provided a sphere which was the "perfect negative image of England":

...the cross-cultured perception of Italy also reveals itself to be the reverse of everything English. Perception is always determined by 'the beholder's share', and this share can be traced in the very Englishness of Elizabethan/Jacobean Italies: "Italian" vices are metropolitan vices and in fact duplicate those in the home life of their own dear Queen. [...] Italy became important to the English dramatists only when "Italy" was revealed as an aspect of England.' It is precisely this otherness, which had once served to construct vice as the negative side of virtue, that now determines the view of Italy as the negative side of England.<sup>572</sup>

Thus, in the case of the plays discussed, the choice of an Italian setting already implies a process of isolating the action and characters on stage. Within this other world further methods of alienating single characters are possible to identify the Catholic stage villain.

The same could be said for *The Massacre at Paris*, because the action is set in France, which also was a part of the Catholic continent during the Elizabethan time. Moreover, the French Catholics are closely connected with Rome and the

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<sup>572</sup> Mahler, p. 51.

pope – another aspect which causes isolation. Thus, when the play is not set in Italy, as it is the case with *Doctor Faustus*, *Henry VI, Parts One & Two* and *The Life and Death of King John*, those characters, who are in contact with Rome or the pope and receive orders from them, are isolated merely because of this Italian connection.

#### 5.2.4.2 Character isolation

Besides, another six different ways of alienating the Catholic stage villain from the rest of the dramatis personae can be determined; the first being the theatrical tradition on which these characters are based. By constructing them as Machiavels and by combining types to form a more complex and less predictable character, they are categorized as evil outcasts right from the beginning. Their heritage delineates them as “sardonic intriguers,”<sup>573</sup> as “representatives of evil”<sup>574</sup> and “devils incarnate.”<sup>575</sup> The cardinals, the Empress, the Black Pawns, all “proceed by cunning, murder, and a devious sowing of dissension”<sup>576</sup>, whereas the consequences of their actions can vary from play to play: “In some plays, the destruction wrought by the Machiavel is less extensive and its political consequences less overt.”<sup>577</sup>

This combination of the evilness of the Vice with the Senecan tyrant and the cunning Machiavel enabled the Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights to show and create new levels of deceit and violence, to create characters who are neither transparent for the audience nor for the other characters. The final touch, however, these characters received to completely alienate them from the others was their affiliation with the Catholic Church.

This affiliation leads to the second element which helped to differentiate them: the names given to the characters which mark them as distinctively Catholic or the references made which mark the origin of the characters as Catholic. In the plays *Henry VI, Parts One & Two*, *The Life and Death of King John*, *The White Devil*,

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<sup>573</sup> Matthias Bauer, p. 235.

<sup>574</sup> Weimann, p. 159.

<sup>575</sup> Scott, p. 153.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

*The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Cardinal* the Catholic stage villain is always referenced by his clerical office. Either he is called Cardinal Beaufort, Cardinal Pandulph or Cardinal Monticelso or his name remains unknown and he is just introduced as the Cardinal. Thus, he is marked as being Catholic right from the beginning. Whereas kings, duchesses, lawyers and queens are non-denominational, a cardinal always is distinctively Catholic. The rest of the characters is either introduced as distinctively Protestant or not further specified.

In the case of *Henry VI, Part Two*, the other characters more often than not address Beaufort by his title and refer to features characteristic attached to his cardinal's decree. Gloucester, for example, threatens Cardinal Beaufort to "canvas thee in thy broad cardinal's hat/ If thou proceed in this thy insolence" (2*HVI*, I.iii.36-3), whereas others, like Somerset or Salisbury, refer to him as "the haughty Cardinal" (2*HVI* I.i.173; I.i.184) and with this additional attribute give his decree and his whole character a negative connotation.

King John addresses Pandulph only as cardinal: "Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name..." (K*J*, III.i.149), and orders him to tell the pope that "no Italian priest/ Shall tithe or toll in our dominions" (K*J*, III.i.153-154). He thus reduces him to his title and disciplines him and the pope.

In *The White Devil*, Vittoria, upon hearing her sentence, proclaims that the house of whores to which she is confined seems more honest to her "[t]han the Pope's palace, and more peaceable/ Than thy soul, though thou art a cardinal" (W*D*, III.ii.291-292). The last line implies that her original opinion of cardinals was not necessarily bad, but that Cardinal Monticelso obviously spoiled it by his behaviour.

In *The Massacre at Paris*, on the other hand, Catherine clearly signals from the beginning that her family and Navarre, although linked by marriage, will never be at peace, by mentioning that she loves Navarre well, but also warns him that "our difference in religion/ Might be means to cross you in your love" (M*P*, i,15-16). Catherine's son, King Henry, however, questions his mother's and his own church in the end, when he is stabbed by a Catholic friar and asks "What irreligious pagans' parts be these/ Of such as hold them of the holy church?" (M*P*, xiv,42-43). With this, he does not only distance himself from his church, but also

questions its motifs, while swearing "eternal love" (*MP*, xiv,68) to Queen Elizabeth of England and by this oath placing the Protestant church before the Catholic.

A third way of isolating the Catholic stage villain from the rest of the characters is by associating him with certain colours, which either bear direct reference to Catholic ceremonial vestments and, beyond that, have a symbolic meaning. Middleton's *A Game at Chess* serves as a prime example of this type of differentiation. His Protestant party is presented by white chess pieces, symbolising innocence and purity, whereas his Catholic party are the black chess pieces, representing evil, darkness and sexual lust. Even if a chess piece appears to belong to the white party, although his loyalties lie with the Black House, as it is the case with the White King's Pawn, he has to camouflage his true black colour by wearing white garments. Yet, as soon as he is discovered, he takes off the white clothes and appears to be black underneath (*GC*, III.i.254-259).

In most of the other plays except for *The Life and Death of King John* constant references to the red colour of the cardinals' robes are made when other characters speak about or directly address the churchmen. Cardinal Beaufort, for example, is called a "scarlet hypocrite" (*2 HVI*, I.iii.56) by Gloucester, Vittoria Corombona states that charity is "seldom found in scarlet" (*WD*, III.ii.70-71) referring to Cardinal Monticelso's unjust way of sentencing and condemning her, and in Shirley's *The Cardinal*, the lords complain about the Cardinal's behaviour and wish "[d]eath on his purple pride,/ He governs all" (*TC*, I.i.20-21). What further attracts attention about the statements is that they are always negative implications. Therefore, the colours associated with the Catholic Church and its members always have a bad connotation.

In Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* the colours scarlet and purple are regularly used to describe the appearance of the Empress, either by herself or by others. Thus, she promises that the one who first kills the Fairy Queen "[s]hall be my love and, clad in purple, ride/ Upon that scarlet-coloured beast that bears/ Seven kingdoms on seven heads" (*WB*, III.i.168-172). A few scenes later the Spanish king reports from Fairy Land and tells the Empress that "[t]hey say the robes of purple which you wear,/ Your scarlet veils, and mantles are not given you/ As

typed of honour and regality,/ But dyed so deep with blood upon them spilt/ And that (all o're) y'are with red murder guilt" (*WB*, IV.iv.39-43). In both cases red is not only associated with the Empress, but moreover with the beast on which she rides and with the blood that she has spilt so far. The red colour of the Catholic vestments originates from the blood their bearers have spilt while wearing them. In contrast to this, Titania and the citizens of Fairy Land are attributed with the colour white, which – as in *A Game at Chess* – symbolises purity and innocence.

*The Massacre at Paris* then again plays with this clear separation between white and black/ red by having the Catholic assassins wear white scarves and white crosses while they murder the Huguenots. As has been mentioned before, the blood stains, the murder to be committed will certainly leave on the white garments can be symbolically seen as a besmirching and conversion of innocence into guilt and with this into Catholicism.

A fourth technique applied to isolate the Catholic stage villains from the rest of the characters is by comparing them with the devil, thus with the anti-Christ, who, naturally, is the antagonist of Christ.<sup>578</sup> This comparison marginalises the Catholic stage villain and excludes him from the Christian community to which the other characters and the audience belong. In Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, for example, Faustus advises Mephistopheles to dress as an "old Franciscan friar", because "[t]hat holy shape becomes a devil best" (*DF*, iii,26-27). In Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part One* the Mayor of London observes that "[t]his Cardinal's more haughty than the devil" (*IHVI*, I.iii.84) when he tries to settle the dispute between Gloucester and Beaufort.

However, comparisons with anti-Christ are also made by the Catholic side. Guise, for example, equals religion with the devil and states that he has brought

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<sup>578</sup> The comparison with the devil is another aspect inherited from Machiavelli and the stage Machiavel respectively. Cf. Scott, p. 153: "Whether the principal charge – that of atheism – proceeded from any fundamental misunderstanding of Machiavelli's writings is debatable. What has to be admitted is that allegations of atheism were followed by assertions of diabolical allegiance. As the devil's henchman, or even the devil incarnate, Machiavelli became associated with every kind of sin"; Armstrong p. 32: "[...] multiple connexions which an educated Elizabethan saw between the ambitious, usurping Machiavellian tyrant and the supreme author of evil. His evil yet titanic passion of ambition was epitomized for them by the aspiring pride of Lucifer, while his several deadly sins made him seem an embodiment of vice, and his resemblance to Satan and the denizens of hell is asserted by recurring patterns of imagery. The Machiavellianism of the stage tyrant was yet another characteristic which associated him with the forces of Antichrist."

religion thus far: "My policy hath framed religion./ Religion: *O Diabole!*" (*MP*, ii, 66-67). Thus, he implies that he has deliberately used religion to commit crimes and thus has to be blamed for its bad reputation. And in *The Whore of Babylon* the third king even goes one step further and indicates that he and his Babylonian allies are directly connected with hell, when he suggests that in order to defeat and destroy Fairy Land they shall "un-kennell hell" (*WB*, I.ii.268).

The fifth technique to distinctively mark Catholic stage villains is their frequent use of asides and soliloquies – a character trait they inherited from the Vice figure. With this they dissociate themselves from the rest of the characters and try to win the audience's confidence by letting them in on their secrets and plans. In this way, Winchester reveals to the audience that he plans to take action against Gloucester and intends to "either make thee [Gloucester] stoop and bend thy knee,/ Or sack this country with a mutiny" (*I HVI*, V.i.61-62). Guise avails himself of this method as well when he informs the audience about his plan for the massacre (*MP*, ii,60-69), and Monticelso uses it to reveal to the audience that he does not shrink from murdering his own brother in order to take revenge (*WD*, II.i.385-387). Shirley's Cardinal also shares his thoughts and concerns with the audience and unfolds to them his gruesome plans for dealing with the duchess (*TC*, V.i.29-46; 86-99). By letting the audience into their secret plans and shutting the other characters out, Catholic stage villains contribute to their own dissociation from society within the plays, and additionally increase the fascination of the audience.

The sixth way of symbolically dissociating Catholics from the rest of the fictional and real society is featured in *A Game at Chess* and is the constant decimation of the number of the members of the Black House. The fate of the black chess pieces wandering into the bag can be compared with the marginalising process of Catholicism in contemporary England. Like in the play, the Catholics in England decreased steadily in numbers until the former major religion finally ended up as a minority group. The same phenomenon can be observed in *The Massacre at Paris*, in which the number of Catholics also decreases, either by being murdered or by committing suicide.

On closer inspection, it becomes clear that the techniques applied on stage to isolate the Catholic stage villains can be seen as reflecting the techniques and measurements applied in real contemporary England. The shaping of a symmetrical negative Catholic image of true Christianity, the association with the devil and the conviction that God supports those on the side of true religion can be found on stage as well as in the streets. The necessary marks of distinction that help the audience identify and isolate the Catholic 'other' were successfully established in the real as well as in the fictional world with regards to obvious, visible characteristics. In both cases, a process of isolation takes place during which the Catholic characters are revealed as 'the other': Markedly different than the rest of the characters, and in turn, markedly different than the audience. How this process of 'othering' one group from another works and from where it originates will be the subject of the next section.

### 5.3 The process of 'othering' – A Levinasian reading

#### 5.3.1 Searching for an approach

Philosophical and theoretical approaches towards socio-literary phenomena as described above seem to be manifold. When trying to explain such phenomena, a multitude of explanations are available, which offer different approaches ranging from psychological to socio-historical to philosophical explanations. However, on closer examination most of these approaches and theories are only partly applicable and raise more questions in our context than they can answer.

What first comes to mind when considering the conversion of England and the aforementioned fear the English developed concerning Catholics is an explanation based on the dichotomy of passion and reason, and the writings of Seneca, Francis Bacon and René Descartes.

As has been mentioned before, Protestantism was regarded as a religion based on reason, whereas Catholicism was regarded as the complete opposite of reason and was personified as a "horrific villain" for England's development into a

modern state.<sup>579</sup> On the other hand, Protestant propaganda accomplished to incite fear and eventually hatred against Catholicism in the English population – mirrored in its literature – which, nevertheless, are passions completely contrary to reason. The assumption that passions like hatred and fear are erroneous judgements which lead to self-destructive and dangerous deeds against oneself and others and are only controllable as long as they are restrained and suppressed<sup>580</sup> thus seems to be a promising approach for explaining the ambiguities as well as the consequences of the Reformation: A supposedly rational and enlightening new religion is introduced and enforced by inciting fear and hatred of 'the other'. Rational and peaceful cohabitation turns into hatred and prosecution, friendship turns into fear, and former friends become national enemies. Thus, rational peace turns into passionate hatred.

To understand the difficulties concerning this approach, the origins of early modern passions and reason have to be made clear. In medieval and early modern times, most scientific explanations were developed from observations of the human body. Thus, it was thought, for example, the human temper, its rationality or emotionality is dependent on the balance of the body fluids, the four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. If a person is melancholic, this can be traced back to a surplus of black bile. Thus, whenever a person's humours are out of balance, this person is prone to emotional impulses which "threaten[s] [his] virtue and disrupt the harmony of [his] social relationships."<sup>581</sup> This theory was often applied in literature<sup>582</sup> as well to explain the irrationality or madness of certain characters and thus seemed a promising approach for a socio-literary explanation for the phenomenon of the English Reformation within English literature and culture.

However, besides the difficulty to reduce the reformatory process and its consequences only to human fear, the problem with this approach concerning literature is that, although in a variety of early modern plays characters

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<sup>579</sup> Cf. Tumbleson, p. 17.

<sup>580</sup> Cf. for example: Francis Bacon, "Of Anger", in: *The Major Works*, ed. by Brian Vickers, Oxford: OUP, 2008, pp. 449-450.

<sup>581</sup> Susan James, "The passions and the good life", in: *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. by Donald Rutherford, Cambridge: CUP, 2007, p. 203.

<sup>582</sup> Cf. the genre of the Comedy of Humours, to which especially Ben Jonson contributed numerous plays, like *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) or *The Alchemist* (1610).

continuously make references to an imbalance of their humours<sup>583</sup>, only few characters analysed in this thesis explain their deeds by considering their bodily fluids. On closer examination, it is only the first cardinal in *The Whore of Babylon* who confesses that “my gall is ouerflowne,/ My blood growne ranke and fowle: An inflammation/ Of rage, and madnes so burnes vp my liuer” (I.i.118-120). Furthermore, in *A Game At Chess*, it is said about the Black King that his “blood burns for thy [the White Queen] prostitution/ And nothing but the spring of thy chaste virtue/ Can cool his inflammation” (IV.v.16-18). The other characters, and especially those of relevance for this thesis, are mostly in control over their passions and act with a clear – thus reasonable – mind. The Cardinal in *The Duchess of Malfi*, for example, exhorts his brother Ferdinand for his passionate outbursts and states that he “can be angry/ Without this rupture. There is not in nature/ A thing that makes man so deformed, so beastly” (II.v.55-57). This again underlines the fact that the characters discussed in this thesis are far too complex to reduce their actions and demeanour to their passions and emotions.

Although characters like Shirley's Cardinal or Dekker's Empress openly express their anger and desire for revenge, they remain rational and straightforward in their actions and do not fall victim to their own unbalanced nature. Furthermore, it would be difficult to apply this approach for explaining the development of the mind-set of the English Protestant population, which was taught that their new religion was reasonable, but at the same time was set against Catholics and developed a fear for everything Catholic.<sup>584</sup> Moreover, what remains unclear is what caused this fear. Which machinations were responsible for this unreasonable fear? Thus, it seems, a theory is needed which provides the missing link and probes the causes of this fear.

Another philosophical theory which seemed to be a fruitful approach at first was Pierre Bourdieu's *Field theory*. The basis for this explanation would be an interpretation of Reformatory England as a representative of the religious field. The religious field, like any other field, is characterised by social interactions as

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<sup>583</sup> Cf. for example Ferdinand and Bosola in *The Duchess of Malfi* or De Flores in *The Changeling*, Katharine Minola in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, etc.

<sup>584</sup> Cf. Carol Wiener and Peter Lake, “Conflict in Early Stuart England”.

well as conflicts between the established and the newcomers of the field. These conflicts shape the dynamic of the field and mostly involve struggles for higher positions, reputation, and higher cultural and economic capital.<sup>585</sup>

Since these conflicts are a permanent characteristic of a field, Bourdieu labelled all fields "battlefields" and thereby determined their contentious nature. Those established within a field do not act upon rational, conscious decision, but upon their unconscious *habitus*, which is another term used by Bourdieu. *Habitus* implies a profound knowledge of all rules, manners and standards of a field and thus an unconscious identification with the respective field, which vests the established with self-consciousness and power. The more established and 'closed' a field becomes and the more established those within the field become, the more difficult it is for newcomers to gain access to the field, and thus new conflicts arise. The autonomy of a field can be endangered when a newcomer or an established member questions the rules or by interference of another field.<sup>586</sup> Thus, when the political field intervenes in the religious field the conflict potential rises.

However, Bourdieu's theory only works as long as established fields are involved. Yet, Protestantism was a relatively new field in the sixteenth century without any established or newcomer group. Thus, the question arises how the dynamics within a newly created field work and which machinations help one group to adapt to a new *habitus*, whereas another group fails to gain access to this new field.

A possible answer for this question and for the question concerning the trigger for the Protestant fear of Catholics might be found in the writings of the Lithuanian-French phenomenologist Emmanuel Levinas whose thinking about 'the other' was influenced by his personal experiences with being prosecuted and imprisoned during the Third Reich.

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<sup>585</sup> Cf. Markus Schwingel, *Pierre Bourdieu zur Einführung*, Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 1995, p. 82-85.

<sup>586</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 96-98.

### 5.3.2 Emmanuel Levinas and 'the other'

Emmanuel Levinas' philosophy was shaped by his experiences during the Second World War. While he was held prisoner in a special camp at Hanover, his Jewish relatives were murdered in Lithuania. His personal experiences of prosecution, hatred and senseless mass murder – “the presentiment and the memory of the Nazi horror”<sup>587</sup> – have dominated his thinking about the encounter of and the relation between the “self” and the “other”, identity and alterity and interiority and exteriority. Thus, a philosophical approach which was influenced by personal experiences similar – but in their extent and horror incomparable – to those of the prosecution of Catholics in England, might offer promising ideas and explanations which could help to understand the processes and consequences of the English Reformation.

Initially Levinas' philosophical thinking was influenced by Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time* on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the Talmud and Jewish tradition as such. In Levinas' mind, after the Second World War and the horrors of National Socialism in Germany, Western philosophy no longer met the criteria for a “universal keeper of being and good”<sup>588</sup>. Moreover, he even accused European philosophy of having contributed to the *Shoah*, because of its understanding of being and non-being, true and false, good and evil, self and other and the fact that philosophy never questioned its rightfulness. Levinas did.

Jewish tradition, as Levinas understands it, differs from the European philosophy of being and rationality – which he calls “Greek” or “Western” philosophy – in one major point: Western philosophy confided in the assumption that good deeds presuppose a knowledge of good and trusted that good deeds

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<sup>587</sup> Emmanuel Levinas, “Signature”, in: *Research in Phenomenology* 8 (1978), p. 177.

<sup>588</sup>

simply follow this knowledge of good. Jewish tradition did not share this confidence.<sup>589</sup>

Levinas thus followed European philosophy in a way he had experienced with Plato, Descartes, Kant, Nietzsche, and personally with Husserl and Heidegger, until it touched the Jewish tradition. Having reached this point of contact he transferred his critical thinking into the Jewish tradition and its interpretation of the Hebrew bible.

However, Levinas' theory – or as Simon Critchely calls it, his “one big thing”<sup>590</sup> – concerning Western philosophy is his thesis that ethics is first philosophy whereas ethics is being interpreted as “a relation of infinite responsibility to the other person.”<sup>591</sup> Levinas is specifically interested in this relation between ‘the self’ and ‘the other’ and sees phenomenology as a tool for analyzing “the common, shared features that underlie our everyday experience, to make explicit what is implicit in our ordinary social know-how.”<sup>592</sup> This is also his major point of criticism against his former teacher Husserl whom he reproaches for “theoreticism, intellectualism and overlooking the existential density and historical embeddedness of lived experience.”<sup>593</sup>

One of Levinas' motivations was his connection to Martin Heidegger, who became “politically committed to National Socialism”<sup>594</sup> by becoming Rector of Freiburg University in 1933. Critchley writes that it must have been hard for Levinas to understand “how a philosopher as undeniably brilliant as Heidegger could have become a Nazi”<sup>595</sup> and assumes that by analyzing Heidegger's thinking, Levinas tried to find an answer for this question.

His investigations and understanding led him back to René Descartes and the concept of the infinite. Levinas saw Western philosophy as a “tradition of

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<sup>589</sup> Translated from Werner Stegmaier, *Emmanuel Levinas zur Einführung*, Hamburg: Junius, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>590</sup> Simon Critchley, “Introduction”, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Levinas*, ed. by Simon Critchley and Robert Bernasconi, Cambridge: CUP, 2002, p. 6.

<sup>591</sup> Critchley, p. 6.

<sup>592</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>593</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>594</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Totality”<sup>596</sup> and tried to shift the philosophical focus away from the body and “towards an understanding of the Other.”<sup>597</sup> Ethan Kleinberg explains that “Levinas works from Martin Heidegger’s critique of Western metaphysics by removing the emphasis on the *ego cogito* from the centre of the equation but he does not follow Heidegger in shifting the emphasis of his investigation toward Being.”<sup>598</sup> Instead he turns towards Descartes and his reflections about the relation between the infinite and the finite, in which Levinas sees “the key to escape the concept of Totality that had dominated Western philosophy from Plato to Heidegger.”<sup>599</sup> For Levinas the danger of Totality lies in its universality, which “appears to be the basis of morality, when in fact it suppresses any possibility of morals.”<sup>600</sup> And this suppression of morality is what he encounters in Heidegger’s thinking of the Being:

For Levinas, Heidegger’s removal of the primacy of the subject would have been significant if it had opened the clearing to the Other. Instead, Heidegger removed the “I” and shifted his focus to the question of anonymous Being, in effect denying the possibility of primacy to either the “I” or the Other. For Heidegger, Being is primary. According to Levinas, Heidegger’s ontology of Being is a structure of Totality because it subsumes all beings under the rubric of an anonymous and total Being that is complete unto itself.<sup>601</sup>

Heidegger sees the Being surrounded by a mass of ‘others’, not one ‘other’ person, who has its own personality its own *ego cogito*, but a *they* that surrounds ‘the self’. Stegmaier writes that in this constantly changing *il y a* (there is) not the subject-object-relation is of importance for Heidegger but the pluralism of the absolutely other beings.<sup>602</sup> And this is where Levinas puts ethics first:

Levinas’s point is that unless our social interactions are underpinned by ethical relations to other persons, then the worst might happen, that is, the

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<sup>596</sup> Ethan Kleinberg, “Ethics Beyond the Body: Descartes and Heidegger in Emmanuel Levinas’s *Totality and Infinity*”, in: *Paroles gelées* 17/2 (1999), p. 43. See also p. 46: “For Levinas, Totality describes the essence of the Western philosophical tradition. As the basis for politics, war, and most institutions in society. Totality is the system of Universal Reason that attempts to codify everything within a unifying theory or practice. As such, Levinas portrays Totality as the tyranny of the Same, whereas. Infinity is characterized as the opening to alterity.”

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>598</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>599</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>602</sup> Stegmaier, p. 87.

failure to acknowledge the humanity of the other. Such, for Levinas, is what took place in the *Shoah* and in the countless other disasters of this century, where the other person becomes a faceless face in the crowd, someone whom the passer-by simply passes by, someone whose life or death is for me a matter of indifference. As Levinas succinctly puts it in one of his last published interviews from *Le Monde* in 1992, 'The absence of concern for the other in Heidegger and his personal political adventure are linked.'<sup>603</sup>

Ethics, therefore, is the way in which 'the self' interacts with 'the other'. However, since the encounter with 'the other' cannot be accomplished by totalizing him or her, that is to subjugate 'the other' to 'the self' and suppress 'the other's' identity<sup>604</sup>, it has to be accomplished by other means. Levinas' thus rethinks the Cartesian relation between the *res cogitans* and the infinity of God – or the notion that in his relation to God the thinking human being has an idea of the infinite, respectively – and uses this approach for his idea of the relation between 'the self' and 'the other'. Critchley insists on the fact that Levinas "is not claiming that the other is God"<sup>605</sup>, but rather that he "substitutes the other for God"<sup>606</sup> – a fact which is commonly misinterpreted by scholars. Instead, Levinas claims that imagining oneself in a God-like position again would be a totalization of the situation.<sup>607</sup>

The infinity of 'the other' is manifested in 'the other's' face, with which it encounters 'the self' and which is absolutely opaque to 'the self'. At the initial point of this face-to-face encounter 'the self' is living in a self-centered world of enjoyment which is called into question the very instant the other person appears.<sup>608</sup> According to Beavers, the appearance of 'the other' forces 'the self' "into a deeper level of interiority", because 'the other' "emerges as dominant."<sup>609</sup> 'The self' senses a danger emanating from 'the other':

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<sup>603</sup> Critchley, p. 13.

<sup>604</sup> "It is hence not a relation with the other as such but the reduction of the other to the same. Such is the definition of freedom: to maintain oneself against the other, despite every relation with the other to ensure the autarchy of an I. Themmatization and conceptualization, which moreover are inseparable, are not peace with the other but suppression or possession of the other." Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. by Alphonso Lingis, Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969, p. 46.

<sup>605</sup> Critchley, p.14.

<sup>606</sup> Hilary Putnam, „Levinas and Judaism“, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Levinas*, ed. by Simon Critchley and Robert Bernasconi, Cambridge: CUP, 2002, p. 42.

<sup>607</sup> Cf. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, p. 291.

<sup>608</sup> Cf. Anthony Beavers, *Levinas Beyond the Horizon of Cartesianism: An Inquiry into the Metaphysics of Morals*, [American University Studies], New York: Peter Lang, 1995, p. 69.

<sup>609</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

In other words, I am limited to my interiority, but the other person arises from the exterior. I am contained, while the other person is not. He enters from the outside, from beyond my world. This, in turn, suggests that he is unforeseeable. I do not know what his next action will be. In a sense, then, the other is protected, given the advantage over the self, because the other may know his next move, while I do not. The other, therefore, has something that I do not have.<sup>610</sup>

Levinas, however, insists that the encounter and later the relation between 'the self' and 'the other' are "maintained without violence, in peace with this absolute alterity" and have a "positive structure: ethical."<sup>611</sup> The ethical nature of the relationship between 'the self' and 'the other' consists of the *responsibility* 'the self' has for 'the other':

The other who speaks to me not only demands a response, he also enables it, thereby endowing me with an ability to respond, for Levinas, my *responsibility*. Before I can respond, I must be addressed. Thus, I cannot be the source of my own responsibility, and this means, in turn, that my responsibility already indicates that the other is not me. As author of my responsibility, the other cannot be possessed – reduced to the self – without also dissolving my responsibility. To kill the other is, then, to destroy the very origin of my responsibility.<sup>612</sup>

Thus, ethics is the responsibility for 'the other' and the ability to welcome 'the other' without harming 'the other's' or 'the self's' identity and humanity. Additionally, the encounter with 'the other' is of a sensible and not of a comprehensible nature, which means that the relation to 'the other' is completely physical and not psychological.<sup>613</sup>

When Levinas tries to build a bridge from ethics to politics, that is, to "all others that make up society"<sup>614</sup>, he again comes to the conclusion that "the domination of totalizing politics is linked to the fact of war" and that "totality reduces the ethical to the political: 'Politics left to itself bears a tyranny within

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<sup>610</sup> Ibid., p. 98-99.

<sup>611</sup> Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, p. 197.

<sup>612</sup> Beavers, p. 96-97.

<sup>613</sup> The idea of 'the other' as a physical existing body, with needs and feelings and not just an intellectual being could be a starting point for applying a Gumbrechtian approach on Levinas' philosophy. Levinas' idea of physicality could be developed further and expanded by Gumbrecht's *Presence* theory.

<sup>614</sup> Critchley, p. 24.

itself.”<sup>615</sup> He criticizes the monotony of politics and suggests his idea of ethics as first philosophy for the solution of political problems:

Levinas wants to criticize the belief that *only* political rationality can answer political problems. He wants to indicate how the order of the state rests upon the irreducible ethical responsibility of the face-to-face relation. Levinas's critique of totalizing politics leads to the deduction of an ethical structure that is irreducible to totality: the face-to-face, infinite responsibility, proximity, the other within the same, peace.<sup>616</sup>

Thus, peace, justness and order can only be established by ethical behaviour, by acknowledging 'the self's' responsibility for 'the other' and by physical sensibility instead of intellectual comprehension. Levinas' ultimate goal is to show that there is no "dichotomy between 'the self' and 'the other', politics and ethics, or totality and infinity, but rather that the latter term of each of these pairs makes possible the former term, without subsuming the reality of the former term into itself."<sup>617</sup> For Levinas, it is "this ethical relation to the other person that was lost in both the fact of National Socialist anti-semitism and in its philosophical apologies"<sup>618</sup> – and perhaps it could even explain the events that took place 400 years earlier.

Critchley then goes one step further by transferring Levinas' theory to Shakespeare's tragedies and interprets Othello's failure as his inability to "acknowledge the other's separateness"<sup>619</sup> – that is Desdemona's and Iago's separateness and their "dimension of interiority, secrecy or what Levinas calls 'alterity'."<sup>620</sup> Othello fails because he does not acknowledge his inability to ultimately know the other person.

Apart from Simon Critchley, Stephen Greenblatt and Richard Helgerson were the first to introduce the terms of alterity and 'otherness' to early modern studies,<sup>621</sup> whereas Julia Reinhard Lupton contributed an extensive study on

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>617</sup> Leora Batnitzky, "Encountering the Modern Subject in Levinas", in: *Yale French Studies* 104 (2004), p. 9.

<sup>618</sup> Critchley, p. 26.

<sup>619</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>621</sup> Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, "The Turn to Religion in Early Modern Studies", in: *Criticism* 46/1 (Winter 2004), p. 176. The works referred to in Marotti's and Jackson's article are: Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*, Chicago:

Judaism and Christianity as two opposing "cultures" in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>622</sup> Further she analysed Othello's 'otherness' not with regards to his skin colour, but with regards to his implied Muslim religious affiliation:

Othello can be considered a 'black Gentile of the universal church,' his skin color less of a problem in the playwright's imagination than the (other) possibility that he might have converted from – and return to – Islam. The play, then, is more about religious divisions than racial ones. Othello, and Shakespeare, struggle in the 'Moor's' final moments with the necessary conversion to Christianity, that informs the play.<sup>623</sup>

Apart from being an untenable approach, because it ignores Shakespeare's text and the existent remarks about Othello's Christianity<sup>624</sup>, Lupton's approach is, nevertheless, of importance – as are those of Helgerson and Greenblatt – because they all open the door to religion and refute Levinas' suggestion "to call 'religion' the bond that is established between the same and the other without consenting a totality."<sup>625</sup> Their accomplishment is the claim that even religion is marked by totality and that religion seldom serves as a bond but rather as a dividing line between 'the self' and 'the other'. Religion suppresses the ability of a peaceful relation between 'the self' and 'the other'.

However, in the case of early modern England, the two contrasting groups do not belong to two different religions, but to one which has been split up into two Christian confessions. Regarding the initial situation in which England was completely Catholic and anti-Catholicism the "private obsession of religious extremists"<sup>626</sup>, and facing the condition of England one hundred years later, in which anti-Catholicism has become "part of the national ideology"<sup>627</sup> the question

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University of Chicago Press, 1980, and Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1983.

<sup>622</sup> Julia Reinhard Lupton, "Exegesis, Mimesis, and the Future of Humanism in *The Merchant of Venice*", in: *Religion and Literature* 32/2 (2000), pp. 123-139.

<sup>623</sup> Quoted in: Jackson and Marotti, p. 180. The article referred to is: Julia Reinhard Lupton, "Othello Circumcised: Shakespeare and the Pauline Discourse of Nations," in: *Representations* 57 (Winter 1997), pp. 73-89.

<sup>624</sup> Cf. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. by Cedric Watts, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 2001. IAGO: And then for her/ To win the Moor: were't renounce his baptism... (III.ii.322-323)

<sup>625</sup> Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, p. 40.

<sup>626</sup> Wiener, p. 27.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

arises how this massive conversion of a whole nation could be accomplished in less than a century.

On closer inspection it becomes clear that two major processes underlie this massive conversion during the sixteenth and seventeenth century: the first one being the fact that the Catholic majority had been diminished to a persecuted minority<sup>628</sup> with virtually no power and influence, and the second one being the fact that the more or less non-existent minority of English Protestants was able to increase their power and influence until they constituted the majority, and moreover, that the former major religion of England had become its enemy and the hatred of this former religion the foundation of a new English nationalism.

When trying to interpret these circumstances from a Levinasian point of view, first of all, a modification of Levinas' understanding of the interiority, 'the self', must be undertaken as laid down by Jacques Derrida, who criticised Levinas' "face-to-face" approach which always implies that 'the self' is an individual.<sup>629</sup> However, 'the self' does not necessarily have to be an individual person, but can also be represented by a group – a unity. Essential to Levinas' theory is that there has to be an exteriority, a person or a group which can be recognised as 'the other'. When being confronted with this 'other', 'the self' is able to identify himself as 'self' – as interiority opposed to exteriority.

At this point, the question arises how it is possible to categorise Catholics and Protestants either as 'the self' or 'the other'. If Catholicism had been there right from the beginning and Protestantism had only lasted for a brief moment – that is during the reign of Henry VIII – then initially Catholicism would have been 'the self', and Protestantism 'the other'. Catholicism enjoyed its existence as sole religion and suddenly was confronted with Protestantism – which did not only question Catholicism as such but moreover its right to exist.

However, due to fast changes in the balance of power, after the death of Mary I, Catholicism soon lost its position as principal religion, whereas Protestantism

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<sup>628</sup> John Bossy, in his extensive research study *The English Catholic Communities*, even goes as far as to suggest that "English Catholicism was a sect after 1560, not the remnants of a church, and was fated to maintain a sect. Only those groups (notably the Jesuits) that early recognized this and could adapt quickly to the new, missionary situation could do much to nurture the sectarian community." Taken from: Hibbard, p. 7.

<sup>629</sup> Jackson and Marotti, p. 177.

continued to gain more power and influence.<sup>630</sup> When Protestantism had become the major religion of England and thus a part of its ideology and nationality, it failed to acknowledge its *responsibility* for Catholicism and instead tried to reduce it to itself – that is, to Protestantism. At some point during Elizabeth's reign – probably with the first passed act against Catholicism in England – the change must have taken place which made Protestantism 'the self' and Catholicism 'the other' and with it the English Catholics – no matter if they were loyal to their sovereign or not.

However, it is not intended to present Catholicism as such as a victim – which would be inappropriate with regards to the history of the Catholic Church – but to show that in everyday, face-to-face terms the humanity of individual Catholics was no longer acknowledged and that the Catholic 'other' just became "a faceless face in the crowd, someone whom the passer-by simply passes by, someone whose life or death is for me a matter of indifference."<sup>631</sup>

Thus, politics had totalized religion and had made it impossible for the individual to find a way of peaceful cohabitation: "totality reduces the ethical to the political: 'Politics left to itself bears a tyranny within itself.'"<sup>632</sup>

### 5.3.3 'The other' on the English stage

On another level the English stage contributed to this indifference for the Catholic 'other' by applying the isolating devices described above. What happened on stage can be seen as a reflexion of what happened off the stage – and vice versa, influenced by the display on stage, the audiences took the ideas and images out of the theatre into the real world:

Shakespeare's theater and his society were interrelated in the sense that the Elizabethan stage, even when it reflected the tensions and compromises of sixteenth-century England, was also a potent force that helped to create the specific character and transnational nature of that society. Thus, the playgoers did not determine the nature of the plays, for although the latter certainly responded to the assumptions and expectations of the spectators,

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<sup>630</sup> At this point, it would be possible to apply Bourdieu's *field theory* to analyse and determine the strategies and processes within and between the two *battlefields*.

<sup>631</sup> Critchley, p. 13.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the audience itself was shaped and educated by the quality of what it viewed.<sup>633</sup>

The theatre, unlike the real world, has the possibility to apply techniques and devices to present complex circumstances in a vivid and lively manner. It has the ability to use symbols and other rhetorical or visual devices to enable the audience to understand and interpret the events on stage. Sometimes these devices also serve to magnify or exaggerate certain circumstances or features. Such devices were used, as has been shown above, to enable the audience to recognize the isolated 'other' on stage. In the face-to-face encounter between audience and character the audience have the choice to identify with or to alienate from a character. When the audience as a unity are confronted with a character whose behaviour does not correspond with their idea of morality – or rather who questions their moral values – then this character becomes 'the other'.

Thus, devices as listed and explained above serve as marks of distinction, which separate 'the other' from the rest of the characters – which in some way 'others' 'the other'. Sometimes the simple identification of one character as the Vice figure is sufficient for isolating it from the other characters, but in most cases more marks of differentiation are applied.

Yet, when considering 'the other' on stage, in the face-to-face encounter between character and character, its identification is neither self-evident nor simple. When considering such characters as Monticelso or the Cardinal they appear to be those who do not recognise the humanity of the other characters. They are the ones who reduce 'the other', who miss to make room and welcome 'the other'. They are those who forget their responsibility for the other and thus kill and destroy 'the other'. From this point of view, Vittoria Corrombona or Rosaura are those characters representing 'the other', whose "defenceless eyes"<sup>634</sup> are not perceived and understood by 'the self'.

To understand how Monticelso and the other Catholic characters could nevertheless become a symbolic 'other', Levinas' criticism of Western philosophy has to be considered. He accuses European philosophy of having tolerated and

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<sup>633</sup> Weimann, p. xii.

<sup>634</sup> Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, p. 199.

even contributed to the disasters of humanity by allowing only good and evil, true and false and by trusting on the fallacy that the knowledge of good always also entails good deeds. Perhaps this is exactly what the early modern audience did while watching the cardinals on stage. They recognised the abominable deeds of the Catholic characters without reflecting on the fact that their own government was proceeding in a similar way – failing to recognise the humanity and rights of individuals.

The deeds of the Catholic characters revoke the ethical; instead, the perception – which is inherent to Western philosophy – is gaining ground that good and evil, good deeds and evil deeds can only come from the knowledge of good and evil. The audience are unable to identify with the Catholic character due to the evil he does. They deny his humanity – they are afraid of him and unable to welcome him. Thus, the ethical becomes secondary, and humanity is lost. The Catholic character – and with him the real English Catholic whom he represents on stage – becomes “the passer by whose life and death is a matter of indifference”<sup>635</sup> – he becomes ‘the other’.

Observing these circumstances from a more abstract and global point of view similar tendencies with regards to the relation and the dealing with ‘the other’ become visible – and with them the confirmation of Levinas’ criticism of Western philosophy. On stage Catholic characters subjugate and suppress ‘the other’, disregarding his humanity, his dignity and his rights, whereas the Catholic Church protects them, covers their deeds and by this supports the murder of innocents.

Off the stage the audience may have recognized parallels between the behaviour and the deeds of the Catholic characters in the play and the warnings which they had received from their government concerning the social intercourse with English and foreign Catholics. It was easy for them to combine factual politics with fictional plots and keep the scenes they had witnessed in the theatre in mind only to remember them, when encountering Catholic neighbours or receiving news from a Catholic plot. Thus, they are likely to have recognized all Catholics as ‘the other’, but did not recognize their individuality and humanity. It could be assumed that the English Protestants did not see any reason to proceed in

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any different way than the Catholic Church which had failed to acknowledge the humanity of 'the other' in the centuries before. This is especially true when considering the Holy Crusades during the early Middle Ages. Actually, the tendencies for singling out the enemy are quite similar, when comparing the Crusades and the Reformation. Pope Urban II in his speech at Clermont 1095, in which he appealed to the people of France to participate in the Crusades, uses rhetorical devices to present the non-Christians who had settled in Jerusalem and the "Holy Land" in a defamiliarising and isolating way:

From the confines of Jerusalem and from the city of Constantinople a grievous report has gone forth and has repeatedly been brought to our ears: namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race wholly alienated from God, 'a generation that set not their heart aright and whose spirit was not steadfast with God,' violently invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by pillage and fire. They have led away a part of the captives into their own country, and a part they have killed by cruel tortures. They have either destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of their own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness.<sup>636</sup>

With the words *Deus Vult!* – It is the will of God<sup>637</sup> – Urban II confirmed that fighting against the Muslims was the only right way to secure the continuance of Christianity and that they were fighting in the name of God – who was unquestionably on their side.

Thus, the tendencies, the rhetoric and the justification are similar when comparing the Holy Crusade and the English Reformation. One group of people is marked as undesired and as a threat to the status quo and must be defeated in order to secure the people's safety and welfare. In the course of increasing propaganda and defamiliarisation processes, 'the other' by and by loses his dignity, his humanity, and his right to live. Individuals disappear in the masses; they lose their face and become a matter of indifference.

To close the circle, these tendencies are also recognisable when considering National Socialism in Germany. The Jewish people were designated as the enemy, and a huge propaganda machinery contributed to the fact that the killing of six

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<sup>636</sup> The excerpt is based on the memory of a monk who had been present at Clermont and wrote down the pope's speech 25 years after he had heard it. James Harvey Robinson (ed.), *Readings in European History: Vol. I*, Boston: Ginn & Co., 1904, p. 312.

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314

million innocents could take place in the midst of a developed European country. As has been mentioned before, the extent and barbarism of German National Socialism is in no way comparable to the prosecution of Catholics during the early modern age, but the tendencies remain the same. And in all cases 'the self' – be it the medieval Catholics, the English Protestants or the German Christians – denies the humanity and right to live of 'the other' – be it the medieval Muslims, the English Catholics or the European Jews. Thus, whenever religion becomes totalized by political interference, the ethical is lost – in the group and in the individual.

However, only in the case of early modern England, these tendencies were so strong that they were able to prevail and become part of the country's national ideology. Thanks to the preserved textual evidence of the time and the further exploration of it, many sources and information are available which guarantee an ongoing questioning of the topic. Especially the role of literature must not be underestimated, neither in capturing and preserving the *Stimmung*,<sup>638</sup> nor in influencing and manipulating it. Especially when considering the phenomenon of Historical Recurrence, literature could be seen as a key for predicting historical developments: as has been shown above, the rhetorical devices used during the Holy Crusade, the prosecution of English Catholics and German National Socialism do not differ very much. Thus, considering literature as a valuable witness of a time period could perhaps help to foresee recurring tendencies and repetitive political patterns.

On the other hand, literature also remains a powerful tool if it is used for influencing and manipulating the people's opinion. This is especially true for early modern dramas and their display of the Catholic stage villain, since they were not read in small circles but performed on stage and thus made visible for a broad audience. And although the playwrights cannot be accused of being corrupted by the government, they nevertheless were subject to censorship which not only restricted the range of topics but also – most probably – appreciated and supported anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant topics. Furthermore, the playwrights

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<sup>638</sup> Here again, a Gumbrechtian approach seems to be a fruitful approach for developing new ideas, providing answers, and raising new questions.

wished to please the audience and most of all, their sovereigns and thus presented them with more or less realistic interpretations of contemporary topics and events.

Early modern drama, thus, most probably contributed to the increasing anti-Catholicism in England, albeit not necessarily on purpose, but rather intrinsically as an organic artefact – developing from and responding to the wishes of the people.

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that early modern English anti-Catholicism is a phenomenon fed from various sources – which in one way or another are mutually connected to each other. Anti-Catholic tendencies might not have developed in literature, if there had not been such tendencies in politics. Early modern English society might not have accepted the political and legal measurements, if there had not been anti-Catholic tendencies in the theatre, the sermons and the pamphlets as well. And finally, politics might not have pursued anti-Catholicism as unswervingly, if society had not accepted these tendencies so largely.

However, it cannot be assumed that the development of anti-Catholic tendencies was intended or planned. Quite to the contrary, early modern English anti-Catholicism emerged as a by-product in the attempt to gain independence from the Roman Catholic Church. Tactics to display Catholics and Catholicism as evil and false were not developed and employed until the monarchy and the Protestant leaders recognized that the Roman Catholic Church and the English and European Catholics were unwilling to yield to the newly emerged Protestant Church.

A first vehicle for spreading these ideas amongst a largely illiterate society, were sermons in Protestant services. Later on pamphlets and the newly passed anti-Catholic statutes and acts helped to underline what was proclaimed in church. And after a while anti-Catholic notions and tendencies appeared in the dramatic texts and thus in the theatre of the time. It can be assumed that apart from the sermons and pamphlets, which were used purposely to convince the people of the wrongness of the Catholic Church and the Old Faith, the plays were no agents for anti-Catholic propaganda. They rather were a reaction to the contemporary *Stimmung*, or as Weimann put it so aptly:

Shakespeare's theater and his society were interrelated in the sense that the Elizabethan stage, even when it reflected the tensions and compromises of sixteenth-century England, was also a potent force that helped to create the specific character and transnational nature of that society. Thus, the playgoers did not determine the nature of the plays, for although the latter certainly responded to the assumptions and expectations of the spectators,

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the audience itself was shaped and educated by the quality of what it viewed.<sup>639</sup>

Thus, anti-Catholic tendencies in the theatre started out as a response to contemporary politics, events and the people's demand to address and discuss anti-Catholic issues. Yet, with a growing acceptance of anti-Catholicism and the persistence with which anti-Catholicism had become part of early modern English reality, these tendencies developed into features – on the stage and in the streets.

In a drawn out process, this change slowly but steadily prevailed, and only one hundred years after the first reformatory steps anti-Catholicism had become an integral part of early modern English drama and life. However, it has to be pointed out that this change most probably took place subliminally.

As has been shown in this thesis, fear was a driving force behind the anti-Catholic development. This fear was probably initially fuelled by propagandist texts, but then became a significant part of the language in the English church, law and theatre. Just as anti-Catholicism developed from a tendency to a feature, this fear also experienced this development. Restrained warnings and toleration developed into fear-inducing propaganda, toleration for Catholics developed into prosecution, and harmless displays of dubious Catholic characters on stage developed into violent and brutal presentations of purely evil Catholic dignitaries. The interrelation between these different decisive opinion-forming factors most probably was responsible for the prosecution and condemnation of English Catholics. Since early modern drama and theatre contributed to this condemnation the importance and influential power of literary sources may not be underestimated.

However, the crux of the matter is that no distinction was drawn between those Catholics who remained loyal to the queen and those intending to harm the English monarchy. The inability or refusal to accept that being Catholic did not necessarily mean being un-English and evil is the decisive factor which ranks the prosecution of Catholics amongst the great disasters of Western humanity.

As this thesis has shown, the processes of alienation – especially those on the textual level – have remained the same over the centuries; as have the reactions of

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<sup>639</sup> Weimann, p. xii.

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the people. Thus, the Levinasian explanation of the relationship between ‘the self’ and ‘the other’ and especially the responsibility of ‘the self’ towards ‘the other’ retains its value and still serves as an explanation for the exclusion of ethnicities, religious groups, or other minorities. Unfortunately, these mechanisms and reactions do not seem to have changed very much when considering the increasing islamophobic and anti-Muslim tendencies in European politics, or anti-European tendencies in Eastern politics and culture.<sup>640</sup>

Thus, perhaps a closer look into contemporary literature might reveal the same tendencies and features as early modern anti-Catholic drama – or quite to the contrary, show a sense of comprehension and challenge hostile and phobic sentiments. However that may be, literature as a reaction and as a response to contemporary issues offers insights and explanations which can help to understand the machinations behind hatred, prosecution and discrimination, because as Weimann states: “For the literary historian and critic, the problem, then is, not whether to accept both worlds and points of reference, but rather, since each is so inevitable and necessary, how to relate them so as to discover the degree and consequences of their connections.”<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> Here, especially the shift to the right in countries like the Netherlands, France, Hungary or Austria, in which right-wing populist parties are benefiting and are furthering the anti-European attitude within and without Europe.

<sup>641</sup> Weimann, p. xiii.

## II. Appendix

### 1. Edwardian Acts

#### 1.1 *Praemunire Facias* (1353)<sup>1</sup>

Our lord the king, with the assent and by the prayer of the lords and commons of his kingdom of England, in his great council held at Westminster on Monday next after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign that is to say in England; in France the fourteenth for the improvement of his said kingdom and for the maintenance of its laws and usages, has ordained and established the measures herein under written:

First, whereas our lord the king has been shown by the clamorous and grievous complaints of his lords and commons aforesaid how numerous persons have been and are being taken out of the kingdom to respond in cases of which the cognizance pertains to the court of our lord the king; and also how the judgements rendered in the same court are being impeached in the court of another, to the prejudice and disherison of our lord the king and of his crown and of all the people of his said kingdom, and to the undoing and annulment of the common law of the same kingdom at all times customary: therefore, after good deliberation held with the lords and others of the said council, it is granted and agreed by our said lord the king and by the lords and commons aforesaid that all persons of the king's allegiance, of whatever condition they may be, who take any one out of the kingdom in a plea of which the cognizance pertains to the king's court or in matters regarding which judgements have been rendered in the king's court, or who bring suit in the court of another to undo or impede the judgements rendered in the king's court, shall be given a day ... [on which] to appear before the king and his council, or in his chancery, or before the king's justices in their courts, either the one bench or the other, or before other justices of the king who may be

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<sup>1</sup> Taken from: *The EU Nit*, "The Law of Praemunire", (<[http://www.th-eu-nit.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=5064:the-law-of-praemunire&catid=43:your-letters&Itemid=40](http://www.th-eu-nit.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5064:the-law-of-praemunire&catid=43:your-letters&Itemid=40)> ; accessed: 22/03/15; 1:53 pm).

deputed for the purpose, there to answer to the king in proper person regarding the contempt involved in such action. And if they do not come in proper person on the said day to stand trial, let them, their procurators, attorneys, executors, notaries, and supporters, from this day forth be put outside the king's protection, and let their lands, goods, and chattels be forfeit to the king, and let their bodies, wherever they may be found, be taken and imprisoned and redeemed at the king's pleasure.

## 2. Henrician Acts

- 2.1 *An Act that no Spiritual Person shall take to Farm, of the King or any other Person, any Lands, or Tenements for term of Life, Lives, Years, or at Will, &c. and foe Pluralities of Benefices; And for Residence (21 Hen VIII, c.13) (1529)*<sup>2</sup>

For the more quiet and virtuous Increase and Maintenance of divine Service, the preaching and teaching the Word of God, with godly and good Example given, the better Discharge of Curates, the Maintenance of Hospitality, the Relief of poor People, the Increase of Devotion, and good Opinion of the Lay-fee toward the spiritual Persons: Be it enacted, ordained and established by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, That no spiritual Persons, secular or regular, of what Degree soever he or they be, shall from henceforth take to ferm to himself, or to any Person or Persons to his Use, of the Lease or Grant of the King our Sovereign Lord, nor of any other Person or Persons, by Letters Patents, Indentures, Writings, by Words or otherwise, by any Manner of Means, any Manors, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments for Term of Life, for Term of Years, or at Will, upon Pain to forfeit Ten Pounds for every Month that he, or any other to his Use, shall occupy any

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<sup>2</sup> Taken from: Danby Pickering (ed.), *The Statutes at Large from the Magna Charta [To the End of the Eleventh Parliament of Great Britain, Anno 1761 Continued to 1806]*, London: Bentham, 1763, pp. 70-77.

such Ferm, by Reason of any such Leafe or Grant hereafter to be made; the One Half of which Forfeiture to be to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Half thereof to every such Person that will sue for the same by original Writ, Bill, or Plaint of Debt, or by any Information in any of the King's Courts; in which Action and Suit no Wager of Law shall be admitted for the Defendant, nor any Essoign or Protection allowed.

“Spiritual Persons having any Ferm or Profit out of Ferm, shall alien their Leafes, &c. before Michaelmas then next; on Penalty of 10 l. per Month and Ten Times the Rent or Profit received by them.” §2

III. And be it so enacted, That all such Leafes made, ore hereafter to be made, unto any such Spiritual Person or Persons, or to any other to their Use, for Term of Life, Term of Years, or at Will of any Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, whereof they, or any of them, shall take any Profit or meddling by themselves, or by any to their Use, after the said Feast of Saint Michael, by Colour of any such Lease or Grant, and not by them bargained, granted, and sold away before the said Feast, as is before limited, shall from henceforth be utterly void, and of none Effect, as well against the Lessor or Lessors, Grantor and Grantors, their Heirs and Assigns, and against every of them, as against the Lessee or Leasees, and their Executors and Assigns, and every of them.

IV. Provided always, That this present Act shall not extend to any Spiritual Person or Persons, in and for taking to Ferm any Temporalities, daring the Time of Vacations of any Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbeys, Priories, or other Collegiate Cathedral or Conventual Churches, nor to any Spiritual Person or Persons that shall tender or make any Traverse upon any Offices or Office, concerning his or their Freehold.

V. And be it also enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Spiritual Person or Persons, secular or regular, of what Estate or Degree soever they be, shall from henceforth by himself, nor by any other for him, nor to his Use, bargain and buy to sell again for any Lucre, Grain, or Profit, in any Markets, Fairs, or other Places, any Manner of Cattles, Corn, Lead, Tin, Hides, Leather, Tallow, Fish, Wool, Wood, or any Manner of Victual or Merchandise, what Kind soever they be of,

upon Pain to forfeit Treble the Value of every Thing, by them, or by any to their Use, bargained and bought to sell again, contrary to his present Act; and that every such Bargain and Contract hereafter to be made by them or by any to their Use, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect; and the Other Hald of every such Forfeiture to be to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Half to him that will sue for the same by original Writ of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information in any of the King's Courts; in which Action or Suit no Wager of Law for the Defendant shall be admitted, nor any Essoign nor Protection allowed.

VI. Provided always, That if any such Spiritual Person or Persons shall happen hereafter without Fraud or Covin to buy any Horses, Mares, or Mules, to the only Intent to occupy for himself or his Servants, to ride to and fro upon his necessary Business, or any other Cattles or Goods, to the only Intent and Purpose at the buying thereof to be employed and put in and about his necessary Apparel of his own House, or of his Person and Servants, or in for an about the only occupying, manuring, or Tillage of his own glebe or demesne Lands annexed to his Church, or for the necessary Expenses of his own Houshold-keeping, and after the buying of any such Horses, Cattles, or Goods, or Exercise of them, or any of them, happeneth to mislike any of them that they should not be good, profitable, nor convenient for any of the Purposes abovesaid, for the which they were bought; that then every such Spiritual Person or Persons may lawfully bargain and put away such Things so by him bought, without Fraud or Covin, for any of the Purposes abovesaid at his Pleasure and Advantage; this Act or any Thing therein contained notwithstanding.

VII. Provided always, That all Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses, Provosts, Presidents, Masters of Colleges and Hospitals, and all other Spiritual Governors and Governesses of any spiritual Monasteries, or Houses of Religion, by what Name or Names soever they be called, having Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and other yearly Profits in the Right of their Monasteries or Houses, of the yearly Value of Eight hundred Marks, or under and not above, may use and occupy as much and as many of their demesne Lands, Fee-farms, and Farms to their most Advantage, Commodity, and Profit, to and for the only

Maintenance of their Households and Hospitalities, in as ample and large Manner as they or any of them, or their Predecessors, or the Predecessors of any of them, at any Time by the Space of One hundred Years last past before the making of this Act have done, used, and occupied; any Thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

VIII. Provided also, That every other Spiritual Person or Persons, not having sufficient glebe or demesne Lands in their own Hands in the Right of their Churches, Monasteries, and Houses for Pasturage of Cattle, or for Increase of Corn, to and for the only Expences of their Households, and for their Carriages or Journeys, may take in Ferm other Lands, any buy and sell Corn and Cattle for the only Manurance, Tillage, and Pasturage of such Fermes; so that the Increase thereof be always employed and put to and for the only Expenses in their Households and Hospitalities, and not in any wise to buy and sell again for any other Commodity, Lucre, or Advantage, any Corn or Cattle, renewing, coming, or growing in and upon any such Ferm or otherwise, but only the Remain and Overplus above their Expences of their Households, if any such shall happen, of the Breed and Increase thereof, without Fraud or Covin; any Thing in this present Act to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

IX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person or Persons having One Benefice with Cure of Soul, being of the yearly Value of Eight Pound or above, accept and take any other with Cure of Soul, and be instituted and inducted in Possession of the same, that then and immediately after such Possession had thereof, the first Benefice shall be adjudged in the Law to be void.

X. And that it shall be lawful to every Patron, having the Advowson thereof, to present another, and the Presentee to have the Benefit of the same, in such like manner and Form as though the Incumbent had died or resigned; any Licence, Union, or other Dispensation to the contrary hereof obtained notwithstanding.

XI. And that every such Licence, Union, or Dispensation had, or hereafter to be obtained contrary to this present Act, of what Name or Names, Quality or Qualities, soever they be, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect. And if any

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Person or Persons at any Time after the First Day of April, in the Year of our Lord God One thousand five hundred and thirty contrary to this present Act, procure and obtain at the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any Licence or Licences, Union, Toleration, or Dispensation, to receive and take any more Benefices with Cure than is above limited, or else at any Time after the said Day put in Execution any such Licence, Toleration, or Dispensation, before that obtained contrary to this Act, that then every such Person or Persons, so after the said Day suing for himself, or receiving and taking such Benefice by Force of such Licence or Licences, Union, Toleration, or Dispensation, that is to say, the same Person or Persons only and none other, shall for every such Default incur the Danger, Pain, and Penalty of Twenty Pounds Sterling, and also lose the whole Profits of every such Benefice or Benefices as he receiveth or taketh by Force, of any such Licence, or Licences, Union, Toleration, or Dispensation; the One Half of which Forfeiture to be to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Half thereof to him that will sue for the same by original Writ, Bill, Plaint of Debt, or Information in any of the King's Courts; in which Action and Suit no Wager of Law, Essoign, or Protection for the Defendant, shall be admitted or allowed.

“Exception in favour of Persons having Benefices, (not more than Four) before April 1, 1530, so that they resign all above that Number clearly and without yearly Pension.” §12

XIII. Provided also, That all Spiritual Men now being, or which hereafter shall be of the King's Council, may purchase Licence or Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep Three Parsonages, or Benefices, with Cure of Soul; and that all other being the King's Chaplains, and not sworn of his Council, the Chaplains of the Queen, Prince, or Princess, or of any of the King's Children, Brethren, Sisters Uncels, or Aunts, may semblably purchase Licence, or Dispensation, and receive and keep Two Parsonages and Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XIV. And in likewise, That every Archbishop and Duke may have Six Chaplains, whereof every One shall and may purchase Licence or Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul.

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XV. And that every Marquis, and Earl, may have Five Chaplains, whereof every One may purchase Licence, and take, receive, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XVI. And that every Viscount, and other Bishop may have Four Chaplains, whereof every One may purchase Licence, and receive, have, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul, as is aforesaid.

XVII. And that the Chancellor of England for the Time being, and every Baron and Knight of the Garter, may have Three Chaplains, whereof every One shall now purchase Licence or Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XVIII. And that every Duchess, Marquess, Countess, and Baroness, being Widows, may have Two Chaplains, whereof every One may purchase Licence or Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep Two Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XIX. And that the Treasurer, and Controller of the King's House, the King's Secretary, and Dean of his Chapel, the King's Amner, and the Master of the Rolls, may have every of them Two Chaplains; and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench One Chaplain; and the Warden of the Five Ports for the Time being, One Chaplain; whereof every One may purchase Licence, and take, receive, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XX. And that the Brethren and Sons of all Temporal Lords, which are born in Wedlock, may every of them purchase Licence or Dispensation, and receive, have, and keep as many Parsonages or Benefices with Cure, as the Chaplains of a Duke, or an Archbishop.

XXI. And likewise the Brethren and Sons born in Wedlock of every Knight, may every of them purchase Licence or Dispensation, and receive, take, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul.

XXII. Provided always, That the said Chaplains so purchasing, taking, receiving, and keeping Benefices with Cure of Soul, as is aforesaid, shall be bound to have and exhibit, where need shall be, Letters under the Sign and Seal of the King, or

other their Lord and Master, testifying whose Chaplain they be, and else not to enjoy any such Plurality or Benefices by being such Chaplain, any Thing in this Act notwithstanding.

XXIII. Be it also provided, That all Doctors, and Bachelors or Divinity, Doctors of Law, and Bachelors of the Law Canon, and every of them, which shall be admitted to any of the said Degrees by any of the Universities of this Realm, and not by Grace only, may purchase Licence, and take, have, and keep Two Parsonages or Benefices with Cure of Soul: So that always the said Liberty, by any of the Provisions aforesaid given to any of the said Councillors, Chaplains, and other Persons before specified, to purchase Licence or Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep more Benefices than One, after the Manner and Form aforesaid, be taken und understood to extend in Number to no more Benefices with Cure of Soul, than is above limited, accounting in the same, and as Parcel thereof, such Benefices with Cure of Soul, as any the said Persons shall have in real Title, or in their Possession, at the said First Day of April, in the Year of our Lord One thousand five hundred and thirty.

XXIV. Provided also, That every Archbishop, because he must occupy Eight Chaplains of Consecrations of Bishops, and every Bishop, because he must occupy Six Chaplains at giving of Orders, and Consecration of Churches, may every of them have Two Chaplains over and above the Number above limited unto them, whereof every One may purchase Licence and Dispensation, and take, receive, and keep as many Parsonages and Benefices with Cure of Soul, as is before assigned to such Chaplains.

XXV. Provided also, and be it enacted by Authority aforesaid, That no Person or Persons, to whom any Number of Chaplains, or any Chaplain by any of the Provisions aforesaid is limited, shall in any wise, by Colour of any of the same Provisions, advance any Spiritual Person or Persons above the Number to them appointed, to receive, or keep any more Benefices with Cure of Soul, than is above limited by this Act, any Thing specified in the said Provisions notwithstanding; and if they do, then every such Spiritual Person or Persons, so

advanced above the said Number, to incur the Pain and Penalty contained in this Act.

XXVI. Be it also further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That as well every Spiritual Person now being promoted to any Archdeaconry, Deanry, or Dignity in any Monastery, or Cathedral Church, or other Church, Conventual or Collegiate, or beneficed with any Parsonage or Vicarage, as all and every Spiritual Person and Persons, which hereafter shall be promoted to any of the said Dignities or Benefices, with any Parsonage or Vicarage, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next coming, shall be personally resident, and abiding in, at, and upon the said Dignity, Prebend, or Benefice or at One of them at the least; and in case that any such Spiritual Person at any Time after the said Feast, keep not Residence at One of his said Dignities, Prebends, or Benefices, as is aforesaid, but absent himself willfully by the Space of One Month together, or by the Space of Two Months, to be accounted at several Times in any One Year, and make his Residence and Abiding in any other Places by such Time, that then he shall forfeit for every such Default Ten Pounds Sterling; the One Half thereof to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Half of the Same to the Party that will sue for the same in any of the King's Courts by original Writ of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information; in which Action and Suit the Defendant shall not wage his Law, nor have any Essoign or Protection allowed.

XXVII. And if any Person or Persons procure or obtain at the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, any Manner of Licence or Dispensation to be non-resident at their said Dignities, Prebend, or Benefices, contrary to this Act, that then every such Person or Persons putting in Execution any such Dispensation or Licence for himself, from the said First Day of April in the Year of our Lord God One thousand five hundred and thirty shall run and incur in the Penalty, Damage, and Pain of Twenty Pounds Sterling for every Time so doing, to be forfeited and recovered as is above said, and such Licence or Dispensation so procured, or to be put in Execution, to be void and of none Effect.

XXVIII. Provided always, That this Act of Non-residence shall not on any wise extend, nor be prejudicial to any such Spiritual Person as shall chance to be in the

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King's Service beyond the Sea, nor to any Person or Persons going to any Pilgrimage or holy Place beyond the Sea, during the Time that they shall so be in the King's Service, or in their Pilgrimages going and returning Home, nor to any Scholar or Scholars being conversant and abiding for Study, without Fraud or Covin, at any University within this Realm, or without; nor to any of the Chaplains of the King's or Queen's daily or quarterly attending and abiding in the King's or Queen's most honourable Households; nor to any of the Chaplains of the Prince or Princess, or any of the King's or Queen's Children, Brethren or Sisters, attending daily in their honourable Households, during so long as they shall attend in any of their said Households; nor to any Chaplain if any Archbishop or Bishop, or of any Spiritual or Temporal Lords of the Parliament, daily attending, abiding, and remaining in any of their honourable Households; nor to any Chaplain of any Duchess, Marquess, Countess, Viscountess, or Baroness, attending daily and abiding in any of their honourable Households; nor to any Chaplain of the Lord Chancellor or Treasurer of England; the King's Chamberlain, or Steward of his Household for the Time being, the Treasurer and Controller of the King's most honourable Household for the time being, attending daily in any of their honourable Households; nor to any Chaplain of any of the Knights of the honourable Order of the Garter, or of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Warden of the Ports, or also of the Master of the Rolls; nor to any Chaplain of the King's Secretary, and Dean of the Chapel, or Amner for the Time being, daily attending and dwelling in any their Households; during the Time that any such Chaplain or Chaplain shall abide and dwell, without Fraud or Covin, in any of the said honourable Households; nor to the Master of the Rolls, or Dean of the Arches, nor to any Chancellor or Commissary of any Archbishop or Bishop; not to as many of the Twelve Masters of the Chancery, and Twelve Advocates of the Arches, as be or hereafter shall be Spiritual Men, during so long Time as they shall occupy their said Rooms and Offices, nor to any such Spiritual Persons as shall happen by Injunction of the Lord Chancellor, or the King's Council to be bound to any daily Appearance and Attendance to answer to the Law, during the Time if such Injunction.

XXIX. Provided also , That it shall be lawful to every Spiritual Person or Persons, being Chaplains to the King our Sovereign Lord, to whom it shall please his Highness to give any Benefices or Promotions Spiritual, to what Number soever it be, to accept and take the same, without incurring the Danger, Penalty, and Forfeiture on this Statute comprised; and that also it shall be lawful to the King's Highness to give Licence to every of his own Chaplains for Non-residence upon their Benefices; any Thing in this present Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXX. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Spiritual Person, Secular or Regular, beneficed with Cure as is afore rehearsed, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next coming, by Authority of any Manner Licence, Dispensation, or otherwise, shall take any particular Stipend, or Salary, to sing for any Soul, nor have nor occupy by himself, or by any other to his Use, any Parsonage or Vicarage in Ferm of the Lease or Grant of any Person or Persons, nor take any Profit or Rent out of any such Ferm, upon Pain to forfeit Forty Shillings for every such Week that he, or any of his Use, shall occupy or have any such Stipend or Ferm contrary to this present Act, and upon Pain to lose Ten Times the Value of such Profit or Rent as he shall take out of any such Ferm after the said Feast; the One Half of such Forfeitures to be to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Moiety to him that will sue for the same by original Writ, Bill, Plaint of Debt, or by Information in any of the King's Courts, in which suit and Action no Wager of Law shall be admitted for the Defendant, nor any Essoign or Protection allowed.

XXXI. Provided always, That no Deanry, Archdeaconry, Chancellorship, Treasurership, Chantership, or Prebend in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, nor Parsonage that hath a Vicar indued, nor any Benefice perpetually appropriate, be taken or comprehended under the Name of Benefice having Cure of Soul in any Article afire specified.

XXXII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Spiritual Person or Persons, Regular or Secular, of what Estate, Degree, or Condition soever he or they be, from the First Day of April next coming, have,

use, or keep by him or themselves, or by any Person or Persons to his or their Use or Commodity, any Manner of Tan-house or Tan-houses, to be used or occupied to his or their own Use, Commodity or Behoof; nor from the said First Day of April next coming, shall have, use, or keep any Manner of Brew-house or Brew-houses, to any other Use, Intent, or Behoof, than only to be spent and occupied in his or their own Houses, upon Pain to forfeit for every Month so using and occupying any of the said Mysteries or Occupations, Ten Pounds; the One Moiety thereof to the King our Sovereign Lord, and the other Moiety to him that will sue for the same by original Writ, Bill, Plaint of Debt, or Information in any of the King's Courts, in which Action and Suit no Wager of Law shall be admitted for the Defendant, nor any Essoign or Protection allowed.

XXXIII. Provided always, That every Duchess, Marquess, Countess, Baroness, Widows, which have taken, or that hereafter shall take any Husbands under the Degree of a Baron, may take such Number of Chaplains, as is above limited to them being Widows; and that every such Chaplain may purchase Licence to have and take such Number of Benefices with Cure of Soul, and have like Liberty of Non-residence, in Manner and Form as they might have done, if their said Ladies and Mistresses had kept themselves Widows; any Thing in this present Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXXIV. Provided always, That every Spiritual Person or Persons having Lands, Tenements, or other Possessions in the Right of their Houses, above the yearly Value of Eight hundred Marks, may keep and retain in their Occupation and Manurance, as much of their said Lands und Tenements, and other Possessions, as shall be necessary and sufficient for Pasturage of their Cattle, and for Tillage of Corn, to be employed and spent for the only Maintenance, Sustentation, and keeping of his or their Households and Hospitalities, without Fraud or Covin; any Thing in this present Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

XXXV. Provided always, That it may be lawful to every Spiritual Person or Persons to take in Ferm any Messes, Mansions, or Dwelling-houses, having but only Orchards or Gardens, in any City, Borough, and Town, for their own Habitation or Dweling, any Thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding; so

that nor Person Spiritual, other than be above provided for their Non-residence, have any Liberty of Non-Residence by Colour of this Proviso.

2.2 *An Act concerning the restraint Payment of Annates to the See of Rome (23 Hen VIII, c. 6) (1531)*<sup>3</sup>

Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable Sums of Money have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and especially such Sums of Money as the Pope's Holiness, his Predecessors, and the Court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those Spiritual Persons which have been Named, Elected, Presented, or Postulated to be Archbishops or Bishops within this Realm of England, under the Titel of Annates, otherwise called First-Fruits. Which Annates, or First-Fruits, have been taken of every Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admissions, Postulations, Provisions, Collations, Dispositions, Institutions, Installations, Investitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palles, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their Promotions; and have been compelled to play, before they could attain the same, great Sums of Mony, nefore they might receive any part of the Fruits of the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof, not only the Treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveyghed out of the same, but also it hath happened many times, occasion of Death, unto such Archbishops, and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Consecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said Annates have risen, grown and increased, by an uncharitable Custom, grounded upon no just or good title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the same Annates, or First-Fruits, have been paid, or Surety made for the same; which declareth the said Payments to be exacted, and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the wise, sage,

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<sup>3</sup> Taken from: Ibid., pp. 617-618.

politick Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great Sums of Money, under the Title of Annates, or First-Fruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said Prelates, and this Realm; which Annates, or First-Fruits, were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian People against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and conscience. Insomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of Rome, fithen the second year of the Reign of the most Noble Prince, of famous memory, King HENRY the Seventh, unto this present time, under the name of Annates, or First-Fruits, payed for the expedition of the Bulls of Archbishoprick and Bishoprick, the sum of eight hundred thousand Ducts, amounting the Sterling Mony, at the least, to eightscore thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveighed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm. And albeit, that our said Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People within any Realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annated, or First-Fruits, be so intolerable and importable to this Realm that it is considered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now represented by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good Estate and Commonwealth of this his Realm to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of Annates, or First-Fruits. And because that divers Prelates of this Realm, being now in extreme Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great Sums of Mony shall shortly after their deaths, be conveighed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable Causes abovesaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided:

II. It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by Authority of the present Parliament, that the unlawful payment of Annates, or First-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the same, for any Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of Rome, to or for the aforesaid purpose und intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be payed for any Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present Act is declared; And that no manner person, nor persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, shall pay the said Annates, or First-Fruits, for the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Mony, Pensions or Annates for the same, or for any other like exaction, or cause, upon pain or forfeit to our said Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Successors, all manner his Goods and Cattles for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Possessions of the same Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present Act, shall have, possess, or enjoy, the Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That if any Person hereafter named and presented to the Court of Rome by the King, or any of Heirs or Successors, to be Bishop of any See or Diocese within this Realm hereafter, shall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of Rome from any such Bishoprick, whereunto the shall be so represented, by means of restraint of Bulls Apostolick, and other things requisite to the same; or shall be denied, at the Court of Rome, upon convenient suit made, any manner Bulls requisite for any of the Causes aforesaid, any such person or persons so presented, may be, and shall be, consecrated here in England by the Archbishop, in whose province the said Bishoprick shall be, so always that the same person shall be named and presented by the King for the time being to the same Archbishop: And if any persons being named and presented, as be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwise disturbed from the same Archbishoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requisite, to be obtained in the Court of Rome in that behalf, that then every such person named and presented to be Archbishop, may be, and shall be, consecrated and invested within

this Realm: And that every Archbishop and Bishop hereafter, being named and presented by the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be installed accordingly, and shall be accepted, taken, reputed, used, and obeyed, as an Archbishop or Bishop of the Dignity, See or Place whereunto he so shall be named, presented, consecrated, requireth; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Diocese, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained completely, their Bulls, and other things requisite in that behalf from the Court of Rome. And also shall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predecessors had, or enjoyed in the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, satisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord and this his Heirs and Successors Kings of England, all such Duties, Rights and Interests, as before this time had been accustomed to be paid for any such Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, according to the Ancient Law and Customs of this Realm, and the King's prerogative Royal.

III. And to the intent our said Holy Father the Pope, and the Court of Rome, shall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, sealing, obtaining, and other businesses sustained, and hereafter to be sustained, by the Offices of the said Court of Rome, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any such Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, shall be irremunerated, or shall not be sufficiently and condignly recompensed in that behalf; and for their more ready expedition to be had therein. It is therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Spiritual Person of this Realm, hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick of this Realm, shall and lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said Bulls, at the Court of Rome, and ensembling the same with Lead, to be had without payment of any Annates, or First-Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielded, or paid for the same, five pounds Sterling, above all charges of any such Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, or other Mony, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundredth pounds of every such Archbishoprick, or

## Appendix

Bishoprick, and not above, nor in any otherwise, any thing in this present Act before written notwithstanding. And forasmuch as the King's Highness, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like cause, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courtesie or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cause and occasion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this Realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of Annates, and First-Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the premises, in all things, unto the King's Highness. So that if it may seem to his high Wisdom, and most prudent Discretion, meet to move the Pope's Holiness, and the Court of Rome, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said Annates, or First-Fruits, or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the same in such wise as may be by this Realm easily borne und sustained; That then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holiness and the King's Highness, shall stand in strength, force and effect of Law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the King's Highness at any time, or times, on this side of the Feast of Easter, which shall be in the Year of Lord God, a thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, to be made, and to be entered of Record in the Roll of this present Parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said Letters Patents, whether that the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this present Parliament, or not. So that if his Highness, by his said Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above-limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, That the Premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said premises, or such part, clause, or matter, as the King's Highness so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratifie, shall stand and be form henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the King's Highness, before the

expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his said Letter Patents, his pleasure and determination to be that, that the said premises, or every clause, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the King's Highness so shall affirm, accept, and ratifie, shall in all points stand, remain, abide, and be pout in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to stand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, stedfast, and available in the Law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinably made, ordained, and enacted in this present Parliament: And if that upon the aforesaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the King's Highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his Grace, that this Realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this, and such other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said Holy Father the Pope, or any of his Successors, or the Court of Rome, will, or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as is above rehearsed, unjustly, uncharitably, and reasonably vex, inquiet, molest, trouble, or grieve our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Successors, Kings of England, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excomengement, Interdiction; or by any other Process, Censures, Compulsories, Ways or Means; Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, and all his Spiritual and Lay-Subjects of the same, without any scruples of virtue and good example within this Realm, the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding, minister, or cause to be ministered, throughout this said Realm, and all other the Dominions or Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto: All and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other thing or thing necessary for the health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been virtuously used or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such

Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other process or compulsories, shall be by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered to be published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways.

2.3 *An Act for the Submission of the Clergy to the King's Majesty (25 Hen VIII, c.19) (1533)*<sup>4</sup>

I. Where the King's humble and obedient Subjects, the Clergy of this Realm of England, have not only knowledged according to the Truth, that the Convocations of the same Clergy is always, hath been, and ought to be, assembled only by the King's Writ, but also submitting themselves to the King's Majesty, have promised to *Verbo Sacerdocii*, that they will never from henceforth presume to attempt alledge claim or put in ure or enact promulge or execute any new Canons Constitutions Ordinance Provincial or other, or by whatsoever other Name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the King's most Royal Assent and Licence may to them be had, to make promulge and execute the same, and his Majesty do give his most Royal Assent and Authority in that Behalf: And where divers Constitutions Ordinances and Canons Provinical or Synodal, which heretofore have been enacted, and be thought not only to be much prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, and repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, but also overmuch onerous to his Highness and his Subjects; the said Clergy hath most humbly besought the King's Highness, that the said Constitutions and Canons may be committed to the Examination and Judgement of his Highness, and of Two and thirty Persons of the King's Subjects, whereof Sixteen to be of the Upper and Nether House of the Parliament of the Temporalty, and the other Sixteen to be of the Clergy of this Realm; and all the said Two and thirty Persons to be chosen and appointed by the King's Majesty; and that such of the said Constitutions and Canons, as shall be thought and determined by the said Two and thirty Persons,, or the more Part of them, worthy to be abrogated and

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<sup>4</sup> Taken from: *Ibid.*, pp. 162-165.

adnulled, shall be abolite and made of no Value accordingly; and such other of the same Constitutions and Canons, as by the said Two and thirty, or the more Part of them, shall be approved to stand with the Laws of God, and consonant to the Laws of this Realm, shall stand in their full Strength and Power, the King's most Royal Assent first had and obtained to the same; Be it therefore now enacted by Authority of this present Parliament according the said Submission and Petition of the said Clergy, that they be any of them from henceforth shall presume to attempt alledge claim or put in use any Constitutions or Ordinance, Provincial or Synodal, or any other Canons, nor shall enact promulge or execute any such Canons Constitutions or Ordinances Provincial, by whatsoever Name or Names they may be called, in their Convocations in Time coming (which always shall be assembled by Authority of the King's Writ) unless the same Clergy may have the King's most Royal Assent and Licence to make promulge and execute such Canons Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial or Synodal; upon Pain of every One of the said Clergy doing contrary to this Act, and being thereof convict, to suffer Imprisonment, and make Fine at the King's Will.

II. And forasmuch as such Canons Constitutions and Ordinances as heretofore have been made by the Clergy of this Realm, cannot now at the Session of this present Parliament, by reason of Shortness of Time, be viewed examined and determined by the King's Highness and Thirty-two Persons to be chosen and appointed according to the Petition of the said Clergy in Form above rehearsed; Be it therefore enacted by Authority aforesaid, That the King's Highness shall have Power and Authority to nominate and align, at his Pleasure, the said Two and thirty Persons of his Subjects, whereof Sixteen to be of the Clergy, and Sixteen to be of the Temporalty of the Upper and Nether House of the Parliament; and if any of the said two and thirty Persons to chosen shall happen to die before their full Determination, then his Highness to nominate other from Time to Time of the said Two Houses of Parliament, to supply the Number of the said Two and thirty; and that the same Two and thirty, by his Highness so to be Named, shall have Power and Authority to view search and examine the said Canons Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial and Synodal heretofore made: and such of them as the King's Highness and the said Two and thirty, or the more Part of

them, shall deem adjudge worthy to be continued kept and obeyed, shall be from thenceforth kept obeyed and executed within this Realm, so that the King's most Royal Assent under his Great Seal be first had to the same; and the Residue of the said Canons Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial which the King's Highness, and the said Two and thirty Persons or the more Part of them, shall not approve, or deem and judge worthy to be abolite abrogate and made frustrate, shall from thenceforth be void and of none Effect, and never be put in Execution within this Realm. Provided always, That no Canons Constitutions or Ordinances shall be made or put in Execution within this Realm by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, which shall be contrariant or repugnant to the King's Prerogative Royal, or the Customs Laws or Statutes of this Realm; and Thing contained in this Act to the contrary hereof notwithstanding;

III. And be it further enacted by Authority aforesaid, That from the Feast of Easter, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God One thousand five hundred and thirty-four, no Manner of Appeals shall be had provoked or made out of this Realm, or out of any of the King's Dominions, to the Bishop of Rome, nor to the See of Rome, in any Causes or Matters happening to be in Contention, and having their Commencement and Beginning in any of the Courts within this Realm, or within any the King's Dominions, of what Nature Condition or Quality soever they concern, shall be made and had by the Parties aggrieved or having Cause of Appeal, after such Manner Form and Condition as is limited for Appeals to be had and prosecuted within this Realm in Causes of Matrimony, Tythes, Obligations, and Obventions, by a Statute thereof made and established since the Beginning of this present Parliament, and according to the Form and Effect of the said Statute; any Usage, Custom, Prescription or any Thing or Things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

IV. And for Lack of Justice at or in any the Courts of the Archbishop of this Realm, or in any the King's Dominions, it shall be lawful to the Parties grieved, to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery; and that upon every such Appeal, a Commission shall be directed under the Great Seal to such Persons as shall be named by the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, like

as in Case of Appeal from the Admiral's Court, to hear and definitely determine such Appeals, and the Causes concerning the same: Which Commissioners, so by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, to be named or appointed, shall have full Power and Authority to hear and definitely determine every such Appeal, with the Causes and all Circumstances concerning the same; and that such Judgement and Sentence as the said Commissioners shall make and decree in and upon any such Appeal, shall be good and effectual, and also definitive; and no further Appeals to be had or made from the said Commissioners for the same.

V. And if any Person or Persons, at any Time after the said Feast of Easter, provoke or sue any Manner of Appeals, of what Nature or Condition soever they be of, to the said Bishop of Rome, or to the See of Rome, or do procure or execute any Manner of Process from the See of Rome, or by Authority thereof, to the Derogation or Let of the due Execution of this Act, or contrary to the same, that then every such Person or Persons so doing, their Aiders, Councillors and Abettors, shall incur and run into the Dangers, Pains and Penalties contained and limited in the Act of Provision and Premunire made in the Sixteenth Year of the King's most noble Progenitor, King Richard the Second, against such as sue to the Court of Rome against the King's Crown and Prerogative Royal.

VI. Provided always, That all Manner of Provocations and Appeals hereafter to be had made or taken from the Jurisdiction of any Abbots, Priors, or other Heads and Governors of Monasteries, Abbeys, Priories and other Houses and Places exempt, in such Cases as they were wont or might afore the making of this Act, by reason of grants or Liberties of such Places exempt, in such Cases as they were wont or might afore the making of this Act, by reason of Grants or Liberties of such Places exempt, to have or make immediately any Appeal or Provocation to the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called Pope, or to the See of Rome, that in all these Cases every Person and Persons having Cause of Appeal or Provocation, shall and may take and make their Appeals and Provocations immediately to the King's Majesty of this Realm, into the Court of Chancery, in like Manner and Form as they used afore to do to the See of Rome; which Appeals and Provocations so made, shall be definitely determined by Authority of the King's Commission, in such Manner

and Form as in this Act is above-mentioned; so that no Archbishop nor Bishop of this Realm shall intermit or meddle with any such Appeals, otherwise or in any other Manner than they might have done afore the making of this Act; any Thing in this Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

VII. Provided also, That such Canons Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provincial being already made, which be not contrariant or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes and Customs of this Realm, nor to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal, shall now still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this Act, till such Time as they be viewed searched or otherwise ordered and determined by the said Two and thirty Persons, or the more Part of them, according to the Tenor Form and Effect of this present Act.

2.4 *An Act restraining the Payment of Annates (25 Hen VIII, c.20) (1533)*<sup>5</sup>

Where sithen the Beginning of this present Parliament, for Repress of the Exaction of Annates and First-Fruits of Archbishoprick and Bishoprick of this Realm wrongfully taken by the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and the See of Rome, it is ordained and established by an Act, among other Things, That the Payments of the Annates or First-Fruits, and all Manner Contributions for the same, for any such Archbishoprick or Bishoprick, or for any Bulls to be obtained from the See of Rome, to or for the said Purpose or Intent, should utterly cease, and no such to be paid for any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick within this Realm, otherwise than in the same Act is expressed: And that no Manner of Person or Persons to be named elected, presented or postulated to any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick within this Realm, should pay the said Annates or First-Fruits, nor any other Manner of Sum or Sums of Money Pensions or Annuities for the same, or for any other like Exactions or Cause, upon Pain to forfeit to our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Successors, all Manner is Goods and Chattles for ever, and all the temporal Lands and Possession of the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick during the Time that he or they that should offend contrary to the said Act, should have possess and enjoy the said

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<sup>5</sup> Taken from: *Ibid.*, pp. 165-170.

Archbishoprick or Bishoprick: And it is no further enacted, That if any Person named or presented to the See of Rome by the King's Highness, or his Heirs or Successors, to be Bishop of any See or Diocese within this Realm, should happen to be letted delayed or deferred at the See of Rome from any such Bishoprick whereunto he should be so presented, by Mean of Restraint or Bulls of the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and other Things requisite to the same, or should be denied at the See of Rome, upon convenient Suit made, for any Bulls requisite for any such Cause, that then every Person so presented might or should be consecrated here in England by the Archbishop in whose Province the said Bishoprick shall be; so always that the same Person should be named and presented by the King for the Time being to the said Archbishop; And if any Person being named and presented (as is aforesaid) to any Archbishoprick of this Realm, making convenient Suit, as is aforesaid, should happen to be letted delayed and deferred or otherwise distributed from the said Archbishoprick, for Lack of Pall Bulls or other Things to him requisite to be obtained at the See of Rome, that then every such Person so named and presented to be Archbishop, might and should be consecrated and invested, after Presentation made as is aforesaid, by any other Two Bishops within this Realm, whom the King's Highness or any his Heirs or Successors, Kings of England, would appoint and assign for the same, according and after like Manner as divers Archbishops and Bishops have been heretofore in ancient Tome by sundry the King's most noble Progenitors, made consecrated and invested within this Realm; And it is further enacted by the said Act, That every Archbishop and Bishop, being named and presented by the King's Highness his Heirs and Successors Kings of England, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be installed accordingly, and should be accepted taken and reputed used and obeyed as an Archbishop or Bishop of the Dignity See or Place whereunto he shall be so named presented and consecrated, and as other like Prelates of that Province, See or Diocese have been used accepted taken and obeyed, which have had and obtained completely their Bulls and other Things requisite in that Behalf from the See of Rome, and also should fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick, satisfying and yielding unto the King's

Highness, and to his Heirs and Successors, all such Duties, Rights and Interests as before Time hath been accustomed to be paid for any such Archbishoprick or Bishoprick, according to the ancient Laws and Customs of this Realm and the King's Prerogative Royal, as in the said Act amongst other Things is more at large mentioned; And albeit the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, hath been informed and certified of the effectual Contents of the said Act, to the Intent that by some gentle Ways the said Exactions might have been redressed and reformed, yet nevertheless the said Bishop of Rome, hitherto hath made none Answer of his Mind therein to the King's Highness, or devised or required any reasonable Ways to and with our said Sovereign Lord for the same; Wherefore his most Royal Majesty of his most excellent Goodness, for the Wealth and Profit of this his Realm and Subjects of the same, hath not only put his most gracious Royal Assent to the foresaid Act, but also hath ratified and confirmed the same, and every Clause and Article therein contained, as by his Letters Patents under his great Seal inrolled in the Parliament Roll of this present Parliament more at large is contained.

III. And forasmuch as in the said Act it is not plainly and certainly expressed in what Manner and Fashion Archbishops and Bishops shall be elected presented invested and consecrated within this Realm, and in all other the King's Dominions, be it now therefore enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, by the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same, That the said Act and every Thing therein contained shall be and stand in Strength Virtue and Effect; except only, that no Person or Persons hereafter shall be presented nominated or commended to the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, or to the See of Rome, to or for the Dignity or Office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this Realm, or in any other the King's Dominions; nor shall send nor procure there for any Manner of Bulls Breeves Palls or other Things requisite for an Archbishop or Bishop, nor shall pay any Sums of Money for Annates First-fruits nor otherwise for Expedition of any such Bulls Breeves or Palls; but that by the Authority of this Act, such presenting nominating or commending to the said Bishop of Rome, or to the See of Rome, and such Bulls Breeves Palls Annates First-fruits and every

other Sums of Money heretofore limited accustomed or used to be paid at the said See of Rome, for Procuration or Expedition of any such Bulls Breeves or Palls, or other Thing concerning the same, shall utterly cease and not longer be used within this Realm, or within any the King's Dominions, any Thing contained in the said Act aforementioned, or any Use Custom or Prescription to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

IV. And furthermore be it ordained and established by the Authority aforesaid, That at every Avoidance of every Archbishoprick or Bishoprick within this Realm, or in any other the King's Dominions, the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, may grant to the Prior and Convent, or the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Churches or Monasteries where the See of such Archbishoprick or Bishoprick shall happen to be void, a Licence under the Great Seal, as of old Time hath been accustomed to proceed to Election of an Archbishop or Bishop of the See so being void, with a Letter missive, containing the Name of the Person which they shall elect and choose; By Virtue of which Licence the said Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, to whom any such Licence and Letters missive shall be directed shall with all Speed and Celerity in due Form elect and choose the same Person named in the said Letters missive, to the Dignity and Office of the Archbishoprick or Bishoprick so being void, and none other: And if they do defer or delay their Election above Twelve Days next after such Licence or Letters missive to them delivered that then for every such Default the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors at their Liberty and Pleasure shall nominate and by present, their Letters Patents under their Great Seal, such a person to the said Office and Dignity so being void, as they shall think able and convenient for the same; and that every such Nomination and Presentment to be made by the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, if it be to the Office and Dignity of a Bishop, shall be made to the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Province where the See if the same Bishoprick is void, if the See of the said Archbishoprick be then full, and not void; and if it be void, then to be made to such Archbishop or Metropolitan within this Realm, or in any the King's Dominions, as shall please the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors; and if any such Nomination or Presentment shall happen to be made for Default of

such Election to the Dignity or Office of any Archbishop, then the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal shall nominate and present such Person as they will dispose to have the said Office and Dignity of Archbishoprick being void, to One such Archbishop and Two such Bishops, or else to Four such Bishops within this Realm, or in any the King's Dominions, as shall be assigned by our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Successors.

V. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That whensoever any such Presentment or Nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, by Virtue and Authority of this Act, an according to the Tenor of the same; that then every Archbishop and Bishop, to whose Hands any such Presentment and Nomination shall be directed, shall with all Speed and Celerity invest and consecrate the Person nominated and presented by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, to the Office and Dignity that such Person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him Pall and all other Benedictions Ceremonies and Things requisite for the same, without suing procuring or obtaining hereafter any Bulls or other Things at the See of Rome, for any such Office or Dignity in any Behalf. And if the said Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, after such Licence and Letters missive to them directed, within the said Twelve Days, do elect and choose the said Person mentioned in the said Letters missive, according to the Request of the King's Highness his Heirs or Successors thereof to be made by the said Letters missive in that Behalf, then their Election shall stand good and effectual to all Intents; and that the Person so elected, after Certification made of the same Election, under the common and Covent Seal of the Electors to the King's Highness his Heirs or Successors, shall be reputed and taken by the Name of Lord Elected of the said Dignity and Office that he shall be elected unto; and then, making such Oath and Fealty only to the King's Majesty his Heirs and Successors, as shall be appointed for the same, the King's Highness, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, shall signify the said Election, if it be to the Dignity of a Bishop, to the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Province where the See if the said Bishoprick was void, of the See of the said Archbishop be full and not void; and if it be void, then to any other Archbishop within this

Realm, or in any other the King's Dominions; requiring and commanding such Archbishop, to whom any such Signification shall be made, to confirm the said Election, and to invest and consecrate the said Person so elected to the Office and Dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him all such Benedictions Ceremonies and other Things requisite for the same, without any suing procuring or obtaining any Bulls Letters or other Things from the See of Rome for the same in any Behalf: And if the Person be elected to the Office and Dignity of an Archbishop according to the Tenor of this Act, then after such Election certified to the King's Highness in Form aforesaid, the same Person so elected to the Office and Dignity of an Archbishop, shall be reputed and taken Lord Elect to the said Office and Dignity of Archbishop, whereunto he shall be so elected; and then after he hath made such Oath and Fealty only to the King's Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, as shall be limited for the same, the King's Highness, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, shall signify the said Election to One Archbishop and Two other Bishops, or else to Four Bishops within this Realm, or within any other the King's Dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness his Heirs or Successors, requiring and commanding the said Archbishop and Bishops, with all Speed and Celerity, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said Person so elected to the Office and Dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such Pall Benedictions Ceremonies and all other Things requisite for the same, without suing procuring or obtaining any Bulls Briefs or other Things at the said See of Rome, or by the Authority thereof in any Behalf.

VI. And be it further enacted by Authority aforesaid, That every Person and Persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominate, presented, invested, and consecrated to the Dignity or Office of an Archbishop or Bishop within this Realm, or within any other the King's Dominions, according to the Form Tenor and Effect of this present Act, and suing their Temporalities out of the King's Hands, his Heirs and Successors, as hath been accustomed, making a corporal Oath to the King's Highness, and to none other, in Form as is afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be thrononised or installed, as the Case shall require, and shall have and take their only Restitution out of the King's Hands, of all the Possessions and Profits Spiritual and Temporal, belonging to the said

Archbishoprick or Bishoprick whereunto they shall be so elected or presented unto, and do and execute in every Thing and Things touching the same, as any Archbishop or Bishop of this Realm, without offending of the Prerogative Royal of the Crown and the Laws and Customs of this Realm, might at any Time heretofore do.

VII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the Prior and Convent of any Monastery, or Dean and Chapter of any Cathedral Church, where the See of and Archbishop or Bishop within any the King's Dominions, after such Licence as is afore rehearsed shall be delivered to them, proceed not to Election, and signify the same according to the Tenor of this Act, within the Space of Twenty Days next after such Licence shall come to their Hands; or else if any Archbishop or Bishop within any the King's Dominions, after any such Election Nomination or Presentation shall be signified unto them by the King's Letters Patents, shall refuse, and do not confirm, invest and consecrate with all due Circumstance as is aforesaid, every such Person as shall be so elected nominate or presented, and to them signified as is above mentioned, within Twenty Days next after the King's Letters Patents of such Signification or Presentation shall come to their Hands, or else if any of them, or any other Process or Act, of what Nature, Name or Quality soever it be, to the contrary, or Let of due Execution of this Act, that then every Prior and particular Person of the Chapter, and every Archbishop and Bishop, and all other Persons, so offending and doing contrary to this Act, or any Part thereof, and their Aiders, Councillors and Abettors, shall run in the Dangers, Pains and Penalties of the Stature of the Provision and Premunire, made in the Five and twentieth Year of Reign of King Edward the Third, and in the Sixteenth Year of King Richard the Second.

## 2.5 *Act of Supremacy* (1534)<sup>6</sup>

Albeit, the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in

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<sup>6</sup> Taken from: *English History*, (<<http://www.britainexpress.com/History/tudor/supremacy-henry-text.htm>> accessed: 05/10/11; 3:16 pm).

their Convocations; yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this realm: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

2.6 *An Act that all Religious Houses under the yearly Revenue of two hundred Pounds shall be dissolved and given to the King and his Heirs (27 Hen VIII, c. 28) (1535)*<sup>7</sup>

Forasmuch as manifest sin vicious carnal and abominable Living is dayly used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeyes, Priories and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the Congregation of such Religious Persons is under the Number of twelve Persons, whereby the Governors of such Religious Houses and their Covent spoil, destroy, consume and utterly waste, as well their Churches, Monasteries, Priories principal Houses, Farms; Granges, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments as the Ornaments of their

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<sup>7</sup> Taken from: Ibid., p. 256-259.

Churches, and their Goods and Chattles, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God, Slander of good Religion, and to the great Infamy of the King's Highness and the Realm, if Redress should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continual Visitations hath been heretofore had, by the Space of two hundred Years and more, for an honest and charitable Reformation of such unthrifty carnal and abominable Living, yet nevertheless little or none Amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious Living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed Custom so rooted and infected, that a great Multitude of the Religious Persons und such small Houses do rather choose to rove abroad in Apostasy, than to conform themselves to the Observations of good Religion; so that without such small Houses be utterly suppressed, and the Religious Persons therein committed to great and honourable Monasteries of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously, for Reformation of their Lives, for same else be no Redress nor Reformation in that Behalf. In Consideration whereof, the King's most Royal Majesty being supreme Head on Earth, under God, of the Church of England, dayly studying and devising the Increase, Advancement and Exaltation of true Doctrine and Virtue in the said Church, to the only Glory and Honour of God, and the total extirping and Destruction of Vice and Sin, having Knowledge that the Premisses be true, as well by the Accompts of his Visitations, as by sundry credible Information, considering also that diverse and great solemn Monasteries of this Realm, wherein (Thanks to God) Religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full Number of Religious Persons, as they ought and may keep, hath thought good that a plain Declaration should be made of the Premisses, as well to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as to other his loving Subjects the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled: Whereupon the said Lords and Commons, by a great Deliberation, finally be resolved, that it is and shall be much more to the Pleasure of Almighty God, and for the Honour of this his Realm, that the Possessions of such small Religious Houses, now being spent spoiled and wasted for the Increase and Maintenance of Sin, should be used and committed to better Uses, and the unthrifty Religious Persons, so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their Lives: And thereupon most humbly desire the King's Highness that it may be enacted by Authority of this present

Parliament, That his Majesty shall have and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, all and singular such Monasteries Priories and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons and Nuns, of what kinds of Diversities of Habits, Rules or Order soever they be called or named, which have not in Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tithes, Portions and other Hereditaments above the clear yearly Value of two hundred Pounds. And in like manner shall have and enjoy all the Sites and Circuits of every such Religious Houses, and all and singular the Manors, Granges, Meases, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Services, Tithes, Pensions, Portions, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Patronages, Annuities, Rights, Entries, Conditions, and other Hereditaments appertaining or belonging to every such Monastery, Priory or other Religious Houses, not having as is aforesaid above the said clear yearly Value of Two Hundred Pound, in as large and ample Manner as the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses and other Governors of such Monasteries, Priories, and other Religious Houses now have or ought to have the same in the Right of their Houses. And that also his Highness shall have to him and to his Heirs all and singular such Monasteries, Abbies, and Priories which at any Time within one Year next before the making of this Act hath been given and granted to his Majesty by any Abbot, Prior, Abbess or Prioress, under their Covent Seals, or that otherwise hath been suppressed or dissolved, and all and singular the Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Reversions, Tithes, Pensions, Portions, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Patronages, Rights, Entries, Conditions, and all other Interests and Hereditaments to the same Monasteries, Abbeys and Priories or to any of them appertaining or belonging, to have and to hold all and singular the Premisses with all their Rights, Profits, Jurisdictions and Commodities, unto the King's Majesty, and his Heirs and Assigns for ever, to do and use therewith his and their own Wills, to the Pleasure of Almighty God, and to the Honour and Profit of this Realm.

II. And it is ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Person and Persons, and Bodies Politick which now have or hereafter shall have, any Letters Patents of the King's Highness, of any of the Sites, Circuits, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Services, Tithes, Pensions, Portions, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Patronages, Tithes, Entries, Conditions, Interests

or other Hereditaments, which appertained to any Monasteries, Abbies, or Priories heretofore given or granted to the King's Highnes, or otherwise suppressed or dissolved, or which appertaineth to any of the Monasteries, Abbies, Priories or other Religious Houses, that shall be suppressed or dissolved by the Authority of this Act, shall have and enjoy the said Sites, Circuits, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Services, Tithes, Pensions, Portions, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Patronages, Tithes, Conditions, Interests and all other Hereditaments contained and specified in their Letters Patents now being thereof made, and to be contained and expressed in any Letters Patents hereafter to be made, according to the Tenor Purport and Effect of any such Letters Patents; and shall also have all such Actions, Suits, Entries and Remedies to all Intents and Purposes, for any Thing and Things contained in every such Letters hereafter to be made in like Manner, Form and Conditions as the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses and other chief Governors of any Religious Houses which had the same might or ought to have had, if they had not been suppressed or dissolved.

III. Saving to every Person and Persons and Bodies Politick their Heirs and Successors (other than the Abbots, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses and other chief Governors of the said Religious Houses specified in this Act, and the Covents of the same and their Successors and such as pretend to be Founders, Patrons, or Donors of such Religious Houses, or of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments belonging to the same and their Heirs and Successors) all such Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Leases for Years, Rents, Services, Annuities, Commodities, Fees, Offices, Liberties and Livings, Pensions, Portions, Custodies, Synodies, Proxies and all other Profits as they or any of them hath, ought or might have had in or to any of the said Monasteries, Abbies, Priories or other Religious Houses, or in or to Manors, Lands, Tenements Rents, Reversions, Tithes, Pensions, Portions or other Hereditaments appertaining or belonging or that appertained to any of the said Monasteries, Priories or other Religious Houses as if the same Monasteries, Priories or other Religious Houses had not been suppressed by this Act, but had continued in their essential Bodies and States that they now be or were in.

“Fraudulent Assurances made by Governors of Houses, made within one Year preceding this Act declared void.” §4. “Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattles, and Debts of Monasteries given to the King from 1 March 1535. – Proviso, that Abbots, &c. elected since 1 January 1534 shall be discharged from First-Fruits remaining due.” §5. “The Value of the Monasteries, &c. given to the King by this Act shall be ascertained by the Certificates in the Exchequer. – Yearly Pensions shall be granted or Provisions made in the great Monasteries for the Heads and Convents of the Religious Houses suppressed under this Act – Provision for the Tenths and Debts of the Houses so suppressed. – Proviso, that the King may at his Pleasure declare by his Letters Patents that such of the said Houses as he shall not be disposed to have suppressed or dissolved shall continue Corporations in such State as such Letters Patent shall direct.” §6 “Proviso for the Cells being under Obedience of Monasteries having more than 200 per An.” §7.

VIII. Saving always, and reserving unto every Person and Persons being Founders, Patrons, or Donors of any Abbies, Priories or other Religious Houses, that shall be suppressed by this Act, their Heirs and Successors, all such Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Rents, Annuities, Fees, Offices, Leases, Commons and all other Profits whatsoever which any of them have, or should have had, without Fraud or Covin, by any manner of Means, otherwise than by reason or occasion of the Dissolution of the said Abbies, Priories, or other Religious Houses, whereof they be Founders, Patrons or Donors or in to or upon any the Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments appertaining or belonging to the same, in like Manner, Form and Condition as other Persons and Bodies Politick be saved by this Act, as is afore rehearsed, and as if the said Abbies, Priories or other Religious Houses had not been suppressed and dissolved by this Act, but had continued still in their essential Bodies and Estates as they be now in; any Thing in this Act to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

“Hospitality and Husbandry shall be kept upon the Site of the Houses suppressed.”

### 3. Edwardian Acts

#### 3.1 *First Act of Uniformity* (1549)<sup>8</sup>

Where of long time there has been had in this realm of England and in Wales divers forms of common prayer, commonly called the service of the Church; that is to say the Use of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln; and besides the same now of late much more divers and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the cathedral and parish churches of England and Wales, as well concerning the Matins or Morning Prayer and the Evensong, as also concerning the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, with divers and sundry rites and ceremonies concerning the same, and in the administration of other sacraments of the Church: and as the doers and executors of the said rites and ceremonies, in other form than of late years they have been used, were pleased therewith, so others, not using the same rites and ceremonies, were thereby greatly offended; And albeit the king's majesty, with the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the lord protector, and other of his highness's council, has heretofore divers times essayed to stay innovations or new rites concerning the premises; yet the same has not had such good success as his highness required in that behalf: Whereupon his highness by the most prudent advice- aforesaid, being pleased to bear with the frailty and weakness of his subjects in that behalf, of his great clemency has not been only content to abstain from punishment of those that have offended in that behalf, for that his highness taketh that they did it of a good zeal; but also to the intent a uniform quiet and godly order should be had concerning the premises, has appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, and other learned men of this realm, to consider and ponder the premises; and thereupon having as well eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the primitive Church, should draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the

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<sup>8</sup> Taken from: *Tudorplace*, "First Act of Uniformity" (<[http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Documents/first\\_act\\_of\\_uniformity\\_1549.htm](http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Documents/first_act_of_uniformity_1549.htm)> accessed: 22/03/15; 2:31 pm).

sacraments, to be had and used in his majesty's realm of England and in Wales; the which at this time, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement is of them concluded, set forth, and delivered to his highness, to his great comfort and quietness of mind, in a book entitled, 'The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England':

Wherefore the lords spiritual and commons, in this present parliament assembled, considering as well the most godly travail of the king's highness, of the lord protector, and of other his highness's council, in gathering and collecting the said Archbishop, bishops, and learned men together, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, and the considerations of altering those things which be altered and retaining those things which be retained in the said book, but also the honour of God and great quietness, which by the grace of God shall ensue upon the one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer and rites and external ceremonies to be used throughout England and in Wales, at Calais and the marches of the same, do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks for the same; and humbly pray, that it may be ordained and enacted by his majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular person and persons that have offended concerning the premises, other than such person and persons as now be and remain in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet, may be pardoned thereof; and that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church or other place within this realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, shall, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the Mass, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other or otherwise. And albeit that the same be so godly and good, that they give occasion to every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet lest any obstinate person who willingly would disturb so godly order and quiet in this realm should not go unpunished, that it may also be ordained and enacted by the authority

## Appendix

aforesaid that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, shall after the said feast of Pentecost next coming refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church or other places as he should use or minister the same, in: such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book; or shall use, wilfully and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of Mass openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than is mentioned and set forth in the said book (open prayer in and throughout this Act, is meant that prayer which is for other to come unto or hear either in common churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the service of the Church); or shall preach, declare, or speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof; and shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact: shall lose and forfeit to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of such one of his spiritual benefices or promotions as it shall please the king's highness to assign or appoint, coming and arising in one whole year next after his conviction: and also that the same person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize: and if any such person once convicted of any offence concerning the premises, shall after his first conviction again offend and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and also shall therefore be deprived ipso facto of all his spiritual promotions; and that it shall be lawful to all patrons, donors, and grantees of all and singular the same spiritual promotions, to present to the same any other able clerk, in like manner and form as though the party so offending were dead: and that if any such person or persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the premises the third time, and shall be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the person so offending and convicted the third time shall suffer imprisonment during

his life. And if the person that shall offend and be convicted in form aforesaid concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed nor have any spiritual promotion, that then the same person so offending and convicted shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment during six months, without bail or mainprize: and if any such person not having any spiritual promotion, after his first conviction shall again offend in anything concerning the premises, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment during his life.

II. And it is ordained and enacted by the authority abovesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever, after the said feast of Pentecost next coming, shall in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words declare or speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book or of anything therein contained, or any part thereof; or shall by open fact, deed, or by open threatenings, compel or cause, or otherwise procure or maintain any parson, vicar, or other minister in any cathedral or parish church, or in any chapel or other place, to sing or say any common and open prayer, or to minister any sacrament otherwise or in any other manner or form than is mentioned in the said book; or that by any of the said means shall unlawfully interrupt or let any parson, vicar, or other ministers in any cathedral or parish church, chapel, or any other place, to sing or say common and open prayer, or to minister the sacraments, or any of them, in any such manner and form as is mentioned in the said book; that then every person being thereof lawfully convicted in form abovesaid, shall forfeit to the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, for the first offence ten pounds. And if any person or persons, being once convicted of any such offence, again offend against any of the premises, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same persons so offending and convicted shall for the second offence forfeit to the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, twenty pounds; and if any person after he, in form aforesaid, shall have been twice convicted of any offence concerning any of the premises, shall offend the third time, and be thereof in form abovesaid lawfully convicted, that then every person so offending and convicted shall for his third offence forfeit to our sovereign lord the King all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during his life:

and if any person or persons, that for his first offence concerning the premises shall be convicted in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his conviction, that then every person so convicted, and so not paying the same, shall for the same first offence, instead of the said twenty pounds, suffer imprisonment by the space of three months without bail or mainprize. And if any person or persons, that for his second offence concerning the premises shall be convicted in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his said second conviction, that then every person so convicted, and not so paying the same, shall for the same second offence, instead of the said twenty pounds, suffer imprisonment during six months without bail or mainprize.

III. And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justices of oyer and terminer, or justices of assize, shall have full power and authority in every of their open and general sessions to inquire, hear, and determine all and all manner of offences that shall be committed or done contrary to any article contained in this present Act, within the limits of the commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every Archbishop and Bishop shall or may at all time and times at his liberty and pleasure join and associate himself, by virtue of this Act, to the said justices of oyer and terminer, or to the said justices of assize, at every of the said open and general sessions to be holden in any place within his diocese, for and to the inquiry, hearing, and determining of the offences aforesaid.

V. Provided always, that it shall be lawful to any man that understands the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongue, or other strange tongue, to say and have the said prayers, heretofore specified, of Matins and Evensong in Latin, or any such other tongue, saying the same privately, as they do understand;

VI. And for the further encouraging of learning in the tongues in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, to use and exercise in their common and open prayer in their chapels (being no parish churches) or other places of prayer, the Matins, Evensong, Litany, and all other prayers (the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, excepted) prescribed in the said book, in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew; anything in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

VII. Provided also, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in the said book.

VIII. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the books concerning the said services shall at the costs and charges of the parishioners of every parish and cathedral church be attained and gotten before the feast of Pentecost next following, or before; and that all such parish and cathedral churches, or other places where the said books shall be attained and gotten before the said feast of Pentecost, shall within three weeks next after the said books so attained and gotten use the said service, and put the same in use according to this Act.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall be at any time hereafter impeached or otherwise molested of or for any of the offences above mentioned, hereafter to be committed or done contrary to this Act, unless he or they so offending be thereof indicted at the next general sessions to be holden before any such of the justices of oyer and terminer or justices of assize, next after any offence committed or done contrary to the tenor of this Act.

X. Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords in the Parliament, for the third offence above mentioned, shall be tried by their peers.

XI. Provided also, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Mayor of London, and all other Mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of all

and singular cities, boroughs, and towns corporate within this realm, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, to the which justices of assize do not commonly repair, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act to inquire, hear, and determine the offences abovesaid, and every of them yearly, within fifteen days after the feasts of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, in like manner and form as justices of assize and oyer and terminer may do.

XII. Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular archbishops and bishops, and every of their chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and other ordinaries, having any peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act, as well to inquire in their visitations, synods, and elsewhere within their jurisdiction, [or] at any other time or place, to take accusations and informations of all and every the things above mentioned, done, committed, or perpetrated, within the limits of their jurisdiction and authority, and to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, and other censures and process, in like form as heretofore has been used in like cases by the king's ecclesiastical laws.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, that whatsoever person offending in the premises shall for the first offence receive punishment of the ordinary, having a testimonial thereof under the said ordinary's seal, shall not for the same offence again be summoned before the justices; and likewise receiving for the said first offence punishment by the justices, he shall not for the same offence again receive punishment of the ordinary; anything contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

## 4. Elizabethan Acts

### 4.1 *First Acts of Parliament (1 Eliz. c.1) (1559)*<sup>9</sup>

Most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, your faithful and obedient subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this your present Parliament assembled, that where in time of the reign of your most dear father, of worthy memory, King Henry VIII, divers good laws and statutes were made and established, as well for the utter extinguishment and putting away of all usurped and foreign powers and authorities out of this your realm, and other your highness's dominions and countries, as also for the restoring and uniting to the imperial crown of this realm the ancient jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities, and preeminences to the same of right belonging and appertaining, by reason whereof we, your most humble and obedient subjects, from the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of your said dear father, were continually kept in good order, and were disburdened of divers great and intolerable charges and exactions before that time unlawfully taken and exacted by such foreign power and authority as before that was usurped, until such time as all the said good laws and statutes, by one Act of Parliament made in the first and second years of the reigns of the late King Philip and Queen Mary, your highness's sister, intituled an Act repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII, and also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity, were all clearly repealed and made void, as by the same Act of repeal more at large does and may appear; by reason of which Act of repeal, your said humble subjects were eftsoons brought under an usurped foreign power and authority, and do yet remain in that bondage, to the intolerable charges of your loving subjects, if some redress, by the authority of this your High Court of Parliament, with the assent of your highness, be not had and provided:

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<sup>9</sup> Taken from: Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, Memphis, Tennessee: General Books, 2010 [1914], pp. 259-268.

May it therefore please your highness, for the repressing of the said usurped foreign power and the restoring of the rites, jurisdictions, and preeminences appertaining to the imperial crown of this your realm, that it may be enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said Act made in the said first and second years of the reigns of the said late King Philip and Queen Mary, and all and every branch, clauses, and articles therein contained (other than such branches, clauses, and sentences as hereafter shall be excepted) may, from the last day of this session of Parliament, by authority of this present Parliament, be repealed, and shall from thenceforth be utterly void and of none effect.

And that also for the reviving of divers of the said good laws and statutes made in the time of your said dear father, it may also please your highness, that one Act and statute made in the twenty-third year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII, intituled, An Act that no person shall be cited out of the diocese wherein he or she dwells, except in certain cases;

And one other Act made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the said late King, intituled, An Act that appeals in such cases as have been used to be pursued to the see of Rome shall not be from henceforth had nor used, but within this realm;

And one other Act made in the twenty-fifth year of the said late King, concerning restraint of payment of annates and firstfruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics to the see of Rome;

And one other Act in the said twenty-fifth year, intituled, An Act concerning the submission of the clergy to the king's majesty;

And also one Act made in the said twenty-fifth year, intituled, An Act restraining the payment of annates or firstfruits to the Bishop of Rome, and of the electing and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm;

And one other Act made in the said twenty-fifth year, intituled, An Act concerning the exoneration of the king's subjects from exactions and impositions

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heretofore paid to the see of Rome, and for having licences and dispensations within this realm, without suing further for the same;

And one other Act made in the twenty-sixth year of the said late king, intituled, An Act for nomination and consecration of suffragans within this realm;

And also one other Act made in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of the said late king, intituled, An Act for the release of such as have obtained pretended licences and dispensations from the see of Rome;

And all and every branches, words, and sentences in the said several Acts and statutes contained, by authority of this present Parliament, from and at all times after the last day of this session of Parliament, shall be revived, and shall stand and be in full force and strength, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

And that the branches, sentences, and words of the said several Acts, and every of them, from thenceforth shall and may be judged, deemed, and taken to extend to your highness, your heirs and successors, as fully and largely as ever the same Acts, or any of them, did extend to the said late King Henry VIII, your highness's father.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that so much of one Act or statute made in the thirty-second year of the reign of your said dear father King Henry VIII, intituled, An Act concerning precontracts of marriages, and touching degrees of consanguinity, as in the time of the late King Edward VI, your highness's most dear brother, by one other Act or statute, was not repealed; and also one Act made in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII, intituled, An Act that doctors of the civil law, being married, may exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and all and every branches and articles in the said two Acts last mentioned, and not repealed in the time of the said late King Edward VI, may from henceforth likewise stand and be revived, and remain in their full force and strength, to all intents and purposes; anything contained in the said Act of repeal before mentioned, or any other matter or cause to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all other laws and statutes, and the branches and clauses of any Act or statute, repealed and made void by the said Act of repeal, made in the time of the said late King Philip and Queen Mary, and not in this present Act specially mentioned and revived, shall stand, remain, and be repealed and void, in such like manner and form as they were before the making of this Act; anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it may also please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, that one Act and statute made in the first year of the reign of the late King Edward VI, your majesty's most dear brother, intituled, An Act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the altar, and for the receiving thereof under both kinds, and all and every branches, clauses, and sentences therein contained, shall and may likewise, from the last day of this session of Parliament, be revived, and from thenceforth shall and may stand, remain, and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, in such like manner and form as the same was at any time in the first year of the reign of the said late King Edward VI; any law, statute, or other matter to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And that also it may please your highness, that it may be further established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that one Act and statute made in the first and second years of the said late King Philip and Queen Mary, intituled, An Act for the reviving of three statutes made for the punishment of heresies, and also the said three statutes mentioned in the said Act, and by the same Act revived, and all and every branches, articles, clauses, and sentences contained in the said several Acts and statutes, and every of them, shall be from the last day of this session of Parliament deemed and remain utterly repealed, void, and of none effect, to all intents and purposes; anything in the said several Acts or any of them contained, or any other matter or cause to the contrary notwithstanding.

And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed

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within this realm, or any other your majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preeminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your majesty's dominions or countries that now be, or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm, and all other your highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And that also it may likewise please your highness, that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and preeminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

And that your highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act, by letters patent under the great seal of England, to assign, name, and authorize, when and as often as your highness, your heirs or successors, shall think meet and convenient, and for such and so long time as shall please your highness, your heirs or successors, such person or persons being natural-born subjects to your highness, your heirs or successors, as your majesty, your heirs or successors, shall think meet, to exercise, use, occupy, and execute under your highness, your heirs and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and preeminences, in any wise touching or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within these your realms of England and Ireland, or any other your highness's dominions or countries; and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner

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spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the conservation of the peace and unity of this realm, and that such person or persons so to be named, assigned, authorized, and appointed by your highness, your heirs or successors, after the said letters patent to him or them made and delivered, as is aforesaid, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of this Act, and of the said letters patent, under your highness, your heirs and successors, to exercise, use, and execute all the premises, according to the tenor and effect of the said letters patent; any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better observation and maintenance of this Act, may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop, bishop, and all and every other ecclesiastical person, and other ecclesiastical officer and minister; of what estate, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be or shall be, and all and every temporal judge, justice, mayor, and other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other person having your highness's fee or wages, within this realm, or any your highness's dominions, shall make, take, and receive a corporal oath upon the evangelist, before such person or persons as shall please your highness, your heirs or successors, under the great seal of England to assign and name, to accept and to take the same according to the tenor and effect hereafter following, that is to say:

'I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to

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the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this book.'

And that it may be also enacted, that if any such archbishop, bishop, or other ecclesiastical officer or minister, or any of the said temporal judges, justiciaries, or other lay officer or minister, shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take or receive the said oath, that then he so refusing shall forfeit and lose, only during his life, all and every ecclesiastical and spiritual promotion, benefice, and office, and every temporal and lay promotion and office, which he has solely at the time of such refusal made; and that the whole title, interest, and incumbency, in every such promotion, benefice, and other office, as against such person only so refusing, during his life, shall clearly cease and be void, as though the party so refusing were dead.

And that also all and every such person and persons so refusing to take the said oath, shall immediately after such refusal be from thenceforth, during his life, disabled to retain or exercise any office or other promotion which he, at the time of such refusal, has jointly, or in common, with any other person or persons.

And that all and every person and persons, that at any time hereafter shall be preferred, promoted, or collated to any archbishopric or bishopric, or to any other spiritual or ecclesiastical benefice, promotion, dignity, office, or ministry, or that shall be by your highness, your heirs or successors, preferred or promoted to any temporal or lay office, ministry, or service within this realm, or in any your highness's dominions, before he or they shall take upon him or them to receive, use, exercise, supply, or occupy any such archbishopric, bishopric, promotion, dignity, office, ministry, or service, shall likewise make, take, and receive the said corporal oath before mentioned, upon the evangelist, before such persons as have or shall have authority to admit any such person to any such office, ministry, or service, or else before such person or persons as by your highness, your heirs or successors, by commission under the great seal of England, shall be named, assigned, or appointed to minister the said oath.

And that it may likewise be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any such person or persons, as at any time hereafter shall be promoted, preferred, or collated to any such promotion spiritual or ecclesiastical, benefice, office, or ministry, or that by your highness, your heirs or successors, shall be promoted or preferred to any temporal or lay office, ministry, or service, shall and do peremptorily and obstinately refuse to take the same oath so to him to be offered; that then he or they so refusing shall presently be judged disabled in the law to receive, take, or have the same promotion spiritual or ecclesiastical, the same temporal office, ministry, or service within this realm, or any other your highness's dominions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

And that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons temporal, suing livery or ouster le main out of the hands of your highness, your heirs or successors, before his or their livery or ouster le main sued forth and allowed, and every temporal person or persons doing any homage to your highness, your heirs or successors, or that shall be received into service with your highness, your heirs or successors, shall make, take, and receive the said corporal oath before mentioned, before the lord chancellor of England, or the lord keeper of the great seal for the time being, or before such person or persons as by your highness, your heirs or successors, shall be named and appointed to accept or receive the same.

And that also all and every person and persons taking orders, and all and every other person and persons which shall be promoted or preferred to any degree of learning in any university within this your realm or dominions, before he shall receive or take any such orders, or be preferred to any such degree of learning, shall make, take, and receive the said oath by this Act set forth and declared as is aforesaid, before his or their ordinary, commissary, chancellor or vice-chancellor, or their sufficient deputies in the said university.

Provided always, and that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person, having any estate of inheritance in any temporal office or offices, shall hereafter obstinately and peremptorily refuse to accept and take the said oath as is aforesaid, and after, at any time during his life, shall willingly

require to take and receive the said oath, and so do take and accept the same oath before any person or persons that shall have lawful authority to minister the same; that then every such person, immediately after he has so received the same oath, shall be vested, deemed, and judged in like estate and possession of the said office, as he was before the said refusal, and shall and may use and exercise the said office in such manner and form as he should or might have done before such refusal, anything in this Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the more sure observation of this Act, and the utter extinguishment of all foreign and usurped power and authority, may it please your highness, that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons dwelling or inhabiting within this your realm, or in any other your highness's realms or dominions, of what estate, dignity, or degree soever he or they be, after the end of thirty days next after the determination of this session of this present Parliament, shall by writing, printing, teaching, preaching, express words, deed or act, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, preeminence, power or jurisdiction, spiritual or ecclesiastical, of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this realm, or any dominion or country being within or under the power, dominion, or obeisance of your highness, or shall advisedly, maliciously, and directly put in ure or execute anything for the extolling, advancement, setting forth, maintenance, or defence of any such pretended or usurped jurisdiction, power, preeminence, or authority, or any part thereof; that then every such person and persons so doing and offending, their abettors, aiders, procurers, and counsellors, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the due order and course of the common laws of this realm, for his or their first offence shall forfeit and lose unto your highness, your heirs and successors, all his and their goods and chattels, as well real as personal.

And if any such person so convicted or attainted shall not have or be worth of his proper goods and chattels to the value of twenty pounds, at the time of his conviction or attainder, that then every such person so convicted and attainted,

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over and besides the forfeiture of all his said goods and chattels, shall have and suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, without bail or mainprize.

And that also all and every the benefices, prebends, and other ecclesiastical promotions and dignities whatsoever, of every spiritual person so offending, and being attainted, shall immediately after such attainder be utterly void to all intents and purposes, as though the incumbent thereof were dead; and that the patron and donor of every such benefice, prebend, spiritual promotion and dignity, shall and may lawfully present unto the same, or give the same, in such manner and form as if the said incumbent were dead.

And if any such offender or offenders, after such conviction or attainder, do afterwards commit or do the said offences, or any of them, in manner and form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid; that then every such offender and offenders shall for the same second offence incur into the dangers, penalties, and forfeitures ordained and provided by the statute of Provision and Praemunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard II.

And if any such offender or offenders, at any time after the said second conviction and attainder, do the third time commit and do the said offences, or any of them, in manner and form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid; that then every such offence or offences shall be deemed and adjudged high treason, and that the offender and offenders therein, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the laws of this realm, shall suffer pains of death, and other penalties, forfeitures, and losses, as in cases of high treason by the laws of this realm.

And also that it may likewise please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no manner of person or persons shall be molested or impeached for any of the offences aforesaid committed or perpetrated only by preaching, teaching, or words, unless he or they be thereof lawfully indicted within the space of one half-year next after his or their offences so committed; and in case any person or persons shall fortune to be imprisoned for any of the said

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offences committed by preaching, teaching, or words only, and be not thereof indicted within the space of one half-year next after his or their such offence so committed and done, that then the said person so imprisoned shall be set at liberty, and be no longer detained in prison for any such cause or offence.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not in any wise extend to repeal any clause, matter, or sentence contained or specified in the said Act of repeal made in the said first and second years of the reigns of the said late King Philip and Queen Mary, as does in any wise touch or concern any matter or case of Praemunire, or that does make or ordain any matter or cause to be within the case of Praemunire; but that the same, for so much only as touches or concerns any case or matter of Praemunire, shall stand and remain in such force and effect as the same was before the making of this Act, anything in this Act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not in any wise extend or be prejudicial to any person or persons for any offence or offences committed or done, or hereafter to be committed or done, contrary to the tenor and effect of any Act or statute now revived by this Act, before the end of thirty days next after the end of the session of this present Parliament; anything in this Act contained or any other matter or cause to the contrary notwithstanding.

And if it happen that any peer of this realm shall fortune to be indicted of and for any offence that is revived or made Praemunire or treason by this Act, that then he so being indicted shall have his trial by his peers, in such like manner and form as in other cases of treason has been used.

Provided always, and be it enacted as is aforesaid, that no manner of order, Act, or determination, for any matter of religion or cause ecclesiastical, had or made by the authority of this present Parliament, shall be accepted, deemed, interpreted, or adjudged at any time hereafter, to be any error, heresy, schism, or schismatical

opinion; any order, decree, sentence, constitution, or law, whatsoever the same be, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such person or persons to whom your highness, your heirs or successors, shall hereafter, by letters patent, under the great seal of England, give authority to have or execute any jurisdiction, power, or authority spiritual, or to visit, reform, order, or correct any errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, or enormities by virtue of this Act, shall not in any wise have authority or power to order, determine, or adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy, by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general Councils, or any of them, or by any other general Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation; anything in this Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall be hereafter indicted or arraigned for any the offences made, ordained, revived, or adjudged by this Act, unless there be two sufficient witnesses, or more, to testify and declare the said offences whereof he shall be indicted or arraigned; and that the said witnesses, or so many of them as shall be living and within this realm at the time of the arraignment of such person so indicted, shall be brought forth in person, face to face, before the party so arraigned, and there shall testify and declare what they can say against the party so arraigned, if he require the same.

Provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons shall hereafter happen to give any relief, aid, or comfort, or in any wise be aiding, helping, or comforting to the person or persons of any that shall hereafter happen to be an offender in any matter or case of Praemunire or treason, revived or made by this Act, that then such relief, aid, or comfort given shall not be judged or taken to be any offence, unless there be two sufficient

witnesses at the least, that can and will openly testify and declare that the person or persons that so gave such relief, aid, or comfort had notice and knowledge of such offence committed and done by the said offender, at the time of such relief, aid, or comfort so to him given or ministered; anything in this Act contained, or any other matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And where one pretended sentence has heretofore been given in the Consistory in Paul's before certain judges delegate, by the authority legatine of the late Cardinal Pole, by reason of a foreign usurped power and authority, against Richard Chetwood, Esq., and Agnes his wife, by the name of Agnes Woodhall, at the suit of Charles Tyrril, gentleman, in a cause of matrimony solemnized between the said Richard and Agnes, as by the same pretended sentence more plainly doth appear, from which sentence the said Richard and Agnes have appealed to the Court of Rome, which appeal does there remain, and yet is not determined: may it therefore please your highness, that it may be enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if sentence in the said appeal shall happen to be given at the said Court of Rome for and in the behalf of the said Richard and Agnes, for the reversing of the said pretended sentence, before the end of threescore days next after the end of this session of this present Parliament, that then the same shall be judged and taken to be good and effectual in the law, and shall and may be used, pleaded, and allowed in any court or place within this realm; anything in this Act or any other Act or statute contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And if no sentence shall be given at the Court of Rome in the said appeal for the reversing of the said pretended sentence before the end of the said threescore days, that then it shall and may be lawful for the said Richard and Agnes, and either of them, at any time hereafter, to commence, take, sue, and prosecute their said appeal from the said pretended sentence, and for the reversing of the said pretended sentence, within this realm, in such like manner and form as was used to be pursued, or might have been pursued, within this realm, at any time since the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII, upon any sentences given in the court or courts of any archbishop within this realm.

And that such appeal as so hereafter shall be taken or pursued by the said Richard Chetwood and Agnes, or either of them, and the sentence that herein or thereupon shall hereafter be given, shall be judged to be good and effectual in the law to all intents and purposes; any law, custom, usage, canon, constitution, or any other matter or cause to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that where there is the like appeal now depending in the said Court of Rome between one Robert Harcourt, merchant of the staple, and Elizabeth Harcourt, otherwise called Elizabeth Robins, of the one part, and Anthony Fydell, merchant-stranger, on the other part, that the said Robert, Elizabeth, and Anthony, and every of them, shall and may, for the prosecuting and trying of their said appeal, have and enjoy the like remedy, benefit, and advantage, in like manner and form as the said Richard and Agnes, or any of them, has, may, or ought to have and enjoy; this Act or anything therein contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

4.2 *Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c.2) (1558)*<sup>10</sup>

Where at the death of our late sovereign lord King Edward VI there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies in the Church of England, which was set forth in one book, intituled: The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England; authorized by Act of Parliament holden in the fifth and sixth years of our said late sovereign lord King Edward VI, intituled: An Act for the uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments; the which was repealed and taken away by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our late sovereign lady Queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion:

Be it therefore enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said statute of repeal, and everything therein contained, only concerning the said book, and the service, administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies contained or

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<sup>10</sup> Taken from: *Ibid.*, pp. 268-274.

appointed in or by the said book, shall be void and of none effect, from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming; and that the said book, with the order of service, and of the administration of sacraments, rites, and ceremonies, with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute, shall stand and be, from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in full force and effect, according to the tenor and effect of this statute; anything in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further be it enacted by the queen's highness, with the assent of the Lords (sic) and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church, or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the same, or other the queen's dominions, shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward VI, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.

And that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister, that ought or should sing or say common prayer mentioned in the said book, or minister the sacraments, from and after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, refuse to use the said common prayers, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish church, or other places as he should use to minister the same, in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth in the said book, or shall wilfully or obstinately standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating of the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned and set forth in the said book (open prayer in and throughout this Act, is meant that prayer which is for other to come unto, or hear, either in common

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churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the service of the Church), or shall preach, declare, or speak anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book, or anything therein contained, or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction; and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize.

And if any such person once convicted of any offence concerning the premises, shall after his first conviction eftsoons offend, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and also shall therefore be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions; and that it shall be lawful to all patrons or donors of all and singular the same spiritual promotions, or of any of them, to present or collate to the same, as though the person and persons so offending were dead.

And that if any such person or persons, after he shall be twice convicted in form aforesaid, shall offend against any of the premises the third time, and shall be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, that then the person so offending and convicted the third time, shall be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions, and also shall suffer imprisonment during his life.

And if the person that shall offend, and be convicted in form aforesaid, concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed, nor have any spiritual promotion, that then the same person so offending and convicted shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment during one whole year next after his said conviction, without bail or mainprize. And if any such person, not having any spiritual promotion, after his first conviction shall eftsoons offend in anything concerning the premises, and shall be, in form aforesaid, thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment during his life.

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And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever, after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, shall in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words, declare or speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book, or of anything therein contained, or any part thereof, or shall, by open fact, deed, or by open threatenings, compel or cause, or otherwise procure or maintain, any parson, vicar, or other minister in any cathedral or parish church, or in chapel, or in any other place, to sing or say any common or open prayer, or to minister any sacrament otherwise, or in any other manner and form, than is mentioned in the said book; or that by any of the said means shall unlawfully interrupt or let any parson, vicar, or other minister in any cathedral or parish church, chapel, or any other place, to sing or say common and open prayer, or to minister the sacraments or any of them, in such manner and form as is mentioned in the said book; that then every such person, being thereof lawfully convicted in form abovesaid, shall forfeit to the queen our sovereign lady, her heirs and successors, for the first offence a hundred marks.

And if any person or persons, being once convicted of any such offence, eftsoons offend against any of the last recited offences, and shall, in form aforesaid, be thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person so offending and convicted shall, for the second offence, forfeit to the queen our sovereign lady, her heirs and successors, four hundred marks.

And if any person, after he, in form aforesaid, shall have been twice convicted of any offence concerning any of the last recited offences, shall offend the third time, and be thereof, in form abovesaid, lawfully convicted, that then every person so offending and convicted shall for his third offence forfeit to our sovereign lady the queen all his goods and chattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during his life.

And if any person or persons, that for his first offence concerning the premises shall be convicted, in form aforesaid, do not pay the sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his conviction; that then every person so convicted, and so not paying the same, shall for the same first offence, instead of the said sum, suffer

imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. And if any person or persons, that for his second offence concerning the premises shall be convicted in form aforesaid, do not pay the said sum to be paid by virtue of his conviction and this statute, in such manner and form as the same ought to be paid, within six weeks next after his said second conviction; that then every person so convicted, and not so paying the same, shall, for the same second offence, in the stead of the said sum, suffer imprisonment during twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

And that from and after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm, or any other the queen's majesty's dominions, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place where common prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as holy days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the common prayer, preachings, or other service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.

And for due execution hereof, the queen's most excellent majesty, the Lords temporal (sic), and all the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges, that the due and true execution hereof may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they will answer before God, for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justly punish His people for neglecting this good and wholesome law.

And for their authority in this behalf, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the same archbishops, bishops, and all other their officers exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well in place exempt as not exempt, within their dioceses, shall have full power and authority by this Act to reform, correct, and punish by censures of the Church, all and singular persons which shall offend within any their jurisdictions or dioceses, after the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, against this Act and statute; any other law, statute, privilege, liberty, or provision heretofore made, had, or suffered to the contrary notwithstanding.

And it is ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justices of oyer and terminer, or justices of assize, shall have full power and authority in every of their open and general sessions, to inquire, hear, and determine all and all manner of offences that shall be committed or done contrary to any article contained in this present Act, within the limits of the commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every archbishop and bishop shall or may, at all time and times, at his liberty and pleasure, join and associate himself, by virtue of this Act, to the said justices of oyer and terminer, or to the said justices of assize, at every of the said open and general sessions to be holden in any place within his diocese, for and to the inquiry, hearing, and determining of the offences aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the books concerning the said services shall, at the cost and charges of the parishioners of every parish and cathedral church, be attained and gotten before the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next following; and that all such parishes and cathedral churches, or other places where the said books shall be attained and gotten before the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, shall, within three weeks next after the said books so attained and gotten, use the said service, and put the same in use according to this Act.

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And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall be at any time hereafter impeached or otherwise molested of or for any the offences above mentioned, hereafter to be committed or done contrary to this Act, unless he or they so offending be thereof indicted at the next general sessions to be holden before any such justices of oyer and terminer or justices of assize, next after any offence committed or done contrary to the tenor of this Act.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords of the Parliament, for the third offence above mentioned, shall be tried by their peers.

Provided also, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the mayor of London, and all other mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of all and singular cities, boroughs, and towns corporate within this realm, Wales, and the marches of the same, to the which justices of assize do not commonly repair, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act to inquire, hear, and determine the offences abovesaid, and every of them, yearly within fifteen days after the feasts of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, in like manner and form as justices of assize and oyer and terminer may do.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular archbishops and bishops, and every their chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and other ordinaries, having any peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdiction. shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act, as well to inquire in their visitation, synods, and elsewhere within their jurisdiction at any other time and place, to take occasions (sic) and informations of all and every the things above mentioned, done, committed, or perpetrated within the limits of their jurisdictions and authority, and to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, and other censures and processes, in like form as heretofore has been used in like cases by the queen's ecclesiastical laws.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that whatsoever person offending in the premises shall, for the offence, first receive punishment of the ordinary, having a

testimonial thereof under the said ordinary's seal, shall not for the same offence eftsoons be convicted before the justices: and likewise receiving, for the said offence, first punishment by the justices, he shall not for the same offence eftsoons receive punishment of the ordinary; anything contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorized, under the great seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm.

And also, that if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the misusing of the orders appointed in this book, the queen's majesty may, by the like advice of the said commissioners or metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all laws, statutes, and ordinances, wherein or whereby any other service, administration of sacraments or common prayer, is limited, established, or set forth to be used within this realm, or any other the queen's dominions or countries, shall from henceforth be utterly void and of none effect.

#### 4.3 *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570)<sup>11</sup>

Pius Bishop, servant of the servants of God, in lasting memory of the matter.

He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and earth, has committed one holy Catholic and apostolic Church, outside of which there is no

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<sup>11</sup> Taken from: Pius V, *Regnans in Excelsis*, on: *Papal Encyclicals Online* (<[http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5\\_regnans.htm](http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5_regnans.htm)>; accessed: 05/05/14, 9:17 pm). Although *Regnans in Excelsis* is no actual Elizabethan statute, since it was passed by Pope Pius, it is listed amongst the Elizabethan acts, because it was passed during this period.

salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to Peter, the first of the apostles, and to Peter's successor, the pope of Rome, to be by him governed in fullness of power. Him alone He has made ruler over all peoples and kingdoms, to pull up, destroy, scatter, disperse, plant and build, so that he may preserve His faithful people (knit together with the girdle of charity) in the unity of the Spirit and present them safe and spotless to their Saviour.

I. In obedience to which duty, we (who by God's goodness are called to the aforesaid government of the Church) spare no pains and labour with all our might that unity and the Catholic religion (which their Author, for the trial of His children's faith and our correction, has suffered to be afflicted with such great troubles) may be preserved entire. But the number of the ungodly has so much grown in power that there is no place left in the world which they have not tried to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines; and among others, Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England and the servant of crime, has assisted in this, with whom as in a sanctuary the most pernicious of all have found refuge. This very woman, having seized the crown and monstrously usurped the place of supreme head of the Church in all England to gather with the chief authority and jurisdiction belonging to it, has once again reduced this same kingdom- which had already been restored to the Catholic faith and to good fruits- to a miserable ruin.

II. Prohibiting with a strong hand the use of the true religion, which after its earlier overthrow by Henry VIII (a deserter therefrom) Mary, the lawful queen of famous memory, had with the help of this See restored, she has followed and embraced the errors of the heretics. She has removed the royal Council, composed of the nobility of England, and has filled it with obscure men, being heretics; oppressed the followers of the Catholic faith; instituted false preachers and ministers of impiety; abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fasts, choice of meats, celibacy, and Catholic ceremonies; and has ordered that books of manifestly heretical content be propounded to the whole realm and that impious rites and institutions after the rule of Calvin, entertained and observed by herself, be also observed by her subjects. She has dared to eject bishops, rectors of churches and other Catholic priests from their churches and benefices, to bestow

these and other things ecclesiastical upon heretics, and to determine spiritual causes; has forbidden the prelates, clergy and people to acknowledge the Church of Rome or obey its precepts and canonical sanctions; has forced most of them to come to terms with her wicked laws, to abjure the authority and obedience of the pope of Rome, and to accept her, on oath, as their only lady in matters temporal and spiritual; has imposed penalties and punishments on those who would not agree to this and has exacted then of those who persevered in the unity of the faith and the aforesaid obedience; has thrown the Catholic prelates and parsons into prison where many, worn out by long languishing and sorrow, have miserably ended their lives. All these matter and manifest and notorious among all the nations; they are so well proven by the weighty witness of many men that there remains no place for excuse, defense or evasion.

III. We, seeing impieties and crimes multiplied one upon another the persecution of the faithful and afflictions of religion daily growing more severe under the guidance and by the activity of the said Elizabeth -and recognizing that her mind is so fixed and set that she has not only despised the pious prayers and admonitions with which Catholic princes have tried to cure and convert her but has not even permitted the nuncios sent to her in this matter by this See to cross into England, are compelled by necessity to take up against her the weapons of justice, though we cannot forbear to regret that we should be forced to turn, upon one whose ancestors have so well deserved of the Christian community. Therefore, resting upon the authority of Him whose pleasure it was to place us (though unequal to such a burden) upon this supreme justice-seat, we do out of the fullness of our apostolic power declare the foresaid Elizabeth to be a heretic and favourer of heretics, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid to have incurred the sentence of excommunication and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.

IV. And moreover (we declare) her to be deprived of her pretended title to the aforesaid crown and of all lordship, dignity and privilege whatsoever.

V. And also (declare) the nobles, subjects and people of the said realm and all others who have in any way sworn oaths to her, to be forever absolved from such an oath and from any duty arising from lordship, fealty and obedience; and we do, by authority of these presents, so absolve them and so deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the crown and all other the above said matters. We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples and others afore said that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws. Those who shall act to the contrary we include in the like sentence of excommunication.

VI. Because in truth it may prove too difficult to take these presents wheresoever it shall be necessary, we will that copies made under the hand of a notary public and sealed with the seal of a prelate of the Church or of his court shall have such force and trust in and out of judicial proceedings, in all places among the nations, as these presents would themselves have if they were exhibited or shown.

Given at St. Peter's at Rome, on 25 February 1570 of the Incarnation; in the fifth year of our pontificate.

Pius PP.

4.4 *An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience*  
(23 Eliz. c.1) (1580)<sup>12</sup>

Where sithence the Statute made in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of the Queen our Sovereign Lady, intituled, An Act against the bringing in, an putting in Execution of Bulls, Writings and Instruments, and other Superstitious Things from the See of Rome, divers evil-affected Persons have practiced contrary to the Meaning of the said Statute, by other Means than by Bulls or Instruments written or printed, to withdraw divers the Queen's Majesty's Subjects from their natural Obedience to her Majesty, to obey the said usurped Authority of Rome, and in respect to the same to persuade great Numbers to withdraw their due Obedience from her Majesty's Laws, established for the due Service of Almighty God.

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<sup>12</sup> Taken from: Pickering, pp. 624-625.

II. For Reformation whereof, and to declare the true Meaning of the said Law, be it declared and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That all Persons whatsoever, which have or shall have, or shall pretend to have Power, or shall by any Ways or Means put in Practice to absolve, persuade or withdraw any of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects, or any within her Highness Realms and Dominions, from their natural Obedience to her Majesty: (2) Or to withdraw them for that Intent from the Religion now by her Highness Authority established within her Highness Dominions, to the Romish Religion, (3) or to move them or any of them to promise any Obedience to any pretended Authority of the See of Rome, or of any other Prince, State or Potentate, to be had or used within her Dominions, (4) or shall do any overt Act to that Intent or Purpose; and every of them shall be to all Intents adjudged to be Traytors, and being thereof lawfully convicted shall have Judgement, suffer and forfeit, as in Case of High Treason. (5) And if any Person shall after the End of this Session of Parliament, by any Means be willingly absolved or withdrawn as aforesaid, or willingly be reconciled, or shall promise any Obedience to any such pretended Authority, Prince, State or Potentate, as is aforesaid, that then every such Person, their Procures and Councillors thereunto, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be taken, tried and judged, and shall suffer and forfeit, as in Cases of High Treason.

III. And be it likewise enacted and declared, That all and every Person and Persons that shall wittingly be Aiders or Maintainers of such Persons so offending as is above expressed, or any of them, knowing the same, or which shall conceal any Offence as aforesaid, and shall not within twenty Days at the furthest, after such Persons Knowledge of such Offence, disclose the same to some Justice of Peace or other higher Officer, shall be taken, tried and judged, and shall suffer and forfeit, as Offenders in Misprision of Treason.

IV. And be it likewise enacted, that every Person which shall say or sing Mass, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the Sum of two hundred Marks, and be committed to Prison in the next Gaol, there to remain by the Space of one Year, and from thenceforth till he have paid the said Sum of two hundred Marks:

(2) And that every Person which shall willingly hear Mass, shall forfeit the Sum of one hundred Marks, and suffer imprisonment for a Year.

V. Be it also further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Person above the Age of sixteen Years which shall not repair to some Church, Chapel or usual Place of Common Prayer, but forbear the same, contrary to the Tenor of a Statute made in the fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign, for Uniformity of Common Prayer, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit to the Queen's Majesty for every Month, after the End of this Session of Parliament, which he or she shall to forbear, twenty Pounds of lawful English Money; (2) and that over and besides the said Forfeitures, every Person so forbearing by the Space of twelve Months as aforesaid, shall for his or her Obstinacy, after Certificate thereof in writing made into the Court commonly called the King's Bench, by the Ordinary of the Diocese, a Justice or Assise and Gaol-delivery, or a Justice of Peace of the County where such Offender shall dwell or be, be bound with sufficient Sureties in the Sum of two hundred Pounds at least, to the good Behaviour, (3) and so to continue bound, until such Time as the Persons so bound do conform themselves and come to the Church, according to the true Meaning of the said Statute made in the said Year of the Queen's Majesty's Reign.

VI. And be it further enacted, That if any Person or Persons, Body Politick or corporate, after the Feast of Pentecost next coming, shall keep or maintain any School-master which shall not repair to Church as is aforesaid, or be allowed by the Bishop or Ordinary of the Diocese where such School-master shall be so kept, shall forfeit and lose for every Month of keeping him, ten Pounds.

VII. (Provided hat no such Ordinary or their Ministers shall take any Thing for the said Allowance.) (2) And such School-master or Teacher, presuming to teach contrary to this Act, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be disabled to be a Teacher of Youth, and shall suffer Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprise for one Year.

VIII. And be it likewise enacted, That all and every Offences against this Act, or against the Acts of the fourth, fifth or thirteenth Years of her Majesty's Reign,

touching, acknowledging, of her Majesty's Supreme Government in Causes Ecclesiastical, or other Matters touching the Service of God or coming to Church, or Establishment of true Religion in this Realm, shall and may be inquirable, as well before Justice of Peace, as other Justices named in the same Statutes, within one Year and a Days after every such Offence committed; any Thing in this Act, or in any other Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

IX. Be it likewise enacted, That the Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Justices of Assise and of Gaol-delivery, in their several Limits, shall have Power to enquire, hear and determine of all Offences against this Statute: (2) And Justices of Peace in their open Quarter-Sessions of Peace shall have Power by Virtue of this Act to enquire, hear and determine of all Offences against this Act, except Treason and Misprision of Treason.

X. Provided always, That every Person guilty of Offence against this Statute, other than Treason and Misprision of Treason, which shall before he be thereof indicated, or at his Arraignment or Trial before Judgment, submit and conform himself before the Bishop of the Diocese where he shall be resident, or before the Justices where he shall be indicted, arraigned or tried, (having not before made like Submission at any his Trial, being indicted for his first like Offence) shall upon his Recognition of such Submission in open Assise or Sessions of the County where such Person shall be resident, be discharged of all and every the said Offences against this Act (except Treason and Misprision of Treason) and of all Oains and Forfeitures for the same.

XI. And be it likewise enacted, That all Forfeitures of any Sums of Money limited by this Act shall be divided in three equal Parts, whereof one third Part shall be to the Queen's Majesty to her own Use, one other third Part to the Queen's Majesty for Relief of the Poor in the Parish where the Offence shall be committed, to be delivered by Warrant of the principal Officers in the Receipt of the Exchequer without further Warrant from her Majesty; and the other third Part to such Person as will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint or Information; in which Suit no Essoign, Protection or Wager of Law shall be allowed: (2) And that every Person which shall forfeit any Sums of Money by

Virtue of this Act, and shall not be able, or shall fail, to pay the same within three Months after Judgment thereof given, shall be committed to Prison, there to remain until he have paid the said Sums, or conform himself, or go to Church, and there do as is aforesaid.

XII. Provided also, That every Person which usually on the Sunday shall have in his or her House the Divine Service which is established by the Law of this Realm and be thereat himself or herself usually or most commonly present, and shall not obstinately refuse to come to Church, and there to do as is aforesaid, and shall also four Times in the year at the least be present at the Divine Service in the Church of the Parish where he or she shall be resident, or in some other open common Church or such Chapel of Ease, shall not incur any Pain or Penalty limited by this Act for not repairing to Church.

XIII. And be it likewise enacted and declared, That every Grant, Conveyance, Bond, Judgment and Execution, had or made since the Beginning of this Session of Parliament, or hereafter to be had or made, of covinous Purpose to defraud any Interest, Right or Title, that may or ought to grow to the Queen, or to any other Person, by Means of any Conviction or Judgment by Virtue of this Statute, or of the said Statute of the said thirteenth Year, shall be, and be adjudged to be, utterly void against the Queen, and against such as shall sue for any Part of the said Penalties in Form aforesaid.

XIV. Provided always, That if any Peer of this Realm shall happen to be indicted of any Offence made Treason or Misprision of Treason by this Act, he shall have his Trial by his Peers as in other like Cases is accustomed.

XV. Provided also That neither this Act, nor any Thing therein contained, shall extend to take away or abridge the Authority or Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Censures for any Cause or Matter, but that the Archbishops and Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Judges may do and proceed, as before the Making of this Act they lawfully did or might have done; any Thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

4.5 *An Act Against Seditious Words and Rumours (23 Eliz. c.2) (1580)*<sup>13</sup>

Whereas in and by the laws and statutes of this realm already made and ordained against seditious words and rumors uttered against the Queens most excellent majesty there is not sufficient and condigue punishment provided for to suppress the malice of such as be evil affected towards her highness. Bee it therefore enacted and of this present session of parliament shall advisedly and with a malicious intent of his or they own imagination speak any false, seditious and slanderous news, rumors, sayings or tales against our said most natural sovereign lady the Queen's majesty that now is that then all and every such person and persons so offending being thereof lawfully committed or attained in form hereafter in this present act express shall for every such first offence either be in some market place within the shire, city or borough where the said words were or shall be so spoken set openly upon pillory by the sheriff or his ministers if it shall fortune to be without any city or town corporate. And if it shall happen to be within any city or town corporate then by the principal officer or officers of such city or town corporate or his or their ministers and there to have both his ears cut of or at the election of the offender pay two hundreth pounds to the Queen's highnesses use in her majesty's receipt of the exchequer two months next after the Judgement given of his said offence and also shall suffer imprisonment by the space of six months after such his or their conviction without bail or mainprize.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that all and every person and persons which after the end of the said forty days shall advisedly and with a malicious intent against our said sovereign lady report any false seditious and slanderous news rumors or tales to the slander and defamacon of our said sovereign lady the Queen's majesty that now is of the speaking or reporting of any other that then all and every such person or persons so reporting being thereof convicted and attained in fortune hereafter in this act expressed shall for every such first offence either be in some market place within the shire, city, borough or town where the said words were or shall be so reported set openly upon pillory by the sheriff or his ministers, if it shall fortune to be without any city or town

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<sup>13</sup> Taken from: Pickering, pp. 377-381.

corporate and if it shall happen to be within any city or town corporate then by the principal officer or officers of such city or town corporate or his or their ministers and there to have one of his ears cut of or at the election of the offender pay two hundred marks to the Queen's highnesses' use in her majesty's said receipt of the exchequer within two months next after the judgment given of his said offence and also shall suffer imprisonment by the space of three months after such his or their conviction without bail or mainprize.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that if any person or persons once lawfully convicted for any of the offences aforesaid do afterwards [...] offend in any of the offences aforesaid that then every such second offence to be deemed and adjudged felony and the offender and the offenders therein to suffer such pains of death and forfeiture as in case of felony without any benefits of clergy or sanctuary to be allowed unto the offender in that behalf.

Be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid that if any person or persons of what estate condition or degree soever be or they bee at any time after the end of the said forty days and during and during the life of our said sovereign lady the Queen's majesty that now is either within her highnesses dominions or without, shall by setting or erecting of any figure or figures or by casting of nativities or by calculation or by any prophesying witchcraft [comurators] or other like unlawful means whatsoever seek to know and shall set for the by express words, deeds or writings how long her majesty shall live or continue or who shall reign as King or Queen of this realm of England after her highnesses decease or else shall advisedly and with a malicious intent against her highness utter any manner of direct prophecies to any such intent or purpose or shall maliciously by any words writing or printing wish, will or desire the death or any deprivation of our sovereign lady the Queen's majesty that now is or any thing directly to the same effect that then every offence shall be felony and every offender and offenders therein and also all his or their aiders proturers and abettors in or to the said offences shall be judged as felons and shall suffer pains of death and forfeit as in case of felony is used without any benefit of clergy or sanctuary.

4.6 *Act Against Jesuits and Seminarists (27 Eliz. c.2) (1584)*<sup>14</sup>

Whereas divers persons called or professed Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, which have been, and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the seas, by or according to the order and rites of the Romish Church, have of late years come and been sent, and daily do come and are sent, into this realm of England and other the queen's majesty's dominions, of purpose (as has appeared, as well by sundry of their own examinations and confessions, as by divers other manifest means and proofs) not only to withdraw her highness's subjects from their due obedience to her majesty, but also to stir up and move sedition, rebellion, and open hostility within the same her highness's realms and dominions, to the great endangering of the safety of her most royal person, and to the utter ruin, desolation, and overthrow of the whole realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good means foreseen and prevented:

For reformation whereof be it ordained, established, and enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same Parliament, that all and every Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever made or ordained out of the realm of England or other her highness's dominions, or within any of her majesty's realms or dominions, by any authority, power, or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the see of Rome, since the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first year of her highness's reign, shall within forty days next after the end of this present session of Parliament depart out of this realm of England, and out of all other her highness's realms and dominions, if the wind, weather, and passage shall serve for the same, or else so soon after the end of the said forty days as the wind, weather, and passage shall so serve.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to or for any Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person whatsoever, being born within this realm, or any other her highness's dominions, and heretofore since the said feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the first year of her majesty's reign, made, ordained, or professed,

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<sup>14</sup> Taken from: Gee and Hardy, pp. 285-289.

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or here after to be made, ordained, or professed, by any authority or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the see of Rome, by or of what name, title, or degree soever the same shall be called or known, to come into, be, or remain in any part of this realm, or any other her highness's dominions, after the end of the same forty days, other than in such special cases, and upon such special occasions only, and for such time only, as is expressed in this Act; and if he do, that then every such offence shall be taken and adjudged to be high treason; and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in case of high treason.

And every person which after the end of the same forty days, and after such time of departure as is before limited and appointed, shall wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, being at liberty, or out of hold, knowing him to be a Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, shall also for such offence be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, lose, and forfeit, as in case of one attainted of felony.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, if any of her majesty's subjects (not being a Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is before mentioned) now being, or which hereafter shall be of, or brought up in, any college of Jesuits, or seminary already erected or ordained, or hereafter to be erected or ordained, in the parts beyond the seas, or out of this realm in any foreign parts, shall not within six months next after proclamation in that behalf to be made in the city of London, under the great seal of England, return into this realm, and thereupon within two days next after such return, before the bishop of the diocese, or two justices of peace of the county where he shall arrive, submit himself to her majesty and her laws, and take the oath set forth by Act in the first year of her reign; that then every such person which shall otherwise return, come into, or be in this realm or any other her highness's dominions, for such offence of returning or being in this realm or any

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other her highness's dominions, without submission, as aforesaid, shall also be adjudged a traitor, and suffer, lose and forfeit, as in case of high treason.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, if any person under her majesty's subjection or obedience shall at any time after the end of the said forty days, by way of exchange, or by any other shift, way, or means whatsoever, wittingly and willingly, either directly or indirectly, convey, deliver or send, or cause or procure to be conveyed or delivered, to be sent over the seas, or out of this realm, or out of any other her majesty's dominions or territories, into any foreign parts, or shall otherwise wittingly or willingly yield, give, or contribute any money or other relief to or for any Jesuit, seminary priest, or such other priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, or to or for the maintenance or relief of any college of Jesuits, or seminary already erected or ordained, or hereafter to be erected or ordained, in any the parts beyond the seas, or out of this realm in any foreign parts, or of any person then being of or in any the same colleges or seminaries, and not returned into this realm with submission, as in this Act is expressed, and continuing in the same realm: that then every such person so offending, for the same offence shall incur the danger and penalty of a Praemunire, mentioned in the Statute of Praemunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard II.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for any person of or under her highness's obedience, at any time after the said forty days, during her majesty's life (which God long preserve) to send his or her child, or other person, being under his or her government, into any the parts beyond the seas out of her highness's obedience, without the special licence of her majesty, or of four of her highness's privy council, under their hands in that behalf first had or obtained (except merchants, for such only as they or any of them shall send over the seas only for or about his, her, or their trade of merchandise, or to serve as mariners, and not otherwise) upon pain to forfeit and lose for every such their offence the sum of one hundred pounds.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every offence to be committed or done against the tenor of this Act shall and may be inquired of,

heard and determined, as well in the court commonly called the king's bench in the county where the same court shall for the time be, as also in any other county within this realm, or any other her highness's dominions where the offence is or shall be committed, or where the offender shall be apprehended and taken.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for and to every owner and master of any ship, bark or boat, at any time within the said forty days, or other time before limited for their departure, to transport into any the parts beyond the seas, any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest aforesaid, so as the same Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest aforesaid so to be transported, do deliver unto the mayor or other chief officer of the town, port or place, where he shall be taken in to be transported, his name, and in what place he received such order, and how long he has remained in this realm, or in any other her highness's dominions, being under her obedience.

Provided also, that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not in anywise extend to any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person as is before mentioned, as shall at any time within the said forty days, or within three days after that he shall hereafter come into this realm, or any other her highness's dominions, submit himself to some archbishop or bishop of this realm, or to some justice of peace within the county where he shall arrive or land, and do thereupon truly and sincerely, before the same archbishop, bishop, or such justice of peace, take the said oath set forth in anno primo, and by writing under his hand confess and acknowledge, and from thenceforth continue, his due obedience unto her highness's laws, statutes and ordinances, made and provided or to be made or provided in causes of religion.

Provided always, if it happen at any time hereafter any peer of this realm to be indicted of any offence made treason, felony or Praemunire, by this Act, that he shall have his trial by his peers, as in other cases of treason, felony or Praemunire, is accustomed.

Provided nevertheless, and it is declared by authority aforesaid, that if any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priests abovesaid, shall fortune to be so weak or

infirm of body, that he or they may not pass out of the realm by the time herein limited without imminent danger of life, and this understood as well by the corporal oath of the party as by other good means, unto the bishop of the diocese and two justices of peace of the same county where such person or persons do dwell or abide; that then, and upon good and sufficient bond of the person or persons, with sureties, of the sum of two hundred pounds at the least, with condition that he or they shall be of good behaviour towards our sovereign lady the queen and all her liege people, then he or they so licensed and doing as is aforesaid, shall and may remain and be still within this realm, without any loss or danger to fall on him or them by this Act, for so long time as by the same bishop and justices shall be limited and appointed, so as the same time of abode exceed not the space of six months at the most;

And that no person or persons shall sustain any loss, or incur any danger by this Act, for the receiving or maintaining of any such person or persons so licensed as is aforesaid, for and during such time only as such person or persons shall be so licensed to tarry within this realm, anything contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it also further enacted by authority aforesaid, that every person or persons, being subjects of this realm, which after the said forty days shall know and understand that any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest abovesaid, shall abide, stay, tarry, or be within this realm or other the queen's dominions and countries, contrary to the true meaning of this Act, and shall not discover the same unto some justice of peace or other higher officer, within twelve days next after his said knowledge, but willingly conceal his knowledge therein; that every such offender shall make fine, and be imprisoned at the queen's pleasure. And that if such justice of peace, or other such officer to whom such matter shall be so discovered, do not within eight and twenty days then next following give information thereof to some of the queen's privy council, or to the president or vice-president of the queen's council established in the north, or in the marches of Wales, for the time being; that then he or they so offending shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of two hundred marks.

And be it likewise enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such of the privy council, president or vice-president, to whom such information shall be made, shall thereupon deliver a note in writing, subscribed with his own hand, to the party by whom he shall receive such information, testifying that such information was made unto him.

And be it also enacted, that all such oaths, bonds, and submissions, as shall be made by force of this Act, as aforesaid, shall be certified into the chancery by such parties before whom the same shall be made, within three months after such submission; upon pain to forfeit and lose for every such offence one hundred pounds of lawful English money; the said forfeiture to be to the queen, her heirs and successors:

And that if any person so submitting himself, as aforesaid, do at any time within the space of ten years after such submission made, come within ten miles of such place where her majesty shall be, without especial licence from her majesty in that behalf to be obtained in writing under her hand; that then and from thenceforth such person shall take no benefit of the said submission, but that the same submission shall be void as if the same had never been.

4.7 *Act Against Recusants (35 Eliz. c.2) (1592)*<sup>15</sup>

For the better discovering and avoiding of all such traitorous and most dangerous conspiracies and attempts as are daily devised and practised against our most gracious sovereign lady the queen's majesty and the happy estate of this commonweal, by sundry wicked and seditious persons, who, terming themselves Catholics, and being indeed spies and intelligencers, not only for her majesty's foreign enemies, but also for rebellious and traitorous subjects born within her highness's realms and dominions, and hiding their most detestable and devilish purposes under a false pretext of religion and conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this realm, to corrupt and seduce her majesty's subjects, and to stir them to sedition and rebellion:

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<sup>15</sup> Taken from: *Ibid.*, pp. 293-298.

Be it ordained and enacted by our sovereign lady the queen's majesty, and the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that every person above the age of sixteen years, born within any of the queen's majesty's realms and dominions, or made denizen, being a popish recusant, and before the end of this session of Parliament, convicted for not repairing to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service there, but forbearing the same, contrary to the tenor of the laws and statutes heretofore made and provided in that behalf, and having any certain place of dwelling and abode within this realm, shall within forty days next after the end of this session of Parliament (if they be within this realm, and not restrained or stayed either by imprisonment, or by her majesty's commandment, or by order and direction of some six or more of the privy council, or by such sickness or infirmity of body, as they shall not be able to travel without imminent danger of life, and in such cases of absence out of the realm, restraint, or stay, then within twenty days next after they shall return into the realm, and be enlarged of such imprisonment or restraint, and shall be able to travel) repair to their place of dwelling where they usually heretofore made their common abode, and shall not, any time after, pass or remove above five miles from thence.

And also that every person being above the age of sixteen years, born within any her majesty's realms or dominions, or made denizen, and having, or which hereafter shall have, any certain place of dwelling and abode within this realm, which, being then a popish recusant, shall at any time hereafter be lawfully convicted for not repairing to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service there, but forbearing the same contrary to the said laws and statutes, and being within this realm at the time that they shall be convicted, shall within forty days next after the same conviction (if they be not restrained or stayed by imprisonment or otherwise, as is aforesaid, and in such cases of restraint and stay, then within twenty days next after they shall be enlarged of such imprisonment or restraint, and shall be able to travel) repair to their place of usual dwelling and abode, and shall not at any time after pass or remove above five miles from thence; upon pain that every person and persons that shall offend against the tenor and intent of this Act in anything before

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mentioned, shall lose and forfeit all his and their goods and chattels, and shall also forfeit to the queen's majesty all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all the rents and annuities of every such person so doing or offending, during the life of the same offender.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person above the age of sixteen years, born within any her majesty's realms or dominions, not having any certain place of dwelling and abode within this realm, and being a popish recusant, not usually repairing to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, but forbearing the same, contrary to the same laws and statutes in that behalf made, shall within forty days next after the end of this session of Parliament (if they be then within this realm, and not imprisoned, restrained, or stayed as aforesaid, and in such case of absence out of the realm, imprisonment, restraint, or stay, then within twenty days next after they shall return into the realm, and be enlarged of such imprisonment or restraint, and shall be able to travel) repair to the place where such person was born, or where the father or mother of such person shall then be dwelling, and shall not at any time after remove or pass above five miles from thence; upon pain that every person and persons which shall offend against the tenor and intent of this Act in anything before mentioned, shall lose and forfeit all his and their goods and chattels, and shall also forfeit to the queen's majesty all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all the rents and annuities of every such person so doing or offending, during the life of the same person.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such offender as is before mentioned, which has or shall have any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, by copy of court-roll, or by any other customary tenure at the will of the lord, according to the custom of any manor, shall forfeit all and singular his and their said lands, tenement, and hereditaments so holden by copy of court-roll or customary tenure, as aforesaid, for and during the life of such offender (if his or her estate so long continue) to the lord or lords of whom the same be immediately holden, if the same lord or lords be not then a popish recusant, and convicted for not coming to church to hear divine service, but forbearing the same contrary to

the laws and statutes aforesaid, nor seised or possessed upon trust, to the use or behoof of any such recusant as aforesaid, and in such case the same forfeiture to be to the queen's majesty.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all such persons as by the intent and true meaning of this Act are to make their repair to their place of dwelling and abode, or to the place where they were born, or where their father or mother shall be dwelling, and not to remove or pass above five miles from thence as is aforesaid, shall within twenty days next after their coming to any of the said places (as the case shall happen) notify their coming thither, and present themselves, and deliver their true names in writing, to the minister or curate of the same parish, and to the constable, headborough, or tithingman of the town, and thereupon the said minister or curate shall presently enter the same into a book to be kept in every parish for that purpose.

And afterwards the said minister or curate, and the said constable, headborough, or tithingman, shall certify the same in writing to the justices of the peace of the same county at the next general or quarter-sessions to be holden in the said county, and the said justices shall cause the same to be entered by the clerk of the peace in the rolls of the same sessions.

And to the end that the realm be not pestered and overcharged with the multitude of such seditious and dangerous people as is aforesaid, who, having little or no ability to answer or satisfy any competent penalty for their contempt and disobedience of the said laws and statutes, and being committed to prison for the same, do live for the most part in better case there, than they could if they were abroad at their own liberty; the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, do most humbly and instantly beseech the queen's majesty, that it may be further enacted, that if any such person or persons, being a popish recusant (not being a feme covert, and not having lands, tenements, rents, or annuities, of an absolute estate of inheritance or freehold, of the clear yearly value of twenty marks, above all charges, to their own use and behoof, and not upon any secret trust or confidence for any other, or goods and chattels in their own might, and to their own proper use and behoof, and not upon any such secret

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trust and confidence for any other, above the value of forty pounds) shall not within the time before in this Act in that behalf limited and appointed, repair to their place of usual dwelling and abode, if they have any, or else to the place where they were born, or where their father or mother shall be dwelling, according to the tenor and intent of this present Act, and thereupon notify their coming, and present themselves, and deliver their true names in writing to the minister or curate of the parish, and to the constable, headborough, or tithingman of the town, within such time, and in such manner and form as is aforesaid, or at any time after such their repairing to any such place as is before appointed, shall pass or remove above five miles from the same, and shall not within three months next after such person shall be apprehended or taken for offending as is aforesaid, conform themselves to the obedience of the laws and statutes of this realm, in coming usually to the church to hear divine service, and in making such public confession and submission, as hereafter in this Act is appointed and expressed, being thereunto required by the bishop of the diocese, or any justice of the peace of the county where the same person shall happen to be, or by the minister or curate of the parish; that in every such case every such offender, being thereunto warned or required by any two justices of the peace or coroner of the same county where such offenders shall then be, shall upon his and their corporal oath before any two justices of the peace, or coroner of the same county, abjure this realm of England, and all other the queen's majesty's dominions for ever; and thereupon shall depart out of this realm at such haven and port, and within such time, as shall in that behalf be assigned and appointed by the said justices of peace or coroner, before whom such abjuration shall be made, unless the same offenders be letted or stayed by such lawful and reasonable means or causes, as by the common laws of this realm are permitted and allowed in cases of abjuration for felony; and in such cases of let or stay, then within such reasonable and convenient time after, as the common law requires in case of abjuration for felony as is aforesaid.

And that every justice of peace or coroner before whom any such abjuration shall happen to be made as is aforesaid shall cause the same presently to be entered of record before them, and shall certify the same to the justices of assizes or gaol-

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delivery of the said county, at the next assizes or gaol-delivery to be holden in the same county.

And if any such offender, which by the tenor and intent of this Act is to be abjured as is aforesaid, shall refuse to make such abjuration as is aforesaid, or after such abjuration made shall not go to such haven, and within such time as is before appointed, and from thence depart out of this realm, according to this present Act, or after such his departure shall return or come again into any her majesty's realms or dominions, without her majesty's special licence in that behalf first had and obtained; that then, in every such case, the person so offending shall be adjudged a felon, and shall suffer and lose as in case of felony without benefit of clergy.

And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that if any person which shall be suspected to be a Jesuit, seminary or massing priest, being examined by any person having lawful authority in that behalf to examine such person which shall be so suspected, shall refuse to answer directly and truly whether he be a Jesuit, or a seminary or massing priest, as is aforesaid, every such person so refusing to answer shall for his disobedience and contempt in that behalf, be committed to prison by such as shall examine him as is aforesaid, and thereupon shall remain and continue in prison without bail or mainprize, until he shall make direct and true answer to the said questions whereupon he shall be so examined.

Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any of the persons which are hereby limited and appointed to continue and abide within five miles of their usual dwelling-place, or of such place where they were born, or where their father or mother shall be dwelling as is aforesaid, shall have necessary occasion or business to go and travel out of the compass of the said five miles; that then, and in every such case--upon licence in that behalf to be gotten under the hands of two of the justices of the peace of the same county, with the privity and assent in writing of the bishop of the diocese, or of the lieutenant, or of any deputy-lieutenant of the same county, under their hands--it shall and may be lawful for every such person to go and travel about such their necessary business,

and for such time only for their travelling, attending, and returning, as shall be comprised in the same licence; anything before in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any such person so restrained as is aforesaid, shall be urged by process, without fraud or covin, or be bounden without fraud or covin, to make appearance in any of her majesty's courts, or shall be sent for, commanded, or required by any three or more of her majesty's privy council, or by any four or more of any commissioners to be in that behalf nominated and assigned by her majesty, to make appearance before her majesty's said council or commissioners; that in every such case, every such person so bounden, urged, commanded, or required to make such appearance, shall not incur any pain, forfeiture, or loss for travelling to make appearance accordingly, nor for his abode concerning the same, nor for convenient time for his return back again upon the same.

And be it further provided and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any such person or persons so restrained as is aforesaid, shall be bound, or ought to yield and render their bodies to the sheriff of the county where they shall happen to be, upon proclamation in that behalf without fraud or covin to be made; that then in every such case, every such person which shall be so bounden, or ought to yield and render their body as aforesaid, shall not incur any pain, forfeiture, or loss for travelling for that intent and purpose only, without any fraud or covin, nor for convenient time taken for the return back again upon the same.

And furthermore be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that if any person, or persons, that shall at any time hereafter offend against this Act, shall before he or they shall be thereof convicted come to some parish church on some Sunday or other festival day, and then and there hear divine service, and at service-time, before the sermon, or reading of the gospel, make public and open submission and declaration of his and their conformity to her majesty's laws and statutes, as hereafter in this Act is declared and appointed; that then the same offender shall thereupon be clearly discharged of and from all and every pains and forfeitures inflicted or imposed by this Act for any of the said offences in this Act contained: the same submission to be made as hereafter follows, that is to say:

‘I, A. B., do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God in contemning her majesty’s godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm: and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that the bishop or see of Rome has not, nor ought to have, any power or authority over her majesty, or within any her majesty’s realms or dominions: and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any colour or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will from time to time obey and perform her majesty’s laws and statutes, in repairing to the church, and hearing divine service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same.’

And that every minister or curate of every parish, where such submission and declaration of conformity shall here after be so made by any such offender as aforesaid, shall presently enter the same into a book to be kept in every parish for that purpose, and within ten days then next following shall certify the same in writing to the bishop of the same diocese.

Provided nevertheless, that if any such offender, after such submission made as is aforesaid, shall afterwards fall into, relapse, or eftsoons become a recusant, in not repairing to church to hear divine service, but shall forbear the same, contrary to the laws and statutes in that behalf made and provided; that then every such offender shall lose all such benefit as he or she might otherwise, by virtue of this Act, have or enjoy by reason of their said submission; and shall thereupon stand and remain in such plight, condition, and degree, to all intents, as though such submission had never been made.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every woman married, or hereafter to be married, shall be bound by all and every article, branch, and matter contained in this statute, other than the branch and article of abjuration before mentioned: and that no such woman married, or to be married, during marriage, shall be in anywise forced or compelled to abjure, or be abjured, by virtue of this Act; anything therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

## 5. Jacobean Acts

### 5.1 *Act for the better discovery and repression of Popish recusants (3 Jac. cc.4+5.) (1606)*<sup>16</sup>

I, A.B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lord King James, is lawful and rightful King of this realm, and of all other in his Majesties Dominions and Countries; And that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any authorities of the Church or See of Rome, or by any means with any other hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Majesty's kingdoms, or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give any license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence, or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions.

Also, I do swear from my heart that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deposition made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his See against the King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience: I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him or them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or color of any such sentence or declaration or otherwise, and will doe my best endeavor to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them:

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<sup>16</sup> Taken from: *Internet Archive*, "Act for the better discovery and repression of Popish recusants", (<[http://www26.us.archive.org/stream/a619399900spuruoft/a619399900spuruoft\\_djvu.txt](http://www26.us.archive.org/stream/a619399900spuruoft/a619399900spuruoft_djvu.txt)> ; accessed 27/11/12, 2:24 pm).

## Appendix

And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any whatsoever.

And I do believe and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to bee lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary: And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever: And I doe make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian: So help me God.

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