

Trauma, Typology, and Anti-Catholicism
in Early Modern England, 1579 – 1625

by

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ABSTRACT

“Trauma, Typology, and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England” explores the connection between the biblical exegetical mode of typology and the construction of traumatic historiography in early modern English anti-Catholicism. The Protestant use of typology—for example, linking Elizabeth to Eve--was a textual expression of political and religious trauma surrounding the English Reformation and responded to the threat presented by foreign and domestic Catholicism between 1579 and 1625. During this period of the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, English anti-Catholicism began to encompass not only doctrine, but stereotypical representations of Catholics and their desire to overthrow Protestant sovereignty. English Protestant polemicists viewed themselves as taking part in an important hermeneutical process that allowed their readers to understand the role of the past in the present. Viewing English anti-Catholicism through the lens of trauma studies allows us greater insight into the beliefs that underpinned this religio-political rhetoric.

Much of this rhetorical use of typology generated accessible associations of Catholics with both biblical villains and with officials who persecuted and executed Protestants during the reign of Mary I. These associations created a typological network that reinforced the notion of English Protestants as an elect people, while at the same time exploring Protestant religio-political anxiety in the wake of various Catholic plots. Each chapter explores texts published in moments of Catholic “crisis” wherein typology and trauma form a recursive loop by which the parameters of the threat can be understood. The first chapter examines John Stubbs’s *Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579) and his views of Protestant female monarchy and a sexualized Catholic threat in response to

Elizabeth I's proposed marriage to the French Catholic Duke of Anjou. The second chapter surveys popular and state responses to the first Jesuit mission to England in 1580. The final chapters consider the place of typology and trauma in works by mercantilist Thomas Milles in response to recusant equivocation following the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624) as a response to the failure of marriage negotiations between the Protestant Prince Charles and the Catholic Spanish Infanta.

For my Joe.

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For *everything*.

Seriously.

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Introduction

In 1604, just after James I succeeded to the throne following the death of Elizabeth I, Thomas Bell (b.c. 1551, d.c. 1610), a Roman-priest-turned-Protestant-controversialist, described English “papists” in his tract, *The Downefall of Popery*. Catholics, said Bell, “tell us plainly in printed bookes pupliched to the view of the whole world (a thing verie rare and greatly to bee admired) of such brutish, barbarous, cruell, villanous, traytorous, and most bloodie dealing, practised not onely by their deere brethren the Jesuites, but even by themselves also, though not in one or the same degree.”¹ Bell’s assertion that Catholic’s self-publish their odious deeds for the world to view is misguided. Evidence shows that early modern English Catholics had limited access to England’s print market given the harsh restrictions and licenses imposed by Protestant regimes, and much of what they were able to print was meant to defend their faith against accusations by polemicists and controversialists. However, his assessment of the nature of these deeds – cruel and undeniably directed against England and the best interests of her citizens – reflects a long-developing notion of the threat “popery” presented to a Protestant nation. Although Bell was one of the more prolific anti-Catholic polemicists of the period, publishing several tracts spanning the latter years of Elizabeth’s reign and the first decade or so of James’s, he was hardly alone in his expression of disdain for those perceived as England’s greatest enemies.²

¹ *The Downefall of Popery* (London: A. Islip, 1604), Sig. A1r.

² It is important for me to note that while this dissertation tends to relegate the religious terminology of the period into the rather simplistic terms of “Protestant” and “Catholic,” there were, in fact, myriad different sects and religious identities represented in early modern England. Protestant sectarianism appeared almost as soon as the Reformation began in earnest, leading to various forms of Lutheranism, Calvinisms, and many other “-isms.” Likewise, scholarship by the likes of Michael Questier indicate that English Catholics had just as rich of a system of identification at their disposal as they negotiated harsh punishments levied against them by the government on account of their faith. Since, however, English anti-Catholicism rarely

Anti-Catholicism was, without a doubt, one of the most pervasive rhetorics in early modern England.³ It was not only a regular feature in the polemical tracts that dominated the early print market, but its presence was also felt in myriad other sources of entertainment and public engagement. The rhetoric often took the form of passing references and puns – indicating that the Protestant/Catholic divide in England eventually became so entrenched in the vernacular that it needed no heavy doctrinal backing to make it recognizable. Whether or not English Protestants believed assertions of Catholic turpitude to be true, one would be hard-pressed to find an early modern Protestant incapable of rattling off a list of the perceived moral failings of “papists.” England had struggled to identify and negotiate internal and external Catholic threats since the religio-political trauma of the Henrician Reformation of the early 1530s. Since that time, English Catholics had often embodied not merely a non-compliant religious group, but seditious underlings of far-flung power who worked ceaselessly to bring an end to English sovereignty. Anti-Catholic rhetorical tracts comprised a large portion of the English religious print market, especially during times of perceived crisis following the uncovering of a new plot or threat. Even though works devoted solely to anti-Catholic rhetoric sold “erratically” between these periods, there was nevertheless a continued

acknowledges anything beyond the binary relationship of Protestantism and Catholicism, I have found it sufficient to use these terms in this context.

³ Edward J. Baskerville traced the early roots of English anti-Catholic printing, and notes that it is quite evident that Protestant writers out-produced Catholics during the years following the Protestant Reformation. Baskerville notes that this could be either because Protestants were savvier with the printing press, or that they were merely more opportunistic. Either way, the floodgates of Protestant printed works opened around 1547 when Edward IV repealed an act restricting printed works. For further information, see *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English Between 1553 and 1558: From the Death of Edward IV to the Death of Mary I* (American Philosophical Society, 1979).

presence of the religious divide in the interim periods.⁴ As a result, derogatory references to Catholicism formed a permanent “background noise” in English society. One of the primary modes of expression for English anti-Catholicism was typology – a reading of the religious past in the present that connected the Christian reader and his or her world to the continuum of Judeo-Christian history. In particular, anti-Catholic typology solidified an established narrative of trauma, encompassing stories stretching from Hebrew captivity to the violent deaths of Protestant martyrs under Mary I. Drawing on current theories of the work of trauma, this dissertation examines the exegetical mode of typology in the expression of anti-Catholicism in early modern England. I assert that typological references in anti-Catholic rhetoric perform a traumatic function – connecting past and present by re-inflicting the “wounds” of the Protestant Reformation and other religious suffering on the reading public. As a result, we are able to read early modern English anti-Catholicism as a form of traumatic historiography. Although typological thinking was quite prevalent in the period, it performs a unique function when it comes to anti-Catholicism since it allowed Protestant authors to situate the threat posed by religious dissent beyond the present and depict it as one in a series of trials experienced by the faithful on the Judeo-Christian timeline.

Traumatic Reformations

The phenomenon of the English Reformation is a fascinating case study for scholars from all walks of the humanities. While the notion of “English exceptionalism” has recently come to be understood as an over-inflated sense of England’s importance in

⁴ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 225.

historical and cultural developments, it is worth noting that, from a sociological standpoint, the English Reformation *was* somewhat exceptional. Since the 1980s, historians of the English Reformation have consistently presented a picture of a pre-reform England that lacked the same form of long-simmering anti-clerical sentiment present in continental countries like Germany. Contingent with his theory of “confessionalization” – the co-development of church and state organization following reformation – Heinz Schilling notes that England’s process was problematic given the initial lack of a thoroughly centralized government under Henry VIII (reg. 1509 – 1547).⁵ Clerical abuse was not the issue central to the Henrician Reformation – sovereignty was. Henry’s desire for a sanctioned divorce from Catherine of Aragon (1485 – 1536), and his subsequent split with Rome and elevation to the head of the Church of England meant that while the day-to-day operations of English Catholicism remained more or less intact for several years, the infrastructure was being demolished from the top down.

Historian Eamon Duffy has done interesting work examining the traumatic effect the Henrician Reformation had at not only at the local level, but on English national identity as a whole. His seminal work, *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992), was lauded for revolutionizing the view of the popularity of the Reformation in Henry’s England, arguing that historical records do not indicate that displeasure with the papacy and clergy was as widespread as it was in continental countries. According to Duffy, although much of England eventually complied with Henry’s acts, “compliance should not be taken to

⁵ “Confessional Europe,” in *The Handbook of European History 1400 – 1600*, ed. Thomas A Brady Jr. et al., Vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 654 – 5.

imply agreement with the Protestant theology underlying the changes.”⁶ Duffy argues that the English state was not as consolidated as Germany or other Continental countries, and that the Catholic Church often provided critical infrastructure for local governments. Life in villages and small towns revolved around the Catholic calendar. Parish priests provided critical guidance in local matters of all sorts. The Church provided an important link between remote population centers and larger ones like London. As Henry and Thomas Cromwell’s (1485 – 1540) grips tightened on England’s monastic coffers, feast days were eliminated in order to increase productivity. Village saints were declared “idols” and destroyed or removed, robbing villages of an important element of local identity. Church organization was stripped to a bare minimum as ranking Catholics were either executed for recusancy or opted to become church-papists to avoid fines and more dire penalties. Without a strong central government to manage communities outside of larger population centers, the Catholic Church’s gradual demolition left many villages without financial or civic support.

Duffy provides a concrete example of this broader theory in his study, *The Voices of Morebath* (2001), which demonstrated through parish records the gradual decline of the titular village during the years of the Henrician Reformation. The local priest, who served in Morebath during the duration of the dissolution and other anti-Catholic measures, kept faithful records of each indignity suffered by his fellow citizens due to the systematic debilitation of England’s Catholic Church. The key bridge allowing access to the road out of town fell into dire disrepair, and communication with the crown regarding the matter often went unanswered. Two young parents were traumatized as when they

⁶ *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400 – 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 5.

unable to gain access to the church fast enough to baptize their sickly newborn, leaving them to believe that their child languished in limbo. No one knew who had the keys.⁷

Although Morebath is just one example of the problems that came with Henry's top-down reformation, Duffy asserts that this was the all-too-common result in many of England's Catholic communities. Even as the Catholic Church lost its power in England, the Tudor propaganda machine was hard at work building the scaffolding of "popery." By placing Henry's Church of England at odds with the see in Rome, the idea took root that one could still worship as a Catholic, but would necessarily need to swear allegiance to Henry as the supreme head of England's government *and* church. As a result, those who could not in good faith deny that the pope was their spiritual leader could be designated as enemies of the state – traitors. Beginning with the Henrician Reformation and in the decades that followed, the ideology of "English Protestantism" became increasingly important in the expression of a national identity. To be English was to be Protestant, and to be English and Protestant was to be anti-Catholic and anti-pope. Peter Lake observes that, due to this binary sense of religious identity, "every negative characteristic imputed to Rome implied a positive cultural, political, or religious value which Protestants claimed as their own exclusive property."⁸ These binary definitions extended beyond domestic identity into international correlations as well. The Spanish, French, and Italians were all identified as Catholic before all else. The problem was that the very essence of the Henrician Reformation meant that many former English Catholics who were now English Protestants had very little idea what that entailed doctrinally. They only knew

⁷ *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

⁸ "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice." *Conflict in Early Stuart England*. Eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes. (New York: Longman, 1989), 74 – 5.

that to be Catholic was to be an enemy of the state, and to self-identify as one potentially put one's life and property in imminent danger.

This does not mean, however, that Duffy's assertions regarding the reception of the Reformation in England are completely above reproach. While it certainly seems likely that the impact of Reformation doctrine may not have quite reached all English citizens by the later years of Henry's reign, there is no shortage of evidence that there were definite anti-clerical sentiments in England even prior to the mid-1530s. Christopher Haigh acknowledges that the Reformation cannot simply be described as either something desired by all English people or something forced upon all English people. The results and reception varied from parish to parish, and person to person. Haigh notes that, "[o]ne part of Reformation was a reduction in the power of churchmen: Why did this happen in sixteenth-century England? Because of hostility towards them, anticlericalism, which is proved by literary criticisms of priests, by refusals of tithe, by rejections of the authority of Church courts."⁹ Stephen Greenblatt explores the role of anticlericalism in the depiction of Purgatory in Renaissance England, saying that even prior to Henry VIII's reign, "the English state had for a long time been concerned about the fiscal implications of intercessory institutions," and the gifting of large amounts of property, tax-free, to the Church.¹⁰ Although the English Reformation was certainly used to a certain extent to achieve Henry's desired outcomes of divorce and padding the state coffers, undoubtedly there were many English reformers desirous of bringing about serious religious and doctrinal change by eliminating the influence of the Catholic Church.

⁹ *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors*. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1993), 15.

¹⁰ *Hamlet in Purgatory*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 29 – 30.

Nor is it a simple task to isolate what precisely was traumatic about the English Reformation. The most obvious trauma rests in the executions of Protestant martyrs during Mary's short reign. These, more than any other historical incidents, were the ones exploited by Foxe and his contemporaries in order to highlight the danger Catholics presented. It is perhaps worthwhile to explore the notion that the Reformation in and of itself was a traumatic event. Henry VIII's early motions toward religious reform were marked by institutional instability since the source of the reform, at least from the monarch's standpoint, was English supremacy over the Catholic Church in the king's "Great Matter," as the divorce from Catherine of Aragon came to be known. Unwilling to allow individual consciences of clergy and advisers to dictate their own willingness to swear to Henry's supremacy, the 1530s onward in England were rarely anything but tumultuous. After Henry's death in 1547, his much-sought-after male heir, Edward, made the furtherance of the Reformation in England his primary goal. As reformers like Cranmer pushed the Protestant agenda forward, England suffered further social unrest that led to rebellion in 1549. Finally, with Edward's death in 1553, Mary took the throne and her attempts to return England to Catholicism began in earnest.

While the violence of the Marian Reaction is perhaps the most seemingly obvious source of English Protestant trauma, it was not the only trauma England suffered in the name of religious reformation. Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestants would have been well-aware not only of Mary's actions, but also of the prior institutional and social upheaval that accompanied religious reform since the interdependent nature of the English socio-political sphere dictated that disruption of one arena likely meant a

disruption of everything – apropos to Duffy’s assertions regarding the state of post-Reformation Morebath.

What is of interest in this dissertation, however, is not whether or not the English citizenry *en masse* was informed or educated about the particulars of the Reformation. As was to be expected, there were myriad different forms of texts detailing Protestant thought for readers. Some of it was based in legitimate doctrinal debate. Some of it, however, was designed to inflame popular religious sentiment and remind them of the threats that Catholics both at home and abroad presented to the still-developing Protestant nation. These works, which are the ones generally under discussion in this dissertation, sought to break down the Catholic/Protestant divide into exceedingly simple and accessible terms for a public hungry for sensational literature.

English Anti-Catholicism

It is perhaps no wonder then that modern scholarship finds Elizabethan and Stuart-era anti-Catholicism to be starkly stereotypical and oftentimes devoid of meaningful doctrinal argument, relying instead on seemingly rote recitation of declarations against papal supremacy and transubstantiation. With the exception of Cranmer and Latimer-inspired divines, it appeared that average English Protestant polemicists were not interested in arguing elements of doctrine with Catholics and their sympathizers. Instead, they sought to continue the polarization of England’s religious communities. Ann McLaren asserts that this form of anti-Catholicism generated in England out of a necessity to differentiate between two potential queens in the mid-sixteenth century, Elizabeth (reg. 1558 – 1603) and Mary Queen of Scots (1542 – 1587).

Those supportive of Elizabeth's Protestant reign had to establish that while both monarchs were female (a less-than-ideal situation as it was), the evils of Catholicism compounded with the frailty of feminine morality meant that Elizabeth was the clear choice to rule.¹¹ In the ensuing decades, English anti-Catholicism developed into a sort of background noise to the continued development of English Protestant national identity, which was intent on exploiting the binary opposition of religious identity. As described by Jesse Lander, early modern polemic was a force for this form of polarization – a rhetorical mode that was not designed to convincingly argue points to uncertain or unsympathetic readers, but one that reinforced the same “us-versus-them” mentality that English Protestants had been forced to adopt in the early years of the Reformation as a means of surviving Henry's draconian approach to monarchical challenges.¹² As a result, polemic and English Protestantism were natural companions. The reflexive nature of polemic – designed not to change but to reinforce opinion – meant that English anti-Catholic rhetoric based in a poorly understood binary definitional system was a perfect fit. Modern readers may be put off by the obvious logical fallacies present in anti-Catholic polemic, but this doesn't mean polemicists were not extremely adept at using it to fuel the fires of religio-political angst in the post-Reformation period

As previously mentioned, anti-Catholicism was one of the primary rhetorics of early modern English thought and expression. The main source of polemic and other forms of anti-Catholicism were the tracts and pamphlets that were abundant after

¹¹ “Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism,” in *The American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002), 739 – 767.

¹² Jesse M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 31 – 34.

proliferation of the printing press.¹³ These works were designed to be attractive, sensational, portable, and cheap. Appearing primarily as quartos and octavos, these polemical tracts, pamphlets, and broadsheets cast Catholics as the primary threat to the English state. They painted foreign Catholics as the licentious foot-soldiers of an incredibly organized and motivated religious organization headed by a despot in Rome. The binary nature of the Catholic/Protestant divide is extraordinarily prevalent in this presentation of foreign “popery,” since the condemnation of Catholic unity masks a tacit frustration with English Protestant sectarianism.¹⁴ Likewise, English recusants (those who chose to worship as Catholics, oftentimes opting to pay fines to avoid more severe punishment), and church-papists (those who worshipped publicly as Protestants, but equivocated their own consciences and lived privately as Catholics) were presented as far more insidious threats – ones that weakened England from the inside.¹⁵ These Catholics were painted as traitors – potentially seditious citizens who suffered the same fate as the proverbial servant unable to serve two masters. This latent disloyalty also stemmed from the perception that Catholics in general were rooted more in sensory pleasures than in

¹³ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550 – 1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1 – 3, and Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1 – 24.

¹⁴ This sectarianism is obviously a lingering side-effect of the Henrician Reformation’s reverse-confessional process. English Protestantism was fraught with rifts for centuries following the Reformation, since many argued that the initial adoption of the Church of England did not sufficiently “purify” the Church of Catholic elements. For further information, see Carol Z. Weiner, “The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism,” *Past and Present* 51 no. 1 (1971), 27.

¹⁵ Those who fell under the designation of “church-papists” are a fascinating group in and of themselves, and loomed large in the English Protestant imagination since they were deemed to be less trustworthy than their openly recusant counterparts. “Church-papists” routinely came under hard scrutiny during times of Protestant crisis since it was thought that their ability to equivocate allowed them to cover their involvement in a host of anti-English plots and atrocities. For an excellent study of the behavior of this class of Catholics, see Alexandra Walsham’s *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1993). Also see Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., “Papist – Protestant – Puritan: English Religious Taxonomy 1565 – 1665,” in *Recusant History* 16:2 (1979): 227 – 253.

spiritual pursuits. English Protestants pointed to the spectacle of Catholicism as being a draw for the weak-willed and easily duped – focusing especially on relics, sumptuous appointments worn by Catholic bishops and priests, and the overall lavishness of Catholic Church décor. Protestants viewed this richness as a cover for a spiritually empty faith, and an impious demonstration of Catholicism’s focus on wealth and physical comfort rather than spiritual mortification.

Even those who did not find themselves regular readers of anti-Catholic polemic would likely have been unable to avoid the dichotomy presented in more sensational tracts and broadsheets. Since one of the most important projects of English Reformation ideology had been the propagation of the vernacular translation of the Bible, those versions of the text published in English in the years up to and following Henry VIII’s era had promoted a blatantly Protestant agenda in their margin notes and translations. The Geneva Bible, which first appeared in its entirety in England in 1575, was translated and annotated by English Protestants in exile, including Miles Coverdale (1488 – 1569), a Bishop of Exeter and one of the most vocal members of the early Reformation, during Mary I’s reign (1553 – 1558).¹⁶ Compiled in its eponymous city, the Geneva Bible was steeped in strong Protestant sensibilities, and frequently contained biting anti-Catholic commentary in the margins. Biblical commentators noted that Revelation’s anti-Christ

¹⁶ The translation of a vernacular bible was a definite catalyst for the English Reformation. The bible had several English translations before the triumph of the King James Version in the early seventeenth century, and some of those translations were fraught with controversy as Protestant authorities argued over whether a vernacular bible could lead to wildly inaccurate interpretations at the hands of the unlearned. For histories of the English bible throughout the early modern period, see Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1994), David S. Katz, *God’s Last Words: Reading the English Bible From the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), and Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

and Whore of Babylon were clear typological references to the pope and the Church of England, respectively.¹⁷ Other notes pointed out passages that were believed to contradict distinctly Catholic doctrines, such as transubstantiation and belief in Purgatory, or promoted a distinctly Protestant reading of controversial passages.¹⁸

People who weren't inclined to read the Bible on their own encountered depictions of anti-Catholicism from the pulpit and various public entertainments. Alison Shell observes that, "poets, dramatists, emblematisers, and allegorists were all dependent on polemical theology for their inspiration."¹⁹ As a result, there were caricatures of scheming Catholics on the stage in the works of Thomas Middleton (1580 – 1627), William Shakespeare, and Christopher Marlowe. Middleton's popular *A Game at Chess* (1624), which will be examined later in this dissertation, highlighted English anti-Jesuit sentiment while severely mocking Spanish diplomatic figures. While scholars have yet to agree on Shakespeare's personal proclivity for Protestantism or Catholicism, *Hamlet* (1603), *Measure for Measure* (1603/4), and *Love's Labour's Lost* (1595/6), to name just a few, all contain some element of popular anti-Catholic ideas. Popular lyric poets like Andrew Marvell and John Milton incorporated their own anti-Catholic views into their works. There were very few forms of open and public expression in which some form of England's lingering mistrust and fear of Catholic incursion could not be found.

¹⁷ Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 44.

¹⁸ Stephen Greenblatt's *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) touches somewhat on the topic of Shakespeare's religious affiliation through a discussion of the various shifts in thinking about the subjects of death and the afterlife that accompanied England's Reformation. Likewise, Alison Shell's excellent *Shakespeare and Religion* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011) is a thorough study of not only the current debate regarding Shakespeare's personal religious beliefs, but also the way he generally interpreted religious belief and faith in his plays and poems.

¹⁹ *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.

Although we can safely assume that English anti-Catholicism was an important and prevalent part of the culture of the early modern period, can we equally assume that all those who came in contact with these sentiments whole-heartedly adopted them into their personal modes of thinking? The nature of anti-Catholic printing in England indicates that this is probably not the case. While there was a certain undercurrent of anti-popery throughout the period, the publication history of such is far more sporadic and mostly tied to specific moments of perceived and real national crisis – Mary I’s marriage to Philip of Spain, Elizabeth I’s proposed marriage to the French Catholic Duke of Anjou in 1579, the arrival of the English Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Persons on a “secret” mission from the pope in 1580, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, etc. This indicates that while anti-Catholicism most probably lurked in the mind of the average English citizen, it took a palpable threat to bring it to the forefront of national consciousness again. Furthermore, while one could almost certainly compile a dictionary of early modern English anti-Catholic polemic and all its contingent tropes, caricatures, concerns, and talking points, not all anti-Catholic works are interested in exploring all the issues all of the time.

English Anti-Catholicism and Trauma Studies

That the English developed and were reliant on a pervasively intermittent anti-Catholic rhetoric in the post-Reformation era is a well-documented fact. The ideas set forth in this dissertation are deeply invested in prior work undertaken by the likes of Peter Lake and Arthur F. Marotti, along with scores of other learned studies that examine the peculiarly infectious rhetoric that at its least harmful revealed in seemingly laughable

stereotypes, and at its most venomous incited innumerable instances of torture and several executions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By and large, studies of English anti-Catholicism tend to focus on the mode of expression (i.e. drama, pamphlets, etc.), such as Peter Lake's *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England* (2002). Lake, with the assistance of Michael Questier, examines the proliferation of Protestant morality lessons through tracts and plays detailing violent murders. Jesse M. Lander's *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (2006) studies anti-Catholicism through the genre of the polemic, which was a subset of general anti-Catholic literature in the period. Antoinina Bevan Zlatar's *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (2011) dissects anti-Catholicism through the use of conversion dialogues, which became increasingly popular during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. Other studies undertake English anti-Catholicism through thematic lenses. Frances E. Dolan's *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (1999) demonstrates the inextricable link between Catholicism and gender by detailing the manner in which early modern English women were unfailingly described as being more susceptible to the allures of "popery." Carol Z. Weiner's article, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism" connects nascent English nationalism with anti-Catholic rhetoric as a means of exploring a monolithic "other."²⁰ Other studies of the views expressed against Catholics are historical in nature, documenting the various shifts in tone that accompanied change in monarchs and the development of new threats, such as the introduction of the Jesuit mission to England in the 1580. Leticia Álvarez – Recio traces the development of anti-Catholicism

²⁰ In *Past and Present* 51:1 (1971), 27 – 62.

during the Tudor dynasty in, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England* (2011). Her study encompasses a wide variety of sources and explores the role of anti-Catholicism in the construction of the Protestant monarchy.

Building on this scholarship, this study examines the underlying causes of the proliferation of anti-Catholic rhetoric, as well as establishing a means of further exploring and codifying of the cultural processes driving the continued exploitation of anti-Catholic sentiment . What lies beyond the assessment that anti-Catholic rhetoric was simply an expression of religious zealots or overly ambitious booksellers preying on popular fears? While there was no shortage of doctrinally driven debate in the booksellers' windows, much of the anti-Catholic rhetoric expressed in England between the succession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and the death of James I in 1625 was driven by stereotypical presentations of lewd and lascivious priests and traitorous recusants eager to help the pope gain a foothold in the Protestant nation. This rhetoric relied heavily on the transmission of a codified set of references to specific moments in England's recent tumultuous religious history, including the Marian Reaction and subsequent Catholic plots and uprisings that marred the early years of Elizabeth's reign.²¹ Martyrdom narratives and detailed descriptions of Catholic schemes against English sovereignty gave way to supposition and allusion to threats Catholics *might* cause if left unchecked. In fact, English Protestant anti-Catholicism seems to have been culturally transmitted in ways that bear a striking similarity to description of these kinds of cultural processes in contemporary trauma theory and traumatic historiography. A past traumatic event

²¹ While Mary's reign and the subsequent executions have oftentimes been referred to as the "Marian Counter-Reformation," recent scholarship has re-designated this period the "Marian Reaction," since the Catholic Counter-Reformation did not begin in earnest in England until after Mary's death.

incapable of being processed in the moment of occurrence – manifests repeatedly, not unlike a wound, in cultural texts beyond the timeframe of the event itself, and even amongst individuals who were not witnesses to the original event.

Trauma and Collective Memory

Owing much Freud's theory of trauma, Cathy Caruth initially explored the relationship between trauma and literature in her *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (1996).²² Caruth explains that Freud's reliance on literature to convey his examples of trauma demonstrates that, "literature, like psychoanalysis, is interested in the complex relation between knowing and not knowing. And it is at the specific point at which knowing and not knowing intersect that the language of literature and the psychoanalytic theory of traumatic experience precisely meet."²³ As a result, literature becomes a mean of exploring the relationship between the known and the unknown – and the experience of trauma resides precisely in that liminal area. Wherein texts convey the history of traumatic events to witnesses and non-witnesses alike, the experience of trauma relies on the liminality for its effectiveness. Trauma studies as a way to access the cultural work of texts expanded beyond psychoanalytic readings of individual authors or characters to wider cultural phenomenon beginning in the mid-1980s with a sudden proliferation of Holocaust narratives as survivors and other

²² Freud's original exploration of trauma takes place in the third chapter of his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). Freud describes trauma as bombardment of the ego by harsh external stimuli which would eventually fragment the subject's sense of identity if left unchecked. For Freud, the key aspect of trauma is that it is an internally repeated phenomenon – one that continues to assault the subject after the initial, traumatic instance, and leaves subsequent wounds on the psyche through this repetition.

²³ *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 11.

witnesses were called upon to record their experiences in various media for public consumption and means of remembrance.²⁴ Thus, the public (including many who never personally experienced the Holocaust) were subjected to a displaced infliction of the traumatic narrative of the events. In examining the impact the cultivation of Holocaust narratives had on those born after the end of the war as well as those who had never experienced the atrocities, Ana Douglass and Thomas A. Vogler discuss this movement as a moment wherein the trauma of the Holocaust was transmitted textually and culturally to a group of participants who then internalized the trauma.²⁵ The essence of trauma as a cultural phenomenon closely resembles the Freudian, literary exploration of trauma, but expands the scope of it beyond the individual psyche to a communal and societal level. As a result, the liminality between the known and the unknown that Freud and Caruth explored becomes a literal not-knowing, since those who experience trauma via cultural transmission “know” the event through their encounters with a documented past they did not directly witness. This connection between a true witness to an event and a traumatic witness underpins much of what can be said about the manner in which trauma was conveyed in early modern England. Although many Protestants had not yet been born in time to witness the violence of the Marian Reaction, it was kept alive textually for subsequent generations, constituting this phenomenon of displaced witnessing.

²⁴ Beyond the increased focus on documenting survivor narratives, Douglas and Vogler also cite the premiere of the 1978 NBC miniseries *Holocaust* as moment of traumatic inscription in post-Holocaust history, since it was the first time that the atrocities of the genocide had been portrayed on a large-scale broadcast. *Witness and Memory: The Discourse of Trauma* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 6, 24.

²⁵ *Witness and Memory*, 6 – 7. Although Douglass and Vogler use the Holocaust as the primary litmus test for examining the cultural transmission of trauma, they also posit that media coverage of the 9/11 Islamic terrorists attacks on American landmarks as yet another demonstration of the creation of a traumatic narrative (9).

Of particular interest for this study is Douglass and Vogler's description of trauma based in the "collective memory," which, "is at the same time more elusively metaphysical than personal memory, and more concretely embodied."²⁶ Collective memory of trauma is established through wide-spread forms of memorialization and ritual designed to recall the traumatic events and create an on-going sense of community and remembrance between witnesses and non-witnesses.²⁷ As trauma theory has developed over the last decade, it has become a truly interdisciplinary pursuit, encompassing, "literary and cultural studies, history, politics, sociology, psychology, and philosophy."²⁸ Additionally, the effect of trauma on the individual *and* society has far-reaching implications, since it is "characterized by a 'knot' tying together representation, the past, the self, the political and suffering."²⁹ Those reading anti-Catholic rhetoric during post-Reformation England would have encountered all these elements: representation through the construction of the nation and its enemies, the self through the implied duties of the Christian reader to uphold their faith, the political through the obvious connotations recusancy had to one's allegiance, and suffering through narratives of beleaguered Hebrews and Protestant martyrs. Given the pervasiveness of English anti-Catholicism across many genres and subject matters, it is important to note that early

²⁶ Ibid., 16 – 17.

²⁷ Scholarship has already documented the importance of memorialization in the construction and proliferation of anti-Catholic rhetoric in England. David Cressy has documented the importance of ritualizing near-misses with disaster, like the Gunpowder Plot, in English culture in *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (University of California Press, 1989). Many other scholars have noted the importance played by Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in commemorating England's religious past.

²⁸ Gert Bulens, et al., "Introduction," *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literature and Cultural Criticism* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 3.

²⁹ Ibid., 4.

modern readers might have had a hard time escaping traumatic narratives when it came to matters of religious controversy. Furthermore, these religio-political traumatic narratives necessarily, by virtue of their traumatic construct, would have had a tremendous bearing on the development of both Protestant identity and the construction of the Catholic identity from the polemical standpoint.

More recently, Dominick LaCapra has situated trauma studies within the context of historiography. Protestant historiography was a driving force behind the development and dissemination of anti-Catholic rhetoric in the early modern period, since it served as a reminder of the historical shifts that brought England to its current socio-religious state. LaCapra insists that the composition of history, traumatic history included, represents, “an exchange – or an intricate dialogue – both with the past and the present.” According to LaCapra’s theories of traumatic historiography, the Reformation constituted a “crisis or catastrophe that disorient[ed] and harm[ed] the collectivity,” and therefore “became an origin or renewed origin of the myth and serve[ed] an ideological function in authorizing acts or policies that appeal[ed] to it for justification.”³⁰ Protestant historiography of the post-Reformation period merged with the perceived abuses heaped on the nation by Catholics and produced not only anti-Catholic rhetoric, but that rhetoric became the basis of laws and statutes that punished recusants based on the crimes of their predecessors. Eamon Duffy comments on the importance of historiography in the creation of the English Protestant worldview, drawing the inception point back to the reign of Mary I, saying: “More than any other period of Tudor history, the five years from her ascension to her death have been discussed in value-laden terms which reveal the persistence of a

³⁰ *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 82.

Protestant historiography, authoritatively shaped by John Foxe, which still hinders a just assessment of the aims and the achievements of the Marian church.”³¹ The pervasiveness of Protestant historiography, which depended a great deal on the continued transmission of traumatic narratives through texts like *Acts and Monuments*, continued to shape the manner in which Protestants interacted with Catholics, or even the mere threat of Catholics, for the next several decades after Mary died and Elizabeth took the throne.

LaCapra further insists that hyperbole and polemic occupy a special place in the creation of traumatic historiography: “My position...involves the recognition of of the possibly thought-provoking and fruitful role of hyperbole in emphasizing what one believes is given insufficient weight at a given time in the ongoing attempt to articulate possibilities...in the broader culture.”³² This insinuates that the polemical and vitriolic modes of expression that formed the bulk of anti-Catholic rhetoric served the larger doctrinal debates that were at the heart of Protestant identity development. Anti-Catholic polemic allowed controversialists to draw what they thought was warranted attention to both the ideological *and* physical threat Catholics presented. Additionally, LaCapra describes the phenomenon he dubs “traumatropism,” wherein “trauma may be transfigured into the sublime or the sacred, and the traumatized may be seen as martyrs or saints, notably in the case of victims of extreme violence.”³³ Fittingly, “traumatropism” describes the process wherein Protestant martyrs burned during the Marian Reaction aided in the elevation of the religious upheaval of the period to a sacredness beyond that

³¹ *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400 – 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 524.

³² *Ibid.*, 889 – 90.

³³ *Ibid.*, 121.

was already ascribed to it by virtue of it being a spiritual movement. As a religious event, the English Reformation already carried sacred connotations. The tribulations of those early English reformers and Protestants who were violently punished for their beliefs concretized the idea that Reformation thinking represented a light out of the darkness of Catholicism, elevating it above and beyond the usual sacredness attached to any faith structure. This focus on the remembrance of suffering and the manner in which Protestants perceived they responded to such suffering in the decades following the Reformation was instrumental in the development of the narrative of English religious change. Reformation trauma obviously also carried religious connotations, but as anti-Catholic rhetoric became so pervasive, English Protestant controversialists conscientiously stripped Catholic martyrs of their same religious sublimity, supplanting it with their own.³⁴

Although only a few scholars have approached the subject, the tendency amongst early modernists has been to approach early modern trauma with an eye toward the “collective” cultural sense rather than exploring the extent to which we can say that individuals internalized trauma in the period. First appearing in the early 2000s, articles and books connecting the notion of collective memory and trauma to early modern texts, particularly texts meant for public performance, describe the manner in which descriptions and performances of violence provided a means of exploring traumatic

³⁴ The construction and role of the martyr in post-Reformation England are fascinating topics. Since Elizabeth reigned for forty-five years compared to Mary’s five, the number of Catholic martyrs easily outstripped the Protestants, but those persecuted under Mary loomed large in the English religious imagination. For further information on the construction of martyrdom during this period, see *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400 – 1700*, eds. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas A. Mayer (New York: Boydell Press, 2007); Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Alice Dailey, *The English Martyr: From Reformation to Revolution* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

subjects and events. The unifying factor between all these studies is that early modern trauma, similar to that of the Holocaust, largely resided in the aftermath and attempts to understand or reconcile large-scale cultural and societal events that caused tremendous upheaval, and were being communicated *en masse* to an ever-more literate public. For instance, Thomas P. Anderson asserts that, “significant cultural loss alters normative modes of expression and representation,” meaning that the depiction of physical, violent trauma to bodies in source material ranging from Shakespeare’s stage to Milton’s *Eikon Basilike* (1649) allowed English readers to work through trauma associated with events ranging from the Reformation to England’s revolutionary regicide.³⁵ Patricia A. Cahill extends this exploration of the traumatic in early modern England to the depiction of martial formations and battle scenes on the stage. Cahill asserts that, “If one accepts that the Elizabethan turn towards militarism entailed the culture’s proximity (whether in reality or in fantasy” to events so overwhelming as to be literally ungraspable, then one can only conclude that early modern drama *must* bear traces of the culture’s encounters with traumatic history.”³⁶ Turning attention again to the playhouse, Lisa S. Starks-Estes thoughtfully engages with the presentation of violence in Shakespeare’s “Roman” works, citing gender as a major driving factor in, “his full examination of *virtus* in relation to violence and vulnerability, culminating in his treatment of...traumatic anxiety.”³⁷ As with Shakespeare’s works, early modern English anti-Catholic polemics developed this sense

³⁵ *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 3.

³⁶ *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.

³⁷ *Violence, Trauma, and Virtus in Shakespeare’s Roman Poems and Plays: Transforming Ovid* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 57.

of “traumatic anxiety” that highlighted the overall vulnerability of not only the individual English Protestant, but how that individual vulnerability translated into the fragility of the religious state in England. These studies have demonstrated that although it is difficult to unlock the secrets to individual views of Catholics in Protestant England, understanding trauma as a cultural moment gives us great insight into how early modern authors negotiated issues of faith-based angst and vulnerability for the reading public.

Furthermore, these studies shed light on communal thinking in early modern England that may well give us a greater sense of commonality with the authors and readers expressing and experiencing cultural vulnerability and angst.

Much of the scholarship previously done on trauma in the early modern period has focused on performance, and Thomas Anderson devotes some attention in his book to occasional poetry written in response to moments of religio-political upheaval in England. I wish in this study to explore the traumatic impact of the dissemination of tracts, pamphlets, and other materials pertaining to English religious controversy. While it is certain that stage plays invited visual rhetoric to play a role in the transmission of traumatic narratives, I would contend that a primary source of cultural trauma in England was supplied in the form of religious works that relied upon descriptions of Reformation-era upheaval in order to firmly cement the notion of the Catholic-Protestant divide in the mind of readers.³⁸ Beginning with John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, first published in 1563, English polemicists, divines, and controversialists couched much of their anti-Catholic rhetoric not in doctrine, but instead in creating an image of the Catholic as the most dangerous enemy to Protestant England. This danger was most often presented by

³⁸ It is certain, however, that these passages and works of post-Reformation polemic had a certain performative virtue to them since they were highly descriptive and moving.

having readers recall traumatic, violent events tied to the Protestant Reformation. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which came to be known as the *Book of Martyrs*, detailed graphically the deaths of both early Christian and Protestant martyrs during Mary's reign, never shirking from the gruesome details of the men and women who refused to return to Catholicism. Foxe describes the plight of a group of female martyrs in Guernsey:

They were first strangled, but the rope broke before they were dead, and so the poor women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true hearted Christians, that shall read this history: For the belly of the woman burst asunder by vehemency of the flame, the infant being a fair man child, fell into the fire, and eftsoons being taken out of the fire by one William House, was laid upon the grass.³⁹

In yet another instance from *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe details the death of Nicholas Ridley (1500 – 1555), a Protestant Bishop of London who had championed Lady Jane Grey's (1537 – 1554) ill-fated claim to the English throne. According to Foxe, Ridley's execution was evily botched, and the wood was piled incorrectly so that, "it burned clean all his nether parts before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, 'I cannot burn.'"⁴⁰ Another martyr is described as so vehemently beating his chest as he burns, that his arm eventually burns away and falls to the ground.⁴¹

³⁹*Acts and Monuments: Select Narratives*, ed. John N. King (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 203.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 156.

⁴¹Although they will not be under discussion in this study, martyrologies were not the only means by which Protestants were exposed to the danger Catholics were perceived to present. Coupled with the violence in the martyrologies were the descriptions of the various plots and atrocities planned by Catholics in order to supplant Elizabeth and place a more sympathetic ruler on the English throne. Tracts and pamphlets exposed the details of the Northern Uprising in 1569, the Babington Plot in 1586, and the myriad other controversies that eddied around England threatening to upset the already tenuous status quo. The tracts developed the

The rhetoric which Foxe helped perpetuate contributes greatly to what we can identify as the dissemination of traumatic historiography in Protestant England. As LaCapra insists, these narratives instruct and drive the creation of ideologies that pervade not only individual experiences, but also motion toward the development of larger philosophies that guide the institution of policies and programs that react to said trauma in the future. Foxe's narratives, and those that were inspired by it over the following decades, were notable in that they, "provided the entire country with a coherent, relevant explanation of its position, a guide for future action, a promise of success, and not least important, a national identity."⁴² The fact that anti-Catholic rhetoric is so often cited as a form of national-identity building as a result of the binary opposition Protestantism represented to the Catholic threat, means that a significant portion of the conceptualization of English as a Protestant nation rested in the transmission of trauma. It is then, perhaps, not so shocking that rhetoric deeply invested in the identification and avoidance of said trauma at the hands of enemies formed an impressive market-share of what English Protestants seemed to be reading.

Traumatic Types: Exegesis and Anti-Catholicism in Protestant England

I wish to turn next to an examination of the more recognizable mode of expression for English Protestants wanting to detail the atrocities of Catholics. While I have spent much time in this introduction developing a connection between anti-

character of the treacherous Catholic recusant – one who could not be trusted to keep the best interests of England at heart, and without fail would choose to serve the pope.

⁴² Carol Z. Weiner "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Jacobean Anti-Catholicism" *Past and Present* 51 (May1971), 29.

Catholicism and traumatic historiography in early modern English literature, it is worth noting that our concept of “trauma” was not analogous to the expression of angst over historical violence in the period.⁴³ That does not mean, however, that early modern writers were incapable of expressing historical religious trauma as they sought to explore the connection that England’s Protestant present had with the Catholic past. One of the most prevalent means divines and controversialists used to express the Catholic threat for their readers was the biblical exegetical mode of typology. Typology, one of the four-fold methods of exegesis popularized by Augustine (354 – 430), interpreted figures and events in the Bible as types and anti-types.⁴⁴ Events in the Hebrew Bible prefigured events in the New Testament and later Christian history, allowing the past to be interpreted in the context of the present, and vice-versa. Seen typologically, Moses was a type of Christ, since both figures led followers out from the thrall of worldly realms to more virtuous states. (Moses leads the Hebrews out of Egypt, whereas Christ, through his death and resurrection, leads his followers from earthly toil to Heaven through the rite of baptism.) Although many doctrinal aspects of Catholicism were odious to Protestants, typological exegesis aligned well with Protestant doctrines focused on the idea that scripture was the primary component to understanding the journey of the Christian in the fallen world.

Typology was one of the most predominant forms of religious expression in early modern English literature – and it was certainly well-represented in anti-Catholic literature. Concomitant with vernacular Bible readership and ownership in the period was

⁴³ For a *précis* of theories of trauma and the individual body in early modern England, see the introduction to Lisa Starks-Estes *Violence, Trauma, and Virtus in Shakespeare’s Roman Poems and Plays: Transforming Ovid* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁴⁴ For a thorough examination of the influence of exegesis in the Middle Ages and early modernity, see Henri de Lubac’s four-volume study, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998).

the desire to achieve a greater understanding of how one's personal religious experience coincided with the scope of Christian history.⁴⁵ Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English culture was steeped in typological representations, ranging from casual references in popular texts to sermons in the pulpit. Besides being highly referential, typology held a deep spiritual meaning because, "the connection is not primarily a chronological or causal connection, but a unity within the divine plan, which is reflected in all earthly events."⁴⁶ As a result, typology constituted a deeply personal way of reading the Bible, since it connected the individual Protestant with the timeline of Christian history, allowing one's role in the development of that history to seem as important as figures like Moses and Joseph. Barbara K. Lewalski extends a psychological function to typology, asserting that it was, "an important literary means to explore the personal spiritual life with profundity and psychological complexity."⁴⁷ Within the context of English anti-Catholicism, typology was frequently employed in order to correlate contemporary threats to the broader scope of religious history. Catholics were associated with idolatrous and blasphemous Old Testament kings who threatened to topple Hebrew strongholds. They were anti-types of the Egyptian kingdom, polytheistic and worldly, focused on expanding their rule to the detriment of all others.

⁴⁵ Recently, a turn toward cultural materialism has yielded fascinating insight into the manner in which early modern readers interacted with their Bibles. For further information, see chapter 4 of William H. Sherman's *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 71 – 86.

⁴⁶ Galton, 24.

⁴⁷ "Typological Symbolism and the 'Progress of the Soul' in Seventeenth-Century Literature" in *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 81.

As with Lewalski's assertion that typology allowed individuals to explore their personal spiritual life, it is evident that an important aspect of that was the exploration of the machinations of those who were determined to interrupt the soul's progress from this world to the next. Although typology was often associated with Protestant spiritual internal life in the vein of the *imitato Christi*, or that provided a more, for lack of a better term, positive typology for Protestant England, an important aspect of that drive toward self-perfection was the ability to recognize, avoid, or otherwise hinder those who would seek to alter your path to eternal glory. The result of the early modern English typological association of Catholic threats was that it allowed Protestant readers to internalize the scope of the threat, as well as place themselves and England on the Christian continuum with these menaces and interpret means and methods to diminish the problems they presented.

Trauma and Typology in Early Modern England

Although there is no contemporary construct that we can easily recognize as "trauma" in early modern England, it is my assertion that typology, particularly within the context of anti-Catholic rhetoric, represents a highly compatible construct for understanding the mode and functionality of "anti-popery." Anti-Catholicism in the period, as mentioned earlier, has been intently studied for several decades through historical, societal, and literary lenses. Underlying this scholarship, however, is an assumption that many polemicists willingly hyperbolized and stereo-typed Catholics in order to drive sales while leaving the more critical work of religio-political development to divines and theologians. At the very least, controversialists are accused of being the

worst kind of religious zealots, desiring more so to incite fear than to reconcile the state of English religion. Carol Z. Weiner correlates anti-Catholic rhetoric with willing and fundamental misunderstandings about the scope of papal power, and that polemic was indicative of a mentality akin to the neo-conservative fear-mongering of the 80s.⁴⁸

Jonathan Gil Harris notes that anti-Catholic rhetoric in early modern English economic tracts is of a “paranoid bent.”⁴⁹ It is my contention, however, that reading anti-Catholic sentiment through the lens of traumatic historiography allows us to better understand what precisely early modern controversialists and divines were expressing when they discussed the Catholic threat. Thusly, we may understand that while such rhetoric may seem baseless and paranoid to a modern reader, for many early moderns, there was ample textual evidence that the Catholic threat was serious indeed.

Examining early modern anti-Catholic typology through the lens of traumatic historiography allows us to understand the relationship between typology and the manner in which Protestants chose to demonstrate the threats they felt that Catholics posed to the safety of the nation, and the safety of their persons. Both trauma and typology perform feats of narrative time dilation. Trauma implies the re-visitation of a past wound on the present consciousness – particularly one that could not be known in the original instance, and therefore must be repeated in the mind of the participant or a witness. Likewise, the early modern typology, “primarily reminds us that sequential time is an illusion, giving us a glimpse into the fact that God sees all things at once that, Eve’s transgression and

⁴⁸ “The Beleaguered Isle,” 62.

⁴⁹*Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 125 – 6.

Mary's obedience happen for Him at the same time, or out of time."⁵⁰ Heather Hirschfeld explored the relationship between trauma and typology an article exploring language of Original Sin in *Hamlet*. Hirschfeld asserts that later events in a typological framework "redeem a single, earlier one," while trauma, "privileges the earlier event, [and] cedes to it both interpretive and psychic primacy."⁵¹ I would argue, though, that typology that occupies the space of traumatic historiography, as with that deployed in anti-Catholic rhetoric, does not assign a higher value to the original event. Rather, as will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the goal of anti-Catholic traumatic typology is to field a kinship with previous beleaguered Judeo-Christian populations as a tool of both warning and commiserative comfort. Early modern English Protestants were not lesser than the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, but rather another incarnation fending off the machinations of the popish antichrist. As is demonstrated by events like the Holocaust and other acts that stretch our definitions of violence and horror, the trauma inflicted by the event is not restricted solely to those to whom the event happened directly, but also to those who encounter narratives and survivors well beyond the initial event.⁵² Likewise, typology impacts temporality for those who use it to interpret sacred texts. Typology, too, places past in the present and examines the re-infliction of torment on the participant or the reader. The Exodus being read as a type of the Reformation implied to the Protestant

⁵⁰ Andrew Escobedo *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 218.

⁵¹ "Hamlet's 'First Corse': Repetition, Trauma, and the Displacement of Redemptive Typology," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54:4 (2003), 446.

⁵² Although there were certainly horrors concomitant with the Reformation through acts of execution, torture, martyrdom, exile, etc., it is certainly not my intention to place it on par with the Holocaust. Instead, my assertion is that, relatively speaking, the pervasiveness of texts like *Acts and Monuments* drove what could have been a similar level of horror into the minds of a Protestant reading public, especially since it predominated so many texts of the period.

reader that Catholic England was a place of suffering and ignorance, and that the act of reformation itself bore a striking resemblance to the terrors of the plagues and Moses's battle of wills with a polytheistic, idolatrous Pharaoh bent on keeping good Hebrews under his thrall. In a typological reading, the Protestant reader becomes one with past incarnations of him or herself on the Judeo-Christian continuum, leading to a greater understanding of current suffering and what must be done to continue the proper progress of the soul toward its ultimate destination.

I do not mean to assert, however, that there was a uniform traumatic, typological response to the perceived Catholic threat in Protestant England. These perceptions spawned a wide array of responses ranging from general doctrinal debate that expanded or amplified the existing debates, to focused *ad hominem* attacks levied at the offending parties. My intention with this dissertation is not to focus on the general, broad typological and traumatic connections that were explored in the wake of every moment of Catholic crisis. Instead, this dissertation seeks to explore some of the more nuanced approaches to the connection between typology, trauma, and anti-Catholicism that occurred during the later years of Elizabeth's reign and through the Jacobean era. My structure is drawn from the nature of both trauma and typology. Since both are largely event-based, as well as the fact that English anti-Catholic rhetoric ebbed, flowed, and revolved around the events that drove each moment of crisis, I have focused each chapter around a "moment" of anti-Catholic crisis in England. The chapters cover events spanning from the later years of Elizabeth I's reign, when English anti-Catholic rhetoric began to develop into the truly vitriolic, stereotype-driven, and codified form that became so familiar, to the later years of the reign of James I, when there had been a considerable

push towards conciliation between Catholics and the English state, as well as the various sects of Protestantism that continued to crop up. It becomes evident that while each “event” spurs its own unique commentary on the Catholic threat (based on the particulars of that threat), the expression of that threat through traumatic typological narratives is a consistent factor throughout the tracts, forming the basis of many of the critical argumentative moments. What also becomes evident is that, through either James’s policies regarding a moderation of religious expression when it came to polemic, or due to the fact that there was a male monarch on the throne beginning in 1603, there are interesting shifts in the tone of English anti-Catholicism between 1579 and 1625.

Furthermore, the first two chapters of this dissertation explore events and tracts in the late sixteenth century. In these tracts, the traumatic typological association is negative – attentive to the threat England experiences at the hands of Catholic schemers. The typology presented in these tracts highlights England’s potential, almost inevitable, trauma. The second two chapters, representing texts and events from the earlier part of the seventeenth century demonstrate a shift in the relationship between typology and England’s traumatic past. In these texts, while the authors draw relationships between hardship and England’s past, there is an overreaching note of hopefulness in their tone. This is perhaps due to a changing view of England’s relationship with their Catholic foes given the continual thwarting of Catholic plots against Protestant English rule – beginning with the Babington Plot in 1586, continuing through the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, not to mention several smaller plots and atrocities that were similarly thwarted in intervening years. The tone of anti-Catholicism shifted from one solely of wariness and caution to one that reveled in what

was perceived as England's attested status as a divinely protected elect nation. Arthur F. Marotti notes the importance of a sense of providence in the development of Protestant English national identity, and that the historiography of the nation, "became a Protestant one, celebrating both the providentially shaped triumph of the reformed religion and the formation of an English national identity."⁵³

Lastly, I have chosen these texts for inclusion here because they explore the connection between trauma, typology, and anti-Catholicism in interesting and specific ways. In general, I have avoided texts that speak generally of the anti-Catholic crisis, and included those that address the traumatic/typological lenses that imply connections between English anti-Catholic thought and the wider Protestant worldview. My goal in choosing the following texts is less to assert broad arguments about the traumatic typological historiography of English anti-Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and more so to focus on the manner in which such rhetoric was informed by issues of gender, citizenship, economics, and temporality. My purpose is to demonstrate the various ways that trauma and typology merged to form anti-Catholic rhetoric that identified several different loci of post-Reformation angst. In chapters one and four, I have selected texts that specifically explore the inherent dangers of the Catholic threat through questions of gender, typologically connecting figures like Elizabeth and the English nation herself to biblical women whose chastity and virtue were compromised by worldly temptations. The second chapter examines how notions of citizenship and national identity were challenged by religious difference in the case of the Jesuit Edmund Campion, and how both popular polemicists and government officials came to rely on the

⁵³*Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 143.

same typological frameworks to assert the traumatic potential of the Jesuit mission in England. The third chapter undertakes how typological connections between coinage and the Eucharist formed the backbone of the argument against those who would doubt the monarch's sovereignty in the wake of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot and the institution of the Oath of Allegiance. As a collection, these texts give us a sense of the finely nuanced anti-Catholic arguments that infiltrated nearly every facet of the English Protestant experiential sphere, confirming assertions that it almost impossible to escape the trauma of the Reformation print since it was typologically associated with so many already concerning aspects of the early modern world.

The second chapter, "Sexually Transmitted Traumas: Gendering Typological Monarchy in the Alençon Affair," examines John Stubbs's inflammatory tract, *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1579). Written in response to the proposed match between Elizabeth and the French Catholic Duke of Anjou, *The Discovery* not only represents a fascinating moment in Elizabethan censorship, but Stubbs also situates the danger presented by female monarchy in conjunction with a foreign Catholic threat. Stubbs's tract demonstrates the complex relationship between gendered depictions of the evils of Catholicism and the inherent weakness exhibited by women that were perceived to be perfectly in-line with a life given to "popery." Stubbs, in an effort to describe the danger presented by the match, uses Elizabeth's own typological construction of identity to highlight a less-than-flattering vision of the Virgin Queen and her Catholic suitor. The third chapter, "Political Types: Traumatic Representations of Edmund Campion in Popular Polemic and State Documents" is an examination of the delicate balance English officials had to strike as they tried and executed the former "flower of Oxford," the Jesuit

Edmund Campion. Although Campion represented the best England had to offer in terms of education, his defection to the Society of Jesus and his clandestine mission to England in 1580 set the nation on edge as it explored the question of whether or not Catholicism constituted treason or recusancy. The overall effect of the transcripts and documents surrounding Campion's trial indicate that popular sources were keen to continue identifying the threat the Jesuit posed through means of biblical typology, but court documents reflect a concerted effort to formulate a form of civic typology that compared Campion to previous, secular threats.

The fourth chapter, "The Eucharistic Sovereign: The Typology of Economics and Equivocation in Thomas Milles's *The Misterie of Iniquitie* (1611)" considers the role of economics in the connection of typology and trauma in response to the controversies that followed the institution of the Oath of Allegiance in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot. While Catholic officials decried the Oath as a prejudicial act that forced English recusants into an uncomfortable conflict of conscience, Protestants deemed it necessary in order to make sure that all citizens were ultimately loyal to the crown. However, as the mercantilist Thomas Milles discovers, the Catholic doctrine of equivocation during interrogations complicated the state's ability to tell who was truthful and who was not. By comparing equivocation, transubstantiation, and English coining, Milles allows James to become an anti-type of Christ, and thus legitimizes his commercial, political, and spiritual transactions with his subjects. At the same times, Milles defines similar transactions undertaken by Catholics as mere equivocation – and thus, like the confessions of loyalty from recusants, they are rendered meaningless. The final chapter, "Traumatic Seductions: Typology and Recusancy in Middleton's *A Game at Chess*

(1624)” undertakes the case of one of the most popular stage plays of the early modern period and pamphlet literature reflecting similar themes. In this chapter, I argue that Thomas Middleton engages in a form of performative typology in *A Game at Chess* that pushes polemical rhetoric of tracts like Gee’s from a literal to a metaphorical mode. Middleton, rather than exploring figural typology through his characters, instead allows engages them with the typological significance of the institution of marriage. Marriage, which is consistently under attack in the play by Catholic attempts at fornication and adultery,

The events explored in this dissertation, and the texts that they spawned, demonstrate the unique relationship between traumatic historiography and typological thinking in early modern English anti-Catholic rhetoric. While typology was a obviously popular form of thinking about the connection between Judeo-Christian history and early modernity, the manner in which it was applied to explorations of anti-Catholicism exhibits a desire to explore England’s association with its traumatic religious past. Exploring religious traumatic historiography through the lens of typology allowed for an easily understood means of framing the specifics of the Catholic threat for a reading audience not necessarily well-versed in the doctrinal debates at the core of the Reformation, nor with the nuances of international religio-political relations. As a result, typological references to the Catholic threat carry alternatively senses of warning, as well as the occasional moment of hope designed to highlight England’s elect status which extends to the cautious Protestant reader who heeds the words of the polemicist.

CHAPTER 2
SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED TRAUMAS: GENDERING TYPOLOGICAL
MONARCHY IN THE ALEÇON AFFAIR¹

At the beginning of the controversial tract that would ultimately cost him his right hand in a fascinating tale of Elizabethan-era censorship, John Stubbs refers to the well-known biblical narrative of The Fall to highlight the peril inherent in Elizabeth I's potential match with the French Catholic Duke of Anjou.² Comparing the French not-so-subtly to the westward-moving syphilis, Stubbs cautions that they have, "sent us hither, not Satan in body of a serpent, but the old serpent in the shape of a man, whose sting is in his mouth, and who doth his endeavor to seduce our Eve, that she and we may lose this English paradise. Who because she is also our Adam and sovereign lord or lordly lady of this land, it is so much the more dangerous, and therefore he so much the more busily bestirs him."³ This is just the first of many obvious connections Stubbs draws between events in the Bible and England's precarious position as a small island nation populated by Protestant elect and surrounded by Catholic enemies. At the center of these interdependent narratives – biblical and contemporary – lies the ongoing angst surrounding Elizabeth's marriageable (but unmarried and un-reproductive) female body.

¹ A version of this chapter was presented at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, New Orleans, LA, October 16 – 19, 2014.

² Although Stubbs' work is a rich and complex piece of Elizabethan anti-Catholicism, most of the scholarly attention the tract has received revolves around the court intrigues that may have fostered its composition and Elizabeth's swift and decisive response to the author's "sedition." There is also a considerable body of work exploring Stubbs' relationship to Sir Philip Sidney, who privately counseled Elizabeth against the match, and the *de casibus* nature of these texts. Further information regarding the curious censorship issues surrounding Stubbs can be found in Ty F. Buckman's article "The Perils of Marriage Counselling: John Stubbs, Philip Sidney, and the Virgin Queen," in *Renaissance Papers* 2 (1995): 125-41, and Cyndia Clegg's *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 123 – 137.

³ *John Stubbs' Gaping Gulf with Other Relevant Documents*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 3-4. All future citations from *The Discovery of the Gaping Gulf* will be drawn from this edition.

In his use of these narratives, as well as his references to past strife in European history brought about by the clashes between religions, Stubbs highlights the anxiety many Protestant controversialists still felt in England's post-Reformation era. The examples Stubbs uses to dissuade Elizabeth against marrying Anjou are rife with turmoil, emphasizing disastrous marriages between those of different faiths and backgrounds, as well as the danger inherent in any person, queen or no, being connected by marriage to someone who can so utterly lead them astray. The obvious danger in Elizabeth's case that Stubbs wishes to stress is that if a queen is led astray by a spiritually bankrupt husband, she imperils not only her own soul, but those of her subjects.

Elizabeth's Privy Council frequently petitioned her to marry throughout her reign, sending her matches they found suitable, only to have their negotiations rebuffed. Some current scholarship tends to give Elizabeth a more feminist base for her lifelong celibacy, arguing that she opted out of the institution because she knew it meant sacrificing her potential to rule unfettered. Susan Doran, however, warns against such an approach, saying there has been "too great a tendency in recent years to impose on the past a feminine perspective which assumes that Elizabeth had a twentieth-century appreciation of sexual politics."⁴ As with her previous matches, Elizabeth's negotiations with Alençon were ultimately foiled by legitimate concerns regarding compatibility. The match – the last seriously posed before her death – raised particular ire amongst the queen's Protestant subjects because they could not abide a foreign Catholic as a ruler. Elizabeth rejected the French duke's desire to retain his Catholic habits while married to her, reminding her Privy Council that she "was not satisfied that Alençon's conditions could do her no harm, [and] relayed to them the dangers already posed by Catholics at home

⁴ *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I*. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 8.

and abroad.”⁵ Stubbs (and other Protestant males), responding to this final, fraught courtship of Elizabeth’s reign, said the same. A primary concern of the Alençon match was whether or not the queen’s natural, marriageable body, and its God-willed propensity to obey her husband would ultimately overthrow her Protestant sense, thus imperiling the spiritual health of the nation.⁶

Elizabeth was not the only female monarch to have been associated with a form of sexualized downfall of English Protestantism. Anne McLaren has brilliantly posited that the beginning of English anti-Catholicism as it had become by the end of the sixteenth century was due in large part to a calculated Protestant effort in the 1560s and 70s to typologically associate Elizabeth with strong female biblical figures, while at the same time typologically associating her rival, Mary, Queen of Scots, with figures like Jezebel.⁷

⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁶ Elizabeth and her Privy Council maintained a somewhat close relationship with the French monarchy between 1570 and 1581, at first appearing to consider the suit of the Duke of Anjou’s older brother (then, the current Duke of Anjou), the later Henry III of France (reg. 1574 – 1589). The initial match was proposed by French Huguenots as a means of pulling the more moderately Catholic Henry away from the influence of the ultra-Catholic Guise faction and undermining other powerful figures at the French court. Henry, however, “would not hear of a match with a heretical queen...who was more than twice his age.” As with his younger brother, Elizabeth expressed deep concerns regarding the French duke’s desire to continue to worship as a Catholic after they were married, even though Cecil took a less rigid stance. Eventually, the concessions required by both parties proved to be too daunting, and after about a year the match was officially abandoned when Henry became deeply involved with the hardline Catholic Guise faction. The royal family immediately offered up Francis, Henry’s younger brother, as another suitor to the queen. Francis, although only sixteen at the time it was proposed he marry Elizabeth, seemed a better match since he had garnered support from the Huguenot factions for his more moderate views on the Catholic/Protestant divide in France. The negotiations continued over the next six years, until Alençon himself came to woo the queen in person in August 1579. Elizabeth evidently expressed what appeared to be genuine affection for the duke, although historians still debate whether or not her fondness for Alençon amounted to an actual desire to marry him. What was certain is that Elizabeth’s Protestant subjects did not share her high regard for the duke, since the next several months saw a sharp incline in the amount of popular sources published against the match. For further information on Elizabeth’s French matches, see Doran’s *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I*, chapters 5, 6, and 7.

⁷ “Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism.” *American Historical Review* (June 2002), 739 – 767. McLaren asserts that the development of English anti-Catholicism came about through the need to vilify one female monarch (Mary) while simultaneously elevating another (Elizabeth), and that typological representation was the most effective way to do so for a Protestant readership.

In particular, McLaren demonstrates the manner in which Elizabeth's own Privy Council was likely responsible for asking Thomas Norton (1530x32 – 1584) to author a series of pamphlets around the time of the Northern Rebellion in 1569 and the issuance of the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated Elizabeth from the Catholic Church and released her Catholic subjects from their loyalty to her in 1570.⁸⁹ If it is true that the Elizabethan government had a hand in the development of Elizabeth's typological identity in contrast to that of the Catholic queen of Scotland, then the fact that Stubbs employed similar rhetoric against Elizabeth herself when writing against the Alençon match means that such rhetoric had transcended discerning Catholics from Protestants. Indeed, Stubbs's brand of anti-Catholicism indicates that as the 1570s wore on, anti-Catholic rhetoric had developed more broadly into a gendered rhetoric of feebleness that carried with it implications of national disaster.

This anti-Catholicism also developed concurrently with England's notion of itself as a Protestant political entity. As Arthur F. Marotti observes, "English nationalism rests on a foundation of anti-Catholicism," and that "[f]rom the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558 to that of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, Catholicism was for the majority of nationalistic English both an enemy within and an enemy without."¹⁰ Each in

⁸ The bull *Regnans in Excelsis* and the impact it had on the further development of English anti-Catholicism will be more comprehensively discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation, "Political Types: Traumatic Representations of Edmund Campion in Popular Polemic and State Documents."

⁹ Thomas Norton was a continually active participant in the debates over Elizabeth's marriage and the English succession. He is perhaps best known for co-authoring the play *Gorboduc* (1561) along with Thomas Sackville (1536 – 1608). The play, the first known Elizabethan tragedy in the Senecan tradition, was written and performed for Elizabeth very early in her reign and explores issues like political rivalry and unsure successions. For further information on the political importance of *Gorboduc*, see Jessica Winston's "Expanding the Political Nation: *Gorboduc* at Inns of Court and Succession Revisited." *Early Theater: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 8:1 (2005), 11 – 34.

¹⁰ *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 10.

their own turns, Mary Queen of Scots and the French duke represented forms of this enemy without bounds. Mary did so by being closely related to Elizabeth and ruling a country that bordered England. Alençon, however, did so by threatening to figuratively (and literally) penetrate Elizabeth's body and mind, and thus turn back the clock of the English Reformation.

Furthermore, it meant that a tool commonly used to diminish the danger presented by Elizabeth's gender, typology, had become increasingly associated with the trauma of England's religious past. As a result, Stubbs's tract demonstrates the pervasiveness of gendered anti-Catholicism a mere decade after its creation, and also reveals that Stubbs appreciated that the best way to signify the threat posed by French match was to use a previously established framework that directly competed with the positive typological readings typically associated with Elizabeth. The idea, then, would be that the traumatic connotations drawn between typological renderings of Mary, Queen of Scots and the dangers posed by Catholic incursion would then be associated with the potential marriage.

It would not do, however, to associate Elizabeth with villainous women of the Bible or from Christian history, therefore Stubbs's tract introduces a version of what would become one of England's most common "enemies" during the next century – the Protestant woman drawn to Catholicism through her own weak-willed nature. The shift of this rhetoric from a Catholic queen to a Protestant one indicated that female sexuality in general was being assigned traumatic typological associations due to England's religio-political fear of Catholic incursion. Elizabeth's typological identities, both those she created and those imposed upon her by supporters, represented a resolution to

trauma-induced angst perpetuated throughout Protestant English culture by violent biblical and Reformation narratives. While Deborah, and to a lesser extent, Judith experienced their share of brutality, they were powerful, capable women who ultimately championed the perpetuation of Judeo-Christian values. As long as Elizabeth could be typologically linked to these figures, her subjects had no real cause for concern. In *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, Stubbs, while deferential to the queen's authority, constructs a vastly different network of typological referents for the queen – referents that enhance rather than mitigate the traumatic reading of England's past struggles with religious reform. He typologically frames the Alençon affair as England's potential undoing, veneering his rhetoric of female weakness with proclamations of love for and loyalty to his queen.

"Created" Elizabeth

With the inception of the so-called "cult of Elizabeth" in the early years of her reign, Elizabeth and her supporters sought to connect the queen with anti-types that were traditionally viewed as powerful and just female authorities. This rhetoric was employed not only to place Elizabeth on the spectrum of Judeo-Christian royalty, but also explored concerns about what might befall England should her body natural be joined in matrimony. The ever-misogynistic Scottish divine John Knox (c. 1514 – 1572) invoked typological references as a warning against any woman being given a position of power in his *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), published the same year Elizabeth took the throne. John Aylmer (1520/1 – 1594), a moderately minded bishop in the Church of England, offered a more measured view of

female monarchy in his rebuttal to Knox, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and trewe subjects, against the late blowne blaste, concerning the government of women* (1559). Aylmer claimed that a queen's body politic maintained power that her body natural did not, even if it was married. While the queen would naturally submit to her husband in personal matters, as a good Christian wife should, husbands held no real power in the political nation.¹¹ While making these assertions about the connection between matrimony and monarchy (to which Knox later assented), Aylmer created a powerful typological link for Elizabeth's subjects, comparing her to the biblical judge Deborah:

Deborah judged and that lawfully, which cam not to it by enheritaunce, but by extraordinarye callinge. Much more may she that to Gods callinge hath joygned thordinarie means of enheritaunce, her commons consent, and confirmacion of lawes. To Saynt Austen and all the rest, which wolde have women in the subjection of their husbandes, is to be answered as before: that their meaning and speaking was, of every private woman in the bonds of mariage: And not of those which God by birth hath called to the governments of realms.¹²

Susan Doran argues that, "Deborah, a providential ruler and the rescuer of the Israelite chosen people from Canaanite idolatry, could readily be identified with Elizabeth in her attempts to uproot popery and build up the Protestant Church in England."¹³ Just as Elizabeth would do throughout her reign, Aylmer connects Elizabeth to other powerful female figures deeply invested in their positions of power and the protection of those they serve. Elizabeth's connection to Deborah, one she frequently invoked, carried with it connotations of the Protestant Reformation. Deborah, a prophet and judge of Israel,

¹¹ Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 17 – 18; Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 69 – 70.

¹² Sig. H4r-v.

¹³ *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 11.

helped lead a rebellion against the fallen and idolatrous Canaanite king Jabin in her biblical narrative. It is likely that Aylmer was simply developing an Elizabethan anti-type that had been in place for some time, since historical records indicate that the Deborah-Elizabeth connection was also explored in one of the queen's coronation pageants in 1559.¹⁴ Achsah Guibbory notes the typological significance of the Deborah pageants, saying that it, "represented continuity with ancient Jewish history that legitimated the Protestant present. England might be separated from Rome, but she enjoyed a covenant with God. The Pope might excommunicate Elizabeth, but she was one of God's mighty ones, raised to deliver his people."¹⁵ Even at the very inception of her reign, Elizabeth was keen to establish a typological heritage that would set the minds of her subjects at ease, allowing them to see the providential role she would play in the development of England's Protestant identity.

Elizabeth's reign contained a significant amount of self-fashioning. The deficit of being a female ruler, coupled with her dogged refusal to marry and produce an heir to secure the succession led her to represent herself in terms that she hoped would assure her subjects of her ability to effectively rule even without a husband. By and large, these tactics worked. True to the definition of early modern self-fashioning as described by Stephen Greenblatt, "family, state, and religious institutions impose[d] a more rigid and far-reaching discipline upon...aristocratic subjects" when it came to identity-formation. Subjects of the early modern period, argues Greenblatt, returned to "an increased self-

¹⁴ For further information on how Elizabeth was represented in her public exhibitions, see *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*. eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29.

consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as manipulable, artful process,” reminiscent of antiquity ideologies.¹⁶ As a result, Elizabeth and her supporters formed a cooperative network of identity creators resolved to represent the queen in the best light possible. Stephen Cohen has argued that this self-representation was calculated to highlight the gender-related ambiguity fostered in the body of a powerful, female monarch, and asserts that, “As Elizabeth’s control of her own iconographic representation became more assured, her use of gendered personæ which evoked her private self in order to obscure or mystify her political authority became more common and more elaborate.”¹⁷ Typology played a key role in this identity-creation, since it provided a means of easy access to references and allusions for her Protestant subjects invested in reading and interpreting the Bible for themselves. Additionally, it gave Elizabeth a concrete place in the continuum of Christian history. Greenblatt asserts that “cult images” of Elizabeth expressed in myriad poems, masques, and other literary works, “channeled national and religious sentiments into the worship of the prince, masked over and thus temporarily deflected deep social, political, and theological divisions in late sixteenth-century England, [and] transformed Elizabeth’s potentially disastrous sexual disadvantage into a supreme political virtue.”¹⁸ All of this typological identity creation worked to mitigate the trauma of the English Reformation in retrospect. As Cohen notes, “Through a rhetoric of political masculinity deployed throughout her reign, Elizabeth

¹⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning From More To Shakespeare*, (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1-2.

¹⁷ “(Post) Modern Elizabeth: Gender, Politics, and the Emergence of Modern Subjectivity.” *Shakespeare and Modernity: Early Modern to Millenium*. Ed. Hugh Grady. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 28.

¹⁸*Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 168.

assured her subjects that they were not being ruled by a ‘mere’ woman.”¹⁹ While controversialists like John Foxe kept the recent religious upheaval alive and well in the minds of Protestant readers, Elizabeth’s constant typological connection to strong, stalwart biblical (and historical) men and women was likely designed to reassure them that they were in the hands of a capable leader, thus ideally mitigating the traumatic implications of other instances wherein feminine weakness led others astray with disastrous consequences.

Gendered Anti-Catholicism and the Alençon Match – Seductive Types

Many contributing factors led to the Alençon match being one of the most vociferously opposed of the queen’s reign, not the least of which was the fact that England’s print culture, particularly the segment dominated by religious polemicists and controversialists, had greatly expanded throughout Elizabeth’s reign.²⁰ The Protestant Tudor succession, however, was the most likely source of the sudden outpouring of concern regarding the French match. The queen’s marriageable, procreative body remained an incredibly delicate subject amongst her advisers and subjects. Even though

¹⁹ “(Post) Modern Elizabeth,” 28.

²⁰ There have been a number of studies made of the relationship between England’s religious climate and the proliferation of print in the post-Reformation era. For an extraordinarily thorough examination of the particulars of England’s Protestant print culture, see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). For information on anti-Catholicism in England’s broadsheet and ballad trade, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550 – 1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). More recently, Peter Lake and Michael Questier have tackled an exploration of the manner in which morality was explored in popular and scandalous Protestant pamphlet literature in *The Anti-Christ’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists & Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002). Jesse M. Lander analyzes the link between England’s Protestant culture and the generic conventions of polemic in *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Antoinina Bevan Zlatar’s *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) explores the genre of the dialogue in connection with Protestant conversion techniques.

Elizabeth appeared to be seriously entertaining a marriage to Alençon, the most hopeful subject could not deny that, at forty-six, the queen was likely beyond her child-bearing years. Furthermore, since Elizabeth consistently refused to name a successor, the likelihood was that England would fall under French Catholic control if she should die while married to the duke. Stubbs discusses the implications of the queen's bearing children as a result of the marriage, but in all actuality, one can see that their qualms revolve around the reality of a childless relationship – one that leaves no part-Tudor Protestant princes behind at all.²¹

These qualms are evident throughout the pages of *The Gaping Gulf*. At the core of Stubbs's work lies the fear of seduction, penetration, and invasion, all articulated through the particulars of the Alençon affair. The nation feared that their queen's body would be seduced, and the England along with it, thus enforcing the belief that wherein both "[w]omen and Catholicism were feared as intrinsically idolatrous, superstitious, and carnal."²² To that end, it is important to dissect the myriad roles that the queen fulfills for Stubbs in the pages of the tract. Elizabeth is not only England's ruler, but she is also the ultimate marital prize and progenitor, for both her potential future husband and the English public she at once serves and rules over. Her very essence, as Stubbs sets up early on, straddles the line of masculine and feminine. She is England's ruler, yet, according to convention, she must ultimately subject herself to the rule of a husband, should the time come that she marry and produce heirs. Returning to the quote introduced earlier, Stubbs mirrors popular ideology regarding this gendered duality when

²¹ One of the other respondents to the French match, Sir Philip Sidney, will be discussed later in this chapter.

²² Marotti, 37.

expressing his angst over the potential French incursion, drawing on the biblical narrative of creation to demonstrate the stakes involved with a foreign match:

...they have sent us hither, not Satan in body of a serpent, but the old serpent in shape of a man, whose sting is in his mouth, and who doth his endeavor to seduce our Eve, that she and we may lose this English paradise. Who because she is also our Adam and sovereign lord or lordly lady of this land, it is so much the more dangerous, and therefore he so much the more busily bestirs him.²³

Ilona Bell considers Stubbs' use of gendered duality in this instance to be Stubbs' censorship of himself – a moment wherein the author pulls back from a fully negative use of “Renaissance antifeminism” which represents Eve, and thus Elizabeth, as “too weak, vain, passionate, irrational, greedy, willful, and easily duped to rule the country.” In this sense, Bell views Stubbs' reference to Elizabeth as not only the mother of mankind (and the one who brought sin into the world), but also as Adam as a conscientious mirroring of Elizabeth's own rhetorical self-fashioning in order to avoid being fully offensive.²⁴ It is important to note, however, that while typologically associating Elizabeth with Adam might mitigate the offensiveness of being associated with Eve, Stubbs may have intended this reading to be more critical of Elizabeth's dually gendered nature. While Adam is presented as Eve's superior, he still succumbs to her allurements and, like his wife, is driven from Eden.

Stubbs's use of the creation narrative serves as potential functional ambiguity, but also immediately places the tract in a similar inter-textual light to that of Elizabeth's identity-creation, highlighting the sort of Protestant trauma narrative to which he consistently returns. In opening the tract with a comparison between Elizabeth and the

²³ Stubbs, 3-4.

²⁴ *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 108-9.

earliest humans, he tacitly identifies the Alençon affair as a contemporary incarnation of the biblical Fall – an event with tremendous traumatic resonance for Judeo-Christian theology. This perhaps complicates Bell’s reading of the conflation of Adam and Eve in the figure of Elizabeth in the passage. Rather than a potential placation of Elizabeth’s ego on Stubbs’s part, the combination of the two figures in the body of the queen instead reflects Stubbs’s desire to highlight the threat the foreign prince’s overtures represent. Elizabeth debases herself by allowing the serpent, in the guise of the Duke, to entice her to endanger her own Eden over which she presides with her regal self – personified by Adam. In this adaptation of the narrative, Stubbs highlights the danger signified by Elizabeth’s potential seduction. The stakes of the relationship are evident for those readers undoubtedly familiar with the account of the Fall.

Bell’s choice to read this passage through the lens of Stubbs’ obviously condescending views of womanhood and marriage stops short of taking into account the concern the author demonstrates for how Elizabeth’s dual gender effects England as a burgeoning global power. Stubbs fears the loss of the English “paradise” through Elizabeth’s actions, implying that the sexual nature of his queen ultimately has geopolitical ramifications –as weighty as those suffered in the original fall. In the passage, Elizabeth is embodied as the seduced Eve, and the ultimate seductress of Adam. This implies that her male strengths will eventually be toppled by her own feminine allures, to the detriment of the entire nation. Louis Montrose also reads this passage as a manifestation of Stubbs’ concerns over national security, noting that the image conveyed is one of “penetration and invasion.” Montrose goes on to develop the idea that Stubbs is drawing concerns of the queen’s personal sexuality onto a larger scale of national

invasion, saying that “the text explicitly homologizes Queen and Country.”²⁵ In essence, Elizabeth and England are one, vulnerable being. The fact that the England’s ultimate danger underlies Thomas P. Anderson’s theory that a sexualized trauma in connection with post-Reformation angst predominated England’s way of imagining the dangers of Catholicism. Anderson connects this idea to the early modern stage during violent productions such as Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*, which also relied on allegorical and literal penetration in order to convey trauma to the audience. Anderson asserts that eroticized trauma in the Renaissance, “articulate[d] in displaced form the anxiety of becoming an historical subject.”²⁶ This claim is indicative of what is clearly Stubbs’s desire to typologically describe the potential traumatic repercussions should Elizabeth marry a Catholic – the Marian Reaction would essentially begin anew, quite literally transforming English Protestants into “historical subjects.” Likewise, according to Stubbs, if Elizabeth’s chastity is successfully tried by one French Catholic, the entire nation will be lost along with her – literally becoming “historical subjects” as they are thrust what they perceived as backwards into their Catholic error. Montrose’s reading goes a long way to further the link between anti-Catholic sentiment and English national identity as constructed by Stubbs, but he appears halt his analysis at primary level of the metaphor - Elizabeth is in danger of being “penetrated and invaded,” therefore she may be seen a symbol of England itself. In this manner, Stubbs’s typological reading of Elizabeth’s seduction registers in the realm of Anderson’s eroticized early modern trauma.

²⁵ Montrose, 121.

²⁶ *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 8.

At the core of this passage, however, is not simple concern for the queen's body and what its violation might ultimately mean to matters of national security, but an expression of a complex relationship between Elizabeth and her kingdom. Typologically speaking, Adam and Eve are two extraordinarily powerful figures in the Bible. By conflating the two, Stubbs highlights the complicated threat posed by the Alençon affair. Adam is most commonly represented as a type of Christ – both experience supernatural births, and while, “[t]he disobedience of Eve led to Adam's Fall; the obedience of Mary [Christ's mother] leads to Christ's triumph.”²⁷ Stubbs's connection to Elizabeth as a type of Adam (and therefore of Christ) is evident throughout the tract, but the references are almost always codified similarly to the above reference wherein Adam represents the imperfect negative to Christ's story. Despite his divine origins, Adam is of the earth – and so is Elizabeth. Stubbs laments Elizabeth's apparent unwillingness to take good counsel when offered by alluding to her typological heritage, noting that, “the very place of a prince doth bring some disadvantage through our old Adam, who when he is lift up will hardly yield to the good poor advice of them that speak truth in a bare simplicity, the same Lord fill [Elizabeth's] royal heart with such a tractable and easy sweetness of a yielding nature.”²⁸

Like the earlier passage, though, this appeal against Elizabeth's Adamic nature is designed to highlight the complications presented by the queen's feminine side. Stubbs clearly desires that Elizabeth's Eve-like tractability and “yielding nature” would override her manly strong-headedness, allowing her to see the reason in the words of her advisers.

²⁷ Joseph A. Galdon, S.J. *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature*, (The Netherlands: Paris, 1975), 96.

²⁸ Stubbs, 30.

This sentiment, however, serves to further focus our attention on the paradoxical nature of Elizabeth's typology as Stubbs sees it. Within the context of the Fall, Eve essentially overpowers Adam despite her intellectual and physical inferiority. Mary, mother of Christ, is identified as the "second Eve" in contrast to her ideological namesake. As Christ does for Adam, so Mary reverses the sins of her forbearer, bringing life through her obedience to the commands of God just as Eve brings death into the world through her disobedience.²⁹ As a type of Eve, though, Stubbs worries more about the similarities Elizabeth must share with the first woman than with the virginal mother of Christ, despite the queen's attempts to fashion her own virginal persona.

Elizabeth's Eve-like nature and femininity opened up a dangerous route for Protestant England should she decide to take the duke as a husband. In the eyes conscientious and devoted Protestants like John Stubbs, the troubles that came on the heels of Catholics were legion. Stubbs cites two of the primary charges lobbied against Catholics by their Protestant counterparts in post-Reformation England, idolatry and superstition, as forces that a woman, even one so regal as Elizabeth, might find particularly intriguing and ultimately irresistible should she marry a "papist." He does so by referencing the popular Renaissance ideology of woman as the "weaker vessel." This characterization of Elizabeth as weak-willed and susceptible to Catholic seduction closely resembles polemic designed earlier in the decade to discredit her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, ability to rule England effectively. Where Elizabeth had formerly been the Virgin Queen in opposition to Mary's Jezebel, now the Protestant queen was an Eve

²⁹ Galdon, 96.

ready to demolish her life's work for a taste of Anjou's forbidden apple.³⁰ Stubbs posits that while all humans are susceptible to the temptations of idolatry and superstition, Elizabeth's marriage to a Catholic provides a specifically potent danger. According to Stubbs, her weaker self would be attached to one already predisposed to religious folly, embodied in the Alençon. The Catholic duke obviously possesses "as great or more readiness" for error.³¹ Stubbs frequently exploits the perceived Catholic propensity for "error" throughout the tract. He does so in an obvious effort demonstrate for his readers the problematic aspects of the unification of two essentially "weak vessels," one made so through the virtue of her gender and the heritage of Eve, the other through his unwillingness to extricate himself from a fallacious belief structure. Inherent in this sense of "error" is the untrustworthy nature of Catholic monarchs. The king of France is described by Stubbs as an "unsure and slippery friend,"³² and specifically comments on Catholic marriages, saying that, "whoso marrieth with any Pope worshiper cannot tell when to be sure of him."

Stubbs then elaborates on the concept of a Protestant/Catholic marriage, and the error-prone ways of the latter are again explained in a geopolitical context. He chooses to elaborate on the nature of the Pope's power over his "worshippers," positing that international relations mean little to Catholics as they "have one knife to unloose all alliances with kingdoms and faith given to princes."³³ This metaphorical and menacing knife that so haphazardly mars relationships between princes is the Pope's dispensation –

³⁰ McLaren, 758-9.

³¹ Stubbs, 11.

³² Ibid., 62.

³³ Ibid., 73.

a religious institution of undetermined veracity that error-prone Catholics readily accept. Stubbs, however, claims that the problematic nature of the dispensation is that “which is so just in itself as whether it bind or loose it may not be examined.”³⁴ Stubbs is clearly accusing Catholics of a blind acceptance on the tenets of their faith – which has long been proven to be misleading by Protestant reformers.

Although the allusion is slightly more veiled in this critique of the marriage in the above, Stubbs’s discussion of the intimate manner in which gender, sexuality, and religion function in a marriage is certainly meant to remind the reader of the stakes that are present on the geopolitical scale should Alençon’s suit be successful. Throughout the tract Stubbs manages to incorporate fears of sexual seduction and anti-Catholicism in a more concrete way by attacking the trappings of Catholicism. These facets were considered offensive and blasphemous by many Protestants, and their nature to influence the weak minded. Stubbs demonstrates the dichotomous nature of perceived Catholic evil in England during the early modern period which, according to Wiener was divided into “the wily seducers and their unfortunate dupes.”³⁵ Stubbs’s references of the dangers of idolatry are also reflective of the time in which it was written, as the various items Catholics used in worship such as “crosses, the images, the rosaries, were thought, in the same way as missionaries, to lure men away from the truth.”³⁶ In the case of Elizabeth and Alençon, the implication is that Catholicism could potentially work as a form of sexually transmitted doctrine, moving from the Duke to his “weaker vessel” wife who

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Carol Z. Wiener, “The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism,” in *Past and Present* 51 (May 1971), 42.

³⁶ Ibid., 44.

may not have the strength to resist his machinations. This view of women as overtly sexual vessels drawn to the worldly and sumptuous elements of Catholicism would continue to develop well into the seventeenth century. As a result, tales of these irresolute women would come to populate a sizable portion of England's popular print, thus extending traumatic narrative of recusancy and gender beyond the Virgin Queen. Stubbs's concerns over the match clearly hearken back to medieval political ideologies pertaining to the dual substantive nature of monarchs – the natural body and the body politic combined in the figure of the ruler.³⁷ In Stubbs's case, however, the already complex division of Elizabeth's body between the political and personal is further complicated by the fact that Elizabeth is a woman. As such, significant weight is put upon the potential complications presented by her marriageable body. She must subjugate herself to any husband she takes, and implicit in her subjugation is England's subjugation to a foreign, Catholic entity. Stubbs explores the intimate conflation of the queen's body and her commonwealth and the prospective harm to both, saying:

In respect of these her two bodies, which, albeit they be of that nature as nothing can be harmful to one but the same is full of harm to both, yet have I on speaking of the commonwealth handled also Her Majesty's civil body, as that which can no more be removed from the commonweal than the head from the body, and as that which hath mutual suffering with the commonweal in weal and woe as hath the head with the body.³⁸

For Stubbs, and doubtlessly for many of his contemporaries, there was no separation of the queen's natural, marriageable body and the bodies of her subjects. The focus Stubbs

³⁷ The seminal work on the dual bodies of a monarch is Ernst H. Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957). Marie Axton brilliantly appropriated Kantorowicz's theories and applied them to the complicated problem of female rulership in *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (Royal Historical Society, 1977).

³⁸ Stubbs, 68.

places on the potential harm that Elizabeth's subjugation to a foreign Catholic husband poses to herself and her subjects is a common theme throughout the tract. Anti-Catholic rhetoric of the period indicates that Elizabeth's dogged refusal to marry and produce an heir to secure the Protestant Tudor line for the English throne formed a central vein of concern for those who responded to Catholic threats in pamphlets and tracts that lined the booksellers' stalls.

The Alençon affair, and Stubbs' response to it, highlighted the myriad apprehensions that drove not only anti-Catholic rhetoric in general, but those matters that were specific to having a female monarch on the throne. It is a heavily inter-textual piece, referencing not only recent and long-past English history, but also biblical narratives and other well-known tales of poor matches and their horrible consequences. Stubbs' primary goal is to place the negative implications of a French Catholic match for the English Protestant queen within a larger historical narrative – one that is rife with upheaval at the hands of “Romish” interlopers. As such, he reifies the not-yet-sustained trauma of England's theoretically violent re-conversion to Catholicism by placing it in context with past, known traumas. The instances he describe are oftentimes stripped of their complexity in order to allow the more overt connections to the Alençon affair shine through, allowing the reader access to the direst implications of Elizabeth's potential marriage. It is a remarkable example of historical trauma's need for the past to be seen through the lens of the present.

Since, however, Elizabeth's natural body is prone to Catholic seductions, Stubbs undertakes a complete co-option of Elizabeth's physical body by her subjects, of whom he is a representative. The weight placed on the conflation of Elizabeth's physical self

and England is developed within an allegory of physiological disease and contamination, saying, “[t]his sickness of mind [Catholicism] have the French drawn from those eastern parts of the world, as they did that other horrible disease of the body, and, having already too far westward communicated the one contagion, do now seek notably to infect our minds with the other.”³⁹ The intermingling of the rhetoric of communicable disease (more than likely syphilis, since a common alternate name for it in the late sixteenth century was “French pox”) and the dangers presented by the ideas of foreign interlopers was wide-spread during this period.⁴⁰ In this case, Stubbs chooses to allegorize his threat as a specific, physical contagion that originates in continental lands easily read as Italy, and the Duke’s home of France. Stubbs notes that France has already physically invaded England with the physiological contagion syphilis, and now stands ready to wreak a spiritual venereal infection in the minds of its citizens through Catholicism. In his movement from the broad scale of the literal manifestation of French syphilis to the metaphorical contamination of Catholicism in Protestant minds, Stubbs creates an allegorical construction of the Reformation-era trauma that forms the basis for his concerns. He locates Elizabeth as the literal, physical body through which this infestation may occur.⁴¹ He achieves this movement through his isolation of the English citizenry as a unified “us” from which the English paradise is doomed to be stolen. This places the unified “us” at the mercy of Elizabeth’s body, which technically is referenced as

³⁹ Stubbs, 3.

⁴⁰ In his book *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare’s England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), Jonathan Gil Harris touches on the importance of the rhetoric of disease and communicability in a wide range of early modern genres touching on matters of mercantilism or trade. Although Stubbs is not writing about the exchange of monies or goods *per se* in *The Discovery of the Gaping Gulf*, it cannot be doubted that the same concerns are being explored in both cases.

⁴¹ It is also worth noting that this is the first, overtly sexual connotation drawn regarding Stubbs’s concerns over the French match. Anjou is not just a threat to national security, he is literally a venereal disease.

belonging to the English (“our Eve”), but is still dangerously uncontrollable, presumably because of her royal status. His concerns are national and based on the precedence of the perceived Catholic threat from the get-go. The serpent has been sent to “us,” and the loss of Elizabeth to a Catholic marriage ultimately means the loss of the communal “English paradise.” For Stubbs, the danger moves far beyond Elizabeth and England being linked in a metaphorical sense – as queen, she is England, and England belongs, according to the author, to the English. Thus, her infection with the metaphorical venereal disease of Catholicism must necessarily bring such contamination to all of England. Stubbs is clearly drawing parallels between the threat implicit in the French match and the narrative of Judeo-Christian historical and cultural trauma.

Seducing the State – Elizabeth and her Institutions

At the heart of Stubbs’s concerns over both Elizabeth’s womanhood and her subsequent sexual urges was the English succession. What if Elizabeth were to die without producing a legitimate heir to the throne? What foreign ruler would then step in to determine England’s fate? Susan Frye notes that throughout much of Elizabeth’s reign, the matter of succession would represent to be the “central political issue in England,” and Stubbs continually reiterates this concern throughout his “seditious” text.⁴² Ultimately, the queen’s marriageable body represents the ultimate point through which the upheavals of England’s past Protestant struggles may be reenacted, and the relationship between her natural body and her “body politic” mean that her seduction must be mirrored by her state.

⁴²*Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 70.

Resting at the core of the English state was its newly reformed church still struggling to concretize its ideology. Stubbs offers up a fascinating reading of Elizabeth's relationship with her Protestantism and its church:

The Church of England wherein this holy law of religious matching and marrying the faithful with the faithful is given by Christ to this end, that their children might be sanctified and holily brought up in Christian religion; think you, I say, that the Church will easily depart with her dear daughter, her daughter of highest honor, Elizabeth the Queen of England, who is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and will not hold her fast in her loving arms as being loath to give her to a stranger, one that hath showed no signs of regeneration, and herself want the assistance of a faithful husband, and her children of her body, if any she have, which receive outward sanctification and entry into the bosom of the Church through the promise of their faithful parents, be in danger to be profaned before they be born, and to be corrupted after they are born and through-out all their education.⁴³

For Stubbs, two of the most important aspects of the English nation – its church and its commonwealth – are not represented as being unified with their monarch, despite the obvious connection that she should share with them. Rather they are presented as being unified in their efforts *against* the queen's bad potential match. For Stubbs, Elizabeth's mere consideration of the match with Alençon is enough to trouble her relationship with the Church and the commonwealth. Here, the gendered aspect of Elizabeth's monarchy has interesting implications in the face of the danger Stubbs sees as immanent should the French match be pursued.

Elizabeth's femininity in correspondence with the already personified feminine representations of Church and commonwealth produces a dually negative effect – one typically mitigated by the presence of a male monarch. For a male monarch, a relationship shared with commonwealth and Church that is at once spousal and maternal

⁴³ Ibid., 8.

does not seem as transgressive. Presumably, it is the masculine nature of the king's body politic that keeps the more troublesome facets of the other two in check, while at the same time having his harshness tempered by their corresponding softness. Facing the prospect of the French match, however, there is no assurance for Stubbs that Elizabeth's "masculine" body politic will be able to overcome both the wily seductions of the Catholic duke or the softening effect that both Church and commonwealth will have on her nature. While the nature of a male monarch is ostensibly improved by his reciprocal relationship with female-personified institutions, the necessary masculine nature that Elizabeth must espouse as the leader of a nation is ultimately compromised by those same, also female institutions. In short, Stubbs seems concerned that the French Catholic duke would be the only truly masculine contributing factor in Elizabeth's reign.

The passage indicates that the forward momentum of the English Reformation will be halted by Elizabeth's inability to successfully moderate her own desires or to properly administer to the needs of her church and commonwealth. While the goal of Protestant monarchs had been to unify England's state and its religion, Stubbs sees nothing but potential fragmentation should Elizabeth be allowed to marry Anjou. The passage revels in the confusing duality expressed in Elizabeth's character. She is at once England's mother and its daughter – an entity that nurtures and protects while at the same time needing protection from wiser, stronger counterparts better suited to negotiate the ways of the world than she. She also embodies many of the metaphysical components said to belong to the English monarch. She is crown, country, and church, and Stubbs' manner of placing all of these disparate qualities of her personhood in relationship with each other demonstrates just how fraught with danger he viewed the Alençon match to

be. Should Elizabeth marry the Duke, Stubbs evidently fears that a microcosmic version of the tensions between England and continental Catholic nations will play out between the couple, with Elizabeth ultimately losing, and her Protestant nation along with her. This angst reflects the tenuousness of English Protestantism transmitted in many of the faith's early texts – including Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Although England fancied itself favored by God in its Protestantism, there was still a very real fear of being overwhelmed by continental Catholicism, both ideologically and physically. These fears would only be somewhat put to rest following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, but that was still nearly a decade after the Alençon match was being pursued. Carol Z. Weiner examines the manner in which English anti-Catholic sentiment revolved around a barely concealed paranoia of imminent hostile invasion at the hands of continental papists, positing that, according to many Elizabethan texts, "England was depicted as the modern Israel, and her difficulties proof of her special status."⁴⁴ *The Gaping Gulf*, however, suggests that England's elect status may slip away resulting in further religious trauma since the realm is controlled literally and figuratively by women (embodied in the Church and the queen) incapable of governing her effectively.

In order to fully express the severity of the implications of Elizabeth's potential backslide into Catholicism, Stubbs takes special care to remind his reader of England's Catholic past, and her ultimate salvation from error. He once again grounds his argument in biblical reference, noting for his reader that "England [is] a region purged from idolatry, a kingdom of light, confessing Christ and serving the living God." In this case, it is interesting that Stubbs denotes that *England* is free from idolatry without expressing

⁴⁴ "The Beleaguered Isle," 28.

the same conviction of Elizabeth herself. France, on the other hand, Stubbs says, “is a den of idolatry, a kingdom of darkness, confessing Belial and serving Baal.”⁴⁵ The very structure of his statement creates an implicit dichotomy between the two nations. One is of Christ, the other of icons and idols. One is bathed in light, the other mired in darkness. While England serves God through Christ’s benevolence, France worships a false god by way of yet another false god – a dire reminder of Catholics and their error-prone ways.⁴⁶ In *The Gaping Gulf*, Elizabeth is presented as a high-stakes version of the recusant woman. As described by Arthur F. Marotti, recusant women had either never converted to Protestantism, or worse, had briefly walked the path of “true religion” only to be seduced into idolatry by a Catholic male – usually a priest or a Jesuit.⁴⁷ Although Marotti’s study specifically explores the role of the recusant woman in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, a clear connection can be drawn between these role these later, more common women played in ensuring the spiritual and physical health of the realm or threatening it. The recusant woman, lured by the temptations and spectacle of Catholicism is not only a threat to herself, but embodies larger geopolitical implications for England’s potential destruction. In this framework, it is easy for us to consider Elizabeth one of the first targets of recusancy polemic under Marotti’s definition.

⁴⁵Stubbs, 6-7.

⁴⁶ With respect to the earlier biblically focused metaphors, it is interesting to note that, as Krishan Kumar observes, England is here associated with New Testament tropes (Christ, etc.), and the Catholics seem to be enmeshed in Old Testament, pagan ideologies. See Kumar’s *The Making of English National Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107 – 8.

⁴⁷ For further information on the role of the recusant woman in early modern English anti-Catholic rhetoric, see Marotti’s *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 53 – 65. Francis E. Dolan has also brilliantly explored the connection between gender and English anti-Catholicism in *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999). I will further be discussing the role of the recusant woman in English anti-Catholicism in chapter 5, “Traumatic Seductions: Typology and Recusancy in Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* (1624).”

Stubbs's reflection of popular ideologies concerning Elizabeth's steadfastness to her Protestant faith interspersed with apprehension over the convincing, seductive, and error-prone nature of Catholic men creates for a reader a natural point of concern. If Elizabeth already demonstrates potentially idolatrous traits, her exposure to a Catholic whom she may be honor-bound to obey through the constraints of marriage grounds her recusancy within the context of national security. She would become a willing recusant, while England would have to follow unwillingly. If Elizabeth falls to the temptations of Catholicism, so must her country.

In order to make this threat of national dissolution all the more palpable, Stubbs structures his arguments against the French match around the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism in such a way as to uphold this homologous union of Elizabeth and England, retaining the importance of Elizabeth's marriageable status and subsequent sexual activity as driving factors of international politics. It is evident throughout the tract that while Stubbs sees the necessity for the succession to be secured through Elizabeth's marriage, he finds the possibility of a political match between Protestant and Catholic to be odious, further insinuating an inherent connection between Protestant queen and Protestant country. Fearing Catholic incursion, Stubbs reminds his readers that "the first marriages were between pairs in religion, and in the fear of God," referencing biblical law that Hebrews must marry Hebrews. His distaste for Catholics is couched, again, in biblical allegory, as Elizabeth becomes the embodiment of the purest Hebrew slaves. Stubbs says of the potential marriage that it is a "great and mighty sin, for England to give one of Israel's daughters to any of Hamor's sons." Allegorically, Elizabeth becomes the daughter of Israel about to be given to one of Hamor's sons, a reference to the biblical story of

Shechem. In the story, Shechem is a prince of a neighboring kingdom who lusted after Jacob's daughter Dinah, ultimately kidnapping and raping her before asking for her hand in marriage.⁴⁸

Through this tale of mixed marriage, Stubbs further expounds on the difference between Elizabeth and her suitor, insisting that it is a sin "to match a daughter of God with one of the sons of men," referencing God's commandment in Deuteronomy against the mixing of the idolatrous with those who adhered to Hebraic law.⁴⁹ Stubbs draws on similar biblical referents throughout his text, placing Elizabeth and England within the context of the godly and beleaguered Hebrew wives at the mercy of the idolatrous and recalcitrant by virtue of the desire for marriage and propagation. Krishan Kumar notes that such a tactic was an important part of the creation of rhetoric of English nationalism during the post-Reformation period, and that many religious writers of the time expressed a special kinship with the Hebrew slaves of the Old Testament,⁵⁰ thus becoming one of the most oft-practiced tropes of later anti-Catholic polemic, wherein England was an embattled but righteous typological representation of Israel constantly threatened by the idolatrous, expansive, and powerful "Egypt" of the Holy Roman Empire. Stubbs goes on to expand this allegory in the next lines, saying that the proposed match is tantamount with the joining of "a daughter of God with one of the sons of men, [the coupling] of a Christian lady, a member of Christ, to a prince and good son of Rome, that anti-

⁴⁸ The story of Dinah and Shechem can be found in Genesis 34.

⁴⁹ Stubbs, 6, 7.

⁵⁰ Kumar, 125.

Christian mother city.”⁵¹ Thus, the typological implications of the match have been explored fully in the space of a few sentences.

For Stubbs, the odiousness of joining godly to ungodly has undeniable political overtones in the case of the French match. Stubbs does not stop with the analogy of Hamor in his effort to delineate the threat Catholicism represents to England’s spiritual and martial well-being. He cites a list of Hebraic rulers punished for their lack of adherence to God’s laws. There’s Jeroboam, who “set up altars in the land of Israel contrary to God’s law, he would have been loath that any man should have said he committed idolatry or made the people idolatrous; yet that sin followed, and he thrown out of God’s favor, noted with a foul blot for a ringleader in sin often reputed in the scripture.”⁵²This reference carries with it an important message of intentionality when it comes to sin. While Elizabeth may have every intention of standing strong in the face of a Catholic husband, her legacy may be decided by what transpires outside the realm of her best efforts. Stubbs continues with a host of biblical figures undone by their inability to separate true Godly devotion from idolatry – all the while working with the assumption that “idolatry” was virtually synonymous with “Catholicism” for his readers. Rhetorically, Stubbs creates the typological referent of Catholicism in Hebrew idolatry – therefore the implications of the stories that would have been familiar to his readers would be plain. Stubbs, however, is sure to leave nothing to the imagination and clearly connects the two thoughts, saying:

Even to erect an idolatrous altar, not in a corner of the realm but on the highest hill of the land, London, which is our Jerusalem, and to make an

⁵¹ Stubbs, 6.

⁵² Stubbs, 17.

open fault, not of infirmity, but by advised composition against the Lord and his truth, not in two shires and a half, but in the greatest part of the realm and head of the land, our prince, insomuch as it should be safer to set up a thousand hill altars for hedgecreeping priests elsewhere rather than this high altar so near the Court.⁵³

Rather than imply the danger of a Catholic king with unfettered access to the Elizabethan court, he creates a direct typological referent for his readers, wherein London takes the place of Jerusalem – the holiest of cities. As a result, not only is there the threat of an “idolatrous altar” being erected, but it is bound to be located in London, which for Stubbs embodies the same level of importance to Protestantism that Jerusalem did to early Christianity. This sentiment of London as holy city is reiterated when Stubbs stresses that England’s potential lapse from Protestantism will have ramifications beyond its own shores, as “[the] infant churches in the Lowe Countries shall lose a wet nurse of us; the elder churches in Germany, a sister in strength.”⁵⁴ Stubbs asks his reader to imagine the plight of continental Protestantism in the context of early Christianity should its earliest centers have fallen.⁵⁵

Philippa Berry explores the relationship between Protestantism and representations of Elizabeth, noting that the issue of the queen’s marriage and succession recalled matters of the gendering of secular and religious institutions in early modern England. In the standard Renaissance formation of government, the masculine king would “marry” with the secular and religious aspects of the state, which were typically gendered female. Berry asserts that Elizabeth, in this sense, became the true, physical

⁵³ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The typological connection between London and Jerusalem will further be explored in chapter 3, “Political Types: Traumatic Representations of Edmund Campion in Popular Polemic and State Documents.”

unification of church and state more so than any male monarch because of the alignment of an all-feminine monarch, assuming then that she had more access to the spiritual realm of Protestant rule.⁵⁶ Stubbs seems to be keenly aware of this marriage of the body politic, and frequently refers to these other institutions of monarchy in the manner in which Berry implies referenced the unique way that Elizabeth embodied a more complete body politic – a true unification of church and state. In Stubbs’ opinion, however, this unification clearly comprises a weakness due to the seductive nature of continental Catholicism with no solid male monarch to protect the virtues of the gendered female religious institutions of England.

Stubbs’s unification of Elizabeth’s symbolic, political body and her real, physical, sexual body was one that Stubbs, like so many other Renaissance authors, found dichotomously empowering and potentially destructive. Louis Montrose insists that the tangibility of Elizabeth’s physical form and womanhood “ensured that gender and sexuality were foregrounded in representing the Elizabethan state and in articulating its relations with other states and with its own subjects.”⁵⁷ Gender and sexuality were certainly foregrounded for Stubbs in the matter of detailing the potential pitfalls of marrying, and not merely within the context of providing typological, biblical referents in order to contrast the Duke of Anjou’s idolatrous, Catholic background with Elizabeth’s pure Protestantism. Indeed, much of Stubbs’ argument shies away from the metaphorical and relies heavily on anti-French and anti-Catholic sentiments and typological references highlighting the importance not only of the unification of Elizabeth’s physical body and her “body politic” as first explored by Marie Axton and later elaborated on by Montrose

⁵⁶ *Of Chastity and Power*, 66-7.

⁵⁷ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 115.

(and others), but the manner in which that “body politic” became a representation of England’s elect Protestantism.

The notion that Stubbs’s rhetoric in *The Gaping Gulf* was largely influenced by the anti-Mary misogynistic polemic of the early 1570s is evident when one examines one of the only other known sources counseling the queen against the marriage. Stubbs’s tract revels in the highly feminized characterization of Catholicism established during the earlier years of Elizabeth’s reign. However, Stubbs’s attempts to associate the queen with Catholicism ran counter to Elizabeth’s own efforts to create her identity through typological references that mitigated the trauma of the Reformation. Sir Philip Sidney engaged in none of this rhetoric in his private letter to the queen in 1579. There are many stylistic similarities between Stubbs’s tract and Sidney’s letter. Comparing the arguments side-by-side, however, the similarities end more or less at the fact that Sidney is speaking out against the match. Sidney’s letter is relatively free from Stubbs’s misogynistic patronization. He speaks almost solely in terms of contemporary political issues, delving rarely into precedence beyond the troubled history between the English and the French. He uses only one biblical reference, calling Alençon a “son of a Jezebel of our age,” referencing his notorious mother, Catherine de’Medici (1547-1559).⁵⁸ The difference in tone between Sidney and Stubbs’s addresses to the queen reflect how pervasive misogynistic Catholicism was within public Protestant discourse by the time of the Anjou match.

Elizabeth also demonstrated her desire to establish a typological relationship to her subjects to counter that of her notorious detractor. Just prior to Stubbs’s arrest and

⁵⁸ “Letter to Queen Elizabeth, 1580,” in *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Knt.* Ed. William Gray, (Boston: TOHP Burnham, 1860), 289-303.

trial in the fall of 1579, she issued a proclamation condemning *The Gaping Gulf*, and ordering that any copies be gathered up and destroyed. The proclamation contains several passages of typological self-fashioning designed to mitigate the traumatic implications of Stubbs's depiction of Elizabeth to her subjects. First, she assures her subjects of her providential and typological place as a beneficent Christian ruler, saying God placed her on the throne, "to reign as she hath done from the beginning in restoring and maintaining of the true Christian religion and of a long and universal peace in her dominions against all attempts of foreign enemies and conspiracies of rebels."⁵⁹ She reminds her subjects of her role in the continuation of the Reformation after the death of her sister, Mary, highlighting the "peace" of her reign compared to the Marian Reaction. This is obviously meant to counter Stubbs's claim that Elizabeth would subject her kingdom to upheaval should she marry a foreign prince and fail to produce an heir. Elizabeth specifically takes Stubbs to task for his use of biblical and historical typology as a form of fear-mongering by claiming that is guilty of, "abusing many texts and examples of the scriptures perverted from their true sense, and in the interlacing of flattering glosses towards Her Majesty to cover the rest of the manifest depraving of Her Majesty and her actions to her people."⁶⁰ This passage demonstrates that Elizabeth takes umbrage with Stubbs's use of scripture and historical typology to create a divergent portrait of herself as a ruler who is woman first, regent second. Stubbs uses scripture to back up his arguments, but Elizabeth challenges the legitimacy of his reading, implying that her use of scripture to bolster identity is more authentic and learned than his. Ultimately, Elizabeth expresses that she fears that Stubbs's statements will incite fear and paranoia rather than serving a purely *de*

⁵⁹ "Proclamation by the Queen," in *John Stubbs's Discovery of a Gaping Gulf and Other Documents*, 147.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 148.

casibus function. The tract, she says, is written for the purpose of “seditiously and rebelliously stirring up all estates of Her Majesty’s subjects to fear their own utter ruin and change of government, but specially to imprint a present fear in the zealous sort of the alteration of Christian religion by Her Majesty’s marriage.” This passage is clearly meant to hearken back to England’s not-long-past religious trauma, constantly reiterated through texts like *Acts and Monuments* and sermons reminding Protestants of the danger that Catholic incursion represented.

Conclusion

The initial forms of gendered English anti-Catholicism were likely intended to differentiate Elizabeth from Mary, Queen of Scots for English Protestants who were anxious about the potential pitfalls of female rule. By the end of the same decade wherein those ideas were first disseminated by Thomas Norton and other polemicists, it appears that misogynist undertones ascribed to Catholicism in order to describe Mary’s being unfit to rule had become integral in defining the ills of the religion itself. In *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, John Stubbs utilizes this gendered rhetoric of anti-Catholicism to create a distinct link between female-induced religious traumatic historiography by connecting the narrative of The Fall to the potential outcome of the Anjou match. By focusing his typological references around the traumatic narratives of weak female figures seduced by foreign enemies or aggressors, Stubbs’s uses Elizabeth’s marriageable state to reiterate this gendered typological trauma located in the figure of the female monarch.

CHAPTER 3
POLITICAL TYPES: TRAUMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF EDMUND CAMPION
IN POPULAR POLEMIC AND STATE DOCUMENTS¹

In the two-year period following the arrest, torture, and execution of the English Jesuit Edmund Campion (1540 - 1581), the print market saw a sharp rise in pamphlets and tracts discussing the events surrounding the death of the missionary, and printed material heralding Jesuits as the new Catholic enemy who posed the most danger to Protestant England. Catholics like William Allen, who had been instrumental in settling the particulars of Campion's mission to England, came to Campion's defense via pamphlets printed in secret and distributed in London. Robert Persons, Campion's companion on the 1580 mission, had entered the country separately and fled to France upon Campion's capture, also produced printed work defending his fellow Jesuit against charges of treason and lamenting the state of Catholics in his native England.² Finally, after two years of silence, William Cecil, Elizabeth's lord treasurer and a long-valued voice on her Privy Council, broke the regime's silence on the matter with the publication of *The Execution of Justice in England for the maintenance of Publique and Christian peace* (1583), a detailed breakdown of the case against Campion asserting that he was a traitor to the realm, and thus deserving of execution. The tract was published in English twice in 1583 and 1584, as well as appearing in Dutch and French in 1584. In the tract

¹This chapter is drawn in part from an earlier form in my MA thesis, *Edmund Campion, The Jesuit "Invasion," and England's Identity Crisis: 1580 – 2* (Pocatello, ID: Idaho State University, 2010). A version of this chapter was presented at the "What is Early Modern English Catholicism?" Conference at Durham University, Durham, UK, June 28 – July 1, 2013.

²In all, Persons published two tracts responding to Campion's arrest and execution. *A brief censure upon two books written in answere to M. Edmonde Campions offer of disputation* (Douai: John Lyon, 1581), *The Copie of a double letter sent by an English gentilman from beyond the seas* (Rheims: J. Foigny, 1581). Additionally, Thomas Alfield (1552 – 1585), a Catholic priest who was himself martyred in 1585, published a defense of Campion, *The true reporte of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion Jesuit and priest* (London: R. Rowlands, 1582).

Cecil reiterates the long-held assertion that Campion and his companions were executed for treason, not for being Catholic or Jesuit, stating that, “none of these sort are for their contrary opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with any crymes or paines of treason.”³

The tracts published in the wake of the Jesuit mission represent a moment in the development of the English anti-Catholic rhetoric as it pertained to how religious confession intersected with national loyalty. Those writing against Campion capitalized on the typological connection between England’s recent religious past and the tumultuous span of Judeo-Christian history. More so than many other episodes of early modern English anti-Catholicism, Campion’s arrest and trial were indicative of the uneasy definition of English Protestantism constantly under formation since the Henrician Reformation. This was due in large part to the precarious divide that Campion willingly straddled in an effort to maintain both his English citizenship and his Catholic faith. As a result, the threat that Campion posed to English sovereignty contributed to the confusion over what place religion occupied in the Protestant state. Was it a private matter of faith, or did it have larger political overtones? The impetus of Henry’s dismantling of the Catholic Church in England had been largely political, with the matter of English sovereignty at its fore, and the monarchy was only later spurred to further religious reform under Henry’s son, Edward. By the 1580s, English Protestant rhetoric primarily took the form of doctrinal debates regarding transubstantiation, religious sovereignty and papal authority, and most popularly, anti-Catholicism that relied heavily on the legacy of violence against Protestants described by John Foxe and other polemicists. This

³ (London: Christopher Barker, 1583), Sig. B1v.

typological view of England's traumatic religious past was rooted primarily in the recent religious upheaval during the reign of Mary I as well as to a Judeo-Christian historiography that equated the persecution of English Protestants with the captivity of the Hebrews and the suffering of early Christian martyrs.

Edmund Campion's mission highlighted the significant issues in the manifestation of English Protestant national identity in the wake of the Reformation. At the forefront appeared to be the relatively simple matter of Campion's loyalty to Elizabeth and England – a secular matter. However, polemicists responding to the early phases of Campion's mission defined this treason by typologically connecting the Jesuits to other religious threats posed to God's elect throughout biblical history. As a result, this typology occupied a space that allowed for a multiplicity of identities to co-exist in the same space as polemicists struggled to define Campion as a simultaneous insider and outsider. The typology applied to Campion utilized traumatic biblical narratives that put Hebrews and the likes at odds with clever would-be usurpers who were fluent in both the language and the cultures of those they wished to conquer. These typological narratives highlighted the fact that the trauma Campion was perceived to have been able to inflict was, “characterized by a ‘knot’ tying together representation, the past, the self, the political and suffering.”⁴ As Campion sought to construct himself simultaneously as a loyal English subject, a Catholic, and a potential martyr, he drew on a traumatic recusant narrative to establish a history of suffering on the part of English Catholics. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, Protestant propagandists eager to draw attention to the threat Campion posed used similar tactics in order to associate England's religious

⁴ Gert Buelens, et. al, “Introduction.” *The Future of Trauma Theory: Contemporary Literary and Cultural Criticism*. Eds. Gert Buelens, et. al. (New York: Routledge, 2014), 4.

upheavals with traumas suffered by Marian martyrs and the beleaguered Hebrews. As a result, Campion's accusers needed to find a way to define the Jesuit's identity in a manner that disallowed his own construction of himself as a loyal English subject, a Catholic, and a potential martyr. Additionally, the placement of Campion in England's traumatic historiography allowed for the state to create a form of civic typology wherein Jesuits represented a decidedly non-religious threat to the Protestant nation.

Divines and controversialists used the pulpits and England's print market to typologically associate Campion with notorious biblical villains and usurpers. Political officials connected with Elizabeth's Privy Council re-focused the typological case against Campion to more recent events in English Protestant history. This intersection of the political self and suffering is particularly seen in the incident of Edmund Campion. The trial and execution of Edmund Campion represents a moment of conscientious construction of national identity on the part of English Protestants, who sought to delineate religious treason as a civil crime, despite Campion's best efforts to undermine their case. Campion consistently claimed during his disputations, trial, and imprisonment, that the source of his persecution was religion, not treason. Protestant officials used typological instances of past Catholic upheaval from the Marian Reaction as a precedent against Campion, but asserted it only as treason, not a difference of religion. The Campion affair represents a concerted effort on the part of Elizabethan officials to create a civic typology sufficient enough to warrant the execution of one of their own citizens. Under the guise of "treason," an undoubtedly civic crime, those arguing against Campion repeatedly use the rhetoric of traumatic Protestant typology in order to express Campion's link to a violent Catholic history. Indeed, it seems that while these polemicists

had many other narratives of treason to draw upon, they were particularly invested in highlighting the religious basis of Campion's offenses, perhaps indicating that they were using the incident as a means of developing a Protestant identity that was exclusively anti-Catholic.⁵

Through the revisionist lens of early modern English recusancy and the Reformation, the Protestant campaign against Campion may seem like a form of zealous paranoia, but it was clearly a matter of great concern for a nation still struggling to establish a cohesive sense of its confessional status.⁶ Peter Lake and Michael Questier highlight the Campion affair in particular as moment when scholarship tends to accuse English Protestants of having a desire to, "recast [Campion and company] as political and to organize them under the sign of 'treason'" in order to sway the public against the Jesuits.⁷ Lake and Questier go on to make the argument that the Elizabethan government's need to establish a case for treason rather than heresy against recusants led

⁵ The Campion affair, though somewhat understudied within the context of English anti-Catholicism, has received attention from historians of early modern English Catholicism, largely within the context of how such missionary work impacted the development of the Jesuit mission in England. Peter Lake and Michael Questier's essay, "Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context" situates the polemical war surrounding Campion's mission within the context of an early modern Habermasian "public sphere," arguing that the tracts published pertaining to Campion represented a marked shift for the way the Elizabethan government would interact with its subjects in religio-political matters. See *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (September 2000), 587 – 627. Thomas J. McCoog, S.J.'s edited collection *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1996) is a cohesive look at the impact and the particulars of the earliest Jesuit missions to England. Evelyn Waugh's biography of Campion, *Edmund Campion: A Life* was first published in 1935, and has been reprinted many times due to its lasting popularity. For a discussion of the manner in which English recusant manuscript culture appropriated and transmitted texts pertaining to Campion, see Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005).

⁶ Eamon Duffy is often considered the preeminent scholar on the more critical view of the English Reformation. For further information on Duffy's views of the English Protestant Reformation, refer back to the introduction. Also, see Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁷ "Puritans, Papists, and the Public Sphere," 587.

it to utilize both, “the arts of the political and polemical message sending,” relying as much on the pamphlets and sermons condemning Campion as it did on, “the counterintelligence activities of the likes of Richard Topcliffe or Sir Francis Walsingham.”⁸ What this chapter seeks to do is to more deeply explore the nature of public rhetoric surrounding Campion during his mission and his imprisonment in order to ascertain the manner in which a form of traumatic typology was specifically employed by the Elizabethan government in order to create a public vision of the Jesuit as both a religious and a civil threat. Thusly, it becomes evident that while the use of typology seems to be largely relegated to religious matters in early modern England, typological constructs were useful even in secular matters as a means of establishing threats to the realm. In particular, the Campion affair demonstrates that while the Elizabethan government tried diligently to define the Jesuit mission as a secular threat, the methodology of that identification owed much standard means of identifying long-standing religious threats. As a result, the sentiments expressed about Campion’s English mission highlight a moment in the formation of the identity of the Elizabethan Protestant state wherein biblical typology gave way to a form of civic typology that relied on a similar expression of trauma in order to demonstrate the risk. In short, even though the Elizabethan government desired to try Campion on the purely secular charge of treason, they were still ideologically bound by the rhetorical function of religious typology in order to demonstrate that threat of religio-political trauma.

Just over one year after he secretly entered England, Edmund Campion, the former “flower of Oxford,” was arrested at the Berkshire home of Edward Yates on July 17, 1581. Authorities pursued Campion and his mission companions relentlessly since

⁸ Ibid., 588-9.

they first learned of Jesuits making their way through the England's Catholic underground offering succor and counsel to recusants. The search intensified in the wake of the release of what became known as "The Brag" – Campion's letter and challenge to Elizabeth and her Privy Council. In the letter, Campion reaffirmed his loyalty to the queen while at the same time criticizing the government's treatment of Catholics and requesting disputations with leading Protestant officials.⁹ Historians remain doubtful as to who precisely leaked the supposedly private letter to polemicists like William Charke (d. 1617), who promptly composed biting responses to Campion's presumption. Peter Lake and Michael Questier suggest that it was possible that the Campion camp may have leaked the letter themselves in order to create, "a high-profile semi-public fuss," that would draw increased attention to the plight of Catholic recusants in England.¹⁰ Campion himself seems to have been desirous to make a statement with a state-ordered death.¹¹ When a fellow Jesuit recommended that he purchase new attire before embarking on the English mission, Campion is reported to have quipped that, "to him that went to be hanged in England, any apparel was sufficient."¹²

The first tract to publically disseminate Campion's letter and provide the polemical Protestant response was Charke's 1580, *An Answer to a Seditious Pamphlet Lately Cast Abroade by a Jesuit*. The tract was printed by Christopher Barker (1528/9-

⁹ "The Brag" seems to have been composed during the brief period that Campion was in London in 1581. There is no specific information as to the date it was written, or the date it was received by the Council.

¹⁰ "Puritans, Papists and the 'Public Sphere,'" 607.

¹¹ Campion's death and arrest also perform a significant function in the Catholic polemics of the era. For further information on the role Campion played as a Catholic martyr, see Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.'s "The Flower of Oxford": The Role of Edmund Campion in Early Recusant Polemics," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24:4 (Winter 1993), 889 – 913.

¹² Earnest Edwin Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580 – I* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980), 63.

1599), a printer who made a name for himself by securing several royal printing patents, most notably issuing the first Geneva Bibles in England in 1575. Barker secured the patent on the bibles after the previous printer who held a monopoly on the scriptures died. Despite this overt connection to the crown, David Kathman also notes that there is, “considerable evidence that Walsingham was Barker’s patron,” meaning it was highly likely that the Privy Council disseminated Campion’s letter through Charke, who was also known, “to have Walsingham’s support.”¹³ Once the letter was public, it was co-opted and responded to by other polemicists over the following months, each relying to varying degrees on typology to depict the precise threat that Campion posed to English Protestant safety and sovereignty. Other polemicists and controversialists chose to focus on the typological danger presented by Jesuits in general, descrying the blasphemy of their purported special connection with Jesus heralded by their name (the Society of Jesus). Despite the uniformity of the anti-Campion message, responses to the mission appear to come in two separate phases. In the first, polemicists and controversialists used biblical typology and references to the Marian Reaction to paint Campion as the ultimate threat – an insider with a dangerous amount of insight into English Protestant life under the thrall of the Jesuits, and thus, subservient to Rome before all other authority.¹⁴ The tracts and sermons published as the details of Campion’s mission became known reflect a deep desire to use traumatic typology as a tool for definition. State documents and records use the precedence of Catholic treason against Campion, opting to connect him to

¹³ Kathman, “Christopher Barker,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Richard L. Greaves, “William Charke,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). H1

¹⁴ It is perhaps noteworthy that Barker printed a few other overtly sanctioned works in conjunction with Campion’s mission, arrest, trial, and execution, including Cecil’s *The Execution of Justice* (1582), as well as the official transcripts of Campion’s arraignment and trial.

more contemporary religio-political issues plaguing England since the beginning of the Henrician Reformation. Tracts and polemics offered for public consumption, however (even those likely disseminated with the state's approval) continued to rely on more common typological representations of religious trauma, including biblical references that carried with them significant meaning for England's Protestant readership. In all, since it is such a conscientious moment of political definition for the Elizabethan state, the typological representations surrounding the Campion affair denote significant fracturing of England's conception of itself as a post-confessional enterprise. On one hand, they were hard-pressed to relinquish any biblical or otherwise scriptural means of processing and presenting Campion as a viable threat – especially when it came to the public. On the other, they seemed to be aware that sectarianism among Protestants themselves, coupled with the fact that English Catholic recusancy was itself an establishment meant that the battle against Campion had to be waged on two fronts in order to assure that despite the Jesuit's assertions to the contrary he could be identified as a traitor and an enemy to Elizabeth.

Catholics had a long history of typological representation in English Protestant rhetoric. The introduction of biblical texts into the vernacular led to the subsequent reinforcement of the reading of those texts by laity as a supreme tenet of Protestant faith. The weight of such personal and national associations with the bible meant that it would naturally become an identity building apparatus. The Hebrew Bible was, “of central significance” in Protestant theology, as it not only connected readers more intimately to the religious text, but it also represented a driving ideology of the Renaissance – that of

“rediscovery and rehabilitation” of ancient texts.¹⁵ Protestant readers demonstrated a deep connection with the Hebrews as depicted in the earliest biblical texts, and Dennis Austin Britton observes that the Old Testament “significantly shaped the Church of England’s conceptualization of Christian identity.”¹⁶ Likewise, Achsah Guibbory discusses the manner in which the Bible inundated daily Protestant life, asserting that, “the Hebrew Bible could be read in many ways by early modern Protestants, who might see personal struggles and deliverances in the biblical narratives, [but] public or state invocations of the Bible invested the Protestant nation of England with religious significance.”¹⁷ The connection between Hebrew biblical narratives and the Protestant desire to typologically situate oneself in the company of the elect comes across as polemicists scrambled to place Campion along the same spectrum. Most notably, the popular literature about Campion published during his mission and imprisonment reflects a particular danger. Campion is never really typologically linked with foreign enemies such as Egyptian pharaohs, since doing so would remove the real danger he represented as someone with a familiarity with the country he plotted to invade. It was Campion’s innate Englishness combined with his willingness to wage religious war (as outlined in his “Brag”) against his homeland that made him a threat of the highest order. As a result, the typological and traumatic associations made regarding Campion are more nuanced in order to fully exploit this danger. Generally, these typological connections derive a sense of closeness and familiarity with language and custom, but are decidedly foreign or traitorous, and are

¹⁵ Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103 – 4.

¹⁶ *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance* (The Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2014), 40.

¹⁷ *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 28 – 9.

therefore not to be trusted despite a figure's ability to seem benevolent or convincing. As a result, the potential for typological trauma Campion presents revolved around the notion of familiarity as an inception point for Catholic incursion in Protestant England.

Campion, Typologically

Michael Questier rightly observes that, “[i]f the polemical literature is to be believed, the Society of Jesus was feared by English Protestants after 1580 more than any other Catholic body.”¹⁸ Many factors contributed to this fear, including the ease with which Jesuits apparently moved through court circles, their vigor in proselytization, and the fact that their order was described in militaristic terminology. Campion's mission to England, and the subsequent handling of it by Protestant polemicists obviously had much to do with this increased anxiety. Aside from a two-tract “war” with the always bellicose Scottish reformer John Knox (c. 1514 – 1572), Jesuits occupy almost no space in English print culture from the papal approval of the society in 1540 until 1579.¹⁹ Until Campion gave them occasion, English Protestants had no apparent reason to concern themselves with Jesuits in general, let alone English Jesuits. Between 1580 and 1582, however, the number of publications regarding Jesuits and the dangers they posed increased drastically. Over the ensuing years, Jesuits developed a reputation in England as

¹⁸ “‘Like Locusts Over All the World’: Conversion, Indoctrination, and the Society of Jesus in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England.” *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1996), 265.

¹⁹ John Knox and a Scottish Jesuit named James Tyrie (1543 – 1597), had a brief polemical correspondence over the issue of the visibility of the Catholic Church in Scotland. The original tract is not available, but Knox responded with *An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie* (St. Andrews: Robert Lekprevik, 1572). The two responded in tract form to one another at least one more time, with the argument finally petering out in 1573.

lascivious, wealth-hungry manipulators of courts and kings set upon undermining Protestant values and returning England to Catholic, and therefore Roman, rule.

Campion's presence and clandestine activities in England as an agent of the Society of Jesus seemed to have been an unprecedented challenge to English Protestant identity. The Elizabethan government's harsh punishments of Catholics fractured the community into smaller groups, generally opting to conform to Protestant mandates, outwardly recuse themselves and suffer monetary repercussions (or worse), or live as "church papists," outwardly conforming but maintaining religious conscience through a balance of equivocation and private worship.²⁰ Elizabethan approaches to recusancy are often questioned by modern scholars, who view the regime's religious intolerance with a somewhat anachronistic cynicism. Events leading up to Champion's arrival had placed Catholics, both abroad and at home, under increased scrutiny. The Pope's 1570 Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* explicitly released English Catholics from their loyalty to Elizabeth and excommunicated the queen and any subjects who continued to obey her rule. In England, the Bull was viewed as an implicit call to Catholics to assassinate or otherwise overthrow Elizabeth and place a Catholic successor on the English throne. A year later, an Italian banker living in London named Roberto di Ridolfi (1531 – 1612) conspired with several continental religious and political officials to assassinate Elizabeth, and marry the then-imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots to the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard (1538 – 1572), replacing the Protestant monarchy once and for all. The plot was uncovered, and Norfolk was executed the following year for treason.

²⁰ Ethan H. Shagan, "Introduction," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* ed. Ethan H. Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 14 – 15. For further information on the fraught definition of "church papists," see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1993).

While the Ridolfi plot and others failed to come to pass, the tide shifted against English Catholics in a definitive way due in large part to the uncovering of these machinations. A 1571 tract, *Salutem in Christo* [trans. *Salvation in Christ*] by popular printer and historian Richard Grafton (c. 1511 – 1573) was one of a smattering that appeared immediately following the publicizing of the plot. In it, Grafton particularly outlines the treason of the duke, highlighting how troublesome it was to imagine domestic-born conspiracies against Elizabeth’s rule. The tract focuses completely on Norfolk’s role in the plot, chastising him for colluding with Mary, who, “hath ben the most dangerous ennemy against the Queenes Majestie our Sovereigne Lady, that lyved.”²¹ This focus on a conspiracy between a foreign aggressor and a domestic minion developed into a common rhetoric used against English Catholics, and came to revolve around the belief that they were the proverbial students with two masters. Ultimately, their errors in judgement would lead them to hold Rome superior to England, and Protestantism could be endangered both from within and without. This angst undoubtedly resonated from past, traumatic religious upheaval that left its mark on English culture, and the manner in which that angst was wrapped up in the notion of foreign religious rule trumping English political sovereignty since the end of the reign of Mary Tudor.

This mentality appears to have driven much of the vitriol against Campion and his fellow Jesuits. Like Norfolk, Campion had occupied a privileged place in English society prior to his defection to the Continent. Although not a courtier or nobility, Campion achieved some prominence through his intellectual pursuits. He accrued honors as a student at St. Paul’s, even being, “selected to deliver a speech before Queen Mary when

²¹ Sig. A3v. Grafton also held the patent on the printing of the Book of Common Prayer throughout the early years of Elizabeth’s reign.

she stopped at the school on the way to her coronation” in 1533.²² During the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, Campion appears to have lived outwardly as a Protestant, later claiming that his conscience pained him greatly during that period. He continued to accrue accolades both from the Queen and courtiers like Robert Dudley (1532/3 – 1588). The mask began to fall away in 1568, when Campion began canceling various religious speaking engagements, and by 1571 he was at the English Catholic seminary in Douai, France.²³ His reputation as an intellectual and a master of religious disputation at Oxford resonated with many of the divines and controversialists who had encountered him during his time in England, and it appears that his abilities to argue about theology and doctrine positioned him as a significant threat. Furthermore, Campion also represented, like Norfolk and others, the added danger of one who was intimately familiar with English ideas and conventions. These attributes, in conjunction with wariness of the relatively new Society of Jesus and their aims, made Campion a more formidable religio-political enemy than had yet been seen.

Beginning with Charke’s 1580 *Answer to a Seditious Pamphlet* (which was expanded and re-printed in 1581), authors seemed to be at pains to describe the precise threat Campion posed for readers who were unfamiliar with the man himself or with Jesuits. Charke and the other polemicists responding to Campion’s “Brag” sought to highlight the similarities between Catholic and Jesuit doctrine, demonstrating that although they declared themselves to be in the society of Jesus, they were clearly in the thrall of Rome. Meredith Hanmer (1543 – 1604), a clergyman in the Churches of England

²² Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., “Introduction,” in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1996), xv.

²³ *Ibid.*

and Ireland, published both a polemical response to Campion's letter and a lengthier invective against the society entitled *The Jesuites Banner Displaying their original and successe: their vow and othe: their hypocrisie and superstition: their doctrine and positions* in 1581. Although it explored the threat of a different English Jesuit, the controversialist Thomas Lupton (fl. 1572 – 1584) published another two anti-Jesuit tracts in 1581: *A Persuasion from Papistry*, in which Lupton explores the issue of whether or not an English Catholic can ever be anything but an enemy to the state, and *The Christian Against the Jesuit*.²⁴ Much of the works printed against Campion and Jesuits during these few years are largely definitional in nature, clearly seeking to establish the threat that the man posed through typology and precedent.

Charke and others draw heavily on the example of Rabshakeh – an emissary of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (705 BCE–681 BCE). Rabshakeh was tasked with approaching Hezekiah, then king in Jerusalem, and delivering terms to end a long siege of Hebrew villages. Rabshakeh challenges Hezekiah's belief in the Hebrew God, asserting that the Hebrews should not trust their ruler or their God to deliver them from their Babylonian oppressors. Upon hearing of this blasphemy, Hezekiah prays to God for aid, and an angel is ultimately sent to smite the Assyrian army, slaughtering several thousand soldiers and causing Sennacherib to relinquish his claim on Hebrew lands and flee.²⁵ Campion's challenge to the Privy Council and desire to dispute publically with Protestant officials is compared to Rabshakeh's "blasphemy," with special attention paid

²⁴ Lupton was specifically addressing the Jesuit John Nichols, who was imprisoned in the Tower, and recanted fairly early into his captivity and spoke out against Robert Persons. Not much else is known about Nichols involvement with the early English Jesuit mission. For further information, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: Survey of Printed Sources* (Scolar Press, 1977), 51 – 56.

²⁵ 2 Kings 18:19 – 37 – 19: 1 – 37.

to the fact that the latter committed his blasphemy in Hebrew – speaking to the besieged Jerusalem residents in their own tongue. Additionally, the fact that Rabshakeh attempts to release the Hebrews from their allegiance to Jerusalem and to their king carries obvious overtones of the threat presented by the papal bull against Elizabeth. Charke reminds his readers that, upon the good advice of Solomon heeded by Hezekiah, that they should, “Answer ye him not. And I pray you, who of us would in the things of this life yeelde to an evill minded man, that he should enter an action for the things, whereof we have the right and quite possession?”²⁶ This imperative that Protestant’s should not engage with Campion is couched in the notion that the Jesuit’s speech and challenges are mired in a blasphemy all their own, since they use the English language and the conventions of polite correspondence to hide more malevolent purposes – siege and conquest. Later, Charke connects Campion with Rabshakeh again, drawing a comparison between the former’s blasphemous challenge at Jerusalem’s wall with Campion’s letter to the Privy Council, saying that the Jesuit, “crave[s] the combat with all and every one of us,” before reiterating that Campion should be ignored since, “[t]he proverbe maketh it a vayne fight to fight with a shadowe.”²⁷

In a sermon delivered to Campion and his companions while imprisoned at the tower, John Keltridge (bap. 1553, d. 1582x1604), a clergyman in the Church of England also connects the Campion affair to Hezekiah, establishing Elizabeth as an anti-type of the Old Testament king, saying that he, “did wonderfull things in his dayes and he spared

²⁶ *An Answer* (London: Christopher Barker, 1580), Sig. A4r.

²⁷ Sig. C8r.

not an Idolater in the Lande.”²⁸ While the Babylonians are not specifically mentioned in this passage, the connection drawn between Elizabeth and Hezekiah allows us to extrapolate Campion as the dreaded “idolater” – hardly a stretch since idolatry was one of the most common attributes associated with Catholicism in early modern English Protestant rhetoric. The Hezekiah/Rabshakeh narrative creates a strong typological link with the English Protestant state and a fear of siege by a literal “enemy at the gates” with a demonstrated ability to communicate as an ally and brings with him an impressive army – one that can only be defeated by earnest worship and a sovereign with the ability to levy the nation’s elect status into protection. The traumatic implications of these typological referents demonstrate Protestant’s England’s particular fear of the proverbial “wolf in sheep’s clothing,” (incidentally, Campion and other Jesuit missionaries were often referred to as “ravens wolves” throughout the tracts). Like Rabshakeh and the Babylonians, English Catholics were not a far-flung power desirous of control. They were neighbors, and the fact that they were able to discourse so easily with their Protestant counterparts meant that they were to be feared more than any foreign force.

Meredith Hanmer’s polemical response to Campion’s letter is an interesting case. Firstly, although Charke published his response to Campion’s letter first, Hanmer’s is the first true polemical response, providing selections from the “Bragge” to accompany his own arguments against Campion’s assertions.²⁹ Charke addresses his vitriol toward other Protestants, commiserating with them regarding Campion’s treason and his potential to

²⁸ *Two Godlie and Learned Sermons appointed, and preached before the Jesuites* (London: Richard Jones, 1581), Sig. C1r.

²⁹ For a detailed examination of the role polemical works like Hanmer’s played in the expression of England’s religious identity, see Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

bring succor to England's recusant population. Hanmer's tract directly addresses
Campion and other English Catholics. As with Charke's polemic, Hanmer's primary goal
is to create convincing faith-based barriers between Campion and the Protestant English
that translate beyond the matter of religion to a typological space that extends beyond
biblical narratives into the fuller scope of Christian history. Hanmer opens the tract with a
dedicatory epistle to "the Christian Reader," which, from the outset, is designed to
typologically connect Campion to a variety of Christian history's most notorious
adversaries:

The means that Satan useth to deceave Gods people are infinite (good
christian Reader) his illusions are srtonge, his chaine hath manye linkes
and runneth to great length...An *Aegyptian* Sorcerer drew after him (as
Luke writeth) foure thousande Jewes...The number of *Turkes* and
Saracens is in finite: the Arrians deceaved thousands and the Church of
Rome at this day with the golden cup of idolatry and abhominacion,
maketh drunk the inhanitants of the earth.³⁰

Hanmer establishes demonic or diabolic typology here as a figurative "chain," linking
various enemies of Christian history, and thus Campion, together. Hanmer begins his
chain with a reference to the "Egyptian sorcerer" referenced in Acts 21:38 when the
apostle Paul is mistaken for him since he, too, speaks Greek. Although the Bible contains
little of this figure's narratives, he was well-described in apocryphal texts and early
Christian histories as a false prophet who led thirty-thousand men on a mission to destroy
Jerusalem, harkening back to Charke's intent focus on typologically comparing Campion
to the Babylonian emissary, Rabshakeh.

This typological connection between England, and London in particular, and
Jerusalem bears out fascinating traumatic implications, since the latter is a site of

³⁰ *The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite commonlye called Edmund Campion, latelye
arrived in Englande* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1581), Sig. A3r.

tremendous glory as the seat of Hebraic culture and the home to revered kings like David and Solomon. Jerusalem was also the site of terrible hardships and persecution, ranging from the destruction of the temple there by Romans in 70 C.E., to misguided devastation incurred there by Christian crusaders intent on “reclaiming” the city from the hands of those they perceived as unworthy to inhabit it. This exegetical connection drawn between London and Jerusalem encompassed both England’s glory as an elect Protestant nation, very much in line with the proclivity to align the nation with Israel as whole, as well as borrowing Jerusalem’s mantle of tragedy. Ori Hanan Weisberg explains that:

In rooting depictions of Jerusalem in terrestrial antiquity, humanist exegetes situated them as synchronically strange and diachronically distant, but nonetheless in a continuum within the same temporal plane. Attention to historical and cultural peculiarities situated Jerusalem as both London’s mirror and its other, and the crisis of this conflict produced a particular mode of knowledge, specifically the ongoing production of English national self-knowledge.³¹

This recursive traumatic loop allowed English Protestants to place Campion and his mission along the same Christian continuum as the Egyptian sorcerer, acknowledging that England’s suffering might be necessary in order to prove itself deserving of its elect status. The Rabshakeh narrative and Paul’s being mistaken for a marauding sorcerer also bear out English Protestant angst regarding the vast gulfs that similarity in language and convention could bridge, potentially to the detriment of the nation.

Both Hanmer and Keltridge also create a sort of negative typology in order to actively distance Campion and the Jesuits from more laudable figures in the Hebrew Bible. These passages also serve the purpose of drawing on strong doctrinal aversion that English Protestants had toward Catholic “idolatry” is evidenced in these passages, since

³¹ *The City and the Word: London, “Jerusalem,” and the Early Modern English Nation* (University of Michigan: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2011), 24.

Moses is most commonly invoked as the figure responsible for the freeing of the Hebrew slaves from Egyptian bondage – a very common typological connection that English Protestant polemicists made when describing England’s relationship with Rome and the Catholic Church. Hanmer, addressing Campion and other English Catholics, evokes the Moses figure in conjunction with others in order to demonstrate how little resemblance he believes the pope bears to other biblical leaders, saying, “Your Provost is no seer of Israell, he is no Samuel under the Ephod, he is no Moses on the Mount.”³² John Keltridge also frames Campion and the pope as opposites of Moses, using his sermon to recall for the Jesuits the story of Moses descending Mount Sinai with the stone tablets bearing the Ten Commandments only to discover the freed Israelites had returned to idolatry in desperation. Keltridge leans heavily on Protestant disdain for idolatry, saying that although Moses was afraid after discovering the sin amongst his followers, he “dealt with them, according to their iniquitie for all that, and he stamped the golde, of which the Calfe was made off to powder, and made the *Israelites* drinke thereof.”³³ This juxtaposition of Campion and the pope in opposition to the Mosaic Protestants renders an image of Catholics and Jesuits as fearful and prone to idolatry due to a lack of sound, godly leadership. In a true instance of anti-type fulfilling the manifestation of the type, England’s Protestants are a vision of Moses’ Israelites, having rejected idolatry after being duly punished for their crimes. Campion and other Catholics, though, are the unfulfilled version of the type – stuck in their revelry at the foot of the golden calf because they lack sound leadership to appropriately punish them for their mistakes.

³² Sig. D2v.

³³ Sig. B4v.

Civic Typology and Reformation Trauma: Campion on Trial

Despite Campion's protestations that he was on trial in England for religion and not treason, the state nevertheless endeavored to create what were essentially two separate trials by which the Jesuit and his companions could be proved to be traitors. As he had requested, Campion was granted a series of public disputations with noted Protestant authorities and clergy while he was imprisoned at the Tower. The line between the secular courts and the highly regulated religious disputations was as fine as one might expect in post-confessional England, reflecting Heinz Schilling's assertion that, "[w]hereas the modern understanding of religion and church holds them to be subordinate parts of a larger secular system, in those days they were considered central, load-bearing pillars of the entire social order."³⁴ This post-confessional mentality is clearly present not only throughout Campion's time at-large in England, but especially during his state arraignment and trial, during which Elizabethan officials were at great pains to translate their rhetoric of Protestant typological trauma into one that defied Campion's own assertions that he was being tried for matters of religion and not treason. Elizabeth's regime always asserted that Campion's primary crime was treason, not religion. They did so, presumably, to avoid further provoking already tenuous relations between the Protestant government and England's beleaguered recusant population. Michael Questier asserts that, by 1580, it was evident, "how complex and nuanced the relationship was between Catholics and the Queen, a relationship in which loyalty was always to some

³⁴ "Confessional Europe," in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., et al (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 642.

degree, and sometimes extremely, conditional.”³⁵ Augmenting that complexity was the fact that, “[t]he widespread popularity of *Acts and Monuments* and the backlash against the Marian persecutions that the book provoked made heresy executions dangerous and distasteful to Queen Elizabeth I.”³⁶ This conditionality is well-evidenced during Campion’s trial, during which repeated connections between England’s violent reformation and Campion’s current religious proclivities are developed as concrete means by which to destroy the Jesuit’s assertions of secular loyalty. Ever mindful not to aggravate the recusant situation, those tasked with securing a guilty verdict against Campion had to avoid overtly religious doctrinal disputes in the court, since they would need to prove the secularity of Campion’s treason, not merely that he was a Catholic or a Jesuit.

The persistence of the traumatic, typological Protestant narrative is evident during Campion’s secular trials as officials shifted the focus from biblical and early Christian narratives that identified Campion as an incarnation of a persistent threat against true religion to a strictly post-Reformation typology that associated the Jesuit with Catholicism and England’s troubled religious past that was resurrected with every Catholic threat. By the time Campion reached his arraignment and trial in November, 1581, he had been subjected to four months of torture and imprisonment at the Tower, all

³⁵“Elizabeth and the Catholics.” *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*. ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 75 – 76.

³⁶ Alice Dailey. *The English Martyr: From Reformation to Revolution*. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 99. Dailey’s treatment of Campion’s defense brilliantly situates the circular quandary recusants like the Jesuit priests found themselves in as the Elizabethan government sought to equate missionary work with treason. Dailey argues that, “The statues against English Catholics trapped recusants in an inescapably circular argument that reproduced its own signs of treason while simultaneously alienating the Catholic subject from the discursive mechanisms of martyrdom.” For her full treatment of Campion’s trial, see the third chapter of *The English Martyr: From Reformation to Revolution*, 98 - 134.

the while staunchly maintaining his innocence against accusations of treason. He appears to have further frustrated Elizabethan authorities by performing admirably during his requested religious disputations, held four times during September of that same year. Despite Campion not being allowed access to books or writing implements, he held his own against his Protestant counterparts, so much so that many observers were said to “be persuaded to count him innocent.”³⁷ Despite Campion’s eloquence and mastery of debate, it was obvious that Elizabeth’s government had set their minds against him, and desired greatly to make a case between English Jesuitism and treason.

Christopher Wray (1522-1592) and Edmund Anderson (1530? – 1605) led the crown’s prosecution of Campion. Both men had been previously elevated by Elizabeth due to their proficiency in law, Wray as Chief Justice and Anderson as justice of assize for the Norfolk circuit court. Both men also had reputations as religious conservatives, which undoubtedly led to their being chosen to represent the state against the Jesuit missionaries.³⁸ Anderson opened the trial, which was held on November 20, 1581 at the King’s Bench at Westminster, by creating an undeniably Protestant lineage for England, accusing Campion of unsettling it:

With how good and gracious a prince the Almighty hath blessed this land, continuing the space of 23 years, the peace, the tranquility, mercies and abundant supplies, but especially the light and success of the gospel, wherewith since her majesty’s first reign this realm hath flourished above all other.³⁹

³⁷ *A Jesuit Challenge: Edmund Campion’s Debates at the Tower of London in 1581*. ed. James V. Holleran. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 50. For a thorough discussion of the occasion and management of disputations in early modern England, see Joshua Rodda’s *Public Religious Disputation in England, 1558 – 1626*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

³⁸ N.G. Jones, “Christopher Wray,” and David Ibbetson, “Edmund Anderson,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁹ *Cobbett’s Complete Collection of State Trials*. Vol 1, ed. T.B. Howell et al., (London: 1816), 1051.

Anderson sets a precedent early in the argument against Campion that religion and faith will only be discussed in the broadest sense of the word, with certain codified references to Protestantism present. For instance, Anderson commends Elizabeth for issuing in an era notable for “the light and success of the gospel” – undoubtedly a reference to the Protestant desire to make sacred texts more widely available to any Christian reader regardless of their status in the church or ability to read Latin. Anderson pointedly begins this “blessed” timeline at the start of Elizabeth’s reign, which was immediately preceded by the death of her Catholic half-sister, Mary. This demarcates for trial attendees (and later, readers) how precisely Elizabeth’s reign fits into the typological timeline of England’s Protestantism. Elizabeth is yet another Mosaic/Christ figure who brings the illumination of “the word” to her people, whilst figures like Campion and the pope endeavor to keep the world in darkness for their own nefarious ends.

Rather than outwardly compare England’s Catholic era as a Babylonian or Egyptian captivity, Anderson and his fellow prosecutors instead choose to set their typological precedent in recent religio-political issues that directly targeted Elizabeth or her followers due to matters of religion, although the Protestant/Catholic divide is not mentioned directly lest it undermine the case against Campion. Anderson reminds the jury how God has favored England in the past, but also recalls for them, “the rebellions and uproars in the North, . . . the tragically pageant of Storie (Story) . . . [and] the traitorous practices of Felton.”⁴⁰ The three incidents to which Anderson refers could hardly have been better chosen, since they are representative of just the sort of religiously oriented political upheaval of which the prosecution desired to find Campion guilty. Additionally,

⁴⁰ Ibid. 1052.

they placed Campion firmly into a Protestant typological timeline wherein the past traumas of reform threatened to reappear. Anderson begins with a reference to “the pageant of Storie,” alluding to Dr. John Story (1503/4? – 1571), a lawyer himself who came to some notoriety during Mary’s reign. Thanks to John Foxe, Story achieved quite a reputation as a torturer of Protestants during the Marian Reaction. Foxe himself insinuates a typological connection for Story, calling him a “bloody Nimrod” in his *Acts and Monuments*, making him an anti-type of Pharaoh since he also sought to kill all those who opposed his open idolatry.⁴¹ Story was executed in 1571 due to his purported complicity in the Ridolfi Plot. The “Felton” to whom Anderson refers is John Felton (d. 1570), yet another Roman Catholic martyr from earlier in Elizabeth’s reign who had been responsible for printing and disseminating, in English, the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. Much of the argument against Campion rested on the charge that he was instrumental in the composition of the papal bull that excommunicated Elizabeth and released her Catholic subjects from their allegiance to her. More broadly, Anderson refers to the “uproars in the North,” or the Northern Rebellion in 1569, during which a handful of Scottish and north English lords conspired to overthrow Elizabeth and place the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots on her throne.

The choice of these three incidents with which to associate Campion for the court is deliberate and savvy, since they achieve the goals of drawing on a narrative of Protestant suffering from the recent past, and highlight the means by which Catholics are unable to separate religion from politics and blindly follow the instruction and leadership

⁴¹ Dr. Story figures heavily into Foxe’s account of the martyrdom of John Philpot (1515 – 1555). Story orchestrates the torture of Philpot, and several other Protestants, with needlessly cruel methods and devices. The account of Dr. Story can be seen in *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs: Select Narratives*, ed. John N. King (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 160 – 171.

of a far-flung pope rather than their own divinely anointed sovereign. The reference to Story reminds Protestants of the torture that might befall them should Catholics once again gain a foothold in England, while the references to Felton and the Northern Uprising demonstrate the insidious desire of Catholics to separate the queen from her people for their own ends. These three incidents had also occurred very recently in the scope of English memory – within the ten years preceding the trial – and two of them are directly connected to the papal bull that dealt overtly with religion, but carried with it the sinister threat of political upheaval should Catholics rise up against Elizabeth. Using these incidents under the guise of precedence coupled likely made Anderson's insinuations that Campion was somehow involved in all of them unnecessary since invoking them constituted connecting the Jesuit to England's recent traumatic typology. Asking a Protestant jury to reflect on these well-publicized moments of anti-Catholic crisis would have reminded them of the trauma of violence against Protestant England that Campion was perceived as desirous to reinstate.

Throughout the trial, although they are not typologically marked in the same way, there are references to similar crimes as described by the polemicists who wrote about Campion during the earlier days of the mission and the ensuing panic. For instance, recalling the narratives of Rabshakeh and the Egyptian sorcerer, Anderson highlights the danger posed by Campion's Englishness, saying, "Forsooth, men born and bred in our own nation, perfect in our own tongue and language, instructed in our own Universities – they and only they must endeavour our overthrow."⁴² One of the primary concerns regarding the former "Flower of Oxford," and likely augmented by his superior

⁴² Ibid. 1052

performance in his disputations with Protestant clergy, was that he could be extraordinarily effective in matters of coercion and conversion given that he knew how to speak to the English, and particularly to English Catholics, on terms that would be familiar and engaging to them. Indeed, as the sixteenth century drew on, it became clear that language was one of the most viable weapons at a Jesuit's disposal, eventually fueling the controversies surrounding equivocation following the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot.⁴³ The crown's prosecution describes nearly every action Campion takes as a form of equivocation – accusing the Jesuit of desiring to seem exactly the opposite of what he was.⁴⁴ The Queen's Counsel lists all of the perceived acts of equivocation undertaken by Campion, saying:

You refuse to swear to the Supremacy, a notorious token of an evil willer to the crown; insomuch as being demanded by the Commissioners, whether the Bull wherein Pius the 2nd, had excommunicated her majesty, wherein your opinion of force or no, you would answer nothing, but that these were bloody questions, and that they which sought these, sought your life: also resembling the Commissioners unto the Pharisees, who to entrap Christ propounded the dilemma, whether tribute were to be paid to Cæsar or no; so that in your Examination you would come to no issue, but sought your evasions and made Answers aloof, which vehemently argueth a guiltiness of conscience, in that the truth would never have sought covers.⁴⁵

⁴³ Jesuits were regularly accused of equivocation, since the Society of Jesus embraced the doctrine as a means of helping their priests avoid capture and incarceration. The doctrine of equivocation came under intense scrutiny following the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and the subsequent loyalty oath instituted by James I. The ramifications of equivocation will be discussed in chapter 4, "The Eucharistic Sovereign: The Typology of Economics and Equivocation in Thomas Milles's *The Misterie of Iniquitie* (1611)."

⁴⁴ Alice Dailey describes this phenomenon as yet another of the impossible situations in which Catholic priests and Jesuits found themselves when it came to ministering in England. If they appeared to be priests, they were apprehended immediately. Yet, if they disguised themselves to avoid apprehension, they were accused of being generally sneaky and nefarious. See: *The English Martyr*, 106.

⁴⁵ *State Trials*, 1062.

This passage clearly demonstrates that Campion's abilities and desire to use language as a tool by which to evade any direct confession to the accusations against him endlessly frustrated Protestant officials during the months of interrogation to which he was subjected.

Furthermore, it is evident that Campion attempted to use his own form of typological precedent during these interrogations, since this official makes reference to Campion's accusations that those men interrogating him bore a striking similarity to the Pharisees in their attempts to argue the pitfalls of swearing allegiance to an earthly authority. Campion even attempts during the trial to associate himself with the apostle Paul by referencing a form of *imitatio*: "I knew a contrary religion I professed. I saw if I were known I should be apprehended. I changed my name. I imitated Paul. Was I therein a traitor?"⁴⁶ Although the state's case against Campion had been dutifully stripped of obvious religious markers in an effort to ensure a secular conviction so as not to inflame tensions, Campion clearly saw the value in invoking a connection between himself and one of the most lauded missionary figures in Christian history.

Conclusion

The depiction of Edmund Campion in both popular literature and the state documents tied to his arrest and trial betray the deep uneasiness that accompanied the continued attempts to define early modern English Protestantism, and how it tied to one's role in the state. Campion, who had formerly been lauded for his academic pursuits and appeared by all accounts to embody the finest aspects of English education, presented a unique problem for state officials who needed to execute him due to the threat his

⁴⁶ Ibid. 1059 – 60.

religious endeavors posed, but had to do so in a manner which held him accountable for treason, not for a difference in religion. Undoubtedly, Elizabeth and her councilors knew that continued threats against the Catholic recusant community in England would further strain relations, and so it was essential that Campion was executed for treason, not religion. However, the popular polemicists and controversialists who were among the first to divulge the particulars of the Jesuit mission in England according to Campion's challenge to the Privy Council used the popular rhetoric of typology in order to place the Jesuits in a traumatic historiography of England's past. Campion was an enemy at the gates who was fluent in the language and the customs of the very land he sought to overthrow. At state trials, however, it would not do to identify Campion's threat typologically, since Elizabeth's lawyers were at pains to make the case that the Jesuit was not a religious enemy, but a civil one. As a result, the state documents that record Campion's arraignment and trial mark a rhetoric similar to typology, but one that moves Protestant England less explicitly into the Judeo-Christian timeline. According to the state, Campion bears the burden of precedent of recent figures who attempted to reignite the upheaval of the Reformation: torturers of Protestants and sowers of rebellion. In the case of Campion, traumatic historiography was evident in both his typological depictions in tracts and pamphlets, and in the manner in which the state built their case of treason against him.

CHAPTER 3

THE EUCHARISTIC SOVEREIGN: THE TYPOLOGY OF ECONOMICS AND EQUIVOCATION IN THOMAS MILLES'S *THE MISTERIE OF INIQUITIE* (1611)¹

In 1611, English anti-Catholicism was still at a fever-pitch following the 1605 thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot and the subsequent controversy incited by James I's institution of the Popish Recusants Act and the Oath of Allegiance. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542 – 1621), one of the most prominent figures of the continental Counter-Reformation, and Pope Paul V (reg. 1605 – 1621) spoke out publicly against the oath on behalf of English recusants, saying that it put unwarranted strain on the consciences of individuals asked to choose between secular and religious authority, leading many Catholics to subscribe to the practice of equivocation.² Equivocation allowed an interrogated recusant to perhaps lie outright to Protestant authorities with the understanding the God would forgive the transgression since it was done to preserve the dignity of their faith. Jesuits priests had long been reviled in Protestant England for their use of equivocation when captured or interrogated, but in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot and the issuance of the Oath of Allegiance, it became a common supposition that all English Catholics subscribed to the doctrine. As a result, English Protestants grew

¹ I have benefitted tremendously from feedback received on various versions of this article circulated previously. Firstly, I would like to thank the participants of the Popes and the Papacy in Early Modern England Conference at the University of Sussex, UK, June 24 – 26, 2013, for their feedback on an earlier version of this paper. Secondly, I would like to thank Brad Ryner and David Hawkes for overseeing countless incarnations of this chapter as a stand-alone article currently submitted for review for publication.

² As a testament to the popularity of the equivocation, even Shakespeare, who rarely engaged with the Protestant/Catholic debate in his plays, discusses equivocation in a scene from *Macbeth* (1611). In 2:3, 1 – 14, a porter at Macbeth's castle associates alcohol with equivocation, charging that drinking makes a man lustful, but yet hinders him from acting on that lust. Scholars believe that Shakespeare was likely referring to the trial of Gunpowder plotter Jesuit Henry Garnet.

concerned that their fellow countrymen were regularly lying to officials in order to develop and perpetrate schemes against the crown and nation.³

Primarily known for economic works, Thomas Milles (b. 1550 – 1626), a former member of Francis Walsingham’s espionage network against Catholic incursion, and the customer of the port city of Sandwich for four decades, was deeply concerned about the right of the English sovereign to exercise absolute earthly authority over his subjects.⁴ In the 1611 edition of his tract, *The Misterie of Iniquitie*, Milles revels in contemporary anti-Catholic sentiment, indicting Jesuits for their complicity in the plot and expressing his disdain for Catholicism in general, saying, “O profane, Popery, that turnes Creatures into Gods and Masses into Idols!”⁵ This is but one of many times that Milles focuses his attentions on the manner in which Catholics counterfeit matter claiming the false

³ The experience of the English Catholic during the years following the Gunpowder Plot and the institution of the Oath of Allegiance has been well-documented in recent years following Eamon Duffy’s attempts to wrest the historicization of the Reformation from the Protestant point of view. According to most scholars of the recusant English Catholic experience, many of those subjected to the loyalty oath had no qualms in swearing fealty to the English sovereign, but struggled with the notion of denying the power of the papacy to govern their souls. For descriptions of Catholic encounters with the Oath of Allegiance during the early seventeenth century, see Frances E. Dolan, “True and Perfect Relations: Identifying Henry Garnet and Leticia Wiginton by Their Confessions,” *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism*. Ed. Lowell Gallagher (Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 52 – 83; Michael C. Questier, “Loyalty, Religion, and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” *The Historical Journal* 40:2 (June 1997), 311 – 329.

⁴ Before he achieved some notoriety as the customer of Sandwich and as an author of economic treatises, Thomas Milles was a trusted figure in Elizabeth I’s espionage network. He worked directly with Walsingham and England’s Scottish ambassador to uncover the Babington Plot in 1586, which resulted in the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Milles was also instrumental in the finalization of the Treaty of Berwick the same year, which allotted James (while still king of Scotland) £4000 per annum from Elizabeth to ease the pain of his mother’s death “Instructions for Thomas Milles.” *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*. Ed. William K. Boyd. Vol. 8: 1585-1586. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, April 2 1586. 303. *State Papers Online*. Web. 30 Aug. 2015. Milles was sent to Scotland to deliver the terms and carried the first payment with him. The Babington Plot represented the one of the many times that Catholics and Jesuits were cited as a menace to English Protestant well-being Once Milles was installed as a customs agent at Sandwich, he was invested, “with powers to intercept foreign agents and correspondence,” the government employing him in unravelling numerous plots of the period.” John Whyman, “Thomas Milles,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵ *The Misterie of Iniquitie* (London, 1611), sig. E2v.

authority to imbue it with extra value. That Milles's was determinedly anti-Catholic in an era of rampant religious upheaval is not so interesting as the fact that *The Misterie* is also steeped in the rhetoric of early modern English economics, and that Milles consistently finds fascinating (and oftentimes frustrating) methods of bringing the language of religion and the language of money into commerce with one another.⁶

By 1611, the booksellers' stalls were likely dominated by tracts that continued to descry the Gunpowder plotters, as well as those recusants who doggedly attempted to circumvent the king's justice by equivocating their responses to the Oath of Allegiance.⁷ The tract appears to have been Milles's most conventionally popular work, reprinted three times between 1608 and 1611.⁸ Ian Green notes that works like *The Misterie*, with title pages that proclaimed an overt, "hostility shown to Catholic teaching and the contempt for what [English readers] saw as the prodigious ignorance of Catholics," were frequently "best-sellers" of the period. The best-seller capitalized on moments of

⁶ The Eucharist proved to be a popular topic or influence amongst many Protestant authors including Donne and etc. Additionally, Sophie Read observes that the Eucharist played an important role in England's literary development. Focusing her analysis on poetic expression in Donne and other religiously minded authors, Read notes that, "rhetorical and theological planes of understanding are linked by a common mental framework," concluding that "the shape of a liturgical cadence of a theological belief might be instantiated in a mind by custom or by force of attraction, and then reproduced by that mind in the rhetorical structures of a poem." Read goes on to note that while her study focuses on lyric poetry in particular, there is ample room for exploration of the myriad other genres that made use of references to the Eucharist, including pamphlets. For further information, see the introduction to Read's *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Ryan Netzley has also parsed out the various nuances surrounding transubstantiation and consubstantiation in early modern England in *Reading, Desire, and the Eucharist in Early Modern Religious Poetry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

⁷ Even though there were three printings of this text, I have opted to focus on the text of the 1611 edition because it represents the most complete, and final, version of the text incorporating Milles's additions from previous publications. Using a later version of this best-selling text also demonstrates the equivocation issue's longevity in the mind of Protestant readers.

⁸ Milles's *The Customer's Apology* was printed four times, but it seems to have been of a more limited appeal. The first edition was only fifty copies, and was distributed amongst the members of the Privy Council. Milles abridged the text and reprinted it in 1602, 1609, and 1619, but this is likely due to the fact that he was attempting to re-introduce the ideas contained within at less frequent intervals.

religious crisis like the Gunpowder Plot and the controversy surrounding the oath of allegiance.⁹ The tract's evident commercial success also relied on the author's choice of one of London's most prolific publishers, William Jaggard (1568– 1623), who usually sold his wares through Matthew Lownes, a fixture in the city's bustling St. Paul's Churchyard.¹⁰

Unlike other early modern English mercantilist writers, Milles often demonstrated a propensity toward anti-Catholicism, peppering his economic treatises with seemingly digressive passages bemoaning “popish” threats in England. *The Misterie*, however, is notable in Milles's *oeuvre* due to the fact that it is predominantly an anti-Catholic tract expressed through the rhetoric of economics.¹¹ Through his discussion of coining and transmutation, Milles highlights the rhetorical similarities used in both the European market and credit economies and in the creation and management of Catholic hierarchies. The latter was a well-known controversy in England since the early sixteenth century, and had remained a crucial dividing line between English Protestants and Catholics for several decades. In his discussion of coining, Milles explores and affirms James's

⁹ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 228.

¹⁰ William Jaggard was well-respected amongst England's authorial elite, publishing works for Francis Bacon, Thomas Heywood, and most importantly, William Shakespeare's First Folio.

¹¹ Although *The Misterie of Iniquitie* is Milles's most sustained anti-Catholic invective, his Protestantism is marked in other tracts. In *The Customers Replie, or Second Apologie*, (London, 1604), Milles criticizes the ignorance of fellow mercantilist John Wheeler within the context of Catholic ideological fallibility, comparing his colleague's assertions regarding the influence of the Merchant Adventurers in English trade to a novice Catholic futilely plying his trade. Like Wheeler, the young scholar gives up in frustration, “When nothing was founde but a needlesse labour, to approve and maintaine by the *Catholick CREEDE*, That *JESUS CHRIST*, was the true *SONNE* of *GOD*, very *GOD*, and very *MAN* that redeemed the Worlde [...] The Booke was returned without applaude, or shew of satisfaction” (A3v). Milles amplified his religiously framed argument four years later in *The Customers Alphabet and Primer* (London, 1608), another tract concerned with sovereignty. He tasks other customers with upholding a rigorous level of integrity, and cautioning his readers about the divisiveness of the “popish” and the “precise” – terms interchangeable with “Catholic” and “Puritan.” According to Milles, Catholics and Jesuits are “*destructive Doctors, that to build up theyr Church, blow up Commonweales*” (C1v).

divinely ascribed sovereignty in comparison with that falsely claimed by papal authorities. In particular, Milles's creates a typological link between James I and Christ, explaining that both figures have God-given rights to transmute matter, bestowing it with extra value. Likewise, Milles asserts that papal authorities have vastly debased their own ability to create honorifics and papal coin given their inability to effectively moderate their own desire to create. As a result, although the Gunpowder Plot may be the antecedent event that gets some mention in *The Misterie*, the real crux of Milles's concern lies not in violent Catholic plots, but in the quietly subversive act of equivocation. Through his act of presenting James as a type of Christ, Milles's subverts the practice of Catholic equivocation both as an act undertaken by a recusant English subject who may present himself to be one thing while in fact being something far more insidious, and the potential for religio-political trauma that that implies.

Likewise, the priests, cardinals, and popes represented in *The Misterie* embody the sinister meaning of equivocation when they allow matter to masquerade as more valuable matter through their false transubstantiative acts, and their false investitures. The traumatic component of the tract lies less in the overt connection of these "massing priests" to anti-types of biblical note, and more so in their binary opposition to an overtly typed James. If Catholics, Jesuits, and equivocators represent a traumatic historiography wherein subjects may lie at will to their king in an effort to subvert his God-given power, presenting James as a type of Christ mitigates such trauma given that his equivocation through the creation of coin and nobility is just and proper. Although it lacked the flash of the Gunpowder Plot as a traumatic incendiary point, the controversy surrounding equivocation, particularly in the face of papal criticism of how the English sovereign

treated his Catholic subjects, created a much more lasting traumatic narrative in English anti-Catholicism since it presented an enemy within the state whose motives could not be easily ascertained. Additionally, Milles's engagement with typology in this tract demonstrates a shift from the standard anti-Catholic rhetoric of earlier incarnations, since it relies more heavily on a binary opposition between "good" Protestants and, therefore "bad" Catholics. This typological polarity is representative of the religious rhetoric of the period, which Peter Lake notes was built on, "binary opposition, inversion or the argument from contraries which, we are increasingly being told, played so central a part in both the learned and popular culture of early modern Europe."¹² Milles's assertions of regarding the damage that Catholics do is mediated through his typological association of the good that James does as a Protestant sovereign.¹³ Through the use of the James-as-Christ typological link, Milles not only establishes his monarch's important place on the spectrum of Christian history, but he tacitly implies that Catholic authorities, like the pope and Cardinal Bellarmine, inhabit a typological realm in opposition to Christian welfare that implies trauma through acts of sedition and warfare.

As a result, the work is a diatribe against fabricated authority – manifested in the material world with which usurpers and pretenders interact through valueless coins,

¹² "Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice," *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603 – 1642*. Eds. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes. (New York: Longman, 1989), 73 – 4.

¹³ This focus on the evils of Catholicism as demonstrated by the good aspects of Protestantism is indicative of a shift in tone of anti-Catholic literature as mandated by James in the early part of his reign. In an effort to continue conciliatory efforts with both English Catholics and the various sects of Protestantism that had been developing since the Reformation, James continually demanded a certain level of moderation in polemical literature, resulting in polemical tracts that read very differently from those published in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. For further information on the manner in which James attempted to institute a true *via media* for the public face of Protestantism during his reign, see Lori Anne Ferrell *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603 – 1625* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). Also, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600 – 1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

meaningless investiture, and improper dominion over those incapable of seeing through their ruses. James, on the other hand, is offered up as a truly godly sovereign who utilizes his Christ-like authority with a temperance befitting his status. The content of Milles's tract represents a shift in the focus of post-Gunpowder Plot rhetoric focused on treason and threatened violence against the English state to an inquiry as to the rights and responsibilities of a monarch to rule unfettered by papal incitement to outright deception. In order to illustrate his points, Milles relies of the rhetoric of coining in conjunction with the typological references to the Eucharist works to establish an extraordinarily contemporary vision of the responsibilities of monarchy that includes care not only of England's spiritual health, but also her economic wealth – a topic of great importance to Milles and his fellow mercantilists. Beyond this economic proselytizing, Milles's tract positively re-associates the traumatic narrative inherent in the Eucharist (that of crucifixion and suffering) with the redemptive benefit achieved by the act. In undertaking the pseudo-Eucharistic acts of coining and investiture, wherein physical matter is elevated in importance by the king's actions, James transcends the trauma of his near-death (much like Christ's elevation from earthly to spiritual glory). Thus, the focus of the tract shifts from a typological depiction of the evils of Catholic equivocation, to the victory of James as a Christ-like sovereign, who then mitigates the traumatic implications of Catholic equivocation by substituting his own.¹⁴

¹⁴ As trauma studies has gained a foothold in many different fields, there have recently appeared some works attempting to draw a connection between the actual traumatic narrative inherent in the observance of the sacrament of the Eucharist, since in many religions it still relies heavily on the recognition and remembrance of Christ's suffering before his death and ascension. Since these works examine the nature of trauma and the Eucharist from a largely Freudian/Lacanian point of view, they are somewhat incongruous with the questions of the cultural transmission of trauma undertaken by most scholars of early modern trauma, but they still provide an interesting ideological perspective. For further information on the connection between trauma and the Eucharist, see Marcus Pound's "Eucharist and Trauma," in *New Blackfriars* 88:1014 (March 2007), 187 – 194.

It is hard to say exactly why Milles, who seems in many other instances to be quite pessimistic about the Catholic threat, would choose to present the equivocation controversy in such a positive light. The theology of the Eucharist was mired in this same binary opposition of trauma and redemption since the sacrament required one to reflect on the brutality of Christ's sacrifice at the same moment one reveled in the promise of the salvation the act afforded sinners. It might be that Milles's recognized this same binary in the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot, as many English Protestants seemed to have done. As had been the case with the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the miscarriage of the Gunpowder Plot had been attributed to God's providential relationship with his English elect. Therefore, although equivocators continually sought to evade the king's good justice in the wake of their failed endeavor, the fact that England had, under James, been able to avoid yet unprecedented disaster was probably just further proof for Milles of the sovereign's divine right. James's ability to side-step death at the hands of those who wished him ill cemented both his and his country's place on the Judeo-Christian continuum.

Once the Eucharist transcends the literal, historical Last Supper, it reminds one of the weight of Christ's sacrifice while at the same time promising that the participant will receive the extraordinary benefits of the transubstantiative act undertaken in good faith by one licensed by God to do so.¹⁵ Likewise, Milles's use of the typology of the Eucharist when referencing James's right to rule without papal incursion creates a dual traumatic

¹⁵ It is important to note that the Last Supper, itself is viewed typologically through the lens of the Passover narrative established in Exodus. Besides Christ and his followers sharing the meal during the observance of Passover in Jerusalem immediately preceding the Crucifixion, Christ was seen as a figure of God's mercy on the Israelites, who were commanded to paint their doorways with lamb's blood to signify their loyalty so that the Angel of Death would pass over their houses. Christ's blood, both literally within the context of His sacrifice, and figuratively through the act of the Protestant Communion, also signals eternal death to "pass over" the participant, granting them eternal life through Christ's fulfillment of Hebraic law.

resonance for his readers. On one hand, the betrayal and potential trauma of the murder of the king and much of the royal family looms large, but the type of Christ mitigated through James's transubstantiative self reminds readers that the traumatic narrative of the crucifixion bears out rewards for those who believe in the authority yielded to Christ, and the English sovereign, to reward and bless their followers for their loyalty. As a result, Milles's conflation of James's coining of money and nobility and the Eucharist at once highlights and mitigates the traumatic narrative omnipresent in the sacrament. Although Milles maintains a certainly anti-Catholic tone throughout the pamphlet, the focus on James's obvious divine right in comparison with the fabricated transubstantiative authority of Catholic officials indicates that Milles's tract is composed under the assumption that while England should still be wary of violent Catholic threats, the real issue to be examined is the threat presented by recusant equivocation and papal equivocation of legitimate authority. By presenting James as a type of Christ through his relationship to his subjects and the "transubstantiation" of investiture and coining, James's divine right, connected to England's divine providence in escaping the Gunpowder Plot (among other threats), is placed in opposition to Catholics – mere earthly agents wielding false transubstantiation in the guise of true power.

Milles and the Catholic Threat

Although Milles's earlier economic tracts have received some scholarly attention, his anti-Catholic passages are oftentimes overlooked or viewed as digressive.¹⁶ Noting

¹⁶Milles is most often examined tangentially in studies of his contemporaries. Milles is almost completely absent (except for a few footnotes) from the anthology *The Early Mercantilists: Thomas Mun (1571-1641), Edward Misselden (1608-1634), Gerard de Malynes (1586-1623)*, ed. Mark Blaug (Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1991). Andrea Finkelstein also focuses her attention on Mun, Misselden, and

Milles's service to the state, Jonathan Gil Harris comments that the customer's work, "combatting suppositious foreign threats is of a piece with the somewhat paranoid bent of his economic writing."¹⁷ If, however, we consider Milles's considerable experience as espionage agent particularly concerned with Catholic plots it becomes clear that the tract is representative of a deep familiarity with and response to English anti-Catholic rhetoric.¹⁸ Recovering an understanding of Milles's past, *The Misterie* allows us to

Malynes – using Milles as the occasional point of reference for the moments he and Malynes are in agreement regarding the balance of trade. See Finkelstein's chapter, "Gerard de Malynes: *Institutio Mercatoris Christiani*" in *Harmony and Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009). William Spiegel devotes less than two pages to Milles in *The Growth of Economic Thought* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 100-1. Much of the exciting current critical work being done on Milles is being undertaken by scholars of English literature in conjunction with other early modern English works. Bradley Ryner's recent book, *Performing Economic Thought: English Drama and Mercantile Writing, 1600-1642* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2014), devotes two chapters to Milles's economic thinking and its bearing in the representation of commerce and economics on the early modern English stage. Likewise, Jonathan Gil Harris examines Milles's rhetoric of disease transmission alongside Jonson's *Volpone* (1606) in the fifth chapter of his *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Additionally, William H. Sherman and Heather Wolfe have shed light on Milles's fascinating propensity to include extensive hand-written annotations in copies of his own work in their forthcoming article, "The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Milles between Manuscript and Print," appearing in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* in Fall 2015.

¹⁷ *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 125 – 6.

¹⁸ *The Misterie*, more so than Milles's other tracts, reflects the popular pamphlet style that dominated England's cheap print markets -- a favorite genre of Protestant polemicists and controversialists seeking to reach a wide audience through high degrees of intertextuality and salaciousness. As a result, the pamphlet genre lent itself well to the simultaneous use of typological references and the traumatic Protestant narratives which they illuminated. This allowed Milles to achieve an impressive level of syncretism in *The Misterie*, rendering his work more accessible and impactful to a common Jacobean reader. Joad Raymond has usefully illuminated the generic conventions of pamphlet literature, demonstrating the manner in which they intersected with English religio-political culture and the transmission of rhetorics like anti-Catholicism. For further information, see *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Additionally, Milles uses the popular pamphlet convention of a dialogue between a fictional customer and a personified Truth interspersed throughout the tract. The Protestant polemical dialogue, as explained by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, was a popular form since, like the pamphlets themselves, they were composed, "with the aim of educating the 'unlearned' in the state of the English Church," using the back-and-forth of the characters as a didactic tool. For further information, see Zlatar's *Reformation Fictions: Polemical Protestant Dialogues in Elizabethan England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6 -7. Peter Lake also highlights the religio-political importance of the pamphlet genre (among others) in transmitting cultural angst, commenting that such angst was a direct result of, "anxieties created by social and commercial change," in England. See Lake's *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), xxv.

recognize how the economic and the anti-Catholic could easily merge under the domain of “fabricated authority” for Milles. Although he appears to be the only mercantilist of his generation to so explicitly tie anti-Catholicism to economics, David Hawkes observes that this conflation of religious morality and money was an “inevitable” development concomitant with the market and credit economies.¹⁹ Mercantile and religious concerns both pertained to England’s national security, since there could be no economic security without English religio-political sovereignty. For Milles, James’s authority was not just relegated to law-making and coinage, but also ideally protected the king from the machinations of his own sworn subjects who were not capable of true loyalty to any entity other than the Catholic Church. Understanding, uncovering, and discouraging acts of religious equivocation were important aspects of securing the English nation in the post-Gunpowder Plot era.

Transubstantiation, Equivocation, and Anti-Catholicism

This syncretism is well-founded. Milles’s ideas regarding the creation of authority was but one of a host of core issues that informed the Jacobean Protestant worldview. The doctrine of transubstantiation, the Catholic belief that the sacrament of the Eucharist transformed bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ as He stated in the New Testament, was largely rejected by all Protestant religions, the Church of England included.²⁰ It nevertheless remained a focal point of Protestant/Catholic doctrinal debates

¹⁹ *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in Early Modern English Literature, 1580 – 1680* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 16 – 17. See also Andrea Finklestein, *Harmony and Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

²⁰ Luther apparently struggled a great deal to find a manner in which the Eucharist remained doctrinally sound, but his contemporaries insisted that the matter of transubstantiation played too much into the

throughout the following decades. At the heart of these debates were disputes over the extent to which the substance present during the Eucharist could be said to have transformed into the body and blood of Christ upon the completion of the ritual by Catholic priest, or whether the sacrament served a commemorative function for the participants since, either way, Christ would be present during the ceremony.²¹ Judith Anderson traces this debate and notes that at its center it seems to be a linguistic one. Reformers refigured the language-based ambiguity surrounding the transformation accompanying the Eucharist, shifting the meaning from a literal transfiguration of the substance to flesh and blood to one wherein the meaning was metaphorical and commemorative. It was necessary for the ceremony to take place physically, but it ultimately conveyed a spiritual meaning. Anderson sums up the debate saying that, “both sides assert spiritual presence, the conservatives crucially in the elements of bread and wine, the reformers definitively in the believer, [but] what finally and most fundamentally separates them is the spiritual status of the material realm, and what joins them is a fear of mere language – language unmoored to a material or spiritual reality outside it.”²² Likewise, Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt assert that, “most of the significant and sustained thinking about the nature of linguistic signs centered on or

idolatry that formed the basis of many Protestant complaints about the need for reform in the first place. The Eucharist continued to be a particular point of linguistic and ideological contention for Protestants, who tried to find ways for the sacrament to be observed without what they deemed idolatrous overtones. For further information regarding the various nuances applied to the debate over the nature of the Eucharist, see Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt’s essay, “The Mousetrap” in *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 136 – 162.

²¹ Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), 75 – 6.

²² *Translating Investments: Metaphor and the Dynamics of Cultural Change in Tudor-Stuart England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 45.

was deeply influenced by Eucharistic controversies.”²³ Milles makes much of the transubstantiation debate for his own illustrative purposes. He frequently mentions it within the context of the Eucharist, and repeatedly uses the linguistic conventions of the debate to tie the sacrament to the mechanics of the economy in general and coinage in particular.²⁴

Equivocation required similar linguistic unmooring, and, like the Eucharist, it caused a similar type of angst in the minds and hearts of Protestants fearing the machinations of Catholics. The doctrine of equivocation had been an issue of importance to the Catholic/Protestant divide since the late sixteenth century. It was usually mentioned in conjunction specifically with Jesuits, who were expressly coached to use equivocation in order to evade capture or punishment for their activities in England.²⁵ The practice is frequently referenced in anti-Jesuit tracts in the years between the society’s first clandestine missions to England in the late 1580s and the uncovering of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Following the trials of the plotters, however, equivocation became a highly sensationalized polemical topic given the fact that it was widely publicized that Henry Garnet, one of the Jesuits charged with conceiving the plot, was discovered to be in possession of a manuscript entitled *A Treatise of Equivocation* which

²³“The Mousetrap,” *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 141.

²⁴ Sophie Read observes that the Eucharist played an important role in England’s literary community. Focusing her analysis on poetic expression in Donne and other religiously minded authors, Read notes that, “rhetorical and theological planes of understanding are linked by a common mental framework,” concluding that “the shape of a liturgical cadence of a theological belief might be instantiated in a mind by custom or by force of attraction, and then reproduced by that mind in the rhetorical structures of a poem” (24). Read goes on to note that while her study focuses on lyric poetry in particular, there is ample room for exploration of the myriad other genres that made use of references to the Eucharist, including pamphlets. Milles’s *The Misterie of Iniquitie* is a fine example of an author’s theological beliefs underpinning a seemingly incongruous work of literature.

²⁵ See chapter three, “Political Types: Traumatic Representations of Edmund Campion in Popular Polemic and State Documents,” for a discussion of how equivocation came to bear in the trials of Campion and his companions in 1581.

detailed the various ways one might prevaricate English authorities if caught.

(Incidentally, the authorities who confiscated the manuscript wrote a new title at the top of the page: *A Treatise Against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation*.) According to the manuscript, equivocators had four options at their disposal should they be interrogated, three of which involved using imprecise or vague language to respond to queries, while the fourth, “mental reservation,” allowed the person being questioned to express part of their response out loud, and the more damning aspects of their answers silently and internally.

As with the quandaries that accompanied reconceptualising the nature of the Eucharist, Protestants found the unabashed linguistic ambiguity at the core of the doctrine of equivocation particularly odious. On one hand, interrogated Catholics “conceptualized language as multivalent, unstable, and conventional; and recognized the complex dialogue occurring within the Catholic mind, in which thought itself took on the representational qualities of speech and writing. On the other hand, the English “social order itself was understood to rest on the transparency of religious identity and the language in which it was claimed and ascribed.”²⁶ This fundamental difference between the manner in which religion and faith were verbally expressed underscored the traumatic resonance of the Gunpowder Plot for decades following the executions of the accused participants. Skillful equivocation was believed to be able to mask myriad contrivances against the states, and was therefore one of the primary dangers presented by recusants. Milles’s tract exploits the linguistic and traumatic associations between the typology inherent in the Eucharist and recusant equivocation. He creates positive typological and

²⁶ Janet E. Halley thoroughly explores the legal and linguistic ramifications of equivocation and the Oath of Allegiance in “Equivocation and the Legal Conflict Over Religious Identity in Early Modern England,” *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 3:33 (1991), 36.

uniquely English associations for James's transubstantiative acts, which are designed to benefit the nation and further the cause of English sovereignty in the face of a papacy that continually schemed to subvert it. Meanwhile, Catholic acts of transubstantiation take on the tone of mere equivocation, since Catholic coining and investiture lacks weight and substance because the ceremony and authority used to create them are hollow and irreligious. As a result, by exploring the nature of the Eucharist through the lens of divine Protestant right and sovereignty, Milles's co-opts the linguistic uncertainty from the purposes of equivocating Catholics, and thusly elevates James to his Christ-like status while simultaneously relegating recusants to the other side of the binary equation.

Milles and the English Anti-Catholic Tradition

Milles's discussion of the fabrication of authority fittingly revolves around the coining, but James's ability to effectively govern as England's sole earthly sovereign drives the heart of the argument of *The Misterie*. The thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot led to Parliament passing a controversial oath of allegiance into law. The law required English citizens, both Protestant and Catholic, to swear loyalty to James, denying the pope's power to depose monarchs. Bellarmine and the pontiff responded by openly condemning the king's presumption, igniting a debate that eventually prompted James himself to publish an anonymous response.²⁷ As with the roots of the Henrician Reformation of the 1530s, the English sovereign's right to rule above any other presumptive authorities and free of the interference of Rome continued to drive Protestant hostilities against Catholics, viewed as proverbial servants with two masters. Arthur F.

²⁷ Marcy L. North "Anonymity's Subject: James I and the Debate over the Oath of Allegiance," *New Literary History* 33:2 (Spring 2002), 215.

Marotti explains that Catholicism was, “most fearfully embodied in a papacy that claimed the right to depose monarchs.”²⁸ Bellarmine’s purported authority over English Catholics was disturbing to his detractors, especially since he appeared to be coaching them from a distance to lie at will to their rightful rulers. Even though he denied the power of the pope to command temporal powers in his publications, English Protestants still viewed the Catholic Church as a monolith – an international powerhouse that was highly organized, ruthless, and intent on the complete annihilation of English sovereignty. Being so deeply invested in keeping England safe from Catholic incursion undoubtedly influenced the way that Thomas Milles thought economic doctrine played a part in that safe-keeping. For Milles there was no better way to establish the serious implications of mishandling England’s trade than to couch it in the existing and emotionally loaded rhetoric of anti-Catholicism and the threat that men like Bellarmine posed to James’s desire to rule his country unencumbered and without immediate threat from his own subjects. Thusly, Milles utilized his joint background in economics and England’s national security in order to explore the traumatic implications of the threat Catholics posed. It is clear that, for Milles, the threat posed by Catholics is total, and protection against them cannot be assured unless all the threat is understood in context of all facets of English society.

Coining in Jacobean England

While Milles engages with several issues of concern to early modern English Protestants in *The Misterie of Iniquitie*, sovereignty, and who has a right to it, is the true

²⁸ *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 9.

driving issue of the tract. According to Milles, the lessons he must set forth are themselves akin to customers in that they, “giv[e] God his due and our SOVERAINE-KING his Right.” This is an obvious allusion to the role of the customs agent responsible for fees on imported and exported goods in order to better control trade and help augment the state’s coffers. Milles argues that this is a task he undertakes so that, “[a]ll might become happy” in England.²⁹ He explains the importance of this role, and that the way that kings and customers handle England’s physical monies is a critical aspect of the overall health of the realm. Milles repeatedly demonstrates throughout his tract that the notion of sovereignty is intimately tied to divine right. Kings, Catholic and Protestant, are appointed by God. Their economic interactions with their subjects, when undertaken in good faith, carry with them that same divine sanction, and are backed by God-given authority. Milles underscores the importance of this economic hierarchy and its spiritual weight when he says, “For happy are those *Subjects* all, whose honest Endeavours have rays’d their Conditions to such degrees of *Credit*, before GOD and his LIEU-TENANTS. Twise happy are those *Christians* that dwell where *this Doctrine* is constantly defended, freely put into practice, and publikely taught. And thrise happy *GREAT-BRITAIN* whose JOSUA, thus maintains both *Church* and *Common-wealth*” (sig. F4r). This passage establishes the indissoluble relationship between England’s commercial success and Protestant exceptionalism, which had been reinforced by the continued thwarting of Catholic plots. Those who have honestly found commercial success are blessed fiscally and spiritually through England’s elevated spiritual status which can equitably “maintain” a church and a common-wealth through its “josua,” a derivation of “Joshua,” which carried the meaning of “Jehovah’s salvation.” Therefore, any agents of kings, like

²⁹ Sig. B1v.

customers, are bearers of a lesser sovereignty in light of the trust placed in them by the divine monarch and their ability to enact spiritually relevant commercial transactions.

Although it is evident that authority, both for customers and the king, had an important anti-Catholic subtext that Milles embraced in many of his tracts, it is at the forefront of *The Misterie of Iniquitie*. Milles notes this in his subtitle while drawing attention to the “vaine comparison of a cardinalles red-hat, and a kings golden crowne.” In doing so, Milles locates the matters of proper authority and sovereignty and English commerce, in the Catholic/Protestant debate.³⁰ Both Bellarmine and the Gunpowder Plotters make frequent appearances in *The Misterie of Iniquitie* as objects of derision - insidious intermediaries between England and Rome. Milles indirectly threatens Bellarmine, saying that the politically vocal cardinal must finally put to rest the debate over “whether Popes of themselves be *Soveraignes* or *Subjects*, or both, or neither.” According to Milles, if it is appropriately ascertained that popes are indeed subjects, then “let *Bellarmino* be silent, or have his tongue cut out, while the Byshoppe [of Rome] on his knees, by suite and submission to God, & his LEIUE-TENANTS make means to get his pardon, of the *Emperor* at least.”³¹ Early in the tract, Milles provides a brief but pointed exposition of the general evil natures of men, declaring that Truth and Goodness fall naturally into commerce with one another; “Now be not afraid, for TRUTH and GOODNES are so lincked together, that where both of them are not, there can bee neither.”³² Therefore, it can be understood that those who subscribe to Catholic

³⁰ Sig. A2r.

³¹ Sig. C2r.

³² Sig. B2r.

ideologies are naturally working against the premise of Truth, and are inherently lacking goodness. Milles challenges these people saying, “Then let *Ipocrites* dissemble, and *Impudence* make lies: let *Jealousie* goe sleepe a while, and *Suspition* take some rest; let *Ignorance* hatch *Errors*, wherein *Mischiefes* make their nest; send *Pride* to the *Pope*, and let *Cardinals* play the Fooles, send *Popery* to the *Divell*.”³³

Stephen Deng’s work on the representations of early modern coining in literature demonstrates that Milles’s correlation of proper authority with coinage is hardly aberrant for the period; even though it appears that it is something that Milles’s contemporaries did not exploit in the same manner. Deng notes that early modern English coins bearing “stamped portraits of monarchs and other iconography of the state as well as mottoes that were often propagandistic in nature” routinely took on a value beyond that of the minerals used in the money itself. Used both domestically and in foreign trade, Deng asserts, “coins emanated state authority and so were sometimes perceived as representatives or even agents of the state.”³⁴ Since the Bellarmine controversy represented an egregious and open challenge to England’s authority, it seems quite natural that the issue of James’s sovereignty would come to bear in a discussion of coining.

At the core of Milles’s debate over the investment of authority is an ostensibly economic driving factor – one that the author ties back to English angst regarding Bellarmine’s opposition to the loyalty oath and concerns regarding the Pope’s perceived power to depose monarchs. Milles clearly creates an ideological link between authority,

³³ Sig. B2r.

³⁴ *Coinage and State Formation in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2.

anti-Catholicism, and economics in his discussion of bullion and coining. Obviously, bullion and the proper creation and valuation of currency were critically important matters for early mercantile writers. While currency had long been in use, the increased immersion in a market economy complicated the issue of “money” and what it meant to use it. Ventures like the East India Trade Company and the Merchant Adventurers increasingly opened up the possibility that profit from oversea trade endeavors could be deferred by the importing of goods to be sold at higher prices, but the swiftness with which bullion left England made many nervous. Another point of great contention between mercantile writers pertained to the manner in which bullion was valued. Some claimed that silver and gold imbued an innate value on the coin based on mineral content. Others disputed this, saying that value rested in the manner in which the metal itself was coined, or assigned a value by a monarch.³⁵ David Landreth observes that for many English authors like Milles, “the coin’s value [arose] from two apparently opposite sources: the precious metal that provide[d] its matter and the stamp of the prince that authorize[d] its currency.”³⁶ This perceived disparity unified in the symbol of the coin was a manifestation of the re-assemblage of post-Reformation England wherein economic well-being was equated with the health of the realm as monarchs sought to consolidate power following the example of other continental confessional states like Germany. As such, the coin and its valuation were a manifestation of the new, independent English sovereign following the split with Rome. For Milles, English bullion

³⁵ For an in-depth discussion of the way in which the early English economic writers thought of matters of coinage, bullion, and trade, see Andrea Finkelstein, *Harmony and Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

³⁶ *The Face of Mammon: The Matter of Money in English Renaissance Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

was not merely a tool of trade, but a material that represented everything that stood to be gained, or lost, based on England's continued co-existence with Catholic forces that sought to undermine the Protestant stronghold. The fact that its valuation rested in the hands of a cooperative of nations, each of whom held different notions of how it might best be counted and exchanged was worrisome for the linguistically bound Protestant nation. This sense of unification with like-minded Protestant nations (or even trustworthy Catholic ones) established a sense of normalcy and security that ostensibly mitigated the trauma of England's Reformation and post-Reformation re-construction of confessional identity. The stability of currency, and the manner in which that stability lent England credibility as a recognized Protestant nation, enhance the post-confessional identity that somewhat mitigated the trauma of the past, but also reminded English Protestants that there was much to lose should Catholicism once again take root. This post-confessional identity responded to the trauma of the Reformation by creating stability from chaos – a sovereign Protestant state emerging from the trauma of the Marian Reaction, and superior to the Catholicism from which it came.

Milles, however, was evidently deeply invested in the simultaneous physicality and spirituality of coinage, and the authority by which money was created from base materials. Writing in the wake of the Bellarmine controversy, he places a reverent weight on the issue. Instead of exploring this particular aspect of monarchical authority within its expected economic framework, Milles creates an elaborate metaphor that allows the topic of coining to be seen as an issue of spiritual import:

Now, as *Omnipotency* in God is Essentiall with his GOODNESS: so the *Bounty* of KINGS must set foorth their *Greatnesse*, And seeing that, that selfe-subsisting-*Goodnesse* [...] is by a like consent of Nations made fixt and firme in the *Finenesse* and *Purenesse* of Gold and Silver, by the name

of *Bullion*, the *Majesty* among Men, may have wherein to be seene, and *Soveraignty* Subsist: a Heavenly Will and Wisedome to extend those Materials by *Nomber*, *Waight*, and *Measure*.³⁷

In this passage, Milles explores the complicated relationship between economics and authority, which mirrors the driving force behind the passage of the loyalty oath, and further extends that metaphor into concerns regarding the nature of coining and its effect on England's economy. First, God's omnipotence is placed in correlation with the bounty and greatness of kings. Both of these attributes are filtered to men through the relationship that God shares with the King, and which the King shares with his subjects. Next, Milles likens currency in England, bestowed with value by the monarch, to God's gift of "immortal glory." This glory is physically manifested on Earth through the innate value of gold and silver, which is then further modified by the King when he extends "by heavenly will and wisdom" an additional monetary value to the coin. Likewise, the monetary manifestation of the king's goodness and sovereignty relies on the "fineness" of the metals God has chosen to convey them – silver and gold. As such, the king's authority is reiterated when he upholds appropriate valuation of the coins his subjects use, giving the monarch, according to Stephen Deng, "a powerful incentive to maintain reputation, [for] he or she must answer to the community if coinage quality deviates from the standard."³⁸ Milles reiterates this point later in the passage, and creates a more direct metaphor for what he sees as the relationship between the king's sovereignty and his subsequent impact on coining by declaring, "Thus *Bullion* being made the Body and Bloud of *KINGS*, *Money* the *Medium* between *Subjects* and their *KINGS*, and Exchange the Heavenly Mistery that joynes them both together: *Coynage* out of question: *Omni Soli*

³⁷ Sig. B4v – C1r.

³⁸ *Coinage and State Formation*, 62 – 3.

et Semper, by their right unto Bullion, is the true *Catexochen* [pre-eminence] of all Earthly *Sovereignty* and *Kingly Dignity*.”³⁹ Here, Milles creates a mystical, almost Christ-like relationship between the King and his subjects undertaken through the act of coining. The coin is literally valued as the body and blood of the monarch, language that is highly reminiscent of the Eucharist. Thus, through their use of these coins during the act of exchange subjects engage in a spiritual transaction with their monarch.⁴⁰ As with traditional views of the Eucharist which held that the trauma of Christ’s death and sacrifice were paired with the joy one felt at the prospect of eternal salvation, so James’s commercially typological Eucharist invited a similar relationship with trauma. The king had brought England through near-disaster, but his divine right allowed his sovereignty to triumph over the potential trauma of the Gunpowder Plot.

Another fascinating aspect of the above-quoted passage is how Milles demonstrably mitigates the threat posed in any bullionist thinking (that foreign countries were obtaining too much of England’s precious metals through trade) by instead focusing on the notion that bullion must be valued by the “consent of Nations.” Here, Milles reinforces kingly, proper authority as the crux of the argument for the tract. It is compelling to note in the above passages that, despite Milles’s overtly anti-Catholic agenda, he makes almost no differentiation between Catholic and Protestant sovereigns when it comes to the valuation of gold. Indeed, Milles’s polemical ire throughout the tract

³⁹ Sig. C1r.

⁴⁰ Stephen Deng explores a similar theme in Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* (1606), noting the way that Macbeth becomes fixated on early modern ideas pertaining to the relationship between currency circulation and the health of the realm and the monarch’s body politic. Deng argues that King Duncan represents a decidedly bullionist point-of-view, wherein the currency/blood of the king is critical to the health of the nation. When this blood is injudiciously let during Duncan’s murder, Macbeth is continually at pains to re-establish the proper economic balance of his own body politic since he is not a legitimate ruler. For further information, see Deng’s chapter, ““Mysteries of State”: The Political Theology of *Macbeth*,” in the aforementioned *Coinage and State Formation in Early Modern English Literature*.

is devoted solely to the papacy. The difference for Milles lies in his own definition of sovereignty as a God-given authority of earthly monarchs – despite their religious affiliation. The papacy, however, is the governing body of a church, and therefore its reach should be limited to internal matters of faith. By tacitly allowing that Catholic and Protestant monarchs avail themselves of the same level of authority invested in them by God, Milles’s references to the demonstrable over-stepping of the papacy into international matters of governance and economics become all the more pointed. Popes, bishops, and cardinals may believe themselves ministers of Catholic souls, but Milles vehemently opposes their right to depose divinely appointed monarchs and coin monies. Within the context of his assertions, there is no immediate concern over where the bullion is going. Instead, readers are meant to recognize bullion as an illustrative tool in the service of demonstrating proper authority – one in which monarchs are endowed with power by divine right, hence his focus on the value of precious metals being set by a consent of “nations,” indicating that the respective rulers of each of those nations arrives with the others at a consensus. The valuation of bullion and the creation of coins by proper Christian sovereigns, imbued with the power to do so by God, indicate a proper form of sovereignty – one that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church willingly subverts to its own ends. This willing subversion, according to many Protestants, meant that the Catholic Church wielded substantial earthly power without regulation, and had the capability of causing destruction, even in non-Catholic countries. English Protestants long feared that the exercising of this power meant that any remaining recusants could be persuaded to rise up against a rightful sovereign and re-introduce past religious trauma and instability into the realm.

Coinage also provides the perfect means through which Milles can express his fears for England's economic and spiritual future since the matter may have been one of the most coherently multi-discursive issues under debate. As demonstrated in the preceding passage from Milles, the conversations surrounding coinage dealt not only with valuation of physical matter and the vested authority to create value, but also the physical and spiritual effect such valuation had on the matter *and* the matter that came in contact with it. For Milles, proper sovereigns like James bestow proper value on matter, meaning that the transubstantiative act undertaken cannot spiritually corrupt those who come in contact with the outcome. This is decidedly not the case for Catholics, who undertake their coinage under false pretense and with a fabricated authority.

Catholic Coining: Debasement and Religious Sovereignty

Milles next links the coining of money with his defense of the king's measure to force recusant Catholics to take the loyalty oath. For him, the term "coining" falls distinctly into two realms – economic and religious. These two aspects of coinage are linked for Milles in the matter of Bellarmine and Catholics who rail against the loyalty oath. Given monetary value by the king, bullion bestows that value on the subjects who engage in exchange England's economic system. Likewise, Milles asserts, it is also the right of the king to "coin" matters of religious doctrine "to direct our Consciences the way that leads to Heaven." Although this could reference nearly any aspect of James's religious doctrine, Milles makes a distinction later in the passage which ties it to the loyalty oath controversy. He fears that this sort of "coining" might "help Catholicks up to

Heaven, though Papists goe to Hell.”⁴¹ This distinction is an important, albeit confusing one, since the term “papist” was broadly deployed in anti-Catholic polemic throughout the period. The difference, however, lies in the matters of faith and allegiance. An Englishman may well be Catholic and adhere to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, but by swearing the loyalty oath – the “coined” doctrine of James and his Parliament – he would transcend the more loathsome title of “papist.” This odious moniker implies not Catholicism, but also the same misguided loyalties that, according to Milles, made the legislation necessary in the first place. Catholics are Catholic, but papists, as their name indicates, hold the Pope, not the king, to be the highest authority.

James’s rightful authority when it comes to coining both monetary and religious matter is mirrored for Milles in the more insidious form of valuation – that undertaken by Catholics. He says that the power of coining is often “abused and disgraced by the *Bishoppes*[of Rome]...in creating of *Nobility* and Titles of *Dignity*.”⁴² Milles goes on to assert that the sheer amount of titles that Popes dispense haphazardly make a mockery of the same “coinage” enjoyed by a rightful sovereign. Such abomination serves to make “Cardianalles to be Checke-Mates with *KINGS*; and the *Popes* more then *Monarks* or Emperours Fellowes, to blowe up Kingdomes and tread Empires downe.”⁴³ While Milles does not deny that the Pope also has the power of coining, it lacks the same mystical correlative with God that creates James’s ability to coin both religion and money. Instead, Rome’s coinage represents a failing of the exchange that England’s economy embodies. It floods the nobility “market” with meaningless titles and imparts unearned value upon

⁴¹ Sig. C2r.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

unworthy men, even those who would conspire to “blowe up Kingdomes,” a dual pun on the inflation in the number of nobility, as well as an allusion to the Gunpowder Plot. The conflation of a market flooded with counterfeited Catholic nobility and a reference to the Gunpowder Plot demonstrates clearly that Milles likely held these offenses to be of the same ilk, or at the very least that a good Protestant should be as cautious of one as the other. It is also likely that Milles viewed one aspect as necessary to carry off the other. Many Catholic plots in England since the latter years of Elizabeth’s reign had been undertaken with some sort of papal blessing, either real or implied. The notion that Rome could create an army of recusants who would wait patiently in England to murder a Protestant monarch would have been eminently believable to someone like Milles who had borne witness to the disastrous outcome of the Babington Plot mere decades before the Gunpowder Plot. In a sense, then, Milles’s own experience, like that of other English Protestants who read of the exploits of Catholics in popular tracts and heard about them from the pulpit, created its own traumatic historiography by which references to Catholic treason compounded on itself, creating an impenetrable barrier of typological precedence.

Milles’s connection between James and Christ works in this same vein of typological precedence. He returns to this point often, reflecting an obvious link between the valuation of physical substances like coins by virtue of the person imparting that valuation and the manner in which Catholics presumed to diminish the authority of King James by bestowing their own honorifics upon men whom Milles considered undeserving of such high esteem. He returns to what he views as the misguided equivocation of “coining” with “creating” explicitly, saying:

For if *Coyning*, and *Creating* prove meere Synomas and meane but one thing; then is there a third kinde of Coynage, by a power, likewise

absolute in disposing of *Honor* by the *Greatnes* of it selfe, which being proper to none but *Soveraigne Kings*, is abused and disgraced by the Bishoppe there [in Rome] and *Conclave*, in creating of Nobility and Titles of Dignity, beyond the rules of Order and degrees of Goodnesse, turning Men into Beastes by solitary Lives and solitary Drones to places of credit; drowning Honor of Preist-hood, in Monks, Anchorites, and Eremytes, out-facing Cleargy Prelacy, by Wry-neckt Chaplaines, Jesuists and Friars, profaning Sacred Majestie, but Card-nal Deacons and Parrish-Priests of Rome, and disgracing sovereignty by a Hyerarchy of their owne.⁴⁴

Again, Milles draws an overt connection between the economic doctrine of coining, meant to be undertaken only by a proper sovereign in the creation of monies, and the manner in which men who falsely proclaim themselves to be in positions of authority (i.e. Catholic pontiffs) create a system of honor and titles amongst themselves. Milles declares that the system which works so well under the auspices of James's rule in England is diminished at the hands of the pope. A concerned sovereign must worry about lessening the value of his "coins" or "creatures" should he be responsible for creating too many of them.⁴⁵

According to Milles, however, the Catholic Church seems to harbor no qualms when it comes to "drowning" the honor that should be implicit in the office of the priesthood. Milles lists the many titles available to Catholic clergy, intending to demonstrate his point that the bloated papal hierarchy is not only an affront to kings who are gifted authority by God, but it devalues the Catholic organization from within.

Through the sheer number of offices they create and populate, they decrease the value of such honorifics. In such preponderance and given under false pretenses, Milles argues,

⁴⁴ Sig. C2r.

⁹ Milles's view of "debasement" is interesting within this context, given the amount of criticism levied at James early in his reign for the selling of titles, which many opponents thought debased English nobility. This does not seem to be a concern for Milles, whose primary interest is debating the rightful authority to create nobility rather than the potential damage caused by the creation of too many honorifics.

they lose all meaning. This demonstrates Milles's desire to delineate proper and improper sovereignty for the benefit of his readers. Kings by divine right, such as James and those others referred to in earlier passages, can bestow value; popes cannot. This debasement of value carried with it weighty social and political implications that would not have been lost on Milles and his readers in light of historical currency debasements from the Henrician and Elizabethan eras that ultimately negatively "transformed public opinion of the king's stamp as guarantor of value."⁴⁶ In Milles's estimation, the Protestant world recognizes the irreparable harm the papacy has done to its own reputation as a creator of spiritual value through the debasement of its ranks of officers.

At the same, however, he deftly ties these ideas back to the discourse of English economics. Much of this rests on the manner in which Milles, and many of his Protestant contemporaries, saw it as unnatural that bread and wine should be elevated to such a lofty position through ceremony. Milles accuses Catholics of using the Eucharist to "mak[e] Creatures (Bread and Wine) to be *Gods*."⁴⁷ Later, Milles calls this transgression by its proper name according to reformers – idolatry. He states that what happens during the Catholic mass is closer to idolatry rather than "the Soule of true Religion."⁴⁸ For Milles, the Eucharist and its misappropriation, idolatry, are frequently connected to matters of usury. He goes on to imply a connection between usury and the Catholic practice of the sale of indulgences – donations made to priests and congregations that allowed the advance forgiveness of sins not yet committed. Milles mentions usury and idolatry in nearly the same breath; the Catholics make "*Godlines* a merchandise to be bought and

⁴⁶ Deng, 90 – 1.

⁴⁷ Sig. C1v.

⁴⁸ Sig. I2v.

sold for money: so by Bankers and Jewes making *Usury* the meanes to draw home is revenues for all kind of Sinnes, he makes *Money* seeme a *God* that's but a Creature unto *Kings*.”⁴⁹ The conflation of these two ideas, which were already connected at the core of Reformation ideologies seeking discontinuation of payment for religious intercession, becomes even more obvious in the hands of a merchant who concerned himself greatly with the matter of monarchical authority when it came to said monarch's ability to “coin” not only money, but also religious and juridical law when situations arose that required the institution of new mandates, such as the oath of allegiance.

In continually drawing attention to the perceived flawed manner in which Catholics utilize their religious authority to procure money, Milles creates an implicit superiority in James's corresponding power to create money through his connection with God. Milles focuses his attention on the difference between “creature” and “God.” While the former is utilitarian, it may only be created with ease *by* God or by someone who is endowed by God with authority. Milles's notions of “creature” and “creator” are well in line with early modern thought regarding the omnipresent “theological conception of natural phenomena” as described by Julia Reinhard Lupton. According to Lupton, a critical aspect of the “creature” was its acknowledgement of its own state of being ruled – “being produced or controlled by an agent, author, master, or tyrant.”⁵⁰ All concerned parties in Milles's description of the creation of English coins fall into some part of this chain of being. The king is a “creature” of God. Likewise, the king, by divine right, is a “creator” on Earth when he bestows value on coins and privilege on his constituents. As such, both coins and English subjects become “creatures” – the former of the king, and

⁴⁹ Sig. C1r.

⁵⁰ *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 161.

the latter of God *and* king. The king uses his divine right expressly to bestow extra-material value on precious metals like gold and silver, as well as to grant titles to deserving English citizens.

The difference for Milles is rooted in the theological debate over the nature of transubstantiation. While Protestant English are capable of seeing that the matter itself is not transformed in its essence, Catholics instead choose to believe, fallaciously, that the matter they come into contact with, both monetary and that which is present during the Eucharist, is not “creature” but “God.” Milles accuses Catholics of focusing rather on the *manner* in which said matter has been transformed by God. Conscientious English Protestants are capable of seeing that the matter (coins) created by James are not gods themselves, but rather the creation of another Creature given power to do so by God. Catholics fail to recognize that the body and blood of Christ cannot physically be present at the Eucharist since that matter has been transformed by yet another of God’s creatures. Creatures can only create other creatures – and they are only given the power to do so through God. Hence James’s power to imbue extra value on coins and people ceases to be pejoratively “priestly” or “idolatrous,” but rather stems from the proper authority given to him by God by virtue of his station. While one transaction is emblematic of a false faith, and has the propensity to inflict trauma, the other is rooted in divine mandate and has the ability to mitigate trauma – or at the very least causes none.

Concurrently, this allows Milles to reiterate the ethical integrity of English merchants and the customers who oversee her ports, stating that their loyalty means that “Traytors and Enemies shall finde no Commerce for all their *Golde* and *Silver*.”⁵¹ This statement underscores Milles’s perception of the multi-faceted role given to customers.

⁵¹ Sig. M1v.

While they bring bullion and other forms of wealth into England, they are also the priests at the above-mentioned temple, tasked with making sure that only honestly gained goods are brought into English service, thus lessening the chance of spiritual contamination at the hands of enemies. Typical of Milles's view of English justice, the religious informs the economic. He reiterates throughout the remainder of the tract the importance of this relationship. Since England's economic system relies so heavily on the authority of the king, it is absolutely critical to rid the system of any vestiges of "popish" improper valuation, or to allow enemies who would desire England's downfall any foothold in the economic sphere. Milles returns to this point frequently in the tract, emphasizing the link between England's commerce and the anti-Catholic rhetoric that formed the backbone of most Protestant thought, punctuating his tract with the following pithy verse:

Let TRAFFICKE bee releevd,
Of GOODNES long depreev'd,
And let TRUTH be still beleev'd,
That SUBJECTS may be blist;
For TRAFFICK out of thrall,
Makes KINGS be seene of All,
(What e're to POPES befall)
And SOVERAIGNES to subsist.⁵²

Milles leaves his reader with a nice précis of his overall argument accentuating the anti-Catholic sentiment that informed his views of James's sovereignty and the concomitant management of English coin. He reiterates the important relationship between goodness and truth, asserting that customers must be allowed to freely ply their trade to bring traffic "out of thrall." In this way, the authority of the English sovereign is guaranteed, thwarting any incursion by "popes," who seek to force their improper systems of

⁵² Sig. P3r.

valuation on the world. This improper valuation, while essentially rootless, has the ability to cause great harm to Protestant sovereignty and stability if left unchecked or unnoticed.

Milles ends his tract with a final conflation of economics and anti-Catholicism, lauding the king's ability to create coins from bullion and invest citizens with honorifics. Interestingly enough, Milles leaves the tract on a note of caution for his Eucharistic sovereign. He tells his readers that the king must be wary of this power, "not so much [because] of *Money*, for the names sake and Forme, for therein lies *Idolatry*, which God detestes, as of *Matter*, whereof to have always to stampe their own Coyne, that *Majesties* may be seene."⁵³ Milles goes on to say that a king's potential for sin rests in an inability to realize that bullion is mere matter – a "creature" with no apparent value other than that assigned by the king, and thus by God. In *The Misterie of Iniquitie*, the king's power to imbue value stems directly from his God-given authority – something which Catholic priests willfully misuse, attempting to create "gods" from matter, misleading their followers. As much work as Milles has done throughout the tract to mitigate the trauma of the Gunpowder Plot and to diminish the threat of equivocation by offering up a transubstantiative sovereign as a foil to Catholic turpitude, there is still a sense of Protestant distrust of the human propensity to over-value the physical – ideology rooted in the doctrinal debates over transubstantiation. This transubstantiative relationship reiterates James's typological relationship with Christ, allowing the act of coining to be seen as a form of the Eucharist. Transubstantiation and coining, both forms of equivocation, were seen as superior to those potentially traumatic forms of prevarication that were purposed to allow Catholics to avoid detection and punishment for their anti-Protestant schemes.

⁵³ Sig. J2v.

Conclusion

However oddly syncretic Milles's thoughts regarding the interrelatedness of fiscal matters and England's anti-Catholic rhetoric may seem to us, his condemnation and warning against purveyors of false authority was an issue of deep concern to early modern English readers. Although he may fit uneasily into the early modern economic canon, we can certainly identify Milles as an author representing the quintessential early modern worldview – one in which matters of religion cannot be extricated from matters of commerce. For Milles and many of his readers, a Catholic threat against James's authority would necessarily infiltrate a myriad of experiential spheres. As a result, Milles was able to levy his personal experience negotiating the waters both of England's commerce and her national security into a tract that fascinatingly consolidates the volatile spiritual and economic worlds of the early seventeenth century. At the center of this consolidation is the desire to frame the thwarting of the Gunpowder Plot in the Protestant traumatic historiography, which by 1611 was comprised of several near-misses and thwarted schemes. Although Milles uses economics to frame an argument for James's divine right, it is the typological connection established between the king and Christ that allows for the author to incorporate a form of English economics and its concomitant security issues into the Protestant historiography. As a result, readers could see the manner in which economics and the Protestant/Catholic divide were essentially rooted in issues of valuation of matter. For Protestants, aligning one's beliefs with a sovereign who not only understood the proper place of matter and creatures was essential since it lessened the confusing unmooring of language that accompanied acts like

transubstantiation and equivocation. A Protestant king, James, even in the face of danger, could be trusted not to abuse his God-given power to bestow value. Catholics could not.

CHAPTER 5
TRAUMATIC SEDUCTIONS: TYPOLOGY AND RECUSANCY IN
MIDDLETON'S *A GAME AT CHESS* (1624)¹

In the spring of 1624, English Protestants rejoiced when word reached them that negotiations to marry Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta had broken down after years of talks and a not-so-secret trip to Madrid.² Protestant controversialists and divines met this news with a flood of new anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish tracts, having been somewhat silenced during the years there was a possibility that the match might succeed.³ When the prince and his party returned, incensed by the uncivil treatment they experienced from their Spanish hosts, the Duke of Buckingham, Charles, and others set about persuading James to declare war on Spain – a sentiment that delighted much of the anti-Spain, anti-Catholic parliament. The failure of the Spanish Match prompted the English monarchy to look toward France for a more suitable match for Charles. The anti-Catholic rhetoric that developed in 1624 and 1625 demonstrates not only a concerted vein of Protestant propaganda, but a renewal of vitriolic anti-Spanish sentiments. This rhetoric targeted not only well-known Spanish diplomatic figures, but also created a firm conflation of the Spanish and Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus was indeed

¹ A previous version of this chapter was presented at the Shakespeare Association of America Annual Conference in Toronto, ON, in the seminar “Women and Politics in Jacobean England,” April 5-7, 2013.

² Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theater: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama Under the Early Stuarts* (Past and Present Society, 1982), 155.

³ Although there is no officially known reason for the silence on the matter of the Spanish match on the part of English religious controversialists, it is probably safe to assume that it was a residual effect of James I's policy of moderation of expression of anti-Catholic thought in part of his effort to continue conciliatory efforts between English Catholics and all sects of English Protestants. For further information on the manner in which James attempted to institute a true *via media* for the public face of Protestantism during his reign, see Lori Anne Ferrell *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603 – 1625* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). Also, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600 – 1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

founded by a Spaniard, Ignatius of Loyola (1491 – 1556) in 1540. Over the decades since its founding, however, the society had attracted members from all over Europe. The Spanish Match represented a moment, not unlike Elizabeth I’s brief interest in the French Catholic Duke of Anjou in the 1570s, wherein a foreign power with divergent religious ideologies seemed uncomfortably close to gaining a foothold in English politics.⁴

Although English Protestants no longer had to worry about a Spanish Catholic queen on the throne, there was still considerable angst surrounding the entrenchment of foreign influences in English government. England could no longer remain Protestant in isolation. As the English world expanded, so did contact with Catholicism.

In the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the marriage negotiations, English polemicists were responding to, “the shifting alliances and intricate political negotiations between Charles and Buckingham, the aristocratic ‘war party’ in the Court, the Houses of Commons and Lords and the King.”⁵ Although England had been saved from a Spanish queen, the continued presence of foreign dignitaries and Jesuit missionaries in England made Protestants uneasy. Popular opinion held that Spanish Catholics and Jesuits manipulated international politics in order to pursue their own nefarious ends, ultimately desiring to subject other nations to the more odious aspects of their faith. In their works that packed booksellers’ stalls, English Protestant controversialists increased their vitriol

⁴ The Spanish Match bore obvious similarities to Elizabeth I’s French Match discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. Both instances involved highly unpopular foreign matches to Catholic royalty, and both instances resulted in gendered explorations of the connection between typology and trauma of the Protestant state. Despite the fact that the genders of the monarchs in question were reversed in these situations, it seems to have had no real bearing on the manner in which these matches were presented. The gendered presentations resided firmly in the depictions of the religions at hand rather than in the genders of the monarchs exclusively. For a discussion of the French Match, see my second chapter, “Sexually Transmitted Traumas: Gendering Typological Monarchy in the Alençon Affair.”

⁵ Claire Jowitt, “The Black Knight’s Festival Book?: Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*,” In *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles’s Journey to Madrid*, ed. Alexander Samson (Burlington, VT: Asgate Publishing Company, 2006), 164 – 5.

against what they perceived as the swarms of Jesuits who had come to England to minister to Catholics and to try to convert the gullible to “popery,” decrying the ease with which the Society could infiltrate private homes and Court alike. Although there was no overt Jesuit involvement in the mediation of the Spanish match, the failure of the marriage negotiations signaled an end of fears that Catholic Spain would gain a foothold in English politics that likely focused renewed attention on Jesuits’ reputation as international busy-bodies. Although several parliamentary acts dating back to 1584 forbade Jesuits to operate in England, their presence had come to be a fact of life.⁶ The common presentation of Jesuits in propagandistic literature held that they were all cunning degenerates, more interested in the collection of souls and state secrets than in the genuine advancement of their religious doctrine. Jesuits had long been targets of Protestant derision, and concurrent with that derision were early modern views of the nature of women’s fallibility, and reveling in the failure of the Spanish match was a simultaneous celebration of yet another denial of the Jesuit foothold in England.

The near-disaster of the Spanish Match seems to have contributed to a revival of a sense of anti-Catholic community amongst English Protestants, by drawing on what David Glimp identifies as a “traumatic past event that generates a sense of belonging or attachment.”⁷ In this case, the trauma Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* capitalized was a network of seduction techniques employed by Jesuits and publicized by English polemicists. These seductions almost always resulted in not only a recusancy and a loss

⁶ The first parliamentary acts against Jesuits by Elizabeth conspired to mitigate the threat posed by Jesuits like the recently executed Edmund Campion (1540-1581).

⁷ David Glimp, “Middleton and the Theater of Emergency,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*. Eds. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Healey (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 360.

of Protestant identity, but also a loss of English property or monies. Most early modern English anti-Catholic polemicists and pamphleteers held that women were the primary target of scheming Jesuits.⁸ Their most pressing concern was recusancy, which held the larger denotation of refusal to submit to an authority, but carried the specific connotation of either the refusal to convert and worship as a Protestant, or the potential return to Catholicism. The trauma of the seduction and the loss of English resources tied intimately with the very issues that were at stake in the Spanish Match – a loss of English sovereignty and assets at the hands of a scheming threat who conquered by persuasion rather than by conventional force. Furthermore, the great unease that stemmed from the marriage negotiations highlighted the typological significance that the institution held for English Protestants like Middleton, and beyond the political ramifications were the religious ones surrounding the traumatic implications of tying of one’s soul to a Catholic.

In this chapter, I will explore the ways Thomas Middleton’s wildly popular 1624 play demonstrates the relationship between trauma, typology, recusancy, and Jacobean women. Using Middleton’s earlier religious treatise, *The Two Gates of Salvation Set Wide Open* (1609) as a point with which to begin our inquiry of the playwright’s views of marriage as typological referent, I contend that while Middleton’s play seems to be predominantly allegorical on the surface due to the lack of biblical figures present by which to create typological association, the discussions of marriage and fornication taking place between the play’s characters demonstrate the typological significance of

⁸ This notion is likely a continuation of the mentality explored in Chapter 1, “Title.” According to Anne McLaren, English anti-Catholic rhetoric developed in conjunction with a strong misogynistic sentiment as part of a concerted effort to discredit the potential of Mary, Queen of Scots to rule England while simultaneously extolling Elizabeth I’s virtues. As a result, polemicists described Catholicism as exploiting the worst aspects of the feminine sex. For more information on this initial development, see McLaren “Gender, Religion, and English Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism,” *The American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002), 739 – 767.

recusancy and apostasy in early modern England. As a result, Middleton positions the English women, as demonstrated through the figures of the White Queen's Pawn and the Black Queen's Pawn, as the potential loci of trauma relocating past in present and demonstrating the relative nearness of England's pre-Reformation state. Middleton's play vilifies Spanish Catholics and Jesuits alike, but also revels in the thwarting of the Spanish marriage while simultaneously exploring the many ways England's enemies operate to secure her downfall. As a result, although the Spanish Match put a male body in danger of seduction by a female Catholic, Middleton reverts this gender dynamic to its more recognized early modern format because the orientation of pursuer and pursued is not necessarily the most significant aspect of the Spanish marriage. Instead, what Middleton wishes to highlight is the significance of the covenant of Protestant marriage as a type of the covenant shared between Christ and the Church. Therefore, while previous chapters have explored texts that focused on the typological significance of both figures *and* events, Middleton challenges this standard presentation by allowing instead an institution to provide the typological significance. As a result, *A Game at Chess* at once reiterates the gendered relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism that had been developing since Elizabeth's reign and creates a broader scale on which to engage with this gendered dynamic. By presenting his virginal White Queen's Pawn, a figure embodying the English nation as a whole, as a marriageable woman entrapped into a seduction scheme by Jesuits, Middleton demonstrates that true religio-political trauma resides not only in the corruption of individuals, but in the corruption of Protestant institutions.

In order to explore the relationships between marriage, seduction, and fornication, Middleton frames his White Queen's Pawn as the popular "recusant woman" figure – a character well-known to those who read popular anti-Catholic treatises. Middleton extends the recusant woman/Catholic seducer relationship explored in popular polemical tracts into an allegorical realm by which individual women being seduced bears undeniable political ramifications through her failure to sexually attach herself to an appropriate partner. These ramifications are explored typologically through what Jack Herbert Heller has established as Middleton's view of the relationship between fornication and apostasy. Beginning with his typological tract, *The Two Gates of Salvation*, Middleton explored marriage as a typological referent of Christ's union with the Church. On the other hand, fornication and sex out of wedlock represented apostasy – which in itself was another form of recusancy – a refusal of God's offered grace and salvation through the Church of England. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Middleton's obvious familiarity with the figures of recusant women as interpreted by polemicists, can also assume that Middleton was dealing wholesale with a Protestant-specific typology which shared connections with biblical figures like Eve and the Virgin Mary, but whose place within gendered ant-Catholicism had themselves become so frequent that it was no longer necessary to directly connect them. These figures instead represent figures that might engage in the institution of marriage, which in and of itself held a high typological significance through The Fall of Adam and Eve and the redemption of that relationship through the "marriage" of Christ to his Church. As a result, all those who engaged in the institution of marriage engaged in this typological relationship, which reversed the trauma of The Fall by promising salvation through grace through marriage. While

marriage represented salvation, fornication and adultery represented apostasy and recusancy – the rejecting of Protestant doctrine and the re-inscription of the trauma of The Fall.

Middleton and the Typology of Sex

Recusancy was, on the surface, a predominantly religious concern. However, the concern over the seduction of English women by Catholics was also a matter of national identity and national security in the wake of several thwarted Catholic plots against English sovereignty. Scholarship by Arthur F. Marotti and Frances Dolan establishes the fact that early modern Protestants envisioned a very real and very dangerous link between recusancy and national security, usually mediated through the seduction of English women.⁹ As such, these explorations of recusancy carry a high degree of eroticized traumatic overtones, demonstrating more attention to the literal, physical harm endured by the “seduced” woman, and merely implying the scope of national incurred by the loss of English monies and property to foreign aggressors. Polemicists believed Jesuits to be highly sensual men – driven by a desire for power and worldly, sumptuous goods. Many tracts of the era express disgust with what was perceived as the material culture surrounding Jesuits and their companions. They dressed ornately, ate rich food, and enjoyed privileges that were more befitting wealthy men than men of God.

⁹ Frances Dolan thoroughly explores the connection between gender and Catholicism in early modern English thinking in *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1999). In her study, she notes that the period was dominated by “[the] assumption that women were more likely than men to stick with Catholicism, or to convert to it.” Furthermore, Catholicism was believed to be popular with women because it “coddled their incapacities,” such as frivolousness, superstition, and other failings brought about by being more unlearned than their male counterparts (27). Arthur F. Marotti has also written extensively on the matter of recusancy in early modern England, noting that a recusant woman was ultimately “a figure of opposition to state authority,” in his *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: U of Notre Dame P, 2005), 36.

These trappings of Catholicism were thought to be immensely attractive to women – even seemingly devout Protestants. Frances Dolan notes that the period was dominated by “[the] assumption that women were more likely than men to stick with Catholicism, or to convert to it.” Furthermore, Catholicism was believed to be popular with women because it “coddled their incapacities,” such as frivolousness, superstition, and other failings brought about by being more unlearned than their male counterparts.¹⁰ Arthur F. Marotti states that a recusant woman was ultimately “a figure of opposition to state authority.”¹¹ Early moderns conceptualized women as hyper-sexual creatures – incapable of or unwilling to tame their baser urges, which is why the sensually pleasing nature of Catholicism proved so appealing to them. In combination, Jesuits and recusant women, “constitut[ed] the most powerful danger...that mark[ed] not only sociopolitical alienation but also essential differences between Protestantism and Catholicism.”¹² The relationships between Jesuits and the women who become their devotees are always sexualized, if not literally then figuratively. However, rather than bearing out a localized sexual trauma endured by the woman, the connotations are always extended well beyond the immediate loss of chastity, goods, or even the woman’s mortal soul, to the state itself. In essence, for an English Protestant woman to put her salvation into the hands of a Catholic meant that she had broken a covenant with her own country.

The further implication was that England was weakened in the act of recusancy. These acts heralded threatened the slow, but very possible, return of England to a pre-

¹⁰ *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1999), 27.

¹¹ *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: U of Notre Dame P, 2005), 36.

¹² Marotti, 35.

Reformation state of being – one in which true English sovereignty could be thwarted by papal power. This shift in the locus of sustained trauma from the individual recusant woman to the nation itself demonstrates Thomas P. Anderson’s theory that, “for Renaissance writers, it seems more accurate to say that representations of eroticized trauma articulate in displaced form the anxiety of becoming an historical subject.”¹³ In essence, sexualized recusancy narratives highlighted the manner by which the memorialized past could exert itself in the present, transfiguring post-Reformation, independent Protestants into pre-reform papal panderers. Additionally, sexualized recusancy carried no promise of a lasting, authentic covenant with Catholicism, since the figures most often doing the seduction were barred from engaging in the institution. This recusancy, therefore, represented a form of adultery and was therefore in direct opposition to the lawful covenant established by God, and typologically demonstrated by Christ’s union with the Church. Therefore, to enter into the pseudo-sexual relationship with a Jesuit was tantamount with rejecting God’s covenant and allowing oneself to exist as if Christ’s covenant with the Church had never existed in the first place. Recusancy was an abandonment of God’s grace – an action which placed women seduced by Jesuits outside the sphere of the protective institution of lawful Protestant marriage. Therefore, these women reverted to Anderson’s state of “historical subjectification,” since they were aligning themselves with a faith that had purportedly been abandoned in England after the Reformation. Additionally, their actions, which depleted England of Protestant citizens and important economic holdings meant that they endangered England’s ability to fend off Catholic incursion as well. Citizens did well to avoid historical subjectification

¹³ *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 8.

through engaging in institutions like marriage which produced children and kept property and monies out of Catholic hands as a result.

Concomitant with this angst over potential historical subjectification is a typological reading of early modern England's place in the world's religio-political sphere. Typology's purpose was to connect past and present, reading the one in the other and allowing Christians to figure their place in post-biblical narrative. Traumatic narratives connected with England's Christian past became relevant in the present threatened English Protestants with removal from their eschatological typological arc by evoking images of a Catholic past during which England was perceived to have been mired in error and idolatry. To become an historical subject was to backtrack rather than progress – a deep fear for many English Protestants when it came to Catholicism.

The relationship between recusant women and Jesuits is explored frequently in tracts appearing beginning around 1600, painting Jesuits as seducers of the highest order while the women they seduce are depicted as exceedingly naïve – willing to trade their worldly possessions and everlasting souls to men with honeyed tongues, obviously connecting them with Eve and her willingness to relinquish the prize of Eden in exchange for knowledge the Serpent has no ability to grant in the first place.¹⁴ One of the most popular tracts to detail these relationships was published the same year Middleton's *Game at Chess* debuted. John Gee's *A Foot out of the Snare* (1624) contained story after

¹⁴ One of the most prolific writers on the subject of Jesuit evils was Thomas Bell (b.c. 1551, d. in or after 1610). Bell, a former Catholic priest himself, had taken a hard line against his fellow priests when it came to recusancy, claiming that, "Catholics could attend protestant services provided they made an open confession of their faith and declared that they conformed solely as a gesture of political loyalty." Such ideas enraged his contemporaries, and he subsequently became an informer in Walsingham's espionage network in 1592. He would then go on to publish such works as *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (1603) and *The Downefall of Popery* (1604), which were very popular and detailed the various ways Bell thought that Jesuits were unable to be trusted to roam at large in England. See Alexandra Walsham's entry on Bell in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

salacious story of English women convinced by Jesuits and other Catholics to part with their earthly belongings and recuse themselves from Protestantism. No matter the intentions of the hapless women, Gee makes it clear that the only concern of the Jesuits involved is to relieve women of their wealth, bring souls under the thrall of Rome, and to deplete England of all her resources. Although Gee's tract was certainly not the first to explore the sexualized recusancy and apostasy of English women, it still presents a contemporary reference which aptly mirrors Middleton's larger allegorical connections between sexuality and recusancy in Jacobean England.¹⁵ The implied connection between the relationships of Jesuits to recusant women with the Adamic Fall reiterates the typological bearing of trauma in the period, as described by Anderson; "Surviving history means living with a traumatic past that manifests itself as a crisis of inheritance."

Through the actions of these women, English Protestants are not simply seeing the

¹⁵ John Gee's background is quite different from Middleton's, although no less embedded in the religious issues of the day. Although formally trained in theology at university and initially appointed to the post of curate of Newton in Makerfield, Gee was unceremoniously suspended from preaching in August 1623 when accused of conducting clandestine "Catholic" marriages and other offenses. Mere months later, in October 1623, Gee "attended a Catholic evensong read by the Jesuit Robert Drury" in the vicinity of Blackfriars. During the mass, ceiling beams gave way, killing nearly one-hundred participants and injuring many others. Gee "escaped with only a bruised arm," but was called before Protestant leaders to justify his presence at a Catholic mass. The tragedy seems to have galvanized Gee's Protestant leanings, and he published *A Foot Out of the Snare* the following year. He details his ordeal at Blackfriars in his introduction, saying that he attended the vespers at the goading of some "popish company" he encountered after hearing a sermon at Pauls-Cross earlier that day, but declares himself a "prodigal" newly enthralled to the Protestant faith after his brush with death. The Blackfriar's incident, which became known as the "fatal vesper," is another fascinating moment in the continuing development of English anti-Catholicism. Alexandra Walsham explores the connection between Protestant views of divine Providence and the polemic surrounding the Blackfriar's disaster in "The Fatall Vesper: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London" *Past and Present* 144 (August 1994), 36-87. Gee's tract was a rampant best-seller, receiving four printings in 1624, demonstrating the desire of English Protestants to revel in a recusant narrative in which it was perceived as plain that God's wrath was firmly set in the direction of Catholics who secreted themselves in illegal worship throughout England.¹⁵ What is interesting about the depictions of the incident is that it is a clear moment of the reversal of the traumatic historiography of Protestantism that is still co-opted by Protestants in order to condemn Catholics. The trauma and violence of the event are highlighted in tracts like Gee's, but rather than lamenting the punishment of recusancy, it is presented as a reinforcement of God's Protestant tendencies. In any event, it is clear that violent punishment from any source carried significant weight in the construction of Protestant identity throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

allegorical manifestation of Eve's temptation and the loss of Paradise, but they are condemned to continually "inherit" its consequences through the typological relationship that recusant women bear with their flawed and gullible predecessor. Eve's relationship with the serpent is a direct challenge to her lawful covenant established by God with her husband, Adam. Likewise, recusant women willingly subvert proper relationships in order to pursue Jesuit attachments damage their own souls and the state's ability to function properly. This subversion was seen as a direct affront to the institution of marriage which allowed a woman and a man to follow the typological precedent set by Christ and the Church in the fulfillment of the Old Testament law. As a result, a recusant woman who engaged with a Jesuit as she might engage with a husband re-inflicted the traumatic narrative of Eve and her Fall on herself, and subsequently on England through her subversion of the given political order.

The highlighting of this traumatic potentiality for seduction and the refusal of the proper covenant of marriage was highlighted by the use of expanding typological referents that drew on one another. The "real" women depicted in polemical tracts formed a basis for Middleton's allegorical White and Black Queen's Pawns, who share allegorical traits with figures ranging from Eve to the Virgin Mary. Although polemicists, like Gee, and Middleton still agree that women share a particular propensity toward the ills of Catholicism, it is not the figures of the women themselves that provide the typological framework by which Middleton's play can be understood, but rather the action of recusancy, which is a form of adultery, and therefore typologically connects with apostasy for Middleton. This apostasy, like a rejection of lawful marriage, was seen

as rejection of the typologically significant institution which would provide grace for all parties involved.

Although many of Middleton's stage plays focused on the doctrines of grace and salvation, he was himself attentive to the importance of typology in his assessment of early modern England's political climate. Indeed, Middleton found typology so compelling that he authored *The Two Gates of Salvation Set Wide Open* in 1608.¹⁶ The treatise deals exclusively with typological readings of the Old and New Testaments with the relevant verses placed side-by-side on opposite pages. In the margins, Middleton makes note of the typological reading, as well as offering commentary on the manner in which these same verses might be interpreted moving forward into England's fraught religious climate and her placement in Judeo-Christian historiography. Although Protestant treatises on typology (as well as innumerable other theological debates) proliferated in England's print market, Middleton's work is unique due to its format. Lori Anne Ferrell explains that while other biblical commentators tended to use complicated schema and geometric alignments to direct the reader through their typological readings, or simply provided a list of verses and explained the ideological progression between them, Middleton "depends on [his] simultaneous presentation," in order to make his points clear.¹⁷ This novel presentation perhaps reflects his later bent toward theatrical

¹⁶ The first incarnation of Middleton's typological tract appeared relatively early in his career, and one might be tempted to discount its importance in his overall *oeuvre*, except that he took pains to re-title and re-publish the tract at fairly regular intervals. It next appeared as *The Marriage of the Old and New Testament* in 1620, and finally as *God's Parliament House* in 1627. Middleton's attentiveness to this text even during the height of his stage career indicates that typology remained a critical way of examining the world – both for himself and many other English Protestants. Most telling for a typological reading of *A Game at Chess*, however, is that the two later editions of *The Two Gates* appeared just four years prior to the first staging of the play, and again just three years after its incredibly successful run had ended. As such, we can safely surmise that the tumult surrounding England's attempts at religious toleration for Catholics and the potential trauma of religious upheaval weighed particularly heavily on Middleton's mind.

explorations of complex religious and political matters, like those presented in *A Game at Chess*. Susan Hardman Moore observes that Calvinism, more so than other Protestant sects, was less predisposed toward iconoclasm. Thus, Calvinists like Middleton tended to welcome the use of visuals in the communication of religious ideas as a matter of course. Typology, in particular, was a useful tool in the creation of these Scripture-images, and they, “opened up a vast storehouse of images to fire the Christian imagination.”¹⁸ The stage came with no readable typological referent, so the literal and the allegorical must be presented simultaneously and visually in order for the audience to gain their full effect. Middleton appears to have been keen to explore the typological in visual ways that were not characteristic for other controversialists or divines.

The typological significance of seduction, and of marriage as an institution and a covenant is widespread throughout *The Two Gates of Salvation Set Wide Open*. The tract itself is described as “the marriage of the Old and New Testament,” implying that, for Middleton, this reading of the Bible was also a form of covenant that a reader shared with God, leading to a greater sense of understanding of what was required for salvation. Middleton’s typological reading of the Old Testament pays special attention to the figure of Hosea, a minor prophet who, “becomes a living allegory as God tells him to marry a whore, Gomer...so that Hosea’s complaint against Gomer’s continuing prostitution fades into God’s complaint against Israel’s Baal worship.”¹⁹ The fact that Middleton focuses on the impact of the covenant of marriage and the complications presented by adultery within the context of Hosea’s life demonstrates the significance of the covenant overall,

¹⁷ In *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (679).

¹⁸ “Calvinism and the Arts,” 82.

¹⁹ Heller, 93.

and of the subversion of that covenant through unsanctioned sexual alliances. Marriage, in early modern Protestant England, was a typological referent of the relationship between Christ and his Church on Earth: “marriage is an image of the salvific relationship between Christ and the Church, and therefore emblematic of saving grace.”²⁰ Adultery, however, defined as any sexual congress outside the bounds of marriage, was damning instead of salvific.

The typological symbolism of comparing recusancy with apostasy and sanctioned sexual unions with Protestantism is not lost on Gee. In one passage in his dedicatory epistle, Gee compares irresolute Protestants with “loose” women:

In Reformed Churches (especially in our Church of *England*) Gods *Mercy* hath supported his *Truth*, even amidst the slacknes and carelesnes of the Profesors themselves; whil’st yet some, like Dinah the daughter of Jacob have lost their Virginitie, I mean...their first faith, by going abroad, and have returned home impure.²¹

This passage not only indicates a reading of Protestantism as God’s own reformed religion, but it also compares those who are not attentive to that covenant established with God and his faithful to the wandering Dinah who is already bound by covenant to the Hebrew God, but wanders away from camp in order to befriend foreign women, and is subsequently captured and raped by the son of a Canaanite prince.²² Gee’s typological comparison between rootless Protestants and the loss of chastity suffered by the wandering Dinah does well to support the traumatic narrative associated with those who take their covenant with God

²⁰ Ibid., 92.

²¹ Sig. B1v.

²² The story of Dinah is located in Genesis 34.

lightly. The fact that Dinah's rape is associated with a lack of fidelity to Protestantism goes a long way in exploring the traumatic typological implications for Middleton's White Queen's Pawn who, like Dinah, seeks to befriend an enemy who has ulterior sexual motives. Like Eve before her, Dinah takes part in this sexualized trauma when she loses an important birthright, her virginity, in order to expand her sphere of knowledge by leaving the known world of her father's camp for the unknown. The traumatic implications of Dinah's loss of chastity resonated into England's post-Reformation era, wherein it was thought that recusant women seeking connections with Jesuits and other Catholic priests might very well give away their own birthright, endangering the nation. This connection exemplifies both the typological reading that most Protestants applied to themselves as anti-types of Hebrews, and for Gee and Middleton, recusant women additionally exposed the nation to trauma like that tied to the loss of Dinah's chastity.

In Gee, at least, we can see a typological relationship between women who succumb to the temptations of recusancy and their biblical predecessors. The significance of The Fall as the ultimate inception of Judeo-Christian trauma extending into Protestant historiography cannot be underestimated. As Heather Hirschfeld explores within the context of *Hamlet*, the very narrative of The Fall and the doctrine of Original Sin that it spawned were rife with traumatic overtones.²³ Adam and Eve transgress. It is not until later, after they are removed from Eden that the full effect and understanding of the weight of the act of sin sets in. Furthermore, Adam and Eve's transgression leaves a

²³ "Hamlet's 'first corse': Repetition, Trauma, and the Displacement of Redemptive Typology," in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54:4 (Winter 2003), 425 – 6.

traumatic wound on humankind, one that Christians were bound to relive and re-examine through following centuries as they grappled with the catastrophic outcomes of an action undertaken by two people far removed from them temporally. At the root of this traumatic wound is the subversion of and the typological need to re-establish Eve's covenant with Adam and with God, and subsequently humankind's covenant with God through the gift of the Church. The very essence of traumatic historiography, though, and the typological connections that underpinned it in Protestantism meant that the very core of the faith was built upon a need to at once commemorate and transcend the original, traumatic act that formed the basis of the belief structure. This was Eve's so-called cross to bear, and early modern Protestant women were viewed as her typological descendants who were gender-bound to fall and fall again. Likewise, as Adam is viewed a failed husband, Christ redeems this covenant by becoming the spouse of the Church. However, before the redemptive typology associated with Christ can come to bear, one must recognize the traumatic events that made such redemption an integral part of Protestant historiography.

While the typology of the narrative of the biblical Fall is relatively straightforward, the versions of it explored by Gee and Middleton demonstrate the manner in which seventeenth-century Protestant typology accommodated complexities that encompassed not only figural and event-based typology, but also associated larger institutions and ideas with their referents in the Bible. For instance, Gee and Middleton both allude to an anti-type of The Fall with spiritual *and* political consequences. Beyond the literal loss of English wealth through recusant women was the fear that Jesuits were an insidious political entity in Europe's courts. This notion connects to Protestant ideas of

the Catholic institution as a whole. Prior to the beginning rumblings of the English Civil War in 1640-42, the papacy (from whom Jesuits received their commissions) was viewed as a political antichrist, more concerned with garnering secular power than saving souls.²⁴ Gee and Middleton are keen to explore this aspect of the serpent's anti-type in their works. Gee's exposition of the true motivations behind Jesuit interest in converts is expanded in Middleton's explanation of his Jesuit pawn's role in English politics, which seem incongruous with being a Godly man.

Negotiating Traumatic Covenants in Middleton and Gee

Undoubtedly, *A Game at Chess* is one of Middleton's more challenging plays – particularly for modern readers. In the wake of the failed Spanish match, it indicates that the English Protestant play-going public likely had a high degree of awareness not just of the match, but of many of the nuances of English/Spanish relations. Members of both the Spanish and English courts take the form of chess pieces maneuvered around the board by the machinations of state politics and a few wily pawns. The Black House, a racial rendering of Spanish interlopers, plots and schemes to undo the White House (England) in various ways ranging from castration to rape and bed-tricks, demonstrating the manner in which Catholics in particular were thought to use sexual subterfuge in order to both titillate themselves and achieve greater levels of power and influence.²⁵ The seduction plot, the most fore-grounded of the entire play, is driven by the Black Bishop's Pawn, a

²⁴ Christopher Hill, *Anti-Christ in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Verso, 1990), 5.

²⁵ Gary Taylor notes that *A Game at Chess* represents the first known time chess became, “an emblem of modern racial politics; the Spanish ambassador indignantly objected that the King of Spain was represented in the play as ‘the King of the blacks.’” (1827).

Jesuit, his secular Jesuitess Black Queen's Pawn, and their target – the innocent and virginal White Queen's Pawn. Unlike the women of Gee's tract, Middleton's White Queen's Pawn lacks any recognizable contemporary figure for her basis. Middleton's ambiguity regarding his pawn's provenance allows us to see this poor woman not only as a familiar representation of the wayward recusant Englishwoman, but also as an allegorization of the English nation itself.²⁶ Thus, the threat of sexualized recusancy and apostasy on the part of the White Queen's Pawn carries more substantial weight than that of a single English woman, in essence allowing Middleton's allegorical characters to enter the typological narrative surrounding the marriage covenant and explore the trauma experienced by subverting it. As a result, the White Queen's Pawns story presents the quintessential tale of recusancy as religious trauma implied by scores of polemical writers – England herself falling victim to “popery” literally one woman at a time.

The interest the White Queen's Pawn has in her Black House counterparts is presented through the lens of an increasingly sexualized courtship by both the Jesuit and Jesuitess figures. Her initial attraction to Catholicism is a result of a feigned concern on the part of the Jesuitess pawn, who allows the white pawn to overhear “secret” lamentations regarding the status of her soul. Expressed with high emotion, the Jesuitess claims, “I ne'er see that face but my pity rises. / When I behold so clear a masterpiece / Of heaven's art, wrought out of dust and ashes, / And next thought to give her lost eternally... / My soul bleeds at mine eyes.”²⁷ The white pawn is understandably moved

²⁶ According to Richard Helgerson, the idea of personifying the English nation as “female” was widely practiced during the Jacobean era. See *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 145.

²⁷ 1.1.1-4, 6. All quotations are taken from *A Later Form of A Game at Chess* in *Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (New York: Oxford UP, 2007).

by this outpouring of distress on her behalf, and relies solely on the outward signs of grief to move her to speak to the Black Queen's Pawn. The Jesuit pawns' ability to manipulate the White Queen's Pawn through their contrived concern for the welfare of her soul spoke directly to the typological heritage of the trauma of The Fall, wherein the serpent feigned interest in providing Eve with useful knowledge while at the same time contributing to her demise.

The White Queen's Pawn's spiritual interest is piqued by the Jesuitess. Likewise, the Jesuit pawn is intrigued by the white pawn, but his attentiveness noticeably bends toward the salacious rather than the spiritual. Upon seeing the pawn, he speaks of her in a manner that hyper-conflates the sexual with the religious as was expected of Catholics in general and Jesuits in particular. He uses the conventions of the Petrarchan blazon in describing her, focusing on her physical attributes and how they would be pleurably altered by submission to the tenets of his faith should she enter the Society as a novice. He objectifies her body, starting with her eyes that, "promise single life and meek obedience." Her "lips (the sweet fresh buds of youth)" are suggestively bedecked with "the holy dew of prayer [which] lies like a pearl / Dropped from the op'ning eyelids of the morn." He goes on to suppose how, "beauteously / A gentle fast (not rigorously imposed)" would improve her complexion.²⁸ Fittingly, his first command to her is that he become her confessor, and that she reveal to him her, "privat'st thought that runs to hide itself / In the most secret corner of [her] heart now," before declaring that her familiarity with him should exceed that of her closest "she-friend."²⁹ This commingling of the

²⁸ 1.1.76-83

²⁹ 1.1.123-6

spiritual and the sexual epitomizes the notion of religious “seduction” in the Jacobean period

Both Middleton and Gee expound on the importance of confession of a recusant woman to Jesuit as a perverse version of a marital relationship. Long deemed unnecessary by the Reformation’s “priesthood of all believers,” confession created a seemingly inappropriate relationship between the participating parties. Within the context of recusancy, the confessed, as mentioned above, would “lay herself open” to the confessor, who would not only use any information he gathered to help advance his schemes in England, but he was also presumed to derive some sort of sexual pleasure from the act. Arthur F. Marotti explains that the sensualized confessor/confessed relationship was an “old trope” that depicted “the conversion of the spiritual intimacy of confession into sexual intimacy in order to portray the connection of Jesuits and women as not only adulterous but also subverting the domestic and political patriarchy.”³⁰ The connection between confession and adultery sheds light on exactly what sort of covenant into which Middleton’s *Black Bishop’s Pawn* is attempting to lure the *White Queen’s Pawn*. It is a relationship that subverts England’s patriarchy, which should be properly bounded in the religious institution of marriage, and allows a Jesuit undue access to the inner workings of our embodied England.

This intimacy held not only sexual connotations that could prove the undoing of the unfortunate pawn, but carried larger, traumatic connotations for England’s security. Polemics often accused Jesuits of a form of cunning indifference in the guise of religious interest. Jacobean audiences recognized that Jesuits held their political intrigues to be of

³⁰ *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 54.

the utmost importance, frequently earning them the designation of “machiavels.” The lay-Jesuitess Black Queen’s Pawn explains that those who follow the Black Bishop’s Pawn’s leadership will become integral parts of the Spanish espionage machine, and “are maintained in many courts and palace / And are induced by noble personages / Into great princes’ services, and prove some counselors of state, some secretaries, / All serving in notes of intelligence.../ So are designs / Oft times prevented and important secrets / Of state discovered.”³¹ The concern for the White Queen’s Pawn’s soul is removed from the discussion, similar to the priests who disappear once they have received material compensation from their unwary converts leaving them destitute and without the spiritual relationships into which they thought they had entered. The topic of conversation shifts from salvation and religious devotion to secular and political power – demonstrating a perversion of the power dynamics present in a typical religious covenant. The Black Queen’s Pawn should be discussing In Middleton’s case, however, Gee’s un-written implication of the investing of English currency and lands in Jesuit endeavors is amplified. The White Queen’s Pawn’s service to the Black House will not only open her up to spiritual dangers, but it will literally place her in an organization that actively trades in collecting and utilizing English state secrets to the detriment of the realm – activities that are doubtlessly funded by Gee’s hapless recusant women.

This concern over a recusant flood of state secrets imperiling England extends to other assets as well. Gee’s narratives communicate tales of women (who encounter Jesuits and are subsequently duped out of money or land through a variety of cunning tricks and false magic, subverting the natural obedience they owe to husbands through the institution of marriage. One woman was, “vehemently set upon by some Jesuits,” when

³¹ 1.1.53-7, 59-61.

they discovered that she was in possession of “Land of Inheritance..[and] above five hundred pounds *per annum*.”³² Gee goes on to remind his readers of a point made abundantly clear in his accounts of Jesuit deception, cautioning them to “observe, how industrious our Priests are, not onley to get Proseltye men and women, but also Proselyte Lands and possessions.”³³ Gee’s contention in these passages is obviously two-fold. On one hand, the reader is inclined to understand that Jesuit priests are able to coax much from their victims. The reader should doubtlessly recognize that along with spiritual compliance to Catholicism comes a very real national danger wherein English citizens are dispossessed of their physical holdings – English currency and land. Ultimately, these material assets would be used to further the Jesuit cause in England –financially and through strategic manipulations of lands which had fallen under Catholic control.³⁴ While Gee never explicitly makes the connection between Eve and the women he describes, the connotations of great loss can easily be drawn in from Protestant England’s perceived connection with the Judeo-Christian past.³⁵ The significance of Eve’s seduction is not only the loss of spiritual innocence, but also the forfeiture of her and Adam’s earthly reign in the Garden. Adam and Eve are not just dispossessed of their intimate connection with God, but also of their land and the relative wealth and security it provides. As such, Gee alludes to the greater typological meaning of the loss English recusant women

³² Sig. M2r.

³³ Sig. M3r.

³⁴ Julian Yates refers to this notion as “parasitism,” wherein English angst over Jesuit encroachment was augmented by the “continuous flow of men and material out of England to the Continent, where it was stored up, reprocessed, and returned in the form of the seminary priest and the Jesuit...siphoning off resources and energy” (159). For more information see *Error, Misuse, Failure: Object Lessons from the English Renaissance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

³⁵ Krishan Kumar *The Making of English National Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103.

subject the nation to when they ultimately yield to the temptation of Jesuit “serpents.” Furthermore, Eve’s dispossession also represents the subversion of domestic and national order to which Marotti refers. The possessions willed away to Jesuits by recusant women belong to their lawful husbands and family, and barring the existence of either, to the state.

Marotti’s sensual confession “trope” can also be seen as a recalling typological representation of the Fall, since Eve can be said to represent the first recusant. Her relationship, however brief, with the serpent in the Garden is the ultimate subversion of Adam’s God-given power over her. Rather than turning to her husband for counsel in her moment of doubt, she allows herself to be open to the serpent, and thus dooms herself and her partner. Eve doubtlessly “subvert[s] domestic and political patriarchy,” by overthrowing the good rule of her husband and the head of her earthly patriarchy in her moment of weakness. The sexual overtones of confession – an intimate act that was eroticized in the polemic – bear a striking resemblance to the frequent sexualization of the relationship between Eve and the serpent in biblical commentaries appearing well before the seventeenth century.³⁶ At this point in Judeo-Christian history, however, the ramifications of Eve’s actions can only be projected forward, as there is no “nation” to endanger at the moment of The Fall. Her spiritual and sexual openness implant such fallibility in the women of Middleton and Gee’s era, allowing Jesuits to find a typological foothold in the post-Reformation era.

For both Gee and Middleton the combination of recusant women and national security demonstrated a dangerous valence through the lens of sexuality. Gee alludes to

³⁶ Shannon Miller, *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women Writers* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 16 – 18.

the sexualization of the relationship of confessor and recusant woman by using the term “seduced” and its variations exclusively in conjunction with female subjects, as in the case of one Mary Wiltshire, “seduced...by cunning fathers.”³⁷ The idea of “seduction” certainly carried the broader definition of simply being led astray during the period, but the *OED* demonstrates that the connotation particular to the loss of female chastity appears in texts as early as the mid-sixteenth century. By this standard, the sexualized relationship between the Jesuit confessor and the recusant woman performs the dual role of both spiritual and allusive physical consummation – mirroring the rightful consummation undertaken in the wake of a proper marriage. Middleton’s allegorical English nation, embodied in the White Queen’s Pawn, epitomizes this in her interactions with the Black Bishop’s Pawn once the initial phase of her seduction is complete, but then fully explores its perceived sexual connotations.

Once the initial spiritual overtures have been made to the White Queen’s Pawn, she reciprocates in kind, altering her own language of devotion to fit the sensualized tone of her advisers. After a brief absence while she peruses some religious literature, her speech reuniting with the Black Bishop’s Pawn indicates that her spiritual penetration is complete. She speaks as an infatuated young woman, saying that his absence “starves” her, and that she desires for him to, “lay [his] commands thick and fast upon [her],” before begging for him to command her next actions.³⁸ The Jesuit then, overtaken with lust, commands her to kiss him. Prudently, she rebuffs his advances, only to be subjected to an attempted rape. A noise from inside the Black House sends both parties running, and the White Queen’s Pawn is momentarily rescued from her own folly only to be

³⁷ Sig. Q4r.

³⁸ 2.1.32-48

turned away by her own house when they are presented with forged documents that place the offending black pawn out of the country during the time of the purported rape attempt. Her spiritual penetration, however ill-advised, as now left her at the mercy of the Black House. In this turn of events, Middleton unequivocally endangers his allegorical English nation through her acts of confession and submission to the overtures of the Jesuit priest through the false covenant she enters with the Society of Jesus.

The White Queen's Pawn's interest in the Black Bishop's Pawn's advances is due not only to her seduction, but to a manipulation of the availability of other, legitimate, Protestant relationships into which she might enter. The pawn reveals that she was, indeed, attached to another man, but that she, "was discharged / By an inhuman accident, which modesty / Forbids [her] to put any language to."³⁹ This "inhuman accident" is the gelding of her former lover, the White Bishop's Pawn, by a rival in the Black House. This castration, Gary Taylor argues, "sets in motion the play's entire pawn plot," and that, "the play as a whole cannot be understood unless we understand castration."⁴⁰ Taylor asserts that besides driving the action of the play, the castration of the White Bishop's Pawn is an unequivocally political act, representing the manner in which post-Reformation ideas battled for supremacy in Protestant nations. If we are to view marriage as a typological rendering of Christ's covenant with the Church, then by castrating the White Bishop's Pawn, the Black House renders the White Queen's Pawn incapable of fully consummating her God-mandated right to an appropriate lover.

³⁹ 1.1.145 – 47.

⁴⁰ *Castration: An Abbreviated History of Western Manhood* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 26.

As she discusses the castration with the Black Bishop's Pawn, a clear picture emerges of Middleton's views of the how Catholics and Protestants perceived the importance of the covenant of marriage. The black pawn assumes that the white pawn has, "refused [the White Bishop's Pawn] for defect," saying that she, "stand[s] not pure from the desire / That other women have in ends of marriage."⁴¹ The Black Bishop's Pawn, who has been trying the White Queen's Pawn chastity, is delighted to make what he thinks is the discovery that his prey is a sexual being, and has cast off the castrated pawn because he is "defective." The White Queen's Pawn, however, proclaims that while she desired what other women had, it was within the context of social custom – she yearned to be a proper wife and mother, but admits that this desire for a lawful, religious marriage, "ruled [her] more than desire, for [her] desires / Dwell all in ignorance."⁴² For Middleton's Protestants, like the virtuous White Queen's Pawn, marriage is a means by which to achieve family and social stability, while for the Jesuits, marriage was seen as a means by which to engage freely in sexual congress. This denial of children, too, is seen as a direct affront to the typological significance of the institution of marriage. According to the Book of Common Prayer in England, marriage was a covenant that embodied Christ's relationship to his church, and was designed first for the "procreation of children," and was, "instituted of God in paradise at the time of man's innocency."⁴³ The gelding of the White Bishop's Pawn negates both his and the White Queen's Pawn's participation in the typological covenant of the institution of marriage. As a result, it becomes clear that the Catholic Black House, assuming marriage to be an institution

⁴¹ 1.1.165 – 67.

⁴² 1.1.169 – 72.

⁴³ Heller, 92.

purely for the allowance of sexual intercourse, fundamentally misread the significance of the institution. However, because she understands that procreation is the most important aspect of the marriage covenant, the White Queen's Pawn would rather recuse herself from the institution rather than use it for other purposes.

This rather lax view of sexuality is further developed by other characters in the play. While the Black Bishop's Pawn schemes to trick the white pawn into thinking she will marry him so as to make her less able to ward off his advances, others in the Black House debate the monetary value of sexual sins. The Black Knight's Pawn approaches a bishop in order to pay for absolution for castrating the White Bishop's Pawn since the Black Bishop's Pawn will not give him penance for the crime. Black Knight, reading through the bishop's lists of pardons-at-a-price, can find no monetary value for the crime of castration, but notes that other "trivial" sexual sins carry a relatively light cost: "For adultery, a couple of shillings, and for fornication fivepence."⁴⁴ This passage touches on two Protestant critiques of Catholicism. The first of which is the selling of indulgences and other sacraments. Gee comments similarly on this crime in connection with Catholics, relating the story of, "A frier that had more minde to fill his owne purse, then to empty Purgatory."⁴⁵ In the case of Middleton's pawns, though, the division between the marriage desired by the White Queen's Pawn and the sexual gratification desired by the Black House has driven much of the action of the play. So, when we encounter the Black House selling absolution for fornication and adultery at such a small price, the implication is that Catholics and Jesuits embrace the apostasy inherent with sexual liberty

⁴⁴ 4.2.90 – 96.

⁴⁵ Sig. B2r.

while at the same time attempting to buy their way into Heaven rather than earnestly repent.

Although the White Queen's Pawn narrowly avoids the Black Bishop's Pawn's rape attempt, this only represents a first recusancy for the pawn. In the unfolding of her second dabbling with the temptations of the Black House, Middleton again expands on a popular type of recusant narrative that Gee also explores. In his tract, Gee devotes an entire section to what he calls "tricks of Apparition," wherein clever Jesuits use simple visual and auditory techniques to convince their target that they have seen visions of dead relatives trapped in Purgatory (a Catholic dogma long since abandoned by English Protestants) or saints such as the Virgin Mary. This form of recusancy, although heavily reliant on the same ideas of carnality and focus on the physical world as "seduction," also perpetrated an impression of Catholic's as purveyors of practical magic in order to entrap their victims. In one of Gee's narratives pertaining to the daughter of a London woman, Jesuits use a common bed sheet to imitate the "gastly ghost" of the girl's recently deceased godmother to impress upon her the reality of Purgatory and her subsequent need for chantries and purgation.⁴⁶ Another account has priests using "painted theatricall ornaments, and multiplying heat cast toward the bed by tunnels from a Stove," in order to emulate purgatorial fires.⁴⁷ Implicit in his descriptions of these "tricks of Apparition" is his dismay that they are always successful in fueling the desperation of recusant women

⁴⁶ Sig. R1r.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

to ally themselves with their Catholic tempters in order to avoid the fictional torments of Purgatory.⁴⁸

The White Queen's Pawn undergoes her own "trick of Apparition" in the latter half of Middleton's play, but with a result that pushes beyond the Gee's conversion tales into an exploration of the pawn's ability to determine the propriety of the covenant into which she has entered. After she is left in the service of the Black House, she falls prey to another attempt on her chastity. In order to win her sexual complicity, the Black Queen's Pawn and the Jesuit pawn use a supposed mystical mirror to convince the White Queen's Pawn to convince her that the very same Jesuit who attempted to rape her is her destined husband. This "trick of apparition" is therefore designed not only to vanquish the White Queen's Pawn's chastity, but also to create a fictive covenant in order to coax the pawn into sexual relations.⁴⁹ The resultant scheme demonstrates that any covenant presented by the Jesuits is based on a construct that cannot begin to approximate the godliness of a Protestant union. The Jesuitess sets up an intriguing image of magic and exoticism that, as Gee demonstrates in his "tricks of Apparition" narratives, was so intimately tied to the

⁴⁸ Jesuit "tricks of Apparition" may have fed on long-standing English religious angst tied back to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, which was one of the many ideas rejected by Protestants, but nevertheless seems to resonate in ghostly figures that appeared in stories and on the stage, as was the case with Hamlet's ghostly father sent to ask his son to avenge his murder. Stephen Greenblatt observes that early modern ghosts fueled intensely personal feelings, since, as is demonstrated by the Jesuits, if one was to be visited by a specter, it would certainly be a close friend or relative. Indeed, Greenblatt argues that the appearance of ghosts and the like in Renaissance English drama reflects something of a traumatic response to the loss of Purgatory, wherein a loved one might never really be "gone," and the prayers one said for their soul represented a bond that held even beyond death. Once Reformers excised the doctrine of Purgatory, angst set in regarding how one would know that a loved one's soul was safe in Heaven. Says Greenblatt: "The spectral voice is not for strangers; it is for those who awake at midnight and think about the dead person whom they have loved, and wonder with mingled fear and hope about the fate of that person's soul." *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 42.

⁴⁹ Both of the black pawns are working in collusion, and yet against one another. The Jesuit desires to finally triumph over the white pawn's chastity, and the Jesuitess, we learn, intends to employ a bed-trick plot in order to sleep with the Jesuit herself. The Jesuitess wants to seduce the Jesuit in order to seek revenge for his jilting her after a relationship they engaged in while she was a novice.

Protestant view of Catholicism in the Jacobean era. She explains to the enraptured white pawn that she is in possession of a, “magical glass...bought of an Egyptian,” and that a man appears every time the White Queen’s Pawn name is uttered, leading her to believe that he is her future husband.⁵⁰

The white pawn asks to see the phenomenon for herself, and both black pawns are employed to fool their target. A simple mirror is placed in such a fashion that the white pawn reflection never appears, but that the Jesuit pawn may enter behind her and cast a reflection for her to see. Like Gee’s scheming priests, Middleton’s pawns use a series of visual and auditory cues to convince the White Queen’s Pawn of the verity of what she is seeing, and thus to entrap her into what she feels is a legitimate covenant between husband and wife. The Black Queen’s Pawn offers an invocation before the mirror, hearkening to Protestant disparagement over the hyper-ritualistic nature of Catholicism, saying: “I double my command and power / And at the instant of this hour / Invoke thee, in the White Queen’s name.”⁵¹ The fact that the Jesuitess invokes the White Queen in her commandment to the supposed “vision” of the Black Bishop’s Pawn as the future husband of our white pawn indicates that she acknowledges the frailty of any covenant she might invoke for the White Pawn. Finally, the White Queen’s Pawn sees the Black Bishop’s Pawn reflection emerge, “like an apparition” in the mirror.⁵² Middleton’s choice of words for this stage direction is intriguing and telling, since the outcome of this “supernatural” encounter is very similar to those explored by Gee in *Foot out of the*

⁵⁰ 3.1.329.

⁵¹ 3.1.376 – 8.

⁵² 3.1.395.

Snare, but with much larger political implications. These implications are fitting for our embodied England in the figure of the White Queen's Pawn, who, having narrowly avoided rape as a result of her initial recusancy is being tested yet again by the seductions of her Jesuit enemies. The ruse is successful. The white pawn is certain that she has seen a preternatural revelation of her future husband, leading the Black Queen's Pawn to note the irony of the situation – that “she's caught – and (which is strange) by her most / wronger.”⁵³ Rather than leaning toward romantic sentiments, the White Queen's Pawn's statements regarding her seemingly preordained, magically foretold marriage to her attempted rapist are couched in the terms of state, nationhood, and legality – elements that underscore the importance Middleton places on the covenant of marriage. She laments the vision, and wonders aloud, “What certainty is in our bloods, our states? / What we still write is blotted out by fates. / Our wills are like a cause that is law-tossed: / What one court orders, is by another crossed.”⁵⁴ Rather than discussing her predicted marriage as a unification of individuals, her immediate concern is for the trouble that tense English/Spanish court politics will raise. What is interesting about the pawn's reaction to the vision, and telling about her role as an allegorical representation of England, is that, unlike Gee's recusants who fear for their individual souls upon an encounter with an “apparition,” our White Queen's Pawn instantly recognizes the larger problems behind her second fall into recusancy. In this moment, the peril of Gee's individual women transcends fully into the peril of the English nation as a whole. Thankfully for our pawn, the bed-trick works, and she is once again narrowly saved from

⁵³ 3.1.414-5

⁵⁴ 3.1.401-4

consummating an unlawful marriage to her Jesuit suitor, inflicting sexual trauma on herself and laying England open to further incursion.

Middleton's ability to stage a typological reading of England's Protestant crisis rests in the liminal quality of the early modern theater since his narrative relies not on figural typology, but instead the typology of institutions. The allegorical, and typological, space of Middleton's stage (not to mention the convenient construct of international-politics-as-chess-game) provided a means of exploring the larger implications which were omnipresent in the Protestant English consciousness as a result of decades of bombardment of polemic like Gee's. David Glimp asserts that *A Game at Chess*, "organizes the raw material of recent history and exacerbates widespread fears surrounding [the failed Spanish match] by figuring the current moment as a struggle between a threatened England and a predatory Jesuit empire bent on taking over via conversion Europe's Protestant nations."⁵⁵ This conversion, as demonstrated above, is couched in recusancy which performs an opposite function to the legitimizing covenant of marriage. By all appearances, despite the poor showing the White House makes throughout much of the action of *A Game at Chess*, James seemed either unconcerned or unwilling to censor the play as it ran an unprecedented nine performances at the Globe in the summer of 1624. Ultimately, it was complaints from foreign ambassadors like the Spanish Gondomar (unflatteringly portrayed as the villainous Black Knight) that forced the king's hand. Margot Heinemann is careful to note, however, the fact that a play of such controversial subject matter and overt political commentary would likely have never been staged publically at all were it not for the city-wide fervor surrounding the collapse

⁵⁵ "Middleton and the Theater of Emergency," in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*. Eds. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 371.

of the marriage talks between England and Spain.⁵⁶ This fact, in and of itself, demonstrates the powerful relationship early modern Londoners in particular shared with the theater as a source of exploring complicated and hot-button issues of the day, as well as the importance placed on marriage as a means of conveying the tenets of Protestantism.

In a typological, theatrical reading, Middleton's least-factually rooted but dominant character – the White Queen's Pawn – significance is truly demonstrated through her sexualized entanglements with the Jesuits who pursue her. Allegorically, the pawn is able to lay the plot open to her house, and the Black House is subsequently conquered and “bagged,” like the game pieces they are, at the play's close, leaving the beleaguered pawn to deliver the epilogue, saying that the White Queen, a representation of James's daughter, the Queen of Bohemia and a certain embodiment of Protestant feminine virtue, trusts that, “what they'd commit to bane / Her White friends' hands will build up fair again” (Epilogue, 9-10). Beyond this statement of trust that faithful Protestants will continue to nourish their spiritual kingdom and re-build their provinces in Bohemia and Germany lies a typological interpretation of the Protestant church's trajectory and bearing as an institution. The Church, which played a critical role in the typological connection Christ had with his country, is mirrored by the White Queen's Pawn's ability to side-step any Jesuit entrapment and form a more acceptable covenant with her Protestant homeland. The play ends on a note of assurance. The pawn does not hope that Protestants can be trusted to triumph in some capacity, but knows it to be true. Although the play exposes the evils of Jesuits and Catholics and bears some semblance of a warning, the final act of the play constitutes a typological trajectory wherein the

⁵⁶ *Puritanism and Theater*, 151.

Protestant elect cannot help but triumph according to the natural progression of Christian history.

This typological trajectory is best embodied in the White Queen's Pawn herself. Much of this chapter has focused on the means through which the pawn is a representation of women's fallibility, typologically expressed by the heritage all women were perceived to share with the biblical Eve who surrendered spiritual wealth when confronted with temptation. Middleton's pawn is imbued with a deeper power, though – one that symbolically appropriates the narrative arc of the First Eve throughout much of the play. As a weak-willed woman, she easily conned by the Black House and her reputation suffers mightily for it in the eyes of her own people. Like Eve, she is briefly tempted into a potential covenant with a honey-tongued seducer who desires her downfall rather than her salvation. Like Eve, she succumbs to trickery. Through circumstance and determination, however, she is able to recuperate her Protestant fortitude and ultimately bears much of the responsibility for the White House's triumph over their enemies. In this way, Middleton's White Queen's Pawn also bears out a typological relationship with the Second Eve – Mary, mother of Christ – who, in her own way, helps to fulfill the covenant between Christ and his Church.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ This particular view at the end of the play creates a connection with Middleton's exegetical views and another sense of the scripture – eschatology. Although eschatology connects to the study of the end of earthly time and the apocalypse, English Protestants generally viewed this onerous concept not with the sense of an end of things, but rather the beginning of the Christian's tenure with God in his heavenly kingdom. As with typological readings, Andrew Escobedo notes that an understanding of the eschatological reading of temporality in the early modern period requires a fundamental shift from our modern view. For Protestants like Middleton, history did not constitute a traditional teleological understanding, but one that merged the optimistic hope for the future as a Judeo-Christian nation with the pessimistic view of the fallen past. Through this lens, we understand Middleton's hopeful assertions as voiced by the White Queen's Pawn at the end of the play perform both a typological and an eschatological function by connecting the darkness of England's pre-Reformation past and current tribulations with the surety of her eschatological future, which is invested in the promise of eternal salvation through her elect status as a Protestant nation. For further information, see the introduction of Escobedo's *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Biblical commentators and theologians explored the typological connection between Eve and Mary long before Middleton's play premiered. Similar to the relationship between Adam and Christ, Mary's narrative reverses the damage done by Eve's. While Eve surrenders to temptation and surrenders Paradise, Mary remains stalwart and virginal, allowing Christians access to Paradise once again through the sacrifice of her beloved son. Eve is disobedient, while Mary is resolute in her submission.⁵⁸ Gee's women are only typologically connected to the First Eve due to the generic limitations of pamphlet literature, which was primarily purposed toward highlighting issues that caused social angst. Middleton, however, takes advantage of the generic freedom of the stage to create a more cohesively Protestant narrative through the typological arc of a single pawn of the White House. She is tempted. She succumbs, however briefly, to the sensuous language and inclusionary tactics of the Black House. Once she realizes her errors, she is initially spurned by her own house based on fabricated evidence, but she remains loyal in her heart. Ultimately, it is her steadfastness and cleverness that allow her to transcend the First Eve typology, becoming the Second Eve as her house triumphs, and ultimately bearing a message of comfort to her Protestant audience. Middleton also allows his "second Eve" figure to remain virginal, like Mary, as a result of the gelding of her Protestant match, which left her open to seduction in the first place. Middleton achieves this theatrical representation of typology by exploiting the recognizable ambiguity of allegorical theater of the Jacobean era, letting his audience read the characters dictating the action around the White Queen's Pawn as fixed caricatures of known political entities. His pawn, however, occupies the same liminal space as the theaters themselves. She is at once recognizable but unidentified, allowing

⁵⁸ Galdon, 96.

Middleton to imprint upon her story the typological narrative of English Protestantism – beleaguered but resolute, and ultimately triumphant.

Conclusion

Both writing in the shadow of the failure of the Spanish match, Middleton and Gee both explored the means through which women, with all their perceived weaknesses of mind and body, were the most likely place wherein Jesuits might find a foothold in England. Although Middleton does not explore any figural typological referents in his play, instead turning to allegorical figures of the English and Spanish courts, he does place these figures within a larger typological framework of marriage and fidelity which, in and of itself, has potentially traumatic implications for England. The White Queen's Pawn, an embodiment of the English nation, is pursued by figures from the Black House who long to dominate her body sexually, but are unable to do so without engaging in conversations regarding marriage, which was equated with salvation, and adultery or fornication, which translated to apostasy and recusancy. The White Queen's Pawn is able to deflect most of the attempts on her chastity, and through her trials the audience recognizes the common means by which Jesuits were seen to entrap English recusant women. In the end, although the White Queen's Pawn remains unmarried, her celibacy reiterates the strength of the Protestant view of the institution of marriage and its uses for procreation and salvation. The pawn's Protestant faithfulness serves to mitigate the potential trauma of her near-recusancy, which would have opened England up to further Catholic incursion, and reinforce the notion of England's elect status amongst Protestant nations.

CONCLUSION

Historians and literary scholars alike agree that the English Reformation created a significant traumatic legacy, reflected in the cultural artifacts created during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras – and well beyond. Undoubtedly, it was the chroniclers, beginning with John Foxe and those working in his wake that did the most to create a sense of traumatic typology associated with the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, it is arguable that Foxe himself is the author of England’s traumatic Protestant historiography. To what extent does the popularity, largely government-instituted, of *Acts and Monuments* influence the manner in which early modern English typology and traumatic historiography grew in tandem during the decades following its initial publication in 1563? Although there were no shortage of tracts which explored and vilified Catholic doctrine in conjunction with the reformed Protestant variant, Foxe’s work was amongst the first to actively vilify the Catholics themselves, associating them with long-past enemies to “true faith” and associating those killed under Mary’s reign with early Christian martyrs – those formative to the faith itself. Although this dissertation limited itself to post-Foxe intersections between trauma and typology, future work will continue to shed light on the manner in which this collection of narratives itself drove the textual transmission of religious trauma in England for decades after its initial publication. Additionally, studies of the connection between traumatic historiography and the typological significance of the English Reformation must examine how much post-Foxe anti-Catholicism was driven by the tone and the content of the massive work.

As this dissertation reveals, post-Reformation trauma manifested in both the fictional and non-fictional textual heritage chronicling the suffering of Protestant martyrs and exiles and the violence inflicted by Catholics and their sympathizers during the brief reign of Mary I. This focus on suffering and how it contributed to the development of the Protestant nation as one of God's elect also helped create and sustain a long-held and vitriolic rhetoric of anti-Catholicism. This rhetoric emphasized a largely binary construction of English national identity, wherein "good" Protestants were constantly threatened by "bad" Catholics at home and abroad. It was generally accepted in these texts that Catholics consistently sought to undermine the Protestant ideals that governed the country, and one of the primary means of expressing this angst over Catholic machinations against the Protestant state was through the use of biblical typology, both to aid in the understanding of what precise danger Catholics presented, and to create a place for Protestantism on the Judeo-Christian timeline that allied English citizens with other Christian martyrs.

My research into the connection between trauma theory, traumatic Protestant historiography, and early modern English biblical typology establishes how Catholics and Protestants continued to be associated with past events and people as a means of definition. This means of definition is in and of itself significant since it relied on divines and controversialists utilizing the complex temporality underpinning both trauma and typology. This temporal definition allowed for typologically based anti-Catholic rhetoric to serve as a means of defining the Catholic threat by serving as a form of precedent, but a precedent that held more significance since Catholics were not merely *like* the Egyptian slavers of the Old Testament, but they were literal historical incarnations of the same

idolatrous peoples who sought to harass God's chosen people. Likewise, this manifestation of anti-Catholicism served the dual purpose of typologically linking Protestantism to Judaism and early, pre-Catholic Christianity. This not only lent significance to Protestantism, but created for Protestant readers a deep and abiding link to their Christian forebears. This link reinforced the Judeo-Christian timeline, and England's place on such a timeline, allowing a reader to see and understand the Catholic threat while at the same time understanding that should the nation and the individual believer remain stalwart, the eschatological implications of English Protestantism could not ultimately be undermined.

Furthermore, the traumatic typology of the Reformation infiltrated the breadth of texts that anti-Catholicism inhabited. Rarely existing solely in the realm of religious writing, anti-Catholic typology co-existed with and worked to construct other kinds of identities of sex, gender, class status, and citizenship.. Religious trauma was never solely the providence of religion; and post-Reformation English Protestant writers explored nearly everything within the context of their faith and the trauma inherent in its creation. As a result, Elizabeth's presumed courtship with a French Catholic duke took on a significance that exceeded mere international relations, and figured the very moment when Adam and Eve were tempted to abandon their stewardship of Paradise. Edmund Campion, an English Jesuit missionary's zeal to preach to his oppressed Catholic brethren became indicative of the danger presented by those who abandoned their Protestant faith in order to proselytize on behalf of the enemy – weightily connected to biblical foreign aggressors who could speak their language or manipulate customs for the express purpose of infiltrating Hebrew culture to bring it down from the inside. Likewise,

mercantilist Thomas Milles endeavored to frame the controversy over King James' loyalty oath for Catholics following the Gunpowder Plot as a matter of how the trauma of that event could be mitigated by allowing that the king performed similar transubstantiative acts to those undertaken by Christ in order to save his followers. In tracts following the breakdown of the marriage negotiations between Spain and England in the 1620s, Thomas Middleton and pamphlet writers demonstrated that the personified English nation faced the threat of recusancy through the bodies of its female citizens. However, because of the typological significance of Protestant salvation as a form of marriage, these female bodies, along with the nation, could be saved so long as they realized that Protestantism ultimately triumphed. The diverse narratives of this typology allowed for multiple positions within them and alternate spaces for Early Modern selves to be defined through them. Early Modern identities were fashioned at the intersections of these multiple rhetorics and through these typological narratives of trauma.

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