

An Examination of Connections Between Robert Southwell and

William Shakespeare

By

Richard Parr

A Thesis Submitted to The University Of Birmingham For The

Degree Of Doctor Of Philosophy

College of Arts and Law
Shakespeare Institute
Stratford
University of Birmingham
September 2018

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

The thesis examines connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, in their lives and in their work. Following a literature review, evidence for recusancy in Warwickshire is discussed, including John Shakespeare's career. Robert Southwell's work as Jesuit missionary and the political and religious background of the period are examined.

Shakespeare's early career is explored, with connections revealed between families in Warwickshire and Cheshire and Lancashire. The importance of patronage for both writers is discussed, with particular emphasis on the Earls of Southampton and Arundel.

Discussion of a number of other figures linking Southwell with Shakespeare is followed by evidence for personal and family connections between them.

This historical material is followed by detailed analysis of literary connections between the two writers via examination of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Winter's Tale*. These plays are compared with both Southwell's verse and prose. This is followed by discussion of *The Phoenix and Turtle*, with particular reference to Southwell's 'The burning Babe', and there is also examination of the rôles of Mary Stuart and Anne Line.

The Conclusion summarises the aims and findings of the thesis, and possibilities for further research.

To Alison for all her help, love and encouragement.

To Margaret for love, support, patience and many bacon rolls.

To Courageous and Viola for company and purrs.

Acknowledgements

I should like to acknowledge the wonderful support from my superb supervisors at The Shakespeare Institute, Dr Erin Sullivan, Dr Simon Smith and Professor Ewan Fernie. Their unfailing support, encouragement and wisdom has been exceptional.

Also, to all other staff at the Institute for their help and encouragement; in particular, the lovely ladies of the Library, for whom no question or inquiry is ever unanswered, and whose graciousness is only equalled by their kindness.

Rebecca Somerset and Mary Allen, Archivists at the Jesuit Archives in Mount Street, have been unfailingly helpful and welcoming.

Thanks also to Janet Graffius, Curator at Stonyhurst College, and to the helpful and efficient staff at Lancashire Archives, Preston, as well as everyone at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford.

The help and professionalism of staff at The British Library, the National Archives and the Cheshire Archives is also very much appreciated.

Thanks also to Melanie Leung at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. and to Martin Killeen at the Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham.

Finally, but certainly not least, grateful thanks to a good friend, Andrew Regan, for all his help and patience in all matters of computing.

Contents

Introduction	pp. 1-25
Chapter One Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors	pp. 26-87
Chapter Two The Fools of Time	pp. 88-155
Chapter Three The Lover and the Poet	pp. 156-212
Chapter Four Loves Service is in Vayne	pp. 213-256
Chapter Five The Winter's Tale	pp. 257-303
Chapter Six The Phoenix and Turtle and The Burning Babe	pp. 304-332
Conclusion	pp. 333-354
Appendix	p. 355
Bibliography	pp. 356-408

List of Illustrations

Map of Cheshire	p. 56
Map of Warwickshire	p. 60
Map of Lancashire	p. 87
The Rowington Watermark	p. 352
Family Trees	p. 353-354

Note on the Text

The MHRA Style Guide has been used throughout the thesis.

However, some key quotations have been centred to add emphasis.

Wherever possible, the original spellings and punctuation of Southwell's works have been used, including the spelling and punctuation of titles. For the verse, I have used the versions included in Peter Davidson and Anne Sweeney's *St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007). These are based largely on the 'Waldegrave' MS, kept at the Jesuit Archives, Mount St., London. (Stonyhurst MS A.v.27).

For Southwell's prose works I have used a number of editions, as indicated in the thesis. Wherever possible, I have also given *EEBO* references to the most appropriate edition of his writings where these exist. Different archives possess different editions of the works, which I have used with great pleasure, although with occasional difficulty in collating citations. I have intended to make following such citations as straightforward as possible for the reader, and hope that I have been successful.

Abbreviations

B.C.P.	The Book of Common Prayer
EEBO	Early English Books Online
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
R.S.C.	Royal Shakespeare Company
S.B.T.	Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

An examination of connections between Robert Southwell and William Shakespeare

I may not evermore acknowledge thee,
Lest my bewailed guilt should do thee shame,
Nor thou with public kindness honour me,
Unless thou take that honour from thy name¹

¹ William Shakespeare, *Sonnet 36*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997), ll. 9-12.

INTRODUCTION

The commissioners are to inquire by virtue of this commission what persons have come beyond the seas into this Realme since the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the xxxii year of her majesties reigne that do recide in any part of the Countie of Warwick or may be suspected to have come from beyond the seas in the qualitie and vocacion of Seminaries, Priestes, Jesuites, or Fugitives though disguised to hid their qualities ... To labour to corrupt the people in matter of Religion, Contrarie to ye laws established [and] to apprehend and examine straightlie of their conversacions for some reasonable time past.²

This Commission, despatched from the Privy Council on 23 November 1591, was sent to the great and the good of Warwickshire, including Henry, Lord Berkeley; the Bishop of Lichfield; the High Sheriff, Sir William Leigh; and a number of magistrates, one of whom was Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote. It added a more threatening instruction, that the local authorities should indict and arraign such strangers ‘for the same their treasonable actions’, although ‘without contending with them for their conscience in matters of religion’. It is this

² Commission of 23 November 1591. Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Sir Richard Savage Papers, ER 82/2/4.

dichotomy between the government's stated desire to impeach offenders 'not for any points of religion [...] but for high treasons' and for causing 'a secret infection of treasons in the bowels of our Realme, moste dangerous',³ and the effects of such actions as the Privy Council's Commission and Lord Burghley's 'Declaration' of a month earlier, that caused Robert Southwell, a Jesuit priest and member of the English Mission, such concern and danger. It may also be true that William Shakespeare was affected by the difficulties and dangers brought about by the religious divisions in his lifetime, and by the social and political aspects of such ferment. This thesis will attempt to explore such a possibility, by an examination of the connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, both in a literary sense, by examining the poetic and prose writings of Southwell in comparison to a selection of Shakespeare's works, and by exploring social, historical and familial links between the writers. During the past twenty years, there has been a considerable emphasis in early modern studies on the connections between literature and religion. This 'religious turn' or 'the turn to religion'⁴ has often been used to argue for an identification of Shakespeare's own beliefs and religious affiliation, as we shall see. The aim of the thesis is not to argue for such an identification, but to show the importance of religious beliefs as an encompassing backdrop for the lives of Elizabethans and Jacobean like Shakespeare. By examining aspects of the lives of Robert Southwell and William Shakespeare, writers born within three years of each other, and by a comparison of some of their writings, it is hoped that further light can be shed on the works

³ Burghley's *A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended Against The Realm*. Dated 18 October 1591; issued in November. Printed in *An Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, ed. by R.C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 59-65 (p. 63).

⁴ Jonathan Baldo and Isabel Karremann, 'A World of Difference: Religion, Literary Form, and the Negotiation of Conflict in Early Modern England', in *Forms of Faith: Literary Form and Religious Conflict in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jonathan Baldo and Isabel Karremann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 1-17 (p. 1). 'Turn to religion' was the phrase coined by Ken Jackson and Arthur Marotti in an earlier and influential article: Jackson and Marotti, 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies', *Criticism*, 46 (2004), 167-90.

discussed. By looking at the entwining of their lives and by examining some of the people with whom they were familiar, it may be possible to discover something more of what it meant to be part of the changing, often dangerous, but intellectually vibrant and fascinating world of late sixteenth- century England.

In the Autumn of 1591, Robert Southwell was completing his funeral elegy for the Lady Margaret Sackville, *Triumphs Over Death*,⁵ and having done so, he travelled north to Warwickshire with his Jesuit colleague on the English Mission, John Gerard. Southwell had already survived for over five years as an undercover, illegal Catholic priest. Their destination was Baddesley Clinton, west of Kenilworth, home of the Ferrers family, which was being rented by Eleanor Brooksby, a Catholic widow and Jesuit supporter. They reached the house on 14th October, where they rendezvoused with a number of Jesuits, seminary priests and Catholic laymen, to pray, discuss strategy, and, for the Jesuits, who included Henry Garnet and Edward Oldcorne, to renew their vows. This had become an annual occasion, but on the night of the 18th, Father Garnet felt a premonition of danger, and, according to Gerard's account, 'warned us all to look to ourselves and not to stay on without very good reason'.⁶ A number of the guests did leave immediately, although not the Jesuits. Very early the following morning, while Southwell was saying Mass, the house was raided by four armed pursuivants, who tried to force entrance to the house. They were delayed long enough for the priests to hide all evidence of their presence, and to make their way to a prepared priesthole, 'a very cleverly built sort of cave,'⁷ probably designed and constructed by

⁵ Written on the death of Lady Margaret Sackville in August, 1591, half-sister to the Earl of Arundel, it was first published in 1595 in London, by John Busby.

⁶ John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), p. 41.

⁷ Gerard, *Autobiography*, p. 42.

Nicholas Owens, nicknamed ‘Little John’, and still visible today from the kitchen. It was a section of the medieval sewer, which, Gerard wrote, was ‘below ground level; the floor was covered with water and I was standing with my feet in it all the time.’⁸ The main entrance was down a shaft. Here ten men hid until the pursuivants gave up their search, disappointed, but better off from the customary ‘fine’ that they exacted from Mistress Brooksby for their trouble. The following morning, the visitors left, Southwell again accompanying John Gerard.

The Government’s fear of ‘*high treasons*’, instigated by the arrival of priests from the Jesuit Mission, was not totally unjustified, nor were concerns about the loyalty of Catholics to the Crown. The Crown did face threats, both internal and external; from the Northern Rebellion of 1569, with its plan to marry Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk, to Pope Pius V’s February 1570 Bull of Excommunication of Elizabeth, followed by the St. Bartholomew Day’s Massacre in Paris in August 1572. When the Pope insisted that ‘peers, subjects, and people of the said kingdom; and all others upon what terms soever bound unto her are freed from their oath and all manner of duty, fidelity and obedience’,⁹ there were bound to be extremists who were prepared to put duty to the Pope before loyalty to Elizabeth. The number of plots uncovered by Walsingham’s agents in the following years is testimony to this, even if some were at least partly fomented by government spies and agent-provocateurs. The Ridolfi Plot of 1571, the Throckmorton Plot of 1583, the Somerville / Arden plot of the same year, and the Babington Plot of 1586, all caused tension in the country, and added to the pressures on Catholics by provoking retaliatory legislation, as did the assassination of the Prince of Orange in 1584. As we shall see, Shakespearean and Southwellian connections with at least two of

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. Nailed to the door of the Bishop of London’s Palace in mid-May, 1570. For full details of the Bull, see Robert S. Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 486-8.

these plots can be found. The climax of the failed Spanish invasion of 1588, following on from the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in February 1587, brought about great national rejoicing, and the conviction of God's special providence in His care for England and her Queen:

He made the winds and waters rise
To scatter all my enemies.¹⁰

Spenser's description of the slaying of Error in Book One of *The Faerie Queene*, 'A monster vile, whom God and man does hate',¹¹ and 'from her body full of filthie sin / he raft her hatefull heade without remorse',¹² no doubt echoed the views of the vast majority of the Queen's subjects towards her enemies. So Burghley's *Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended against the Realme by a Number of Seminary Priests and Jesuits, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great Treasons under a false pretence of Religion, with a provision very necessary for remedy therof*, would strike a chord in its audience, not least because of the despatch of English forces to Normandy at about the same time, to try to prevent Spanish forces from defeating the (still) Protestant Henri of Navarre.¹³ Burghley continued by describing the returning seminary priests and Jesuits as 'a multitude of dissolute young men, who have, partly for lack of living, partly for crimes committed, become Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors'.¹⁴ It was to discover and wipe out such 'venomous vipers'

¹⁰ Quoted in *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, ed. by Susan Doran (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003), p. 239; also, Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), p. 163. This was part of verses sung at the thanksgiving service held in St Paul's Cathedral.

¹¹ *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 2007), Canto 1, Stanza 13, line 7.

¹² *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Hamilton, 1.1.24, lines 7-8.

¹³ Burghley's *Declaration* is printed in Robert Southwell, *An Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, ed. by R. C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 59-65.

¹⁴ Burghley, *Declaration*, ed. Bold, p. 60.

that the Privy Council sent their Commissions to Warwickshire and to other infected counties.¹⁵ Burghley's polemic would shortly lead Southwell, on his return to the London area, to answer the charges against Catholics in his appeal to the Queen - and wider public opinion - in *An Humble Supplication To Her Majestie*, completed on 14 December 1591, and circulated in manuscript before its publication in 1595 – the year of his execution at Tyburn.

Southwell's retort to Burghley insisted on the loyalty of Catholics to the Queen, and their abhorrence of treasonable activity:

Heaven and earth shall witness with us in the dreadful day of doom that our breast never harboured such horrible treasons and that the end of our coming is the salvation of souls, not the murdering of bodies.¹⁶

But he would also insist on the willingness of Catholics to suffer for their beliefs. In his *Epistle of Comfort*, written three or four years earlier, he made it clear that he regarded it as 'a most comfortable thing to suffer adversitie, for a good cause',¹⁷ and that 'if we be Christians affliction is our cote, and the Crosse our cognizance'.¹⁸ But where did William Shakespeare stand in the religious dilemmas of the 1580s and 1590s? He may have believed with Paulina that 'It is an heretic that makes the fire / Not she which burns in't',¹⁹ and alluded in his

¹⁵ Burghley, *Declaration*, p. 64.

¹⁶ Southwell, *A Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁷ Robert Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort, To the Reverend Priestes, and to the Honorable, Worshipful, and Other of the Laye Race Restrained in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth* (Arundel House? John Charlewood? 1587? undated), Chapter 3, pp. 24-41 (p. 25). The work was certainly first printed clandestinely in 1587; citations are from the copy kept in the Bodleian Library; access via EEBO on-line.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 2.3. 113-114.

Sonnets to ‘The coward conquest of a wretch’s knife,’²⁰ but was he also exercised by the agonising choices that faced many of his Warwickshire countrymen? John Speed’s diatribe against Robert Persons and Shakespeare in 1611 – ‘this Papist and his Poet, of like conscience for lies, the one ever feigning and the other ever falsifying the truth’²¹ – and Archdeacon Richard Davies’s much later aside that Shakespeare ‘died a papist’,²² do not constitute proof of his religious allegiance, but do need to be considered. Chapter One will discuss, by examining documentary evidence, the claims of such writers as Antonia Fraser, who believes that Stratford was ‘the centre of the recusant map’,²³ and Richard Wilson, who argues that Stratford was ‘a town which was a bastion of Elizabethan papist resistance’.²⁴ John Shakespeare’s *Spiritual Testament*, although not accepted as authentic by all historians,²⁵ does at least suggest the possibility that Shakespeare was brought up in a Catholic family, although obviously not guaranteeing what his own beliefs were.

²⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 74, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson, 1997), l. 11.

²¹ John Speed, *History of Great Britain* (London: 1611). ‘This Papist and his Poet, of like conscience for lies, the one ever feigning and the other ever falsifying the truth’, in Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 193.

²² Chaplain of Corpus Christi College in the 1670s. Cited by Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003) p. 340. Davies’s original document is preserved in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Fulham Ms XV, MS 309. It is reproduced in Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 79.

²³ Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Treason and Faith in 1605* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), p. 114.

²⁴ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 1.

²⁵ For example, Robert Bearman, ‘John Shakespeare’s *Spiritual Testament*: a Reappraisal’, in *Shakespeare Survey vol. 56: Shakespeare and Comedy*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 184-202.

Where then was Shakespeare in the autumn of 1591? Probably in London, perhaps living in Shoreditch, near the Theatre, as John Aubrey reported.²⁶ Whether there is any truth in Malone and Davenant's somewhat romantic accounts of Shakespeare's gradual acceptance by the actors, or whether his route into the theatre was by the more conventional method of having been taken on as a young actor, perhaps by The Queen's Men, is unclear.²⁷ What is certain is that by the time of Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, entered into the Stationers' Register on 20 September 1592, Shakespeare was well enough known as both actor and playwright to merit a public attack. Greene's famous reference to 'the only Shake-scene in a country', and his allusion to *Richard Duke of York*, the second play completed in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* trilogy, with its 'tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide',²⁸ indicates that the play was popular enough for the misquotation to be effective. By the autumn of 1591, therefore, Shakespeare had almost certainly written and had successes with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, as well as the first two plays of *Henry VI*.²⁹ Some critics, such as E.A.J. Honigmann³⁰ and Eric Sams,³¹ would argue for much earlier datings of the plays than generally accepted. Honigmann, for example, suggests that by 1591 Shakespeare had already

²⁶ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), pp. 285-6.

²⁷ Edmond Malone reported a stage tradition that Shakespeare was first employed in the theatre as call-boy or prompter's assistant, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, (1790), vol. ii, p. 107 (1790). Sir William Davenant offered an anonymous report describing Shakespeare starting his theatrical career by holding the horses of fashionable spectators visiting the theatre. Both these sources are cited in Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1554-1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 55-7.

²⁸ *The Third Part of King Henry VI*, ed. by Michael Hattaway, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1.4.138.

²⁹ See, for example, Eric Rasmussen, 'chronology', in *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 78.

³⁰ E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. xii-xiii.

³¹ Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1545-1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

written ten plays.³² Whatever the truth of this, by 1591 Shakespeare was an established figure on the London theatre scene. Edmund Spenser referred to 'our pleasant Willy' in *The Teares of the Muses*, published in 1591, and dedicated to Alice Spencer, wife of Ferdinando Stanley. Stanley, known as Lord Strange until his father's death, was a keen patron of players, as we shall see. The evident distress of 'Willy', 'that same gentle spirit,' at 'the boldness of such base-borne men, / Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe', may be an allusion to Greene's attack on Shakespeare in 1592.³³

We know, of course, that the licence for Shakespeare's marriage to Anne Hathaway was taken out on 27 November 1582, when he was 18, and that Susanna Shakespeare was christened on 26 May 1583, followed by the christenings of Hamnet and Judith on 2 February 1585. The latter were presumably named after Shakespeare's Catholic neighbours and friends, Hamnet and Judith Sadler. Shakespeare is also mentioned in his father's Bill of Complaint, 1588, when John Shakespeare sued his wife's brother-in-law for £20 not paid to him as part of the mortgage of the Wilmcote estate.³⁴ We also know that Stratford was visited by a large number of playing companies between 1579 and 1587, including Lord Strange's Men in 1579, and the Earl of Derby's in 1580.³⁵ A number of Lord Strange's Men would later become part of The Lord Chamberlain's Men, including George Bryan, John Heminges, Will Kemp, Thomas Pope and Augustine Phillips. In the summer of 1587, The Queen's Men, formed in 1583 by

³² Honigmann, *The 'Lost Years'*, pp. xii-xiii.

³³ Spenser's dedication to Lady Strange referred to 'some private bands of Affinitie, which it hath pleased your Ladship to acknowledge.' Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 190. The quotations from *The Teares of the Muses* are from ll. 208 and 217-20.

³⁴ *Shakespeare v Lambert*, in Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, pp. 39-40.

³⁵ *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records, Vol.4, 1553-1620*, transcribed by Richard Savage, with introduction and notes by Edgar I. Fripp (London: The Dugdale Society, 1929), p. xx.

Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester, played in Stratford, having recently lost one of their actors, William Knell, who was killed in a brawl by his fellow actor John Town. Was this an opportunity for a stage-struck young man, perhaps employed in his father's shop, to seize his chance to escape to the big city? Or was Shakespeare already part of the theatrical world, having become part of the Stanley - Strange circle via the auspices of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, in Lancashire, a frequent visitor at the Stanley seat in Knowsley, as the Derby family accounts reveal.³⁶ Hesketh was related to Alexander Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, located between Preston and Blackburn, and twelve miles from Rufford, which is in turn sixteen miles north of Knowsley. Honigmann's theory of the 'Lost Years', in which Shakespeare went north to Hoghton Tower to become tutor to the Hoghton family and can be identified as the 'William Shakeshafte' in Alexander Hoghton's will of 3 August 1581, will be examined later, with the questions it raises about possible connections between Stratford, Lancashire and London. 'Shakeshafte' has polarised both literary critics and historians, and is an appropriate point, therefore, at which to turn to an examination of recent academic work on the thorny grounds of Shakespeare and religion.³⁷

Robert Miola has sensibly pointed out the need to engage in 'patient, clear-eyed research in the historical and cultural records', to allow us 'to situate Shakespeare's work more accurately and authentically in his turbulent times'. Such objectivity acts as 'a corrective to simplistic,

³⁶ *The Stanley Papers, Part 2: The Derby Household Books*, ed. by F.R. Raines (Manchester: The Chetham Society vol. 31, 1853). The original *Household Books* are found in Preston, Lancashire Records Office, DDF 2429.

³⁷ An excellent recent summary of critical approaches can be found in Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson, 'Religion, Secularity, and Shakespeare,' in *The Shakespearean World*, ed. by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 542-56. Another recent account, lucidly written and comprehensive, although lacking in scholarly apparatus is Graham Holderness, *The Faith of William Shakespeare* (Oxford: Lion, 2016). An older but very full and lucid summary can be found in David Bevington, *Shakespeare and Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

anachronistic, and prejudiced readings’,³⁸ and enables critics and historians to evaluate the evidence without peering through the filters of entrenched attitudes, whether towards Shakespeare as a Catholic, Protestant, sceptic or atheist, all of which have been vehemently argued. It may be that we have to admit, as David Scott Kastan does in a recent, stimulating book, that we ‘don’t know what or even if he believed.’³⁹ But, ‘human beings do believe’,⁴⁰ and Shakespeare and Southwell both inhabited a world in which belief in God was almost universal, and therefore a vital part of everyday life. To miss the fact that religious concerns and religious language saturate Shakespeare’s plays is, as Kastan says, ‘to miss something essential about them.’⁴¹ Alison Shell, in her influential *Shakespeare and Religion* (2010), points out clearly how religious allegiance ‘could be a matter of life and death in Shakespeare’s times’, and warns against a ‘routine underestimation of religious matter as it pervaded drama’ in the period.⁴² Earlier work by E. Beatrice Batson insists that a sense of history is essential when examining the plays.⁴³ The influence of new historicism has helped to foreground the importance of examining Shakespeare, not merely as a religious writer, whichever side of the doctrinal divide the critic wishes to place him, but as a member of a society where religion mattered deeply, and possessed the ‘powerful cultural influence’ that Steven Marx identifies.⁴⁴ Kastan argues convincingly that religion was at least as ‘important

³⁸ Robert S. Miola, ‘Two Jesuit Shadows in Shakespeare: William Weston and Henry Garnet’, in *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Post-Modern Perspectives*, ed. by Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), p. 41.

³⁹ David Scott Kastan, *A Will to Believe: Shakespeare and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 2.

⁴⁰ Kastan, *A Will to Believe*, p. 7.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Arden Shakespeare, Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 65-6, 67.

⁴³ E. Beatrice Batson, *Shakespeare and the Christian Tradition* (Lewiston, N.Y. and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994).

⁴⁴ Steven Marx, *Shakespeare and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 3.

as culture than as belief',⁴⁵ and Arthur F. Marotti's work emphasises the need to approach criticism with the firm 'basis of a socio-literary history'.⁴⁶ The aim of this thesis is to follow such a model: to examine not only the writings of Southwell and Shakespeare, but to situate them in their historical and social context. 'Engaging imaginatively with the past', as Stephen Alford succeeds in doing in his study of Elizabethan espionage, *The Watchers* (2012),⁴⁷ is important to understand the context in which works were written, and perhaps to serve as a corrective to 'anachronistic, and prejudiced readings'.⁴⁸ Jonathan Bate expressed this succinctly in a newspaper article: 'The danger is that if we lose the ability to place [Shakespeare] in the context of his age, we cease to understand him.'⁴⁹ Helen Hackett described religion and spirituality as 'the dominant force in the culture of the period, and as a rich, deep resource for the literary imagination.'⁵⁰ A socio-literary-historical approach, therefore, offers the greatest opportunities for identifying what influences Shakespeare and his contemporaries 'recognized and [to which they] responded'.⁵¹ The intention of this thesis is to follow such an approach.

What we have seen described as 'the turn to religion' in critical approaches to Shakespeare, has offered a wide and often illuminating series of methodologies.⁵² Gillian Woods, in her study of 'Catholic' elements in Shakespeare's plays, follows the same approach of combining

⁴⁵ Kastan, *A Will to Believe*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. xii.

⁴⁷ Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. 14.

⁴⁸ Miola, 'Two Jesuit Shadows', p. 41.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Bate, 'Now All the World Is Shakespeare's Stage', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 2014, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Helen Hackett, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 18 April 2014, p. 11.

⁵¹ Kastan, *A Will to Believe*, p. 38.

⁵² Ken Jackson and Arthur Marotti, 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies', 167-90.

literary analysis with historical research, and is particularly concerned not merely to concentrate on what might be Catholic content in the plays, but to consider to what dramatic use Shakespeare puts it. As she writes, ‘if the goal of criticism is to tell us what Shakespeare believed, we risk skipping over the theatrical impact of the plays themselves.’⁵³ It may be that in dealing with religion and religious differences, Shakespeare succeeded in ‘grappling with the biggest historical theme of the last half-millennium’, as R. Chris Hassel argued,⁵⁴ but a failure to examine how and why he alludes to religious issues risks making criticism barren and a mere check-list of potential allusions. If Shakespeare can be shown to be closely connected to Southwell and his circle, then we certainly gain an insight into the playwright’s life and background, and, possibly, his beliefs, but without an effective analysis of how and why this matters for his work, then the research is less significant. To return to Robert Miola, any biographical links to Catholicism that are established are important because of their ability to ‘open new vistas on his plays and poems.’⁵⁵

The possibility of a Catholic Shakespeare, be it as a non-practising one, a ‘Church Papist’, or as a hard-line recusant, may have become, as Kastan suggests, the ‘new, near-orthodoxy’⁵⁶ of some criticism, but this approach is comparatively recent, and not universally accepted. Richmond Noble, one of the first critics to explore in detail Shakespeare’s use of the Bible, regarded him as a loyal Protestant.⁵⁷ E. M. W. Tillyard, writing in 1942, described him as ‘a

⁵³ Gillian Woods, *Shakespeare’s Unreformed Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8.

⁵⁴ R. Chris Hassel Jr., ‘The Accident and Gait of Christians: Hamlet’s Puritan Style’, *Religion and The Arts*, 7. 1 (2003), p. 127.

⁵⁵ Robert S. Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 38.

⁵⁶ Kastan, *A Will to Believe*, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare’s Biblical Knowledge* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935).

loyal Protestant servant',⁵⁸ and this 'Whig view' of history remained largely unchallenged until well after the Second World War.⁵⁹ The editor of the 1959 Arden Edition of *All's Well That Ends Well* dismissed a possible Marian interpretation of the Countess of Rossillion's lines:

He cannot thrive,
Unless her prayers, whom heaven delights to hear
And loves to grant, relieve him from the wrath
Of greatest justice (3.4.26-29)

with the dismissive comment that such a reading was 'too Popish to be probable'.⁶⁰ A. L. Rowse confirmed Shakespeare's status as a WASP with a typically uncompromising statement that he was certainly 'an orthodox, conforming member of the church into which he had been baptised, was brought up, and married, in which his children were reared and in whose arms he at length was buried.'⁶¹ Samuel Schoenbaum, after a rather closer examination of the evidence, still concluded that Shakespeare was 'a tolerant Anglican',⁶² and Honigmann, in his influential and important study of the 'lost years', eventually concluded that despite his Catholic upbringing and background, Shakespeare 'must have changed his religion, probably before the end of the 1580s.'⁶³ More recent criticism has followed similar lines; Robert Watson, for example, argued in 1997 that Shakespeare's primary aim was to

⁵⁸ E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, 1942, new edition (London: Pimlico, 1998), cited in David Beauregard, *Religion and The Arts*, 5. 3 (2001), p. 245.

⁵⁹ The title often given to the belief that a natural line of progress can be identified from a medieval religious authoritarianism, by way of an enlightened Protestant Reformation, to modern liberal democracy.

⁶⁰ *All's Well That Ends Well* ed. by G. K. Hunter, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 1959), p. 82.

⁶¹ A. L. Rowse, *William Shakespeare: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 43.

⁶² Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, p. 61.

⁶³ Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, p. 114.

‘make his audience into more committed Protestants’.⁶⁴ Jeffrey Knapp, more recently, argues against the plays supporting a ‘sectarian categorisation’, especially Puritanism, but concludes that the plays are ‘a kind of ministry’, speaking for Protestant moderation, and ‘intended and received as contributions to the cause of true religion.’⁶⁵ What constitutes ‘true religion’ is, of course, and has been, controversial and divisive; Dennis Taylor expresses the dilemma thoughtfully:

Shakespeare is often thought of as the definer of English identity. So his response to Catholicism can be and has been a loaded question. If Catholicism equates to the Whore of Babylon, traitorous rebellion, foreign and therefore un-English influences or oppression, our responses to Shakespeare and Catholicism may well offer the possibility of prejudice.⁶⁶

Taylor points out that we no longer ‘need to see Shakespeare as a Protestant beacon’, but many still do.⁶⁷ Lisa Freinkel argues that Shakespeare’s work reflects Protestant, specifically Lutheran views, particularly in the Sonnets.⁶⁸ Jonathan Bate, in his humane and immensely readable *Soul of the Age*, perhaps hedges his bets when he describes Shakespeare as ‘traditional, respectable, suspicious of change’,⁶⁹ but Peter Iver Kaufman, in his study of *Religion Around Shakespeare*, ‘takes a convincing stand against any ability to assume a

⁶⁴ Robert Watson, ‘*Othello* as Protestant Propaganda’, in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claire McEachern and Debra Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 234-7.

⁶⁵ Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation and Theater in Early Modern England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), pp. 28, 9, 132.

⁶⁶ Dennis Taylor, ‘Introduction: Shakespeare and the Reformation’, *Shakespeare and the Arts*, 7. 1 (2003), p. 6.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Lisa Freinkel, *Reading Shakespeare’s Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to The Sonnets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

⁶⁹ Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008), p. 73.

Catholic' Shakespeare, although not claiming him as a committed Protestant. Kaufman also offers 'a strong rejoinder to the wave of revisionist history positing an England largely unreformed by Shakespeare's time'.⁷⁰

This 'revisionist history' has argued strongly that far from being moribund, the late medieval and early modern Catholic Church was, in the words of Eamon Duffy, 'a highly successful enterprise', and the Protestant Reformation merely created 'a slow and reluctant conformity imposed from above, with little or no evidence of popular enthusiasm for or commitment to the process of reform'.⁷¹ Duffy concludes his influential study of Catholicism with the poignant observation that for most of the population the Reformation was 'a stripping away of familiar and beloved observances'.⁷² His reference to the 'great cultural hiatus' created by the reformers between the English people and their past emphasises how important it is to consider the social and political consequences of the Reformation.⁷³ Phebe Jensen, more recently, has argued that new research into the period 'has consistently demonstrated the continuing cultural relevance of Catholics and Roman Catholicism to English culture'.⁷⁴ Although published well before the era of New Historicism or revisionist history, Christopher Devlin's autobiography of Southwell dismissed the traditional view of history as merely a 'myth in which the old religion figured as foreign tyranny and the brand-new Genevan one as

⁷⁰ Peter Iver Kaufman, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). The comments on his book are from a review by John E. Curran, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67. 3 (Fall 2003), 1115-16.

⁷¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. xviii, 573.

⁷² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 591.

⁷³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. xiv.

⁷⁴ Phebe Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community: The Simpsons at Gowlthwaite Hall', in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 101-120.

traditional patriotism',⁷⁵ a point that Southwell himself, among other Catholics, was very keen to make.⁷⁶ More contemporary historians also argue for the continuing flourishing of Catholicism well into Elizabeth's reign. Christopher Haigh's work has described it as 'flowering into new life rather than decaying' and goes so far as to argue that by 1603 only the Church was Protestant, not the population it served.⁷⁷ His work on Lancashire recusants offers evidence which will be discussed later. Haigh's work is supported by J. J. Scarisbrick, who suggests that, 'on the whole, English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it.' He adds that 'there is no evidence of a loss of confidence in the old ways, no mass disenchantment.'⁷⁸ Adrian Streete argues that it is no longer possible 'to view the Reformation in England as a singular event that sees the substitution of "unpopular" Catholicism with "popular" Protestantism'.⁷⁹

Recent analyses, therefore, have tended to reject a polarisation between Protestantism and Catholicism, and describe a more complicated situation. Michael Questier, for example, argues for 'instability' as the defining characteristic of religion in the period,⁸⁰ while John Bossy's study of *The English Catholic Community* (1975) focuses on the survival of Catholicism, but in local groups, centring on a gentleman's household. He writes that

⁷⁵ Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 178.

⁷⁶ See, for example, *An Humble Supplication*, and also a number of Southwell's letters, particularly to his Jesuit Superior, Father Aquaviva. See *The Letters of Robert Southwell, S.J.*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Periodicum Semestre, volumen LXIII (Romae: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1994), pp. 101-24.

⁷⁷ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 117.

⁷⁸ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 12.

⁷⁹ Adrian Streete, *Protestantism and Drama in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 7.

⁸⁰ Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 205-6.

‘without the gentry [...] I find it very difficult to believe that there would have been a Catholic community.’⁸¹ These local groups, and their sometimes widely-spread affinities, will play an important part in this study. Questier has examined the network of connections, friendships and alliances that made up such an ‘affinity’;⁸² an approach that Chapters One and Two will follow. Bossy estimates, however, that by 1603 only forty thousand Catholics remained, a tiny percentage of the population, if correct.⁸³ Arthur F. Marotti refers to the ‘great muddled middle in English Christianity’;⁸⁴ Scott Pilarz, himself a Jesuit, believes that ‘Religious identity in Southwell’s England was more fluid than once imagined.’⁸⁵ Alexandra Walsham concurs, arguing persuasively that ‘the sharp polarities in Church and society indicated by labels like ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’ are in many respects invalid’.⁸⁶ Kristen Poole has written that ‘religious identities within the period were not always crisply taxonomic: people might hold seemingly contradictory beliefs together in a fruitful tension’.⁸⁷ As we shall see, Southwell himself was read and admired by both reformers and recusants,

⁸¹ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1*, (New York: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1976), p. 181.

⁸² Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 182. He examines the familial and patronage networks of the Catholic Browne family of Sussex, ennobled in 1554 as the Viscounts Montague.

⁸³ The population of England and Wales by 1600 has been estimated at over four million; Christopher Hibbert, *The English: A Social History, 1066-1945* (Grafton Books, 1987), p. 227.

⁸⁴ Arthur F. Marotti, ‘Shakespeare and Catholicism’, in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 218, 241, 219.

⁸⁵ Scott R. Pilarz, SJ, *Robert Southwell and The Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p.xxviii.

⁸⁶ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), p. 8.

⁸⁷ Kristen Poole, ‘Theater and Religion’, in *The Cambridge Guide to The Worlds of Shakespeare. Vol.1. Shakespeare’s World, 1500-1660*, ed. by Bruce R. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Chapter 89, pp. 690-7 (p. 693).

although possession of his writings at certain times could be fatal - another indication, perhaps, of the instability and fluid nature of religion and politics during the period.

Michael Wood's *In Search of Shakespeare* (2003) summarises Shakespeare's religion in an opinion that other critics have shared. 'He was a Christian, but his mind was wide and his scepticism of any system of power was pronounced.'⁸⁸ Alison Shell concludes her *Shakespeare and Religion* by writing that although Shakespeare was 'constantly ready to appropriate religious matter ... [he] invariably subordinates it to the requirements' of his art.⁸⁹ Christopher Baker also argues that Shakespeare reveals 'a religious awareness, largely Christian,' but 'without any exclusive allegiance'; he therefore 'disappears into his own works, leaving us with theatrical experiences first and dramatic messages second.'⁹⁰ A more recent study explores 'Shakespeare's creative engagement with early modern religious culture, but [...] it does so without assuming that Shakespeare can himself be aligned with any specific doctrinal beliefs'.⁹¹ René Weis's fine biography of Shakespeare points out that during Shakespeare's lifetime, 'being elusive could be a matter of life and death.'⁹² B. J. Sokol sees him as 'semi-Catholic and semi-Protestant',⁹³ while Maurice Hunt finds 'both Protestant and Catholic elements' in the plays.⁹⁴ Steve Sohmer, in his entry on 'Religion' in

⁸⁸ Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003), p. 271.

⁸⁹ Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion*, p. 231.

⁹⁰ Christopher Baker, *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), pp. 58, x.

⁹¹ *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 1. The book is notable for its contributions from both religious historians and literary critics.

⁹² René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 2007), p. 50.

⁹³ B. J. Sokol, *Shakespeare and Tolerance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 103.

⁹⁴ Maurice Hunt, *Shakespeare's Religious Allusiveness: Its Play and Tolerance* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), p. xii.

The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare (2001), sums up Shakespeare's views as simply, 'Christian, tolerant, humane.'⁹⁵

The argument that Shakespeare was, however, a confirmed Catholic has also been vigorously argued in recent years. Honigmann's *The Lost Years*, although not original in its account of Shakespeare as a young Catholic tutor and player,⁹⁶ was well-researched and influential, if not fully accepted by the academy. As we have seen, Honigmann believed that Shakespeare changed his religious affiliation while still a young man, but a number of other critics, although varying in their estimation of the depth of Shakespeare's commitment, have seen him as clearly Catholic. Richard Wilson has written extensively on the Lancashire and Houghton Tower connections discussed in a later chapter, as well as offering allegorical interpretations of the plays and long poems.⁹⁷ Although he also describes a 'Secret Shakespeare', who was able to avoid 'The Bloody Question' of loyalty versus faith, Wilson argues strongly for Shakespeare's Catholicism.⁹⁸ Clare Asquith takes the allegorical approach even further, seeing hidden codes in the plays that reveal Shakespeare as a political satirist, where Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, is a portrait of Elizabeth, and Polonius is 'a clear parody of William Cecil'.⁹⁹ Rather more balanced analyses have been

⁹⁵ Steve Sohmer, Entry on 'Religion', in *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, eds. Dobson and Wells, pp. 372-374.

⁹⁶ First suggested in 1937 by Oliver Baker in 1937. Oliver Baker, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire and the Unknown Years* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1937), pp. 297-319.

⁹⁷ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 64-5. See also *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Dutton, Findlay and Wilson, which focuses on both individual Shakespearean plays, and the background of Lancashire as a strongly Catholic area.

⁹⁸ The phrase, 'The Bloody Question', became used, for obvious reasons, to sum up the dilemma that faced Catholics who were asked under official questioning to give an answer to the question: if Spanish or Papal forces invaded England or Wales, who would you support?

⁹⁹ Clare Asquith, *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), p. 155. See also, 'A Phoenix for Palm Sunday: Was Shakespeare's Poem a Requiem for

offered by Peter Milward and Thomas M. McCoog, the latter examining closely the historical sources,¹⁰⁰ while Milward has written in detail on possible Catholic elements in the plays. His work is partisan, while still maintaining a level of objectivity that offers perceptive insights into the plays. His conclusion to *Shakespeare's Religious Background* suggests that 'the deepest inspiration in Shakespeare's plays is both religious and Christian.'¹⁰¹ More recently, Carol Curt Enos has continued the political-religious-allegorical approach of Wilson and Asquith, arguing for links between plays such as *Richard II*, *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* and contemporary figures such as Essex and Mary Stuart.¹⁰² David Beauregard has examined Catholic theology in relation to the plays, considering such elements as purgatory, penance, grace and marriage.¹⁰³ Gary Taylor's influential essay, 'Forms of Opposition: Shakespeare and Middleton', shows Shakespeare as a Catholic, but one with 'no appetite for martyrdom.'¹⁰⁴ Finally, John Klause's important work on Southwell, Shakespeare and Southampton, which sees all three involved in a secret conversation about religious politics, will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, as will other accounts of Southwell's work.¹⁰⁵

Catholic Martyrs?', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 13 April 2001, pp. 14-15. Also, *Religion and the Arts*, 8. 2 (2004), pp. 270-271, for an essay on what Asquith takes to be hidden codes in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas M. McCoog SJ, '*And Touching our Society: Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England*', (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2013) and *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555-1650* (London: Publications of The Catholic Record Society, 74-75, 2 vols., 1994-1995); *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, (Rome: I H S J, 2007); *The Letters of Robert Southwell, SJ.*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, Rome: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1994).

¹⁰¹ Peter Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), p. 274.

¹⁰² Carol Curt Enos, *Shakespeare and the Catholic Religion* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing Co. Inc., 2000).

¹⁰³ David N. Beauregard, *Catholic Theology in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008). See also 'Shakespeare on Monastic Life: Nuns and Friars in "Measure For Measure"', *Religion And The Arts*, 5 (2001), pp. 248-272.

¹⁰⁴ Gary Taylor, 'Forms of Opposition: Shakespeare and Middleton', in *English Literary Renaissance*, 24. 2 (1994), pp. 283-314.

¹⁰⁵ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008).

The danger in discussions of Shakespeare and religion can be, of course, that we mould him to the shape we would like, as Jesse David Sharpe warns in a recent article. Can we allow writers to be ‘ambiguous and contradictory humans’, and the ‘messy human beings that they were’, or do we attempt to ‘make them more palatable to our beliefs or fit our religious convictions’? ¹⁰⁶ As Kaufman puts it in *Religion Around Shakespeare*, criticism needs to identify not merely what elements of religion Shakespeare ‘explores’, but, more importantly, what he ‘endorses’. ¹⁰⁷ Margaret Healy believes that Shakespeare’s late works, in particular, show his ‘persistent drive [...] towards the promotion of religious toleration and unity.’ ¹⁰⁸ Stephen Greenblatt has argued influentially that for Shakespeare, and for many of his contemporaries, theatre replaced religious experience; therefore ‘performance kills belief’. ¹⁰⁹ Shakespeare ‘never found anything equivalent to the faith on which some of his contemporaries had staked their lives.’ ¹¹⁰ Ewan Fernie disagrees, recognising the need for ‘a fresh consideration of spirituality’ in the works. ¹¹¹ Eric S. Mallin has examined a number of the plays from an atheistic perspective, in conclusion finding only ‘a frayed connection to belief’, and Shakespeare ultimately criticising ‘the limited efficacy of Christianity.’ ¹¹²

The multiplicity of often contradictory critical views which have been summarised in this Introduction suggests another reason for entering the stormy waters that surround the topic of

¹⁰⁶ Jesse David Sharpe, Book reviews in *English*, 62. 239 (2013), pp. 409-11.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Iver Kaufman, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), p. 198.

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and The Creative Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 196.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 109.

¹¹⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 388.

¹¹¹ *Spiritual Shakespeares*, ed. Ewan Fernie (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 3.

¹¹² Eric S. Mallin, *Godless Shakespeare* (London: Continuum, 2007), pp. 49, 30.

Shakespeare and religion; certainly, there is more to discover. The thesis has begun by examining some of the historical and religious background to the lives of Shakespeare and Southwell, as well as summarising past and current critical thinking regarding Shakespeare and religion. In the following chapter, Catholic influences in both Warwickshire and Lancashire will be examined, as well as John Shakespeare's possible Catholicism, his financial dealings, and the links that can be traced between him and connections in Lancashire and Cheshire. The importance of such connections, or 'affinities', in tracing William Shakespeare's 'missing years' will be emphasised. Important archival evidence will be examined to consider the case for a Lancastrian connection in Shakespeare's early career. Following this, Chapter Two will explore historical connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, stressing the importance of patrons for both men. The Count and Countess of Arundel and the Earl of Southampton are important, but we shall also examine the rôles of other, less well-known, figures. By comparing the careers of Shakespeare and Southwell, it is hoped to demonstrate connections between these apparently dissimilar writers, but within 'the context of [their] age.'¹¹³ The second half of the thesis, therefore, will explore literary connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, by means of a close comparison of three Shakespearean plays with the poetry and prose of Southwell. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Winter's Tale* will be discussed, for reasons that will be explained in each chapter. The work of John Klause will be cited, particularly his major work, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*.¹¹⁴ Disagreements with some of Klause's methodology, and the different approach used will be explained. Finally, Chapter Six will attempt to conclude this socio-historical-literary approach by means of an examination of

¹¹³ See note 49 above.

¹¹⁴ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008).

Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and Turtle* and Southwell's 'The Burning Babe'. Both historical and literary connections will be seen here.

If William Shakespeare's religious beliefs seem 'elusive',¹¹⁵ Robert Southwell was quite certain of his convictions, and also of his aims in writing verse:

It is the sweetest note that man can singe
When grace in Vertews keye tunes nature's stringe.¹¹⁶

His writings were evangelical, and his willingness to suffer for his faith unwavering. 'If we be Christians affliction is our cote, and the Crosse our cognizance'. It is 'a most comfortable thing, to suffer adversitie for a good cause.'¹¹⁷ Could William Shakespeare at one stage have been equally prepared to face martyrdom, or was he determined to avoid 'the Bloody Question'?

¹¹⁵ See note 88 above.

¹¹⁶ Robert Southwell, *To the Reader*, lines 17-18, in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davison and Anne Sweeney, (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007).

¹¹⁷ Robert Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort, To The Reverend Priestes, & To the Honorable, Worshipful, & Other Of The Laye Race Restrained In Durance For The Catholicke Fayth* (London: Secret Press, 1587), The Third Chapter, p. 25. The second quotation is underlined in this British Library copy of *The Epistle*, which is undated, but 'Imprinted At Paris', although this may have been a deliberate attempt to mislead the authorities. An edition is also available on *EEBO* online, pp. 25v. and 26v. This is also undated; a date of 1587 is suggested, with a possible printing by John Charlewood at Arundel House in the Strand (London).

CHAPTER ONE

Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors

It can be tempting to imagine Shakespeare as a potential ‘rebell’, bravely holding on to a dangerous Catholic faith. David Kastan suggests that ‘a dissident Shakespeare is for us more appealing’, and Beatrice Groves echoes this, wondering if some of the attraction of seeing him as a Catholic comes from a desire to find an ‘exciting marginality’ in Shakespeare and his works.¹ Sonnet 73, with its poignant reference to ‘Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang’, seems to suggest a nostalgia for past times, though times he could hardly have experienced at first hand. His father’s ‘Spiritual Last Will and Testament’ was, however, discovered in 1757 in the rafters of the Birthplace, transcribed by local antiquarian John

¹ David Scott Kastan, *A Will to Believe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 16; Beatrice Groves, *Texts and Traditions: Religion in Shakespeare 1592-1604* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), p. 183.

Jordan, and eventually sent in 1780 to Edmund Malone, who printed it in 1790.² The original was sadly lost, but appears to have been a copy of the *Lost Will of the Soul, made in health for the Christian to secure himself from the temptations of the devil at the hour of his death*.³ Composed by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, at some time in the late 1570s, copies were secured in the spring of 1580 by a group of English Jesuits, led by Edmund Campion and Robert Persons. These priests were on their way to England to launch the English Jesuit Mission. The 'Testaments' would be given to Catholic believers or new converts, to sign as a mark of their allegiance to the 'old faith'. Cardinal William Allen, co-founder of the English College in Rome, wrote that 'Father Robert wants three or four thousand or more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them'.⁴ They would be especially important for the many Catholics who had limited access to Catholic priests, and therefore could be deprived of the sacraments for long periods. Robert Bearman does not accept the authenticity of the document, but most scholars now do, particularly since the discovery in 1966 of an early English edition of the *Testament*.⁵ It does not prove that Malone's copy belonged to John Shakespeare, and even if it did, that does not confirm Shakespeare's faith, but it is at least suggestive of a Catholic upbringing. It is possible that it was hidden after Campion's arrest in July 1581, and the torture which forced him to reveal the names of his contacts and hosts during his year in England. John Bossy's emphasis on the

² Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 45-54.

³ Rev. Herbert Thurston, 'The Spiritual Testament of John Shakespeare', *The Month: A Catholic Magazine*, 118, 569 (1911), 487-502.

⁴ John Henry de Groot, *The Shakespeares and 'The Old Faith'* (New York: Crown Press, 1946), p. 88.

⁵ Robert Bearman, 'John Shakespeare's "Spiritual Testament": A Reappraisal', *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 56, *Shakespeare and Comedy*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 184-192. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 53, expresses the views of the majority of recent commentators, although Stanley Wells in his entry on John Shakespeare in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), is more guarded, and adds 'If genuine' to his comment on the Testament. p. 419.

local groups based on a gentleman's household might not apply directly to the Shakespeare home in Henley Street, as John Shakespeare did not officially become a 'gentleman' until his coat of arms was granted in 1596.⁶ However, he had clearly been influential in Stratford affairs before this, serving as Constable, Assessor of Fines, Chamberlain, Alderman, Bailiff, Chief Alderman, Deputy Bailiff and Justice of the Peace during his distinguished career on the Corporation – cut short in the late 1570s. But there were other Catholic gentlemen's households in the vicinity of Stratford, at Baddesley Clinton, Bushwood, Coughton, Edstone, Hindlip, Idlicote, Park Hall and Rowington, all identified with Catholic families, all of whom were, at some point, suspected of a 'secret infection of treasons'.⁷

The first section of Chapter One will examine John Shakespeare's possibly Catholic affiliation, set against the background of what is known of his financial and business affairs. The religious situation in Stratford and Warwickshire, particularly with regard to recusancy, will also be examined, as will the significance of prominent families such as the Ardens and Throckmortons and the affiliations which helped the Jesuit Mission, in which Southwell would play such an important part. Less well-known figures such as John Bretchgirdle and John Brownsword will also be discussed. The second part of the chapter will move the focus further north, to examine what can be learned of Shakespeare's 'missing' years with the use of extensive archival material to investigate families such as the Houghtons and Heskeths, concluding with the powerful Stanleys, Earls of Derby. The socio-historical approach

⁶John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (New York: Darton Longman and Todd, 1976) pp. 175-81. Bossy concludes 'Without the gentry [...] I find it very difficult to believe that there would have been a Catholic community', p. 181.

⁷ Commission of 23 November 1591. Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, Sir Richard Savage Papers ER82/2/4.

referred to in the Introduction will attempt to examine the experiences of both Shakespeare and Southwell, within ‘the context of his age’.⁸

Peter Milward has suggested that it was likely that John Shakespeare hid his Borrowdale Testament around the time of a definite treasonable plot, the attempt by John Somerville, that ‘furious young man of Warwickshire’, to assassinate the Queen in October 1583.⁹ Somerville’s marriage to Margaret Arden, daughter of Edward of Park Hall, twenty miles north of Stratford, would bring disaster on the Arden family, whose possible connections to Shakespeare’s mother will be discussed later. The ‘Testament’, incomplete, but with numerous insertions of ‘John Shakspeare’, though lacking a signature or John Shakespeare’s usual mark of a glover’s compass, clearly was not buried with him, despite the inclusion of Item 14: ‘for the better declaration hereof my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death’.¹⁰ Was it fear, a change of heart, or simple forgetfulness that kept the document hidden for so many years? We are unlikely ever to know, nor can we be certain of the reasons for John’s withdrawal from his Corporation’s activities from 1577. Carol Curt Enos suggests that his withdrawal was connected with his refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, but this seems unlikely, as the Oath was established in 1559, though not strictly reinforced until later.¹¹ The 1571 Treasons Act, a response to the Papal Bull of Excommunication, had made it an offence to describe the Queen as ‘heretic, tyrant, or

⁸ Jonathan Bate, ‘Now All the World is Shakespeare’s Stage’, *Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 2014, p. 17.

⁹ Peter Milward, Letter to *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 January 1998, p. 15.

¹⁰ Thurston, ‘The Spiritual Testament’, pp. 491-2.

¹¹ Carol Curt Enos, *Shakespeare and the Catholic Religion* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance, 2000), p. 183.

usurper', and included any reconciliation to Rome of an English subject in the definition of treason.¹² A Grand Commission was also appointed in April 1576 to inquire into offences against the Act of Supremacy – about the time of John Shakespeare's withdrawal from civic life. But until the Jesuit mission of 1580 made the prospect of religious and political opposition seem more threatening, sanctions against recusants appear to have been 'let sleep' and not overly harsh.¹³ The Statute of 1581, however, in response to the arrival of the Jesuits, changed this, with its introduction of an enormous fine of £200 per month for recusancy, followed by imprisonment for non-payment. The Statute also re-emphasised the charge of treason for being found guilty of being reconciled to the Catholic Church or hearing Mass.¹⁴ The incentive for informers, or 'promoters', as they were termed, to profit from their neighbours' disloyalty to the established Church was greatly increased by their ability to claim a proportion of any fines successfully levied. Syndicates of informers were set-up, mainly in London, but with the more enterprising networks employing agents in the provinces.¹⁵ John Shakespeare himself appears to have been accused in 1570 of both usury and illegal wool dealing or 'brogging'. Peter Levi identifies a professional informer, James Langrake, as Shakespeare's accuser. John seems to have escaped with only a fine of forty shillings on one of the usury charges. Such leniency may have been connected with Langrake's unsavoury reputation as both a rapist and a blackmailer.¹⁶ The arrival of Campion and Persons, however, changed both the religious and political atmosphere. Campion's so-

¹² Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. 45.

¹³ Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), pp. 22-23, 62-63.

¹⁴ Sandeep Kaushik, 'Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State', *Midland History*, 21 (1996), 37-72.

¹⁵ Dom. Hugh Bowler, 'Recusant Role No. 2, 1593-1594: An Abstract in English', *Catholic Record Society*, 57 (1965), p. xliiii.

¹⁶ Peter Levi, *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare* (London: MacMillan, 1988), p. 18.

called *Brag*, in reality a letter composed to the Privy Council soon after his arrival in England, made it clear that his mission was concerned merely with the souls of his countrymen, and not with their political views. He and his Jesuit colleagues were forbidden, he wrote, ‘to deal in any respect with matters of state or policy of this realm,’ but they were nevertheless prepared to risk death for the sake of returning their countrymen to what they regarded as the true faith. They would continue ‘while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments [...] The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so it must be restored.’¹⁷ Robert Southwell would later reaffirm the non-political aims of the Jesuits, but on neither occasion was the government convinced. As Stephen Alford writes, ‘Elizabethan England was a confessional state in which religious beliefs and political loyalties were impossible to separate from each other’.¹⁸

So was John Shakespeare’s abandonment of his role in Stratford civic life a strategic move to attempt to keep a low profile in a town apparently so much ‘the centre of this recusant map’?

¹⁹ He may simply have met hard times as others did in the economic slump of the late 1570s, particularly as he was reputedly ‘a considerable dealer in wool’, or ‘brogger’.²⁰ Apart from his withdrawal from Corporation meetings (his appearance on 2 September 1582 to vote for his friend John Sadler as Mayor, was his first for six years), he began to mortgage property in

¹⁷ Edmund Campion, *A Letter to the Privy Council*, (1580), lines 28-31, 73-78. Printed in Robert S. Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Resources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 64-6.

¹⁸ Alford, *The Watchers*, pp. 42-3.

¹⁹ Antonia Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), p. 137.

²⁰ Nicholas Rowe, *Some Account of the Life Etc. of Mr. William Shakespeare*, (London, 1709). Rowe based his comment on a 1790 manuscript written by John Jordan. See Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 31.

the area.²¹ On 14 November 1578, he borrowed forty pounds by mortgaging property in Wilmcote to Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-Heath, brother-in-law of Mary Shakespeare, part of whose inheritance it was. In the same month he conveyed another eighty-six acres to Mary's nephew Thomas Webbe, and Humphrey Hooper, and next year sold his ninth share in houses and land in Snitterfield, his father's home, for four pounds, to Robert Webbe. Were these financial dealings a sign of his 'indebtedness and financial vulnerability', as John Bearman suggests, possibly as a result of tighter government controls on wool-dealers?²²

An alternative explanation is that John was doing what other wealthy and not-so-wealthy Catholics did as opposition to Catholicism became more punitive. Disposing of assets, particularly to family or sympathetic friends, became a common, if not always successful, method of cheating the government – as well as the ubiquitous 'promoters'. Jessie Childs's study describes the failure of government attempts to levy fines 'by reasons of estates and conveyances made by the Lord Vaux of his lands and goods'.²³ John Shakespeare was not in the same financial league as the Vaux family, but the principle and the method would be the same. An instruction to officials attempting to levy fines after the crackdown following the Gunpowder Plot, warned of 'preventions commonly [in] use to deceive'. These included Catholics deeding their land to tenants in exchange for rents; conveying their lands and goods to friends who would give them the income accruing in return; or simply valuing their property at a low rate, with the help of sympathetic officials, thus cheating the Crown, and any informers, of their fair share.²⁴ Reducing his estate, staying out of the public eye, hiding

²¹ Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, pp. 39-40.

²² Robert Bearman, 'John Shakespeare: A Papist or just Penniless?', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56 (2005), 411-33 (p. 427).

²³ Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 92.

²⁴ London, British Library, Lansdowne Manuscript, 153 f. 212, 1607, cited in de Groot, *The Shakespeares*, p. 44.

his 'Testament'; all may have been John's response to the changing times.²⁵ It appears that his fellow Corporation members were sympathetic to him; not until 6 September 1586, was he replaced as Alderman, 'for Mr. Shaxpere doth not Come to the Halles ... nor hathe done of Longe Tyme'.²⁶ Earlier, in November 1579, John, with one other alderman, was excused the four pence a week levy raised for poor relief.²⁷ However, in April of the same year, he was able to pay the eight pence fee 'for the bell and pall' at the funeral of his seven year-old daughter, Anne.²⁸ Certainly, in November 1575, he was wealthy enough to add to his property in Henley Street by the purchase, for forty pounds, of 'two messuages with the appurtenances' adjacent to the house, with gardens and orchards included.²⁹ If he was attempting to secure himself against swingeing fines, however, all did not go completely according to plan, as he became embroiled in an unsuccessful law suit against Lambert in 1588, and was unable to regain the property.³⁰ In 1580, he was fined twenty pounds for not appearing in the court of the Queen's Bench to find surety for keeping the peace towards the Queen and her subjects, a penalty exacted over 140 times across the country, though for what offence is uncertain.³¹ It is at least possible that the fine was as a result of his religious beliefs, made more credible by the fact that at the same hearing he was charged with an additional twenty pounds as his

²⁵ An indication of the increased pressure on Catholics comes in the ballad 'Wee Catholikes Tormented Sore', found in William Blundell's *Great Hodge Podge*, a miscellany of songs, ballads, letters and poems dating from 1580. Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDBL acc 6121, Box 4.

²⁶ *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1566-1577*, transcribed by Richard Savage; annotated by Edgar I. Fripp, 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press and The Dugdale Society, 1924), iii, p. 169; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Corporation Records, Council Book A, p. 259; Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 39.

²⁷ Ibid. Fripp and Schoenbaum; S.B.T. Council Book A, p. 190.

²⁸ *The Registers of Stratford-on-Avon Co. Warwick: Burials 1558-1622-3*, transcribed by Richard Savage (London: The Parish Register Society, 1905). René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 2007), p. 32.

²⁹ René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 62; de Groot, *The Shakespeares*, p. 59.

³⁰ Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 40.

³¹ Ibid.

surety for a Nottingham hat maker also tasked with future good behaviour.³² Also uncertain is his reason for not paying the three shillings and fourpence levy for musters imposed in Stratford on 29 January 1578, for which he was presented for non-payment on 11 March 1579.³³ Presented at the same time was Shakespeare's next-door neighbour, George Badger, as well as Thomas Reynolds from Chapel Street, both of whom were Catholics.³⁴ The non-payment may have been for financial reasons, or out of religious principle, as Edgar Fripp suggested.³⁵ In April 1580, Shakespeare's name was still included in the list of 'Gentlemen and Freeholders' of Stratford.³⁶ The evidence suggests religious unorthodoxy as a strong possible explanation for John Shakespeare's behaviour.

What is certain is that John Shakespeare, along with eight others, was included in the September 1592 list of recusants from the parish of Stratford. 'We suspect these nyne persons next ensuing absent themselves for feare of processes.'³⁷ The Commission presenting this report was led by Sir Thomas Lucy, in company with other local Justices, and followed on from the original list of recusants presented by churchwardens in March 1592.³⁸ In company with such familiar Shakespearean names as William Fluellen and George Bardolf, these nine were only a small part of the hundreds of names recorded in the roll call of 168 parishes listed in the Commission's findings. Again, the explanation for John Shakespeare's absence from

³² *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford 1553-1566*, vol. 1. p. 94.

³³ *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1577-1586*, vol. III, trans. Richard Savage, ann. Edgar I. Fripp (London: Oxford University Press and The Dugdale Society, 1926), p. 31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. iii, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

³⁶ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, p. 57.

³⁷ 'Recusants in Warwickshire 1592 Stretforde Super Avon', Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER82/2/4.

³⁸ *State Papers Domestic Elizabeth*, Kew, The National Archives, S.P. 12/243, no. 76; Schoenbaum p. 41.

church can only be speculative, but there is clearly a strong case to be made for his Catholicism, and therefore for William Shakespeare being brought up in his formative years in a Catholic household. Fear of arrest while attending church was a common excuse used elsewhere by Catholics, as was being ‘out of charity’ with one’s neighbours, illness, infirmity, or even having to baby-sit.³⁹ Henry Garnet’s *An Apology Against the Defence of Schisme*, had argued strongly against such excuses, preferring Catholics to stand up and be counted, but many were more circumspect.⁴⁰ Robert Southwell, in *An Epistle of Comfort*, written and published clandestinely in 1587, also warned of the dangers of attending the Protestant church, and therefore becoming ‘schismatic’. ‘Was not the law of going to churche, and of beinge there present at that which they call divine service made and published purposelye to the abolyshinge of the Catholique Faythe?’⁴¹ However, there were still ‘Papistes which can keepe their conscience to themselves, and yet goe to Church’.⁴² Walsham believes that ‘the more timid concealed their motives by pleading embarrassment and fear of arrest as debtors, as did William Shakespeare’s father.’⁴³ Whatever John Shakespeare’s reasons were for not attending church, his household was by no means the only Warwickshire home that apparently clung to the ‘old religion’.

³⁹ K.R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Manchester, The Chetham Society, 3rd Series, XIX, 1971), pp. 7, 122.

⁴⁰ Henry Garnet, *An Apology Against the Defence of Schisme* (London: secret press, 1593), in Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists, Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society and The Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 74-6.

⁴¹ Robert Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort* (London: 1587), ed. by D.M. Rogers (Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1974), pp. 168v-169r.

⁴² George Gifford, *A Dialogue Between a Papist and a Protestant* (London: 1582), cited in Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, p. 1.

⁴³ Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 86.

John Somerville, born in Edstone, five miles from Wilmcote, was the husband of Margaret Arden, second daughter of Edward Arden of Park Hall, approximately twenty miles north of Stratford. The connection between the Wilmcote and Park Hall branches of the Arden family - and Southwell - will be examined shortly. On 14 October 1583, Somerville made a financial agreement with Adrian and Richard Quiney, of Henley Street, Stratford.⁴⁴ Richard Quiney's son, Thomas, would later marry Judith Shakespeare. The bond, of 100 marks, appears to have been an attempt by Somerville to safeguard his inheritance if his property were to be threatened with confiscation. Eleven days later he set out for London, intending, as he boasted, to assassinate the Queen. His boasting, in an inn at Aynho, near Banbury, was overheard. He hoped, he said, 'to see her head on a pole, for that she was a serpent and a viper.'⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, he was reported to the authorities, and seized, along with the gun that he had been waving about. He was taken to London, to the Tower, and tortured. Six days after his arrest, the Privy Council issued a warrant for the arrest of all 'such as shall be in any way kin to all touched, and to search their houses.'⁴⁶ On 2 November, Thomas Wilkes, clerk to the Privy Council, arrived at Sir Thomas Lucy's house at Charlecote, and the following day both men led an armed party to Park Hall. Lucy, the prominent local magistrate, who would later sign the recusant list including John Shakespeare's name, arrested Edward Arden, who was taken to Warwick initially, and then to London. He was accompanied there by Henry Rogers, town clerk of Stratford, as well as by 'seven or eight

⁴⁴ *The Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, p. 64.

⁴⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: Longman Green, 1865), p. 126.

⁴⁶ Letter from the Privy Council to Sir Thomas Lucy and Thomas Wilkes, Clerk to the Council, quoted in Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003), p. 95.

boxes of evidence.’⁴⁷ A week later, Arden’s wife, Mary, their daughter, Margaret, and Somerville’s sister were also arrested. Father Hugh Hall, the Catholic chaplain of the Ardens, escaped from Park Hall, but was chased and arrested at a house in Idlicote, south-east of Stratford, the home of the Underhills, a Catholic family from whom William Shakespeare would later buy New Place. Hall was disguised as a gardener, but was recognised, taken to London, and also tortured. Hall, Edward Arden and Somerville were all racked in the Tower, in an attempt to make them give up information. On 7 November, Thomas Wilkes wrote from Charlecote to Walsingham: ‘Unless you can make Somerville, Arden, Hall the priest, Somerville’s wife and his sister, to speak directly to those things which you desire to have discovered, it will not be possible for us here to find out more than is found already, for that the papists in this country greatly do work upon the advantage of clearing their houses of all shows of suspicion.’⁴⁸ On 13 November, the diary kept by a Catholic priest held prisoner in the Tower, probably Father John Hart, recorded: ‘Francis Throgmorton arrived in the Tower.’

49

The Throckmorton or Throgmorton family of Coghton, just north of Alcester, was closely connected with the Ardens, and linked with Robert Southwell, as well as the Vaux family. Edward Arden as a child had been a ward of the Throckmortons, and married Sir Robert Throckmorton’s daughter, Margaret. Francis, Robert’s brother, arrested in 1578 for ‘being present at exercises of religion contrary to present practices’, had gone abroad, and associated

⁴⁷ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 91. Rogers would be rewarded with a payment of £20, at the time a year’s salary for the Stratford Vicar, and the schoolmaster. *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford 1553-1620*, vol. iv, 1586-1592, trans. Richard Savage, ann. Edgar I. Fripp (London: The Dugdale Society, 1929), p. xiv.

⁴⁸ Thomas Wilkes to Sir Francis Walsingham. Quoted in Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 91.

⁴⁹ *A Tudor Journal: The Diary of a Priest in the Tower 1580-1585*, ed. by Brian A. Harrison (London: St. Paul’s Publishing, 2000), pp.19, 58. Quoted also in Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 92.

with Catholics who wished for ‘the altering of the state of the realme’.⁵⁰ His involvement included working for Mary Queen of Scots, imprisoned since 1568; the ‘Throckmorton Plot’ was intended to replace Elizabeth with Mary, aided by an invasion force led by the Duke of Guise, backed by Spanish gold. Walsingham’s intelligencers were aware of the plot, and Throckmorton’s contacts with Bernardino Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. Throckmorton was arrested in early November and racked at least three times. He broke: ‘Nowe I have disclosed the secrets of her who was the deerest thing to me in the worlde [...] I care not if I were hanged.’⁵¹ Tried and condemned on 21 May 1584, he was hung, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 10 July. By this time, Edward Arden and Hugh Hall were already dead, executed in the same manner, on 20 December 1583. Arden maintained to the end that he was guilty of no offence, except his Catholicism. John Somerville was found strangled in his cell the night before his execution. Was he ‘furious’, i.e. mad, as Burghley believed, or was he silenced before he could speak publicly on the scaffold?⁵² William Allen believed that he was murdered ‘for prevention of the discovery of certain shameful practices about the condemnation’ of Edward Arden.⁵³ There had been bad blood between Arden and the Earl of Leicester, as recorded by Sir William Dugdale, particularly over Arden’s condemnation of Leicester’s treatment of his first wife, Amy Dudley (née Robsart), who died in a fall on 8 September 1560. There were also religious differences.⁵⁴ The Calendar of State Papers for

⁵⁰ Alison Plowden, ‘Francis Throckmorton (1554-1584)’ in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, (online edn., May 2007, <oxforddnb.com> {accessed 18 May 2017}).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: H.M.S.O., 1865), vol. 163, 31 October 1583, note 28, p. 126.

⁵³ William Allen, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholiques* (Douai: 1584). Quoted in Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 96.

⁵⁴ William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2 vols (London: printed by Thomas Warren, 1656), vol. 2, p. 830. A recent article states that ‘Arden was a member of the Midlands’ most important political network’, and

February 1584 include ‘Secret advertisements’ from an unnamed spy, who added that ‘Somerfield was hanged in prison to avoid a greater evil’.⁵⁵ Arden’s wife was also sentenced to death, by burning, but was reprieved. Another kinsman, Francis Arden, was brought to the Tower on 23 February 1584; described as a noted layman, he was held there for sixteen months, before being transferred to the Marshalsea prison.⁵⁶ Edward’s wife, Mary Arden, and her servants, were given refuge at Coghton by the Throckmortons after her release. She would be re-arrested in 1593 for possessing ‘superstitious things’, and for ‘harbouring a seminary priest.’⁵⁷ Another Arden, John, was arrested in 1593, and sentenced to death on suspicion of complicity in the Babington Plot. Nothing more is known of him, though there remains the possibility that he is the same John Arden who escaped from the Tower with John Gerard in 1597.⁵⁸

John Shakespeare’s third application for his coat of arms, in 1599, more than twenty years after his first application, included a proposal for ‘ermine, a fess checky gold and azure’ – the arms of the Ardens of Park Hall.⁵⁹ This successful application, however, ultimately replaced these colours with arms used by other branches of the Arden family, in Cheshire, Staffordshire and Bedfordshire. The alteration has led to some discussion of the validity of a connection between Mary Arden’s family, and the prominent Arden family of Park Hall.

details the conflict between the Ardens and Throckmortons and Leicester. Cathryn Enis, ‘Edward Arden and the Dudley Earls of Warwick and Leicester, c. 1572-1583’, *British Catholic History*, 33. 2 (October 2016), 170-210.

⁵⁵ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 1581-1590*, vol. 168, notes 11-12, p. 158.

⁵⁶ Harrison, *A Tudor Journal*, p. 172.

⁵⁷ Harrison, *A Tudor Journal*, p. 58.

⁵⁸ Alice Hogge, *God’s Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth’s Forbidden Priests and The Hatching of The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Harper Collins, 2005), p. 251.

⁵⁹ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), pp. 263-4.

Mary's father Robert, a prosperous farmer, and landlord to John Shakespeare, was, according to Edgar Fripp, 'son of Thomas [...] and probably grandson of Sir Thomas Arden of Park Hall'.⁶⁰ An alternative genealogy sees a connection to one Robert Arderne, fifteenth - century bailiff of Snitterfield.⁶¹ The relationship between the Warwickshire and Cheshire Ardens or Ardernes will be discussed shortly. However, Sir Thomas's father, Walter, did have a son named Thomas,⁶² and Mary and John clearly felt their claim of connection was justified – indeed 'Non Sans Droit'. The initial reluctance of the College of Heralds to accept the 1599 application is more likely because of prejudice against William's profession - 'Shakespeare the player' - rather than questioning his father's claim to have married 'a daughter and heir of Arden', and to be 'a gentleman of worship'.⁶³ If they were proud of such a connection, the Shakespeares were clearly not afraid to align themselves with a well-known recusant family. The Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Persons stayed at Park Hall on their journey north in 1580; 'in whose house Fathers Campion and Persons had been most hospitably received'.⁶⁴ Edward Throckmorton, brother to Francis, was tutored at Park Hall.⁶⁵ Edward left for Rome in 1580, aged eighteen, where he re-met his childhood friend, Robert Southwell, almost the same age. Both young men had accepted exile on account of their faith: 'banishing myself

⁶⁰ *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford 1553-1566*, vol.1. p. xxxi.

⁶¹ Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), p. 33.

⁶² Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 20.

⁶³ Noted firstly by the College of Heralds in 1599, when John Shakespeare was applying to combine his arms with those of the Ardens. The second and third quotations are from a document and note prepared by William Dethick, Garter king-of-arms, 20 October 1596, reproduced in Stanley Wells, 'Arms, Shakespeare's coat of', entry in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, pp. 21-2.

⁶⁴ Robert Persons, 'Notes Concerning the English Mission', in 'Father Persons' Memoirs', ed. by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., in *Miscellanea IV*, (London: 1907), Catholic Record Society IV, p. 115.

⁶⁵ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 16. Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 74. A Privy Council letter of 4 August 1581, boasted that 'We have gotten from Campion certain knowledge of all his peregrinations'. Quoted in Wilson, p. 62. Park Hall was placed under surveillance by the government.

from the seat of my cradle, in myne owne country, I have lived like a foreyner'.⁶⁶

Throckmorton died in exile in Rome in 1582, and Southwell wrote a short biography of his friend.⁶⁷ He describes Throckmorton's faith and piety, even as a young boy, and his kindness to the poor. The frustrations his Catholic friends suffered at being forced to attend Protestant services led Throckmorton to form an 'unofficial seminary', or sodality, in the Forest of Arden, perhaps inspired by Campion's teaching, which allowed freedom of learning and worship, and to which 'other youths flocked from all parts of the county'.⁶⁸ This has been described memorably by F. W. Brownlow as 'a kind of ecclesiastical scout troop'!⁶⁹

Throckmorton's departure to the Continent, and, ultimately, Rome, was marked by friends, relations and servants, who 'accompanied him upon his way as if in a funeral procession, with many sad tokens of their deep affection'.⁷⁰ This was hardly a clandestine escape, but clearly an indication of the strength of recusancy in Warwickshire. Richard Wilson points out the connection between the retreat in Arden, and the old Duke's haven in *As You Like It*, where 'young gentlemen flock to him every day', and Celia and Rosalind, along with a more reluctant Touchstone, fly 'To liberty and not to banishment'.⁷¹ Whether the 'old religious

⁶⁶ Robert Southwell, *To the worshipful his very good father Mr. R.S. his dutiful son R.S. wisheth all happiness*. Letter of 1589, *The Complete Works of R. Southwell, S.J.* (London: D. Stewart, 1876), Appendix no. 1, pp. i-xviii (p. ii).

⁶⁷ Robert Southwell, *The Life of Brother Edward Throckmorton (1582-1583)*, ed. by Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), vol. 4, pp. 299, 311.

⁶⁸ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 16; Robert Southwell, *The Life of Brother Edward Throckmorton*, quoted in Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), pp. 18-21.

⁶⁹ F.W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), p. 3.

⁷⁰ Devlin, *Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr*, p. 21.

⁷¹ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 16. *As You Like It*, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, *The Arden Shakespeare*, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 1. 1. 112 and 1. 3.135.

man' of Arden had a real-life counterpart or not, flight and exile were not unknown in late sixteenth century Warwickshire.⁷²

The Calendar of State Papers for 27 April 1582 includes a copy of a letter to George Throckmorton from Rome, which states that, 'Mr. Southwell, otherwise called Father Robert, and others, desire their commendations.'⁷³ The 'local groups' which Bossy described certainly existed, but were not always exclusively local.⁷⁴ Recusant centres in Warwickshire and nearby included Park Hall and Coughton, Edstone and Idlicote, as we have seen, but a number of other houses and families were also important, and extended the Catholic 'networks' across the central and southern counties, including London, and, indeed, onto the Continent. Michael Questier uses the word 'affinity' to describe such connections.⁷⁵ Carol Curt Enos refers to 'a tangled morass of interconnections'; this thesis hopes to particularly disentangle those connections involving Shakespeare and Southwell.⁷⁶ Baddesley Clinton in Warwickshire is particularly significant because of its connections to Anne Vaux, her sister Eleanor Brooksby and their London home in Hackney, where Southwell stayed soon after his arrival in England in 1586.⁷⁷ Campion and Persons, John Gerard and Henry Garnet, Francis Tresham, whose father married Robert Throckmorton's daughter, and who was cousin to Robert Catesby of Gunpowder Plot 'fame', all have connections with the Vaux family.

⁷² *As You Like it*, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, The Arden Shakespeare, 5. 4. 158.

⁷³ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon, vol. 153, note 21, p. 52, (Robert Myddelmore to George Throckmorton).

⁷⁴ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1580* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975), p. 175.

⁷⁵ Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 182.

⁷⁶ Carol Curt Enos, *Shakespeare Settings: Stratford/Park Hall/Lancashire/Cheshire/The Catholic Mission, and London* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2007), p. 2.

⁷⁷ Childs, *God's Traitors*: p. 137.

Sheffield Lodge, in Rowington, south of Baddesley Clinton, home of the Skinners, sheltered Robert Persons during his 1580 missionary tour and was raided after the Somerville plot.⁷⁸ The Winter home at Huddington Court near Hindlip, Worcestershire, though slightly further afield, sheltered Henry Garnet, and Hindlip Hall itself was the site for the dramatic capture of Henry Garnet, Edward Oldcorne, and Nicholas Owen on 23 January 1606 after the failed Gunpowder Plot. Hindlip, the home of Thomas Habington, friend of Antony Babington, whose attempted rescue of Mary Stuart would doom her, was one of the major safe houses for Jesuits and other priests, with a series of secret passages and hiding places.⁷⁹ Lapworth Park, north of Stratford, and home of Sir William Catesby, sheltered Campion in 1580.⁸⁰ Clopton House, just outside Stratford, possessed a priest-hole. The 'network' or 'affinity' of recusants was not always nationwide, but it was more than merely local, and Robert Southwell would take advantage of this between his arrival in England in July 1586, and his capture in June 1592.

This 'elaborate network of family relationships' that linked recusants⁸¹ included such figures as Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and his wife, Anne; the Bellamy family from Uxenden, near Harrow, intimately connected to Southwell's betrayal; the Catesbys of Lapworth; John Grant of Clopton House near Snitterfield,⁸² where the priest hole was discovered in 1958; Thomas Pounce of Belmont, in Hampshire; the Southwell family themselves; the Throckmortons and Treshams; Lord Vaux and his family; the Wiseman family from Essex,

⁷⁸ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 74.

⁷⁹ Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot*, p. 258.

⁸⁰ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 74.

⁸¹ Michael Hodgetts, *Secret Hiding Places* (Dublin: Veritas, 1989), p. i.

⁸² Michael Hodgetts, 'In Search of Nicholas Owen', *The Month*, 26.4 (1961), pp. 197-209 (p. 208).

and the second and third Earls of Southampton, all were part of a Catholic ‘affinity.’ All of these figures will be shown to have links that associate them with Southwell or Shakespeare, and often with them both. The same close networks, linked by family, friendship, service and religion also played an important element in Lancastrian recusancy, as we shall see. In July 1586, shortly after Southwell’s arrival in England, a missionary conference was convened at Hurleyford in Buckinghamshire, where a strategic decision was taken to allocate certain Catholic households as ‘proper missionary posts.’⁸³ Hurleyford was owned by Richard Bold, originally from Lancashire, and at one time a member of Leicester’s household. Like Robert Arden, he had quarrelled with Leicester, apparently under the influence of the Jesuit William Weston.⁸⁴ It was after this conference that the majority of the hiding places, or ‘priest holes’ were constructed in the designated safehouses, many by the carpenter Nicholas Owen, known widely as ‘Little John’. ‘Our papists here are wondrous cunning’, wrote Job Throgmorton, a Puritan magistrate from Haseley in Warwickshire, ‘and frail men without grace are easily corrupted.’⁸⁵ ‘Grace’ is a concept to which we will return.

Those ‘corrupted’ in the Stratford area, and in Warwickshire as a whole, were numerous. The September 1592 Commission reveals 377 names of those who were ‘willfull recusant’, ‘still obstinate’, ‘still a willfull recusant’, or ‘obstinate recusant’.⁸⁶ Apart from those who failed to attend church ‘for feare of prosecution for debte’, Stratford presented fifteen names, including

⁸³ Childs, *God’s Traitors*, p. 178.

⁸⁴ William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 1611, trans. and ed. by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955), pp. 69-71, 76.

⁸⁵ Edgar Innes Fripp, *Shakespeare’s Haunts Near Stratford* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 72-3.

⁸⁶ ‘Certificates of Indicted Recusants 1592’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, Edward Tangye Lean Collection, DR 362/24, p. 1.

three ‘fled now out of Stratford’, and one ‘suspected to be Seminary preest or a Jesuit.’⁸⁷ Another undated list records twenty-five names in ‘Stratforde Super Avon’, and recusancy returns from March 1592 list forty-one names, suggesting that by the time of the September return, some recusants were being more circumspect.⁸⁸ Henry, Lord Berkeley, in overall charge of the search for recusants in Warwickshire, wrote on 16 December 1591, of ‘certain seminaries, Jesuites, and fugitives, latelie crept into the Realme (as it is thought) in great numbers [as well as] others who obstinatelie refuse to come to the Church.’⁸⁹ A letter from the Privy Council dated 23 July 1592, refers to the seizure of arms and armour from known recusant families in 1585: ‘Since that tyme there are divers others in that countie discovered and that have professed themselves to be Recusantes’.⁹⁰ Allowing for government paranoia – ‘some thousands have kept armour’ - clearly Warwickshire, and the Stratford area in particular, presented a problem for the authorities. Stratford itself, Hampton-in-Arden, Kenilworth, Wooten Wawen and Henley-in-Arden all feature prominently in the parishes where recusants were presented. The Privy Council followed up their July letter with another of 31 December 1592, concerned with the number of boys being sent abroad ‘under Culler of learning the languages’, but really to be ‘brought up in the papish religion and corruptness of manners to the manifest preuidice of the state’. Many of these ‘doe bee come seminarie preestes, Jhesuites, and unsound subjects’.⁹¹ The houses of suspected exiles were to be

⁸⁷ ‘Certificates of Indicted Recusants 1592’, pp. 2, 19A. Also, ‘Recusants in Warwickshire 1592’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER 82/2/4.

⁸⁸ ‘Undated List of Stratford Recusants’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER/82/2/4; ‘Recusancy at Stratford-Upon-Avon’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, PR 292/3; ‘Recusants in Warwickshire 1592’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER/82/2/4.

⁸⁹ ‘Letters Concerning Recusancy in Warwickshire December 1591 – December 1592’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER 82/2/4.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

searched thoroughly, particularly ‘there closetes, chests, desks, and coffers’.⁹² John Shakespeare’s concealment of his *Spirituell Testament* makes sense under such government scrutiny. Anyone known to be ‘gon out of that shire’ was to be investigated, as was any household known to have offered ‘diet or lodging’ within the previous twelve months.⁹³

Such a detailed investigation must have required assistance from local officials, churchwardens and ministers, as well as the informers mentioned earlier. The records reveal considerable personal details of recusants, including those under suspicion for not baptising their children; for persuading the people ‘to papisticall errors’; and, in the case of ‘one Jane Palmer’, being ‘put away by her saide father’ for refusing to come to church.⁹⁴ Supposition and gossip are evident; he ‘is yet thought to bee dangerous, booth for perswadinge , and seducinge’; and, ‘we have heard that a man childe was baptised at Mrs Edwardes’.⁹⁵ Nor were excuses for non-attendance at church always believed: ‘there excuses as we have proved of late are not good and lawfull’.⁹⁶ John Shakespeare’s friends on the Stratford council were, perhaps, less inclined than some to probe too carefully into his reasons for not attending Holy Trinity Church.

Additional evidence for this is provided by the favourable treatment John received in comparison with other Corporation members with regard to attendance at Corporation meetings. On 3 September 1578, for example, John Wheeler was fined twenty shillings for

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ ‘Instructions Re Recusants in Warwickshire, temp. Q. Elizabeth: Further Instructions to the Commissioners’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER 82/2/4.

⁹⁴ ‘Recusants in Warwickshire 1592’, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER/82/2/4.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

his failure to attend at the halls, and the fine was repeated when he missed the next meeting, four days later. In both cases, John Shakespeare was not fined.⁹⁷ The next year, on 15 July, the records state: 'Mr Wheler hath made default not appearing at this hall accordinge to this order therefore to be amerced'. Shakespeare's absence again passed without notice.⁹⁸ On 6 September 1581 Thomas Brogden was dismissed from the Corporation for non-attendance, while John Shakespeare was retained. Neither man had attended a meeting since September 1576. But Shakespeare was retained among the list of aldermen for another five years.⁹⁹ Whether out of friendship and respect, his financial situation, sympathy for his religious stance, or all three, it seems clear that John Shakespeare was treated as a special case by his colleagues on the Corporation. As we have seen, he was able to provide cash when necessary, strengthening the case that his religious beliefs accounted for his actions. The many examples of official pressure on recusants evident in the records show why he had good reason to act as he did.

Other interesting names in the local recusant records include Thomas Reynolds and his wife Margaret, neighbours of the Shakespeares, whose son would be named in William Shakespeare's will, and the Cawdreys of Henley Street, whose son George was a near contemporary of William, and who became a Jesuit priest. Hamnet and Judith Sadler were also presented for recusancy, and so, interestingly, was Susanna Shakespeare. Shakespeare's eldest daughter was named for refusing to take Communion on Easter Sunday 1606, though this seems to have been an isolated case of defiance. She was reported to the Ecclesiastical Court in May, with twenty other Stratfordians, and failed to answer the summons. Her

⁹⁷ *The Minutes and Accounts*, vol. iii, pp. 19, 70.

⁹⁸ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. iii, p. 33.

⁹⁹ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. iii, p. 91.

penalty was reserved to the next sessions, where her case was dismissed, according to the entry in the margin of the court record. She either conformed or promised that she would do so.¹⁰⁰ On 5 June 1607 she married the strongly Protestant John Hall, though it is worth noting that Hall's practice was ecumenical, and by no means confined to Protestant patients.¹⁰¹

Another entry in both the March and the September 1592 lists for Stratford is that of 'Rychard Dibdale of Shottry ... because hee hath not bene at church for this yeare', and because he 'continueth still obstinate in his recusancie'.¹⁰² The Dibdale, or Debdale family included a Jesuit priest, Robert, who was later attacked by Samuel Harsnett for his part in the exorcisms that would provide some inspiration for *King Lear*, and that were performed partly at Lord Vaux's house in Hackney, and partly in Denham.¹⁰³ Sara Williams, Lady Vaux's maid, was one of those exorcised; Debdale was her confessor.¹⁰⁴ Debdale arrived in England in 1580, accompanied by Simon Hunt, schoolmaster in Stratford from 1571-1575. Richard Wilson suggests a family connection between Debdale and Shakespeare, identifying Shakespeare's grandmother, Mrs. Robert Arden, née Palmer, as Robert's great-aunt, but evidence is lacking.¹⁰⁵ Debdale is certainly connected with Richard Bold and his household at

¹⁰⁰ E.R.C. Brinkworth, *Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1973), p. 46; Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, pp. 306-8; Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, pp. 286-7.

¹⁰¹ See *John Hall and his Patients: The Medical practice of Shakespeare's Son-in-Law*, ed. by Joan Lane, with medical commentary by Melvin Earles (Stratford-upon-Avon: Allan Sutton, 1996).

¹⁰² 'Recusants in Warwickshire 1592', Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre Library, The Richard Savage Papers, ER/82/2/4; 'The Second Certificate by the Commissioners for Recusancy in Warwickshire', *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon*, vol. iv, 1586-1592 (London: 1929), pp. 159-62; 'In the Parrishe of Stratford-Upon-Avon', Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, Edward Tangye Lean Collection, 1592, DR 362/24. p. 10.

¹⁰³ Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Imposters* (London: 1603). Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3. 4. 101, 125, 128.

¹⁰⁴ Childs, *God's Traitors*, pp. 112-122.

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 72.

Harlesford, moving there from Denham, therefore connecting Debdale with Southwell, Garnet and William Weston.¹⁰⁶ Debdale was at the seminary in Rheims with George Cawdrey; arrested in 1582, but released, Debdale was rearrested in 1586 and eventually executed on 8 October 1586. After his first arrest, his father was able to send him, in the Gatehouse prison, a letter, bread and cheeses, via the Stratford carrier William Greenaway.¹⁰⁷ Another of Debdale's Jesuit colleagues was Thomas Cottam, brother of John Cottam, who also was a Stratford schoolmaster. Thomas brought a letter and 'certain tokens' for Debdale's family in Shotton, when he left France in June 1580.¹⁰⁸ He, too, was caught, and the letter passed into the hands of the authorities. Robert Southwell's time in Rome coincided with both Debdale and Simon Hunt. Shotton, home of Anne Hathaway, was, according to Weis, 'a community locked into recusancy, where a few closely-knit families lived cheek-by-jowl in mutual support.'¹⁰⁹ The affinity of recusants was strongly woven for the Catholic community in Stratford and elsewhere in Warwickshire.

'Elsewhere' includes Cheshire. We have already seen John Shakespeare's connection with the Arden family in his 1599 application for a coat of arms. The Arden or Arderne family were prominent landowners in Cheshire from the early thirteenth century, when Sir John de Arderne was granted lands by Henry III. Sir John was the younger son of Eustace de Arderne of Warwickshire, the founder of the branch of the family whose descendants included Edward Arden of Park Hall.¹¹⁰ The Cheshire branch's arms, 'Gules, three Cross-Crosslets Fitchée,

¹⁰⁶ Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, pp. 70-72; notes pp. 76-77.

¹⁰⁷ Edgar Innes Fripp, *Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ Fripp, *Shakespeare's Haunts*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁹ Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cheshire* (Sheffield: 1850), quoted in records held by Stockport Heritage Library, Box 19 (H).

and a Chief d'Or' appear in the sketches made for the Shakespeare family by the College of Arms.¹¹¹ Linked by marriage, land and status to other prominent local families such as the Fittons of Gawsworth, the Davenports of Bramhall, the Stanleys of Alderley and the Warrens of Poynton, strong connections can also be traced with the Hoghton, Hesketh, and Stanley families of Lancashire, all of whom may well have played an important part in William Shakespeare's 'missing years'. As Carol Curt Enos wrote, 'the Cheshire Ardens should be studied as a possible route through whom Shakespeare could have been introduced to the Hoghtons.'¹¹² But what could connect Shakespeare directly with Cheshire families? The answer may lie with two men with whom John Shakespeare was deeply connected during his work on the Stratford Corporation. John Bretchgirdle became Vicar of Stratford in 1561 and remained so until his death in 1565. During this period, John Shakespeare served as Chamberlain, and later, Acting Chamberlain. As such he was responsible for the renovation of the Vicar's house. The Accounts of 10 January 1564, prepared by Shakespeare, include three invoices 'payd for repaying ye vicars house', 'making ye vicars chimney', 'working at ye vicars hous', as well as payment of the twenty- four shillings' rent on the house.¹¹³ Bretchgirdle would, of course, have baptised both Margaret and William Shakespeare, but probably a deeper connection between John Shakespeare and Bretchgirdle would have been forged when on 11 July 1564 the plague arrived in Stratford. On that date the Registers of Holy Trinity ominously record, 'Hic Inceptis Pestis'.¹¹⁴ By the end of the year they record 235 deaths. The Chamberlain's Accounts of 21 March 1565, made by John Shakespeare

¹¹¹ Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare*, p. 230.

¹¹² Carol Curt Enos, *Shakespeare and the Catholic Religion* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance, 2000), p. 72.

¹¹³ *The Minute and Accounts of The Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon*, vol. I, p. 128.

¹¹⁴ 'The Registers of Stratford-Upon-Avon', transcribed by Richard Savage (London: Parish Register Society, 1905), 'Burials 1558-1605', p. Cited in Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 10, Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 34.

instead of the appointed Chamberlains William Tyler and William Smith, because of the devastation caused by the plague, record three extra payments made to the Vicar, presumably for the greatly increased number of burial services.¹¹⁵ The same Accounts also record the eleven shillings and sixpence paid for ‘a prest bord and his drynkynges at the Swan’. Mr Bretchgirdle required extra assistance during these terrible days. Clearly, John Shakespeare was also deeply involved, and working closely with Bretchgirdle.

John Bretchgirdle’s first appointment after ordination had been as curate at Witton cum Twembrooke near Northwich in Cheshire. He then became vicar of Great Budworth, a village in Cheshire within fifteen miles of the Arderne seat, which was just outside Stockport.¹¹⁶ While at Witton, he also taught pupils, at what would later become Sir John Dean’s Grammar School - still in existence - and whose pupils included one John Brownsword, who would himself become a schoolmaster. Brownsword wrote verse of sufficient quality to have been included in Francis Meres’ list of poets in *Palladis Tamia* (1598).¹¹⁷ After graduating, Brownsword became a schoolmaster in Cheshire, first at Wilmslow, four miles from Stockport, and then in Macclesfield, six miles further south. He was acquainted with the locally important Warren family, whose head, Sir Edward Warren, was friendly with the Stanleys of Lancashire, and who married both into the Fitton family and the Davenports.¹¹⁸ Brownsword was next appointed to the post of schoolmaster in Warwick, and in April 1565 became schoolmaster in Stratford, presumably recommended by

¹¹⁵ *The Minutes and Accounts*, vol. I, pp. 138-9.

¹¹⁶ Edgar I. Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies: Biographical and Literary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), pp. 13-16.

¹¹⁷ *The Minutes and Accounts*, vol. I, pp. lv; Fripp, *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 37.

¹¹⁸ A poem of Brownsword’s, written in Poynton, is extant. Quoted in *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. I, p. lv. For the Stanley connection, see *The Derby Household Book, Week of the first of Auguste, 1590*, Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2429, p. 28.

Bretchgirdle, for whom Brownsword clearly had a great respect, judging by his verses in his praise.¹¹⁹ John Shakespeare, as Acting Chamberlain, had the responsibility for transporting Brownsword, his wife and his possessions, from Warwick to Stratford. The *Agreement* between the Corporation and Brownsword drawn up on 1 April included a clause that Brownsword would repay the Chamberlains' five pounds if the schoolmaster did not fulfil the terms of his contract, 'for that they have byn at charges in plasyng him and his wife and his goods'.¹²⁰

Brownsword returned to Macclesfield, where a description of the town written c. 1621 described him as 'a Schoolmaster of great fame for Learning, and Singular method of Teaching, who living many years, brought up most of the Gentry of this Shire.'¹²¹ John Bretchgirdle, as his will of June 1565 shows, also maintained his links with Cheshire, leaving money to the poor both of Witton and of Great Budworth.¹²² William Webb's *Description of Macclesfield and the surrounding area* lists the names of 'all and singular Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen and Freeholders in the County of Chester. Anno 1579.'¹²³ It includes Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth, William Davenport of Bramhall and Thomas Stanley of Alderley. All of these important gentry have close connections with the Arderne or Arden family, also listed by Webb. These familial links will be examined further, as we discuss the Lancashire connection with Shakespeare, but significant examples here include evidence provided in the Cheshire Visitations of 1566 and 1580 by the College of Herald's, where Arderne's, Fitton's,

¹¹⁹ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. 1, p. lv.

¹²⁰ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. 1, p. 143.

¹²¹ William Webb, *A Description of the Macclesfield Hundred*, in J.P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present; or A History of the Hundred in Macclesfield in the County Palatine of Chester, From Original Records*, vol. I (London: 1880), p. 11.

¹²² *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. I, pp. 29-33, reproduces the will in full.

¹²³ Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, pp. 17-18.

Stanleys and Warrens are brought together. Marriage between the Ardernes and Stanleys is affirmed in the 1566 Visitation. The death of Ralph Arderne in 1540 and the Inquisition Post Mortem that followed is attested to by Thomas Stanley.¹²⁴ Sir William Davenport's Inquisition Post Mortem was held in October 1577 before a number of gentlemen, including Edward Fitton. The Fitton and Hesketh family of Lancashire were joined in a number of marriages, including that of Alice Fitton, whose marriage to Sir John Hesketh allowed the Heskeths to acquire 'the other moiety of Rufford, and so become sole lord of the manor, Rufford, thenceforward becoming the principal residence of the family.'¹²⁵ Rufford, the Hoghton homes and the Stanley residences in Lancashire are all of significance for a possible narrative of William's Shakespeare's early career, as we shall discover shortly.

Sir William Davenport, mentioned above, was knighted at the Siege of Leith in May 1544.¹²⁶ So too, significantly, was John Arderne of the Cheshire Ardernes, and Thomas Hesketh of Rufford was also present, and did brave service. He 'there was sore hurte in div'se places and had his ensigne strooken downe'.¹²⁷ This raid, designed to demand the surrender of the infant Mary Stuart, resulted in the plundering of Edinburgh and the burning of Leith, and is merely a footnote in the annals of Henry VIII, but it demonstrates very clearly the close connections between these families of Cheshire and Lancashire, and, quite possibly, how John Shakespeare's relationship with Brownsword and Bretchgirdle, well-known men from Cheshire, could have been influential in the later career of William. Sir Edward Warren of Poynton, for example, mentioned above as connected with Brownsword, has a poem

¹²⁴ Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, pp. 20-1, 474 and 468.

¹²⁵ James Croston, *County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire* (Manchester and London: John Heywood, 1887), p. 392.

¹²⁶ Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, p. 428.

¹²⁷ Croston, *County Families*, pp. 398-9. For Arderne, Stockport, Local Heritage Library, Box 19 (H).

addressed to him in John Weever's *Epigrammes*, published in 1599, and dedicated overall 'To the Right Worshipfull and Worthie Honoured Gentleman Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Tower'.¹²⁸ The work also refers to 'The Right Worshipfull, Sir Edward Warren, Knight, Graced with al Giftes both of the Mind and Bodie'.¹²⁹ The same collection of poems famously refers to 'Honie-tong'd Shakespeare', and alludes to 'Rose-cheekt Adonis', 'Faire fire-hot Venus', as well as 'Tarquine', 'chaste Lucretia', and 'Romea Richard: more whose names I know not'.¹³⁰ Clearly, Weever was well-acquainted with Shakespeare's early work, at least. Three more of the *Epigrammes* are dedicated to members of the Hoghton family from Lancashire, and one to 'Ferdinand. Darbie', recently dead.¹³¹ The Warren, Fitton and Davenport families of Cheshire were all related to each other through marriages; Sir Edward Warren of the *Epigrammes*, for example, married a Fitton for his first wife, and a Davenport for his second.¹³² The Davenports were related to the Stockport Ardernes.¹³³ Both Fittons and Warrens are recorded in the Derby Household Book as visitors to the Stanleys.¹³⁴ These visits to Lathom House are recorded in June and August of 1590. Edward Warren is listed as a recusant in the Recusant Roll for Cheshire dated Michaelmas 1592 to Michaelmas 1593.¹³⁵

¹²⁸ John Weever, *Epigrammes In the Oldest Cut, And Newest Fashion*, (London: 1599), edited by R.B. McKerrow (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1911), p. 1.

¹²⁹ Weever, *Epigrammes*, p. 62.

¹³⁰ Weever, *Epigrammes*, p. 75.

¹³¹ Weever, *Epigrammes*, pp. 92, 112, 95.

¹³² Helen Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong, Shropshire* (Much Wenlock: Smith and Associates, 2013), p. 175.

¹³³ Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, p. 438.

¹³⁴ *The Derby Household Books, Including: A Diary Containing The Names Of The Guests Who Visited The Latter Earl At His Houses In Lancashire, By William FFarington, Esquire, The Comptroller*, ed. by Rev. F. R. Raines (Manchester: The Chetham Society 31, 1853), 'The Stanley Papers' Part 2, pp. 82, 89. A copy is held in Preston, Lancashire Records Office, DDF 2429, Online access at: <http://archivecat.lancashire.gov.uk/calmview>.

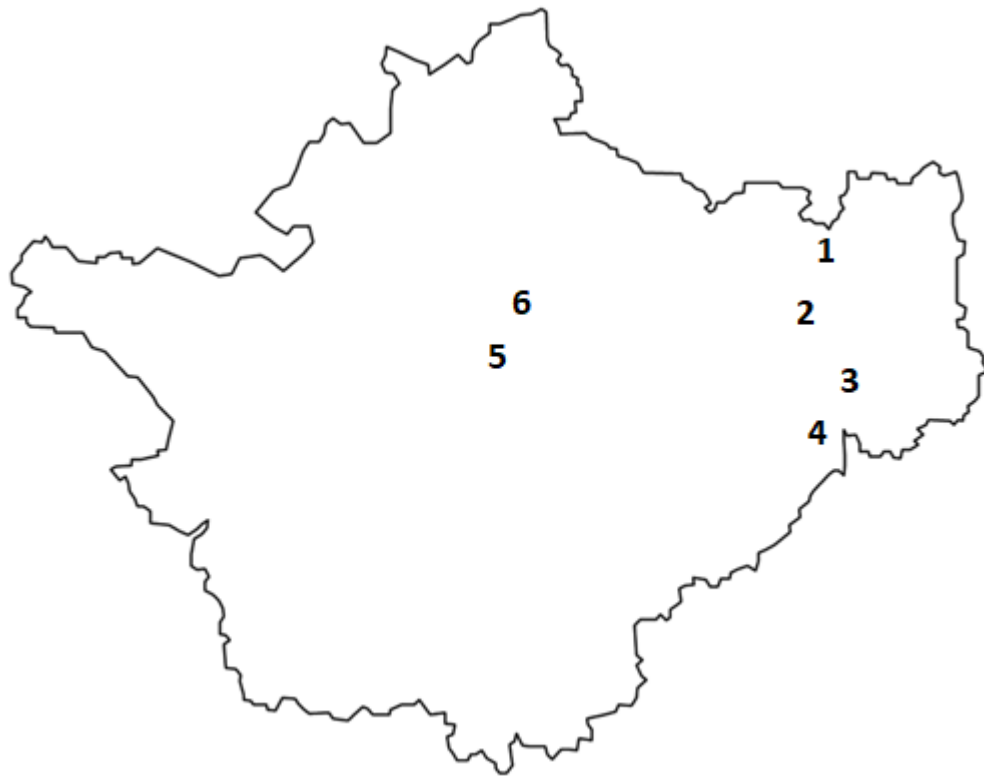
¹³⁵ *Recusant Roll. No.I, Michaelmas 1592-1593, Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrance Pipe Office Series*, Catholic Record Society 18 (London: 1916), p. 169.

In the Roll, no fewer than 700 names from Lancashire are listed, and 200 from Cheshire, ‘and yet the number doubted to be farre greater not to us certified’.¹³⁶ Fourteen years earlier, in 1579, the Privy Council grumbled that many of the Cheshire gentlemen who appeared to be conformist were suspected to be ‘cherishers’ and ‘common interteynors’ of priests, and whose homes were ‘greatlie infected with popery and not looked into’.¹³⁷ As we shall see, some of these Cheshire families were closely related in their estates and other dealings to a number of the Lancashire Catholics in the circle of the Hoghtons and Heskeths. These ties and connections strongly increase the possibility of John Shakespeare’s close acquaintance with Bretchgirdle and Brownsword being later turned to use in finding employment for a teenage William in strongly Catholic Lancashire. The importance of Bretchgirdle and Brownsword has not previously been explored in depth.

¹³⁶ *Recusant Roll. No. 1, Michaelmas 1592-3*, p. 336.

¹³⁷ Kew, Public Record Office, State Paper 12/168/35 cited in K. R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 3rd Series, xix, 1971), pp. 49-50.

Cheshire



1. Stockport
2. Poyton
3. Macclesfield
4. Gawsworth
5. Northwich
6. Great Budworth

Edmund Spenser wrote in the 1590s of Catholics who resisted the Elizabethan settlement, ‘knowing peril of death awaited them, and no reward nor riches were to be found’.¹³⁸ As we have seen, the Statute of 1581 greatly increased penalties for those who remained ‘willfull recusant’. The Proclamation of 10 January 1581 ordered the return of all English students from foreign seminaries, who had been made ‘instruments in some wicked practices tending to the disquiet of this realm [...] yea, to the moving of rebellion.’¹³⁹ It was in 1581 that John Cottam [sometimes ‘Cottom’] made an abrupt departure from his position as Stratford schoolmaster, after only two years in the post. Cottam, from Tarnacre in Lancashire, was the brother of Thomas Cottam, the Jesuit priest and companion of Campion, who was tried with Campion in November 1581 and shared his fate of being hung, drawn and quartered. Robert Debdale of Shotton was another member of this group of Jesuit missionaries. Simon Hunt, schoolmaster in Stratford from 1571-1575, left Stratford for Douai, becoming Director of Penance at the English College in Rome, succeeding Robert Persons. Hunt was educated firstly at St. John’s College in Oxford, the college attended by Campion, as well as by Simon Jenkins, who succeeded Hunt as schoolmaster. Hunt went to Rome in the company of Robert Debdale.¹⁴⁰ Did any of these schoolmasters, particularly John Cottam, also play a part in William Shakespeare’s early career? Cottam would return to his roots in Lancashire after leaving his post in Stratford, marrying Catherine Dove from Essex and having a daughter, Priscilla. She married Thomas Walton of Lancashire and had sons. Two of them became

¹³⁸ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, lines 5051-2, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949). The work was entered at the Stationer’s Register on 14 April 1598, although not published until 1633. See Elizabeth Fowler, ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 314-22.

¹³⁹ Alford, *The Watchers*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Milward, ‘Shakespeare’s Jesuit Schoolmasters’, in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 58-70.

Catholic priests; one, James, joined the Jesuits, and returned to the English Mission. The alias he took was ‘Thomas Cottam’.¹⁴¹ The account of him in the *Diary* describes him as ‘deficient in obedience to discipline as a student.’¹⁴² Whatever influence John Cottam had on the teenage Shakespeare, Alexander Hoghton, a prominent Lancashire recusant, wrote his will on 3 August 1581, less than three weeks after the capture of Edmund Campion. One of the beneficiaries was a ‘William Shakeshafte’. The will also named one ‘John Cotem’, the same spelling used for Cottam’s surname in the 1581 list of prisoners held in the Tower.¹⁴³ Edmund Campion’s missionary journey had included a stay with the Hoghtons, leaving on 15 May 1581.¹⁴⁴ Before his journey north he had stayed in Warwickshire, with the Catesbys at Lapworth.¹⁴⁵ Robert Southwell was now in Rheims, studying for ordination, having already taken his Jesuit vows. Had Shakespeare also travelled from his home, to an even more strongly recusant county than Warwickshire? His grandfather, Richard, had been bailiff at Wroxall, near Rowington, and his great-aunts Isabella and Joan, or ‘Jane’, had been Prioress and sub-Prioress at the priory there in the early decades of the century.¹⁴⁶ Did the ‘Bare ruined choirs’ of the Priory perhaps mean more to him than a merely picturesque or nostalgic glimpse of the past?¹⁴⁷ We have examined some of the people and incidents that made up the world in which Shakespeare was born and grew up, and which must have influenced him.

¹⁴¹ *The Diary of The English College, Rome, From 1579-1773*, in Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. VI (London: Burns and Oates, 1880), p. 314.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ For Alexander Hoghton’s will, Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2429. For the spelling of Cottam’s name, see *Miscellanea*, Catholic Record Society, vol. 2 (London: Arden Press, 1906), p. 221. This volume contains the official lists of Catholic prisoners held from 1581-1602.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Wilson, ‘Shakespeare and the Jesuits’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 December 1997, pp. 11-13.

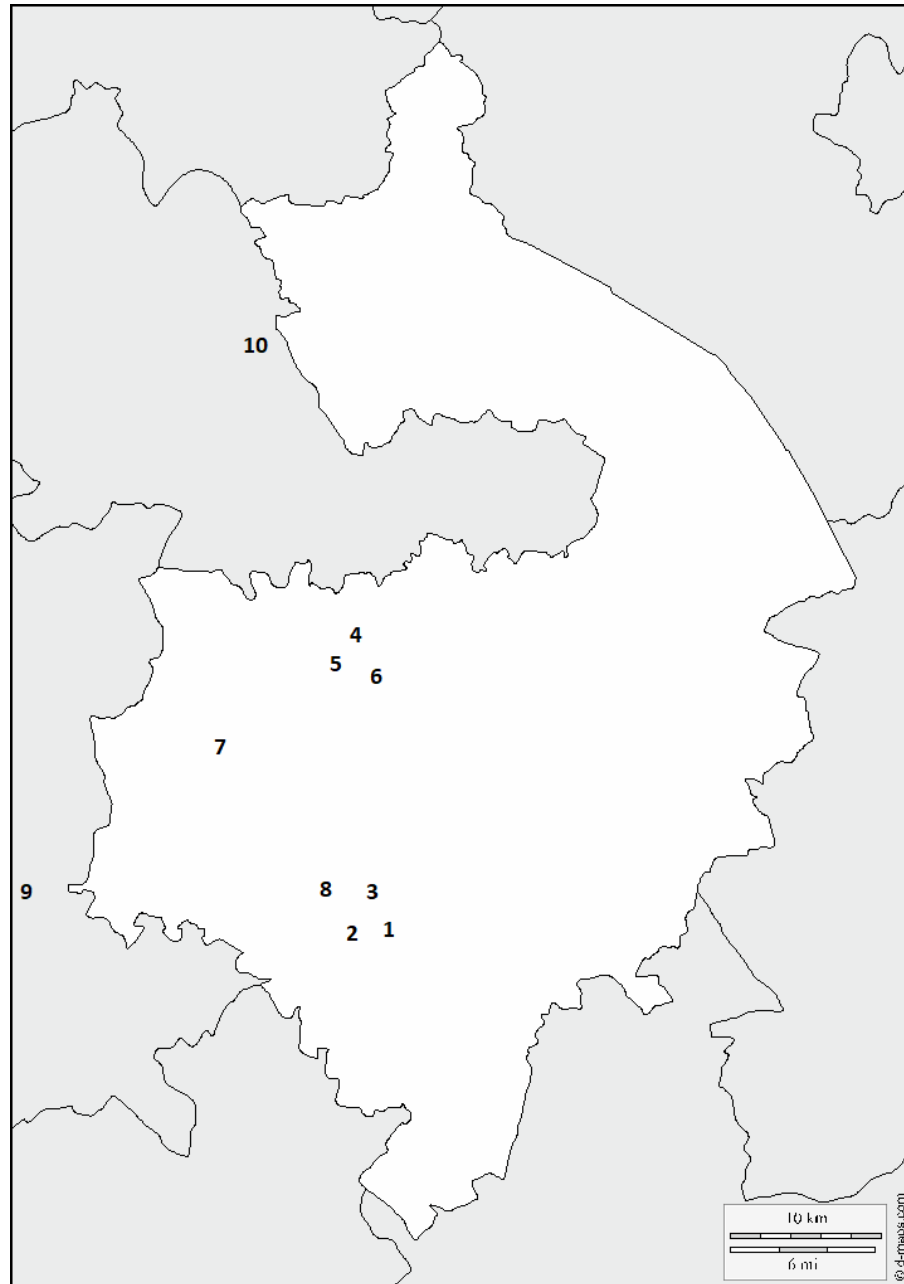
¹⁴⁵ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 74.

¹⁴⁶ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 29. Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 280.

¹⁴⁷ Shakespeare, Sonnet 73, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997), l. 4.

Did he then choose to leave Stratford for a time, to become part of another closely-knit community some one hundred and fifty miles north?

Warwickshire



1. Stratford-upon-Avon
2. Shottery
3. Wilmcote
4. Baddesley Clinton
5. Lapworth
6. Rowington
7. Coughton
8. Billesley
9. Hindlip
10. Park Hall

Corrupt Schoolmasters in Private Houses

At Rufford Old Hall, near Ormskirk in Lancashire, for many years the seat of the Hesketh family, now a National Trust property, there is a large entrance hall, built in the seventeenth century and originally used as a kitchen. In the hall hang two tapestries, described in the House guidebooks as ‘early 17th century Flemish’, both illustrating scenes from the Trojan War.¹⁴⁸ In his 1995 book, Eric Sams suggested that the long description of the fall of Troy in Shakespeare’s *The Rape of Lucrece* could have been partly based on his knowledge of the tapestries.¹⁴⁹ The poet’s description of this ‘piece / Of skilful painting made for Priam’s Troy,’ matches details of the tapestries, with their depiction of ‘the towers of Troy’, the ‘great commanders’ and the ‘press of gaping faces’.¹⁵⁰ An inventory of ‘my Lord’s Chamber’ made after the death of Robert Hesketh in 1620 valued the tapestries at twenty- two pounds,¹⁵¹ but the dating of the tapestries as ‘early 17th century’ would preclude any possibility of a poem entered in the Stationers’ Register in May 1594 being partly inspired by Shakespeare’s intimate knowledge of the furnishings of the Hesketh home. However, the tapestries were bought by the National Trust in 2012 and the fabrics subjected to an analysis of fibres and dyes, with the aim of establishing a more accurate dating. The result placed their manufacture

¹⁴⁸ Richard Dean, *Rufford Old Hall: A Souvenir Guide* (National Trust, 2007), pp. 6, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1564-1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 38.

¹⁵⁰ *Shakespeare’s Poems: The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H.R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), ll. 1366-67, 1382, 1387, 1408.

¹⁵¹ Dean, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 7.

from 1580 to 1610, much earlier than previously believed.¹⁵² It therefore increases the likelihood that the young Shakespeare, if living in Lancashire in the early 1580s as part of the Hesketh household, could have seen, admired and remembered a new and valuable acquisition by Sir Thomas Hesketh, Robert's father. Sir Thomas (1526-1588) was Catholic, knighted by Queen Mary in 1553, and arrested and imprisoned in 1584 for his faith, only earning his release by a fulsome admission that he had been 'over negligent to see the reformation of some in his famylie'.¹⁵³ His wife, Alice, was known as 'a fearless harbourer of Catholic priests',¹⁵⁴ his eldest son, Robert, married an heiress of the Stanley family,¹⁵⁵ and at least two members of his immediate family, Roger Ashton and Richard Hesketh, were executed in the early 1590s for their Catholicism.¹⁵⁶

But why would a young man from Stratford find himself so far from home, and what could Shakespeare have been doing if he was in strongly recusant Lancashire? The Recusant Rolls for the county of 1592-1593 contain no less than fifty-six pages of 'presented' Catholics.¹⁵⁷ Earlier, Thomas Meade, the Vicar of Prescott, due south of Ormskirk, wrote to his friend Dr. Goad, Provost of King's College, Cambridge: 'This country as yet is very backward in religion. They that have the sword in their hands under her Majesty to redress abuses among

¹⁵² Personal conversation with staff at Rufford Old Hall (12 April 2015).

¹⁵³ Dean, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Dean, *Rufford Old Hall*, Family Tree, pp. 46-7.

¹⁵⁶ Dean, *Rufford Old Hall*, p. 47. Also, *The Genealogie Of The Worshipful And Auncient Familie Of The Heskaythes Of Rufford In Lancashire, Copied From The Original Roll, Together with the Hesketh Pedigrees From The Visitations Of Lancashire, 1613, 1664, etc.* (London: Privately Printed, 1869).

¹⁵⁷ *Recusant Roll No. 1, 1592-1593*, compiled by M. M. C. Calthrop, Catholic Record Society, vol. 18 (1916).

us, suffer it to rust in the scabbard'.¹⁵⁸ In 1574 the Privy Council described Lancashire as 'the very sink of popery, where more unlawful acts have been committed and more unlawful persons holden secret than in any other part of the realm.'¹⁵⁹ In 1578 304 recusants and 43 non-communicants were presented before the courts in four months alone. The comparable figures for neighbouring Yorkshire were 32 and 30.¹⁶⁰ Christopher Haigh has estimated that during Elizabeth's reign almost 150 seminary and Jesuit priests worked in Lancashire, and 42 schoolmasters were presented or suspected as Catholics.¹⁶¹ The comparative isolation of Lancashire and its distance from the court and Privy Council in London undoubtedly contributed to the strength of Catholicism in the county, as did the close network of familial and social relationships within the area – the 'affinities' we have encountered previously. Catholic families tended to marry within the faith and therefore establish close links with other gentry households.¹⁶² As Haigh observes, 'popular religion [by which he meant Catholicism] was flowering into new life rather than decaying.'¹⁶³ Clearly, Lancashire contained a large number of actively Catholic households, as did Warwickshire. Antonia Fraser has pointed out that sixteen was the age at which Catholic youths would incur fines of their own for not attending Protestant services, and that it became common for parents to send their sons away, 'to a distant neighbourhood', to avoid these fines, preferably to a Catholic

¹⁵⁸ *Prescot Records*: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, volume 89 (1937), p. 310. Another letter, also dated 1586, affirms that 'All our gentlemen are ether obstinate recusants or verie cold professors', p. 301.

¹⁵⁹ Kew, P.R.O. SP 12/44. Letter to Lord Derby. Cited in Christopher Hague, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 223.

¹⁶⁰ Hague, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 263.

¹⁶¹ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 290-1.

¹⁶² Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), points out that 'the policy on the marriage market of some of the leading Catholics of the period was to arrange clearly Catholic marriages for their children, often outside their own county', p. 60.

¹⁶³ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 117.

household.¹⁶⁴ Shakespeare became sixteen in 1580. Gilbert and Edmund Shakespeare would both later be found in London. We have examined John Shakespeare's financial and business dealings in Stratford, as well as his close connection with John Bretchgirdle and John Brownsword of Cheshire, and the affinities between Cheshire and Lancashire families. Related to the Heskeths of Rufford, both by marriage and by geographical proximity, was another strongly Catholic family, the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower and Lea Hall.

If Lancashire was indeed a county 'where the Gospel as yet hath not been thoroughly planted', according to a Privy Council report of 1583, the Hoghton family certainly offered stony ground for reformers.¹⁶⁵ 'Thomas Hoghton, Armiger', who built Hoghton Tower near Preston in 1565, was listed on 29 January 1577 as a 'fugitive over the seas', contrary to the Statute of 1571.¹⁶⁶ In fact, he had exiled himself at some time in 1569, unable to reconcile his conscience with the new religion. A poem, *The Blessed Conscience*, usually attributed to Hoghton's butler, Roger Anderson or Anderton, who followed his master abroad, describes the feelings of the exile:

Thus Merry England Have I left
And crossed the raging sea,
Wherof the waves have me bereft
Of my dear country.
At Hoghton High, which is a bower,
Of sports and lordly pleasure,
I wept and left the lofty tower
Which was my chiefest pleasure
To save my soul did lose the rest

¹⁶⁴ Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot*, p. 25. See also, Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 100.

¹⁶⁵ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 266.

¹⁶⁶ *Recusant Documents From the Ellesmere Manuscripts: List of Catholic Exiles*, Catholic Record Society, ed. by Anthony G. Petti, vol. 60 (1968), No.1, 29 January 1577, p. 2.

It was my true pretence:
Like frightened bird, I left my nest
To keep my conscience.¹⁶⁷

As we have seen, exile in one form or another was not an uncommon experience for English Catholics. The poem concludes with a moving eulogy to Thomas Hoghton:

His life a mirror was to all,
His death without offence;
“Confessor” then, let us him call.
O blessed conscience.

Whether or not he shared Kent’s feeling that ‘Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here’, Hoghton never returned to England.¹⁶⁸ The Privy Council reported on 29 September 1571 that Hoghton ‘has fled and cannot be found’.¹⁶⁹ He appears to have initially settled in Antwerp, before visiting Douai, whose English seminary he had supported, possibly with money earned from the alum mines on his estates at Alum Scar, Pleasington.¹⁷⁰ After Hoghton’s exile, his brother, Alexander, of nearby Park Hall, managed his estates for him. Park Hall was searched after Campion’s arrest in 1581, because the house was ‘where it is

¹⁶⁷ *The Blessed Conscience*, cited in Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, pp. 45-6, and in George C. Miller, *Hoghton Tower in History and Romance* (Preston: Guardian Press, 1954), pp. 29-33. The original manuscript of this 23 stanza poem is among the framed papers kept at Hoghton Tower. See also, Joseph Gillow, *The Haydock Papers: A glimpse into English Catholic Life* (London: Burns and Oates, 1880), pp. 10-15. Gillow believed that the poem was written by Richard Verstegan, the Catholic agent, (Miller, p. 32). The Jesuit scholar Peter Milward sees an allusion to this poem in *Titus Andronicus*, when Aaron tells Lucius, ‘I know thou are religious / And hast a thing within thee called conscience’; *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by Jonathan Bate, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), 5. 1. 74-5; Peter Milward, ‘Shakespeare in Lancashire’, *The Month*, Second New Series, vol. 33 4 (April 2000), 141-146 (p. 146).

¹⁶⁸ Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1. 1. 175.

¹⁶⁹ Letter of September 29 1571 from the Privy Council to the Sheriff of Lancashire and John Byron and Edmund Assketon, Esquires, cited in J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1947), p. 44. This book is vol. 110 New Series in *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* (Manchester: The Chetham Society).

¹⁷⁰ Miller, *Hoghton Tower*, p. 130.

said the said Campion left his books'.¹⁷¹ Both Hoghton and his neighbour Bartholomew Hesketh were questioned and their examinations sent to the Privy Council.¹⁷² Thomas Hoghton's eldest son, also Thomas, would be executed as a priest in Salford gaol, near Manchester, probably in 1584.¹⁷³ After the elder Thomas Hoghton's death in Liege in June 1580 his brother Alexander succeeded him as head of the family. He had moved into Hoghton Tower after Thomas went into exile.¹⁷⁴ It is Alexander's will, dated 3 August 1581, and proved on 12 September 1581, that may offer a clue as to why the young William Shakespeare was in Lancashire.

Alexander Hoghton's name also appears in a letter to the Privy Council on 1 February 1576 from William Downham, Bishop of Chester. In the letter, Downham lists eleven men and women who 'are, in our opinion, of longest obstinacy against Religion'.¹⁷⁵ The list includes the names of William Hesketh and his wife Elizabeth, whose family are mentioned in Hoghton's will. This will was first drawn to the attention of scholars by Oliver Baker in 1937.¹⁷⁶ It was E.A.J. Honigmann's work, however, published in 1985 in *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, that strongly argued that the 'William Shakshafte' listed as a beneficiary in the

¹⁷¹ The Privy Council to Lancashire Sheriffs, cited in Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 62, and in Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., and Peter Davidson, 'Edmund Campion and William Shakespeare', in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and The Early English Jesuits*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007), pp. 165-185 (p.182).

¹⁷² Privy Council letter to the Earl of Derby, Sir John Biron and Sir Edmond Trafford, 30 August 1581, *Acts of The Privy Council of England AD 1581-1582*, ed. by John Roche Dasent (London: HMSO, 1896), vol. 13, p. 184. Also J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, p. 53.

¹⁷³ Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, pp.73-4. Also E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2nd edition, 1998), p. 146.

¹⁷⁴ Helen Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong Shropshire* (Much Wenlock, Shropshire: Smith and Associates, 2013), p. 153. See also Honigmann, *The 'Lost Years'*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁵ John Harland, ed., *The Lancashire Lieutenancy Under The Tudors and Stuarts*, The Chetham Society, vol XLIX (Manchester: 1859), pp. 67-75; cited in Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, p. 53.

¹⁷⁶ Oliver Baker, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire and The Unknown Years* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1937), pp. 297-319.

will was none other than the young William Shakespeare of Stratford. The will leaves to Alexander's half-brother Thomas:

All my instruments belonginge to mewsyche, and all maner of playe Clothes yf he be mynded to keppe and doe keppe players and yf he wyll not keppe and manteyne playeres, Then yty is my mynde and wyll that Sir Thomas Heskethe kynghte shall have the same Instrumentes and playe clothes, and I most hertelye requyre the said Sir Thomas to be ffrendlye unto ffoke gylome and William Shakshafte, nowe dwellynge with me, and ether to take theym into his service, or els to helpe theym to some good master as my tryste ys he wyll¹⁷⁷

The identification of 'Shakshafte' or 'Shakeshafte' [both spellings are used in the will] with Shakespeare has generated a great deal of sound and fury in the academy, with entrenched positions occasionally making it difficult to distinguish between facts and polemic. Richard Wilson is convinced of the connection, and has developed his argument to include Edmund Campion as companion to Shakespeare at Hoghton, although he sees Shakespeare as deliberately avoiding Campion's route to martyrdom.¹⁷⁸ Wilson, however, regards Hoghton Tower as no less than 'the secret headquarters of the English Counter-Reformation', a claim hotly disputed by Thomas McCoog, the influential Jesuit historian of the English mission.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Preston, Lancashire Archives, WCW 1581. Location code is 2/1463/5. The will is partially reproduced in *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire*, ed. by David George (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 156-8, and fully in Honigmann, *The Lost Years*, pp. 135-8. The references to 'playeres' and 'playe clothes' are found on ll. 33-4 of the main page of the will, which has two smaller pages attached at the bottom of the large sheet.

¹⁷⁸ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, pp. 63-5. The same view is taken by Peter Milward; 'Shakespeare in Lancashire', pp. 143-6. Both Wilson and Milward think that Campion's arrest proved a turning point for the young Shakespeare, discouraging him from a more actively recusant stand.

¹⁷⁹ Richard Wilson, 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits: New Connections Supporting the Theory of the Lost Catholic Years in Lancashire', in *The Times Literary Supplement* (19 December 1997), pp. 11-13 (p.12).

McCoog sees little justification that ‘Shakespeare spent his missing years at a Jesuit centre of the counter-reformation in darkest Lancashire!’¹⁸⁰ Despite his Jesuit background, McCoog describes over-enthusiastic Catholic apologists as merely transforming ‘antiquarian speculation into uncontested historical fact without offering any new evidence whatsoever.’¹⁸¹ The next section of this chapter will endeavour to examine the Hoghton Tower connection without prejudice, and using evidence as carefully as possible.

John Aubrey’s claim, via William Beeston, that Shakespeare ‘had been in his younger days a schoolmaster in the country’ offers anecdotal evidence of a possible rôle for Shakespeare in Lancashire.¹⁸² An apostate priest named Dingley insisted in his submission to the Privy Council that he knew the names of ten Lancashire families who kept recusant schoolmasters, some of whom were also priests. These included Mrs. Elizabeth Hoghton of the Lea, a second Hoghton residence, who kept Richard Blundell, a musician and ‘obstinate priest’, who was employed to teach ‘the children to sing and plaie upon the virginals’, and who was ominously ‘well acquainted with seminaries’.¹⁸³ Mr. Richard Hoghton of Park Hall had employed a number of unlicensed Catholic schoolmasters over the years, while their neighbour Bartholomew Hesketh kept Gabriel Shaw, who was ‘most malicious against true-

¹⁸⁰ McCoog and Davidson, *The Reckoned Expense*, p. 168.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by Edward Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), p. 286. Aubrey’s information came from William Beeston, whose father, Christopher, (c.1580-c.1639) was a member of the Chamberlain’s Men and acted with Shakespeare in *Every Man in his Humour*; entries by Gabriel Egan and Catherine Alexander in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 40-1.

¹⁸³ Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, p. 204; Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock, *The Annotator: The Pursuit of an Elizabethan Reader of “Halles’s Chronicle” Involving Some Surmises About the Early Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Putnam, 1954), p. 77. Kew, Public Record Office, SP 12/243 f. 158.

hearted subjects'.¹⁸⁴ The government was sufficiently concerned by the influence of recusant teachers nationally to declare that '3 out of 4 papists were not 12 years old when the Queen came to her crown, but have learnt it from corrupt schoolmasters in private houses.'¹⁸⁵ A catalogue of Catholic schoolmasters identified during Elizabeth's reign includes over twenty working in Lancashire, and one assumes there were others who escaped notice.¹⁸⁶ So an intelligent young man, with good references, and who 'understood Latin pretty well' despite his lack of a university education, would have been eminently suitable for a position in Alexander Houghton's household.¹⁸⁷

Was Shakespeare therefore a schoolmaster? Alexander Houghton married twice, but although he had one illegitimate daughter, who was ultimately excluded from his will, he effectively died childless, as the will makes clear, with its reference to 'my wife and children, if it shall please Almighty God to bless me with any'.¹⁸⁸ He died on 12 September 1581, just over a month after making his will. A post in the household as tutor, therefore, seems unlikely, unless Alexander and his wife, Elizabeth, née Hesketh, employed a teacher for children of the household servants, for which there is no evidence. Could Shakespeare instead have been employed as a musician and actor, as the will's references to 'playe Clothes' and 'mewsyche' suggest is possible? The Houghton Tower guides today proudly show visitors the Banqueting Hall with its Minstrels' Gallery - as well as a priest-hole - and state that theatrical entertainments were staged in the Hall. Family tradition has long maintained that this was so,

¹⁸⁴ Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants* p. 152.

¹⁸⁵ Wilson, 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits', p. 12.

¹⁸⁶ A.C.F. Beales, 'A Biographical Catalogue of Catholic Schoolmasters in England. Part 1: 1558-1603', *Recusant History*, vol. 7 No. 6 (October 1964), 260-89.

¹⁸⁷ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 286.

¹⁸⁸ MS 'The Will of Alexander Houghton', WCW 1581., ll. 23-4 in main page. Also, Ernst Honigmann, 'The Shakespeare/Shakeshafte Question, Continued', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 54 No.1 (2003), 83-6 (p. 84).

and that Shakespeare did indeed learn ‘his theatrical craft whilst staying here’ - a tradition interestingly held before the ‘Shakshafte’ theory became publicised.¹⁸⁹ But David George’s exhaustive *Records of Early English Drama* in Lancashire sadly provide no evidence of performances at Hoghton, despite Wilson’s claim that the house became ‘home to a famous dramatist, a team of stage technicians, and a dedicated Catholic educator’, meaning Campion.¹⁹⁰ Nor is there any evidence that Thomas Hoghton, killed in a ‘greate riot’ over land in November 1589, took up his half-brother’s offer of the means to furnish actors and musicians.¹⁹¹ But there remain the references in the will to ‘Playe Clothes’ and ‘players’.

There is, however, strong evidence that Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford was very enthusiastic about keeping players. The Derby Household Accounts record that on 30 December 1587, ‘Sir Thomas Hesketh plaiers wente awaie and the same daye ... Mr Houghton of houghton and many strandgers came to knowsley.’¹⁹² An earlier reference reports a 1569 payment of 12d to ‘James Sir Thomas Heskethe minstrel’.¹⁹³ The Inventory of Robert Hesketh, son of Thomas, taken in 1620, lists ‘Instrumentes of Musique, viols and virginals,’ as well as a

¹⁸⁹ Tourist Leaflet produced by Hoghton Tower.

¹⁹⁰ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 60. See letter from Privy Council, 4 August 1581, cited in Wilson, *Shakespeare and the Jesuits*, p. 13; Leatherbarrow, *Remains Historical*, p. 53. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, A.D. 1581-1582*, vol. 13, ed. by John Roche Dasent (London: H. M. S. O., 1896), p. 148. Also, letter of Privy Council dated August 2 1581, to Sir John Byron and Sir Edmund Trafford, Leatherbarrow, *Remains Historical*, p. 52; *Acts of the Privy Council of England AD 1581-1582*, vol. 13, p. 148. Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr* (London: 1935; reprinted London: Penguin Classics, 2011), lists Burghley’s list of Catholic families in Lancashire known to have been visited by Campion in early 1581, p. 153.

¹⁹¹ Miller, *Hoghton Tower*, p. 142.

¹⁹² Preston, Lancashire Archives, The Derby Household Books DDF 2429. These records are also available online: <http://archivecat.lancashire.gov.uk/calmview> The *Household Books* are also accessible in printed form in an edition edited by Rev. F. R. Raines, ‘The Stanley Papers Part 2 (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1853). See also, George, *Lancashire*, p. 180. This record, kept by the Stanleys’ Steward, William Ffarington, contains both details of expenses, and the names of visitors arriving and departing from the Stanley residences. The book contains entries for the years 1587-1588 and 1589-1590. The entry concerning the Hesketh Players is headed ‘FR: Book of December’. The writing is small but legible.

¹⁹³ George, *Lancashire*, p. 160.

‘chest of wynd Instrumentes’, ‘flute, taberpypes’, and a number of books of music.¹⁹⁴ It seems highly likely, therefore, that Alexander Hoghton’s wish for Sir Thomas Hesketh to inherit his instruments was fulfilled. Did the same thing happen to his request for Hesketh to ‘be ffrendlye unto ffoke gyllome and William Shakshafte’? Gyllom (or ‘Gillam’) certainly seems to have moved the ten miles to become a Hesketh retainer, for he appears in the records there in both 1591, and 1608, when he witnessed a conveyance of land to Sir Thomas.¹⁹⁵ It seems to have been a consistent trait that the Hoghtons took care of their servants; a letter written from exile by Thomas Hoghton in 1578 asks his brother to help his servants left behind, and, in particular, his ‘yonge men desyringe you to be good to them and see they shall not want.’¹⁹⁶ Gyllom and his brother Thomas, both beneficiaries of Alexander’s will, clearly came from a family interested in performance; their father, Hugh, appears in the Chester Treasurer’s Accounts for payment for dancing during the Midsummer entertainments, as does Thomas, who added ‘Music on Midsummer eve’ to his talent for Morris dancing.¹⁹⁷ If William Shakespeare was also ‘transferred’ from the Hoghtons to their Hesketh neighbours at Rufford, the possibility of a talented protégé enjoying further promotion to the prestigious company kept by Lord Strange at Knowsley and Lathom House is there. Lord Strange’s Men played in Stratford in 1579, so an even earlier acquaintance between the players and Shakespeare, or ‘Shakshafte’, is possible, if only speculative.¹⁹⁸ The chronology of Shakespeare’s courtship of Anne Hathaway and subsequent marriage and fatherhood does not

¹⁹⁴ Preston, Lancashire Archives, Hesketh Papers, WCW 1620; George, *Lancashire*, p. 153.

¹⁹⁵ Honigmann, *The “Lost Years”*, pp. 31-2, 40-9.

¹⁹⁶ Letter of 6 April 1578. George, *Lancashire*, pp. 153-4.

¹⁹⁷ J.H.E. Bennet, ‘Records of the Chester Midsummer Day Pageant’, in *The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester* (Chester: Chester Corporation, 1906), cited in Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁸ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. IV, p. xx. J.H. Mulryne, ‘Professional Theatre in the Guildhall 1568-1620: Players, Puritanism, and Performance’, in *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare’s Stratford*, ed. by J.R. Mulryne (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 171-206.

preclude a stay in Lancashire during 1580, 1581 and the first part of 1582. The much-debated marriage licence of 27 November 1582 ‘inter Wm Shaxpere et Annam whateley de Temple grafton’ was issued while Anne was three months pregnant, as Susanna was baptised on 26 May 1583.¹⁹⁹ Shakespeare’s return to Stratford, therefore, whether to renew his courtship with Anne or to begin it, does not invalidate a connection with Hoghton Tower.

Among the thirty names listed in Alexander Hoghton’s will is that of ‘John Cotem’, whose name appears twelfth in the list, above Gyllom and Shakshafte, who are twenty fifth and twenty sixth respectively of those servants to receive a yearly ‘rente’.²⁰⁰ Only eleven of the thirty retainers receive a specified amount of money. The highest payment is for 3 pounds 6 shillings and 8 pence; the second highest is for 40 shillings, which was the amount left to Shakshafte and two others. Gyllom received 20 shillings. The value of the ‘rente’ distributed among all thirty legatees totals 16 pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, the annual rental income from property in nearby Withnell owned by Hoghton.²⁰¹ Cotem’s share, therefore, is an unspecified sum, but would be one nineteenth of the total left after the named legatees had received their share. John Cottam’s abrupt departure from his position as Stratford schoolmaster has already been referred to, and it is not unreasonable to assume that whether he was dismissed or chose to resign, it was connected with his brother Thomas’s second arrest in 1580, and the furore following Campion’s capture in July 1581, and the interrogations that followed. Hoghton’s will was made only the day before the Privy Council commanded the search for ‘certain books and papers which Edmund Campion has confessed he left at the

¹⁹⁹ Reproduced in Schoenbaum, *A Documentary Life*, p. 84.

²⁰⁰ MS The Will of Alexander Hoghton, WCW 1581. The reference to Cotem is on l. 52 of the main page, and to Gyllom and Shakshafte, l. 56. Also, George, *Lancashire*, p. 156.

²⁰¹ H.A. Shield, ‘A Stratford Schoolmaster’, *The Month*, vol. CCXII, No. 1128 (August 1961), pp. 109-11 (pp. 110-11).

house of one Richard Hoghton'²⁰² (the son of the Thomas Hoghton named in the will.) Alexander may have been attempting, like other worried Catholics before him, to safeguard his estate, and we have seen the Hoghtons' traditional concern for their retainers. We cannot be certain that the John Cotem of the will is the schoolteacher John Cottam, although the proximity of the Cottam family home at Dilworth to Hoghton Tower increases the probability. The 'Cotem' spelling of the name appears as a signatory in an indenture signed for Richard Hoghton on 11 April 1606.²⁰³ We have heard previously of John Cottam's marriage to Catherine Dove, their daughter's marriage to a Lancastrian, and their grandson's career as a Jesuit priest.²⁰⁴ Honigmann's researches produced three signatures from Stratford and Lancashire, all of a John Cottam, ranging from 1579 to 1613, which he claimed showed the same handwriting.²⁰⁵ A conference held in April 2013 at the Lancashire County Archives in Preston allowed the delegates to examine these signatures.²⁰⁶ Despite the fact that the first signature, from Stratford in 1579, when Cottam was appointed to his post, was in italic and the next two, from Lancashire in 1606 and 1613, were in secretary script, an examination showed close correlation between the handwriting of all three signatures. The claim that on his return to Lancashire John Cottam continued to 'receive into his charge youths to be

²⁰² Privy Council letter of 4 August 1581 to Sir John Byron and Sir Edmond Trafford, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. 13, p. 148; cited in Wilson, *Shakespeare and the Jesuits*, p. 12, and in Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, pp. 52-3.

²⁰³ Honigmann, *Lost Years*, p. 46.

²⁰⁴ Honigmann, *Lost Years*, includes a transcript of John Cottam's will, dated 17 July 1616, which also provides biographical information about the family, p.144. Honigmann also gives a family tree for the family, *ibid.* See also H. A. Shield, 'A Stratford Schoolmaster', in *The Month*, vol. CCXII, 1128 (August 1961), pp. 109-111, and Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. V (London: Burns and Oates, 1879), pp. 318, 340-1; volume VI (1880), p. 314. Foley quotes from *The Diary of the English College, Rome, from 1579-1773*.

²⁰⁵ Honigmann, *Lost Years*, illustrated pp. 30-1, and discussed pp. 42-2.

²⁰⁶ 'Was Shakespeare in Lancashire? The Strange Case of John Cottam, Shakespeare's Schoolmaster', Lancashire Archives, April 16 2013, chaired by Dr. Michael Winstanley, Lancaster University.

educated', and to distribute 'catechisms and books' as part of his missionary activity,²⁰⁷ cannot be substantiated from the records, nor has any evidence yet been unearthed that he and Catherine 'were frequently fined as recusants'.²⁰⁸ Nor does the fact that his brother Thomas was tortured and executed, after he surrendered himself 'with a merry countenance [...] and offered himself to Lord Cobham, who carried him off to the Tower', make John himself necessarily a strong recusant.²⁰⁹ It must, however, increase the possibility. John Cottam would have known the young Shakespeare in Stratford; he came from Lancashire and returned to live there; he was geographically closely connected with the Hoghtons, and he had strongly Catholic connections. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that Cottam could easily have been one of the reasons for Shakespeare temporarily becoming 'Shakshafte'.²¹⁰

Robert Bearman has argued that a teenage servant, who was not a long-standing member of the Hoghton household, would have been unlikely to be so generously treated in Alexander Hoghton's will.²¹¹ That, however, might well depend on the service offered by 'William Shakshafte' rather than his age or length of employment. If 'Shakshafte' was a 'young man, for learning and behaviour / Fit for her turn, well-read in poetry / And other books', as was

²⁰⁷ Wilson, 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits: New Connections', p. 13.

²⁰⁸ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 79.

²⁰⁹ Wilson, 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits: New Connections', p. 11.

²¹⁰ Michael Winstanley developed his ideas after the Preston conference in 'Shakespeare, Catholicism, and Lancashire: A Reappraisal of John Cottom, Stratford Schoolmaster', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 68.2 (Summer 2017), 172-91. He argues here that Cottom (or Cottam) did not return to his home in Lancashire until 1594, and furthermore that 'there is no evidence to support ... the assumption that John Cottam was a Roman Catholic', p. 181. His grandchildren certainly were, and, in any case, Cottam did not need to be a recusant or even a Catholic in order to recommend a promising boy to an influential local family. Winstanley admits that 'Given their social status and the circumscribed nature of local communities at the time, the Hoghtons and Cottams must have come into contact' (p. 178).

²¹¹ See, e.g., Robert Bearman, "'Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?'" Revisited', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 53 (2002), 83-94 (pp. 92-3).

Lucentio, he could well have been prized by his master.²¹² Nor can we be certain of the ages of the other servants named in Hoghton's will. A more valid criticism is that there is no evidence that 'Shakshafte' was ever used by the Shakespeare family as a variant on the name. It has also been asserted, though usually without any supporting evidence, that 'there were many other Shakshaftes in Lancashire', a view held both by Stanley Wells and Robert Bearman.²¹³ To examine this claim, I have examined wills, leases and parish records dating from the 1550s up to Shakespeare's death in 1616. The Lancashire wills proved during the period offered only five examples of 'Shackshaff', 'Shakeshaft', and 'Shakshaft, although the same period showed, for example, twenty- three entries for 'Parkinson', twenty for 'Kirby', and sixteen for 'Smith', names that **are** common in the records.²¹⁴ Leases recorded offered no examples of an appropriate name or cognate.²¹⁵

The Parish Records of Lancashire, though incomplete, allow for the examination of forty- two parishes in the County, covering baptisms, marriages and deaths. Of these parishes, thirty- three contain no 'Shakshafts' or cognates during this time period.²¹⁶ Five of the parishes contain one entry each, with spellings varying from 'Shakeshafte' (twice), and one each of

²¹² *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Barbara Hodgdon, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Methuen, 1981), 1. 2. 167-9.

²¹³ See e.g., Stanley Wells, 'William Shakeshaft', in *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, p. 417; Bearman, 'Was William Shakespeare?', pp. 83-94; George, *Lancashire*, p. 350; Schoenbaum, *A Documentary Life*, p. 114.

²¹⁴ *A List of the Lancashire Wills Proved Within the Archdeaconry of Richmond From A.D. 1457-1680 and of Abstracts of Lancashire Wills Belonging to the Same Archdeaconry, in The British Museum, From A.D. 1531-1652*, ed. by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Fishwick, vol. X (Record Society, 1884).

²¹⁵ *An Index to the Wills and Inventories Now Preserved in The Court of Probate, at Chester. From A.D. 1545-1620*, ed. by J.P. Earwaker, vol. II (Record Society, 1879).

²¹⁶ These 33 parishes are the parishes of: Aldingham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Altham, Blackrod, Broughton, Burnley, Bury, Cartmel, Childwall, Chipping, Chorley, Clitheroe, Colne, Croston, Eccles, Flixton, Hale, Lancaster, Middleton, Newchurch in Pendle, Newchurch in Culceth, Northmeols, Ormskirk, Padiham, Poulton-Le-Fylde, Prescott, Radcliffe, Ribchester, Standish, Walton-On-The-Hill, Whalley, Whittington and Winwick. Details of all the Registers consulted are given in full in the Bibliography.

‘Shakshaft’, ‘Shakeshaft’ and ‘Shakshafte’.²¹⁷ One parish contains three entries, one ‘Shakstafft’, one ‘Shakeshafte’, and one ‘Shakeshaft’.²¹⁸ Another parish has two entries, one ‘Shakstafft’ and one ‘Shakeshafte’.²¹⁹

The parish of Stalmine, however, one and a half miles due east of the Wyre estuary, in the north-west of Lancashire, does contain nine relevant entries, with four ‘Shakeshaftes’, two ‘Shakeshafts’, one ‘Shakshaft’, one ‘Shackshaft’ and one ‘Shakshafte’.²²⁰ Evidence for the name being common throughout the county, therefore, is lacking from most of the parishes.

An important exception, however, is the Parish Church of Preston, situated seven miles from Hoghton Tower, the largest though not the nearest parish to Hoghton. Unfortunately, the Preston records only survive from 1611, thirty years later than Hoghton’s will. They do, however, confirm the prevalence of the name, with ninety-three entries in the period from 1611 to 1635. Of these entries in christenings, marriages and burials, there are no less than eight variant spellings of the name, with ‘Shakeshafte’, ‘Shakeshaft’, ‘Shackshaft’ and ‘Shackshafte’ the most common. No doubt the variant spellings reflect the different Churchwardens who maintained the records. Although the number of entries is considerable, the number of families seem to be much less, with multiple burials from the same families evident during what must have been a plague year in 1631.²²¹

²¹⁷ The parishes of Blackburn, Garstang, Great Harwood, Manchester and Wigan.

²¹⁸ Kirkham.

²¹⁹ Brindle.

²²⁰ Stalmine.

²²¹ Preston.

It is certainly clear, then, that in reasonable proximity to Hoghton, the name ‘Shakshafte’ was well-known, although evidence for its use in other areas of Lancashire is scarce.²²² Could it be, however, that rather than this being evidence against Shakespeare’s stay in Lancashire, it offers another possible piece of evidence for his presence? If he had been sent north to avoid government attention as son of a prominent recusant, taking a local name, although one similar to his own, might have been a sensible way of avoiding unwelcome attention. Catholic priests often took aliases to try and prevent their identification, although usually more dissimilar to their real names. Robert Persons became ‘Doleman’, Debdale was ‘Palmer’, William Weston assumed the name ‘Edmonds’, Campion became ‘Edmunds’, and Robert Southwell himself was widely known as ‘Cotton’.²²³ In the dangerous world of 1580s England, an alias could be necessary. Campion, who entered England disguised as an Irish merchant, defended himself at his trial from the charge of assuming false names by citing the precedent of the apostle Paul. Paul ‘sometimes thought it expedient to be hidden, lest being discovered persecution should ensue ... If these shifts were then approved in Paul, why are they now reprov’d in me?’²²⁴ Both Shakespeare and Southwell would later have things to say about the equivocation of Catholics.

Whether John Cottam in his brief time as Stratford schoolmaster did influence the movements of a young Shakespeare, other connections between Stratford, Lancashire and the Jesuits are significant. Simon Hunt, schoolmaster from 1571 to 1575, left England, as we have seen,

²²² The Parish records of Broughton, very close to Preston, only survive from 1653. There are, however, twenty-seven entries for ‘Shakeshaft’, ‘Shakshaft’, ‘Shakshafte’, and ‘Sheckshaft’ between 1653 and 1803.

²²³ For Persons, see Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 54. For Debdale, Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 72, and ‘Shakespeare and the Jesuits’, p. 11. For Weston, Childs, *God’s Traitors*, p. 109. For Southwell, Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 280.

²²⁴ For ‘Edmunds’, see Waugh, *Edmund Campion*, p. 115; for Campion’s words at his trial, Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 54.

with Robert Debdale of Shotton. Hunt studied at the seminary in Rheims before reaching Rome in April 1578. Whether Shakespeare alludes to him in *The Taming of the Shrew* as ‘this young scholar that hath been long studying at Rheims’ remains speculative.²²⁵

However, Thomas Jenkins, who succeeded Hunt in Stratford from 1575-1579, was taught by Campion at St John’s College, Oxford.²²⁶ And Alexander Aspinall, although a Protestant, who followed his predecessor Cottam into the Stratford classroom in 1582, and who remained there for the rest of Shakespeare’s life, was also a Lancastrian, born in Clitheroe.²²⁷

There were also other connections between Warwickshire and the North West as well as the Brethgirdle and Brownsword links. Anne Fitton, sister of the more famous Mary of Gawsworth in Cheshire, married into the Newdegate family of Erbury in Warwickshire in 1595.²²⁸ Fitton connections with the Warrens and Heskeths have already been described, as has the connection between the Warrens and John Brownsword. A year earlier than Anne Fitton’s marriage to Sir John Newdegate, a Deed of Covenant was signed by Edward Warren of Poynton before the marriage of his son and heir, John, to Ann Ognall, daughter of George Ognall of Billesley, just outside Stratford.²²⁹ The close-knit family connections that we have seen extending across Cheshire and Lancashire have tendrils, at least, that reached as far as Warwickshire. The importance of influential Catholic families in sustaining Catholicism in

²²⁵ *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Barbara Hodgdon, The Arden Shakespeare, 2. 1. 79-80.

²²⁶ David N. Beauregard, *Catholic Theology in Shakespeare’s Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 15. Also, Peter Milward, ‘Shakespeare’s Jesuit Schoolmasters’, in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 58-70 (p. 61).

²²⁷ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 63 and note 95, p. 69, citing *Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by William Weeks (Clitheroe: Advertiser and Times, 1887), pp. 11, 62.

²²⁸ Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, vol II, p. 566. See also, Raymond Richards, *The Manor of Gawsworth, Cheshire* (Didsbury, Manchester: E. J. Morten, 1974), pp. 193-7.

²²⁹ ‘Warren of Poynton Records’, 1382-1732, Chester, Cheshire County Archives, DVE 2401/ 1/ 1-12.

all three counties cannot be over-stressed; Christopher Haigh observed that the ‘Catholic Hoghtons wielded considerable authority in Preston’, supporting his assertion with evidence of positions as governors of the new grammar school founded in nearby Clitheroe in 1554, as well as Alexander Hoghton’s father’s role as a Lancashire delegate to the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace.²³⁰ Questier has demonstrated how the Montague dependents were influenced by their patron’s religion.²³¹ But an even more influential family, across not only Lancashire, but nationally, were the Stanleys.

Shakespeare’s references to the Stanley family in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, as well as in *Richard III*, are well-known, and in *Richard III* particularly, Shakespeare seems to have gone to some trouble to present Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby, in a favourable light. As John Jowett observes in his Introduction to the play, ‘a tactful silence surrounds his role in crushing Buckingham’s uprising and his enrichment with lands from Buckingham’s estate as Richard’s reward’.²³² Equally, ‘a favourable gloss’ is applied to Stanley’s wait-and see policy before the battle of Bosworth, and Shakespeare seems to have over-emphasised the part played by Stanley in the defeat of Richard.²³³ Richmond is told that ‘in the sty of this most bloody boar / My son George Stanley is franked up in hold’, which prevents Stanley at first from offering overt support to Richmond.²³⁴ When Richard hears of Stanley’s eventual desertion, ‘Off with his son George’s head!’ is his instant and typical response, though postponed due to Norfolk’s intervention.²³⁵ After Richard’s death it is Stanley who crowns the new king, having plucked

²³⁰ Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 206.

²³¹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, pp. 181-206.

²³² *Richard III* ed. by John Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 4.

²³³ *Richard III*, ed. Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics, p. 5.

²³⁴ *Richard III*, ed. Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics, 4. 5. 2-3.

²³⁵ *Richard III*, ed. Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics, 5. 5. 73.

the crown ‘from the dead temples of this bloody wretch.’²³⁶ The newly anointed Henry’s first question, ‘is young George Stanley living?’, suggests the closeness between Richmond and his stepfather.²³⁷ The play almost certainly dates from 1592; was Shakespeare perhaps offering a politic tribute to the family that had played an important part in launching his career on the London stage?

Henry, fourth Earl of Derby, died in 1593, to be succeeded briefly by his son, Ferdinando, known before his father’s death as Lord Strange. Lord Strange’s Men were well-known in Lancashire, but also toured nationally, including at Stratford in 1579. Records show them touring between 1576 and 1584, when they became based in London.²³⁸ Lord Derby’s Men, presumably a company kept by Ferdinando’s father, also visited Stratford in 1580.²³⁹ As we shall see, Lord Strange’s Men played at the Rose in 1592 and 1593, with a company that included William Kemp, John Heminges, Augustine Phillips and George Bryan, all of whom, like Shakespeare, would become members of the Chamberlain’s Men. The Stanley family kept homes in Lancashire both at Lathom House near Ormskirk, very close to Rufford Old Hall, and at Knowsley, near Prescott. The Household Accounts record theatrical performances in both Lathom and Knowsley; for example, at Lathom on New Year’s Eve 1586, ‘in the halle’ on the same night that ‘my Lord Strandge came home’,²⁴⁰ as well as the performance(s) by Sir Thomas Hesketh’s players at Knowsley in December 1587, when ‘Mr

²³⁶ *Richard III*, ed. Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics, 5. 7. 5.

²³⁷ *Richard III*, ed. Jowett, Oxford World’s Classics, 5. 7. 9, and 5. 4. 60 - ‘noble father-in-law’.

²³⁸ Sally-Beth Maclean, ‘A Family Tradition: Dramatic Patronage by the Earls of Derby’, in *Region, Religion and Patronage*, pp. 205-226 (p. 219). Also, Mary A. Blackstone, ‘Lancashire, Shakespeare and the Construction of Cultural Neighbourhoods in Sixteenth-Century England’, in *Region, Religion and Patronage*, pp. 186-204 (p. 194).

²³⁹ *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. IV, p. xx.

²⁴⁰ *Derby Household Books*, DDF 2429; also, George, REED, *Lancashire*, pp. 180-1.

Houghton of Houghton' came to stay.²⁴¹ Interestingly, the new company known as The Queen's Men, founded in 1583 by the efforts of Leicester and Walsingham, and put together from a group of all-star actors, played at Lathom on 6 and 7 July 1589, and at Knowsley on 6 and 7 September in the same year.²⁴² The company, which both toured, and played in London, seems to have been intended to encourage patriotic feelings in a time of national uncertainty. Their speciality was English history plays, a genre, of course, enthusiastically embraced by Shakespeare. Henslowe's *Diary* for 3 March 1592 records a 'ne' play called *harey the vj*, presented by Lord Strange's men at the Rose.²⁴³

If, as has been suggested, William Shakespeare was recommended to Hesketh's company, he would not have lacked opportunities to visit the Stanley homes. The close family links between the Heskeths and the Stanleys include the marriage of Robert Hesketh to Mary Stanley, daughter of Sir George Stanley, great grandson of the first Earl of Derby, at some date before 1567.²⁴⁴ Thomas Stanley, of Great Ecclestone in Lancashire, natural son of Henry, the fourth Earl, married Mary Barton, the widowed daughter of Robert Hesketh.²⁴⁵ Much earlier, in 1419, Katherine, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton in Cheshire, married Ralph Arderne of Stockport.²⁴⁶ Sir William's son, also William, married Alicia

²⁴¹ 30 December 1587, Derby Household Books, DDF 2429. The entry for December is in George, *REED Lancashire*, p. 180. *The Derby Household Books*, ed. F.R. Raines, p. 46.

²⁴² Derby Household Books, DDF 2429. George, *REED Lancashire*, pp. 180-1. They apparently also played for the Stanleys in June 1590, although entries by Ffarington in the *Household Books* are much less precise for players than for more illustrious visitors. See also *The Derby Household Books*, ed. F. R. Raines, p. 82.

²⁴³ Cited by George, *REED Lancashire*, p. 180. See also Blackstone, 'Lancashire, Shakespeare and the Construction of Cultural Neighbourhoods', p. 196. *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. by R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 16.

²⁴⁴ Croston, *County Families*, p. 400.

²⁴⁵ Peter Edmund Stanley, *The House of Stanley: The History of an English Family from the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, 1998), p. 249.

²⁴⁶ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 65.

Hoghton in 1438, daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton.²⁴⁷ John Stanley, of Handforth in Cheshire, who was a descendant of the youngest son of the first Earl, married Ellen Fitton of Gawsworth, Cheshire, in 1537.²⁴⁸ Margaret Stanley, also a descendant of the first Earl, married Edward Fitton of Gawsworth.²⁴⁹ Her father became Governor of the Isle of Man in 1594. The Derby Household Accounts for 2-8 July 1586 record ‘on mondaye mr Houghton ...went awaye, on tusedaye mr Stanley of alderley... went’.²⁵⁰ The Accounts for 1587 indicate a number of visits from both Hoghtons and Heskeths. Significantly, one entry for December states, ‘on Saturday Sr Tho. Hesketh Players wente awaie’.²⁵¹ There has been debate about whether this is important confirmation that Hesketh did keep players, who performed at Knowsley, thereby greatly increasing the opportunity for Shakespeare to attract the attention of the Stanleys. The lack of punctuation and Ffarington’s terse style make it possible that the entry should read, ‘On Saturday Sr Tho. Hesketh, Players wente awaie’, rather than ‘Hesketh Players went awaie’. David George, however, comments that ‘it seems most natural to take ‘Sr. Thomas Hesketh’ as possessive or attributive’.²⁵² Significantly, a careful examination of *The Household Books* shows no evidence of the *arrival or departure* of Sir Thomas Hesketh from November 1587 to January 1588. Every other entry in the diary that refers to Hesketh records both his arrival *and* departure. I have found no evidence of other research into the *Household Accounts* examining this wider evidence. It seems almost certain, then, that the Hesketh company both existed and played at Knowsley. Therefore,

²⁴⁷ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 66.

²⁴⁸ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 240.

²⁴⁹ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 414.

²⁵⁰ Derby Household Books, DDF 2429. *The Derby Household Books*, ed. F. R. Raines, p. 32.

²⁵¹ Derby Household Books, DDF 2429. *The Derby Household Books*, ed. F. R. Raines, p. 46;

²⁵² George, REED, *Lancashire*, p. 354.

evidence for the connection leading Shakespeare from Hoghton Tower to the Heskeths, and finally to Lord Strange's Men is greatly strengthened.

The sometimes dizzying affinities discussed make clear that such a network of houses and patrons offered a feasible path for the young Shakespeare, or Shakshafte, to have followed from Stratford to what Thomas McCoog rather disparagingly calls 'darkest Lancashire'.²⁵³ The verse epitaphs found on the Stanley tombs in St Bartholomew's church at Tong, Shropshire, were attributed by Honigmann to Shakespeare.²⁵⁴ The tomb was erected between 1600 and 1603; a recent local historian supports Honigmann's assertion, adding that 'the only possible explanation for the epitaphs is that Shakespeare and Stanley had known each other since their youth together in Lancashire.'²⁵⁵

Ferdinando Strange's brief reign as Earl of Derby, from 25 September 1593 to 16 April 1594, included an attempt to persuade him to take part in a plot against the Queen. As great-grandson of Henry VIII's sister Mary, Ferdinando had a claim to the throne. In September 1593, immediately after his accession to the earldom, he received a visit from Richard Hesketh, son of Gabriel Hesketh of Aughton in Lancashire, related to the Rufford Heskeths. Gabriel had gone abroad in 1590 to escape the recusancy laws, and Richard became part of the circle of Catholics in Rome attached to Cardinal William Allen.²⁵⁶ Allen's pamphlet of 1588, *An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland*, written under the

²⁵³ McCoog, *The Reckoned Expense*, p. 168.

²⁵⁴ Honigmann, 'Lost Years', pp. 77-83.

²⁵⁵ Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs*, p. x.

²⁵⁶ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 184.

provocative title of ‘Cardinal of England’, described in graphic detail Elizabeth’s ‘Luciferian pride’ in ‘stealing’ the English crown, leading her own Church and executing Mary Stuart.²⁵⁷ Many copies of these pamphlets were printed, to be distributed by the victorious Spanish forces after the success of the Armada. Allen was far from agreeing with Southwell’s emollient views on political intriguing by English Catholics; Richard Hesketh’s mission seems to have been designed to sound out Ferdinando Stanley’s views on the succession. Elizabeth was sixty-one in 1593, and the question of her successor was increasingly urgent. Stanley met twice with Hesketh, before eventually having him arrested and sent to London, where he was executed in November.²⁵⁸ The Queen thanked Stanley for his ‘good care’, but no other rewards came his way.²⁵⁹ He was dead within six months; local gossip suggested poisoning, with dark rumours of Catholic revenge for his betrayal of Hesketh, or, alternatively, the cynical removal by government agents of a possible claimant to the throne.²⁶⁰ The Hesketh connection with the Stanleys, however, is again clearly shown to have existed, and not as mere gossip.

Stephen Greenblatt argues that one inspiration for Shakespeare’s early history plays, with their frequent dramatisation of plots and rebellions, was his time spent in Catholic houses in Lancashire, where ‘the families in whose houses he lived and worked skirted close to treason.’²⁶¹ Another connection between the young Shakespeare and the Stanleys was his

²⁵⁷ Cited and discussed in Alford, *The Watchers*, pp. 251, 26.,

²⁵⁸ Stanley, *The House of Stanley*, p. 184.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ David George, ‘The Playhouse at Prescott and the 1592-94 Plague’, in *Region, Religion and Patronage*, pp. 227-42 (p. 232). Also, Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, ‘The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourers and Helpers’, *Recusant History*, vol. 19 (The Catholic Record Society, 1988-1989), pp. 209-33.

²⁶¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will In The World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 113.

successful Roman tragedy *Titus Andronicus*. The first quarto edition of 1594, included on the title page, ‘as it was Plaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembroke, and the Earle of Sussex their seruant’.²⁶² Henslowe’s *Diary* for 24 January 1594 records *titus & ondronicus* performed at the Rose by Sussex’s Men.²⁶³ The title page suggests that the play was performed by all three companies; it is also possible that actors from Strange’s and Pembroke’s Men were employed by Sussex’s Men before the Rose was closed down because of plague. Again, a connection between the Stanleys and Shakespeare is seen, strengthening the likelihood of Shakespeare progressing westwards in Lancashire from the Hoghtons to the Stanleys.

Richard Wilson and Peter Milward both think that in leaving Lancashire for the London playhouses, Shakespeare deliberately rejected the opportunity to become an active participant in the Catholic mission. By this, Shakespeare slipped ‘from the pulpit to the playhouse.’²⁶⁴ Whilst this remains supposition, this chapter has offered evidence for Shakespeare’s stay in Lancashire, his reasons for doing so, and his very possible progress from Hoghton via Hesketh to Stanley. It has also shown how Shakespeare’s father’s Catholic sympathies, as well as the connections he made during his service for the Stratford Corporation and the pressures he faced, could have opened the road for his son’s journey to Lancashire. The importance of such connections and ‘affinities’ has been stressed, and archival research has illuminated evidence for William Shakespeare becoming ‘Shakshafte’, in two strongly recusant households. Peter Ivor Kaufman thinks the evidence ‘very suggestive but far from

²⁶² *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, The Arden Shakespeare, p. 96.

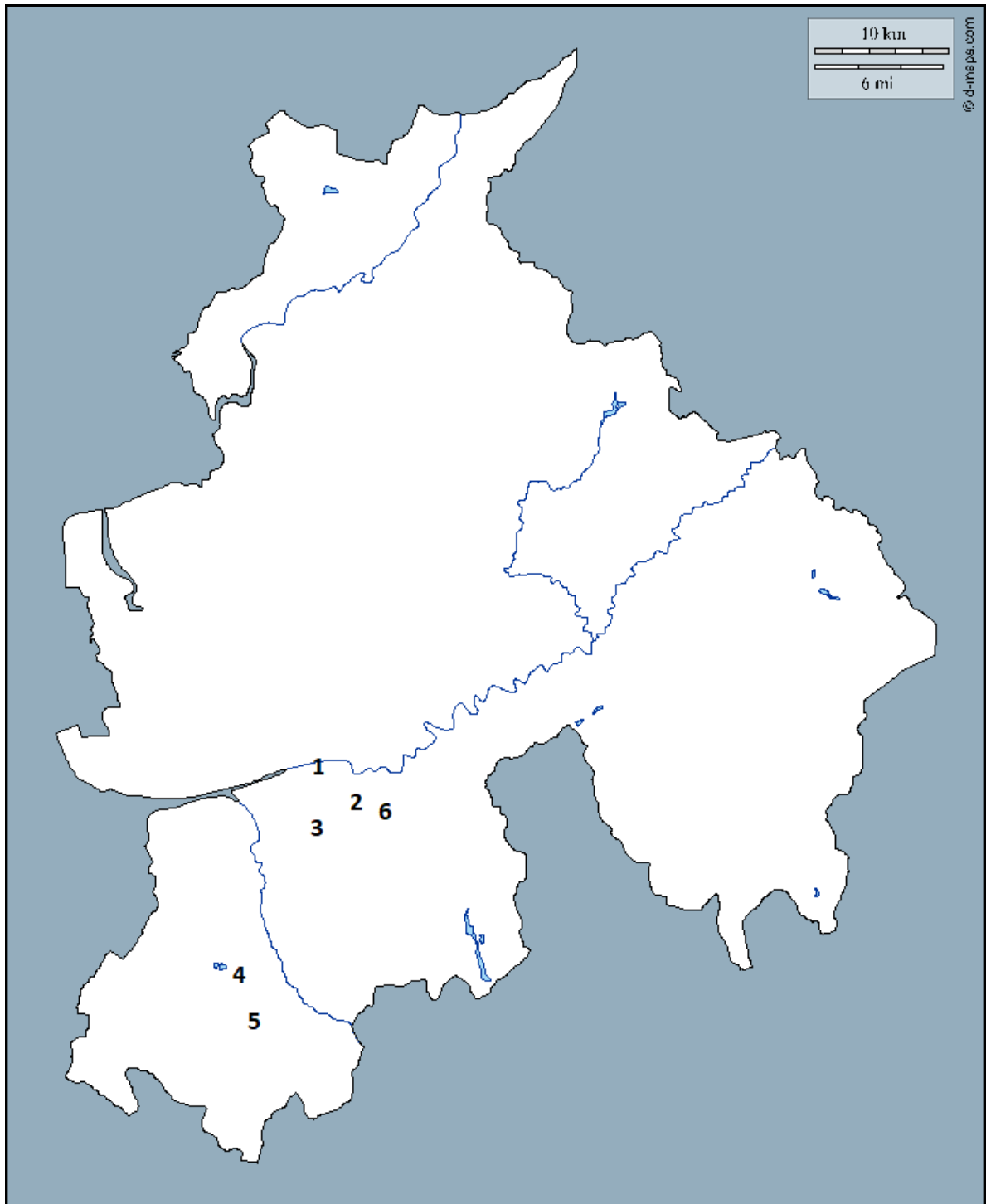
²⁶³ *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, The Arden Shakespeare, pp. 69-70.

²⁶⁴ Wilson, ‘Shakespeare and the Jesuits’, p. 13; Milward, ‘Shakespeare in Lancashire’, p. 145.

conclusive'.²⁶⁵ It is hoped, however, that if not 'conclusive', this chapter has greatly strengthened the case for a Lancastrian connection during Shakespeare's intriguing 'Lost Years'.

²⁶⁵ Peter Iver Kaufman, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), p. 57.

Lancashire



1. Preston
2. Hoghton Tower
3. Rufford
4. Knowsley
5. Bold Hall
6. Park Hall

CHAPTER TWO

The Fools of Time

To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime.¹

Neither consider they the players base condition ... nor their shamefull profession, but only
theyre fayned glorye ...²

¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 124, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997), ll. 13-14. All subsequent references to the Sonnets in this chapter refer to this edition.

² Robert Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort* (printed secretly in England, 1587-88), EEBO online edition, The Twelfth Chapter, p. 182v. This edition (London: John Charlewood, in Arundel House, 1587?) is made from the

If, as suggested in the previous chapter, Shakespeare's theatrical career developed via his Cheshire and Lancashire connections with the Hoghtons and Heskeths, followed by a promotion to the more exalted Stanley companies, he clearly rejected Southwell's view of playing as a 'shameful profession'. We shall consider later literary implications of Southwell's connections with Shakespeare, particularly in view of Southwell's apparently disparaging comment that 'a poet, a lover, and a liar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification.'³ This chapter traces possible historical associations, investigating people, places and events connecting them, including examining the family connection suggested by both Devlin and John Klause.⁴ It is clear that if Shakespeare was almost certainly brought up in a Catholic family, and lived with the recusant Hoghtons and Heskeths, he, unlike Southwell, turned away from the path that led to martyrdom, and which Southwell seemed at times so anxious to embrace. For 'the salvation of souls', Southwell and his Jesuit colleagues were 'not so willing to live as to shed the best blood of our bodies'.⁵ Shakespeare's credo was less radical, if still compassionate and humane. 'It is an heretic that makes the fire, / Not she that burns in in't'.⁶

copy held in Oxford at The Bodleian Library. This is reproduced in D.M. Rogers, ed., *English Recusant Literature, 1583-1640* (London: Scolar Press, 1974), vol. 211, p. 182. There is also an edition with modernised spelling and punctuation, ed. by Margaret Waugh (London: Burns and Oates, 1966), p. 210.

³ Southwell, *The Author To His Loving Cousin*, date of composition uncertain, reproduced in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell, S.J.* (London: D. Stewart, 1876), pp. 4-6.

⁴ Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p.264. John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 2008), pp .20, 40.

⁵ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie* (secretly printed, 1591); ed. R.C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 14, lines 2, 4-5.

⁶ Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third edition (London: Bloomsbury 2010), 2. 3. 113-14,

Southwell, born in 1561, just three years older than Shakespeare, left England for Douai in June 1576; another teenager leaving his home and family. Received into the Jesuits in Rome in October 1580, having been rejected earlier for membership, for reasons that are unclear, Southwell was ordained priest in spring 1584. Volunteering for the English Mission, ‘with the supreme goal of martyrdom in view’ and selected to take part by William Allen and Robert Persons, he reached England in July 1586, with his companion and Superior, Henry Garnet.⁷ Southwell managed to survive the dangers of government spies and pursuivants until his betrayal in June 1592, although not without many dangers and close calls, as we have seen. Arrested, imprisoned and severely tortured by the notoriously sadistic Richard Topcliffe, he was not tried until February 1595, a delay perhaps connected with his family background and influence. Distantly related to the Burghley family, and with his mother Bridget’s service as a gentlewoman attendant on Queen Elizabeth, an ‘old servant of near forty years continuance’, the government seemed initially reluctant to arraign Southwell, particularly as he consistently refused to answer his interrogators’ questions.⁸ After his trial, presided over by Chief Justice Sir John Popham, where Southwell was accused of encouraging ‘equivocation’, he was found guilty of treason, and executed at Tyburn on 21 February 1595. Despite the sentence of drawing, hanging and quartering, his courage and self-possession on the scaffold caused the spectators to demand that he be allowed to hang until dead, thus being spared the cruelty of evisceration.⁹

⁷ Letter from Robert Southwell to Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesuits, 23 January 1585. Quoted in Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 88.

⁸ London, British Library, Landsdowne MS, 38, fo. 107. See also John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: Viking, 2016), p. 174.

⁹ Southwell’s trial and execution are described in detail in Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 305-24. See also Garnet’s letters to Rome, 22 February 1595 and 7 March 1595, London, Mount St., The Jesuit Archives,

The first authorised edition of his poetry followed soon after his death, although, as we shall see, his poems had circulated in manuscript before John Wolfe's first printed edition of March 1595. A number of Southwell's prose works were also printed by clandestine Catholic presses before his execution. The popular *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, however, was printed quite openly by John Wolfe and Gabriel Cawood in 1591. Other works, such as the early *Epistle to His Father* (1586) and *An Humble Supplication To Her Majestie* (1591) were widely disseminated in manuscript form, though how widely and to whom remain intriguing questions.

By 1592, the date of Southwell's arrest, Shakespeare had probably produced seven plays, plus his own best-selling poem, *Venus and Adonis*.¹⁰ By 1595, when Southwell was executed, Shakespeare's plays numbered eleven or twelve, and *The Rape of Lucrece* had also been published. Honigmann's 'early start' theory, however, argues that Shakespeare was writing plays much earlier than generally accepted, with eleven plays produced by 1592, the date that marked the end of Southwell's literary output.¹¹ An important overlap between these two writers' literary careers is therefore clearly possible. Is it also possible that Southwell's prose introduction to his poems, *The Author to his Loving Cosen*, first seen in a 1595 edition published by John Busby, referred to Shakespeare? Christopher Devlin's biography of Southwell devotes a chapter to this question, concluding that 'it may be claimed with some

Stonyhurst MS, Anglia 2,4. Also in the Jesuit Archives is the contemporary account by Richard Verstegan, an active Catholic 'intelligencer'; Stonyhurst MS, Anglia, A. ii, 1.

¹⁰ *The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Taming of the Shrew, The Three Parts of Henry VI, Titus Andronicus, Richard III*. See Eric Rasmussen, 'Chronology', in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 78.

¹¹ E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, second edition, 1998), pp. xii-xiii. The recent New Oxford edition of *The Complete Works* suggests nine plays as probably written by the year of Southwell's arrest; ed. by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2016).

probability, that Robert Southwell's last service to English letters [...] was to rouse Shakespeare to a loftier conception of the divine spark within him.'¹² By the time of a 1616 Jesuit edition of Southwell's works, published at St Omer, this inscription, apparently taken from a letter of Southwell's, now read, 'To my worthy good cosen, Maister W.S.', signed 'Your loving cosen, R.S.' As John Klause says, 'This line of inquiry has had little impact on recent biographical studies of Shakespeare',¹³ with most critics ignoring or at best dismissing the possibility of a family connection between Southwell and Shakespeare. It is occasionally argued that 'W.S.' refers to William Shelley, Southwell's attested 'cosen'.¹⁴ Yet Southwell's introduction seems addressed to a fellow poet, which Shelley was not, with its argument that the devil has 'among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fancies.'¹⁵ Poets have neglected their duty to consider 'solemn and devout matters', choosing instead to 'busy themselves in expressing such passions as serve only for testimonies to what unworthy affections they have wedded their wills.'¹⁶ Southwell's verse introduction to his long poem *St Peters Complaynt* concludes, 'I move the suit, the grant rests in your will.'¹⁷ Is this challenge a humorous and personal allusion to the poet who insisted, 'my name is will'?¹⁸ In the same introduction, Southwell complains that 'finest wits are 'stilling Venus's rose', and 'To

¹² Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 273. Chapter 18, 'Master WS', pp. 257-273, discusses the matter in detail. See Southwell, 'Epistle', in *St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davison and Anne Sweeney (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007), pp. 1-2. This is the most recent edition of Southwell's poetry; all citations unless otherwise indicated are from this edition.

¹³ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 38.

¹⁴ Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind, and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008), and Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), contain no references to Southwell, although Greenblatt discusses Shakespeare's connections to Catholicism in detail.

¹⁵ Southwell, 'The Author to His Loving Cousin', lines 25-6.

¹⁶ Southwell 'The Author to His Loving Cousin', lines 27, 29-31.

¹⁷ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', preface to *Saint Peter's Complaynt*, first published by Wolfe, March 1595. See *St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems*, ed. by Davison and Sweeney, p.63, line 24.

¹⁸ Shakespeare, Sonnet 136, l. 14.

Christian works few have their talents lent.’¹⁹ This accusation would fit the author of *Venus and Adonis*. This chapter will, therefore, examine how far a personal relationship between Shakespeare and Southwell can be substantiated, whilst subsequent chapters will explore possible literary connections and influences between the two writers,

The German critic Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Humel made an intriguing find in 2001, when she noticed in the Pilgrims Guest Book for the English College in Rome an entry for 22 to 29 September 1589, which recorded the stay of ‘Gulielmus Clerkue Stratfordiensis’.²⁰ A foreign visit by the soon-to- be-successful young playwright might seem unlikely, but the date precedes the usually accepted date for Shakespeare’s first play on the London stage. The Stratford Accounts for September 1562-1563 record an entry ‘to alen for techyng ye chylder’, a period when John Shakespeare was serving on the Council.²¹ William Allen, later Cardinal, founder of the Catholic English College at Douai, with financial help from Thomas Hoghton, was in the Midlands before his flight abroad in 1565.²² We have seen Allen’s influence in Southwell’s selection for the English Mission; is it possible that a visit by Shakespeare to Rome in 1589 was influenced by a family acquaintance with Allen? Allen was a Lancastrian,

¹⁹ Southwell, *The Author to the Reader*, ll. 16 and 18.

²⁰ Cited in Thomas Merriam, ‘Gulielmus Clerkue Stratfordiensis at The English College in Rome: Inconclusive Evidence for a Catholic Shakespeare’, *Religion and the Arts*, vol.7, Issue 1 (2003), 167-174. See also *The Pilgrim Book of the English Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity and Saint Thomas of Canterbury, Rome*, p. 548, in Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. VI (London: Burns and Oates, 1880), p. 548. Also, *The Diary of the English College, Rome, from 1579-1773*, Foley, vol. VI, p. 241.

²¹ *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records*, transcribed by Richard Savage, with introduction and notes by Edgar I. Fripp, vol. I, 1553-1566 (Oxford: Printed for The Dugdale Society, 1921), pp. 128-140. Also, J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*, vol.10, New Series (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1947), p. 21.

²² Peter Milward, *Shakespeare’s Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), p. 41. Also, Eamon Duffy, ‘William Cardinal Allen, 1532-1594’, in *Recusant History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Catholic Record Society, May 1995), 265-90. Duffy observes that Allen ‘spent some time in the Oxford area’, p. 270.

born on the Fylde coast, and uncle to a Catholic priest, Richard Haydock, who reportedly ‘keepeth with his brother at Cottam Hall, two miles from Preston’.²³ Simon Hunt, schoolteacher in Stratford from 1571-1575, and therefore certainly acquainted with a young Shakespeare, travelled from Douai to Rome to become a Jesuit, succeeding Persons as Penitentiary at St Peter’s, Rome.²⁴ When Hunt left Stratford he took Robert Debdale of Shotton with him. These snippets do not prove a crypto-Catholic strand in William Shakespeare’s life, nor confirm a continued relationship between William Allen and the Shakespeares. They do not even directly connect Shakespeare with Southwell, but they do add to a mosaic that when assembled creates a more revealing and detailed picture than has previously been recognised.

Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel and an important figure in Southwell’s life in England, wrote bitter verses on the destruction of the shrine at Walsingham:

Heaven turned is to hell
Satan sits where our Lord did sway;
Walsingham, O, farewell.²⁵

The tone is angrier than Shakespeare’s description of ‘Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang,’ but the sentiment is the same.²⁶ Arundel is one of a number of figures worth examining in pursuit of Southwell and Shakespeare.

²³ Leatherbarrow, *Remains Historical*, p. 89. See also *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-90*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1865), vol. 151, note 74, no day or month recorded, 1581, p. 41.

²⁴ A.C.F. Beales, ‘A Biographical Catalogue of Catholic Schoolmasters in England; Part I 1558-1603’, *Recusant History*, vol.7, no.6 (London: The Arundel Press, 1964), pp. 268-89.

²⁵ Philip Howard, ‘In the Wracks of Walsingham’, lines 42-5, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Poet 291 fol 16. Cited in Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, second edition (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 377-8.

Philip Howard was born on 28 June 1557, son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was executed in June 1572 for his part in the Ridolfi Plot. Philip, named in honour of his godfather, King Philip of Spain, inherited his title in February 1580, through his mother's family. Initially a Protestant, he became an established figure at court, well-liked by Queen Elizabeth. His marriage to Anne Dacres, or Dacre, in 1569, when she was only twelve, was not at first happy, and they lived apart for much of their early marriage. Anne had been brought up by her grandmother, Lady Mounteagle, a devout Catholic, and Anne herself converted to Catholicism in the early 1580s, while separated from her husband. Philip, however, became disillusioned with his lifestyle and the extravagant expenditure his career at court entailed. His wife's conversion clearly influenced him, though he later claimed that he had been strongly influenced by Campion's arguments during his formal *Disputations* with Protestant clerics during August and September 1581.²⁷ At some point in 1584, Arundel met the Jesuit priest William Weston, the sole Jesuit priest in England until Southwell and Garnet landed in July 1586. Weston's own account describes how Arundel 'was very anxious to alter the manner of his life – he was wearied by heresy and wished to become a Catholic.'²⁸ On 30 September 1584, Arundel, 'in a very private place, in the presence of himself and one or two of his very near relatives', met Weston again.²⁹ Weston said Mass, gave Arundel Communion and received him into the Catholic church. 'He seemed to be changed into

²⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 73, l. 4.

²⁷ J. G. Elzinga, 'Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 13 January 2015]

²⁸ William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955), p. 12.

²⁹ Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 12-13.

another man, having great care and vigilance over all his actions and addicting himself to piety and devotions.’³⁰

One effect was a reconciliation with his wife; another was Arundel’s scruples over continuing attendance on the Queen. His duties included escorting Elizabeth to Church at the opening of Parliament on 23 November 1584. He left before the sermon; ‘I was driven to walk by myself in one of the aisles.’³¹ The pressure on him grew; he had been suspected previously of having Catholic sympathies, even before his conversion. He had been questioned in December 1583 on suspicion of harbouring priests, possibly his wife’s chaplain. ‘The true cause of my refusal to attend service could no longer be hidden,’ he told Elizabeth, and in spring 1585 he determined to escape to France, despite Weston’s warning.³² Whether betrayed or simply unlucky, Arundel’s ship was intercepted by a warship, whose commander, Keloway, offered to release him on payment of one hundred pounds. Arundel agreed, and wrote a note addressed to his half-sister, Lady Margaret Sackville, asking her to pay the money. At which point, Keloway told him he was ‘appointed by the Council’, and arrested him.³³ Arundel was returned to London and imprisoned in the Tower.

³⁰ Weston, *Autobiography*, note, p. 18. See also *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel* (1635). Written by Anne Dacre’s Chaplain, ‘who am a Jesuit and helped her to die’, p. 1. This text was discovered in the archives of Arundel Castle, and first published in 1857 for the Duke of Norfolk as *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, His Wife* (London: Hurst and Blackett). Also C.A. Newdigate S.J., ‘A New Chapter in the Life of B. Robert Southwell, S.J.’, *The Month*, 801 (March 1931), 246-54, describes the re-finding of the 97- page manuscript, and includes extensive extracts from the account, particularly the whole of Chapter 7, which explains Southwell’s arrival at Arundel House.

³¹ Letter to Elizabeth, 14 April 1585, cited in Weston, *Autobiography*, note 14, p. 18, and John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. and William MacMahon, S.J., eds., ‘The Venerable Philip Howard Earl of Arundel 1557-1595’, *English Martyrs* vol. ii, Catholic Record Society 21 (London: 1919), p. 109.

³² Pollen and MacMahon, ‘The Venerable Philip Howard’, p. 105.

³³ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 20, p. 20. Pollen and MacMahon, ‘The Venerable Philip Howard’, p. 109.

Anne Sweeney describes Arundel as ‘the new leader of the English Catholic faithful’, and there is no doubt that his conversion alarmed the government.³⁴ Arundel’s attempt to plead with the Queen was fruitless. He told Elizabeth that his flight was not out of treasonable motives, but only to allow him to live ‘without danger of my conscience, without offence to your majesty, without this servile abjection to mine enemies, and without the daily peril to my life.’³⁵ However, he was brought to trial in April 1589, where a principal charge was that he had said a Mass for the success of the Armada whilst in the Tower. The evidence was inconsistent, and Arundel strongly denied the charge, but was found guilty and sentenced to a traitor’s death.³⁶ His estates were seized, and although the execution was not carried out he was never released, but remained in prison until his death on 15 October 1595, eight months after Southwell’s own execution. During his imprisonment he was never allowed to see his wife. On the wall of his cell he scratched, ‘the more affliction we endure for Christ in this world, the more glory we shall obtain with Christ in the next’,³⁷ echoing Southwell’s words in *An Epistle of Comfort*.³⁸

Arundel’s relationship with Southwell began only after the Earl was imprisoned. Anne, ‘well-beloved Nan’, as she was called by her father-in-law, Norfolk, did not allow her

³⁴ Anne R. Sweeney, *Robert Southwell, Snow in Arcadia: redrawing the English lyric landscape* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 112

³⁵ Jessie Childs, *God’s Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), p. 105.

³⁶ The evidence of William Bennet, a fellow prisoner, was emphasised, despite Bennet’s contradictory testimony. Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 191-2.

³⁷ Elzinga, ‘Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

³⁸ The Eleventh Chapter is headed, ‘That Martyrdome is Glorious in it selfe, Most Profitable To The Church, and Honorable to The Martyrs’. *An Epistle of Comfort*, ed. by Margaret Waugh (London: Burns & Oates, 1966), p. 162. EEBO Clandestine Press, 1587.

husband's imprisonment nor her own straitened circumstances to weaken her Catholicism.³⁹ Having earlier struggled to cope because of her husband's extravagance, she was now forced to live without the revenues from his estates, having to sell her jewels and dispose of her coach. As mentioned earlier, she had employed a Catholic chaplain, Martin Array, until his arrest and banishment in June 1586. Afterwards, like many Catholics, she found it increasingly difficult to receive the sacraments. She eventually asked a trusted servant to find her a priest. The girl's inquiries among Catholic families in London would almost certainly have included the Vauxes, relatives of the Arundels. The servant was introduced to Southwell, comparatively newly arrived in England, and sheltering from government reaction to the Babington conspiracy, which had led to the arrests of many Catholics. Southwell himself was forced to hide for a week with the Vauxes in Hackney, while pursuivants searched for priests. 'By God's goodness [...] they found me not, though separated from them only by a thin partition.'⁴⁰ He may well have welcomed the opportunity to find a safer refuge with Anne, despite Arundel's imprisonment.⁴¹ Southwell went to Arundel House, on the Strand, met Anne and agreed to help. After a few days, he suggested that a hiding place for him and 'ye church stuff' should be found, and was given a small room which allowed him to come and go without being observed.⁴² It was not until years later that Anne, 'in pleasant discourse', told Southwell that she had never intended him to be a resident household

³⁹ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Anne Howard, Countess of Arundel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 January 2015]

⁴⁰ Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 125. Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 138. J.H. Pollen, ed. 'Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs 1584-1603', *Catholic Record Society*, vol. 5, (1908), p. 313.

⁴¹ 'Peers were protected from official wrath against dissent by their exalted social status', Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 24. Up to a point this seems to be true.

⁴² Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 134, and Newdigate, 'A new Chapter', p. 249.

priest.⁴³ The servant had misunderstood Anne, informing Southwell that ‘he should reside with her’.⁴⁴ Without this misunderstanding, the Countess’s later chaplain would write, Anne, Philip and ‘many of their friends’ would have missed ‘that great help and comfort which they found by him in all occasions.’⁴⁵ Equally, the refuge provided by Anne greatly facilitated Southwell’s writing, and provided a way for Shakespeare to read and become familiar with Southwell’s work.

Southwell’s willingness to accept the Countess’s hospitality and protection was probably not only out of sympathy and kindness, but also seen by him as a way of strengthening his rôle as ‘comforter and guide to the English congregation’.⁴⁶ Despite his imprisonment the influential Arundel had not yet been tried and might be released. Indeed, he was offered both freedom and honours, if he was prepared to attend a Protestant service. He refused, and Southwell considered it his duty to ‘comfort and sustain him both for his own sake and for all the English Catholics.’⁴⁷ Sweeney also describes Southwell as ‘comforter and guide’; an important part of this ministry was undoubtedly his writing, both in poetry and prose.⁴⁸ Southwell was important as one of those who strengthened ‘the work of preaching and spiritual instruction by the provision of written texts and the establishment of printing presses

⁴³ Ibid. - both Devlin and Newdigate.

⁴⁴ Ibid. - both Devlin and Newdigate.

⁴⁵ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 135; Newdigate, ‘A New Chapter’, p. 235.

⁴⁶ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 133.

⁴⁸ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 113.

for the wider dissemination of Catholic works.⁴⁹ Such works of Southwell's may well have influenced Shakespeare's writing, as we shall see.

Such a valuable, if dangerous, part of Southwell's mission was greatly helped by his connection with the Arundels. A clandestine printing press was established at one of Arundel's houses, though whether before or after Southwell's arrival in the household is unclear. The first of the *Martin Marprelate* pamphlets in 1588 accused Archbishop Whitgift of leniency towards Catholic printers, including 'Popish Thackwell' and 'J.C., the Earl of Arundel's man'.⁵⁰ The same pamphlet refers scornfully to 'the Charterhouse', another name for Arundel House.⁵¹ J.C. was John Charlewood, who also held the monopoly for printing play bills, and who advertised himself as 'Printer to the Rt. Hon. the earl of Arundel'.⁵² His assistant, John Roberts, succeeded Charlewood in the licence to print play bills. It seems probable that Shakespeare at least knew of them. The Marprelate pamphlet refers to a 'press and letter in a place called the Charter-house in London in anno 1587 near about the time of the Scottish Queen's death.'⁵³ An intelligencer's report from 1589 describes 'the late impression' of illegal devotional works for Catholic families, including the Vauxes, and an

⁴⁹ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', in *English Manuscript Studies 100-1700 vol. 1*, ed. by Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 120-143, (p. 122).

⁵⁰ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 113 and note 77, p. 121.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., and Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 142-3.

⁵³ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 142.

anonymous priest who ‘useth much to Doctor Atseloe and to the Charter-house.’⁵⁴ Atslow was the Arundels’ long-standing physician.⁵⁵

John Gerard’s *Autobiography* also describes the ‘private house’ where ‘Father Southwell had his printing press, where his own admirable books were produced.’⁵⁶ This press may not have been in the Strand, although Devlin places it there originally.⁵⁷ The Countess, ‘the female figurehead of English Roman Catholicism after Mary’s death’, was evicted from Arundel House after her husband’s trial.⁵⁸ The house was given to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, who would establish the Lord Chamberlain’s Men in May 1594, providing another connection, if tangential, between Southwell and Shakespeare. Initially, the countess was allowed to remain in her house, which was divided into a number of apartments, but she was soon evicted. After her eviction she rented a house outside the City walls at Spitalfields, near Bishopsgate. This house, on the site of a former Augustinian hospital, was outside the jurisdiction of the local parish, instead within the freedom of Norton Folgate. Ralph Agas’s map of London, produced between 1560 and 1570, shows that the house was in an enclosed area, with fields to the south and open country to the north.⁵⁹ It sounds in every way a safer haven for Catholic dissidents than Arundel House, close as that was to Burghley House and the London home of the Earl of Leicester. Richard Southwell, Robert’s father, lived in Clerkenwell, west of

⁵⁴ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 143-4; also, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 1580-1625, Addenda*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1872), vol. 31, note 97, 31 December 1589, p. 97.

⁵⁵ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 144.

⁵⁶ John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translated by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), p. 26.

⁵⁷ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 143.

⁵⁸ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 210.

⁵⁹ Pollard Brown, ‘Paperchase’, p. 124.

Bishopsgate, and Robert's sister, Elizabeth, was married there in 1600. The Vauxes had a house just north of Spitalfields, as did another family of prominent recusants, the Treshams. Nancy Pollard Brown, in her influential study of Catholic manuscript dissemination, argues for Spitalfields as the site of Southwell's press, and describes the enclave as a place where 'members of the most zealous Catholic families exchanged manuscripts for copying and procured copies of printed books.'⁶⁰ Certainly, in 1587 Southwell was able to print *An Epistle of Comfort*, begun as letters to 'an especiall frende of myne'; that is, Philip, Earl of Arundel.⁶¹

There is no evidence that Southwell visited Arundel in the Tower; Arundel was never allowed to see Anne, even being denied the presence of a priest when obviously dying. His contact with the outside world was by letter only. In one such, Arundel paid tribute to Southwell; 'As I needs must say, I could not be more bound to any man, nor to any but one of your calling so much.'⁶² After Arundel's death sentence was pronounced he wrote to Southwell, asking him to 'procure me to be remember'd in the morning of my execution', hoping that prayers and a Mass would be said for him.⁶³ Southwell's reply was consistent with his public writing. 'Death will not be so unpleasant on account of the death it will bring, as delightful on account of the miseries it will cut off.'⁶⁴ Duke Vincentio's words to the condemned Claudio, 'What's yet in this / That bears the name of life?', are strikingly similar.⁶⁵ Further literary connections between Southwell and Shakespeare will be examined later. Southwell's dramatic

⁶⁰ Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase', p. 140.

⁶¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, 'The Preface to the Reader', p. 2. Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 294.

⁶² Undated letter from Arundel to Southwell. Pollen and MacMahon, 'The Ven. Philip Howard', p. 321.

⁶³ Undated letter from Arundel to Southwell. Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 195-6.

⁶⁴ Undated Letter from Southwell to Arundel. Pollen and MacMahon, 'The Ven. Philip Howard', p. 320.

⁶⁵ Shakespeare, *Measure For Measure*, ed. by J.W. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Methuen, reprinted 2003), 3. 1. 38-9. Originally published in second series (London: Methuen, 1965).

conclusion to his letter to Arundel, 'The cause is God's, the conflict short, the reward eternal', is echoed in *The Triumphs Over Death*, where Southwell argues forcefully for death to be regarded as a blessing, exchanging 'the loss of this world in exchange for a better'.⁶⁶ Modern editors of Southwell's verse ⁶⁷ agree that his poem 'I Dye Without Desert' is written in the voice of the Earl of Arundel, with its poignant conclusion that 'God doth sometymes first cropp the sweetest flower'.⁶⁸ Arundel's piety is also shown in his letter to Southwell expressing grief at his earlier treatment of Anne:

I call our Lord to witness that as no sin grieves me any thing so much as my offences to (her), so no worldly thing makes me loather to depart hence that I cannot live to make satisfaction according to my most ardent and affectionate desire.⁶⁹

Arundel clearly trusted and admired the priest he had never met. In return, Southwell's *An Epistle of Comfort*, printed clandestinely on the Arundel press between 1587-8, seems to have begun as a private letter of consolation to the Earl, but expanded to address the wider Catholic community, increasingly harried as confrontation with Spain loomed. *An Epistle of Comfort* and its relevance to Shakespeare's work will be considered later. Its emphasis on the sufferings of life and the contrasting glories of heaven are voiced, however, in imagery familiar to readers of Shakespeare:

⁶⁶ Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death*, (London: 1595), ed. by J. W. Trotman (London: Manresa Press, 1914), p. 24.

⁶⁷ James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown (eds.), *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967). Peter Davidson and Anne Sweeney (eds.), *St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007).

⁶⁸ Southwell, *I dye without desert; St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems*, ed. by Davidson and Sweeney, l. 35.

⁶⁹ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 197.

Our infancy is but a dream, our youth but a madness, our manhood a combat, our age a sickness, our life misery, our death horror.⁷⁰

The Arundels' importance in facilitating Southwell's development as a writer capable of comparison with Shakespeare should clearly not be underestimated. Southwell's next major prose work was also connected to the Arundels, written in response to the death in September 1591 of Philip's half-sister, Lady Margaret Sackville, aged twenty- nine. She was a Catholic and close friend of the Countess; *The Triumphs Over Death* was originally written as both a tribute to Lady Margaret and an attempt to console Arundel, unable to visit her in her last illness. She was, wrote Southwell, 'an honour to her predecessors, a light to her age, and a pattern to her posterity.'⁷¹ She accepted her early death bravely and patiently, showing 'no dismay being warned of her danger'.⁷² In language reminiscent of Claudius's advice to Hamlet, Southwell argued that 'as not to feel sorrow in sorrowful chances is to want sense, so not to bear it with moderation is to want understanding.'⁷³ The text appears to have circulated in manuscript, along with some of Southwell's verse; for example, in the Waldegrave Manuscript, probably copied in the 1590s.⁷⁴ The published quarto of 1595 was issued after Southwell's execution, published by John Busby and printed by Valentine Simmes, but edited by John Trussell, whose connections with Southwell and possible links with Shakespeare will be discussed later. Trussell bravely gave Southwell's name in full on the title page, the only example of this until a Jesuit edition published in St Omer in 1620.

⁷⁰ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fourth Chapter, p. 81.

⁷¹ Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death*, ed. by J.W. Trotman (London: Manresa Press, 1914), p. 8.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ The Waldegrave Manuscript, London, The Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst MS A.V. 27. The Waldegrave family lived in Essex. See Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, 'Sources', pp. 147-9 (p. 148).

Trussell included three of his own poems, praising both Lady Margaret and her family and Southwell himself. In all, he gave Southwell's name four times, an apparently defiant riposte to Southwell's recent execution.⁷⁵

When Southwell was questioned by Richard Topcliffe after his arrest, one of the names put to him was the Countess of Arundel's. As Topcliffe wrote in his report to Elizabeth, 'the answer of him to the question of the Countess of Arundel' was considered sufficiently important to be asked under torture, with Southwell being hung up for hours by his hands.⁷⁶ Southwell refused to implicate her, or anyone else, but Anne appeared undaunted by the dangers of contact with Southwell even after his arrest. She perhaps remembered his 'excellent directions how to answer to ye dangerouse questions usually propos'd in those times to Catholicks ensnared'.⁷⁷ Southwell's father, Richard, eventually obtained permission from Burghley to alleviate the dreadful conditions under which Southwell was kept, first in the Gatehouse and then the Tower. He found his son covered in his own faeces and infested with maggots and lice.⁷⁸ But it was Anne who sent Southwell clean clothes and bedding, as well as a volume of the writings of Saint Bernard. These were delivered 'by ye means and in the name of one of his sisters', Mary Bannister.⁷⁹ The Countess had promised Southwell that if he was caught she would not make any attempt to have him ransomed, 'never to concur to the hindering of his Martyrdom, in case Almighty God did call him to that high honour'.⁸⁰ After

⁷⁵ See Trotman, pp. 110-136.

⁷⁶ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p.284. See also The Lansdowne Manuscript, London, The British Library, The Burghley Papers 72, f.113, (1592).

⁷⁷ According to the Countess's Jesuit chaplain and biographer; see Newdigate, 'A New Chapter', p. 250.

⁷⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 288-9, quoting dispatches of Richard Verstegan sent in August and September 1586.

⁷⁹ Newdigate, 'A New Chapter', p. 251.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Southwell's death his influence with the Countess remained; when in trouble she was heard to remark, 'Now, I must betake myself to Blessed Father Southwell's remedy.'⁸¹

She must also have been helped when in difficulties by consulting Southwell's *A Shorte Rule of Good Life*, sometimes printed as *A Shorte Rule*. This 'handbook for committed lay people, a practical manual', was originally written for the Countess, based on the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* which played such an important part in Jesuit devotional life.⁸² Written between 1591 and 1592, and initially printed by Henry Garnet's clandestine press in 1595, the book became sufficiently popular to be reprinted officially, with eight editions by 1655 attesting to its value for both Catholics and Protestants. Southwell was clearly aware of the value of the book for a wider audience. As Pollard Brown writes, Southwell 'became immersed in the need to have written texts to guide and strengthen Catholic life.'⁸³ The *Shorte Rule* consists of four sections, with instruction on a Christian's duty to God, to those in authority, to neighbours, and to oneself. It offers practical advice in ordering daily routine, particularly for those in charge of a household, concluding with suggestions for promoting spiritual growth. Its advice that 'my externall behaviour ... and my outward actions be done with gravity, modestie and all decencie; that I be not light, vain or too lavish in mirth, not too austere, or

⁸¹ Newdigate, 'A New Chapter', p. 250.

⁸² Robert Southwell, *A Shorte Rule of Good Life*, 1591-2 (London: Garnet's second press, 1595). Southwell revised the original text to widen its appeal. It was not commercially printed until 1620. Citations are from *EEBO online*, reproducing a copy held in The Bodleian Library, Oxford, (London: English Secret Press, between 1602 -1605). The work is also cited in F.W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), pp. 59-63, and in Scott R. Pilarz, S.J., *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), pp. 100-7. The most recent edition of *A Short Rule* is in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1973). A manuscript dated 1587 which includes *A Short Rule* is in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 218/233/Index SoR 317. The copy has the initials 'HG' included twice.

⁸³ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word', in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall*, Oxford, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 193-213 (p. 212).

too much inclined to sadness',⁸⁴ anticipates Polonius's advice to Laertes, as well as Hamlet's to Horatio.⁸⁵ The *Rule* advises avoiding 'al shew of inward disquietnes or unordered passions, which though I cannot choose but sometime feelee.'⁸⁶ Southwell's views on 'unordered passions'; 'such lawless stuff', as he termed them elsewhere,⁸⁷ are an important theme of his poetry, in a very different way to Shakespeare's obvious enjoyment in describing 'Venus's rose'.⁸⁸

The importance of the Arundels for Southwell has been made clear. Without the shelter afforded by Anne and the subject-matter inspired by her family's circumstances, Southwell's prose writings in particular must have been very different. Nor would they have been as easily available to read without the printing-press that Anne supported. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of high-ranking men and women in a hierarchical society, even those of dissenting faith. The importance of Catholic households headed by influential gentry or aristocracy has already been emphasised. If Shakespeare's progress to the London stage and the patronage of the Earl of Southampton was facilitated by such similar Catholic families in Cheshire and Lancashire, then Southwell's own journey involved the same need for protection and support. This account of the Arundels also sheds light on circumstances facing Catholics in the 1580s and 1590s, a formative period for Shakespeare. The lives of the Earl

⁸⁴ Southwell, *A Shorte Rule*, p. 33, 'The Fourth Chapter Towardes my Neighbour'; Pilarz, *The Mission of Literature*, p. 106.

⁸⁵ *Hamlet*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 1. 3. 57 – 80 ('These few precepts'), and 3. 2. 67-70 ('Give me that man / That is not passion's slave').

⁸⁶ Southwell, *A Shorte Rule*, p. 35, 'the Fourth Chapter'.

⁸⁷ Southwell, 'To the Reader', introductory poem in the Waldegrave MS, l. 14.

⁸⁸ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 16. Introduction to Southwell's long poem *Saint Peters Complaynt*, first published 1595.

and Countess mirror the experiences of other people who connect Southwell with Shakespeare, as we shall see.

Anne never remarried, although she lived for another thirty-five years after her husband's death. She continued her active involvement in the Catholic cause, providing a safe house for Southwell's fellow Jesuit John Gerard in spring 1594, the 'person of high rank' Gerard refers to in his *Autobiography*; even visiting him in disguise after his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower.⁸⁹ She visited him under the pretext of seeing the famous lions kept there, bringing her daughter with her. Anne was also responsible for saving a priest, George Blackwell, from arrest in 1598 by bribing the pursuivant searching for him. 'Besides a good sum of money given at that time, she sent him every year as long as he lived a venison pastry to make merry with his friends at Christmas.'⁹⁰ Despite her comparative poverty, the Countess was known and admired for her generosity and courage, as we will see later in her connection with Anne Line, another figure connected also with Shakespeare. Line, like Southwell, hoped for martyrdom. 'I naturally want more than anything to die for Christ'.⁹¹ She would achieve this in February 1601, six years after Southwell's death. The Countess again ignored personal danger to give Anne Line the respectable burial that had been denied her after her execution.

Shakespeare's Sonnet 74, with its apparently angry reference to 'The coward conquest of a wretch's knife', can be interpreted as a veiled comment on such executions as that of Anne Line.⁹² Line three of the sonnet, 'My life hath in this line some interest', has an interesting

⁸⁹ Gerard, *The Autobiography*, p. 64. Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 298-9.

⁹⁰ Gerard, *The Autobiography*, p. 143 and note p. 241. *The Lives of Philip Howard*, p. 216.

⁹¹ Gerard, *The Autobiography*, p. 84.

⁹² Sonnet 74, l. 11.

resonance, as we shall see in Chapter Six, where Shakespeare's enigmatic poem, *The Phoenix and Turtle* will also be discussed. The opening lines of this poem's *Threnos* could equally well apply to Anne Line or to Anne Dacres herself. 'Beauty, truth and rarity, / Grace in all simplicity'.⁹³

The Countess of Arundel also had connections with another, more exalted lady, in the person of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. We will see later the use of emblems by Mary, something which both Shakespeare and Southwell also used in their poetry. The well-known Marian Oxburgh hangings, worked between 1570 and 1585 and containing a number of emblems, were given to the Countess after Mary's execution, perhaps because of Anne's connection with the Howards; perhaps also in tribute to her position as 'the female figurehead' of Catholicism in England.⁹⁴ Mary and Anne corresponded, with Mary referring to her as 'cousin'.⁹⁵ Anne was apparently asked by Mary to forward letters to her supporters in Scotland, and Mary also appears to have offered to intervene with Elizabeth for the release of Philip, 'who is so dear to me.'⁹⁶ No evidence exists that the Countess accepted either of these potentially dangerous offers, but the intermeshing of personal histories with recusant politics is a familiar pattern in the stories of the Arundels, Southwell and possibly also with Shakespeare himself.

⁹³ Shakespeare, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, in The Arden Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), ll. 53-4.

⁹⁴ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 210.

⁹⁵ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Anne Howard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

We have established that there were close links between the Arundels and Southwell, both personally and in their shared faith. Soon after Southwell's execution Anne acquired a relic of a small bone from Southwell's foot, which she had set in gold and wore round her neck.⁹⁷ We shall shortly examine further Arundel connections that link Southwell and Shakespeare, as well as other significant figures connecting them both. The Earl himself was sufficient poet for his poem *The Fourfold Meditation of the Four Last Things* to be published in 1606, by one 'W H'.⁹⁸ This publisher attributed the poem to 'R S', obviously hoping it would be regarded as a poem of Southwell's, by now a best-selling author. Arundel also maintained players before his flight; records show the Earl of Arundel's Players performing at the Common Hall in Norwich in 1584 and 1585, close to Southwell's birthplace of Horsham St. Faith.⁹⁹ Sally-Beth Maclean believes the Earl was 'following a long-standing family tradition of patronage.'¹⁰⁰ We have already seen the words Arundel scratched in his cell, 'the more affliction we endure for Christ in this world, the more glory we shall obtain with Christ in the next'.¹⁰¹ Perhaps the playwright Shakespeare might have added, 'the readiness is all.'¹⁰²

The relationship that Shakespeare formed with his patron, the third Earl of Southampton is perhaps easier to establish than Southwell's with the Arundels. Evidence of a connection, patronage and possibly friendship between Shakespeare and Henry Wriothesley, nine years

⁹⁷ Newdigate, 'A New Chapter', p. 251.

⁹⁸ Pollen and MacMahon, 'The Venerable', p. 326.

⁹⁹ REED online, 'Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel': <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>. Also Sally-Beth MacLean, 'Adult Playing Companies 1583-1593', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 39-55.

¹⁰⁰ MacLean, 'Adult Playing Companies', p. 50.

¹⁰¹ J.G Elzinga, 'Philip Howard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

¹⁰² Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. Thompson and Taylor 5. 2 .200.

older than Shakespeare, is well known, even if not all the details are clear. Connections between Southampton and Southwell are less obvious, but, as with the Arundels and Shakespeare, present and intriguing.

Southampton's father included among his godparents Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel. The second Earl of Southampton was brought up as a Catholic and was arrested in 1570 for suspected complicity in the Ridolfi plot to marry Mary Stuart to Thomas Howard, Earl of Norfolk, which led to Norfolk's execution. Held in the Tower for eighteen months, the elder Southampton was also questioned about his attitude towards the Bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, excommunicating Elizabeth. He was re-arrested in 1581, shortly before his death; his will was Catholic, indicating his defiant faith, as well as his antipathy towards his wife Mary, long 'barred his bord and presence'.¹⁰³ The will, interestingly, was made on the same day as Alexander Hoghton's, on 3 August 1581, three days after Campion was racked in the Tower. Mary's third husband, Sir William Hervey, has been proposed as a possibility for 'Mr W. H.', the dedicatee of the 1609 edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*.¹⁰⁴ Southampton's son, also Henry, became a royal ward after his father's death, as did Arundel, with Lord Burghley as his guardian, living mainly at Cecil House on the Strand. The wardship seems to have been an attempt to remove the young Earl from the Catholic sympathies of his mother's family, the Montagues of Sussex, who have been discussed earlier. Financial and political considerations may have also played a part, as shown by Burghley's anger when Southampton continually

¹⁰³ J.G. Elzinga, 'Philip Howard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), vol. 1 pp. 565-7; Katherine Duncan Jones, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, pp. 52-64, 66-9.

refused marriage in 1590 to his grand-daughter Elizabeth Vere, incurring not only Burghley's displeasure, but the threat of a fine of £5000.¹⁰⁵

An examination of the Southampton family tree reveals some interesting connections, not least the fact that Southwell's mother's family, the Copleys, were related to them through the Shelley family of Michelgrove in Sussex.¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Shelley was Southwell's maternal grandmother, whose niece Margaret Shelley married into another Catholic family, the Gages of Firle, also in Sussex. Mary Montague, the second Earl's apparently unfaithful wife, was the granddaughter of Alice Gage, aunt of Margaret Shelley's husband. Southwell and Southampton, therefore, were cousins by marriage. In the close-knit world of Elizabethan Catholic families, as we have seen with the Hoghtons, Heskeths and others, 'affinity' as well as religion was of great importance. A connection here with the Arundels can also be made, through Philip Howard, the twelfth Earl of Arundel, who named as an executor of his will Edward Gage of Bentley, husband to Margaret Shelley.¹⁰⁷

A second, even closer family relationship between Southwell and Southampton was argued by Devlin, through the marriages made by Southwell's eldest sister Elizabeth and his eldest brother Richard.¹⁰⁸ Devlin believes that Richard married Alice Cornwallis, niece of the second Earl; Elizabeth's husband, named Lister, was the son of the second Earl's sister,

¹⁰⁵ For information about Southampton's life see: G.P.V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968); G.P. V. Akrigg, 'Something more about Shakespeare's Patron', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 28 (1977), 65-72; Park Honan, 'Henry Wriothesley Third Earl of Southampton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2012 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 February 2015].

¹⁰⁶ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 15, and Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ Pollen and MacMahon, 'The Venerable', p. 326.

¹⁰⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 15.

Margaret, by her second husband, Michael Lister. More recent research by G.P.V. Akrigg and John Klause, has shed doubt on these last suggestions, although, as Klause says, ‘the ‘Lister’ whom Elizabeth Southwell married is not for certain known.’¹⁰⁹

Southampton’s connection with the Copleys, Shelleys and Gages continued after Southwell’s death. William Copley, John Shelley and the Edward Gage of Arundel’s will, all relatives of Southwell, were fined for recusancy in 1604. Southampton was granted the receipt of these fines, but whether he kept or returned them to his relatives is unknown.¹¹⁰ He did, however, take only nominal possession of at least two estates forfeited by Catholic families, in the same way that we have discussed with John Shakespeare’s financial affairs.¹¹¹ When Edward Gage died, his will, dated 1614, listed the Earl as one of his executors, which suggests a still-friendly attitude towards Southampton.¹¹² The Earl certainly never made overt declaration of Catholicism, and must have taken the Oath of Supremacy to receive his degree from Cambridge in 1589. At his trial in 1601 for his involvement in the Essex rebellion, he denied being a Papist.¹¹³ Like Shakespeare, perhaps, but unlike his father and Southwell, he seems to have deliberately avoided the danger of martyrdom. Nevertheless, there was government suspicion at the activities in Southampton House in the Strand, close to Arundel House. In January 1605 a government agent, John Chamberlain, reported that ‘Eight or ten dayes since

¹⁰⁹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, note 4, p. 262. See also Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 6. For a contradictory view, supporting Devlin, see Alison Shell, ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka and J.R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85-112 (p. 90).

¹¹⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic James I 1603-1610*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), vol. 2, note 25, undated day or month, 1604. p. 184.

¹¹¹ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 181; Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 89.

¹¹² Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, note 25, p. 277.

¹¹³ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 125.

there was above two hundredeth ponds worth of popish books taken, about Southampton House and burned in Poules Churchyard.’¹¹⁴ Swithin Wells, a Catholic martyr discussed later, was tutor to the young Southampton. There is also evidence of Jesuit priests being given shelter at Southampton’s home.¹¹⁵ After Southwell’s arrest in June 1592, his jailer, Topcliffe, went on a mission to Sussex and Hampshire, counties strongly associated with both Southampton, who owned country estates at Tichfield and Beaulieu, and the other Catholic families referred to above. Topcliffe raided houses and questioned family members and servants. Southampton himself spent that summer in Hampshire.¹¹⁶

Michael Wood believes that Southwell acted as spiritual adviser not only to the Countess of Arundel, but also to Southampton. He sees Southampton as ‘a prize in the struggle between the regime, the missionaries and the Catholic moderates’, hence Burghley’s concern over Southampton’s marriage.¹¹⁷ Richard Wilson agrees, adding that the spiritual advice that Southampton apparently sought while resisting Burghley’s proposal of marriage to Elizabeth Vere was given by Southwell.¹¹⁸ Southampton’s mother, the formidable Dowager Mary, née Montague, never concealed her strong Catholic sympathies; Henry seems to have been more circumspect. However, a report on prisoners held in the Fleet in May 1594 noted an illegal Mass held by ‘Jones, alias Norton, and Butler [...] they lived about eight years since in

¹¹⁴ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 181.

¹¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth 1591-94*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1867), vol. 248, note 30, 16 March 1594, p. 463, and note 99, 8 May 1594, p. 503.

¹¹⁶ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 219.

¹¹⁷ Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003), p. 151.

¹¹⁸ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.134.

Southampton House, in the next chamber to Robert Gage, who was executed'.¹¹⁹ Michael Questier concludes that Southampton's religious position 'was far from clear'.¹²⁰ He also suggests that 'Peers were protected from official wrath against dissent by their exalted social status', a suggestion that clearly contains some truth as far as Southampton is concerned, if not Arundel.¹²¹ Southampton's links with known recusants are apparent, however.

How Shakespeare first became acquainted with Southampton is uncertain. Southampton was known as a keen playgoer, who passed 'away the time in London merely in going to plays every day', often with his friend Roger Manners, the future Earl of Rutland, who lived in Shoreditch near the Theatre and for whose descendant Shakespeare and Richard Burbage would design an *impresario* twenty years later.¹²² Akrigg suggests that Shakespeare and Southampton met at a 'backstage meeting in a London playhouse sometime in 1591-92';¹²³ another less romantic possibility is that an introduction was effected by Fulke Greville, a courtier, poet, and friend of Sir Philip Sidney. Greville was ten years older than Shakespeare, from Alcester in Warwickshire, and son of Sir Fulke Greville, who had dealings with the Stratford Corporation while John Shakespeare held office. The younger Greville was Member of Parliament for Warwickshire, and well-acquainted with the aristocratic set that included Southampton, Manners and the Earl of Essex, as well as the literary milieu of London. He was responsible, for example, for the publication of Sidney's works after

¹¹⁹ *CSPD Eliz 1591-1594*, vol. 248, 8 May 1594, p.503, Benjamin Beard to Lord Keeper Puckering.

¹²⁰ Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England. Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 83, n. 57.

¹²¹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 24.

¹²² (Rowland Whyte, in 1600). Cathy Shrank, 'Southampton: Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of', in *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.442.

¹²³ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 193.

Sidney's death in 1586.¹²⁴ Greville's background, position and interests make him a strong possibility to have introduced Shakespeare to Southampton, although René Weis suggests a possible introduction of 'the young aristocrat to Shakespeare' by Robert Greene or Thomas Nashe.¹²⁵ Both studied at St John's College, Oxford during Southampton's time there.

Shakespeare's dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to Southampton is well known. This immensely successful poem, entered in the Stationers' Register on 18 April 1593 and certainly for sale by September, may have been written because of the closure of the theatres in July 1592, due to an outbreak of plague. The theatres remained closed for nearly two years, during which time Shakespeare presumably wrote both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. The dedication to *Venus and Adonis* is elegant but formal, with its use of 'Right Honourable' to refer to Southampton, and its modest tone that admits, 'I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your lordship'.¹²⁶ The Dedication offers no evidence of a personal relationship between two comparatively young men, although the poet promises to honour the Earl 'with some graver labour.'¹²⁷ But when Shakespeare published *The Rape of Lucrece*, entered in the Register in May 1594, the tone had clearly altered. His Dedication to Southampton is worth citing in full:

The love I dedicate to your lordship is without end; whereof this pamphlet without beginning is but a superfluous moiety. The warrant I have of your honourable

¹²⁴ Park Honan, 'Henry Wriothesley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

¹²⁵ René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 2008), pp. 113-14.

¹²⁶ Shakespeare, *Dedication: Venus and Adonis*, ed. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, p. 128, ll. 3, 4-5.

¹²⁷ *Dedication, Venus and Adonis*, l. 10.

disposition, not the worth of my untutored lines, makes it assured of acceptance.

What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours: being part in all I have, devoted
yours. Were my worth greater, my duty would show greater; meantime, as it is, it is
bound to your lordship, to whom I wish long life, still lengthened with all happiness.

Your lordship's in all duty,

William Shakespeare¹²⁸

Wood suggests that Shakespeare's reference to 'my duty' indicates 'that he was now in Southampton's service and receiving money',¹²⁹ he also makes the intriguing suggestion that Southwell could have read *Venus and Adonis* in manuscript while visiting Southampton House before his arrest in June 1592.¹³⁰ Certainly, Shakespeare now refers to the 'love' he offers the Earl, as well as 'the warrant' he has received of Southampton's 'honourable disposition'. The Dedication, although still suitably respectful, has a much more personal and affectionate tone, shown in the repetition of 'yours', and culminating in the powerful cesura, 'devoted yours'.¹³¹ As the editors of the Arden edition indicate, 'Southampton has a part or share in all that makes up Shakespeare's life and work, and Shakespeare is *devoted* to him'.¹³²

¹²⁸ Shakespeare, *Dedication: The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, p. 232, ll. 1-14. All subsequent citations from both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* are from this edition.

¹²⁹ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p.157.

¹³⁰ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 153.

¹³¹ Shakespeare, *Dedication: The Rape of Lucrece*, ll. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9.

¹³² Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, note p. 233.

This is not the place for an extended discussion of whether Shakespeare's *Sonnets* chart a personal relationship between the poet and Earl, nor how far the allusions to the Young Man, Rival Poet and the mysterious mistress are evidence of real-life rather than fictional relationships, despite the subject's fascination. Sonnets 1 to 17, however, are clearly intended to persuade the 'beauteous niggard' addressed in the poems to 'Be not self-willed', but to procreate, presumably having married first. 'Die single, and thine image dies with thee', the poet warns.¹³³ If this sequence of sonnets was designed to tempt the Earl into marriage with Elizabeth Vere, they clearly failed, as Southampton married his pregnant mistress Elizabeth Vernon in August 1598, enduring a brief spell of imprisonment for seducing one of Elizabeth's Maids of Honour. The 'fair youth' sequence is completed in Sonnet 126, where the 'lovely Boy' is warned that he also will face the 'audit' of time, which, 'though delayed, answered must be'.¹³⁴ Southampton's androgynous beauty was much admired; Sonnet 20, with its admiring reference to 'A woman's face with nature's own hand painted', may refer to him.¹³⁵ If so, it suggests an intimacy that goes far beyond the Patron / Poet relationship of the Dedications to *Venus and Adonis* and even *Lucrece*. Sonnet 53 clearly alludes back to *Venus and Adonis*, with its deprecatory, 'Describe Adonis, and the counterfeit / Is poorly imitated after you'.¹³⁶ Sonnet 107 may allude to Elizabeth's death and the subsequent release of Southampton from the Tower:

¹³³ *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Duncan-Jones, Sonnet 4, l. 5, Sonnet 6, l. 13, Sonnet 3, l. 14.

¹³⁴ Shakespeare, Sonnet 126, lines 1, 11.

¹³⁵ Shakespeare, Sonnet 20, line 1.

¹³⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 53, lines 5-6.

The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured
My love looks fresh, and death to me subscribes¹³⁷

Nicholas Rowe, in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare reported ‘a story [...] handed down by Sir William Davenport’, that Southampton ‘at one time gave him [Shakespeare] a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to’.¹³⁸ This enormous sum of money seems an unlikely gift, even from a generous and wealthy patron, although Sonnet 117 refers to the ‘great deserts’ owed by the poet to his friend as well as ‘your own dear-purchased right’.¹³⁹ Sonnet 103, also, refers somewhat ambiguously, to ‘your graces and your gifts’.¹⁴⁰ Further evidence for a gift of money from Southampton is the statement by the Reverend Joseph Greene, Master at Stratford Grammar School between 1735 – 1772, and involved in both the restoration of Shakespeare’s bust in Holy Trinity, in 1746, and the Garrick Jubilee celebrations of 1769. In 1759 he wrote that ‘the unanimous tradition of the neighbourhood where [Shakespeare] lived is that by the uncommon bounty of the then Earl of Southampton, he was enabled to purchase houses and land in Stratford, the place of his nativity.’¹⁴¹ New Place, bought from William Underhill in May 1597; Shakespeare’s ability to become a Sharer in the Lord Chamberlain’s Men in 1594;

¹³⁷ Shakespeare, Sonnet 107, lines 5, 10. Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, p. 324n; Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, pp. 228-39.

¹³⁸ Nicholas Rowe, *Preface: Some Account of the Life, etc of Mr William Shakespeare* (1709), p. 6. Cited in R.B. Wheler, *History and Antiquities of Stratford-Upon-Avon* (London: J. Ward, 1806), p. 73; Rowe’s *Preface* is reprinted in *Eighteenth Century Essays*, ed. by D. Holmsmith (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1903), p. 6. Also, Chambers, *A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. 2, pp. 266-7; Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, pp. 114-5; Stanley Wells, ‘The Combes’, in *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 149-60 (p. 151).

¹³⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 117, ll. 2, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 103, l. 12.

¹⁴¹ Rev. Joseph Greene, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (1759); Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 115; Wells, ‘The Combes’, p. 151; R. B. Wheler, *History and Antiquities*, p. 73. Greene was involved in both the restoration of Shakespeare’s bust in Holy Trinity Church in 1746, and the Garrick Jubilee of 1769.

the purchase of 107 acres of land in Old Stratford in 1602 for £320 from the Combe family;¹⁴² all these are possible evidence for a close relationship between Shakespeare and Southampton.

Giovanni, or John Florio, poet, Italian tutor to Southampton, and possessor of a famous library, was the son of an Italian Protestant refugee. Florio, perhaps a model for Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*, was, like Shakespeare, someone who enjoyed Southampton's patronage.¹⁴³ He also celebrated his patron fulsomely if with less poetic skill. 'Incomprehensible is the height of your spirit, both in heroical resolution and matters of conceit'.¹⁴⁴ Jonathan Bate has suggested Florio's wife as the 'Dark Lady' of the Sonnets, but Florio's importance here is the evidence it provides of an artistic, intellectually lively household, kept by Southampton both in London and in Hampshire.¹⁴⁵ It is quite possible that Shakespeare had access to Florio's library, and equally possible that Southampton's household was one in which both Shakespeare and Southwell were welcomed and would have felt at home.

Love's Labour's Lost, with its reference to 'The hue of dungeons and the school of night',¹⁴⁶ alludes to the intellectual coterie associated with Southampton and Sir Walter Raleigh. Jan Kott also suggested that the setting of *Twelfth Night* (1601-2) was based on Southampton

¹⁴² Wells, 'The Combes', p. 151.

¹⁴³ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁴ John Florio, *Worlde of Worde*, (1598), Dedicatory Sonnet to Southampton, cited in Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁵ Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), pp. 56-8.

¹⁴⁶ Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1594-5, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London: 1998), 4.3.251.

House.¹⁴⁷ The 1605 royal performance of *Love's Labour's Lost*, arranged with the help of Richard Burbage's brother, Cuthbert, may also have been staged there.¹⁴⁸ Southampton's backing of the 1605 Virginia expedition, and his membership from 1609 of the Virginia Company's Council may have been one source for *The Tempest* (1611), with its use of the manuscript account of the wreck of *Sea-Adventure*.¹⁴⁹ Emotionally, financially and dramatically, therefore, the relationship between Southampton and Shakespeare is important. Nashe's Dedication to *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) described Southampton: 'A dere lover and cherisher you are, as well of the lovers of Poets, as of Poets themselves'.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps this affection and generosity towards poets also extended to Robert Southwell, thereby offering the opportunity for a meeting between these talented 'cosens'.

Another member of Southampton's household certainly known to Southwell, although seldom referred to by critics or historians, is Swithin Wells, born in Hampshire, who was a schoolteacher and recusant. Wells was a member of the Earl's household for twenty years, at one stage acting as his tutor. Devlin describes Wells as an 'old friend' of Southwell.¹⁵¹ Wells certainly attracted the attention of government agents and was reported as resident in

¹⁴⁷ Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, revised edition, trans. by B. Taborski (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 229.

¹⁴⁸ John Astington, 'The Burbages', in *The Shakespeare Circle*, ed. Edmondson and Wells, pp. 248-60 (p.256). The royal visitor was the Duke of Holstein, Queen Anne's brother.

¹⁴⁹ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1999), p. 42. William Strachey's accounts of the *Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* and *a most dreadful tempest* are printed in *The Tempest*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 209-19 (p. 209).

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), in Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 187.

¹⁵¹ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 238.

Southampton House in 1587.¹⁵² He finally paid the price for recusancy when he was executed on 10 November 1591. We shall discuss him in more detail shortly. Other strongly Catholic members of Southampton's 'affinity' or circle include Thomas Pounce, whose Hampshire house was evocatively named Belmont. Pounce was friendly with Thomas Cottam, brother of John Cottam, and was apparently responsible for Thomas Cottam's conversion while Cottam was teaching in London. 'Here he [Cottam] formed an intimate friendship with Thomas Pounce Esq., of Belmont, and was soon converted by that noble confessor of the faith'.¹⁵³

Pounce was a cousin of Southampton and had helped Robert Persons on his arrival in London in 1580, supplying him with names of sympathisers despite being imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Pounce had been arrested in 1574 for recusancy; while imprisoned he became a lay member of the Jesuits. He was evidently close to Southampton's father; both men attempted to set up an escape route for aspiring Jesuits, from Hampshire and Sussex to Flanders 'and thence to Rome'.¹⁵⁴ It does not seem to have been successful, with only one recorded 'home run', in 1574, but Pounce was also active in supporting Catholics in the Hampshire / Sussex area, both financially and by arranging locations for illegal Masses to be celebrated. He was influential in the network of local Catholic families already familiar to us. These included Shelleys from Michelgrove and Petersfield, Gages of West Firle and Bentley and Cottons from Warblington, all of whom were related to Bridget Copley, Southwell's

¹⁵² *CSPD Eliz. 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1872), vol. 206, note 74, undated, p. 448.

¹⁵³ Joseph Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of The English Catholics*, vol. I A-C (London: Burns and Oates, 1885), p. 574.

¹⁵⁴ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 14.

mother. Pounce was finally released from prison on the accession of King James, as was his cousin, Southampton.¹⁵⁵

Southampton's friendship with the Earl of Essex, which would lead him into treason in 1601, would also have brought him into contact with Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, another member of Essex's circle, and almost certainly the 'English nobleman of high rank' who visited Southwell in the Tower on the night before his execution.¹⁵⁶ Mountjoy was present at Southwell's death at Tyburn, and, according to contemporary accounts, was instrumental in forcing the executioner to allow Southwell to hang until he was dead, rather than enduring the agony of evisceration. The Sheriff in charge accused the bystanders of attending 'not to honour the Queen, but to reverence a traitor!' Mountjoy's reply was poignant: 'I cannot answer for his religion, but I wish to God that my soul may be with his.'¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ For Pounce see Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 14, 18,91; Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, pp. 89-90; Scott R. Pilarz, *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature*, pp. 42-3 and 49-51. Thomas McCoog, *And Touching Our Society: Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2013), discusses the background to the Catholic opposition to the Elizabethan Settlement, as does Malcolm M. South, *The Jesuits and the Joint Mission to England during 1580-1581* (Lewiston: Renaissance Studies vol. 4, 1999). *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007), also contains much useful information, including references to Pounce (pp. 16, 149, 158, 208, 252). A letter from Thomas Stephens, Jesuit Missionary in India, with references to Pounce, is in London, The Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst MS, Collectio Cardwelli, fn 16.

¹⁵⁶ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p.317, citing Diego Yopez, a contemporary Spanish historian. See Diego Yopez, *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1599), ed. by D.M Rogers (Farnborough: Gregg, 1971).

¹⁵⁷ Devlin, *Robert Southwell* p. 324. Other accounts of Southwell's execution can be found in Henry Garnet's description, written in Italian, Spanish and English and kept in the Jesuit Archives, London, Stonyhurst MS Anglia A. II, pp.2-14, and Richard Verstegan, *A Breve Discourse of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr Robert Southwell Priste of The Socitie of Jesus*, Jesuit Archives, London, Stonyhurst MS Anglia A III.I. Thomas Leake, a secular priest also wrote an account of Southwell's death at some time 'after Feb 1595'. This is published as *Thomas Leake's Relation of the Martyrdom of Father Southwell*, in Hungerford Pollen, ed. *Unpublished Documents*, vol. I, p. 333.

Southampton's London house was also recorded as the site of the 1583 arrest of members of the Arden family, although not the Edward Arden associated with the Somerville Plot as Wilson suggests.¹⁵⁸ This Arden, as we have seen, was arrested in Warwickshire. The 1601 Essex Plot involved Southampton and, indirectly, Shakespeare, with the famous 'command' performance of *Richard II*, for which the Chamberlain's Men were promised '40 shillings more than the ordinary'.¹⁵⁹ The nobleman sent to persuade the players to perform a play 'so old and so long out of use',¹⁶⁰ was Sir Charles Percy, step-son of Frances Fitton of Gawsworth in Cheshire, of the family mentioned previously.¹⁶¹ Percy was executed for his part in the unsuccessful rising; two cousins of Sir John Salusbury, whose relevance to *The Phoenix and Turtle* will be discussed later, were also involved in the plot. Owen was killed in the brief fighting, shot in the grounds of Essex House by a sniper, and his brother John was captured and imprisoned.¹⁶² Francis Manners, the future sixth Earl of Rutland, who would

¹⁵⁸ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 110. Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, p. 91, describes the arrest of Edward Arden in Warwickshire. Wood also refers to the arrest at Southampton House, p. 147.

¹⁵⁹ Augustine Phillips' testimony before Lord Chief Justice Popham, 13 February 1601, in *CSPD, Eliz., 1598-1601*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869), vol. 278, 18 February 1601, p. 578; NA SP 12/278 no. 78, fol. 130r. and no. 85, fol. 139r. Also, Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, pp. 234-5, and Blair Worden, 'Shakespeare in Life and Art: Biography and *Richard II*', in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 23-42. Worden disputes the commonly held assumption that the play performed at The Globe on 7 February was Shakespeare's *Richard II*. His view is refuted by Paul E. Hammer, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.1 (2008), 1-35.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Phillips and Wood.

¹⁶¹ Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, pp. 234-6; Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock, *The Annotator: The Pursuit of an Elizabethan Reader of Halle's 'Chronicle' Involving Some Surmises About the Early Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Putnam, 1954), Appendix, Chart 2.

¹⁶² For Owen Salusbury's death see Paul E. Hammer, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the play of 7 February, 1601, and the Essex Rising', (p. 31).

commission the Accession Day impresa from Burbage and Shakespeare, was also involved, as was his brother.¹⁶³

A final interesting connection between Shakespeare and Southampton relates to the Blackfriars Gatehouse, purchased by Shakespeare in March 1613. The Gatehouse was described in 1586 as possessing ‘sundry back doors and bye-ways, and many secret vaults and corners. It hath been in time past suspected and searched for papists but no good done for want of good knowledge of the back doors and bye-ways and of the dark corners.’¹⁶⁴ This promisingly mysterious residence belonged to the Fortescue family until 1604; one of whom, John Fortescue, was married to Ellen Henslowe, daughter of Southampton’s Head Keeper and ‘near of kin to the Earl of Southampton and a most constant Catholic.’¹⁶⁵ The family was in fact related to both the Southamptons and Stanleys. John Fortescue’s uncle, Sir John Fortescue, was Master of the Royal Wardrobe, an influential man married to Frances Stanley, second cousin to Ferdinando.¹⁶⁶ Sir John Fortescue (1533-1607) was also a member of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1589-1603. He was able to use his influence to obtain the release of thirteen-year old Thomas Clifton, kidnapped near Blackfriars on 13 December 1600 and intended as a member of Henry Evans’s troupe of child

¹⁶³ Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, pp. 259-62 discusses the abortive coup, describing it as ‘a cross between a bad pantomime and a farce’, p. 260. See also, Susan Brigden, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors 1485-1603* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 345-50;

¹⁶⁴ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p.259. Wilson cites the letter of Richard Frith, a resident of Blackfriars, published in *Queen Elizabeth and her Times: A Series of Original Letters*, 2 vols. (London: 1838), Vol. 2, p, 249. See also Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.272-5.

¹⁶⁵ *The Chronicles of The English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of The Lateran, at St Monica’s in Louvain, 1548 to 1625*, ed. by Dom Adam Hamilton (Edinburgh: Sands and Co., 1904), vol. I, p. 221.

¹⁶⁶ Carol Curt Enos, *Shakespeare Settings: Stratford/Park Hall, Lancashire/Cheshire/The Catholic Mission, and London* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2007), p. 184.

actors.¹⁶⁷ As well as this brief and dramatic connection with the Elizabethan theatre, Sir John also had links with Stratford. On 27 September 1598 Richard Quiney was instructed by the Stratford Corporation to ride to London ‘about the suit to Sir John Fortescue for discharging of the tax and subsidy.’¹⁶⁸ This resulted in the well-known letter from Quiney to his ‘Loving Countryman’ William Shakespeare asking for help to pay Quiney’s expenses whilst in London.¹⁶⁹ In Shakespeare’s will, the Gatehouse was listed as being occupied by one John Robinson, son of Sir John Fortescue’s steward, whose name was also John.¹⁷⁰ The elder John Robinson was reported to the authorities in May 1599 for sheltering the Catholic priest Richard Dudley.¹⁷¹ The younger Robinson was a witness to Shakespeare’s will in 1616. Quiney’s companion on his arduous visit to London was ‘Master Mytton’, a retainer of the Greville family in Warwickshire mentioned above.¹⁷² If ‘the tangled morass of interconnections’ between Catholic families in the period is a valid description,¹⁷³ untangling such interconnections provides interesting evidence linking Shakespeare to the dangerous world of Southwell and his fellow Catholics.

The Catholic connections of the Gatehouse and the Fortescues can also be seen in the events of the ‘Gunpowder Plot’. Southwell’s Jesuit colleague John Gerard twice asked for shelter at

¹⁶⁷ This was the subject of a fascinating television programme, *Abducted: Elizabeth I’s Child Actors*, screened on 6 August 2018 on BBC4. The programme was directed and produced by Susie Attwood, and presented by Katherine Rundell. For Sir John Fortescue, there is a detailed account of his life and public service on www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios

¹⁶⁸ *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon*, 27 September 1598, vol. 5 1593-1598, ed. by Levi Fox (Stratford-Upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society, 1990).

¹⁶⁹ 25 October 1598, reproduced in Schoenbaum, *A Compact Documentary Life*, p. 239.

¹⁷⁰ Schoenbaum, *A Compact Documentary Life*, p. 304.

¹⁷¹ H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf, *Shakespeare and Catholicism* (New York: AMSP, 1969), p. 139.

¹⁷² Schoenbaum, *A Compact Documentary Life*, p. 239.

¹⁷³ Enos, *Shakespeare Settings*, p. 2.

the Gatehouse, both before and after the discovery of the plot.¹⁷⁴ His request for shelter there for four of the conspirators, including Robert Catesby, was also denied, and after Fawkes's capture, Gerard's attempt to find safety in one of the Gatehouse's 'dark corners' was again rejected.¹⁷⁵ 'You have no one now to lose other than me and my family', said John Fortescue, a brutal assessment of the Plot that did so much harm to the Catholic cause in England.¹⁷⁶ Again, we see people and places that connect Shakespeare and Southwell. The involvement of Southwell's sister Mary in sending help to the imprisoned Southwell has been noted; Mary Bannister also lived for a time in the Gatehouse.¹⁷⁷ John Fortescue, Ellen and their daughters would have their home in the Gatehouse searched for evidence that they harboured priests, a charge which they denied. They admitted recusancy, however, and would eventually find it expedient to leave London and settle in St. Omer.¹⁷⁸

The family connections between Southwell and Southampton have been explained, but was Southwell also related to Shakespeare as Devlin suggested?¹⁷⁹ Devlin argued for a link between the Ardens of Park Hall, including Mary Arden, and the Throckmorton family from Warwickshire. He also established a connection between the daughters of the first Lord Vaux and the children of Sir Robert Belknap, and both of these families' marriages into the Throckmortons and Southwells, thereby creating a direct if distant blood relationship between Shakespeare and Southwell. Devlin concludes that these are 'not arguments that Southwell

¹⁷⁴ Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 311, and E. K. Chambers, *A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. 2, p. 168.

¹⁷⁵ Letter by Richard Frith, cited by Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p.259.

¹⁷⁶ Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, p. 311, and Chambers, *A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. 2, p. 168.

¹⁷⁷ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 260.

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: Records and Images* (London: Scolar Press, 1981), p. 47.

¹⁷⁹ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 264.

did know Shakespeare, but that he *could have* known him'.¹⁸⁰ Klause rejects some of Devlin's arguments, but agrees that the Belknap and Vaux connections 'are much more probable.'¹⁸¹ The importance of the Belknaps will be discussed shortly. Jessie Childs' superb study offers a detailed account of the Vauxes during Elizabethan times, including their connections with Southwell.¹⁸² Her genealogical research confirms the connection to the Throckmortons.¹⁸³ More contentious is the identification of Mary Arden's grandfather, Thomas Arden of Wilmcote, as *the* Thomas Arden who was son of Walter Arden of Park Hall. It is through him that the relationship with the Throckmortons, Vauxes and Southwells can be made. Differing interpretations of John Shakespeare's coat of arms have thrown some doubt on whether the Shakespeares were able to establish descent from the Park Hall Ardens.¹⁸⁴ It seems unlikely, however, as Klause points out, that Mary Arden, whose grandfather Thomas was alive when she was a young girl, would not have known the identity of her great-grandfather.¹⁸⁵ As has been suggested earlier, the questioning of Shakespeare's coat of arms by a member of the College of Heralds seems more likely to have been caused by snobbery, rather than doubts about the family connection. 'Shakespeare the player' *sounds* snobbishly dismissive.¹⁸⁶ Southwell himself, however, also seems unfortunately to have had

¹⁸⁰ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 263.

¹⁸¹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 39.

¹⁸² Childs, *God's Traitors*, e.g. pp. 134-7, 168-72, 201-5.

¹⁸³ Childs, *God's Traitors*, Vaux Family Tree, p. xv.

¹⁸⁴ See, e.g., Mark Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), p. 33; Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, note 6, pp. 263-5; Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, pp. 205-7; Stanley Wells, 'arms, Shakespeare's coat of', in Wells and Dobson, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁸⁵ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 264.

¹⁸⁶ Wells, 'arms, Shakespeare's coat of', *The Oxford Companion*, pp. 21-2.

no high opinion of the theatre: ‘Neither consider they the players base condition’, he wrote, ‘nor their shamefull profession, but only their fayned glorie’.¹⁸⁷

The connections linking Shakespeare, Southampton and Southwell, justify close examination. Swithin Wells, referred to above, and one-time tutor to Southampton, has links with Southwell and with the network of Catholic families in the south of England referred to earlier. Shakespeare’s likely familiarity with Southampton’s London household makes Wells very worth examining, despite the lack of critical attention that he has received.

‘A List of Seminaries, Priests, and Jesuits Punished’ from December 1591 brusquely refers to: ‘Swething Wells, Sydney Hodgson, and John Mason also hanged; Well’s wife condemned to die, but reprieved.’¹⁸⁸ Richard Verstegan, Catholic agent and important conduit for secret correspondence between England and Europe, wrote from Antwerp on 5 March 1592 to Robert Persons, then in Spain. ‘There were executed about Christmas 3 priests and 4 laymen for receiving them: the names of the Priests were Mr Jenings, Mr Eustace Whyte, and Mr Paul Blasden. 2 of the laymen were gents: the one named within Wells’.¹⁸⁹ According to Gerard Kilroy, Wells was executed outside his house near Gray’s Inn where he had sheltered Edmund

¹⁸⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, ‘The Twelfth Chapter’, EEBO online, p. 182v. Also, ed. Rogers, p. 210.

¹⁸⁸ *CSPD, Eliz., 1591-1594*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green, vol. 240, note 109, no day recorded but December 1591, pp. 151-2.

¹⁸⁹ *Richard Verstegan’s Dispatches, Letters to Father Persons*, in ‘Unpublished Documents’, CRS vol.5, ed. Hungerford Pollen, pp. 208-9. Verstegan was born in London to a Flemish refugee. He left Christ Church, Oxford because of his refusal to conform, and went to Antwerp, where he set up a private press to publish Catholic literature. He became an agent for transmitting books and letters between England and the Continent, as well as helping Catholic priests travelling to England. In January 1585, Stafford, English Ambassador in Paris, wrote to Walsingham that ‘I would loose all the credit I had to bring the Inglishman to England’, i.e. Verstegan. In 1595 Verstegan published *An Epistle in the Person of Christ*, translated from the Latin by Philip, Earl of Arundel. Verstegan was also a friend of the exiled Thomas Houghton. See Joseph Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 5, pp. 566-8.

Gennings (or Jennings).¹⁹⁰ Gennings before ordination was servant to another priest, Richard Sherwood, a close acquaintance of Anne Line's husband Roger, who will be discussed in Chapter Six.¹⁹¹

Swithin Wells was the sixth son of Thomas Wells of Bambridge near Winchester. Swithin was a schoolmaster who 'kepte a schole for ientilmens children' at Monkton Farleigh,¹⁹² in 'the enclave between the New Forest and the Sussex Downs.'¹⁹³ He was a retainer of the Southampton family for twenty years, including time acting as tutor to the young Henry Wriothesley.¹⁹⁴ Wells was arrested in August 1586 after the Babington Plot, along with John Gage, who was engaged to and later married, Margaret Copley.¹⁹⁵ Both Copley and Gage were Southwell's cousins. Southwell, interestingly, described the Plot as 'that wicked and ill-fated conspiracy, which did to the Catholic cause so great mischief.'¹⁹⁶ The two Privy Council examinations of Wells, dated 9 August 1586 and 5 March 1587, contain interesting information about his activities.¹⁹⁷ He had been under suspicion before his arrest, with an

¹⁹⁰ Gerald Kilroy, "'Paper, inke and Penne. The Literary Memoria of the Recusant Community', *The Downside Review*, 119 (2001), 95-124 (p. 96).

¹⁹¹ Dodwell, *Anne Line*, p. 71.

¹⁹² First Examination of Swithin Wells, 9 August 1586, in Hungerford Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, vol. I, pp. 132-3.

¹⁹³ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁴ Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as Well Secular as Regular and of Other Catholics of Both Sexes, that have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from The Year of our Lord, 1577-1684* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1924), pp. 591-2. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Eliz. 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1865), vol. 206, note 74, undated, but c.1587, 'Information of Priests and Recusants residing in London...Swithin Wells in Southampton House', p. 448.

¹⁹⁵ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 121.

¹⁹⁶ Southwell, letter to General Aquaviva, 21 December 1584, 'The Letters of Father Robert Southwell', Item XCIV, in *Unpublished Documents*, Vol. I, pp. 310-14, (p. 314).

¹⁹⁷ 9 August 1586 and 5 March 1587. Hungerford Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, vol. I, pp. 131-3; also, *CSPD Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 192, note 18, 9 August, 1586, p. 343, and vol. 206, note 77, March 1587, p. 448.

order to the Sheriff of Wiltshire as early as 25 May 1582 to search for ‘Wells the schoolmaster’ at Monkton Farleigh.¹⁹⁸ The Privy Council forced him to admit that he knew ‘one Babington a ientilman’, but only well enough to allow ‘saluting one or other by name as the mett in the stretes.’¹⁹⁹ Ominously, the transcript states that ‘within this thre yeares, he is now become, as he termeth it, a Catholick & so remayneth.’²⁰⁰ Wells seems to have tried to hide the earlier date of his conversion. His brother Gilbert, arrested in December 1583, was an executor in 1581 of the second Earl of Southampton’s will.²⁰¹ Another brother, Peter, was also arrested; records show that he was transferred from the Tower to Newgate on 16 October 1588.²⁰² Imprisoned at the same time were Robert Debdale of Shottery, with Katherine Copley and her daughter ‘Margett’, relatives of Southwell’s mother. They were convicted ‘for Common Conversing with & entertaing and releyving of Seminary priests’.²⁰³ One ‘Alice Welles’ was also convicted in 1595 for ‘receiving of seminary priests’.²⁰⁴ Swithin Wells denied when questioned that he had ‘conveyed any lettres, books, messages or tokens from or to any of the suspected in religion any tyme this twelve monethe’.²⁰⁵ He admitted ,

¹⁹⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council, XIII. Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. by J.R. Dasent et al., 46 volumes (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1890 – 1964), p. 403. Hungerford Pollen, *Unpublished Documents*, vol. I, pp. 131-2.

¹⁹⁹ The Examination of 9 August.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p. 16.

²⁰² Gilbert was sent to the Marshalsea on 21 December 1583, and was still there in April 1584. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Eliz. 1581-1590*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1865), vol. 170, notes 8- 15, 15 April 1584, pp. 169-70. For Peter Wells, *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 217, note 27, 16 October 1588, p. 551. See also ‘The Official lists of Catholic Prisoners during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Part II, 1581-1602’, in *Catholic Record Society*, vol. 11, *Miscellanea* 11 (London: Privately Printed at The Arden Press, 1906), pp. 219-288 (pp. 235, 284). For Gilbert as executor for Southampton, see Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, p.16.

²⁰³ *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 193, record 64, September 25 1586, p. 356; also, CRS vol. 11, ‘The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners’, 25 September 1586, p. 258.

²⁰⁴ *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 217, note 27, 16 October, p. 552; ‘The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners’, p. 258.

²⁰⁵ The Examination of 5 March 1587.

however, that he had visited the homes of known recusants, including families living in Berington, Warblington and Michelgrove.²⁰⁶ Significantly, he was also a guest at the home of the Bellamies at Uxenden, where Southwell would later be captured. Two of the Babington conspirators, Barnwell and Donn, had hidden in the woods near Uxenden to evade the hue and cry after the conspiracy was revealed. Jerome Bellamy, the youngest son of the family, smuggled food to them, was caught and executed.²⁰⁷

The arrest of Southwell on 25 June 1592 was as a result of a trap set by Anne Bellamy, daughter of the family, who lured him to Uxenden by inviting him to celebrate Mass there. Southwell had intended to travel directly to Warwickshire to meet Henry Garnet. But when Southwell arrived at Uxenden, Topcliffe and ‘a vast swarm’ of pursuivants were waiting to seize him.²⁰⁸ Anne Bellamy would act as a key witness against Southwell in his eventual trial, accusing him of encouraging ‘equivocation’.²⁰⁹ She seems to have been forced into betraying Southwell both by threats against her family, and by being raped and impregnated, either by Topcliffe himself or by his assistant, Nicholas Jones.²¹⁰ The close relationship between the Bellamies and Swithin Wells was emphasised in an examination of Bellamy

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. For Jerome Bellamy’s execution see Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 104.

²⁰⁸ Henry Garnet in a letter to Aquaviva, 16 July 1592, Arch. Rom. S.J. Fondo Gesuitico 651. Also, Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 279.

²⁰⁹ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 305-16. See also Richard Verstegan, *A Breve Discourse of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr Robert Southwell*, and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1598-1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter Upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate and Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2012), p. 186.

²¹⁰ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 275. Anne Bellamy’s father, Richard, testified to the Privy Council in 1598 that Topcliffe had impregnated Anne; Devlin p. 356, n., also, London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 73, n. 47. Topcliffe’s lasciviousness, as well as his sadism, was well known. A letter from Father Thomas Pormont, a seminary priest, is extant, dating from 1592. It includes Topcliffe’s alleged boast that ‘he might feel her majesties bellye’ whenever he wished, and that ‘he many tymes putteth [his hands] between her breasts and pappes’. London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia A. I, letter 68.

servants, ‘Richard Smithe and others’, about their knowledge of Wells and others ‘who were entertained’ at Uxenden.²¹¹ Further connections with Southwell can be seen in November 1586, when Catherine Bellamy, mother of Jerome and Anne, was ‘Indyted for harboring of traytors and semiynaryes’.²¹² On the same day Katherine Copley was also accused of being ‘a harbinger of seminaries’.²¹³ Catherine Bellamy would die in the Tower.

These records demonstrate that significant connections can be made between Southwell, Southampton and recognised recusants such as Wells and the Bellamies. If we also consider the likelihood of a close relationship between Southampton and Shakespeare, we can see the possibility of a connection between Southwell and Shakespeare that has previously been disregarded. The charge against Wells that he was ‘hawking’ Catholic literature brought in from the continent, including copies distributed to prominent Catholics such as the Vauxes and Treshams (related to the Throckmortons), is also significant.²¹⁴ It indicates that Wells was involved in the network for disseminating the Catholic literature to which Southwell would contribute so effectively. Some of these writings, as we shall see, may well have been an influence on Shakespeare. Wells himself appears to have written poetry; one of his poems, at least, survives and suggests the dedication and faith which drove his actions, and those like him, and which can sometimes be hidden behind the formal transcripts of his interrogations.

And if it be Thy glorious will,
That I shall taste of this thy cup,

²¹¹ *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 192, note 40, 14 August 1586, p. 346.

²¹² *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, vol. 195, notes 30 - 32, 20 November 1586, p. 369; also, ‘The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners’, p. 264.

²¹³ *Ibid.* – both sources.

²¹⁴ The Examination of 5 March 1587. See also Pollard Brown, ‘Paperchase’, especially pp. 132-3.

Lo, here Thy pleasure to fulfil,
Myself I wholly offer up.²¹⁵

A record dated 8 May 1594, two and a half years after Wells's execution, refers to recusants held in the Fleet; Butler and Harrington, who 'lived about eight years since in Southampton House, in the next chamber to Robert Gage who was executed'.²¹⁶ Gage, as we have seen, was related to Southwell. If Shakespeare was an intimate at Southampton House, at the very least he had ample opportunities for encountering people linked to Southwell. Wells was living in Holborn when he was arrested, near Gray's Inn, to which Southampton had been admitted in February 1588. Wells had allowed his house to be used for Masses, leading to his final arrest and sentencing. On the scaffold on 10 November 1591 he was taunted by Topcliffe for his faith in Papal Bulls. "I think some bulls beget you all!" jeered Topcliffe, to which Wells's equally unsubtle response was, "If we have bulls to our fathers, thou hast a cow to thy mother!"²¹⁷ Wells, however, immediately apologised, and as the rope was put around his neck said, "I pray God for you, Mr Topcliffe; may he make of you a saint, a Paul."²¹⁸ At about the same time as Wells's execution, Southwell was completing his appeal to the Queen, *An Humble Supplication to her Majestie*. In it he defended Catholics from the charge that Catholics were traitors. Catholics, he wrote, were 'not so willing to live as to shed

²¹⁵ Sourced by Louise Imogen Gurney (1861-1920). The poem is printed in John Chapin, ed., *The Book of Catholic Quotations*, (London: John Calder, 1957), p. 656.

²¹⁶ *CSPD, Eliz. 1591-94*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1867), vol. 248, note 99, 8 May 1594, p. 504, 'At The Fleet, from Benjamin Beard'.

²¹⁷ Michael Questier, 'Elizabeth and the Catholics', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by E. Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 73. Also, Childs, *God's Traitors*, p. 199n.

²¹⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 238-9.

the best blood of our bodies' rather than join in 'such horrible treasons'.²¹⁹ The government's definition of treason, however, was not the same as Southwell's, as Wells's fate testifies.

Another disregarded yet important figure is Richard Bold, who returns us to the world of Lancastrian Catholicism discussed earlier. He knew Southwell well enough to offer him hospitality and was closely connected with other significant figures in Southwell's life. But Bold also had connections with others who either knew Shakespeare or would certainly have known of him.

In Lord Burghley's 1590 Map of Lancashire, in addition to the homes of the recusant Hoghtons and Heskeths, Richard Bold's house in Prescott is also marked.²²⁰ Bold Hall was situated between Widnes and Warrington in the south of Lancashire. Bold's date of birth is uncertain, although he inherited his estate in 1558. His mother was Elizabeth Gerard, sister of Southwell's Jesuit colleague on the English Mission.²²¹ Richard Bold belonged to a strongly recusant family; his grandfather, Sir Thomas Gerard, was imprisoned in the Tower for over three years after the Babington Plot to free Mary.²²² The Bolds knew the Fittons of Gawsworth well enough for Sir Edward Fitton to act as co-executor of a Bold cousin's will in

²¹⁹ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie*, completed by December 14 1591, ed. R. C. Bald, pp. 13-14.

²²⁰ London, British Library, BL Royal 18 D III f. 81v-82. The Map is reproduced in Mary A. Blackstone, 'Lancashire, Shakespeare and the Constriction of Cultural Neighbourhoods in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 186-204 (p. 190 and between pp. 194-5).

²²¹ The Register of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office, 1-40, 108-8. Cited by Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 90.

²²² F.A. Bailey, 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescott 1523-1607', in *Transactions of The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 95 (Liverpool: For The Society, 1944), pp. 1-30 (p. 11). See also Gerard, *Autobiography*, note, p. 213.

1587.²²³ Richard Bold was appointed Sheriff of Lancashire in both 1575 and 1589.²²⁴ He appears at first therefore to have been a ‘church papist’, although clearly suspected of having strong Catholic sympathies. Bold ‘maketh show of good conformity, but not greatly forward in publiq actions for religion’ was the official verdict around 1590.²²⁵ Four years earlier, Thomas Meade, vicar of nearby Prescott, wrote, ‘All our gentlemen are ether obstinate recusants or verie cold professors, and wold gladly worke to hinder the good corse of the worke’.²²⁶ According to Haigh, the churchwardens at Prescott were supervised ‘by a group of local clergy dominated by Catholics.’²²⁷ Fines for non-attendance at church remained uncollected; ‘the forfeiture is not levied, nor cannot be gotten of such as absent themselves from church’.²²⁸ Catholic weddings were celebrated; a Catholic schoolmaster was still employed in 1578, and as late as 1598 Prescott presented ninety-nine recusants in comparison to the Deanery average of twenty-one. By 1601 this figure had risen to 184 against an average of twenty- four.²²⁹ With approximately 600 households in the parish, it is clear that Prescott was stony ground for reformers. Thomas Meade complained that his parishioners were ‘all unwilling to bring their children near to the church, that happily they should be allowed to love the Church and to have a liking of true religion’. The unfortunate vicar

²²³ 20 September 1587. *The Stanley Papers Part 2*, ed. by Rev. F.R. Raines, in Chetham Society vol. XXXI (Manchester: 1853), p. 215. Helen Moorwood, *Shakespeare’s Stanley Epitaphs in Tong Shropshire* (Much Wenlock, Shropshire: RJL Smith & Associates, 2013), p. 175, also discusses the Fitton family.

²²⁴ *The Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. III; reprinted (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1966), p. 125.

²²⁵ Official Return of the West Derby Hundred, c. 1590, in F.A. Bailey, *Transactions of the Historic Society*, p.13. Also, *CSPD Elizabeth 1581-90*, vol. 235, note 4, undated 1590, p. 706.

²²⁶ ‘Prescot Records’, *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 89 (1937), p. 301. Cited in F.A. Bailey, *Transactions*, p. 11.

²²⁷ Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p.271, and F.A. Bailey, ‘The Churchwardens’ Accounts’ in *Transactions*, pp. 15-16.

²²⁸ York, Borthwick Institute, RVI, A7, fos. 37, 47, 48, 48v, 49,49v, 55, 58v, 62, 62v, 63. See Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 264.

²²⁹ Ecclesiastical Visitation from Archdeaonry of Chester, Chester, Cheshire County Record Office, fos. 151v-152v, 187, 187v. See Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp. 273, 291.

continued, ‘some of them have kept in their houses private schoolmasters corrupt in religion, who have taught their children the principles of papistry’.²³⁰

This was the background, familiar to us from the previous chapter, that led to Bold being suspected by Burghley despite Bold’s official position as Sheriff, and also his membership of the Earl of Leicester’s Protestant Association, formed in 1584 by a man with whom Bold would have a chequered relationship.²³¹ His apparent conformity did not prevent Bold’s arrest after the Babington Plot, along with his wife and several members of his household, nor his being found guilty of treason.²³² As we shall see, his quarrel with Leicester may have influenced his arrest, particularly as he was released after Leicester’s death in September 1587.²³³ Bold had been in trouble with the Privy Council earlier, when he was summoned to explain his opposition to a local tax of eight-pence a week, levied for the costs of imprisoning Lancastrian recusants.²³⁴ His opposition to the levy seems to have been based on his disagreement with the imprisoning of Catholics rather than on pecuniary grounds. Five years later, one of Bold’s servants, Roger Ogdeyne, who was also a paid government informer, listed seventeen names of suspected Catholics living on Bold’s estate. His report again

²³⁰ Letter from Thomas Meade. F.A. Bailey, ‘Prescot Grammar School in Elizabethan Times’ in *Transactions of The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. LXXXVI (Liverpool: 1946), p. 3. Hague, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 292.

²³¹ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 5, p. 76. The Earl of Leicester’s “Association”, a nation-wide group of prominent landowners who signed a bond to protect Elizabeth and avenge any attempt on her life, contained 83 Lancastrians. Of these 9, including Bold, seem to have been known or suspected to be Catholics. (J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *The Lancastrian Elizabethan Catholics* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1947), p. 9, vol. 110 New Series of *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* (Manchester: The Chetham Society).

²³² Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 70.

²³³ The quarrel between Bold and Leicester reminds us of the antipathy between Leicester and the Catholic Ardens of Warwickshire, discussed in the previous chapter.

²³⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1856), vol. 115, note 15, August 1577, p. 554; J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties*, p. 77.

accused Bold of mere public conformity in religion. Bold harboured priests, who would ‘come over the dam head at Bold and three or four with him and[be] cunningly conveyed in at a back gate into the garden and so over the drawbridge into the house’. Ogdeyne also claimed that he ‘hath seen meat go forth of the kitchen and forth of the day house into his chamber [...] and there he durst make good upon book he said his masses.’²³⁵ These priests included ‘Richard Smythe’, who worked in the Prescott area from 1568 until at least 1593.²³⁶ A prominent local historian states that ‘Richard Bold was probably the chief organiser of recusant resistance in the parish of Prescott’.²³⁷ In 1591 the Privy Council heard that Bold’s ‘wief, children, and famylie, for the most parte, seldome come to church, and never communicate, and some of his daughters married and not knowne by whom, but suspected by masse priests.’²³⁸ Allowing for malicious gossip, Bold and his household were clearly a concern for the authorities. Bold, it was reported, would even allow Masses said ‘at such time as other men were in church’.²³⁹

As a prominent Lancashire gentleman, in a strongly recusant area, Bold’s ‘affinity’ included a number of figures discussed previously, in addition to the Fittons. For example, as Sheriff, Bold was involved in the investigation into the affray in November 1589 which led to the death of Thomas Hoghton. Documents from the inquiry include the signatures of Bold,

²³⁵ *Catholic Record Society vol. IV, Miscellanea* (London: Privately Printed for The Society at the Arden Press, 1907), p. 202. *The Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol.3, p. 406. *CSPD, Eliz. 1581-90*, ed. by Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1865), vol. 153, note 62, May 23 1582, p. 55.

²³⁶ Christopher Hague, *Reformation and Resistance*, p. 256.

²³⁷ Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, p. 87.

²³⁸ Report to the Privy Council, 1591, cited by Joseph Gillow, *Lord Burghley’s Map of Lancashire in 1590* (London: Privately Printed for The Catholic Record Society at The Arden Press, 1907), p. 17.

²³⁹ *Catholic Record Society vol. 4, Miscellanea*, p. 202; Weston, *Autobiography*, note 6, p. 70.

Thomas Hesketh and the Earl of Derby.²⁴⁰ The Derby Household Books contain entries confirming visits to the Stanley homes by Bold: ‘Mondaie Mr Bolde at diner’ (September 1589; ‘on Fryday Mr Bolde [...] came’ (December 1587).²⁴¹ With the Heskeths and Hoghtons, the Bolds were clearly part of the Stanley circle with which Shakespeare may well have been familiar. On 13 May 1587, Bold’s half-brother, ‘Mr Henry Bolde,’ was named as one of several ‘Gentlemen Waiters’ on the Earl of Derby, with Edward Warren and James Leigh, both members of the Cheshire families discussed earlier.²⁴² Much later, in 1612, a descendant of Bold would marry into the Leigh family of Lyme in Cheshire.²⁴³ Bold’s nephew Thomas was recorded as a member of Gray’s Inn on 4 January 1593, although whether his time there coincided with Southampton’s is unclear.²⁴⁴

The Jesuit William Weston reported that Bold sheltered Southwell and John Gerard soon after their arrival in England in the summer of 1586. Bold, this ‘close friend of mine’, had moved to Harlesford near Marlow, approximately thirty miles from London.²⁴⁵ Gerard, as we have seen, was related to Bold. Because of a series of arrests and a determined search of

²⁴⁰ Preston, Lancashire Archives, The Hoghton Papers, Deeds and Papers, DDHO 11, No. 215 33 Eliz. 1590/1 Feb. 19.

²⁴¹ Preston, Lancashire Archives, The Derby Household Books DDF 2429. There is online access to these records via: <http://archivecat.lancashire.gov.uk/calmview>. See also *The Derby Household Books Including: A Diary Containing the Names of the Guests who Visited the Latter Earl at His Houses in Lancashire*. By William FFarington, Esquire the Comptroller, ed. by Rev. F.R. Raines (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1853), *The Stanley Papers Part 2*, pp. 46, 65. This transcription of the *Diary* can also be consulted at Preston, Lancashire Archives.

²⁴² The Derby Household Books, DDF2429; *The Derby Household Books*, ed. Raines, p. 23.

²⁴³ Lady Newton, *the House of Lyme* (London: William Heinemann, 1917), p. 97.

²⁴⁴ Preston, Lancashire Archives, *The Hoghton Papers*, DDHO 21, contains a marriage settlement for Thomas, ‘of Grayes Inn’.

²⁴⁵ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 69.

Catholic houses ‘there was no security at all in London’.²⁴⁶ Bold had moved to his ‘country mansion, well out of the city’, sometime between 1582-84, although the reason for his departure from Lancashire is unclear.²⁴⁷ Devlin believed that Harlesford had been in Bold’s family ‘for generations’.²⁴⁸ During the eight days that Southwell stayed there, the Jesuits discussed their ‘future methods of work and the prospects that lay before us.’²⁴⁹ The discussions resulted in the plan to cover each county with a network of Catholic centres, each one based on country houses where the gentry were either Catholics or sympathetic to their cause.²⁵⁰ Weston gave Southwell and Garnet ‘the names of Catholic houses where they might go and make their residence’.²⁵¹ Ideally, these houses would each have their own resident priest, as did Harlesford and Arundel House. Bold’s chaplain was Robert Debdale of Shottery, who would soon be caught and executed.²⁵² Until June 1586, Debdale had been Chaplain at Denham, the home of Sir George Peckham and the main site of the notorious exorcisms that would inspire Samuel Harsnett to publish his *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* in 1603.²⁵³ Shakespeare, of course, would use this as a source for the Poor Tom

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 70.

²⁴⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 114.

²⁴⁹ William Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 72. George Gilbert, a fellow student with Southwell at The English College in Rome wrote c. 1583 of the plan to place Jesuit missionaries in gentlemen’s houses, wherever possible. As well as ministering to the household where they were sheltered, they would have responsibility for ‘a certain circuit round.’ See Michael Hodgetts, *Secret Hiding Places* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1989), p. I.

²⁵⁰ As John Bossy argued; see note 77 in the Introduction to this thesis.

²⁵¹ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 72.

²⁵² Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 71-2 and note 13, p. 77.

²⁵³ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 13, p. 77, and F.W. Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993), p. 108.

scenes in *King Lear*.²⁵⁴ Peckham was also Bold's cousin, as well as being related to the Earl of Southampton, creating a distant affinity between Southampton and Bold.²⁵⁵

Another visitor to Bold's house during these eight days was the conspirator Anthony Babington, who would later reluctantly admit to Burghley under questioning that, 'I myself might have seen them', referring to Southwell and Garnet.²⁵⁶ Another guest at Harlesford during Southwell's visit was the musician William Byrd, who lived nearby. Bold himself was a skilled musician who 'had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household.'²⁵⁷ During the visit a concert was arranged at the house to celebrate the feast of St Magdalen on July 22, 'with a wonderful accompanying harmony of different instruments and voices.'²⁵⁸ Southwell, unfortunately, was called back to London before the concert. He would, however, remember St Magdalen when writing his popular *Marie Magdalen's Funeral Tears*, published by Gilbert Cawood in 1591.

Bold was clearly prepared to risk the dangers of sheltering Jesuits such as Southwell.

Weston indeed described Harlesford as 'an open house for all priests and Catholics who

²⁵⁴ Brownlow discusses Shakespeare's borrowing of the names of the devils in his book, particularly p. 111 and pp. 128-31.

²⁵⁵ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 9, p. 76, and John L. Murphy, *Darkness and Devils: Exorcism and "King Lear"* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1984), p. 64. Murphy describes Peckham's 'close ties' to the Wriothesleys.

²⁵⁶ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 3, pp.75-6. The date was 14 July 1586. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth I, 1585-1586*, ed. by William K. Boyd (London: HMSO 1914), vol. 8, p. 598.

²⁵⁷ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 7.

²⁵⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 117. Also, a letter of Southwell's to Aquaviva dated 25 July 1586, cited in F.W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 38, and J. Strype, *Annals of The Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford: 1824), Appendix 12.

passed that way',²⁵⁹ and that they 'could not have desired or imagined a more affectionate or cordial reception'.²⁶⁰ Bold's wife was a Catholic, and his house 'possessed a chapel set aside for the celebration of the Church's offices.'²⁶¹ Yet Bold himself was apparently not yet a Catholic. He was indeed a close associate of the Earl of Leicester, and apparently an important figure in Leicester's household.²⁶² Furthermore, Bold had joined Leicester in his expedition to Flanders to support the Protestant rebels fighting there against the King of Spain. Bold's name is found in a list of cavalymen serving under Essex as part of Leicester's force.²⁶³ Bold, however, like Arundel, seems to have become disillusioned with 'courtly interests'.²⁶⁴ Like Arundel, he appears to have converted to Catholicism, and thereby incurred government hostility. After his arrest following the discovery of Babington's plot, Bold denied holding any conversation with Weston 'either touching reconciling, or any other matter of state or religion'.²⁶⁵ He did, however, admit saying that 'if he found the expense to grow greater than he could well bear, he would return home again', from Flanders.²⁶⁶ He did return, but Weston's account states explicitly that Weston himself was responsible for

²⁵⁹ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 70.

²⁶⁰ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 69.

²⁶¹ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 71.

²⁶² Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 69-70.

²⁶³ 10 January 1586; Weston, *Autobiography*, note 4, p. 95.

²⁶⁴ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 69.

²⁶⁵ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 5, pp. 95-6. *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth I, 1585-1586*, vol. 8, p. 700.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

persuading Bold to withdraw the ‘large equipment of horses and men furnished at his own expense’ that Bold led ‘in the unjust war’ Leicester was waging in Flanders.²⁶⁷

How Bold first met Weston is unclear, but by June 1585, he knew him well enough to lend Weston a horse to accompany him from London to Harlesford.²⁶⁸ The Peckhams may have introduced them, as Weston was present during the Denham exorcisms and Bold was related to the Peckhams. The spy Anthony Tyrrell, who claimed to be present at a discussion between Weston and Bold, reported that,

‘F. Edmunds (Weston’s alias) persuaded Mr Bold to be reconciled to the church. He protested that with all his heart he desired it, but he was so entangled in my Lord of Leicester’s affairs that as yet possibly he could not. He said he would make all the speed he could to begin again, and that he would wind himself out of Leicester’s fetters. He reported that he hated him from his heart’.²⁶⁹

Allowing for Tyrrell’s eagerness to tell the Privy Council what they wanted to hear, it seems clear that Bold both converted and broke with Leicester, a dangerous combination. Weston suggested revenge and cupidity influenced Bold’s arrest as ‘he was a very rich person and had large revenues’.²⁷⁰ Certainly, Bold, a ‘man of fair and ancient living’,²⁷¹ was part of the

²⁶⁷ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 88.

²⁶⁸ Weston, *Autobiography*; *Calendar of Scottish Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth I*, vol. 8, p. 699.

²⁶⁹ The Confessions of Anthony Tyrrell: Weston, *Autobiography*, note 5, pp. 95-6; *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth I, 1585-1586*, vol. VIII, pp. 647-56; Peter Holmes, ‘Anthony Tyrrell’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004 [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 1 February 2015].

²⁷⁰ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 90.

²⁷¹ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 9, p. 96, and *Catholic Record Society Vol. 4, Miscellanea*, p. 202.

‘elaborate network’ of relationships connecting actively recusant families with priests such as Southwell.²⁷² As with other people whose stories have a bearing on connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, ‘It is impossible to exaggerate the influence of such figures as [...] Richard Bold’.²⁷³

The exorcisms that provided Shakespeare with the names of devils for *King Lear* have other links with Richard Bold than Debdale and Weston’s presence at Harlesford. Weston’s visit to Harlesford in June 1585 may have been connected with exorcisms performed there, as well as at Denham and Lord Vaux’s house in Hackney. Brownlow describes the exorcisms as ‘the direct consequence of monstrous incredulity flourishing among eager young priests working in circumstances of great danger and without proper ecclesiastical supervision’.²⁷⁴ Harsnett was considerably less charitable, using striking theatrical imagery to denounce ‘performances by a demonic priesthood’.²⁷⁵ The priests were ‘disguised comedians’, despatched by the Pope from his ‘tyring hous’ in Rome; the priests’ journeying to and from great houses reminiscent of ‘your wandering players’.²⁷⁶ Harsnett’s sarcasm included Edward Arden, listing him with other executed Catholics in ‘that Saint-Traytorly crue, whom Tiburne and the deuill were as

²⁷² Michael Hodgetts, *Secret Hiding Places*, p. I.

²⁷³ Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, p. 153.

²⁷⁴ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, p. 88.

²⁷⁵ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, p. 104. Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration Of Egregious Popish Impostures To With-Draw The Harts Of Her Maiesties Subiects From Their Allegiance, And From The Truth Of Christian Religion Professed In England, Under The Pretence Of Casting Out Deuils* (At London: Printed by James Roberts, dwelling in Barbican, 1603). John Roberts, Charlewood’s assistant printer, has been referred to previously (see p. 15). Quotations from Harsnett are from the original edition held in the Henry. E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, and published by *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) in their *Early History of Religion* series (No date).

²⁷⁶ Harsnett, *Declaration*, Chapter I, p. 3; *To The Seduced Catholiques Of England*, Preface, p. 3; Chapter 3, p. 11.

familiar with-all'.²⁷⁷ Shakespeare's appropriation of the names of devils apparently exorcised by Weston and his fellow-priests may have been influenced by the opportunity to include topical references in *Lear*, but his dramatic and moving portrayal of madness in the play is far removed from Harsnett's polemical and often pornographic accounts.²⁷⁸ Brownlow describes *Lear* as offering 'a devastating commentary on the spiritual condition of contemporary England.'²⁷⁹ As we will see, Shakespeare's themes of inhumanity, suffering and eventual redemption are reflected in much of Southwell's work.

Bold's connection with the exorcisms is also strengthened because Anne Smith, one of the young girls exorcised, had been a servant at Bold Hall in Lancashire, before becoming sick with 'the Mother'.²⁸⁰ She was sent to her sister Alice, in service in London, who decided that Anne was possessed. Alice knew of two other girls, Sara and Frideswide Williams, living with the Peckhams in Denham and also suspected of possession. Anne reached Denham on Christmas Eve 1585, to become one of five girls and two young men who endured exorcisms performed by nine priests between 1585-86. Anne's subsequent testimony described how Sara Williams 'was then gone to the Lord Vaux his house, being carried there by one Dibdale a priest'.²⁸¹ Debdale (or 'Dibdale') acted as confessor to Sara, as well as being one of her exorcists. Another of the nine priests was William Thomson, alias Blackburn, named for his Lancashire birthplace, who was confessor to Anne Line, and would be captured at the

²⁷⁷ Harsnett, *Declaration*, Chapter 15, p. 85.

²⁷⁸ "e.g. Flibbertigibett, Smulkin, Modu and Maku", Harsnett, *Declaration*, Chapter 10, pp. 45-50. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, 1605-06, ed. by Jay L. Halio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.4.102-28.

²⁷⁹ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham*, p. 128.

²⁸⁰ Harsnett, *Declaration, The Examination of Anne Smith*, pp. 237-41 (p.237). 'The Mother' was the name commonly given to a nervous complaint, often, but not always, affecting young girls.

²⁸¹ To the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical in 1598. Harsnett, *Declaration*, p. 237. While at Denham, Anne met 'Swythen Wells [after executed in Holborne]', Harsnett, *Declaration*, p. 240.

Bellamy house in Harrow before being executed at Tyburn in April 1586.²⁸² These links between men and women connected with Shakespeare and/or Southwell are noticeable. Two of the other priests, John Sherwood and John Cornelius, became chaplains to the Arundell family of Dorset and Kent, whose daughter, Dorothy, was the dedicatee of Southwell's *Marie Magdalen's Funeral Tears*, published in 1591. Cornelius and Southwell had studied in Rome together; Cornelius became a Jesuit while awaiting execution in Dorchester in 1594.²⁸³ Christopher Thules, alias Ashton, was another Lancashire-born priest, eventually arrested in Cheshire in August 1586.²⁸⁴ Weston himself, leader of 'this puppet-play performed between a priest, and a wench', who had come 'to aduance the banner of Ignatius for euer here in England, by making himselfe, & his order famous by some notable exploit', was arrested in London on 3 August 1586, but survived to be exiled on James's accession.²⁸⁵ While held in the Clink, Weston corresponded with Southwell, and asked him to prevent his freedom being bought by well-wishers such as the Countess of Arundel.²⁸⁶ Such freedom would prevent his being 'able to look men straightly and confidently in the face again'. He would not 'for a paltry sum [...] tarnish in a shamefaced manner the confession of my faith.'²⁸⁷ As we have seen, Southwell shared this principle.

²⁸² Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, p. 172; Dodwell, *Anne Line*, p. 57; Gerard, *The Autobiography*, p. 83.

²⁸³ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, pp. 165-72; Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 108.

²⁸⁴ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, p. 172.

²⁸⁵ Harsnett, *Declaration*, Chapter 12, p. 60 and Chapter 2, pp. 6-7. For Weston's release, Weston, *Autobiography*, pp. 222-5.

²⁸⁶ Weston, *Autobiography*, p. 118.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

While in the Clink, Weston shared a cell with a priest named Nicholas Smith, who was related to the Copleys, Southwell's cousins, and who had been arrested at their house in Surrey.²⁸⁸

An ironic postscript to the exorcisms can be found in the case of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, who after his father Philip's death was brought up by Anne. In 1620 Thomas placed his own son William in the household of the newly-appointed Bishop of Norwich to serve as a page. The new Bishop was Samuel Harsnett.²⁸⁹

The later years of Richard Bold are not well documented. He returned to Lancashire in 1589, dying probably in 1602, but certainly by autumn 1603.²⁹⁰ He seems to have maintained his connection with the Earl of Essex, possibly as a result of them both serving in Ireland. A Privy Council minute, undated, describes how Essex was 'charged with divers contempts in his late government in Ireland'. These contempts included 'Making the Earl of Southampton general of the horse contrary to Her Majesty's express command'. There is also a statement from 'Greenloe, a priest', reporting that Essex:

sent letters to [...] Sir Rich Houghton, Mr Standish, Mr Boulde and others to be ready against his coming within a fortnight [...] Sir Rich Houghton that year provided 2000 or 3000 muskets and calivers, and bade them be ready, under pretence of a search, about the time of these letters and bruits of Her Majesty's death.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Weston, *Autobiography*, note 1, p. 124.

²⁸⁹ Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils*, pp. 144-5.

²⁹⁰ *The Victoria County History of Lancashire* vol. iii, p. 406 and *CSPD, Eliz. 1601-03 and Addenda 1547-65*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1870), vol 282, note 74, November? 1601, p. 125.

²⁹¹ *CSPD, Eliz., Addenda 1580-1625*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1872), vol. 34, note 20, November 1599, pp. 399-400.

Another member of this seemingly treasonous affinity was Sir Thomas Gerard, Bold's relative, who was charged with giving the signal to the conspirators to 'raise their power'. Bold, 'being a dependent of the Earl, and known to have more skill than any here named, I gave him the name as chief agent in the field.' The informer perhaps hedged his bets by stating that if any of the conspirators 'should be called to account [...] he would perjure himself [...] rather than suffer check, discredit, or trouble'. He added, however, as conclusive evidence of treason, how all agreed 'that the Earl of Essex was the worthiest to be king'.²⁹²

This apparent reference to what became the abortive Essex Rising of 1601 involves Lancastrian recusants whose links to Shakespeare and Southwell have been demonstrated, as well as the Earl of Southampton, whose involvement in the Rising has also been discussed. Bold and his descendants appear to have maintained their Catholic faith, despite a 1591 report suggesting that Bold had 'of late reformed his wife and family'.²⁹³ In 1612, however, two thirds of the Bold estate was sequestered to the Crown for continued recusancy.²⁹⁴ Bold's son would marry as his second wife Anne Hoghton, the widow of Thomas Hoghton.²⁹⁵ This pattern of relationships with other prominent recusant families continued. In January 1613, Richard Bold's grandson, also named Richard, married the eldest daughter of Sir Peter Leigh of Lyme, the Cheshire family whose connections with the Ardens, Fittons, Heskeths, Hoghtons, Stanleys and Warrens we have discussed in Chapter One.²⁹⁶ All these prominent

²⁹² *CSPD, Eliz., Addenda*, vol. 34, note 20, November 1599, p. 400.

²⁹³ Report to The Privy Council; *The Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. III, p. 406, and *CSPD, Eliz. 1591-94*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1867), vol. 240, note 139, 1591, p. 159.

²⁹⁴ *The Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. III, p. 406.

²⁹⁵ Joseph Gillow, *Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire*, pp. 17-18.

²⁹⁶ Lady Newton, *The House of Lyme*, p. 97.

Lancastrian and Cheshire families, including Richard Bold's, are part of the narrative of the lives of both Southwell and Shakespeare.

The final figure examined in detail in this chapter is John Trussell, (c.1575-1648) whose rôle as editor of Southwell's *The Triumphs Over Death* has been mentioned previously. Trotman suggested in his 1914 edition of the work that 'Trussell' was a pseudonym for Shakespeare himself, a suggestion that has not unsurprisingly met with little critical acclaim.²⁹⁷ Trussell's willingness to publicly name a recently executed traitor, as well as the panegyrical nature of his verses, suggest his great admiration for Southwell, as well as a willingness to defy official displeasure. Trussell boldly refers to Southwell's execution as 'none sparing crueltie', and describes himself as merely 'his unworthy foster-sire', for his efforts in publishing the work. Trussell wanted people to read Southwell, and 'reading judge, and judging, praise the wight / The which this Triumph Over Death did write.'²⁹⁸ Connections between printers and publishers of both Southwell and Shakespeare will be considered later, but Trussell's edition was printed by Valentine Simmes, who also printed quarto editions of five of Shakespeare's plays, including *Richard II* and *Hamlet*.²⁹⁹ The first of Trussell's three poems in his edition is dedicated 'to the worshipful M. Richard Sackville', son of Lady Margaret Sackville, whose

²⁹⁷ Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death*, ed. J. W. Trotman, pp. 110-136.

²⁹⁸ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 80. Also, M.A. Shaaber, 'The First Rape of Faire Hellen', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. VIII (1957), pp. 407-48 (p. 413).

²⁹⁹ See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), particularly Chapter 4, 'Shakespeare's Publishers', pp. 130-85.

early death provided the impetus for Southwell's consolatory work.³⁰⁰ Sackville's two sisters are also included in Trussell's dedication.

Trussell's early life is not well-documented, although he may have acted as tutor to the Sackville's three children.³⁰¹ He was, however, both poet and historian. He was living in Winchester by 1606, when he was elected Freeman of the city.³⁰² There he wrote and published a number of historical works, including the lengthy *Benefactors to Winchester*, finished just before his death in 1648.³⁰³ He was twice elected Mayor of Winchester, despite being named as a recusant in an early -seventeenth century Ecclesiastical Visitation of Hampshire.³⁰⁴ His connection to Southwell as his editor and admirer is obvious, though whether he knew him personally is unclear. However, Trussell's possible connection to the Shakespeare family is intriguing. Fripp states that:

Thomas Trussell was a lawyer in Stratford, one of the Trussells of Billesley, and a kinsman of Mistress Joan Shakespeare if, as has been plausibly conjectured, his

³⁰⁰ Adrienne Rosen, 'John Trussell', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008 [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 1 March 2015].

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ John Trussell, *Benefactors to Winchester*, transcribed by Tom Atkinson, Winchester Record Office, W/K1/13/2. See also Alison Shell, 'Why didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?' in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by K. Ozuka and J.R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85-112 (p. 90).

³⁰⁴ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 52.

ancestor, Thomas Trussell of Billesley was brother-in-law of Thomas Arden of Wilmcote, and uncle, as well as trustee, of Robert Arden.³⁰⁵

This Thomas Trussell, who died in September 1593, was the lawyer who acted in Thomas Arden's purchase of the Snitterfield estate that would pass to John Shakespeare after his marriage to Mary Arden.³⁰⁶ If he was also related to the Ardens, he must have been well known to William Shakespeare. Billesley Manor, the ancestral home of the Trussells just north-west of Shottery, contains a hidden priest-hole and secret passage behind the library panelling. A local legend records that 'the teenage Shakespeare is said to have worked in the library at Billesley'.³⁰⁷ Thomas Trussell certainly helped John Shakespeare make an inventory of the goods of fellow Stratfordian Henry Field after his death in 1592.³⁰⁸ Henry's son, Richard, probably the 'Richard du Champ' of *Cymbeline*, printed *Venus and Adonis* for William Shakespeare in 1593.³⁰⁹ Thomas Trussell lived on Bridge Street in Stratford in a house belonging to Ralph or Rafe Cawdrey, of the recusant family whose son, George, born in 1565, fled to Rheims to become a priest. Sybil Cawdrey was arraigned with Susanna

³⁰⁵ Edgar I. Fripp, *Chamberlain's Account* (20 January 1580), in *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon*, vol. III, 1557-1586, note p. 42. The *Accounts* includes funeral expenses, including 'Item for the Bell & Paull for Mr. Shaxpers Dawter 8d' (Anne, in 1571), and 'Item for the Bell for Mr. Trusselles Child 4d' (John, in 1580) p. 42.

³⁰⁶ Adrienne Rosen, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, and Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 52.

³⁰⁷ Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, p. 42; Granville Squiers, *Secret Hiding Places: The Origins, Histories and Descriptions of English Secret Hiding Places Used by Priests, Cavaliers, Jacobites & Smugglers* (London: Stanley Paul, 1933), pp. 38-9; Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 24.

³⁰⁸ Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, pp. 58-9.

³⁰⁹ *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 1995), 4. 2. 377. There is an excellent chapter, 'Schoolfriend, publisher and printer Richard Field', by Carol Chillington Rutter in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, pp. 161-173.

Shakespeare for refusing to take Easter Communion in 1606.³¹⁰ Thomas Trussells's grandson Alured was declared 'indifferent or of no religion' six months after Shakespeare's birth.³¹¹ The Billesley Trussells, therefore, have clear connections with the Shakespeares, even if their family relationship to the Ardens is not universally accepted.³¹²

But was John Trussell related to the Warwickshire Trussells? Thomas Trussell left four children, including two young sons.³¹³ John Trussell was baptised on 19 January 1575, at St. Dunstan in the West in London.³¹⁴ His father Henry, born c. 1545, was a lawyer like Thomas. His grandfather, John, (c. 1515-1571/2) was possibly 'the younger son of a gentry family of Billesley, Warwickshire.'³¹⁵ Grandfather John became steward of coal-pits owned in Wollaton, Nottinghamshire by the Willoughby family; from Wollaton Henry Trussell moved to London. John Trussell's connection with Shakespeare, therefore, is not as clear-cut as his involvement with Southwell, but remains as a possibility. John Trussell himself wrote appositely that 'to believe nothing of Antiquitie but what is perspicuous and unquestionable proved, is but the bare refuge of dulpated ignorant droanes, or meachaniche precise plebyans'!³¹⁶ Perhaps more temperately, Brownlow argues that 'John Trussell's role in the publication of Southwell's work indicates the existence of at least one channel through which

³¹⁰ For information about the Cawdreys, see Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, pp. 10, 42, 58-9; Schoenbaum, *A Compact Documentary Life*, p. 286; Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed*, pp. 21, 292, 306-7.

³¹¹ Fripp, *Minutes and Accounts*, vol. III, pp. 58-9.

³¹² Shaaber, e.g. writes "there is no proof"; 'The First Rape of Faire Hellen', p. 414.

³¹³ *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories, 1538-1699*, vol. I 1553-1625, ed. by Jeanne Jones (Stratford-Upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society. In Association with The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2002), pp. 154-6.

³¹⁴ Adrienne Rosen, 'John Trussell', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ John Trussell. *Touchstone of Tradition*, fol. 10.

Shakespeare and other interested writers could have had access to Southwell's writing.'³¹⁷

Klaue is less circumspect, arguing that 'Shakespeare might have been acquainted as a kinsman with Southwell's editor, and in a band of association with the Jesuit himself.'³¹⁸

Whatever the truth, the Trussells are worth including in this discussion of figures whose possible connections with both Shakespeare and Southwell have been the subject of this chapter.

An interesting postscript to this account of the Trussells is a marriage in 1594 between John Warren of Poynton, Cheshire and Ann Ognall of Billesley, who must certainly have known the Trussells.³¹⁹ The dedication of *The Fourth Weeke* in Weever's *Epigrammes* of 1599, is to 'The Right Worshipfull, Sir Edward Warren, Knight, graced in all giftes both of minde and bodie.'³²⁰ John was his son. As we have seen, the Warrens were closely connected with John Brownsword. Intriguing connections between Shakespeare and Southwell are more frequent than often supposed.

In *The Triumphs Over Death*, Southwell recounts the story of a Merchant who lost both family and fortune in a shipwreck, but visiting a leper hospital and 'finding in a little room many examples of greater misery he made the smart of others' sores a lenitive to his own wound.'³²¹ Rosaline's challenge to Berowne to, 'Visit the speechless sick and still converse / With groaning wretches', in the final scene of *Love's Labour's Lost*, as well as the failure of

³¹⁷ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 53.

³¹⁸ Klaue, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, pp. 42-3.

³¹⁹ Warren of Poynton Records, Chester, Cheshire Record Office, DVE 2401/1/1-12.

³²⁰ John Weever, *Epigrammes In The Oldest Cut, And Newest Fashion* (1599), reprinted from the Original Edition with Notes, etc., by R.B. McKerrow (London: Sigwick and Jackson, 1911), p. 62.

³²¹ Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death* ed. Trotman, 30.

Antonio's 'ventures' in *The Merchant of Venice* may be Shakespearean echoes of Southwell's story.³²² This thesis argues for a closer connection between Shakespeare and Southwell than is generally recognised, both in terms of the historical evidence, and, as we shall see in the following chapters, through literary parallels. Klause refers to his search for what Shakespeare and Southwell 'may have shared'.³²³ The substantial mosaic of connections built up so far in these chapters shows a picture with sufficient detail to justify the value of such an approach.

A brief addition to the figures discussed in this chapter are the Belknaps of Sussex and Kent, who return us to the genealogical history discussed earlier. Sir Robert Belknap, the founder of the family, died in 1401.³²⁴ He was an associate of the Arundels, but significant also because his eldest daughter, Joanna, became grandmother of Eleanor Hampden, whose marriage to Thomas Arden led in turn to the birth of her great-granddaughter, Mary Arden, the mother of William Shakespeare.³²⁵ On the other side of the Belknap family, the marriage between Sir Robert's great-grandson's daughter Alice to William Shelley would lead in turn to their daughter marrying into the Copley family.³²⁶ The grandson of this marriage was Robert Southwell. We have already seen the connection between the Shelleys and Southamptons. 'Good Cosen', therefore, was indeed an appropriate term for Southwell to use if *The Author to his Loving Cosen* was indeed addressed to William Shakespeare. The

³²² Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, third series, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 5. 2. 839; *The Merchant of Venice*, (1596-7), ed. by Jay L. Halio (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3. 2. 265.

³²³ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 20.

³²⁴ John L. Leland, 'Sir Robert Belknap', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2011, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 18 May 2018].

³²⁵ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl*, p. 40.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*; also Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 5.

following chapters will continue to discuss historical and family connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, but will also consider in more detail significant literary influences that connect the two writers.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LOVER AND THE POET

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet

Are of imagination all compact¹

A Poett a lover and a lyer, are by many reckened but three words of one significacon²

¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by R.A. Foakes, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5. 1. 7-8. All further quotations are from this edition.

² Robert Southwell, *Epistle* before the sequence of poems in the Waldegrave MS; *St Robert Southwell, Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davison and Anne Sweeney, (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007), ll. 3-4. All subsequent quotations from Southwell's verse and its introductions are taken from this edition.

The quotation above cited from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, listed by Francis Meres in 1598,³ but generally accepted as written between 1595 and 1596, is well known.⁴ Theseus's confident dismissal of 'these antique fables' and 'fairy toys' contrasts with Hippolyta's more thoughtful observation that the lovers have experienced 'something' of great constancy, indeed 'strange and admirable'.⁵ It is interesting that no recent editions of the play, ranging from the 1979 Arden to the 2016 New Oxford *Complete Works* and the 2017 Arden edition, make any reference to the second quotation, which comes from Southwell's *Epistle*, found before the most authoritative of his manuscript texts.⁶ Known as the *Waldegrave Manuscript* from the name of the Essex family who received it, possibly as early as 1592, it was re-discovered in the Stonyhurst archives by Alexander Grosart who used it as the basis for his 1872 edition of Southwell.⁷ Scholars of Southwell have been more receptive to connecting

³ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury*, (London: Cuthbert Burby, 7 September 1598).

⁴ Eric Rasmussen and Anthony Davies in their respective *Chronology* and article on the play in the *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, Second Edition, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 78 and 296-9, both suggest 1595. The Oxford Shakespeare, ed. by Peter Holland, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), dates it to 1595 or 1596, p. 110. The New Cambridge Shakespeare also dates it as 1595-96, p.1, and the recent *New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), dates it from 1594-1596, 'Most Likely 1596', p. 39. The most recent Arden edition also supports the 'usually accepted date' of 1595-96; The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Sukanta Chaudhuri, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 108 and pp. 283-91. Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama: 1553-1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-17), dates the play between 1594 and 1598, with a 'Best Guess' of 1595.

⁵ *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 3 and 26-7.

⁶ The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Harold F. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1979). Other editions which ignore the Southwell allusion or, indeed, any mention of Southwell, include *The Annotated Shakespeare*, ed. by Burton Raffel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), and *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, Vol. X, ed. by Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia: 1895). Three other authoritative texts also fail to mention Southwell; *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare: Volume one, Early Comedies, Poems, Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964); Kenneth Muir, *Shakespeare's Sources: I, Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Methuen, 1957), and *Shakespeare and the Literary Tradition*, ed. by Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1999).

⁷ The Waldegrave MS can be found in London, The Jesuit Archives, Mount Street, (Stonyhurst MS A.v.27). See also the edition of Southwell's poetry edited by Alexander B. Grosart, *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (London: Robson, Fuller Worthies' Library, 1872).

the quotations.⁸ The primary aim of this chapter is an examination of possible literary connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, as well as further exploration of the intriguing possibility that the ‘good Cosin’ addressed in the *Epistle* was William Shakespeare.⁹ ‘Literary connections’ are meant to suggest a conscious awareness on the part of the second author that he is dealing with diction, imagery and ideas and themes that are a deliberate reminder of the work of the original writer, although not necessarily implying agreement with his beliefs.

In *As You Like It* Rosalind claims the power to cure sufferers from the ‘mad humour of love’, even if the remedy merely infects the patient with ‘a living humour of madness’.¹⁰ ‘Love’ is ‘merely a madness’, and deserves only ‘a dark house and a whip as madmen do’.¹¹ Even so, a cure seems unlikely as ‘the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too’.¹² The connection between lovers and madmen is clearly, if humorously, established in the Forest of Arden, reinforced by Orlando’s verses which Rosalind unfeelingly suggests contain ‘more feet than the verses would bear’.¹³ The four pairs of lovers in the play will finally ‘join in Hymen’s bands’¹⁴ despite the earlier precedent of those in the Athenian wood, whose experiences leave them to ‘see these things with parted eye’.¹⁵ Theseus’s cynicism is also contradicted by the unromantic figure of Bottom, who knows however that he has had ‘a most

⁸ e.g., F. W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), pp. 70-1, 85. John Klaue, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), pp. 60-2.

⁹ Southwell, *Epistle to his ‘good Cosin’*, before the Waldegrave MS, l. 28.

¹⁰ Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 3. 2. 400-1. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

¹¹ *As You Like It*, 3. 2. 384-5.

¹² *As You Like It*, 3. 2. 387-8.

¹³ *As You Like It*, 3. 2. 162-3.

¹⁴ *As You like It*, 5. 4. 127.

¹⁵ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 186.

rare vision.’¹⁶ What that vision was and what its significance is becomes a key issue for both Shakespeare and Southwell. Stanley Wells comments on Theseus’s speech that ‘all of them [lovers, madmen and poets] are apt to confuse the illusory with the real’.¹⁷ For Shakespeare, the reality of love seems grounded in the climax of marriage that ends both plays, with their beautiful and tender final scenes (despite Jaques’s cynical warning to Touchstone and Audrey).¹⁸ But for Southwell, profane or erotic love was subordinate and inferior to God’s love. The importance of this dichotomy will also be the subject of this chapter.

The conflict between erotic and divine love exercised poets other than Shakespeare and Southwell. Sir Philip Sidney in his *Defence of Poetry*, first published in 1595, the year of Southwell’s execution as well as the probable writing of *Dream*, argued that ‘of all writers under the sun the poet is the least liar’.¹⁹ Sidney defended poetry against corrupting ‘men’s wit, training it to wanton sinfulness and lustful love’, a charge which Southwell would echo.²⁰ ‘Shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious?’ exclaimed Sidney.²¹ But what was the right use of poetry? In Southwell’s verse preface to his long poem *Saint Peters Complaynte*, he was clear about what was not important: ‘In paynim toyes the sweetest vaines are spent: / To Christian works, few have their tallents lent’.²²

¹⁶ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 200.

¹⁷ Stanley Wells, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, New Penguin Shakespeare (London: Penguin, 1967), p. 33.

¹⁸ “You and you are sure together / As the winter to foul weather.” 5. 4. 133-4.

¹⁹ Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. by Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 52, ll. 18-19. The work was written c. 1580, although not published until 1595.

²⁰ *A Defence of Poetry*, p. 54, ll. 5-6.

²¹ *A Defence of Poetry*, p. 55, ll. 5-6.

²² Southwell, ‘The Author to the Reader’, ll. 17-18.

His *Epistle* is more explicit.

Poetes by abusing their talent, and making the follies and feynings of love, the customary subject of their base endeavors, have so discredited this facultye that a Poett, a Lover and a lyer, are by many reckened but three wordes of one significacon.²³

In Southwell's 'The Author to the Reader', his verse preface to *Saint Peters Complaynte*, written between 1586 and 1592, he made what appears to be an explicit reference to *Venus and Adonis*, describing critically those poets who insisted on erotic love as their subject as, 'still finest wits [are] stilling Venus Rose'.²⁴ 'The Author to the Reader' concludes with Southwell's appeal, 'I moove the Suite, the Graunt rests in your will.'²⁵ Was this a hidden allusion to Will Shakespeare, his 'good cosin'?²⁶ We have considered the arguments for a family connection between the two writers, and it is certainly very possible that Southwell and Shakespeare knew each other, certainly by reputation. Alison Shell warns that 'a case resting on specific allusion to *Venus and Adonis* would be a tricky one to substantiate.'²⁷ The allusion to 'Venus Rose', however, seems intriguingly specific, particularly considering the widespread popularity of Shakespeare's poem. Shakespeare himself was quite willing to be self-referential and to pun on his name. He does this in a number of his Sonnets; for example,

²³ Southwell, *Epistle*, (To his "cosin"), ll.1-4. This important letter is found in the Waldegrave MS and in two other early manuscripts of Southwell's poetry. It was included in Wolfe's first edition of March 1595.

²⁴ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 16.

²⁵ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 24.

²⁶ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 28. It was Grosart in 1872 who first drew attention to the 1616 St. Omer edition of Southwell's poems, where the inscription 'The Author to his loving Cosen' became 'To my worthy good cosen, Maister W.S.', and the *Epistle* ended with 'Your loving cosen, R.S.'.

²⁷ Alison Shell, 'Why didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?', in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka and J.R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85-112 (p. 90).

in Sonnet 135, where he uses ‘will’ no less than thirteen times.²⁸ If Southwell is indeed making a personal appeal to his relative and fellow poet to alter the tenor of his poetry, it suggests the closeness of their relationship. This thesis argues that there was indeed a much closer relationship between Shakespeare and Southwell than is generally accepted, even if there was a wide difference in their approach to poetry. Shell does admit in her interesting discussion that Southwell ‘could have been writing out of a generalised disapproval of Shakespeare’s imaginative writing, perhaps combined with a specific desire to warn Shakespeare off erotic verse.’²⁹

Southwell’s writing was, as has been shown, a vital part of his mission. His writings, both in poetry and prose, were always ‘a reinforcement of his mission agenda: to promote piety in an English population’, many of whose Catholic adherents had been for a long time without the help of a priest to instruct them.³⁰ As Anne Sweeney writes elsewhere, ‘the creation of poetry for its own sake was not his end; helping souls was.’³¹ His work, unlike Shakespeare’s, was forcefully didactic. As Henry Garnet, himself a printer by trade, wrote, Southwell’s work was part of ‘his fruitfull labours for the good of soules’.³² Southwell’s talents as a lyricist, and as a prose writer of advice, comfort and admonition, were always intended to serve the faith he

²⁸ *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997).

²⁹ Shell, ‘Why didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, p. 90.

³⁰ Anne Sweeney, Introduction to Davidson and Sweeney, eds., *Robert Southwell: Collected Poems*, p. xix.

³¹ Anne R. Sweeney, *Robert Southwell: Snow in Arcadia: Redrawing the English Lyric Landscape* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 8.

³² Henry Garnet, Preface to Southwell’s *A Short Rule of Good Life* (London: Garnet’s Second Press, 1595). Sig. a 5-5v. The text can be found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 218 / 233. For an authoritative account of Garnet’s work as a printer, see Nancy Pollard Brown, ‘Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word’, in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits. Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 193-213. The citation comes from the Second Edition, revised with additional material (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007), 251-76 (p. 255).

would die for. As Edmund Campion wrote before Southwell's return to England, 'Nothing else was lacking to this cause than that our books written with ink should succeed those others which are daily being published, written in blood.'³³

In *Saint Peters Complaynt*, a poem of almost 800 lines, written in a six-line rhyming scheme of A B A B C C that reflects the first six lines of Shakspeare's seven-line verse in *The Rape of Lucrece*, Southwell offered a first-person narrative of Peter, conscience-stricken and broken by his betrayal of Christ on the night of Jesus's arrest. Peter's fear and weakness when challenged about his identity must have seemed familiar to many of the Catholic readers of the poem: 'Fidelitie was flowne, when feare was hatched'.³⁴ The poem was widely distributed in manuscript before its authorised publication shortly after Southwell's execution. For example, John Bolt, musician and Master of Music in the Chapel Royal before converting to Catholicism, was arrested in March 1594 and found to be carrying a number of illicit Catholic manuscripts, including 'one lyttell book' in a hand that his interrogators reported, 'he does not know'.³⁵ The 'book' was a copy of *Saint Peters Complaynt*. Bolt, incidentally, knew Swithin Wells, and was only saved from torture at Topcliffe's hands by the intervention of another acquaintance and apparent patroness, Lady Penelope Rich, sister of the Earl of

³³ Edmund Campion, Letter to Claudio Acquaviva, Jesuit Father General, dated 9 July 1581. Cited in Pollard Brown, 'Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word', p. 253.

³⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynte*, l. 175.

³⁵ For Bolt's interrogations, 20-21 March 1593/4, see the transcripts, Kew, PRO SP 12/248, fols. 108-10; also, Collected State Papers Domestic 1591-1594, p. 467. An account of Bolt's career can be found in Joseph Gillow, *A Biographical Dictionary of The English Catholics, Vol. 1 A-C* (London: Burns & Oates, 1885), pp. 256-7.

Essex.³⁶ In his ‘lyttell book’, Southwell uses Peter’s voice to make clear his opposition to poets who, as he sees it, abuse their talents by concentrating on the ‘feynings of love’.³⁷

Ambitious heades dreame you of fortunes pride:
Fill volumes with your forged Goddesse prayse.
You fancies drudges, plung’d in follies tide:
Devote your fabling wits to lovers layes:
Be you o sharpest griefes, that ever wrung,
Texte to my thoughtes, Theame to my playning tung.³⁸

Southwell’s aversion to this waste of a poet’s talents, including, presumably, Shakespeare’s, can be seen also in his prose works.

An Epistle of Comfort, printed secretly between 1587-88, refers to ‘a unspeakable blindness of man’s heart, that so easily traineth to senses’ lure, and is so soon caught with the beauty of an image and hath not grace to remember whom it resembleth’.³⁹ In *Marie Magdalens*

Funeral Teares, 1591, Southwell argues that ‘The finest wittes loose themselves in the vainest follies’.⁴⁰ Henry Garnet, writing to Rome shortly after the publication of the first authorised

³⁶ Lady Penelope was a neighbour in the country of the Wiseman family from Braddocks in Essex. She was the long-term mistress of Lord Mountjoy, present at Southwell’s execution, and also the sister of the Earl of Essex, Southampton’s close friend.

³⁷ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll .1-2.

³⁸ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll .31-36.

³⁹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort, to the Reverend Priestes, & to the Honorable, Worshipful, & Other of the Laye Race Restrained in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth* (London: printed secretly by Southwell’s own press, 1587-88). Modern editions ed. by D.M. Rogers, *English Recusant Literature, 1538 1640* (London: Scolar Press, 1974), vol. 211, and ed. by Margaret Waugh, with Foreward by Philip Caraman (London: Burns & Oates, 1966). This citation is taken, however, from an early copy of the text held in The British Library, inscribed ‘Imprinted At Paris’, but with no date, Chapter 3, p. 35 v. The same text is available on *EEBO*, with the same pagination, but the additional suggestion, followed by question marks, that the edition was printed by John Charlewood in London in 1587. All other quotations from *An Epistle* in chapter 3 are from this edition.

⁴⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, *EEBO*; the edition is the one published by Cawood, printed by John Wolfe, (London: 1591), Preface, ‘To the Reader’, l. 4. A modern edition is reproduced and edited by Vincent B. Leach (New York: Delmar, 1975). All quotations in this chapter are taken from the 1591 Cawood edition available on *EEBO*.

edition of Southwell's verses, wrote that he 'surpassed many profane authors and poets', showing his contemporaries how 'they might turn their talent from lascivious to religious and serious subjects.'⁴¹ In *Funeral Teares*, a prose work which nevertheless uses features found in conventional love-poetry,⁴² Mary Magdalen is presented almost as 'a pattern of the ideal lover'.⁴³ The book's preface also criticises 'men of so high conceit' who have only told 'a foolish tale and carried a long lie very smoothly'.⁴⁴ Southwell's aim instead was 'To draw this flood of affections into the right channel'.⁴⁵ In a revealing passage, he insisted that 'Passions I allow, and loves I approve, only I would wish that men would alter their object and better their intent.'⁴⁶ The polemical and pastoral purposes in his writings are always evident.

These 'fruitfull labours for the good of soules' were clearly not Shakespeare's concern.⁴⁷ Neither did Shakespeare intend to limit his verse to a comparatively narrow audience (although Southwell's poetry did become extremely popular, with ten editions of his poems appearing within seven years of his death). *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were dedicated to Shakespeare's aristocratic patron, the Earl of Southampton, but the success of

⁴¹ Henry Garnet, letter to Rome 1 May 1595. Cited in Anne R. Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 99.

⁴² *Marie Magdalen's Funeral Teares* was first entered on the Stationers' Register on 8 November 1591, published by Gabriel Cawood and printed by John Wolfe. There were three more editions before Southwell's execution, all published by Cawood. The work was clearly popular among both Catholics and Protestants.

⁴³ Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 184. Martz argues that Southwell was the founder of what he describes as a 'meditative tradition' in English religious poetry. (p. 3).

⁴⁴ Southwell, 'Address to the Readers', before *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, p. 3, Cawood, 1591.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ See note 33.

Venus and Adonis in particular, with its numerous editions,⁴⁸ suggests that it enjoyed a wide audience. If Southwell warned against ‘The blaze of beauties beames’ and the potential fate for those whom ‘beauty, love, and pleasure them did move’,⁴⁹ rather than the true love of God, Shakespeare did not. The erotic temptations offered by Venus as she unsuccessfully woos Adonis are described in graphic detail, as ‘Passion on passion deeply is redoubled’.⁵⁰ Despite Adonis’s indifference to her love-making, ‘Look how he can, she cannot choose but love’,⁵¹ the ‘love-sick Queen’⁵² both amuses and titillates readers with her importunities; ‘Graze on my lips, and if those hills be dry, / Stray lower, where the pleasant fountains lie’.⁵³ The honesty of her passion seems, paradoxically, innocent and moving, if intensely erotic. In lines echoed in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Venus argues for sexual love, not chastity.

Therefore, despite of fruitless chastity,
Love-lacking vestals and self-loving nuns,
That on the earth would breed a scarcity
And barren dearth of daughters and of sons,
Be prodigal: the lamp that burns by night
Dries up his oil to lend the world his light.⁵⁴

These lines presage Theseus’s warning to Hermia that her defiance of her father will lead to her having ‘to live a barren sister all your life, / Chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless

⁴⁸ 10 editions by 1602; see *Shakespeare’s Poems*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, pp. 549-50.

⁴⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll.307 and 310.

⁵⁰ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* l.832. In *Shakespeare’s Poems*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2007). All further quotations are from this edition.

⁵¹ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, l. 79.

⁵² *Venus and Adonis*, l. 175.

⁵³ *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 233-4.

⁵⁴ *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 751-6.

moon.’⁵⁵ When Shakespeare admonishes the reluctant young man in Sonnet 10 to ‘Make thee another self for love of me, / That beauty may still live in thine or thee’,⁵⁶ and in Sonnet 4, he reprimands ‘Unthrifty loveliness, why does thou spend / Upon thyself thy beauty’s legacy?’,⁵⁷ these arguments are echoed in Venus’s pleading. The Shakespeare who writes ineffable love poetry such as

Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
Of the wide world, dreaming on things to come,
Can yet the lease of my true love control,
Supposed as forfeit to a confined doom ⁵⁸

seems unlikely to have shared Southwell’s belief that ‘when Sence doth wynne, the soule doth loose the field’.⁵⁹ Yet Adonis, this ‘wayward boy’,⁶⁰ argues for restraint and chastity in terms that Southwell himself echoed in ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’.

Call it not love, for Love to heaven is fled
Since sweating Lust on earth usurped his name,
Under whose simple semblance he hath fed
Upon fresh beauty, blotting it with blame; ⁶¹ (Shakespeare)

Lett not the luring trayne of phansies trapp
Or gracious features proofes of natures skill
Lull reasons force asleepe in errors lapp
Or drawe thy witt to bent of wanton will. ⁶² (Southwell)

⁵⁵ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 72-3.

⁵⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 10 in *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997), ll. 13-14.

⁵⁷ Shakespeare, Sonnet 4 ll. 1-2.

⁵⁸ Shakespeare, Sonnet 107, ll. 1-4.

⁵⁹ Southwell, ‘Mary Magdalens Blushe l. 29.

⁶⁰ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, l. 344.

⁶¹ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 793-6.

⁶² Southwell, ‘Lew’d love is Losse’, ll. 19-22.

It seems unlikely that the gentle Southwell is referring directly here to his worldly ‘cosin’ Will. However, the argument between Adonis and Venus reflects the debate on the nature and purpose of poetry into which Southwell entered with such certainty. Emrys Jones, in his ‘Introduction’ to *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse*, comments that ‘too often anthologies of sixteenth century poetry give the impression that poets wrote about little else than love’⁶³. Sir Philip Sidney felt it necessary to defend poetry against the charge that it ‘abuseth men’s wit, training it to wanton sinfulness and lustful love’.⁶⁴ Shakespeare, typically, sees both sides of the argument; if Venus engages our sympathies more than the ‘silly’ Adonis does,⁶⁵ particularly with her grief at his untimely death, Shakespeare is still prepared to allow readers to make up their own minds. There is no obviously didactic purpose in *Venus and Adonis*, unlike in Southwell’s writing, yet the concerns of both writers have sufficient similarities to engage our attention. Jones observes that the main direction of sixteenth-century poetry was that ‘the poet now wants to write of his own experience’.⁶⁶ This is certainly true of Southwell, if less obviously so for Shakespeare, unless the *Sonnets* are regarded as primarily autobiographical. Nevertheless, both writers can be seen to be engaged in exploring ideas and approaches that allow us to compare their work.

As we have seen, Southwell’s primary aim, particularly in his poetry, was to recall his ‘readership to God’.⁶⁷ His readers were encouraged to resist the ‘Sirens sweete notes’, which could only lure them to ‘the salte sea of perdition’.⁶⁸ If they yielded to the temptations of

⁶³ *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse*, ed. by Emrys Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. xxx, ll. 5-6.

⁶⁴ Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, p. 54.

⁶⁵ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, l. 467.

⁶⁶ Jones, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse*, p. xxiii.

⁶⁷ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, pp. 232-3.

⁶⁸ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 2, 20v-21.

‘Lew’d Love’ and fell for ‘beauty’s bayt’,⁶⁹ they risked their immortal souls. Southwell’s words here are key to an understanding of his verse.

for a world whose pleasures passe away
I loose a world whose joyes are paste decaye⁷⁰

Sidney’s imagery quoted earlier, is similar, referring ironically to the charge that poetry infected readers with ‘a siren’s sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent’s tail of sinful fancies.’⁷¹ His love poetry, such as *Astrophil and Stella*, influenced by Penelope Rich, offered what he described as ‘sinful fancies’.⁷² Like Sidney, but unlike Southwell, Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*, many of his sonnets, and plays such as *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *As You Like it* celebrate the beauties as well as the vicissitudes of love. ‘The course of true love’ may be a difficult and painful path to follow,⁷³ but Shakespeare’s general conclusion is that ‘poor fancy’s followers’ have chosen the right one.⁷⁴ If Shakespeare is realistic about love and lovers and knows that ‘My mistress’ eyes are nothing like the sun’, he still concludes that ‘I think my love as rare / As any she belied with false compare.’⁷⁵

Southwell, however, is not dismissive of human emotions and needs. Indeed, ‘Passions I allow, and loves I approve, only I would wishe that no man would alter their object and better

⁶⁹ Southwell, ‘Lew’d love is Losse’, l. 25.

⁷⁰ Southwell, ‘Mary Magdalens Blushe’, ll. 23-4.

⁷¹ Sir Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, p. 51, ll. 27-8.

⁷² Sir Philip Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* first published 1591. See *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by William Ringler Jr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 163-237. For further details on the relationship between Sidney and Rich see Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991).

⁷³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 134.

⁷⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 155.

⁷⁵ Shakespeare, Sonnet 130, ll. 1 and 13-14.

their intent'.⁷⁶ In the same introduction, he rebukes both lovers and writers who pursue 'the Idol' of profane love 'to which both tongues and pennes doe sacrifice their ill bestowed labours'.⁷⁷ Presumably the Shakespeare who could ask his mistress to 'Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy Will',⁷⁸ and could avow, 'Thine eyes I love',⁷⁹ would be regarded as one of those 'pennes' who 'wisely tolde a foolish tale, and carried a long lie verre smoothly to the ende'.⁸⁰ Shakespeare's Berowne argues that love is 'first learned in a lady's eyes',⁸¹ but Southwell's Peter instead worships Christ's 'sacred eyes, the springs of living light, / The earthly heavens, where Angels joy to dwell'.⁸² 'From women's eyes this doctrine I derive' is, however, Berowne's more profane credo; he insists that 'Never durst poet touch a pen to write / Until his ink were tempered with Love's sighs'.⁸³ Again, the religious emphasis of Southwell's work seems to contrast with Shakespeare's dramatic intention in *Love's Labour's Lost* where he comically foregrounds the lords' eager rejection of their earlier misguided intention to seclude themselves from the temptations of women.

Although Shakespeare and Southwell clearly have different emphases, the connections between them are still evident. If their aims were different, their subject matter was not. They can be regarded as responding to each other, with Southwell arguing as a priest and pastor, while Shakespeare answers as a dramatist, developing situations and characters that

⁷⁶ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, 1591 edition, 'Dedication', p. 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Shakespeare, Sonnet 136 l. 2.

⁷⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 132, l. 1.

⁸⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, 1591 edition, 'To The Reader', p. 2. This four- page address follows Southwell's Dedication 'To The Worshipfull And Virtuous Gentlewoman, Mistress D. A.'

⁸¹ Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 4. 3. 301.

⁸² Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 331-2.

⁸³ Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 324 and 4. 3. 320-1.

are related to Southwell's themes and imagery. Shakespeare does, however, offer what seems a more profane alternative to Southwell's austere approach.

If, as Sweeney suggests, Southwell was responding to a trend towards eroticism in English poetry exemplified by the success of *Venus and Adonis* 'by turning it towards heaven rather than eschewing it altogether',⁸⁴ his writings make it clear that his purpose was always to convince his readers to 'Seeke flowers of Heaven'. He wished them to scorn mere 'worldly weedes',⁸⁵ and to turn from 'The world' with its entangling 'jesses of delightes'.⁸⁶

Southwell's Latin poem known as 'Elegia 8' begins 'Dic ubi dunc quod amo est!' ('Say, where is what I love now'), concluding with 'Hic quod amo superset, huc volo, terra vale' ('here what I love still exists; thither I fly, farewell O earth').⁸⁷ 'Farewell O Earth' could be seen as Southwell's most important motif, both in his own acceptance of a martyr's fate, and in the theme of his writings. 'Elegia 8' has been described as a 'love poem to the soul'.⁸⁸ 'A Vale of teares', despite its evocative and sensuous descriptions of nature with 'strugling floode', 'bubling streames and purling noyse',⁸⁹ insists in its climax that 'teares to tunes and paynes to playnts be prest / And lett this be the burdon of thy songe'.⁹⁰ Southwell's conclusion of the letter to his 'good cosin' repeats this musical imagery with reference to 'these few dittyes' he has clearly enclosed in his missive.

⁸⁴ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁵ Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of Heaven', l. 24.

⁸⁶ Southwell, 'Mans Civill Warre', l. 11.

⁸⁷ Southwell, 'Elegia 8' in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Davidson and Sweeney, pp. 110-12.

⁸⁸ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 246.

⁸⁹ Southwell, 'A Vale of Teares', ll. 37 and 40.

⁹⁰ Southwell, 'A Vale of Teares', ll. 73-4.

‘Add yowe the tunes and let the meane I pray yowe be still a part in all your Musicke.’⁹¹

If Shakespeare was the recipient of this letter and poems, which is, as we shall see, eminently possible, then it seems that he did not entirely follow his cousin’s advice.

In Sonnet 55 Shakespeare refers to the permanence of what he describes as ‘this powerful rhyme’,⁹² capable of resisting the ravages of ‘Devouring time’.⁹³ ‘So long as men can breathe or eyes can see, / So long lives this’, expresses his belief in the permanence of his verse.⁹⁴ Southwell’s hopes, as we have seen, are fixed instead on an eternity spent in heaven, and believes that ‘Life is but Losse’.⁹⁵ How far, therefore, can it be argued that Southwell and Shakespeare influenced each other if their writings had such different aims and views? Peter Ackroyd’s comment that ‘It has plausibly been suggested that Shakespeare read, and copied, from, some of Southwell’s poetry’,⁹⁶ might seem implausible despite, as has been noted, some similarity of form used for *Saint Peters Complaynt* and *Venus and Adonis*.

Before further discussion of the literary debt perhaps owed by Shakespeare to Southwell, it is worthwhile considering in more detail the evidence that Southwell’s appeal to his ‘good cosin’ was really addressed to Shakespeare. The family links between Southwell and Shakespeare suggested previously make this a possibility, but how strong a one? As pointed out above, Southwell’s introduction to *Saint Peters Complaynt* contains the appeal to its

⁹¹ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 28, 35, and 35-6.

⁹² Shakespeare, Sonnet 55, l. 2.

⁹³ Shakespeare, Sonnet 19, l. 1.

⁹⁴ Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, ll. 13-14.

⁹⁵ Southwell, ‘Life is but Losse’, The poem concludes, ‘To him I live for him I hope to dye.’ l. 42.

⁹⁶ Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare: The Biography*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 2005), p. 195.

recipient: 'I move the Suite, the Graunt rests in your will'.⁹⁷ This introductory poem also contains the lines that appear to allude to *Venus and Adonis*:

Still finest wits are stilling Venus Rose.
In paynim toyes the sweetest vaines are spent:
To Christian works, few have their tallents lent.⁹⁸

If Shakespeare is one of these 'finest wits', the reference suggests an admiring familiarity with Shakespeare's work, as well as disapproval of his subject matter. This clearly matches what we have seen of Southwell's poetic aims. 'The follies and feynings of love'⁹⁹ are not the central concern of Southwell's writing. The *Epistle* placed before the poems found in the 'Waldegrave Manuscript' adds more detail to his manifesto concerning the proper aims of verse. If poets have so neglected their proper calling that they can be regarded as mere 'lyers', then they are serving the Devil and not God.

But the Devill as hee affecteth Deitye and seeketh to have all the Complements of Divine honor applied to his service, so hath he amonge the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle phancies. For in lieu of solemne and devoute matter to which in dutye they owe their abilities, they now busy them selves in expressing such passions as onely serve for testimonies to howe unworthy affections they have wedded their willes. And because the best course to lett them see the error of their works is to weave a newe Web in their owne loome; I have heere laied a few course thridds together.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 24.

⁹⁸ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', ll. 16-18.

⁹⁹ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 1-2.

¹⁰⁰ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 17-26.

These ‘few course thridds’ are later described by Southwell as a ‘blameworthy present’ which he asks his ‘good Cosin’ not to resent receiving.¹⁰¹ His cousin ‘did importune’ Southwell to ‘committ it, and therefore you must beare parte of the penance’.¹⁰² Southwell concludes by writing: ‘I Sende you these few dittyes add yowe the tunes and let the meane I pray yowe be still a part in all your Musicke’, an intriguing sentence already cited above.¹⁰³

As Alison Shell points out, this is the only occasion in all Southwell’s poetry where he uses the second person form ‘you’ instead of ‘thou’, indicating his respect for the recipient.¹⁰⁴ But what is the likelihood that this recipient, who appears to have encouraged Southwell to write, was William Shakespeare?

This *Epistle* was first printed in Gabriel Cawood’s edition of Southwell’s poems entered in the Stationers’ Register in April 1595, soon after Southwell’s February execution; one of three editions published within weeks of his death, no doubt intended to benefit from the interest and excitement that Southwell’s trial and execution created. Cawood’s edition added more poems to the two editions published by John Wolfe in March, whose second edition had added eight more poems to the first collection. This suggests that several manuscripts were extant, as would be likely with the dissemination of his writings being such an important part of Southwell’s mission. Wolfe handed on his publication rights to Cawood, whose 5 April edition was entitled *Saincte Peters Complainte with Mary Magdalens Blusshe and her Complaint At Christes Deathe with Other Poemes*. Wolfe was brave enough to include the Jesuit motif *IHS* on the title page. The letter ‘The Author to his loving Cosen’ was included

¹⁰¹ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 29 and 28.

¹⁰² Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 32-33.

¹⁰³ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 35-6.

¹⁰⁴ Shell, ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, p. 91.

and placed immediately before *Saint Peters Complaynt*. It was not until the 1616 St Omer edition that the inscription changed from ‘The Author to his loving Cosen’ to ‘my worthy good cosen Maister W. S.’. This 1616 edition also added an inscription at the end of the letter from ‘your loving cosen, R. S.’.¹⁰⁵

The St Omer edition, published by a Jesuit press, is agreed by Southwell’s editors to be based on Cawood’s 1602 text, which itself added an extra seven poems from previous editions, including the well-known ‘The burning Babe’. The argument that this edition is based on Cawood’s 1602 publication depends on textual errors common to both editions. McDonald and Pollard Brown argue that the epistolary introduction was added to the 1602 edition from a collection of poems in manuscript prepared by Southwell himself before his sudden arrest in 1592 and rescued by a friend. ‘One of those closest to him [...] undertaking the burden of literary executorship [...] Southwell’s own collection was incorporated in this longer compilation, and the two introductory items [...] giving an account of his intentions in writing the poetry.’¹⁰⁶ That ‘W.S.’ was indeed William Shakespeare therefore matches what we know of the textual history of Southwell’s poetry.

Davidson and Sweeney agree with McDonald and Brown in their 2007 edition of the poems, as do Alison Shell and F. W. Brownlow.¹⁰⁷ The one ‘closest to him’ seems likely to have been

¹⁰⁵ The date of composition of the *Epistle* is uncertain but must have been before Southwell’s arrest on 25 June 1592. It is worth pointing out that manuscript spellings of the *Epistle* use both ‘Cosin’ and ‘Cosen’. For detailed publication information, James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown, eds., *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S. J.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. xxxv-vi, as well as Peter Davison and Anne Sweeney, eds., *The Collected Poems of St Robert Southwell* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007), pp. 147-9. Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, pp. 293-4 also offers information on editions.

¹⁰⁶ McDonald and Pollard Brown, *The Poems of Robert Southwell*, pp. xxxv-vi. Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956), pp. 260-273, argues strongly for the identification of ‘W.S.’ as William Shakespeare.

¹⁰⁷ Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, p. 148; Shell, ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, p. 107, note 14; F. W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), p. 77.

Henry Garnet, Southwell's Superior, who returned hastily to London after hearing the news of Southwell's arrest.¹⁰⁸ Garnet's position as Superior, his close friendship with Southwell and his training as a printer, all suggest the likelihood of his taking on the rôle of executor to Southwell's poetic legacy. The fifty-two lyrics and prefatory letter and poem published in the 1602 edition are therefore important evidence of Southwell's verse and his aims in writing poetry. The manuscripts would almost certainly have been collected from the Countess of Arundel's house in Spitalfields where Southwell was staying before his abortive visit to Warwickshire, and where his illicit press seems likely to have been housed.

McDonald and Pollard Brown, however, are uncertain about the provenance of the 1616 additions of 'W.S.' and 'Your loving Cosen R.S.' They suggest that it may 'have its origins in a tradition preserved by the Jesuits of St Omer', but 'perhaps only in the imagination of the editor of the poems.'¹⁰⁹ Devlin, however, believes that 'W.S.' is Shakespeare;¹¹⁰ more recently Shell has suggested that the additions were taken from 'the silent incorporation of a manuscript annotation to the printed 1602 copy text', the text published by Cawood.¹¹¹ It may only be a coincidence that the additions were added in the year of Shakespeare's death, but it is also possible that an overt recognition of Shakespeare's connection with Southwell was regarded as unwise or dangerous while Shakespeare was alive. Shell asks if so, why in 1616 were only Shakespeare's initials used?¹¹² But if the Jesuit printer was working from a

¹⁰⁸ Letters from Garnet from London to Rome dated 16 and 26 July 1592. See Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol. 1, ed. by Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 120-43 (pp. 123, 133-4); F. W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 77. Also the manuscript copy of Southwell's *A Shorte Rule of Good Life* in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, MS 218/233, which contains two signatures of 'HG'.

¹⁰⁹ McDonald and Pollard Brown, *The Poems of Robert Southwell*, p. lxix.

¹¹⁰ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, pp. 260-73.

¹¹¹ Shell, 'Why Didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?', p. 107, note 14.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

manuscript annotation, then it seems likely that he would have copied only the original wording and not expanded ‘W.S.’ In 1616 close members of Shakespeare’s family were still alive, including Anne, Susanna Hall, Judith Quiney and Joan Shakespeare. Toleration of Catholics and Catholicism did not increase under James, and even after Shakespeare’s death there may have been a reluctance to name him too openly in connection with Southwell. As Shell admits, ‘if the identity of Southwell’s dedicatee was known anywhere, it would have been in Catholic circles.’¹¹³ The theatrical allusion found in ‘The Author to his loving Cosen’, ‘the prologue to the first pageant of his passion’,¹¹⁴ may be pointed at Shakespeare, as may the pun on ‘your will’ at the end of Southwell’s verse introduction to *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ‘The Author to the Reader’.¹¹⁵

If Shakespeare and Southwell were known by the recusant community to be connected, then the author known only as ‘I. C.’ may be specifically criticising Shakespeare in the poem ‘Saint Marie Magdalens conversion’, published in 1603/4 by an illicit Catholic press. The poem, a response to *Saint Peters Complaynt*, clearly alludes to Shakespeare’s work:

Of Helens rape, and Troyes beseiged Towne
Of Troylus faith, and Cressids falsitie,
Of Rychards stratagems for the English crowne,
Of Tarquins lust, and lucrece chastity

However, I.C. makes clear that ‘of none of these my muse nowe treates’.¹¹⁶ Instead, the writer emphasises that the aim of poetry is to promote religious conversion and repentance. ‘Narcissus’, an earlier poem of 1595, contrasts the work of several contemporary poets,

¹¹³ Shell, ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, p. 94.

¹¹⁴ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 13-14.

¹¹⁵ Southwell, ‘The Author to the Reader’, l. 24.

¹¹⁶ The poem is printed in full in A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, 2 Vols. (Aldershot: Scolar, 1989-1994), vol. 2, no. 104. Alison Shell discusses this poem in ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’, pp. 93-4.

including Shakespeare, who prefer to deal in ‘Loues delight’ rather than more worthwhile subjects. The author of ‘Narcissus’, Thomas Edwards, refers admiringly to an unnamed poet, but one ‘in purple robes distaind’, who wrote religious rather than erotic verse. It is hard not to associate the poet in ‘Purple robes’ with the recently martyred Southwell, particularly as ‘Narcissus’ was published by John Wolfe, Southwell’s first authorised publisher.¹¹⁷

Was Shakespeare, therefore, well- known to the Catholic community, but reprehended for his failure to follow Southwell’s example, both in his writings, and also, perhaps, in his failure to assert his faith openly? The confident assertion by Richard Davies in 1670 that Shakespeare ‘died a papist’ may have had its basis in knowledge that Shakespeare, at the very least, had close connections with Catholics.¹¹⁸ Not all Catholics were ‘conspicuously dissident and heroic.’¹¹⁹ Alexandra Walsham has argued that Catholics who conformed to the state religion, or partially did so, played an important if so far unrecognised part in sustaining Catholicism.¹²⁰ There ‘are Papistes which can keepe their conscience to themselves, and yet goe to Church’.¹²¹ We again see a strong possibility that Shakespeare and Southwell had more connections than is usually recognised.

A possible argument against identifying ‘W.S.’ with Shakespeare is Southwell’s phrase ‘add yowe the tunes’ at the end of his appeal to his ‘loving Cosen’, and its conclusion, ‘let the

¹¹⁷ ‘Narcissus’ is quoted in Shell, ‘Why Didn’t Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?’. pp. 103-05. See also note 105 above.

¹¹⁸ René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 2008,) p. 69.

¹¹⁹ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 15.

¹²⁰ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993, 1999), p. 1.

¹²¹ George Gifford, *A Dialogue Between a Papist and a Protestant* (London: 1582), 1v.; cited by Walsham, *Church Papists*, p. 1.

meane, I pray yowe be still a part in all your Musicke'.¹²² Does this indicate a musician rather than poet as the recipient of the letter? Southwell's love of music has been mentioned previously. It is possible that William Byrd, who was clearly acquainted with Southwell, or another unknown musician was sent these 'few dittyes' and encouraged to 'add [...] the tunes'.¹²³ Southwell is clearly referring to his poetry as 'dittyes', a technical musical term for the words of a song. He may, of course, have simply been employing a metaphor for his poetry rather than making a literal address to a musician. There is no evidence of contemporary musicians setting Southwell's work to music, although this did happen later.¹²⁴ The middle section of Southwell's letter argues for the value of 'Hymnes and spirituall Sonnetts', as Christ himself made a hymn 'the conclusion of His laste Supper', and Southwell makes no distinction between such musical praise and the poetry he is sending his cousin and encouraging him to emulate.¹²⁵ It 'maye be seene, how well Verse and Vertue suite together', Southwell writes.¹²⁶ In his poems, too, Southwell employs musical imagery to express his meaning, 'Let teares to tunes and paynes to playnts be prest / And let this be the burdon of thy songe'.¹²⁷ Temptation is described as 'Syrens songs', and its false delights as 'tunes turn'd into teares'.¹²⁸ *Saint Peters Complaynt* refers to 'These Syrens sugred tunes' as a metaphor for

¹²² Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 35-6.

¹²³ Southwell *Epistle*, l. 35.

¹²⁴ For example, 'Marie Magdalens complaint at Christ's Death' appeared in *Songs and Fancies*, compiled by John Forbes of Aberdeen, with editions in 1662, 1666 and 1682. See Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, p. 158. Much earlier, *Saint Peters Complaynt* was set to music in 1604 by Elizabeth Grymeston in *Miscelanea Meditations Memoratives*, 'Sixtene staves of verse [...] which she usually sung and played on the winde instrument.' The collection was published by Felix Norton and printed by Melchior Bradwood. See McDonald and Pollard Brown, *The Poems of Robert Southwell*, p. xciii.

¹²⁵ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 7 and 13.

¹²⁶ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 27-8.

¹²⁷ Southwell, 'A Vale of Teares', ll. 73-4.

¹²⁸ Southwell, 'The prodigall chylde's soule wracke', ll. 49 and 51.

women's allurements, the alluring 'blaze of beauties' that Peter inveighs against so vehemently.¹²⁹

For Southwell, 'measured wordes' are 'the sweetest note that man can singe / When grace in Vertewes keye tunes natures stringe'.¹³⁰ It seems likely, therefore, that his letter was addressed to a fellow poet, and not a musician. Shell has also pointed out the importance that Southwell placed on 'personal appeals of this kind', such as his plea to his 'cosin'.¹³¹ An example of this is Southwell's *Epistle to His Father*, dated 22 October 1589, but likely to have been written in 1586.¹³² It was published by Garnet's second illicit press in 1596-1597, along with *A Short Rule of Good Life*. Its appeal to his father to 'alter a course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the fields of God's Church', is respectful and moving, and clearly designed not only as a personal warning to Richard Southwell, but to a wider readership, hence its publication by Garnet.¹³³ As we have seen, Southwell's writing and his mission were inseparable: 'My tongue is the pen of a scrivener that writeth quickly', he wrote while still a student in Rome, adding, 'For my tongue is like the pen of a skilful poet'.¹³⁴

If 'W. S.' was not William Shakespeare, then who was it? Few names have been offered as an alternative, although Southwell's cousin William Shelley, son of Lady Guldeford, has been

¹²⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 311 and 307.

¹³⁰ Southwell, *To the Reader*, ll. 16-18.

¹³¹ Shell, 'Why Didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?', p. 91.

¹³² For further publication details see note 105 above.

¹³³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Robert Southwell to His Father*, pp. viii-ix, in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell*, (London: D. Stewart, 1876). A more recent edition of the letter can be found in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1975).

¹³⁴ Southwell, *Spiritual Exercises and Devotions of Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J.*, ed. by J.M. de Buck, S.J. Translated by P. E. Hallett (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931), p. 275.

suggested.¹³⁵ Shelley, however, had been in prison since the discovery of the Throckmorton plot, and seems unlikely, not least because he was not a poet. Therefore, William Shakespeare remains the most likely candidate to have received both Southwell's poems and his appeal to abandon 'idle phancies' and accept his 'duty' to write 'solemne and devoute matter'.¹³⁶ To encourage his cousin, Southwell has 'heere laied a few course thridds together'.¹³⁷ The question of whether Shakespeare followed Southwell's example to 'weave a new Webb' in the plays and poetry that followed, or instead rejected the invitation to 'beginne some fyner peece', is of considerable importance for our discussion.¹³⁸

When Southwell wrote to his 'cosin', enclosing his 'few dittyes', he also indicated the influence this cousin possessed over Southwell and his poetry. 'If in mee this be a faulte, you cannot be faultless that did importune mee to Committ it, and therefore you must beare parte of the penance'.¹³⁹ The tone suggests both intimacy and the cousin's knowledge of Southwell's work, and possibly also a shared joke over religious similarities - or differences - in the reference to 'penance', a Catholic, not Protestant practice.¹⁴⁰ Can we establish whether parts of Shakespeare's work were influenced by Southwell, or, alternatively, is it possible that Shakespeare was an influence on Southwell? The dating of Southwell's work is more

¹³⁵ For William Shelley see Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 260. Also, Christopher Whittick, 'William Shelley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2013 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 January 2018]. Shelley was married to Mary Wriothesley, aunt of the Third Earl of Southampton. For Lady Guldeford, see Martin Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse* (Brighton: Book Guild Publishing, 2013), p. 35.

¹³⁶ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 19-20.

¹³⁷ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 35-6.

¹³⁸ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 24 and 27.

¹³⁹ Southwell *Epistle*, ll. 31-3.

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of the significance of 'penance', see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, second edition, 2005), pp. 448-9.

difficult to ascertain than that of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, as has been seen, yet similarities between *Saint Peters Complaynt* and *Lucrece* are striking. The theme of guilt, for example, is important in both poems, and both poets employ very similar imagery. Manuscript copies of *Saint Peters Complaynt* were clearly circulating in March 1594, when John Bolt was arrested carrying a copy of the poem given to him by William Wiseman.¹⁴¹ The poem was officially published in March 1595, but it is probable that the poem was circulating in manuscript for some time before Bolt's arrest. As Sweeney explains, manuscripts were circulated around 'private circles of readers, and copied and recopied'.¹⁴² Peter Beal believes that the Waldegrave Manuscript, which includes *Saint Peters Complaynt*, may date from as early as 1592, but it is likely that other copies of the poem were circulating well before Southwell's arrest in June 1592.¹⁴³ Southwell was practising writing verse in English while still in Rome, as preparation for his mission,¹⁴⁴ but it is reasonable to assume that all the poems preserved both in manuscript form and in published editions in England were also written there during the six years before his arrest. As has been emphasised, Southwell considered his writing an essential part of his ministry. His work, both in verse and prose, had to be read if it was to be of benefit to his fellow Catholics. 'Southwell, in being the lyricist, is the missionary too.'¹⁴⁵ Pollard Brown has suggested that the introductory letter and collection of poems printed by Wolfe in March 1595 may have been acquired by Wolfe in

¹⁴¹ For Bolt's interrogations see note 35 above. After Bolt's release, he left England and eventually settled in Louvain as Organist and Chaplain, dying there in 1640.

¹⁴² Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, p. xii.

¹⁴³ Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol.1, part 2 (London: Mansell, 1980), pp. 495-6. *Saint Peters Complaynt* was definitely circulating in 1594; Nancy Pollard Brown tentatively dates the poem to c. 1591 in *The Poems of Robert Southwell*, p. lxxxviii. 'Decease release' must have been written after Mary Stuart's execution on 8 February 1587, but otherwise dating of Southwell's poems is uncertain.

¹⁴⁴ Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, p. xvii.

¹⁴⁵ Sweeney, 'Afterword' in Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, p. 124.

manuscript form before his licensed edition of *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* on 8 November 1591.¹⁴⁶ *Venus and Adonis*, as we know, was entered in the Stationers' Register on 18 April 1593, and the Dedication implies that Shakespeare was already planning 'some graver labour.'¹⁴⁷ *Lucrece* was entered in May 1594. These are dates we need to consider when examining any influence each poet could have had on the other, as well as the possibility that the closure of theatres from 23 June 1592 because of the plague turned Shakespeare temporarily from playwright to the composition of two long poems.¹⁴⁸

In *Venus and Adonis*, Venus wishes that Adonis's 'verdure still endure / To drive infection from the dangerous year,' and later refers to the 'barren dearth of daughters and of sons', as well as flatteringly telling Adonis that 'the plague is banished by thy breath.'¹⁴⁹ But if the poem's composition and imagery was influenced by the closure of the theatres, *Venus and Adonis* and, particularly, *The Rape of Lucrece* are also notable for the psychological realism and complexity with which Shakespeare endows his characters, reminiscent of Southwell's skill in *Saint Peters Complaynt*. The theme of guilt links Peter, Tarquin and Lucrece, and both poets' understanding of the mind-sets of their characters as well as their skill in revealing them, create such powerful psychological realism. Southwell writes

Come shame, the livery of offending minde
The ougly shroud, that overshadoweth blame:
The mulct, at which fowle faults are justly fynde,
The dampe of sinne, the common sluice of fame¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Pollard Brown in McDonald and Pollard Brown, *The Poems of Robert Southwell*, p. lvii.

¹⁴⁷ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 'Dedication' to Southampton, l. 10.

¹⁴⁸ For discussion of the closing of the theatres, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Introduction' to *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. by Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 507-8, 753, 510.

¹⁵⁰ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynte*, ll. 517-20.

Peter's guilt here at his betrayal of Christ is matched by Tarquin's regret for his forcing of Lucrece.

O deeper sin than bottomless conceit
Can comprehend in still imagination! ...

The guilty rebel for remission prays.¹⁵¹

Tarquin, however, finds no forgiveness, and bears away 'the wound that nothing healeth, / The scar that will, despite of cure remain'.¹⁵²

Similar imagery can be seen when 'The dampe of sinne' is echoed in Shakespeare's description of Tarquin, who 'faintly flies, sweating with guilty fear'.¹⁵³ It is clear that in contrast to *Venus and Adonis* Shakespeare is much more interested in revealing Tarquin's conscience than Lucrece's body. The possibility exists that Shakespeare was influenced in his writing by the detailed dissection of Peter's guilt and horror so effectively shown in Southwell's long poem.

Further examples of the vivid imagery that both poets employ include, 'The wolf hath seized his prey, the poor lamb cries', in comparison with 'You bleating Ewes that waile this wolvisch spoyle'.¹⁵⁴

Both clearly use the same image here – but did one poet influence the other, and if so, whose was the influence? Both may have used standard tropes, of course, but we shall see many examples of correspondence of diction between them, as well as a close similarity in the topics and themes that both writers develop. Stephen Greenblatt indeed argues that 'the

¹⁵¹ Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece* in Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, ll. 701-2, 714.

¹⁵² Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, ll. 731-2.

¹⁵³ Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, l. 740.

¹⁵⁴ Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, l. 677; Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 565.

confounding of the sacred and the profane are characteristic of virtually the whole of Shakespeare's achievement'.

If I profane with my unworhiest hand
This holy shrine, the gentle sin is this,
My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand
To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.¹⁵⁵

Romeo and Juliet's tender exchange in this speech, and the dialogue which follows, refers to pilgrims, palmers, saints and prayers, as well as kisses. This deliberate blending of religious and erotic imagery might well demonstrate that Shakespeare continued to distill 'Venus Rose', despite his 'cosen's' strictures.¹⁵⁶

Devlin, however, argues strongly that not only was Shakespeare the cousin to whom Southwell's letter was addressed, but also that Shakespeare was so affected by Southwell's verses that *Lucrece*, his 'graver labour', was the result.¹⁵⁷ Devlin also believes that *Venus and Adonis* was written earlier than usually accepted, and could therefore have been read by Southwell in manuscript form by 1592, before his arrest.¹⁵⁸ The manuscript reached Southwell via the Earl of Southampton, either directly from Southampton himself, or through Southwell's and Shakespeare's familiarity and welcome at Southampton House,¹⁵⁹ this repository 'of popish books.'¹⁶⁰ Devlin had argued previously that 'already by 1591'

¹⁵⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will In The World: How Shakespeare became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 112. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.5 .92-95. Although the first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* was not published until 1597, the play was clearly written earlier. Proposed dates range from 1591-1596, though most scholars suggest 1594 or later. See Evans, 'Introduction', pp. 1-6.

¹⁵⁶ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 16.

¹⁵⁷ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 257-73.

¹⁵⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 163.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ G.P.V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), p. 181.

manuscripts of Southwell's works 'were in wide circulation'.¹⁶¹ Although Devlin thinks that 'the real debt of Shakespeare [to Southwell] would seem to be an inspiration rather than a set of conceits',¹⁶² he offers a number of examples of congruent imagery from both *St Peters Complaynt* and *Lucrece*.¹⁶³ Brownlow develops this argument in his detailed study of Southwell, admitting that Devlin's whole thesis 'is impressive'.¹⁶⁴ He is less convinced of a personal acquaintance between Southwell and Shakespeare,¹⁶⁵ but provides his own examples of imagery, such as both poets' similar comparisons of dying swans, cedars and orators, as well as their use of 'spotted' as an adjective.¹⁶⁶ Brownlow also offers an important caveat when he warns that 'Parallels of this kind are insufficient to prove dependence; they only prove that there was a common poetic currency in circulation at the time.'¹⁶⁷ However, both Devlin and Brownlow believe that Shakespeare was clearly influenced by Southwell's work; Devlin even claims that Southwell's last service to English literature 'was to rouse Shakespeare to a loftier conception of the divine spark within him.'¹⁶⁸

A more recent study also emphasises the importance of Southwell for Shakespeare. John Klause in his essays, and particularly in his innovative study, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, has argued for Shakespeare's close reading of Southwell.¹⁶⁹ Klause argues that

¹⁶¹ Christopher Devlin, 'Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets – Part 1', *The Month*, vol.4 No.3 (September 1950), 169-80 (p. 169).

¹⁶² Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 272.

¹⁶³ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 269-73.

¹⁶⁴ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 94-6.

¹⁶⁷ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁸ Devlin, *Robert Southwell*, p. 273.

¹⁶⁹ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008). Other work by Klause that leads up to his full-length book includes: "'Venus and Adonis': Can We

Shakespeare's detailed absorption of Southwell's work enabled him to create a dialogue between them, thus allowing priest and playwright to appear to discuss burning contemporary issues such as conscience and loyalty.¹⁷⁰ This dialogue was mediated through the Earl of Southampton, whom Klause sees as the key figure for whom Shakespeare was writing. Klause examines in detail *The Rape of Lucrece* and five of Shakespeare's plays written between 1593 and 1604, ending with *Measure for Measure*. He argues that even in the early years of James's reign Shakespeare was still addressing Southampton in his work.¹⁷¹ By examining verbal similarities such as convergence of words, phrases and imagery, as well as parallelism of thought, Klause believes he has demonstrated that Shakespeare had 'so come under the spell of the Jesuit's writings that traces of them are able to appear piecemeal, randomly, but persistently.'¹⁷²

Unlike Devlin, Klause believes that Southwell was not reproving Shakespeare for such 'paynim toys' as *Venus and Adonis*¹⁷³ but that Shakespeare was so convinced by Southwell's poems and *Marie Magdalen's Funeral Teares*, that he responded with *Lucrece*, as well as the plays which followed. Under Southwell's 'spell', Shakespeare 'absorbed [Southwell's] work in such a way that it became perennially and subconsciously accessible to him.'¹⁷⁴ In this argument, Klause also rejects the views of Richard Wilson, whose allegorical interpretation of

Forgive Them?', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 85 No.3 (Summer 1988), 353-77; 'Politics, Heresy, and Martyrdom in Shakespeare's Sonnet 124 and "Titus Andronicus"', in *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by James Schiffer (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999); 'New Sources for Shakespeare's "King John": The Writings of Robert Southwell', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 98 No.4 (Fall 2001), 410-27, and 'Catholic and Protestant, Jesuit and Jew: Historical Religion in "The Merchant of Venice"', *Religion and The Arts*, vol. 7 1-2 (2003), 65-102.

¹⁷⁰ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, particularly pp. 19-21, 38-41, 45-52.

¹⁷¹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*. For *Measure For Measure*, see pp. 226-55; in particular, pp. 226-7, 229, 236-7 and 254-5.

¹⁷² Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 73.

¹⁷³ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 17.

¹⁷⁴ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 31.

Shakespeare's writings argues that *Saint Peters Complaynt* and its introductory letter is a sorrowful riposte to Shakespeare's early work, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.¹⁷⁵

Klause's work suggests the value of looking for 'conspicuous connections between Southwell's stern moralizing and Shakespeare's Festive Comedy', and 'inquiring into what they might signify.'¹⁷⁶ One difficulty in accepting all of Klause's conclusions, however, despite his enthusiasm, is his determination to fit his findings to a pre-determined conclusion. 'Southwell's influence on Shakespeare will be argued for and offered as a fact' is part of his Introduction.¹⁷⁷ There are also some difficulties with the methodology he uses to search for the 'extensive verbal and conceptual parallels' he finds.¹⁷⁸ He examines Southwellian and Shakespearean texts in great detail to find resemblances, but his findings are often made less convincing by his using words and phrases that are often not closely proximate in the text. 'The principle of proximity', he writes, 'needs to be flexibly interpreted.'¹⁷⁹ But such flexibility leads Klause to examine long passages in *Venus and Adonis*, such as Venus's address to Adonis from 'Thy Mermaid's voice', to as far as 'double-lock the door' (ll. 429-48.) Another example is the narrative passage from 'Till breathless he disjoined' up to 'pure blush and honour's wrack' (ll. 541-58).¹⁸⁰ Klause compares these lengthy passages with Southwell's *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*. He establishes Shakespeare's use of words such as 'eyes', 'ears' and 'sense' within the two extracts. He finds that Southwell also uses

¹⁷⁵ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). Chapters 5 and 6 are particularly interesting; 'A Bloody Question: The Politics of "Venus and Adonis"', pp. 126-43, and 'Love in Idleness: The Stripping of the Altars in "A Midsummer Night's Dream"', pp. 144-54.

¹⁷⁶ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 60.

¹⁷⁷ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 21.

¹⁷⁸ Klause, *Shakespeare, The Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 42.

¹⁷⁹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 27.

¹⁸⁰ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, pp.267, note 30.

these words, but to do so has to examine widely different sections of a text that runs to 25,000 words. His conclusion, that ‘there can be little doubt that one writer has adopted the language of the other’, requires an examination of much more closely-related passages before such a judgement can be confidently made.¹⁸¹ As we shall see, when examining *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Klause compares one speech of thirteen lines from the play to find parallels with Southwell’s *Saint Peters Complaynt*. However, he finds these parallels in over 100 lines of Southwell’s poem, from three separate sections.¹⁸² As Stephen Greenblatt says, intertextual criticism must allow for ‘the permeability of their boundaries’.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, Klause’s work, valuable though it is, needs to be interpreted cautiously. This thesis, however, demonstrates that despite the somewhat flawed methodology that Klause employs, his overall conclusion is sound. Close examination of less widely-separated passages does show strong connections between the writings of Southwell and Shakespeare. Certainly, enough points of resemblance are identified to accept that, at the very least, the two authors were ‘in conversation with one another.’¹⁸⁴

The rest of this chapter explores connections and influences between Southwell’s work, both in verse and prose, and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. *Dream* has been chosen partly because both Klause and Brownlow discuss the play and its debt to Southwell,¹⁸⁵ and because of its composition date as a comparatively early work of Shakespeare’s. As stated above, most editors date the play to 1595 - 1596, although the recent *New Oxford* edition offers a range

¹⁸¹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p .61.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 95.

¹⁸⁴ Erin Sullivan, in conversation, 27 March 2017.

¹⁸⁵ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 38-43, 95-6; Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, particularly, pp. 226-55, 302-8.

from 1594-6, with the ‘Most Likely’ date set at 1596.¹⁸⁶ Allusions in the play to bad weather, when ‘the green corn / Hath rotted’,¹⁸⁷ suggest an earliest possible date of mid-1594, when harvests are known to have been bad.¹⁸⁸ By this time, Southwell’s writing career was over, with the exception of his letter to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 6 April 1593.¹⁸⁹ The quotation linking *Dream* and Southwell has been discussed at the start of the chapter; the play’s characters, themes and subject matter, as well as its date and critical history, therefore make *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* a suitable starting point for a more detailed investigation of the literary connections between the two writers. As Sonnet 76 states, ‘Every word almost doth tell my name’; the words of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* may also reflect some of the words of Robert Southwell.¹⁹⁰

Although most recent criticism has rejected the suggestion that the play was written to celebrate an aristocratic wedding such as the Earl of Derby’s with Elizabeth Vere,¹⁹¹ we have seen both Shakespeare and Southwell’s connection with ‘some of the highest households in the land’.¹⁹² Sukanta Chaudry’s 2017 Arden edition is considerably less dismissive than Foakes in observing that ‘we need to revisit the idea of a wedding as the venue of one (not

¹⁸⁶ See note 4 above.

¹⁸⁷ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 2. 1. 94-5.

¹⁸⁸ See, e.g., Anthony Davies, ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’, in *the Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 296.

¹⁸⁹ The letter admitted Southwell’s position as a priest, and asked for him to be brought to trial, or for his friends to be admitted to see him. See *Two Letters and Short Rules of A Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown.

¹⁹⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 76, l. 7.

¹⁹¹ See, e.g., R. A. Foakes’s Introduction to the New Cambridge edition, where he discusses the suggestions that the play may have been written either for the marriage of Elizabeth Vere and the Earl of Derby on 26 January 1595, or for the wedding between Elizabeth Carey, granddaughter of Lord Hunsdon, and Thomas Berkeley, on 19 February 1596. Foakes concludes, ‘There is no evidence to connect the play with either ceremony’, p. 3.

¹⁹² Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 111.

necessarily the first) performance'.¹⁹³ He adds that 'the strong wedding motif' in the play may be an indication of an aristocratic performance, suggesting that the January 1595 marriage of Elizabeth de Vere and William Stanley, Ferdinando's brother and sixth Earl of Derby, is 'the best fit' for such a performance.¹⁹⁴ Southwell's motive in seeking such aristocratic connections was pastoral, Shakespeare's more likely to have been influenced by personal ambition. The Arundels, Lord Mountjoy and the Earl of Southampton have all been discussed previously as significant figures for Southwell and Shakespeare. Whether Southampton House with its impressive library acted as a centre for allowing the reading and discussion of manuscripts by contemporary writers remains speculative, but Shakespeare's 'sugared sonnets', although unpublished, were clearly familiar to his 'private friends' by 1598, the date of Meres's *Palladis Tamia*.¹⁹⁵ If Shakespeare's 'papers (yellowed with their age)'¹⁹⁶ were read by Southwell, then the 'paper, inke and penne' of Southwell's work could also have reached Shakespeare by similar means.¹⁹⁷ As Sweeney writes, 'it would be very difficult to believe that [Southwell] did not make an impact, to some extent, upon other ambitious writers.'¹⁹⁸ The sonnet in Act One of *Romeo and Juliet*, with its mixture of erotic

¹⁹³ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Sukanta Chaudhuri, p. 284.

¹⁹⁴ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Chaudhuri, p. 286.

¹⁹⁵ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London: Registered 7 September 1598). Meres refers famously to 'his sugared sonnets among his private friends'. See Park Honan, 'Meres, Francis', in *The Oxford Companion To Shskespeare*, ed. Dobson and Wells, pp. 287-91.

¹⁹⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 17, l. 9.

¹⁹⁷ Henry Walpole, *An Epitaph of the Life and Death of the most famous Clerk and virtuous Priest, Edmund Campion*, (London: Printed by Vallenger, 1582). Walpole had been present at Campion's execution at Tyburn on 1 December 1581. Vallenger refused to disclose the name of the author, and was imprisoned, fined, and had both his ears cut off. See entry for Henry Walpole in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XX, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 621-3; also No.4, 'Mildmay's Speech Against Vallenger', in *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts*, ed. by Anthony G. Petti, (Catholic Record Society, 1968), pp. 13-18. Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere, became Lord Chancellor under James I. He married Alice Strange, widow of Ferdinando, Lord Strange, and Earl of Derby.

¹⁹⁸ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 111.

and divine imagery, ‘If I profane with my unworhiest hand’, has been referred to above;¹⁹⁹ Southwell wrote that ‘Love is not ruled with reason, but with love. It neither regardeth what can be, nor what shall be done, but only what itself desireth to do. No difficulty can stay it, no impossibility appall it.’²⁰⁰ The poet who wrote that ‘love is not love / Which alters when it alteration finds,’ would have found much to agree with here, as would his characters Hermia, Lysander, Helena and Demetrius, and perhaps even Hippolyta and Theseus.²⁰¹

If ‘a Poett a lover and a lyer’ could be seen as synonymous by Southwell, it was because ‘Poetes by abusing their talent, and making the follies and feynings of love the customary subject of their base endeavors, have so discredited this facultye’.²⁰² Such ‘follies and feynings of love’ are certainly seen in the confusion that overtakes the lovers once they reach the wood. ‘Lord, what fools these mortals be!’ exclaims Puck gleefully,²⁰³ but Titania is also not immune from ‘the luring train of fancy’s trap’.²⁰⁴ When ‘enamoured of an ass’ and her eye ‘enthralled’ by Bottom’s asinine shape, she insists that she ‘will wind thee in my arms’,²⁰⁵ in a similar way to the subject of Southwell’s warning poem, who is ‘Lul’d asleepe in errors lapp’.²⁰⁶ As Bottom observes, ‘reason and love keep little company together nowadays’.²⁰⁷ The dichotomy between ‘cold reason’ and ‘imagination’ is a central concern in *A Midsummer*

¹⁹⁹ Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.5. 92-105.

²⁰⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, pp. 160-1.

²⁰¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 116, l. 2-3.

²⁰² Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 1-3.

²⁰³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 115.

²⁰⁴ Southwell, ‘Lew’d love is Losse’, l. 19.

²⁰⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 74, 3. 1. 116, 4. 1. 37.

²⁰⁶ Southwell, ‘The Prodigall Chylde Soule Wracke’, l. 50.

²⁰⁷ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 1. 120-1.

Night's Dream, as it is in much of Southwell's writings.²⁰⁸ For Southwell's David, 'will was phancies pray' and mere 'phancies toys'.²⁰⁹ Helena complains that 'Things base and vile, holding no quantity, / Love can transpose to form and dignity.'²¹⁰ Only when the forest's magic is removed are the lovers released from 'the fierce vexation of a dream', and enabled once again to 'Be as thou wast wont to be; / See as thou wast wont to see.'²¹¹ This restoration of true love is also Southwell's concern. Both Shakespeare and Southwell frequently explore the 'blindness to their own condition' that afflicts many of Shakespeare's characters, and is a constant concern of Southwell the pastor and evangelist.²¹²

The imagery of eyes is also an important element in *Dream*, as well as a significant and consistent trope in Southwell's work. 'O hell, to choose love by another's eyes!' exclaims Hermia in the opening scene;²¹³ eyes are described in important sections of *Saint Peter's Complaynt*, notably when Peter is contrasting the tempting but dangerous beauty of a woman's eyes with the 'sacred eyes' of Christ.²¹⁴ 'The blaze of beauties beames allur'd their lookes', but when Peter denies his Lord three times, he meets Christ's eyes in contrast and confesses, 'In them I read the ruines of my fall'.²¹⁵ Those 'chearing raies that made misfortune sweet, / Into my guilty thoughts poud floods of gall';²¹⁶ the guilt and ultimate

²⁰⁸ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 6 and 8.

²⁰⁹ Southwell, 'Davids Peccavi', ll. 27 and 18.

²¹⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1. 1. 232-3.

²¹¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4. 1. 66, 4. 1. 68-9.

²¹² *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Chaudhuri, p. 78.

²¹³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1. 1. 140.

²¹⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 331.

²¹⁵ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 307 and 326.

²¹⁶ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 327-8.

repentance that are Southwell's chief themes in the poem are both illuminated when Peter looks deeply into Christ's eyes.

O sacred eyes, the springs of living light,
The earthly heavens, where Angels joy to dwell:
How could you deigne to view my deathfull plight,
Or let your heavenly beames looke on my hell?²¹⁷

Southwell continues to explore the image of eyes for a further twelve stanzas, employing such adjectives as 'unspotted', 'matchles' and 'All-seeing', and phrases such as 'The eye of liquid pearle', 'These blazing Comets, lightning flames of love', 'O living mirrours' and 'O Pooles of Hesebon, the bathes of grace'.²¹⁸ The imagery culminates in the comparison of Christ's eyes with 'Sunnes', 'spheres' and 'worldes' to emphasise Peter's despair and loss.²¹⁹ His betrayal has separated him from these 'Spheres of love' where 'all best things abound'.²²⁰ Now, 'outcast from these worlds',²²¹ he suffers the agonies of grief and guilt until, finally, he accepts that:

My sight was vaild till I my selfe confounded,
Then did I see the disenchantèd charmes.
Then could I cut the anotomy of sinne,
And search with Linxes eyes what lay within.²²²

What Chaudhuri describes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as 'the line between the real and unreal' is explored here in Southwell's extensive use of the imagery of eyes.²²³ Shakespeare also dramatizes how eyes can deceive, especially to those in love. Puck and Oberon's

²¹⁷ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 331-4.

²¹⁸ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 335, 355, 373, 357, 361, 367, 379.

²¹⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 397, 403, 409.

²²⁰ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 407 and 418.

²²¹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 421.

²²² Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 663-6.

²²³ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Chaudhuri, p. 102.

repeated use of ‘love in idleness’ both drives the plot, and continues the exploration of reality and unreality, truth and falsehood and reason and imagination with which Shakespeare is concerned.²²⁴ Southwell also shows how eyes can deceive or can reveal the truth. They can pretend ‘conceived love’ or alternatively be the ‘unspotted eyes’ that reveal ‘the springs of living light’.²²⁵ Both writers are tapping into the contemporary debate about ‘the moral problems of sight’ and the ways in which eyes were believed to function, a debate stretching back to classical times.²²⁶ Although Sir Philip Sidney described his ‘Stella’ as ‘Rich in all beauties which man’s eyes can see’²²⁷, a search on *EEBO* again offers no other evidence of writers apart from Southwell and Shakespeare making such extensive use of the imagery of eyes. The use of such phrases as ‘another’s eyes’, ‘sacred eyes’ and ‘unspotted eyes’ are unrecorded by other writers before 1624 at the earliest.²²⁸ The next chapter’s discussion of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* will again compare Shakespeare and Southwell’s use of this imagery, with Berowne’s references to ‘women’s eyes’ and ‘love, first learned in a lady’s eyes,’ unrecorded previously.²²⁹ The similarity of such imagery, used almost exclusively by Southwell and Shakespeare, strengthens the belief that Southwell did indeed exert a strong influence on Shakespeare’s work. By exploring such similarities in closer detail than Klause’s methodology allowed, this influence has been more clearly demonstrated.

²²⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 2. 1. 168, 2. 2. 81-5, 3. 2. 448-57, 4. 1. 70-3.

²²⁵ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 308, 331 and 335.

²²⁶ See particularly Jackie Watson, ‘“Dove-like looks” and “serpents eyes”: staging visual clues and early modern aspiration’, in *The Senses In Early Modern England, 1558-1660*, ed. by Simon Smith, Jackie Watson and Amy Kenny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 39-54 (p. 43).

²²⁷ Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, Sonnet 37, l. 6.

²²⁸ *Dream*, 1. 1. 40; *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 331 and 335.

²²⁹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 4. 3. 301 and 324.

The feigning nature of such luring ‘charmes’ as the world offers,²³⁰ and mankind’s need to return to the ‘flowers of grace’²³¹ that mark the true heaven, are key themes in much of Southwell’s work, if not Shakespeare’s. ‘Content thy eye at home with native grace’ is Southwell’s pastoral message;²³² ‘home’, however, is only to be found in God’s love, and not in the ‘anatomy of sinne’ that Southwell takes such pains to dissect.

In Southwell’s use of ‘unspotted eyes’ in *Saint Peter’s Complaynt* (l. 335), he is echoing his earlier use of ‘spotted soule’ (l. 18), as well as ‘spotted fame’ later (l. 493). Shakespeare’s use of the same adjective is interesting, with ‘spotted princess’ found in *Lucrece* (l. 721), as well as the reference to ‘Her sacred temple spotted, spoiled, corrupted’ on line 1172. In *Richard II*, Bagot, Bushy and Green are accused by Richard of possessing ‘spotted souls’,²³³ and in the opening scene of *Dream Demetrius* is rightly accused by Lysander of being ‘This spotted and inconstant man’.²³⁴ Brownlow regards this correspondence of adjective as ‘significant’, and thinks that ‘it seems very likely that Shakespeare picked up the word from Southwell and that he was struck by the idiosyncratic force of its moral and religious meaning.’²³⁵ Research in *EEBO* supports Brownlow, indicating only three other uses of this adjective before 1598.²³⁶ The Oxford English Dictionary records only one use of ‘spotted’ in a pejorative

²³⁰ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 664.

²³¹ Southwell, ‘At home in heaven’, l. 21.

²³² Southwell, ‘At home in heaven’, l. 27.

²³³ Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. by Charles R. Forker, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 2002), 3. 2. 134.

²³⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 110.

²³⁵ Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 95-6.

²³⁶ John Goodale, *The Mirrour Or Lokynge Glasse of Lyfe*, (London? R. Wyer, 1532?); Jerónimo Osório, *An Epistle of The Reverend Father in God Hieronymus Osorius*, trans.by Richard Shacklock (Antwerp: 1565); William Hunnis, *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule* (London: Henry Denham, 1583). All in *EEBO*.

sense, with other uses before the period referring only to colouring.²³⁷ ‘Unspotted’, however, has interesting references, the earliest one coming from Wycliffe’s translation of 1 Peter 1 v. 19, with its description of Christ as a Lamb ‘undefouled and unspotted’.²³⁸ The other two references also refer to ‘the lamb unspotted’ and ‘Unspottyd Lambs’, with reference respectively to Christ and a group of Anabaptists²³⁹. The religious connotations of the references to ‘unspotted’ might possibly have influenced Southwell’s use of the word. Whether Brownwell is correct or not in his suggestion that Shakespeare borrowed the word from Southwell’s use of it in *Saint Peters Complaynt*, it is obvious that the imagery of eyes attracted both Shakespeare and Southwell. Helena tells Hermia, ‘Your eyes are lodestars’, and complains that Demetrius is ‘doting on Hermia’s eyes’.²⁴⁰ When Demetrius awakes after Oberon has applied the love juice to his eyes, his heart is ‘home returned’ to Helena, and he exclaims ‘To what, my love, shall I compare thy eyne?’²⁴¹ True seeing for Shakespeare here is the return of the errant lover to his true mistress.

And all the faith, the virtue of my heart,
The object and the pleasure of mine eye,
Is only Helena.²⁴²

The ‘sickness’ that had overcome him is cured, and he has returned to his ‘natural taste, / Now I do wish it, love it, long for it, / And will for evermore be true to it.’²⁴³ As Oberon observes,

²³⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, {www.oed.com}, accessed 6 February 2015 cites Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, c. 1385.

²³⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary online*, Wycliffe’s translation of The New Testament (1382), {www.oed.com}, [accessed 6 February 2015]

²³⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary online*, John Lydgate, (c.1370-1451), *Two Nightingale Poems* (1446), l. 185; Stowe, *Three 15th Century Chronicles* (1567?), {www.oed.com}, [accessed 6 February 2015]

²⁴⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1.183 and 1.1. 230.

²⁴¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 172 and 3. 2.138.

²⁴² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 166-8.

²⁴³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 170-3.

‘all this derision / Shall seem a dream and fruitless vision’.²⁴⁴ Southwell expresses a similar idea when he urges his readers to find ‘Trew love in Heaven seeke thou thy sweete repast’,²⁴⁵ and when he writes in *An Epistle of Comfort* of the ‘unspeakable blyndness of man’s harte’, misled by ‘the bewtye of an Image’.²⁴⁶ Southwell’s aim is to restore his readers to the love of God, while Shakespeare’s ‘very tragical mirth’ reconciles and reunites human lovers.²⁴⁷ The imagery that both poets employ, however, is strikingly similar, and both are concerned with the restoration of true sight, where ‘Eyes light harts love soules truest life he is.’²⁴⁸ In Oberon’s words, ‘and all things shall be peace.’²⁴⁹

In the speech where Theseus expresses scepticism about ‘fairy toys’ and the ‘seething brains’ of lovers and lunatics, he also mocks the poet, whose ‘eye, in a fine frenzy rolling, / Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven’.²⁵⁰ Southwell also glanced from earth to heaven when writing, ‘Mans mynde a myrrhour is of heavenly sightes’.²⁵¹ As we have seen, Shakespeare was able to combine the language of love with language usually suggesting religious connotations. In Act One of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, for example, Theseus warns Hermia of the consequences of disobeying her father:

Whether, if you yield not to your father’s choice,
 You can endure the livery of a nun,
 For aye to be in shady cloister mewed,
 To live a barren sister all your life,

²⁴⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 370-1.

²⁴⁵ Southwell, ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’, l. 12.

²⁴⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, p. 35.

²⁴⁷ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 57.

²⁴⁸ Southwell, ‘From Fortunes reach’, l. 23.

²⁴⁹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 377.

²⁵⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 3, 4, 12-13.

²⁵¹ Southwell, ‘Looke home’, l. 3.

Chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon.
Thrice blessèd they that master so their blood
To undergo such maiden pilgrimage:
But earthlier happy is the rose distilled
Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn,
Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness.²⁵²

The imagery of the rose to represent ‘fair Hermia’²⁵³ and presumably also other virgins unsure whether to ‘undergo such maiden pilgrimage’ is evocative. Both Hermia and Isabella in *Measure For Measure* are faced with this decision. (Theseus, perhaps, is not quite objective in his advice, with only ‘four happy days’ before his own nuptial hour’).²⁵⁴ Modern productions of the play sometimes stress Hippolyta’s ambiguous response to her bridegroom, suggesting her dissatisfaction with Theseus’s failure to support Hermia and Lysander in this opening scene.²⁵⁵ By the end of the play, however, all three married couples are safely dispatched to ‘fairy time’, and no-one is left lamenting ‘some enforced chastity’.²⁵⁶ Oberon and his fairies will ensure the success and joy of the marriages with their blessing: ‘So shall all the couples three / Ever true in loving be’.²⁵⁷ Shakespeare seems, therefore, to endorse Theseus’s warning against ‘withering on the virgin thorn’;²⁵⁸ Sonnet 1, for example, also argues that ‘From fairest creatures we desire increase, / That thereby beauty’s rose might

²⁵² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 69-78.

²⁵³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 67.

²⁵⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 1-2.

²⁵⁵ In Adrian Noble’s 1994 RSC production Hippolyta slapped Theseus before storming out, and in the 1998 film directed by Michael Hoffman Hippolyta left Theseus in no doubt of her displeasure. Even more drastically, the 2016 BBC film, directed by Russell T. Davies, ended the play with Hippolyta celebrating Theseus’s wedding-night demise due to a heart attack.

²⁵⁶ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 342 and 3. 1. 177.

²⁵⁷ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 385-6.

²⁵⁸ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 77.

never die'.²⁵⁹ Hermia, Helena and Hippolyta all choose marriage, as do so many of the protagonists at the conclusion of Shakespeare's comedies. 'The issue there create / Ever shall be fortunate.'²⁶⁰

Southwell also uses the imagery of 'the rose distilled', in *An Epistle of Comfort*. In this lengthy work of sixteen chapters, he employs imagery that Shakespeare repeats in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Southwell describes the process of distilling and heating rose water to produce 'most delicate water, which may be longe preserved, & imparteth sweetnesse to whatsoever it toucheth'.²⁶¹ He continues by explaining that 'The sweetnesse of the rose, if it be untouched soone withereth away'.²⁶² As we have seen, Southwell uses the same image to explain his opposition to those 'finest wits' that 'are stilling Venus Rose.'²⁶³ Shakespeare's use of rose imagery in Sonnet 1 where he wishes that 'beauty's rose might never die' (l. 2), is similar to Theseus's warning to Hermia.²⁶⁴ The difference in Southwell's use of imagery in *An Epistle of Comfort* is in its purpose; while Theseus and the sonneteer argue against 'such maiden pilgrimage'²⁶⁵ which would entail a total dedication to God including a rejection of marriage, Southwell's aim is to encourage persecuted Catholics to accept and even embrace any suffering that their faith might entail. 'So fareth it with Gods Martyres', is his decisive conclusion;²⁶⁶ the chapter in which this imagery is employed is

²⁵⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 1, ll. 1-2.

²⁶⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 383-4.

²⁶¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, pp. 153-4.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Southwell, 'The Author to the Reader', l. 16.

²⁶⁴ Again, research in EEBO reveals no other use of similar imagery. Not until John Lyly's 'wittie and courtly pastoral' entitled *Loues Metamorphosis* (1601) is anything similar found, with 'The rose distilled with fire yeeldeth', Act V, final scene.

²⁶⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1. 1. 75.

²⁶⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 11, pp. 153-4.

entitled ‘That Martyrdome is Glorious in Itselfe, Most profitable to The Church, and Honorable to the Martyrs’.²⁶⁷ Earlier in the *Epistle* he has written of ‘a death, that ending all miserye, beginneth an endlesse felicitye’,²⁶⁸ words we have already seen echoed by Hamlet and Duke Vincentio.²⁶⁹ In Chapter Four of the *Epistle*, Southwell’s title and theme is ‘That Tribulation Best Agreeeth with the Estate, and Conditions of our Lyve’. Here Southwell writes,

We are begotten in uncleannesse, nourished in darkness, brought forth with throbbes and throwes. Our infancye is but a dreame, our youth but a madnesse, our manhode a combate, our age a sicknesse, our lyfe miserye, our death horror. If we have anye thin that delighteth us, it is in so many hazardes, that more is the feare of losinge it, than the joye of the use of it.²⁷⁰

If Southwell refers to infancy as ‘but a dreame’, then only as the ‘fierce vexation of a dream’ is how Oberon tells us Demetrius will remember his experiences in the wood once he has been ‘transformèd and ‘in health come to my natural taste’’.²⁷¹ Equally, Bottom’s adventures with Titania are described as ‘a most rare vision’.²⁷² Bottom’s speech when he awakens also contains six references to ‘dream’.²⁷³ Shakespeare’s use of imagery, whether of roses, dreams

²⁶⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 11, pp. 137-67.

²⁶⁸ Southwell *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 5, p. 76. These are the final words of this chapter.

²⁶⁹ ‘t’ is a consummation / Devoutly to be wished’ - *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 3. 1. 62-3. ‘Be absolute for death’, - *Measure For Measure*, ed. by J.W. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 1965), 3. 1. 4-41. Claudio’s reply to the Duke, ‘To sue to live, I find I seek to die, / And seeking death, find life’, ll. 42-3, is distinctly Southwellian in tone.

²⁷⁰ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 4, pp. 41-55 (p. 41).

²⁷¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 66, 61 and 171.

²⁷² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 200.

²⁷³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 4. 1. 197 – 211.

or of 'the lunatic, the lover, and the poet', is used to explore the human condition, the vicissitudes and the beauties of life, as well as the mysteries of the imagination.

Southwell's imagery, however, though often strikingly similar to that employed by his 'cosin', is used to exhort, comfort and to encourage his very specific audience. He wants to persuade his readers to reject the World's temptations, and, if necessary, to carry their 'perseverance'²⁷⁴ as far as the 'martirdome'²⁷⁵ that 'letteth us in' to the 'endlesse felicitye'²⁷⁶ and 'floures of grace'²⁷⁷ found in heaven. 'Trew love'²⁷⁸ for Southwell is only found 'At Home in Heaven', and 'all beautyes base all graces are impure / That do thy erring thoughtes from god remove'.²⁷⁹ Southwell believes that 'Mans mynde a myrrhour is of heavenly sightes', and that only once this is accepted does the human being find true joy.²⁸⁰

Shakespeare makes Bottom misquote 1 Corinthians when he exclaims that 'The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report what my dream was!'²⁸¹ Stephen Greenblatt regards this only as 'the joke of a decisively secular dramatist, a writer who deftly turned the dream of the sacred into popular entertainment.'²⁸² He sees this as further evidence of what he has

²⁷⁴ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 16 – 'The Conclusion', pp. 210-15. Here Southwell writes 'Take away perseverance: no service hath any paye, no good turne anye thankes, no prowes anye prayse.' p. 214 r.

²⁷⁵ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 11, whose title is 'That Martyrdome is Glorious in Itselfe, Most Profitable to the Church, and Honorable to the Martyrs', pp. 137-67. Southwell observes that 'Baptisme geveth us the keye, [to heaven] but martirdome letteth us in.' p. 140.

²⁷⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 5, pp. 55-76, 'a death, that ending all miserye, beginneth an endlesse felicitye', p. 76.

²⁷⁷ Southwell, 'At home in heaven', l. 21.

²⁷⁸ Southwell, 'Lew'd Love is Losse', l. 12.

²⁷⁹ Southwell, 'Lew'd Love is Losse', ll. 3-4.

²⁸⁰ Southwell, 'Looke home', l. 3.

²⁸¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4. 1. 205-207. The Bible reference is to 1 Corinthians 2 v.9.

²⁸² Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*, p. 36.

described as a cultural ‘emptying out’ of religious beliefs in post-Reformation England, an influential theory, but one hard to sustain in the works of Shakespeare that we are examining.²⁸³ Similarly, a more recent discussion suggests that Bottom’s malapropisms are ‘a clear example of the theatre cannibalising and carnivalizing religious discourse and the authority that goes with it.’²⁸⁴ It is more reasonable, however, to suggest that Bottom’s malapropisms are instead part of Shakespeare’s skill in building up the loveable and comical character of Bottom, that unlikely ‘angel’ who so enamours Titania.²⁸⁵ Southwell refers more conventionally to Paul’s words in *An Epistle of Comfort* when he describes ‘the fullness of felicity, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor man’s heart achieved.’²⁸⁶ Despite Jan Kott’s well-known description of ‘animal erotic symbolism’,²⁸⁷ Shakespeare presents Bottom’s romantic encounter with Titania ‘with a degree of decorousness that makes it impossible for the audience to know exactly what happened’ in the privacy of Titania’s bower.²⁸⁸ It is reasonable, however, to assume that Southwell would have strongly disapproved of this mixing of the erotic with the divine, and have regarded it as another example of what he termed ‘the Vanity of men.’²⁸⁹ Even with Bottom’s hazy memory of the delights he experienced when Titania wound him in her arms in her fairy chamber, Southwell might well have warned him of the danger he had run:

²⁸³ Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, p. 126.

²⁸⁴ Anthony B. Dawson, ‘Shakespeare and Secular Performance’, in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Performance*, ed. by Paul Yachnin and Patricia Badir (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 83-97 (p. 84).

²⁸⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 1. 107.

²⁸⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, Chapter 14, p. 188-96, p. 191.

²⁸⁷ Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski, (London: Methuen and Co., 1964), p. 79.

²⁸⁸ Jesse M. Lander, ‘Thinking with Fairies: “A Midsummer Night’s Dream” and the Problem of Belief’, in *Shakespeare Survey 65: A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012,) pp. 42-57 (p. 53).

²⁸⁹ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 4-5.

Lett not the luring trayne of phansies trapp
Or gracious features proofes of natures skill
Lull reasons force asleep in errors lapp²⁹⁰

What seems clear, however, is the importance of examining Southwell's and Shakespeare's work in tandem. We have seen both agreements and tensions in the way they explore similar ideas and themes. As well as allowing us more understanding of Shakespeare's writing, his responses to Southwell and the connections between the two strengthen our awareness of the ways in which literature and religion coalesce in late sixteenth century England. The 'major change in critical attention to literature and religion' summarised in the Introduction, should be able to incorporate the kind of historical research and literary analysis that this thesis attempts to include.²⁹¹

Klause's important work on connections between Southwell and Shakespeare has already been discussed. His overall view of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is of a play that clearly respects 'Catholic cultural and religious practice', although ultimately celebrating 'happiness and the [...] comedy over the tragic', a view that is accurate and demonstrable, as we have seen.²⁹² Where Klause is less convincing is in his view of Shakespeare writing 'from the perspective of Southampton and his family [...] an Elizabethan lay Catholic aristocracy whose troubled lives and conflicted consciences had them of more than one mind about the pure heroic' doctrine of martyrdom preached by Southwell.²⁹³ This may be true, and Egeus's

²⁹⁰ Southwell, 'Lew'd Love is Losse', ll. 19-21.

²⁹¹ Jonathan Baldo and Isabel Karremann, 'A World of Difference: Religion, Literary Form, and the Negotiation of Conflict in Early Modern England', in *Forms of Faith: Literary Form and Religious Conflict in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jonathan Baldo and Isabel Karremann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 1-17 (p. 1).

²⁹² Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 73.

²⁹³ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 71.

insistence on his right to dispose of Hermia, ‘as she is mine,’²⁹⁴ may also have reminded Southampton of his struggle to avoid marrying Elizabeth Vere. The equally irate and patriarchal Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet* may also have brought Burghley to mind. It could be true, therefore, that *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* ‘had special meaning for Southampton and his circle’, but Klause provides little solid evidence to support his assertion.²⁹⁵ As has been suggested, his analysis of verbal connections between Shakespeare and Southwell is at times also unconvincing. When examining Theseus’s exchange with Hermia in Act One that has been referred to above, Klause recognises Southwell’s allusion to ‘stilling Venus rose’.²⁹⁶ However, his attempt to link Theseus’s words with *Saint Peters Complaynt* is unconvincing, because his examination of diction such as ‘earthlier Happy’ and ‘rose’ is compared with Southwell’s isolated use of them in over one hundred lines of verse. These examples are also taken from three separate and widely spaced passages in Southwell’s poem.²⁹⁷ Again, when Klause examines Titania’s speech in Act Two, from ‘His mother was a votress of my order’,²⁹⁸ he identifies words such as ‘Indian’, ‘spicèd’ and ‘sands’ and finds similar usage in Southwell’s *An Epistle of Comfort*.²⁹⁹ The difficulty here is that Klause compares the Shakespearean references from fifteen lines of the play with thirty-one Southwellian references taken from almost thirty pages of text. This is unfortunate, because elsewhere he is able to provide interesting examples of apparent borrowing, not least in both writers’ use of ‘enamelled’. Shakespeare describes ‘her enamelled skin’ (2. 1. 255), and Southwell uses

²⁹⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 42.

²⁹⁵ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 59.

²⁹⁶ Southwell, ‘The Author to the Reader’, l. 16.

²⁹⁷ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, pp. 60-1.

²⁹⁸ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 2. 1. 123-137.

²⁹⁹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, pp. 68-9.

‘Their stalks inameld with delight’, in ‘Seeke flowers of Heaven’, (l. 11).³⁰⁰ Klause also recognises similarities between Puck’s final speech, ‘If we shadows have offended, / Think but this, and all is mended’ (5. 1. 400-02), and lines from ‘The Author to the Reader’, where Southwell writes ‘Theyr weakenes is no warrant to offend, / Learne by their faults, what in thine owne to mend’, with its effective use of rhyme. (ll. 5-6).³⁰¹ Southwell’s tone, however, is dissimilar, encapsulating perhaps the different audiences and aims of the two writers.

Klause’s work is always interesting, although sometimes more convincing when he identifies similar subject matter, as, for example, when he compares Theseus’s sympathy for terrified scholars who ‘hath purposed / To greet me with premeditated welcomes,’ (5. 1. 93-4) with Southwell’s, ‘They are too mighty orators [...] yet they have so perswading a silence [...] Love would have spoken, but feare enforced silence.’³⁰² His final conclusion, however, that ‘What has been discovered are discrete facts, potentially correlative, that enlarge the area of inquiry for serious researchers’, is certainly valid, as the final section of this chapter will demonstrate.³⁰³

One of the Catholic ‘cultural and religious’³⁰⁴ practices that is noteworthy in the play comes almost at the end, where Oberon dispatches the fairies ‘To the best bride-bed’, to bless and ‘With this field-dew consecrate,’³⁰⁵ an action reminiscent of the practice known as ‘asperging’, or the sprinkling of holy water. This was banned after the Act of Uniformity of

³⁰⁰ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 70.

³⁰¹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 65.

³⁰² Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, Cawood, 1591, p. 55. Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, pp. 66-7.

³⁰³ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 256.

³⁰⁴ Dawson, ‘Shakespeare and Secular Performance’, p. 84.

³⁰⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 381 and 393.

1549 although the practice continued, particularly in more rural areas. Duffy describes the continuing belief that hallowed water had power ‘to cast out demons and drive away disease’.³⁰⁶ The children born to the wedded couples in Athens will be safeguarded from all ‘the blots of nature’s hand’.³⁰⁷ Wilson suggests that this was a deliberate attempt on Shakespeare’s part to ‘reinvest validity in ritual’; that is, to remind his audience of the beauty and efficacy of aspects of Catholicism.³⁰⁸ In Chapter Five we will discuss similar attempts in a much later play. Greenblatt would surely argue that such a use of religious sacraments in a play was merely a sign of the devaluing of such rituals, and that Shakespeare was not expressing his beliefs or even drawing attention to the beauties of the ‘old faith’. It simply indicated that ‘a sacred sign is being emptied’ by being ‘deemed suitable for the stage’.³⁰⁹ Such a view, however, surely devalues the dramatic power and beauty that Shakespeare brings to this final scene. Few audiences are left unmoved by the play’s ending, and few directors miss the opportunity to enhance the mood of harmony and peace thus created. Poetry, music and dance combine to conclude the play, not with Theseus’s mocking ‘shaping fantasies’, but instead with ‘something of great constancy; / But howsoever, strange and admirable.’³¹⁰ The blessing provided by the fairies not only applies to the ‘hallowed house’ depicted on stage, but through the magic of the audience’s imagination, it can encompass everyone who is willing to forgive, and to give their hands to ‘an honest Puck’.³¹¹

³⁰⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 281.

³⁰⁷ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 387.

³⁰⁸ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 146.

³⁰⁹ Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, pp. 112-3.

³¹⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 5. and 26-7.

³¹¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 366 and 409.

In Southwell's *A Shorte Rule of Good Life*, completed in 1592, well before the first staging of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he offers advice to the 'unmarried woman (or 'Virgin' in the original manuscript), when he advises her that 'It is never lawfull for me to take delight in thinkinge of anye acte or pleasure, which at that tyme, wherin I thinke it, it is not lawfull for me to use'.³¹² Furthermore, 'for a unmarried woman to delight advisedlye in thinking what pleasure shee would take yf shee were married to such a man, weare a mortall synne'.³¹³ Stern words, and perhaps difficult to follow for even Southwell's most devoted followers, but Hermia's behaviour when alone in the wood with Lysander is suitably impeccable. Despite Lysander's importunities, Hermia insists on 'Such separation as may well be said / Becomes a virtuous bachelor and a maid'.³¹⁴ Just as Prospero insists to Miranda and Ferdinand that they must remain chaste until 'All sanctimonious ceremonies may / With full and holy rite be administered',³¹⁵ the lovers in the forest (with the possible exception of Bottom!) remain innocent. 'Your virtue is my privilege', insists Helena when threatened unconvincingly by Demetrius.³¹⁶ Southwell clearly opposed what he called 'unordered passion',³¹⁷ but was wise

³¹² Southwell, *A Shorte Rule of Good Life*, first published by Henry Garnet's second press in London in 1596/1597, p. 185. A modern version is found in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1973). Citations in this chapter are from Brown's edition. The first commercial printing was by Richard Field for William Barret in 1620. *A Shorte Rule* is also accessible on *EEBO online*, in an edition which is described as (London: English Secret Press, between 1602-1605). The original of this is in Oxford, (The Bodleian Library). The work was intended by Southwell to allow the reader to live in a secular world, but to live by following a spiritual but practical course. It seems to have been originally written for a woman, but later revised to make it more universal. Garnet's Preface referred to the book as 'amongst the last of his fruitefull labours for the food of Soules', p. 5. The book was extremely popular among both Catholics and Protestants, with 8 editions by 1655; see Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 63; also, Nancy Pollard Brown, 'A Shorte Rule of Good Life: A Handbook for the English Mission', *Recusant History*, vol.30, no. 1 (May 2010), 47-59; Pollard Brown, 'Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word', p. 270. Manuscript copies exist, including those in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, and among the Throckmorton Papers, Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office.

³¹³ Southwell, *A Shorte Rule*, p. 186.

³¹⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2. 2. 64-5.

³¹⁵ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1992), 4. 1. 16-7.

³¹⁶ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2. 1. 220.

and sensitive enough to approve of passions, ‘so long as they are kept under vertues correction’.³¹⁸ *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* also depicts ‘the continual teares of a constant love’,³¹⁹ and Southwell knows that ‘Love is not controlled by reason’,³²⁰ just as Helena is aware that ‘winged Cupid’ is ‘painted blind. / Nor hath love’s mind of any judgement taste’.³²¹ In Southwell’s evocation of the landscape he saw in Switzerland when travelling from Rome to England, he describes ‘an onely boure / Where everye thinge doth sooth a dumpish moode’.³²² The magical forest where much of the action of *Dream* takes place also temporarily renders the lovers ‘curst and sad’. It will, however, with Oberon and Puck’s assistance, enable them ultimately to, ‘Be as thou wast want to be’, a theme equally important to Southwell.³²³

The importance of Oberon, ‘King of Shadows’, to the events in the forest has already been suggested.³²⁴ ‘If we shadows have offended, / Think but this, and all is mended’, as Puck tells us in the final speech.³²⁵ Southwell uses similar imagery to emphasise his message that the ‘sweete repast’ of ‘Trewe love’ must be sought in heaven.³²⁶

³¹⁷ Southwell, *A Shorte rule of Good Life*, p .35.

³¹⁸ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, Cawood, 1591, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’, p. 5.

³¹⁹ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, Cawood, p.67.

³²⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, Cawood, 1591 pp. 52 to 53. There is an excellent discussion of *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* in Scott R. Pilarz, *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), pp. 171-83.

³²¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 235-6.

³²² Southwell, ‘A Vale of teares’, ll. 33-4.

³²³ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 149 and 4. 1. 68.

³²⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3. 2. 347.

³²⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 401-402.

³²⁶ Southwell, ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’, l. 12.

No shadow can with shadowed thinge compare
And fairest shapes whereon our loves do ceaze
But sely signes of gods high beautyes are.³²⁷

Reality and truth can only be seen once the 'Misdeeming eye' sees clearly again and yields 'to the sunne' that for Southwell represents the grace and love of God.³²⁸ 'How can I live, that thus my life deni'd?' asks Peter.³²⁹ Equally, the lovers in the wood can only be happy once their true sight is restored. 'Am not I Hermia? Are not you Lysander?' asks Hermia,³³⁰ but it is not until Lysander and Demetrius see clearly again that 'True delight / In the sight / Of thy former lady's eye' can be gained.³³¹ The imagery and themes employed by both poets are strikingly similar. The difference lies in their views of what constitutes heaven; for Shakespeare it is an earthly paradise where the couples will 'ever true in loving be'.³³² For Southwell, in contrast, 'Love settled hath her joys in heaven'.³³³ As the paradoxical title of his poem suggests, Southwell believes that

Life onely him annoyes
And when he taketh leave of life
Then love beginnes his joyes.³³⁴

Southwell's heaven is a more conventionally spiritual home, uniting man with God, and not merely allowing an earthly bond of love and fulfilment.

³²⁷ Southwell, 'Lew'd Love is Losse', ll. 8-10.

³²⁸ Southwell, 'Lew'd love is Losse', ll. 1 and 5.

³²⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 55.

³³⁰ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 3. 2. 273.

³³¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 3. 2. 455-7.

³³² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 386.

³³³ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', l. 27.

³³⁴ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 30-2.

Other examples that connect the two writers can be seen in Oberon's celebrated speech describing 'Cupid all armed', aiming his arrow at 'a fair vestal thronèd by the west'.³³⁵ Cupid's inability to hit his target, with his 'fiery shaft / Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon', leads to the discovery of the 'little western flower' so important to the misunderstandings that follow. The references to Cupid, the 'cold moon' and its 'chaste beams', as well as to the virgin and 'imperial votress', still 'fancy-free', have led to speculation that Shakespeare was paying a tribute to Elizabeth.³³⁶ Foakes writes that 'it seems probable that Shakespeare had the Queen in mind'.³³⁷ Chaudhuri comments on the 'clear allusion to Queen Elizabeth', although he adds that 'some have noted a lukewarm, equivocal quality to the praise'.³³⁸ Klause, however, is unequivocal when arguing that the imagery is pejorative and Shakespeare is allowing Southampton 'to laugh in secret' at the Queen.³³⁹ Wilson agrees, and links the image of the moon with 'the oppositional politics' of *Venus and Adonis* where Shakespeare has caricatured Elizabeth as 'suspicious, vindictive and self-pitying'.³⁴⁰ Neither critic recognises a more significant allusion to Southwell, who, in 'What joy to live', uses 'Cupids fierye flights' to emphasise that 'bewtye is a bayte' and merely 'A balefull blisse that damnes where it delightes'.³⁴¹ Chaudhuri, indeed, follows on from other editors of *A Midsummer night's Dream* in nowhere making any reference to Southwell in his edition.

³³⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2. 1. 155-74, in particular ll. 157, 158, 161-2 and 166.

³³⁶ Ibid., ll. 156, 162 and 163-4.

³³⁷ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. R. A. Foakes, p. 76n.

³³⁸ *A Midsummer night's Dream*, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri, p. 159n.

³³⁹ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 59.

³⁴⁰ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 132.

³⁴¹ Southwell, 'What joy to live', ll. 23, 19 and 24.

The significance in the play of dreams is obvious from its title. The word is repeated throughout, in references such as ‘a dream and fruitless vision’ (3.2.371), ‘the fierce vexation of a dream’ (4.1.66), ‘yet we sleep, we dream’ (4.1.191). ‘Bottom’s Dream’ (4.1.200-208), repeats the word six times, and its ultimate occurrence is in the final speech of the play, where the audience is offered the chance to regard what they have just seen as ‘No more yielding but a dream’ (5.1.406). This speech, as well as the many other references to dreams and visions, returns us to the debate encapsulated in the exchange between Theseus and Hippolyta concerning ‘The lunatic, the lover, and the poet’.³⁴² It returns us also to what we have identified as a key theme of Southwell’s writing. In *An Epistle of Comfort* he wrote of the

unspeakable blindness of men’s heart, that so easily traineth to senses’ lure, and is so soon caught with the bewtye of an image and hath not grace to remember whom it resembleth.³⁴³

A Midsummer Night’s Dream, therefore, echoes much of Southwell’s work, both in its verbal similarities and in its correspondence of themes. The differences identified are also important; Southwell might well have regarded Shakespeare’s comedy as yet another disappointing example of a poet abusing his talent, and ‘making the follies and feyninges of love’ their ‘customary subject’.³⁴⁴ One hopes that he would also have appreciated the skill, humour and beauty with which *Dream* explores the adventures of ‘poor fancy’s followers’,³⁴⁵ despite his opposition to ‘fancies drudges’ and their fruitless devotion to ‘lovers layes’.³⁴⁶ It may, of course, not be an allusion to Southwell’s metaphor of lions where ‘familiarity with

³⁴² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 7.

³⁴³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, p. 35.

³⁴⁴ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 1-2.

³⁴⁵ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1. 1. 155.

³⁴⁶ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 33-4.

lions takeath away the feare of them',³⁴⁷ when the Mechanicals fear that 'a lion among ladies is a most dreadful thing', tempting though the similarity is.³⁴⁸ But we have seen sufficient evidence to strongly suggest that Shakespeare knew Southwell's work well enough to be able to allude to it recognisably and extensively in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The evidence also rebuts the suggestion that both writers simply employed 'standard Petrarchan' tropes.³⁴⁹ Klause is surely correct in his assertion that 'Southwell occupied Shakespeare's mind and imagination in a most remarkable way',³⁵⁰ despite the lack of critical attention paid to such a connection. The next chapter will further explore this assertion, with discussion of other examples of Shakespeare's 'Musicke'.³⁵¹ It will also examine ways in which both writers explored the importance of erotic love, and, despite the apparently contradictory views they held, discover some surprising similarities.

³⁴⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, p. 118.

³⁴⁸ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 3. 1. 124.

³⁴⁹ H.R. Woudhuysen's edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1998, note to 4. 3. 115, p. 207.

³⁵⁰ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 20.

³⁵¹ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 36.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOVES SERVICE IS IN VAYNE¹

Witt lost his ayme and will was phancies pray²

The feyning Poets stile³

The previous chapter attempted to show how Shakespeare's work was 'under the spell of the Jesuit's writing', as Klause insisted, although with a more precise methodology than Klause's

¹Southwell, 'Loves servile Lott', l. 76.

² Southwell, 'Davids Peccavi', l. 27.

³ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complaine', l. 146.

‘piecemeal’ approach allowed.⁴ By a close examination of shorter and more proximate quotations, Shakespeare’s ‘Musicke’ in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* was seen to contain numerous allusions to Southwell’s work.⁵ We can now turn to a play written probably slightly before *Dream*, perhaps early in 1595. *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, like *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, is comic in tone for much of the play, although Marcadé’s entrance towards the end of the final scene darkens the tone. Unlike the weddings which conclude *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ‘Jack hath not Jill’ at the end of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.⁶ The news of the death of the Princess’s father brings in the harsh notes of winter. ‘The words of Mercury’⁷ do indeed jar strikingly with the previous comedy of, for example, the wooing scenes, and introduce a new note of realism into the play, emphasised by the failure of the lords ‘to woo these girls of France.’⁸

The ending of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* allows further examination of Southwell’s influence on Shakespeare, with its highlighting of important themes for both writers, including attitudes towards love, death and the nature of reality. The play as a whole contains a large number of allusions which suggest Shakespeare’s detailed knowledge of Southwell’s work. Another reason for examining *Love’s Labour’s Lost* is that it is not a play discussed by Klause in any detail. He has only three brief references to the play in *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*; therefore, an examination of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* offers a fresh field for inquiry into literary

⁴ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), p. 73.

⁵ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 36.

⁶ Shakespeare, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, ed. by H.R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 5. 2. 683. All further citations from the play are from this edition.

⁷ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 918.

⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 345.

connections between Southwell and Shakespeare.⁹ The play was written at an early stage of Shakespeare's career, when Southwell's work might have been freshly in Shakespeare's mind, particularly in view of Southwell's trial and public execution early in 1595. It also affords the possibility of comparing Southwell's influence on Shakespeare by also examining a much later play. *The Winter's Tale* will be discussed in the next chapter, to discover whether any links with Southwell's writing can be found in one of Shakespeare's final plays. *Love's Labour's Lost*, with its delight in verbal wit, its exploration of the joys and pains of erotic love and its outstanding comic scenes, might seem far removed from Southwell's vision of a poet's duty. But his conclusion to 'Davids Peccavi' is not far removed from the experiences of Berowne and his comrades in 'the field' of love.¹⁰

Wit bought with losse will taught by wit will end.¹¹

Whether 'Will' Shakespeare was also 'taught by wit' as defined by Southwell is also again considered in this chapter.

Q1 of *Love's Labour's Lost* was printed by William White in 1598 for the publisher Cuthbert Busby.¹² The title page claims it was 'Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespere', as 'presented before her Highnes this last Christmas.'¹³ This ambiguous reference could refer to either the Christmas festivities of 1597 - 98 or the previous year of 1596 - 97. The reference in Act V, 'To dash it like a Christmas comedy', may refer to the Gray's Inn revels which

⁹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, pp. 73, 204, 274, note 72.

¹⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 340.

¹¹ Southwell, 'Davids Peccavi', l. 30.

¹² Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 305. There is a detailed discussion of Folio 1 on pp. 305-27. See also the entry on the play by Anthony Davies in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, 1st edition, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 264-6 (p. 264).

¹³ Woudhuysen, p. 299.

began on 20 December 1594.¹⁴ The play's setting in Navarre is likely to have reminded its first audiences of Henri IV, King of Navarre, who famously converted to Catholicism in July 1593, and who survived an assassination attempt at the end of 1594. One of Navarre's associates was the Maréchal de Biron, a colleague of the Earl of Essex in 1591, when Essex led a force to assist Henri at the siege of Rouen.¹⁵ Berowne's name is close enough to Biron's to suggest that Shakespeare was thinking of events on the continent when writing *Love's Labour's Lost*.¹⁶ Indeed, the edition of the play in *The New Oxford Shakespeare*, 2016, uses the spelling 'Biron'. A date for the play of early 1595 would therefore seem a reasonable estimate for its composition.¹⁷ The play was certainly performed at Southampton House during Christmas 1604 - 05 as part of the festivities for the visit of the Duke of Holstein, the brother of Queen Anne.¹⁸ Klause sees *Love's Labour's Lost* as also having 'special meaning for Southampton', alongside *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.¹⁹ Attempts to link the so-called 'School of Night' with the play, based on the King's lines in Act IV, 'Black is the badge of hell, / The hue of dungeons and the school of night', have provided considerable scholarly

¹⁴ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2 .462. Woudhuysen, pp. 59-60.

¹⁵ For the possible historical background to the play, see Woudhuysen, particularly pp. 67-70.

¹⁶ Anthony Davies, *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, p. 264; Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1553-1642: A Catalogue: Vol.111 1590-1597* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), no. 1031, *Love's Labour's Lost*, pp. 320-5. The Oxford Shakespeare: *The Complete Works*, ed. by Taylor, Jowett, Bourus, Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Both Wiggins and *The Complete Works* refer to 'Biron', not 'Berowne'.

¹⁷ Woudhuysen dates the play between 1594-5; Davies to 1594-5; Wiggins to 1594-97, with a 'Best Guess' of 1596. The New Oxford Shakespeare *Complete Works* dates the play to late 1594.

¹⁸ See John H. Astington, 'His theatre friends: the Burbages', in *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 248-60 (p. 256), and Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 140. Also, Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 84. Letters describing the performance at Southampton House are to be found in London, Public Record Office, Hatfield House, The Marquess of Salisbury, MS 189/95, SP/14/12, f. 32 r.

¹⁹ Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit*, p. 73.

debate.²⁰ The group of writers and intellectuals who made up the group included Raleigh, Marlowe and George Chapman. Chapman wrote a poem, 'The Shadow of Night', registered on 31 December 1593 and published in 1594, to which the 'School of Night' alludes, and whose publication offers further evidence towards the dating of the play.

The literary warfare between the School of Night and the Earl of Essex's supporters, which Muriel Bradbrook traces to 1593-95, also strengthens an argument for the dating of the play.²¹ Essex's friendship with Southampton, and the School of Night's reputation for flirting with atheism, would suggest that Shakespeare's sympathies in the dispute might lie more with the two Earls rather than 'Sir Walter Rawley's school of Atheisme',²² although Ferdinando Strange was also reportedly a part of this group of thinkers.²³ Frances Yates even argued that the play includes 'a kind of apologia for Essex's two sisters', one of whom, Penelope Rich, or 'Stella', has been mentioned earlier.²⁴ This defence of Rich 'must very considerably strengthen the Southampton school of thought' and therefore 'strengthens the likelihood that Shakespeare was on terms of intimacy with Southampton'.²⁵ From the very start of the play, Berowne is allowed to point out the absurdities in the King's plan to make his court 'a little

²⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 250-1. For discussion of the 'School of Night' see Frances. A. Yates, *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'*, (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1936); M. C. Bradbrook, *The School of Night: A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1936). Also Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, pp. 70-72, where he remarks that such studies 'distract attention from the play's far more bracing engagement with its own art and ideas.' (p. 72). Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Nature of Topicality in *Love's Labour's Lost*', in *Shakespeare Survey* 38, ed. by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 45-59, suggests instead that such study can be best used to determine 'the extent to which it illuminates a problem or issue in the play.' (p. 55).

²¹ Bradbrook, *The School of Night*, p. 23.

²² Robert Persons, *Responsio Ad Elizabethae Edictum*, (1592); cited in Bradbrook, *The School of Night*, pp. 11-12.

²³ Bradbrook, *The School of Night*, p. 8.

²⁴ Yates, *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 183.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

academe' that will become 'the wonder of the world'.²⁶ Decrees that insist on a lack of food, sleep, and, most of all, for three years 'not to see a woman',²⁷ are immediately made comically impossible by the Princess's embassy. 'Why, this was quite forgot', the King lamely admits,²⁸ and his attempt to persuade his friends to 'war against your own affections / And the huge army of the world's desires'²⁹ is doomed to failure after their first glimpse of 'these girls of France'.³⁰ Southwell might well have applauded the king's austere intentions. Berowne, however, is more central to the play than the King, and the philosophy that enables Berowne to point out that 'every man with his affects is born', and his wish to, 'Study me how to please the eye indeed / By fixing it upon a fairer eye',³¹ seems more Shakespearean than Southwellian. However, as we shall see again, the imagery of eyes is a device used by both writers.

Attempts to identify characters in *Love's Labour's Lost* as entirely based on real people such as Nashe, Gabriel Harvey and John Florio have been made,³² but as Woudhuysen sensibly observes, 'it is easier to put forward elaborate theories [...] than to disprove them.'³³ A better approach would be to accept that *Love's Labour's Lost* reflects 'the Renaissance humanist culture that lies behind the play'.³⁴ As well as the members of the School of Night, both

²⁶ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 12-13.

²⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 37.

²⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 139.

²⁹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 9-10.

³⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 345.

³¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 149 and 1. 1. 80-81.

³² Yates, *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*; Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 'Introduction', pp. 70-71, and Lamb, 'The Nature of Topicality', pp. 49 and 53.

³³ Woudhuysen, 'Introduction', p. 71.

³⁴ Woudhuysen, 'Introduction', p. 1.

Southwell and Shakespeare were part of this culture; *Love's Labour's Lost* enables us to examine many of Southwell's views and concerns, and also Shakespeare's responses to them.

Muriel Bradbrook points out that in the play 'the practices of the philosophers do not square with their theory.'³⁵ The importance of honesty, truth and sincerity and a recognition of what is real, are vital elements in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The Princess and her friends initially take the men's attempts at courtship as mere 'pleasant jest and courtesy, / As bombast and as lining to the time''³⁶ The speedy abandonment of their initial vows, their wooing disguised as 'a mess of Russians',³⁷ and, above all, their reliance on feigning 'Taffeta phrases' and 'silken terms precise',³⁸ have caused the women to doubt the sincerity of their vows. Berowne pleads with Rosaline to 'Behold the window of my heart, mine eye',³⁹ but she agrees with the Princess's reply to the King, 'Your oath I will not trust'.⁴⁰ The King begs for acceptance even 'at the latest minute of the hour', but the Princess replies significantly,

A time, methinks, too short
To make a world-without-end bargain in.⁴¹

In many of his poems, Southwell is also concerned with a 'world-without-end'. In 'Loves servile Lott', for instance, he begins the poem by stating that 'Love mistres is of many

³⁵ Bradbrook, *The School of Night*, p. 22.

³⁶ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 774-5.

³⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 361.

³⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 406.

³⁹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 826.

⁴⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 788.

⁴¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 781-3.

myndes / Yet fewe know whome they serve'.⁴² He continues by arguing that 'The will shee robbeth from the witt', and that 'With soothing wordes enthralled soules / Shee cheynes in servile bandes'.⁴³ The poet's uncompromising argument is that 'short happ' will inevitably lead to 'immortall harmes'⁴⁴ and 'Her sleepe in synne, doth end in wrath'.⁴⁵ The personification that the poem employs concludes by reference to the opening line.

Seeke other mistres for your myndes
Loves service is in vayne.⁴⁶

Navarre also is seeking to remove any possibility of his court succumbing to the 'vain delight',⁴⁷ or the 'little sweete',⁴⁸ that love offers. Even the clown Costard admits that 'Such is the simplicity of man to hearken after the flesh',⁴⁹ although this admission does not prevent his pursuit of his 'true girl', Jaquenetta.⁵⁰ His rival in love, Don Armado, also recognises that 'Love is a familiar; love is a devil. There is no evil angel but Love.'⁵¹ These apparently misogynistic views also fail to deter his pursuit of the same 'child of our grandmother Eve',⁵² a pursuit that is shown to have succeeded when Costard interrupts the show of the Worthies to inform Armado that the knight's child 'brags in her belly already.'⁵³ The appeal of 'The

⁴² Southwell, 'Loves servile Lott', ll. 1-2.

⁴³ 'Loves servile Lott', ll. 5 and 45-6.

⁴⁴ 'Loves servile Lott', l. 50.

⁴⁵ 'Loves servile Lott', l. 69.

⁴⁶ 'Loves servile Lott', ll. 75-6.

⁴⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 71.

⁴⁸ Southwell, 'Loves servile Lott', l. 49.

⁴⁹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 213-4.

⁵⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 296.

⁵¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 2. 164-6.

⁵² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 252.

⁵³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 672-3.

grosser manner of these world's delights'⁵⁴ is too much to resist for the King and his followers, just as Berowne predicted. Such a conflict between 'the world's desires',⁵⁵ mere 'luring baytes / For fooles to gather upp',⁵⁶ and the opposite desire to instead 'know the worth of Vertues joyes'⁵⁷ is an important part of the dramatic and poetic subject matter of both Shakespeare and Southwell.

In many other poems, such as 'Davids Peccavi', 'Mans Civill Warre', 'Lifes deathes loves life' and 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complainte', Southwell argues that in the pursuit of 'phancy' 'Witt lost his ayme and will was phancies pray'.⁵⁸ Such 'wiles of witt' that 'overwrought my will'⁵⁹ - and 'will' is a key word for Southwell - lead inevitably to 'follye', to 'wracke' and finally to the 'dome'⁶⁰ that Southwell implores his readers to avoid. The King of Navarre initially seems to share Southwell's view that 'Who lives in love, loves lest to live'.⁶¹ But the King and his lords, excepting Berowne, are really seeking 'fame, that all hunt after in their lives'.⁶² These words, the first in the play, are amplified when the King continues,

When, spite of cormorant devouring time,
Th'endeavour of this present breath may buy

⁵⁴ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 29.

⁵⁵ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 10.

⁵⁶ Southwell, 'Loves servile Lott', ll. 25-6.

⁵⁷ Southwell, 'Davids Peccavi', l. 17.

⁵⁸ Southwell, 'Davids Peccavi', ll. 29 and 27.

⁵⁹ 'Davids Peccavi', l. 19.

⁶⁰ 'David's Peccavi', ll. 29, 28, 24.

⁶¹ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', l. 1.

⁶² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 1.

That honour which shall bate his scythe's keen edge,
And make us heirs of all eternity.⁶³

'Eternity' and how to attain it is, naturally, a concern of the Jesuit priest in both his poetry and prose. In *Saint Peters Complaynt* the 'Syrens sugred tunes' of 'beauty, love, and pleasure' are 'Enough, to damne' those who devote their energies to its pursuit.⁶⁴ In 'Content and ritche', Southwell has 'no hopes but one / Which is of heavenly raigne', and he strives to 'clipp high clyming thoughtes / The winges of swelling pride'.⁶⁵ In a use of diction that we have seen before, he declares in the opening stanza that 'Faith guides my Witt, love leades my Will'.⁶⁶ He makes 'the lymits of my poure / The bonds unto my will'.⁶⁷ The King of Navarre, by contrast, seeks not eternity but worldly fame, to make his kingdom 'the wonder of the world'.⁶⁸ His impractical scheme to turn the court into 'a little academe'⁶⁹ would allow the courtiers to be 'still and contemplative'⁷⁰ for three years, and enable Dumaine to boast that 'To love, to wealth, to pomp, I pine and die.'⁷¹ But these renunciations, although reminiscent of Southwell's earnest injunctions to his readers, are not designed to bring the lords to the 'Life giving Juce of living love' that Southwell would wish them to experience.⁷² Instead, the King wishes to achieve the 'god-like recompense' that he believes will be 'the end of

⁶³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 4-7.

⁶⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 310-12.

⁶⁵ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 21-22 and 29-30.

⁶⁶ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', l. 3.

⁶⁷ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 19-20.

⁶⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 12.

⁶⁹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 13.

⁷⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 14.

⁷¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. 31.

⁷² Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of Heaven', l. 13.

study’,⁷³ an aim disturbingly reminiscent of the serpent’s temptation of Eve: ‘You will be like God, knowing both good and evil.’⁷⁴

This debate in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, so skilfully dramatized both in the opening scene and throughout the play, again brings both Shakespeare and Southwell’s beliefs and concerns into focus and suggests the importance for Shakespeare of his knowledge of Southwell’s work. A central theme in Southwell’s work, both in prose and verse, is the need for mankind to find the salvation that will make them ‘heirs of all eternity’.⁷⁵ In *The Triumphs over Death*, also published in 1595, Southwell reminds his readers in a central passage that they will all eventually share the same fate.

Yet the general tide wafteth all passengers to the same shore: some sooner, some later, but all at the last; and we must settle our minds to take our course as it cometh never fearing a thing so necessary yet ever expecting a thing so uncertain.⁷⁶

The language and tone are reminiscent of Hamlet’s words to Horatio in the final scene of *Hamlet*, also in prose, where he calmly insists that ‘If it be not now, yet it will come. The readiness is all.’⁷⁷ Death, says Southwell, is ‘but a harbour for storms and an entrance into

⁷³ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 1. 58 and 55.

⁷⁴ Genesis Chapter 3 verse 5, in *New Living Translation* (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale, 2004).

⁷⁵ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 1. 7.

⁷⁶ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death* (London: 1595). There is a published edition, ed. by J. W. Trotman (London: The Manresa Press, 1914). This citation and all future ones in the chapter, however, are from the original edition, published by James Busby and printed by Valentine Simmes, *EEBO*, p. 11. This prose work, with its sub-title *A Consolatory Epistle For Afflicted Minds In The Effects Of Dying Friends*, was written for the Earl of Arundel on the death of his sister Lady Mary Sackville. It was composed between September 1591 and 1592 and circulated in manuscript form before being published by James Busby in 1595. Busby would also publish Southwell’s *Moeoniae* in 1595 and go on to publish Q1 of *Henry V* in 1600, as well as *King Lear* in 1607. He also entered *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in The Stationers Register on 18 January 1602. Simmes printed Q4 of *Henry IV 1* in 1604. See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 130-185, and Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: Records and Images* (London: Scolar Press, 1981), pp. 214 and 218.

⁷⁷ *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 2006), 5. 2. 119-200.

felicity'.⁷⁸ However, in his earlier *Epistle to His Father*, he warns of the dangers of death without repentance and reconciliation with God; an eternity endured without such felicity. In a passage where he enumerates four ages of man; infancy, childhood, manhood and age, (unlike the seven of *As You Like It*),⁷⁹ Southwell advises his father that it is now 'a seasonable time [...] to enter into the fields of God's Church; in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering it with the tears of humble contrition, you may reap a more beneficial harvest, and gather the fruit of everlasting consolation.'⁸⁰

He continues this appeal to his father with a change of imagery, reminding him of those pitiful souls who 'cannot resolve to cut the cables and weigh the anchors that withhold them from God.'⁸¹ Southwell's conclusion emphasises his central theme: how will his father 'dispose of his chiefest inheritance, the treasure of his soul'?⁸² Such a concern illuminates Southwell's verse in such poems as 'Mans Civill Warre', which concludes with 'Sell not thy soule for brittle joye',⁸³ and 'What joy to live', where the final line insists that 'pleasures upshot is to dye accurste.'⁸⁴ 'Lifes deathes loves life' begins with 'Who lives in love, loves lest to live / And longe delayes doth rue', and concludes, 'And when he taketh leave of life / Then love beginnes his joyes'.⁸⁵ The importance to Southwell of his readers living such lives

⁷⁸ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, para. 16.

⁷⁹ *As You Like it*, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 2006), 2. 7. 140-67.

⁸⁰ Southwell, *Letter to His Father*, manuscript, c. 1586, published in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell, S. J.* (London: D. Stewart, 1876). This edition has been reprinted as a facsimile by Forgotten Books (2012), Appendix No. 1, pp. i-xviii (pp. viii-ix). The letter can also be found in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1973).

⁸¹ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. xiv.

⁸² Southwell, *Letter to His Father*, p. xv.

⁸³ Southwell, 'Mans Civill Warre', l. 32.

⁸⁴ Southwell, 'What joy to live', l. 30.

⁸⁵ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 1-2 and 31-2.

as to become ‘heirs of all eternity’⁸⁶ is obvious, but this is a theme that Shakespeare also explores in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*. Shakespeare does not use polemic, but his dramatization of the lords’ ambitions, desires and failings enables him to demonstrate their need also to become acquainted with their own true feelings.

Shakespeare’s dramatic introduction of Marcadé into the final scene of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, with his news of the death of the Princess’s father, interrupts the show of the Worthies, already darkened by the arrogant rudeness of the male courtiers. As Berowne says, ‘The scene begins to cloud.’⁸⁷ Shakespeare’s use of the metatheatrical word ‘scene’ here helps to distance the audience slightly from the play, as do Berowne’s later rueful comments that ‘Our wooing doth not end like an old play’, and that the women’s imposed penance of twelvemonth and a day is ‘too long for a play’.⁸⁸ In the same way that the Third Gentleman in *The Winter’s Tale* can observe that the miraculous events at Leontes’ court are ‘Like an old tale still, which will have matter to rehearse though credit be asleep and not an ear open’,⁸⁹ Shakespeare is at pains to remind his audience that what they are seeing and hearing is fiction. Paradoxically, these reminders enable them to consider the wider implications of the plays that they are suddenly reminded are only plays. The final words of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, spoken by the humiliated Armado, refer to the audience as well as the players: ‘You that way, we this way.’⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 1. 7.

⁸⁷ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 716.

⁸⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 862 and 866.

⁸⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5. 2. 53-4.

⁹⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 919.

The reality of the transient nature of life, brilliantly dramatized here by Shakespeare, and contributing greatly to the bitter-sweet tone of the ending, is, as we have seen, also a central concern of Southwell's. Shakespeare, of course, deals with this theme in many of his plays, not least in his ability to end comedies with those who are left alone, set apart from the hymeneal merry-making. Feste, Malvolio, Jaques and Antonio are among those characters isolated from the events that 'have made our sport a comedy.'⁹¹ Southwell constantly makes his readers aware of the impermanence of life. He reminds his father, and through him his wider readership, that 'the date of your pilgrimage is well-near expired; and now it behoveth you to look towards your country'.⁹² Hamlet's famous description of 'The undiscovered country from whose bourn / No traveller returns',⁹³ is transformed by Southwell into a 'home in heaven', where 'floures of grace' replace 'this vale of teares' that his vision of life on earth with its 'balefull toyle' has so powerfully described.⁹⁴ Hamlet's own description of life's 'sea of troubles' including 'the pangs of despised love',⁹⁵ echoes Southwell's view. This bleak view of life is also mirrored in Berowne's fate at the end of *Love's Labour's Lost* with his imposed task to 'Visit the speechless sick and still converse / With groaning wretches', as well as the uncertainty of his final reward.⁹⁶ The princess's stinging criticism that he is 'a man replete with mocks, / Full of comparisons and wounding flouts',⁹⁷ clearly justified for his recent cruel mocking of the Worthies, does not offer the certainty that in the end Jack will have Jill.

⁹¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 864.

⁹² Southwell, *Epistle to His Father*, p. vii.

⁹³ *Hamlet*, ed. Thompson and Taylor, 3. 1. 78-9.

⁹⁴ Southwell, 'At home in heaven', ll. 20-22.

⁹⁵ *Hamlet*, ed. Thompson and Taylor, 3. 1. 58 and 71.

⁹⁶ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 839-40.

⁹⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 831-2.

Southwell's view of life on earth as merely a preparation for felicity in an eternal and joyful heaven is a constant in his writing. That 'Nature did promise us a weeping life, exacting teares for custome at our first entrance and suiting our whole course to this doleful beginning' is a central argument in *The Triumphs over Death*.⁹⁸ 'Life is but Losse' reminds us again of *Hamlet* with its plaintive question, 'Who would not die to kill all murdringe greives / Or who would live in never dyinge feares'.⁹⁹ 'I dye alive' expresses a similar view with 'I live but such a life as ever dyes', but continues with the joyful inversion that 'I dye but such a death, as never endes'.¹⁰⁰ 'Losse in Delaye', however, warns its readers to 'Hoyse upp saile while gale doth last / Tyde and winde stay no mans pleasure',¹⁰¹ in another use of the nautical imagery that Southwell frequently employs. 'Seeke flowers of Heaven' apostrophises his own soul to

Soar up ... unto thy reste Cast of this loathsome load Long is the date of thy exile too long
thy strait abode.¹⁰²

Southwell continually stresses the suffering incumbent on human life, 'a thing / That none but fools would keep', in the words of the Duke in *Measure For Measure*.¹⁰³ Just as Claudio in the same play admits that 'To sue to live, I find I seek to die',¹⁰⁴ so Southwell concludes that 'To live where best I love death I desire'.¹⁰⁵ In this poem and many others, as well as in

⁹⁸ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 13.

⁹⁹ Southwell, 'Life is but Losse', ll. 7-8.

¹⁰⁰ Southwell, 'I dye alive', ll. 5-6.

¹⁰¹ Southwell, 'Losse in Delaye', l. 7-8.

¹⁰² Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of heaven', ll. 1-4.

¹⁰³ *Measure For Measure*, ed. by J.W. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 2003), 3. 1. 7-8.

¹⁰⁴ *Measure For Measure*, 3. 1. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Southwell, 'What joy to live', l. 12.

his prose, Southwell emphasises his belief that man is truly at home, not on earth, but in heaven where 'He lives / To whome all love is due'.¹⁰⁶ In the Ninth Chapter of *An Epistle of Comfort* he expresses this succinctly: 'Death is the passage from this worlde to the nexte, from all the presente aggreevances, to all possible happynesse'.¹⁰⁷ A later passage in the same chapter expands on this in terms that Duke Vincentio, Hamlet, Lear and Prospero will later echo:

For while we live we dye, and when we leave living, and then we leave dyeing when we leave living. Better therefore it is to dye to lyfe, than to live to deathe: because our mortal lyfe is nothing, but a living deathe. And lyfe continually flyeth from us, and cannot be withelde: and deathe howrely commeth upon us, and cannot be withstood.¹⁰⁸

To Southwell, ordinary human life is merely an exile from his true home. Life on earth, he consistently stresses, is subject to sufferings and temptations, where 'Cupids fiery flightes' can offer only 'A balefull blisse that damnes where it delightes'.¹⁰⁹

Examination of these parallel quotations enables us to recognise the close connection between Southwell and Shakespeare's plays. But Shakespeare also uses a number of his Sonnets to explore similar themes of death and eternity. Sonnet 6 in the sequence of poems encouraging the Young Man to procreate, urges him not to become 'Death's conquest and

¹⁰⁶ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort To The Reverend Priests, And To The Honourable, Worshipful, And Others Of The Lay Sort, Restrained In Durance For The Catholic Faith*, ed. by Margaret Waugh (London: Burns & Oates, 1966), The Ninth Chapter, p. 133. This edition has been partly modernised in spelling and punctuation. Quotations are taken however from an original edition (London: John Charlewood, in Arundel House? 1587?), held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, *EEBO*, pp. 113-114.

¹⁰⁸ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, p. 138, *EEBO*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁰⁹ Southwell, 'What joy to live', ll. 23-4.

make worms his heir'.¹¹⁰ 'Cold decay' in Sonnet 11 and the image of death as a reaper, 'Borne on the bier with white and bristly beard', in Sonnet 12, offer conventional and uncompromising views of death.¹¹¹ The famous Sonnet 18, however, 'Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' describes the poet's verse as 'eternal lines', and claims that as long 'as men can breathe / or eyes can see, / So long lives this'.¹¹² This bold claim is echoed less forcefully in Sonnet 60 where 'in hope my verse shall stand' is set in opposition to the 'cruel hand' of time, whose scythe is poised as 'our minutes hasten to their end'.¹¹³ Beauty and poetry are both portrayed in Sonnet 65 as standing against the inexorable process of 'sad mortality'.¹¹⁴ Shakespeare argues, or hopes, that 'this miracle' of 'black ink' might stand against what he describes as 'the wrackful siege of batt'ring days'. In poignant lines he asks

How with this rage shall beauty hold a plea,
Whose action is no stronger than a flower?¹¹⁵

The beauty of words is also important to Southwell, whose insistence on 'measured wordes' we have consistently noted.¹¹⁶ 'The Poets pleasing vayne' that he admires is 'the sweetest note that man can singe' but only 'When grace in Vertews keye tunes natures stringe'.¹¹⁷ Unlike Shakespeare's desire for immortality through his poetry, and Navarre's belief that knowledge and fame will 'grace us in the disgrace of death' and bring 'That honour which

¹¹⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 6, l. 1, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1977).

¹¹¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 11, l. 6, and Sonnet 12, l. 8.

¹¹² Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, ll. 12-14.

¹¹³ Shakespeare, Sonnet 60, ll. 13, 14, 2.

¹¹⁴ Shakespeare, Sonnet 65, l. 2.

¹¹⁵ Shakespeare, Sonnet 65, ll. 14, 6, 3-4.

¹¹⁶ Southwell, *To the Reader*, l. 16.

¹¹⁷ Southwell, *To the Reader*, ll. 12, 17-18.

shall bate his scythe's keen edge',¹¹⁸ Southwell is always pointing above, to the 'one perfect blisse'¹¹⁹ that transcends even the 'fayrest shapes wheron our loves do ceaze'.¹²⁰ He warns against what he describes as an 'unspeakable blyndnesse of mans harte that so easilye trayneth to senses lure, and is so soone caught with the bewtye of an Image, and hath not grace to remember whome it resembleth'.¹²¹ By contrast, Shakespeare celebrates beauty, although he is also fully aware of its transience. Like Southwell, he sees man's knowledge of his mortality encouraging him 'To love that well, which thou must leave ere long',¹²² but, unlike the Jesuit, he defies the ravages of time, and hopes through his poetry to 'make time's spoils despised everywhere'.¹²³ His emphasis, here and elsewhere in the Sonnets, is less on eternal life for the soul than on the survival of his poetry. He insists also that his poetry will allow his love to survive, whether for the Young Man, his mistress, or another addressee.

So long as men can breathe or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.¹²⁴

Here again, Southwell and Shakespeare are 'in conversation', although their debate allows them to reach different conclusions. As we have seen, Shakespeare is more concerned with this world, while Southwell continually points to the 'flowers of Heaven'.¹²⁵ Their differing

¹¹⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 1. ll. 6, 3.

¹¹⁹ Southwell, 'From Fortunes reach', l. 24.

¹²⁰ Southwell, 'Lew'd Love is Losse', l. 9.

¹²¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Third Chapter, p. 41, *EEBO*, p. 35.

¹²² Shakespeare, Sonnet 73, l. 14.

¹²³ Shakespeare, Sonnet 100, l. 12.

¹²⁴ Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, ll. 13-14.

¹²⁵ Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of Heaven'.

approaches towards love again reveal to their audiences a contrast between divine and erotic love; both show this love against the backdrop of 'time's fell hand'.¹²⁶

Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.¹²⁷

Later in this chapter, however, we shall examine a closer correlation between the two poets' responses to human love.

Shakespeare's 'only explicitly religious poem', according to Katherine Duncan-Jones,¹²⁸ is Sonnet 146 where he alludes to both the prophet Isaiah, Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians*, and 'The Burial of the Dead' in *The Book of Common Prayer*.¹²⁹ In this sonnet he addresses the existential question, 'Is this thy body's end?'¹³⁰ The poem's conclusion seems to echo much of Southwell's teaching when it argues 'Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross, / Within be fed, without be rich no more'.¹³¹ In Southwell's 'What joy to live' the poet abjures 'filthy gayne',¹³² and in 'Loves Garden grief' he describes 'Your Jewells jestes and wortheles trash your treasure'.¹³³ In *An Epistle of Comfort*, also, Southwell warns that 'God esteemeth

¹²⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 100, l. 12.

¹²⁷ Shakespeare, Sonnet 116, ll. 9-12.

¹²⁸ Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, p. 146.

¹²⁹ Isaiah 25 v. 8, 'He will swallow up death forever'; 1 Corinthians 15 v.26, 'and the last enemy to be destroyed is death'; The Book of Common Prayer, 'In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternall lyfe'. This last is found in 'The Order For The Buriall Of The Dead'. See *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 & 1662*, ed. by Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 171-4 (p. 172).

¹³⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 146, l. 8.

¹³¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 146, ll. 11-12.

¹³² Southwell, 'What joy to live', l. 13.

¹³³ Southwell, 'Loves Garden grief', l. 3.

not the toyes that men accounte of'.¹³⁴ Shakespeare's Sonnet 146 concludes with what seems an unequivocally Christian viewpoint:

So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men,
And death once dead, there's no more dying then.¹³⁵

The Book of Common Prayer quotes Paul in *I Corinthians* when he writes that 'Death is swallowed up in victorie: Death where is thy styng?'¹³⁶ As we have seen above, Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort* uses similar words when he writes, 'For while we live, we dye, and then we leave dyeing [...] Better therfore it is to dye to life, than to live to deathe'.¹³⁷ Similarly, at the end of 'Lifes deathes loves life', Southwell argues that when man 'taketh leave of life / Then love beginnes his joyes'.¹³⁸ This correspondence between Shakespeare's and Southwell's words suggests that the 'conversation' between them was on-going, as well as indicating the detailed knowledge of The Bible that they clearly shared.

We have examined in some detail the connections between *Love's Labour's Lost* and Southwell's work, concerning themes of death and eternity. Even where the writers offer different conclusions to the common issues they explore, there are sufficient comparisons to justify such a study of the play. The reality of death is, as we have seen, an important element in the dramatic impact of *Love's Labour's Lost*. The need for truth and reality in human

¹³⁴ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fourteenth Chapter – 'The Glorie Due unto Martyrs In The Nexte Worlde' pp. 219-27, (p. 219), *EEBO*, p. 190.

¹³⁵ Shakespeare, Sonnet 146, ll.13-14.

¹³⁶ I Corinthians 15 v.55. *BCP*, p. 173.

¹³⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Ninth Chapter, p. 13, *EEBO*, p. 117-118.

¹³⁸ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 31-2.

dealings is also part of this, and, as we shall see, closely linked with Shakespeare's and Southwell's exploration of both language and love.

In Sonnet 137 Shakespeare apostrophises and personifies 'Thou blind fool love'.¹³⁹ He continues by asking, 'what dost thou to my eyes, / That they behold, and see not what they see?'.¹⁴⁰ Helena's words in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* echo this: 'Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind, / And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind'.¹⁴¹ Eyes, as we have seen, are an important image for Southwell, and become an essential part of the imagery and themes in *Love's Labour's Lost*. References to Cupid are also interwoven throughout the play, ranging from Don Armado's 'methinks I should outswear Cupid' and his prophecy that 'Cupid's butt-shaft is too hard for Hercules' club',¹⁴² to later comments from both Berowne and the French ladies. Like Armado, Berowne resents the power of love personified in Cupid, and in a lengthy speech he rails at 'This wimpled, whining, purblind, wayward boy, / This Signor Junior, giant dwarf, Dan Cupid'.¹⁴³ Berowne's previous career as one exulting in being 'love's whip' and whose eye merely 'begets occasion for his wit', according to Rosaline, is now to be replaced by 'a plague / That Cupid will impose for my neglect'.¹⁴⁴ This plague is to be deeply in love. In the final scene, the story of the death of Katherine's sister is used to continue the theme of true love, still expressed in the teasing and witty repartee of the play,

¹³⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 137, l. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 137, ll. 1-2.

¹⁴¹ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1. 1. 234-5.

¹⁴² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1. 2. 62 and 1. 2. 168-9.

¹⁴³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 3. 1. 174-5.

¹⁴⁴ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 3. 1. 169, 2. 1. 69, 3. 1. 196-7. Cupid as an unhelpful participant in the game of love is not unique to Shakespeare's play; John Lyly also used the same trope. See David Bevington, "'Jack hath not Jill": failed courtship in Lyly and Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Survey*, 42, *Shakespeare and the Elizabethans*, ed. by Stanley Wells, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-13.

and continuing the references to Cupid, but now offering the first intimation of mortality and death that will darken the play's ending.

You'll neer be friends with him; 'a killed your sister
He made her melancholy, sad and heavy;
And so she died.¹⁴⁵

Southwell also refers pejoratively to Cupid in 'What joy to live' when he argues that 'bewty is a bayte' and a 'luring ayme to Cupid's fierye flightes / A balefull blisse that damnes where it delightes''.¹⁴⁶ He echoes Berowne's despair at men's propensity for falling in love when Peter misogynistically exclaims, 'O women, woe to men: traps for their fals, / Still actors in tragicall mischaunces'.¹⁴⁷ Berowne's less poetical response to falling in love with Rosaline is that a woman

Is like a German clock,
Still a-repairing, ever out of frame
And never going aright.¹⁴⁸

The falling in love, instantly and deeply, of Berowne, the King, Longaville and Dumaine is, of course, comic, and the unwillingness of the ladies to accept their courtship no more than the men deserve. 'Nor God nor I delights in perjured men', observes the Princess,¹⁴⁹ and Shakespeare comically uses the men's discomfiture in both the 'Muscovite' scene and its aftermath, adding a demonstration of how easily the women can gain the upper hand. 'We are again forsworn in will and error', as Berowne ruefully recognises.¹⁵⁰ Underneath the comedy,

¹⁴⁵ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 13-15.

¹⁴⁶ Southwell, 'What joy to live', l. 19 and ll. 23-4.

¹⁴⁷ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 319-20.

¹⁴⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 3. 1. 185-7.

¹⁴⁹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 346.

¹⁵⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 471.

however, lie serious issues that have been present throughout the play, but are brought into strong relief in the final scene. These are issues which also exercise Southwell, allowing us again to see a connection between the writers.

In Southwell's 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complainte', he adapts a poem written by Sir Edward Dyer originally as a poem bewailing disappointed love. Southwell turns it into a powerful first-person poem celebrating spiritual grace and repentance. Where Dyer bemoaned women's fickleness, 'O fraile unconstant kind / And safe in trust to noe man!',¹⁵¹ Southwell celebrates God's mercy, 'That grace wrote in his name', which rescues the sinner from 'frayle inconstant fleshe'.¹⁵² Berowne's description of Rosaline as 'A whitely wanton with a velvet brow', and 'one that will do the deed'¹⁵³ echoes both Dyer's and Southwell's treatment of women possessing the power to act as 'captivating thralls' and thereby placing irresistible but fatal temptation in men's way.¹⁵⁴ In adapting Dyer's poem, however, Southwell, in the final lines, apologises for seeming to use 'The feyning *Poets* stile'.¹⁵⁵ In this phrase, reminiscent of his description of 'a Poett a lover and a lyer',¹⁵⁶ as well as Theseus's equally contemptuous dismissal of 'the lunatic, the lover, and the poet',¹⁵⁷ Southwell reveals an important theme for his own work, and one which is echoed in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

¹⁵¹ 'Dyers Phancy', written by Sir Edward Dyer (1543-1607), ll. 93-4. See *poemhunter.com* for the full text of Dyer's poem.

¹⁵² Southwell, 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complainte', ll. 108, 93.

¹⁵³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 3. 1. 191 and 193.

¹⁵⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynte*, l. 321.

¹⁵⁵ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', l. 146.

¹⁵⁶ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 3.

¹⁵⁷ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5. 1. 7.

When Don Armado soliloquises at the end of the second scene he declares that his passion for Jaquenetta will cause him to ‘turn sonnet’; indeed, he is ‘for whole volumes in folio.’¹⁵⁸ Nor is he alone; Holofernes attempts an ‘extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer’ or ‘pricket’!¹⁵⁹ He modestly admits that he has a gift for poetry, ‘full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions.’¹⁶⁰ Theseus, however, in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, mockingly suggests that

as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet’s pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.¹⁶¹

When the courtiers in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* fall in love, they all find relief in such ‘airy nothing(s)’, expressing their passion through verse of varying quality, resulting in the wonderful comedy of their discovery, so effectively staged by Christopher Luscombe at the RSC in 2014-15.¹⁶² As an expert, Holofernes scorns Berowne’s effort, mistakenly delivered to Jaquenetta by Costard. It is merely ‘numbers ratified’, lacking ‘the elegancy, facility and golden cadence’ of true ‘poesy’.¹⁶³ When the lovers’ efforts are finally received by the Princess and her ladies, they are dismissed as ‘bootless rhymes’,¹⁶⁴ and as merely ‘A huge

¹⁵⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 2. 176-7.

¹⁵⁹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 2. 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 2. 66-8.

¹⁶¹ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 14-17.

¹⁶² The production, beautifully set in a country house, (based on Charlecote Park near Stratford) was designed by Simon Higlett, and featured Edward Bennett as Berowne, and Michelle Terry as Rosaline.

¹⁶³ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 2. 121-2.

¹⁶⁴ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 64.

translation of hypocrisy, / Vilely compiled, profound simplicity.’¹⁶⁵ Maria’s summary of their poetry reminds us of Southwell’s strictures quoted earlier:

Folly in fools bears not so strong a note
As foolery in the wise when wit doth dote,
Since all the power thereof it doth apply
To prove, by wit, worth in simplicity.¹⁶⁶

‘Worth in simplicity’ is an illuminating phrase for both *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, and for Southwell’s work also. The high-flown poetry employed by the lovers reflects not just their delight in their own wit and facility with words, but also ‘the superficial understanding the men have of the nature of their beloved.’¹⁶⁷ One should add the initial superficiality of their own feelings, and their failure to understand the nature of love. Just as their initial scheme to be ‘Still and contemplative in living art’¹⁶⁸ is fanciful and unrealistic, so their gleeful resolve ‘to woo these girls of France’¹⁶⁹ is based on feelings that may be genuine, but are expressed only in

Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical.¹⁷⁰

Their use of this high-flown language has the effect of disguising true feeling; they have instead been blown full of ‘maggot ostentation’.¹⁷¹ The courtiers can be justly accused of

¹⁶⁵ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 51-2.

¹⁶⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 75-8.

¹⁶⁷ Woudhuysen, ‘Introduction’ to *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 1. 14.

¹⁶⁹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 345.

¹⁷⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 406-8.

¹⁷¹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 409.

adopting ‘The feyning Poets stile’.¹⁷² The result of this is only to persuade their would-be lovers that their words were mere ‘courtship, pleasant jest and courtesy, / As bombast and as lining to the time.’¹⁷³ They did not offer genuine and deeply-felt expressions of sincere love, but mere ‘gaudy blossoms’,¹⁷⁴ that will not survive the winter, ‘When icicles hang by the wall’.¹⁷⁵ The foolish vows which the men subscribed to at the beginning of the play have come back to haunt them. ‘Tis deadly sin to keep that oath, my lord, / And sin to break it’,¹⁷⁶ observes the Princess in her first meeting with the King. As Berowne himself writes in his poem to Rosaline, ‘If love makes me forsworn, how shall I swear to love?’¹⁷⁷ He will later try to persuade his fellow lovers to

Once lose our oaths to find ourselves,
Or else we lose ourselves to keep our oaths.
It is religion to be thus forsworn.¹⁷⁸

If this smacks suspiciously of the ‘Equivocation’ of which Southwell was accused, and which constituted an important element in his conviction, it does not impress the ladies.¹⁷⁹ The Princess insists that the King must prove that his love is true and steadfast.

¹⁷² Southwell, ‘Dyers phancy’, l. 146.

¹⁷³ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 774-5.

¹⁷⁴ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 796.

¹⁷⁵ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 900.

¹⁷⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 2. 1. 105-6.

¹⁷⁷ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 2. 105.

¹⁷⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 335-7.

¹⁷⁹ At Southwell’s trial on 20 February 1595, the Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, accused Southwell of ‘a doctrine by the which all judgements, all giving of testimonies, shall be perverted’, i.e. ‘Equivocation’. ‘It is lawful to commit perjury!’, he added sarcastically. Southwell strongly defended himself against the charge. See Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), pp. 305-24, especially pp. 311-14. Devlin relies heavily on Richard Verstegan’s account of Southwell’s trial and execution, written immediately after the events, and entitled *A Breve Discourse of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr Robert Southwell, Priste of the Soctie of Jesus*, London, The Jesuit Archives, Mount St, Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia MS A 111. 1. (11.1). Another valuable source is Henry Garnet’s account, written in

Your oath I will not trust, but go with speed
To some forlorn and naked hermitage,
Remote from all the pleasures of the world.¹⁸⁰

The wheel has turned full circle for the instigator of the ‘little academe’.¹⁸¹ Even after the news of the death of the Princess’s father, the King still resorts to ‘spruce affectation’ when he addresses the Princess after Marcadé’s news.¹⁸² ‘The extreme parts of time extremely forms / all causes to the purpose of his speed’, he begins a lengthy speech.¹⁸³ The princess replies simply, ‘I understand you not.’¹⁸⁴ She understands, unlike the King, that ‘A heavy heart bears not a nimble tongue.’¹⁸⁵ Berowne, at least, recognises his flaw; he has determined that ‘Henceforth my wooing mind shall be expressed / In russet yeas and honest kersey noes.’¹⁸⁶ In this final scene, he advises the King that ‘Honest plain words best pierce the ear of grief.’¹⁸⁷ But, as we have seen, he still joins in with the other lords in mocking the Worthies. Unlike the Princess, whose interventions are meant to encourage the actors - ‘Speak, brave Hector; we are much delighted’¹⁸⁸ - Berowne’s attempts to be witty at their expense lead to Holofernes’s justified rebuke, ‘This is not generous, not gentle, not humble.’¹⁸⁹

Italian, Spanish and English, with the same title as Verstegan’s; London, The Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst MS Anglia A. 11.

¹⁸⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5.2. 788-90.

¹⁸¹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1. 1. 13.

¹⁸² *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 407.

¹⁸³ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 734-45.

¹⁸⁴ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 746.

¹⁸⁵ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 731.

¹⁸⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 412-3.

¹⁸⁷ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 747.

¹⁸⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 661.

¹⁸⁹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 623.

Berowne's attempt to explain to the ladies that the courtiers' love is true is made in words reminding us again of both Theseus and Southwell.

As love is full of unbefitting strains,
All wanton as a child, skipping and vain,
Formed by the eye, and therefore, like the eye,
Full of strange shapes, of habits and of forms,
Varying in subjects as the eye doth roll
To every varied object in his glance.¹⁹⁰

But he, too, is unsuccessful in his suit to Rosaline, or, at least, the ending of *Love's Labour's* is deeply ambiguous: 'Our wooing doth not end like an old play'.¹⁹¹ The penance for Berowne's 'gibing spirit'¹⁹² is to

Visit the speechless sick and still converse
With groaning wretches; and your task shall be
With all the fierce endeavour of your wit
To enforce the pained impotent to smile.¹⁹³

Berowne deems the task 'impossible';¹⁹⁴ however, Rosaline is unmoved and merely hopes she can become 'Right joyful of your reformation.'¹⁹⁵ The penance imposed on the King is an ironic reminder of both his earlier hubris and his broken oaths. He is told by the Princess that 'Your oath I will not trust', and to win her he must

¹⁹⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 754-9.

¹⁹¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 862.

¹⁹² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 846.

¹⁹³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 839-42.

¹⁹⁴ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 844.

¹⁹⁵ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 857.

Go with speed
To some forlorn and naked hermitage,
Remote from all the pleasures of the world.¹⁹⁶

The penances, in themselves a Catholic concept and emphasised by the good works to which Berowne is enjoined, are completed by Don Armado, who already goes ‘woolward for penance’ and has vowed to Jaquenetta ‘to hold the plough for her sweet love three year’, a touching and typically Shakespearean footnote at the end of the play.¹⁹⁷ The penance accepted by Berowne can also be seen as a reminder of the story told by Southwell in his extremely popular *The Triumphs over Death*. Here he tells of a man

Who having in one ship lost his children and substance, and hardly escaped himself from drowning, went presently into an hospital of lazars, where finding in a little room many examples of great misery, he made the smart of others’ sores a lenitive to his own wound.¹⁹⁸

In her study of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* almost eighty years ago, Frances Yates commented that ‘No one seems to have suggested the possibility [...] that Shakespeare might be quoting Southwell’ throughout the play.¹⁹⁹ In Southwell’s *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, a long prose work that will be examined shortly, he commends his heroine because ‘thou shewest the force of thy rare affection, and deserves the laurel of a perfect lover’.²⁰⁰ Mary’s loyalty, love and steadfastness have earned her this commendation; Berowne and his friends must earn the same trust and respect from their loves. Faithfulness, true love and the pursuit of ultimate

¹⁹⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 788-90.

¹⁹⁷ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 705-6 and 871-2.

¹⁹⁸ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 25.

¹⁹⁹ Yates, *A Study of “Love’s Labour’s Lost”*, p. 200.

²⁰⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, (1591), *EEBO*, p. 38. This edition is the first one, published officially by Cawood on 8 November 1591, before Southwell’s arrest, and which became very popular. There were 5 editions by 1609. This first edition was printed by John Wolfe. All subsequent quotations are from this edition. Cawood’s edition is also reproduced by Vincent B. Leitch, ed. (New York: Delmar, 1975).

truth are Southwell's over-riding concerns, and Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost* is addressing similar themes. When Berowne begs Rosaline to 'Behold the window of my heart, mine eye',²⁰¹ he is again emphasising the importance of self-knowledge for Shakespeare's characters, while using imagery that, as we have seen, is so important for both Shakespeare and Southwell. While 'winged Cupid' may be 'painted blind', true love, both in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, requires truth and 'great constancy' to exist before Jack can have Jill.²⁰²

Early in *Love's Labour's Lost* Boyet tells the ladies,

If my observation, which very seldom lies
By the heart's still rhetoric disclosed with eyes,
Deceive me not now, Navarre is infected.²⁰³

The 'court of his eye, peeping through desire' has triumphed over the King's desire to transform his Court to the 'little academe' he first proposed.²⁰⁴ 'That all eyes saw his eyes enchanted with gazes' restores the 'natural taste' described by Demetrius in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.²⁰⁵ As Southwell wrote, 'In true lovers every part is an eie, and every thought a looke, and therefore so sweete an object amonge so many eyes, and in so great a light, could never lie so hidden but love would espie it'.²⁰⁶ All four of the courtiers in *Love's Labour's* use the imagery of eyes in the poems that betray their oath-breaking to each other in Act Four, and when Berowne is tasked by his friends to provide 'Some salve for perjury',²⁰⁷ his

²⁰¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 826.

²⁰² *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1. 1. 235 and 5. 1. 25.

²⁰³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 2. 1. 227-9.

²⁰⁴ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 2. 1. 234 and 1. 1. 13.

²⁰⁵ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 2. 1. 246 and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4. 1. 171.

²⁰⁶ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, p. 12.

²⁰⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 285.

powerful and convincing speech is full of such imagery. The ‘prompting eyes / Of beauty’s tutors’ have led to their infatuation,²⁰⁸ and in a famous line he insists that love is ‘first learned in a lady’s eyes’.²⁰⁹ In words that remind us of Southwell’s concerns, Berowne insists that ‘Never durst poet touch a pen to write / Until his ink were tempered with Love’s sighs.’²¹⁰ In a clear reference to the King’s unrealistic plans, he argues that

From women’s eyes this doctrine I derive:
They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;
They are the books, the arts, the academes,
That show, contain and nourish all the world.²¹¹

The defiance in setting forth this ‘doctrine’, with its allusion to the ‘Promethean fire’ stolen from heaven and given to man, can be taken as a riposte to Southwell’s poetic manifesto, as well as to the King’s earlier impractical scheme. Southwell, however, criticised the ‘follies and feynings of love’, not love itself.²¹² Shakespeare is similarly concerned to reveal and criticise the ‘feynings’ that lead the ladies of France to suspect their lovers’ sincerity.

Southwell insisted that ‘Passions I allow, and loves I approve’,²¹³ and that ‘there is no passion but hath a serviceable use, either in pursuit of good, or avoidance of evill’.²¹⁴ Moreover, such passions ‘are all benefits of God, and helps of nature, so long as they are kept under vertue’s correction’.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 296-7.

²⁰⁹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 301.

²¹⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 320-1.

²¹¹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 324-7.

²¹² Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 1-2.

²¹³ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’, p. 2.

²¹⁴ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, ‘The Epistle Dedicatorie’, p. 5.

²¹⁵ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, Ibid.

When the Princess and her ladies are urged by the King ‘At the latest minute of the hour’ to ‘Grant us your loves’, the Princess replies, ‘A time, methinks, too short / To make a world - without- end bargain in’.²¹⁶ Southwell’s *Epistle To His Father* warned that ‘some think to share heaven in a moment’, and asked, ‘how can he [...] dispose of his chiefest inheritance, the treasure of his soul, and the concerns of a whole eternity in so short and stormy a moment?’²¹⁷ The similarities of idea and tone here are striking, and again suggest, as Yates argued, the importance of Southwell’s work for Shakespeare.

The realism and bitter-sweet conclusion to *Love’s Labour’s Lost* are far-removed from the earlier light-hearted tone, and the wit and bawdiness in which the play has seemed to delight. The meta-theatrical reference to ‘an old play’²¹⁸ and the address to the audience in the final speech suggest Shakespeare’s wish for his audience to consider what could lie behind the stage-action, a technique we will see used again in *The Winter’s Tale*. The ‘feyninges of love’ in contrast with love’s reality are an important part of this.

If Southwell wanted to demonstrate ‘how well Verse and Vertue suite together’²¹⁹ and disparaged ‘The feyning *poets stile*’,²²⁰ his writing in *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares* clearly indicates his understanding of and sympathy with human emotions. This long prose work, ‘of so different a subject from the usual veine’,²²¹ shows again his dramatic ability to

²¹⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 781-3.

²¹⁷ Southwell, *Letter to His Father*, pp. x and xv.

²¹⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 862.

²¹⁹ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 27-8.

²²⁰ Southwell, ‘Dyers phancy’, l. 146.

²²¹ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, Address ‘To The Reader’, p. 3. This Address follows the ‘Dedication’ to ‘D.A.’ ‘D.A.’ is almost certainly Dorothy Arundell, daughter of John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall. Southwell was introduced to John Arundell by John Cornelius, a fellow Jesuit. See Scott R. Pilarz, S.J., *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), note 1, p. 181.

create characters, in this case, the figure of Mary Magdalen. Mary, an influential figure for Catholics, both for her determination to seek out the body of her Lord and for her status as a penitent forgiven by Christ,²²² is presented by Southwell as determined and feisty. She defies both the words of the angels at the tomb and Southwell himself, whose interventions and first-person narrative in the work add to its effectiveness. Mary resists all calls for her to abandon her search, and is rewarded by her encounter with the risen Jesus recorded in Mark and John's Gospels. 'Her eye was watchful to seeke whom her hart most longed to enjoy, and her foote in readiness to runne if her eye shoulde chaunce to espy him.'²²³ If Mary's love is centred on the divine Christ, the human aspects of her feelings, her love and grief, are expressed with great understanding by Southwell, and in terms that could be easily transferred to an erotic love. 'He was the total of her loves, the height of her hopes, and the uttermost of her feares'.²²⁴ Berowne's words about love in Act Four are less concise, but equally powerful. Love, he argues,

Lives not alone immured in the brain
 But with the motion of all elements
 Courses as swift as thought in every power
 And gives to every power a double power,
 Above their functions and their offices.²²⁵

In a continuation of the imagery of eyes, Berowne avows that 'A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind.'²²⁶ Both Shakespeare and Southwell understand and express the pain and wonder of love. If Berowne complains, 'By heaven, I do love, and it hath taught me to rhyme, and to

²²² Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Robert Southwell's Mary Magdalen', *Recusant History*, vol. 31, No. 1 (May 2012), 1-11 (p. 4).

²²³ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, p. 2.

²²⁴ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, p. 5.

²²⁵ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3 .302-6.

²²⁶ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 308.

be melancholy',²²⁷ Mary exclaims, 'if this bee a fault, I will never amend it.'²²⁸ Southwell knows that

Love is not ruled with reason, but with love. It neither regardeth what can bee, nor what shall bee done, but only what itselfe desireth to doe. No difficulty can stay it, no impossibility appall it. Love is title just enough, and armour strong enough, for all assaults, and itselfe a reward of all labours.²²⁹

In an earlier passage Southwell recognises the suffering that love can bring when he writes, 'the more it loveth, the more it feareth: and the more desirous to enjoy, the more doubtfull it is to lose.'²³⁰ The psychological understanding that Southwell displays here is, of course, found throughout Shakespeare's work. Berowne's acceptance that he and his friends have fallen in love is not accomplished easily. 'They have the plague', he admits wryly, 'and caught it of your eyes.'²³¹ As Jackie Watson indicates in her discussion of early modern theories of sight, for Elizabethan playgoers sight was, paradoxically, 'the means by which men and women fell in love, and the means by which they established a false appearance.'²³² An influential contemporary writer described 'the glittering glimces which issue out of the eyes'.²³³ As we have seen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Shakespeare is

²²⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 11-12.

²²⁸ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, p. 14.

²²⁹ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, pp. 52 – 53.

²³⁰ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, p. 31.

²³¹ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 421.

²³² Jackie Watson, 'Dove-like Looks' and 'Serpents Eyes': Staging Visual Clues and Early Modern Aspiration' in *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660*, ed. by Simon Smith, Jackie Watson and Amy Kenny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 39-54 (p. 39).

²³³ André du Lauris, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, trans. from French into English by Richard Surphlet (London: 1599), p. 12; cited by Watson, 'Dove-like Looks', p. 42.

deeply concerned with ‘the moral problems of sight’.²³⁴ The next chapter’s exploration of *The Winter’s Tale* will further demonstrate the importance of this theme for Shakespeare. Leontes’s jealousy and lack of trust in Hermione will cause him to see evil where there is only goodness and honesty. ‘How blest am I / In my just censure, in my true opinion!’²³⁵ Both Shakespeare and Southwell continually use the imagery of eyes and sight to illustrate their concern for true awareness and judgement, as well as their opposites. Berowne is emphatic when he exclaims, ‘O, but for her eye! By this light, but for her eye, I would not love her.’²³⁶ Shakespeare’s skill as a dramatist ensures that his audience are amused by his apparent reluctance to fall in love but hoping for and expecting the traditional happy conclusion to his reluctant courtship. Southwell’s imagery of eyes is, as we have seen, more often used to warn of the dangers posed by ‘beauty’s fading blisse’,²³⁷ that can entrance man’s ‘misdeeming eye’.²³⁸ He makes clear that the ultimate task for mankind is to recognise and yield to ‘Eyes light harts love soules truest life!’²³⁹ But, as his story of Mary Magdalen shows, Southwell also recognises the value of what Shakespeare so memorably stated in Sonnet 116.

Love’s not Time’s fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
 Within his bending sickle’s compass come;
 Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
 But bears it out even to the edge of doom.²⁴⁰

²³⁴ Wilson, ‘Dove-Like Looks’, p. 43.

²³⁵ Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 2. 1. 36-7.

²³⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 8-9.

²³⁷ Southwell, ‘From Fortunes reach’, l. 13.

²³⁸ Southwell, ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’, l. 1.

²³⁹ Southwell, ‘From Fortunes reach’, l. 23.

²⁴⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 116, ll. 9-12.

The poets whom Southwell described as merely ‘abusing their talent’²⁴¹ and so discrediting their calling, can have little connection with the dramatist and poet who recognised and expressed so memorably that ‘The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo’,²⁴² but created ‘Musicke’ from them both.²⁴³

In an influential article on *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, Anne Barton described the ending of the play as one where the reality of the world entered the enchanted court of Navarre. The dramatic entrance of Marcadé brings home man’s mortality, but paradoxically, ‘only through the acceptance of the reality of Death are life and love in their fullest sense made possible for the people of the play.’²⁴⁴ This acceptance of life’s transience, as well as the unresolved fate of the principal lovers, creates the bittersweet tone previously mentioned. Shakespeare, of course, explores a similar theme in *As You Like It* with his use of theatrical imagery in ‘All the world’s a stage’;²⁴⁵ in *King Lear*, when Lear describes ‘this great stage of fools’;²⁴⁶ and in *Macbeth* when life is compared to ‘A poor player / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage’.²⁴⁷ All of these speeches use imagery to deliberately remind the audience that they are watching a play. This concern with the nature of reality and illusion is shared by Southwell. ‘Tyde and winde stay no mans leisure’ he affirms in ‘Losse in Delaye’;²⁴⁸ and in *The Triumphs over Death*, written to console the Arundel family, he describes life as ‘but an inn,

²⁴¹ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 1.

²⁴² *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2 .918-9.

²⁴³ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 36.

²⁴⁴ Anne Barton (Bobby Ann Roesen), “‘Love’s Labour’s Lost’”, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. iv, Part 2 (1953), 414-426 (p. 425).

²⁴⁵ *As You Like It*, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, 2. 7. 140.

²⁴⁶ *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4. 5. 175.

²⁴⁷ *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir, *The Arden Shakespeare* (London: 1951; editorial matter 1962, 1984).

²⁴⁸ Southwell, ‘losse in Delaye’, l. 8.

not a home; we come but to bait, not to dwell; and the condition of our entrance was finally to depart'.²⁴⁹ In his tribute to Lady Margaret, Southwell also uses the image of the playhouse when referring to her lack of worldly ambition. 'If she want the woonted titles, her part is now indeede, and they were due but upon the stage'.²⁵⁰ He has earlier described life as 'exacting tears at our first entrance', reminiscent of Jaques's reference to 'their exits and their entrances'.²⁵¹ In one of the four poems that follow *The Triumph over Death*, Southwell affirms that the highest praise he can offer Lady Margaret is that she endeavoured 'to be herself'.²⁵² Polonius's advice to Laertes, 'to thine own self be true', is similar.²⁵³ Neither Shakespeare nor Southwell can be accused of promoting merely 'Prophaine conceites';²⁵⁴ both writers are far more concerned with exploring the nature of truth and the sometimes stark reality of life - and death. 'We are such stuff / As dreams are made on', affirms Prospero in *The Tempest*, and even

the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.²⁵⁵

H. R. Woudhuysen has described *Love's Labour's Lost* as a play containing both 'the lyrical and the argumentative', a description that also fits Southwell's writings, both in verse and

²⁴⁹ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, pp. 10-11. As the title page indicates, the piece was 'First written for the consolation of one: but now published for the generall good of all'.

²⁵⁰ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 16.

²⁵¹ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 13; *As You Like It*, ed. Dusi Berre, 2. 7. 142.

²⁵² Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, stanza 4, l. 23, p. 30.

²⁵³ *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, 1. 3. 77.

²⁵⁴ Southwell, *To the Reader*, l. 13.

²⁵⁵ *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare (London: 1999), 4. 1. 156-7 and 153-6

prose.²⁵⁶ It is interesting that none of the editions of the play consulted for this chapter make any reference to Southwell, despite the similarities traced above.²⁵⁷ When Berowne tells the ladies that

We to ourselves prove false
By being once false, for ever to be true
To those that make us both – fair ladies you,²⁵⁸

as well as indulging in equivocation he is also touching on contemporary issues that greatly concerned Southwell and his fellow English Catholics. Oaths of loyalty could become a matter of life and death in late sixteenth century England, and the so-called ‘Bloody Oath’, demanding a choice between Queen or Pope, was, for many Catholics, more than a stage device. Shakespeare’s wry description of these ‘fools of time’,²⁵⁹ as we have seen, may reveal a discreet allusion to this dilemma. For Berowne and his friends, falling in love also involves the keeping, or breaking, of vows. His verses to Rosaline, read out by Nathaniel, summarise the men’s difficulty:

If love make me forsworn, how shall I swear to love?
Ah, never faith could hold, if not to beauty vowed.
Though to myself forsworn, to thee I’ll faithful prove.²⁶⁰

Longaville admits to Maria that he has committed ‘false Perjury’, but insists on being excused because, ‘My vow was earthly, thou a heavenly love’.²⁶¹ None of the women, however, are

²⁵⁶ Woudhuysen, ‘Introduction’, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, p. 54.

²⁵⁷ In addition to the Arden edition, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. by William E. Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); *The Oxford World Classics*, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); *New Penguin*, ed. by John Kerrigan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, 1996).

²⁵⁸ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 766-8.

²⁵⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 124, l. 13.

²⁶⁰ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 2. 105-7.

²⁶¹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 3. 59 and 63.

impressed by Berowne's tortuous argument that their love justifies their 'falsehood, in itself a sin' and 'Thus purifies itself and turns to grace.'²⁶² Southwell, equally, decries 'perjured oaths' which only 'my spightfull hate did prove'.²⁶³ In *Saint Peters Complaynt*, Peter bitterly repents his triple denial of Jesus and his failure to keep his oath never to abandon Him. 'Titles I make untruths, am I a rocke?'²⁶⁴ he asks bitterly. In *An Epistle of Comfort*, Southwell urges his Catholic readers to stand firm and 'Consideringe from whence you come, you may shew your selves worthy stones of so noble a quarrye, and not unworthy mettall of so honorable a myne'.²⁶⁵ In a letter to Arundel after the Earl's trial, Southwell stiffens his resolve not to betray his faith by writing, 'The cause is God's, the Conflict short, the reward eternal'.²⁶⁶ And in the poem *Saint Peters remorse*, the eponymous narrator confesses that because of his faithlessness, 'Of highest Treasons well thou mayst / In rigour him endite'.²⁶⁷ Southwell would not have agreed with Longaville's airy assertion that 'Vows are but breath',²⁶⁸ though they are reminiscent of the cynical words of the real King of Navarre, who, on his conversion to Catholicism in 1593 is reported to have said, 'Paris is worth a Mass'.²⁶⁹ In Sonnet 123, Shakespeare ends his love poem by insisting, 'This I do vow, and this shall ever be, / I will be true despite thy scythe and thee.'²⁷⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*'s emphasis on

²⁶² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 769-70.

²⁶³ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 528.

²⁶⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynte*, l. 169.

²⁶⁵ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Sixteenth Chapter – Conclusion, p. 248, *EEBO online*, p. 214.

²⁶⁶ Southwell, Letter to the Earl of Arundel, in *The English Martyrs*, vol. 11, collected and edited by John Hungerford Pollen and William MacMahon (Catholic Record Society, 1919), C.R.S. vol. 21, p. 320. The letter is undated, but presumably written shortly after the Earl was sentenced to death in April 1589.

²⁶⁷ Southwell, 'Saint Peters remorse', ll. 23-4.

²⁶⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 65.

²⁶⁹ Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, refers to Navarre's 'notorious oath-breaking' 'Introduction', p. 68.

²⁷⁰ Sonnet 123, ll. 13-14.

the value of truth and sincerity reminds us again of the similarity of the values of Southwell and Shakespeare. We have previously noted the importance of the Catholic doctrine of penance as a dramatic vehicle at the end of the play. The equally controversial Catholic belief of the importance of good works, or ‘merit’, for attaining salvation, and the alternative Protestant belief in salvation through faith alone, is also referred to in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*. ‘See, see, my beauty will be saved by merit! / O heresy in fair, fit for these days!’ teases the Princess in her encounter with the Forester.²⁷¹ Southwell comments scornfully on the Protestant view in *An Epistle of Comfort* when he writes ‘and the same faith which maketh that the merit of a good action is not imputed to the doer’.²⁷² He will later assert in the same work that, ‘theyr doctrin was heresye’.²⁷³ The dispatching of Berowne and the King to respectively ‘jest a twelvemonth in an hospital’ and to be ‘hermit then’, does not necessarily prove that Shakespeare was a good Catholic.²⁷⁴ It does, however, suggest how familiar he was with doctrines that Southwell took for granted. Shakespeare will return to the debate about ‘Merit’ in *All’s Well That Ends Well*; for example, when Helena remarks ‘Who ever strove / To show her merit that did miss her love?’ and in her longer speech containing the lines ‘Inspired merit so by breath is barred.’²⁷⁵

The Reformation debate about the difference between ‘love’ and ‘charity’, both nouns being translations of the Greek word *agape*, is also part of the Catholic / Protestant division over the relative importance of faith or works. ‘Charity’ became associated with ‘works’, while ‘love’

²⁷¹ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 4. 1. 21-2.

²⁷² Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Sixth Chapter, p. 105, *EEBO*, p. 90.

²⁷³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Thirteenth Chapter, p. 218, *EEBO*, pp. 182-183. For discussion of this doctrinal issue see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 2nd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 353, 357-62.

²⁷⁴ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 5. 2. 859 and 810.

²⁷⁵ *All’s Well That Ends Well*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Russell Fraser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1. 1. 197-8 and 2. 1. 144-54.

became the favoured translation for reformers. The debate was famously resolved for Protestants in the 1560 Geneva Bible's translation of *1 Corinthians* 13 with the final verse reading, 'and now abideth faith, hope loue, these thre'.²⁷⁶ This controversy is also alluded to in *Love's Labour's Lost*. 'Dumaine, thy love is far from charity', warns Longaville, and Berowne later asks, 'who can sever love from charity?'²⁷⁷ Perhaps a more pressing matter for Southwell and his fellow priests, however, was the very real danger of arrest, trial and execution. Berowne makes a typical joke in his aside when overhearing Longaville's passionate sonnet to Maria. 'Thou makest the trimviry, the corner-cap of society, / The shape of Love's Tyburn, that hangs up simplicity', he remarks.²⁷⁸ The reference is to the gallows set up at Tyburn in 1571 and used to execute many Catholic prisoners. Southwell would meet his own fate there in 1595, and, in a continuation of the playhouse imagery that we have noted before, began his final speech by saying, 'I am come hither to play out the last act of this poor life'.²⁷⁹ The 'corner-cap' alludes to both the triangular-shaped gallows and the three-cornered caps traditionally worn by Catholic priests. After the execution at Tyburn of Father John Story, on 1 June 1571, the gallows were known colloquially as 'Dr. Storeys corner-cap'.²⁸⁰ Southwell, as we have seen, consistently attempted to strengthen his fellow-Catholics against the sufferings of prison, torture and execution: 'Our prisons preach, our punishmentes

²⁷⁶ 1 Corinthians 13 v.13 in the 1560 edition of *The Geneva Bible*, Facsimile (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007). For a discussion of the debate, see Christopher Baker, *Religion in The Age of Shakespeare* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 2007), particularly p. 50; also, R. Chris Hassell, Jr., 'Love versus Charity in "Love's Labour's Lost"', *Shakespeare Studies* x, 111 (1977), 17-42.

²⁷⁷ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 124 and 4. 3. 339.

²⁷⁸ *Love's Labour's Lost*, 4. 3. 50-1.

²⁷⁹ Southwell, cited in F.W. Brownwell, *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), p. 19. See also Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 321. Also, Verstegan and Garnet's accounts, *Relation of Robert Southwell's Trial and Execution*.

²⁸⁰ Woudhuysen, *Love's Labour's Lost*, note, p. 202.

converte, our deade quarters and bones confounde youre heresy',²⁸¹ he wrote, but the ever-present threat of betrayal and capture must have been a frightening constant during Southwell's work in England. Berowne's casual allusion matches his reputation as a joker, 'a man replete with mocks, / Full of comparisons';²⁸² Shakespeare may not have fully shared his literal gallows-humour.

Sean Benson, in *Heterodox Shakespeare*, argues that Shakespeare's writing is 'undoctrinaire, probing', and 'neither a mere debunker of religious orthodoxies nor their unquestioning champion'.²⁸³ *Love's Labour's Lost* can certainly be described as 'probing' in its exploration of the drama of human love, but it also fulfils an important role when examining the connections between Shakespeare and Southwell as writers who are both concerned with matters profane as well as spiritual. These connections continue throughout Shakespeare's writing career. Further examples might include the famous casket scenes in *The Merchant of Venice*,²⁸⁴ comparable with the section in *An Epistle of Comfort*, where Southwell writes:

If two keyes were offred us, the one of golde sett with diamats, rubies, and perle curiously wrought & hanged in a cheyne of greate price, the other of olde rustye iron, unhandsome and shapelesse to beholde, tyed in a rotten caske, and yet this true keye to infinite treasure, the other to a sincke of corruption and a dungeon of dispayre, which of these two keyes, were in reason to be desired.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fifteenth Chapter, p. 229, *EEBO*, p. 197.

²⁸² *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5. 2. 831-2.

²⁸³ Sean Benson, *Heterodox Shakespeare*, (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2017), p. 2.

²⁸⁴ *The Merchant of Venice*, The Oxford Shakespeare, ed. by Jay. L. Halio (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2. 1, 2. 7, 3. 2.

²⁸⁵ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Seventh Chapter, p. 11, *EEBO*, p. 95.

We have also seen comparable references to Southwell's view that life and suffering are inevitably entwined in, for example, *Measure For Measure*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. This view is again made explicit in *An Epistle of Comfort*, when Southwell describes a world in which 'vice is advaunced, vertue scorned, the badd rewarded, and the good, oppressed'.²⁸⁶ In *The Triumphs over Death*, also, Southwell's warning over excessive grieving is reminiscent of Claudius's advice to Hamlet. 'It is no lesse a fault to excede in sorrow, than to passe the limites of competent mirth, since excesse in either is a disorder in passion', writes Southwell.²⁸⁷ Whatever his hidden motives, Claudius sounds reasonable when he reminds us that

to persever
In obstinate condolement is a course
Of impious stubbornness, 'tis unmanly grief.²⁸⁸

In *Twelfth Night*, Olivia's excessive mourning for her brother, intended to last for seven years to 'keep fresh / And lasting in her sad remembrance',²⁸⁹ lasts little longer than the King's plans for his 'little academe' when she first glimpses Cesario. 'But as not to feele sorrow in sorrowfull chances is to want sense, so not to beare it with moderation is to want understanding', is included in Southwell's introductory address to his popular *Triumphs over Death*.²⁹⁰ Southwell's and Shakespeare's attitudes coincide here as elsewhere. Lear's touching words to Cordelia after their capture by Edmund can also be compared to Southwell's *An Epistle of Comfort*, written probably in 1587, almost twenty years before *King*

²⁸⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fourth Chapter, p. 51, *EEBO*, p. 44.

²⁸⁷ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 2.

²⁸⁸ *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, 1. 2. 92-4.

²⁸⁹ *Twelfth Night*, The Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Roger Warren and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, 1. 1 30-1.

²⁹⁰ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, p. 2.

Lear. ‘Come, let’s away to prison. / We two alone will sing like birds i’ th’ cage’, says

Lear.²⁹¹ Southwell exhorts his readers:

Let us not be lyke the senselesse byrdes, but rather imitate them in an other propertye, which is, that in the cage they not onely singe their naturall note, both sweetlyer and oftener, than abroade, but learne also diverse other, farre more pleasant, and delightsome.²⁹²

He concludes ‘So that we see the prison is a schoole of divine and hidden misteries to Gods frendes’, and adds later in the chapter that, ‘God beholdeth, hys Angels beholde us, and Christ looketh on’.²⁹³

Lear and Cordelia also will ‘take upon’s the mystery of things, / As if we were God’s spies’.

For ‘Upon such sacrifices, my Cordelia, / The gods themselves throw incense.’²⁹⁴

These close correspondences suggest again how important Southwell’s writing was and continued to be for Shakespeare’s work. As with *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, the examination of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* has revealed strong connections between Southwell and Shakespeare, both in themes and in the language used to express them. The next chapter will explore such connections in *The Winter’s Tale*, one of Shakespeare’s final plays, probably written only seven years before his death, and therefore much later than both *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *Love’s Labour’s Lost*. In this play, too, written fourteen or fifteen years after Southwell’s death, we shall see the important debt that Shakespeare owed to his Jesuit ‘cosin’.

²⁹¹ *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, 5. 3. 8-9.

²⁹² Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Eighth Chapter, p. 119, *EEBO*, p. 101.

²⁹³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Eighth Chapter, p.126, *EEBO*, p.107; and The Tenth Chapter, p. 153, *EEBO*, pp. 130r.-131.

²⁹⁴ *King Lear*, 5. 3. 16-17 and 20-21.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WINTER'S TALE

Our ship may be tossed about and grind upon the rocks, but it cannot go to pieces and be
sunk¹

Now bless thyself; thou met'st with things dying, I with things newborn²

God whome he beleved, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as
thogh they were³

¹ Letter from Southwell to Father Alphonsus Agazzari, Rector of The English College in Rome, 22 December 1586. Cited in *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs Vol. 1 1584-1603*, collected and ed. by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. (London: Catholic Record Society Vol. 5, 1908), XCIV 'Letters of Fr Robert Southwell', pp. 293-333 (pp. 315-19). Pollen wrongly spells Agazzari's name as 'Azario'.

² Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 3. 3. 110-11. All subsequent citations from the play refer to this edition.

³ Romans 4 v.17, in *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition, Facsimile (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2007).

The aim of this chapter is once again to examine the possible debt owed by Shakespeare to Southwell, this time in a much later play, written nearly twenty years after Southwell's arrest. While one might expect more Southwellian influences to be found in the earlier plays examined, to find clear awareness of Southwell's writing in a 'Late Play', will strengthen the argument that Shakespeare was, and continued to be, influenced by his 'Cosin'.⁴ By examining key words and images found in the play, as well as the important themes uniting Shakespeare and Southwell, the sense of a dialogue between both writers can again be tested.

The opening quotation cited is from a letter by Southwell, sent to a Jesuit colleague in Rome in the early months of his time in England as an undercover Jesuit priest. It again uses the sea imagery we have seen before. The letter, in coded language, describes a wave of arrests of Catholics: 'for the sea is more boisterous than usual, and swept by fiercer storms'.⁵ This section of the letter, however, concludes with a note of optimism, because even if 'We live on in the midst of storms [...] Even in shipwreck we shall be blessed'.⁶ In *An Epistle of Comfort*, Southwell uses similar imagery when he encourages his readers to endure persecution:

having Christ for your pilot, the inspirations of the Holy Ghost for your gale, you may go through the storms of persecution, overcome the surges of worldly pleasure, pass the shelves of alluring occasions, avoid the shipwreck of deadly offence, and finally arrive safely to the port of life and perfect repose.⁷

⁴ Southwell, *Epistle*, found before the sequence of poems in the 'Waldegrave' Manuscript. l. 28. London, Jesuit Archives, Mount St., Stonyhurst MS A. v. 27.

⁵ Southwell, Letter to Agazzari, 22 December 1586, p. 317.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort to The Reverend Priests* (London: secretly printed, 1587-1588). All citations in this chapter, unless otherwise indicated, are from *EEBO*, (Arundel House? London: printed by John Charlewood ? 1587?) The Seventh Chapter, p. 97. The original copy is kept in Oxford, The Bodleian Library. There is an excellent modern edition ed. by Margaret T. Waugh, Foreward by Philip Caraman, S.J. (London: Burns & Oates, 1966). This edition has modernised Southwell's spelling, syntax and punctuation.

When referring to the inevitability of human death, he writes elsewhere, ‘yet the general tide wafteth all passengers to the same shore – some sooner, some later, but all at the last’.⁸ The verses, written in Southwell’s own hand, in a manuscript known as *Scripta Autographa*, include lines from a fragment entitled *Amenomon*:

The shippe that from the port doth sayle
And lanceth in the tyde
Must many a billows boystrous brunt
And stormy blast abyde⁹

The published poems that also use nautical or sea imagery include *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ‘Christes Sleeping frendes’, ‘The prodigall chylds soule wracke’, and ‘Mans Civill Warre’. In Southwell’s *Letter To His Father* he warns his father that he is ‘now impathed in your final voiage’; and ‘He that is tossed with varietye of stormes, and cannot reach his destined port, maketh not much way, but is sore tormoiled’.¹⁰ In a lengthy passage, Southwell uses such nautical terms as ‘shippe’, ‘Pilot’, ‘sailers’, ‘Mariners’, ‘gale’, ‘rode’, ‘stormes’, ‘Sea’,

⁸ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death* (London: Valentine Simmes for John Busby, 1595), *EEBO*, p. 6 r. The work can also be found in *Prose Works of Father Southwell, S.J.*, ed. by W. Jos. Walter (London: Keating and Brown, 1826), p. 80. This beautifully bound book is kept in London, The Jesuit Archives, Mount St.

⁹ Southwell, *Amenomon*, ll. 1-4. For a discussion of the meaning of the title, possibly derived from the Greek verb *meno*, ‘To stand fast’, and the poem as a whole, see *St Robert Southwell: Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davidson and Anne Sweeney (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007), pp. 172-3. All quotations from Southwell’s poems in this chapter are taken from this edition. The manuscript of *Scripta Autographa* is to be found at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS AV. 4.

¹⁰ Southwell, *Letter to His Father*, in *the Complete Works of R. Southwell, S.J.* (London: D. Stewart, 1876), published as a facsimile (Forgotten Books, 2012). Website forgottenbooks.org, pp. xi and x. This reprint of the 1876 edition, which itself seems to be closely based on the limited edition published in 1872 by Alexander B. Grosart (London: Robson, Fuller Worthies’ Library, 1872), is available to be printed on request. The letter can also be found in various editions on *EEBO*. The letter is dated 22 October 1589, but is likely to have been written very soon after Southwell’s arrival in England in July 1586. Nine copies are believed to have been printed by Garnet’s second press between 1596-7, along with Southwell’s *A Short Rule of Good Life*. This edition is also available on *EEBO*, with the full title, *An Epistle of a Religious Priest unto his Father: Exhorting him to the Perfect Forsaking of the World* (London?: Father Garnet’s Second Press? 1597?). Citations used are also given from this edition, which unfortunately lacks the final pages. The quotations given above are from pp. 23 and 19. See also *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973).

‘surges’, ‘sailes’ and ‘voiage’.¹¹ The passage concludes with a warning against those who are too hard-hearted or worldly to ‘resolve to cut the cables and weigh the anckers that withhold them from God.’¹² Southwell’s own voyage to England in July 1586 ended with him and Henry Garnet wading ashore on the Kent coast. As we have seen, these priestly ‘merchants’, to use the code adopted by them,¹³ were regarded from the start by the Government as dangerous men, with political aims, - mere ‘Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors’.¹⁴ Rather than focusing on the ‘merchandise’ of souls, and in aiding fellow ‘debtors’ in their struggle against their powerful ‘creditors’, or persecutors,¹⁵ the government insisted that the Jesuit priests were traitors and dangerous emissaries of a foreign power. Philip Stubbes described them as ‘cutthroats, false traitors, and blood thirsty Papists’.¹⁶ Even the modern historian John Bossy has referred to these missionaries disparagingly as ‘Pious terrorists’.¹⁷ Southwell himself rejected such accusations, describing such treason as ‘an offence that carrieth with it selfe a staine of infamie’.¹⁸ A letter from Southwell to his Jesuit Superior, Aquaviva, reveals

¹¹ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. xiv, *EEBO*, p. 31.

¹² *Ibid* and *EEBO* pp. 31-2.

¹³ Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 63. See also a letter from Jesuit Father General Claudio Aquaviva to Southwell, 20 February 1587, in Hungerford Pollen, *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs*, vol. 1, pp. 319-20. Aquaviva wrote, ‘The subjects you discuss should to some extent be veiled in allegory’, p. 320.

¹⁴ Taken from Burghley’s *A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended Against The Realm By a Number Of Seminary Priests And Jesuits*. This *Declaration* was dated 18 October 1591, although not publicly issued until November. See Southwell’s riposte to this, *An Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, written by December 1591, and a discussion of both documents in the edition of *An Humble Supplication* edited by R.C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 59-65 (p. 60).

¹⁵ Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606*, p. 63.

¹⁶ Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses in England Part 11: The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation*, 1583, ed. by Frederick J. Furnival, The New Shakespeare Society (London: Trübner, 1882), pp. 5-6. Cited in Christopher Baker, *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare* (London: Greenwood Press, 2007), pp. 176-7.

¹⁷ John Bossy, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001), p. 31.

¹⁸ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, (1591). References to Southwell’s appeal are from *EEBO*, p. 21. This online edition is taken from the original manuscript held in The British Library.

Southwell's true feelings and fears. Written nearly four years into his mission in England, and using the same nautical imagery we have discussed, he writes, 'We are tossed around still in the midst of perilous waves.'¹⁹

Storm imagery and the trope of shipwreck is also part of Shakespeare's poetic and dramatic armoury in *The Winter's Tale*. Having landed upon 'The deserts of Bohemia', Antigonus and his fellow sailors are rapidly disposed of by the bear and the storm respectively.²⁰ As the Clown tells his father, 'I have seen two such sights, by sea and by land!'²¹ The ship which brought Antigonus and baby Perdita to the land of her supposed father is 'boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yeast and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead.'²² The lively and semi-comical account by the Clown helps to change the mood of the play from the tragedy of the first half, as well as ensuring that the audience knows that no one will return to Sicilia to give hope that the baby still lives. With Antigonus's death, haunted by the vision of Hermione's ghost and now convinced of her guilt, no good news can reach Sicilia, or not until 'that wide gap' of sixteen years is accomplished.²³ Leontes has no reason, therefore, to hope that the Oracle's prophecy, 'the king shall live without an heir if that which is lost be not found', can be evaded.²⁴ When the sixteen years have passed, and Florizel escapes to Sicilia with Perdita, it is noticeable that now 'a prosperous south wind friendly' has replaced the roaring of the sea and the 'fearful usage' of 'dreadful Neptune'.²⁵

¹⁹ Southwell to Aquaviva, 8 March 1590. Cited in Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606*, p. 106, and in Hungerford Pollen, *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs*, vol.1, p. 330.

²⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3. 2.

²¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3. 81.

²² *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3. 90-2.

²³ *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 1. 7.

²⁴ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 132-3.

²⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 160 and 5. 1. 152-3.

Shakespeare also makes use of storms and shipwrecks in other plays, such as *The Comedy of Errors*, where the storm and shipwreck part Egeon from his family. In *Pericles*, Thaisa, apparently dead, is cast overboard to save the ship and crew from the wind and sea, and in *The Tempest*, of course, the eponymous storm is raised by Prospero to bring his enemies into his grasp. All these plays will end with reconciliation, forgiveness, renewal and the discovery of those believed to be dead. In *The Winter's Tale*, the 'heavy matters' of loss and death are transformed into the triumph of love. 'Now bless thyself;' the old Shepherd tells his son; 'thou met'st with things dying, I with things newborn.'²⁶

Both Shakespeare and Southwell use the imagery of sea and storm to mirror what Wilson Knight called 'the pitifulness and helplessness of humanity born into a world of tragic conflict.'²⁷ For Southwell, this 'Vale of teares' on earth is a result of man's failure to turn to God²⁸ and 'Cast of this loathsome load' and instead 'Seeke flowers of Heaven'.²⁹ In another famous Shakespearean storm scene where

Such sheets of fire, such bursts of horrid thunder,
Such groans of roaring wind and rain I never
Remember to have heard,³⁰

Lear begins his journey of repentance and self-knowledge. When he pities the 'Poor naked wretches' who are forced to 'bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,' and recognises that 'I

²⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3. 109 and 3. 3. 110-11.

²⁷ G. Wilson Knight, *The Crown of Life: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Final Plays* (London: Methuen, 1948), p. 18.

²⁸ Southwell, 'A Vale of Teares', where 'A Vale there is enwrap with dreadfull shades', l. 1.

²⁹ Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of Heaven', l. 2.

³⁰ Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3. 2. 44-6.

have ta'en / Too little care of this", he begins this transformation.³¹ Storm imagery is clearly not unique to Southwell and Shakespeare, but the use both poets make of it is strikingly similar in revealing very comparable themes. As in the two Shakespearean plays already discussed, another important theme in *The Winter's Tale* is that many characters come to recognise 'the truth of your own seeming', in a phrase that Camillo ironically applies to Perdita.³² She appears to be merely the 'queen of curds and cream',³³ but as the audience knows, she is the Princess of Sicilia, and Leontes's heir. Both Southwell and Shakespeare are concerned with the nature of truth and reality. As Peter Quince tells his aristocratic audience at the wedding celebrations, 'Gentles, perchance you wonder at this show, / But wonder on, till truth make all things plain.'³⁴

The Winter's Tale was written at some time between 1609 and 1611, with late 1610 the date suggested by the editor of the most recent Arden edition.³⁵ Simon Forman recounted seeing the play on 15 May 1611.³⁶ The New Oxford Shakespeare's recent edition of *The Complete Works* gives dates of between 1609 and 1611.³⁷ Martin Wiggins, in his magisterial *British Drama: A Catalogue*, is sure of a date of 1611.³⁸ Once again, however, none of the editions consulted for this chapter make any reference at all to Southwell, including the *New Variorum*

³¹ *King Lear*, 3. 4. 28-9 and 32-3.

³² *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 4. 657.

³³ *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 4. 161.

³⁴ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by R.A. Foakes, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5. 1. 126-7.

³⁵ Pitcher, 'Introduction', pp. 1 and 84-90.

³⁶ Pitcher, 'Introduction', p. 84.

³⁷ *The Complete Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, Gabriel Egan, The New Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

³⁸ Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama: 1553-1642: A Catalogue*, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2017).

Edition.³⁹ John Klause has only two passing references to the play,⁴⁰ and although *The Winter's Tale* has been described as pointing to the 'miracle of redeeming love, penitence and reconciliation', few if any critics have associated it with the writings of Southwell.⁴¹ In the concluding stanza of *Saint Peters Complaynt*, Peter prays passionately that Jesus will 'Redeeme my lapse with raunsome of thy love, / Traverse th'inditement, rigors doome suspend'.⁴² Leontes repents for sixteen years, and has 'performed / A saint-like sorrow.'⁴³ The words of the penultimate stanza of *Saint Peters Complaynt* could equally apply to Leontes addressing the newly reconciled Hermione, or to any repentant sinner addressed by Southwell:

Let true remorse thy due revenge abate:
Let teares appease when trespassse doth incense:
Let pittie temper thy deserved hate.⁴⁴

The 'truth of your own seeming' involves many characters in *The Winter's Tale*. Leontes believes that he is the only one capable of discerning Hermione's adultery with Polixenes.

His courtiers 'cannot or will not / relish a truth like us'.⁴⁵ Their 'ignorant credulity will not /

³⁹ *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Robert Kean Turner and Virginia Westline Haas (New York: T.M.L.A.O.A., 2005). Other editions of *The Winter's Tale* consulted apart from the Arden edition of 2010 are: *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. by Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); *The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); *The New Penguin Shakespeare*, ed. by Ernest Schanzer (London: Penguin, 1969); *The New Clarendon Shakespeare*, ed. by S. L. Bethell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956). Equally, there is no mention of Southwell in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Late Plays*, ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴⁰ John Klause, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), p. 30 and note 70, p. 293.

⁴¹ Joseph Sterrett, *The Unheard Prayer: Religious Toleration in Shakespeare's Drama* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 158.

⁴² Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 787-8.

⁴³ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 1-2.

⁴⁴ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 782-4.

⁴⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 166-7.

Come up to th'truth',⁴⁶ hence his decision to appeal to the Oracle of Apollo. Antigonus, Paulina and the rest of the courtiers have no doubt that Leontes is deluded, a delusion which would lead only to laughter, 'If the good truth were known.'⁴⁷ Leontes wrongly assumes that Mamillius's illness is because the boy recognises 'the dishonour of his mother!', rather than his grief at her plight.⁴⁸ When Apollo's verdict is revealed, Leontes instantly exclaims, 'There is no truth at all I th'oracle [...] this is mere falsehood.'⁴⁹ The punishment is equally instant, 'The prince your son [...] Is dead.'⁵⁰ Immediately Leontes recognises his foolish mistaking, 'I have too much believed mine own suspicion.'⁵¹ He repents his jealousy and false suspicion, publicly admits his plan to have Polixenes murdered, and recognises that 'the good Camillo' is indeed 'a man of truth'.⁵² And when he is openly and savagely chastised by Paulina, for the second time, he now meekly accepts her criticisms. Instead of threatening that 'I'll ha' thee burnt', he believes that 'thou didst speak but well / When most the truth'.⁵³ Truth is again an essential element in the play, as it is in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Shakespeare's emphasis in Acts Two and Three on 'truth', on seeing the reality behind the appearance, is, of course, also Southwell's concern. The deceiving poets who peddle 'Prophaine conceites and fayninge fittes',⁵⁴ and who 'Cloud [...] with mistie loves' the

⁴⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 192-3.

⁴⁷ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 199.

⁴⁸ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 12.

⁴⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 137-8.

⁵⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 141-2.

⁵¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 148.

⁵² *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 153-4.

⁵³ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 112 and 3. 2. 229-30.

⁵⁴ Southwell, *To the Reader*, found before the sequence of poems in the 'Waldegrave Manuscript', l. 13.

inward sight of their readers,⁵⁵ are analogous to those whom Paulina accuses of harming Leontes by creeping ‘like shadows by him and do sigh / At each his needless heavings’.⁵⁶ Like Southwell, she comes instead ‘with words as medicinal as true’, to restore him to health, life and true understanding.⁵⁷ Her words, like those of Rosaline and the Princess in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* are blunt, unflattering, but truthful and necessary. Southwell, equally, uses forceful language to try to restore his readers to spiritual understanding and awareness of their errors. He warns his father, in an attempt to bring him back to the Catholic faith, that ‘You have long sowed in a field of flint which could bring you nothing forth but a crop of cares and afflictions of spirit [...] repaying you with eternal damages.’⁵⁸ He tells his father grimly that, ‘You cannot now be inveigled with the passions of youth to make a partial estimate of things’⁵⁹, and insists that he should ‘henceforth be more fearful of hell than of persecution, and more eager of heaven than of worldly repose.’⁶⁰ He is equally forthright when writing to his brother Thomas, ‘Why do you lend so much leisure to the devil to strengthen his hold; and why stop up the passages with mire by which the pure waters of grace must flow into your soul?’⁶¹

⁵⁵ Southwell, *The Author to the Reader*, found before *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 21.

⁵⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 2. 3. 33-4.

⁵⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 2. 3. 36.

⁵⁸ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, *EEBO*, p. viii.

⁵⁹ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. xiii.

⁶⁰ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. xvi.

⁶¹ Southwell, *Letter written to his Brother*, undated. Reproduced in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell, S.J.*, p. xx. This could possibly be Richard Southwell, who was imprisoned in the Fleet at the same time as Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591). Vallenger, like Southwell, was born in Norfolk, and was a poet, described at his trial on 16 May 1582 as ‘a maker of rhymes and such vayne thinges’. He was suspected of assisting in the publication of Henry Walpole’s elegy to Edmund Campion, often known as ‘Why do I use Paper, Penne and Inke?’ For the transcript of Vallenger’s trial, see San Marino, California, Henry Huntingdon Library, Ellesmere Manuscript EL 2665. There is an account of the events leading up to the trial and the trial itself in Anthony Petti, ‘Stephen Vallenger 1541-1591’, *Recusant History*, 6 . 6 (1962), pp. 248-64. Vallenger had both his ears cut off before his eventual death in prison. Richard Southwell would act as an executor of Vallenger’s will. See Kew, London,

Southwell also wishes that he could send Thomas ‘the sacrifice of my dearest veins, to try whether nature could awake remorse, and prepare a way for grace’s entrance.’⁶² He ends the poem ‘Loves Garden grief’ by warning his readers that ‘Your sweetest smell’ is merely ‘the stench of synfull livynge’, and that by submitting to ‘Your gardener Satan all yow reape is misery’.⁶³ In his appeal to Elizabeth, he is outspoken in his references to what he calls ‘the slaunders that are published against us’.⁶⁴ Like Paulina, and Hermione during her trial, Southwell is bold in defence of what he perceives as truth and justice. ‘Wee are made the common Theame of every rayling declaimer, abused without meanes or hope of remedie, by everie wretch with most infamous names’, he informs the Queen.⁶⁵ *An Epistle of Comfort* makes plain, however, Southwell’s view that persecution and suffering will ultimately lead to a glorious victory, ‘Our prisons preach, our punishments converte, our deade quarters and bones confounde your heresye [...] from our ashes spring others’.⁶⁶ Southwell, like Paulina,

PRO, Special Commissions of the Exchequer E. 178/2978, and Petti, pp. 256-60. The Inventory of Vallenger’s possessions indicated that Richard Southwell already had possession of a number of items belonging to him, including clothing. A personal conversation with Professor Peter Davidson at Campion College, Oxford, on 4 October 2017, indicated his unawareness of the Southwell letter to his brother reproduced in the reprint of *The Collected Works of R. Southwell, S.J.* This edition is clearly based on the privately printed edition referred to above of *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (London: Robson, Fuller Worthies Library, 1872), which followed his discovery of manuscripts by Southwell in Stonyhurst College.

⁶² Southwell, *Letter to his Brother*, pp. xx-xxi.

⁶³ Southwell, ‘Loves Garden grief’, ll. 27 and 29.

⁶⁴ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie*, EEBO, p. 46. It is interesting that Garnet was forbidden permission by his superiors to print *Humble Supplication* at the time of Southwell’s writing it. See Nancy Pollard Brown, ‘Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word’, in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and The Early English Jesuits: Essays in Celebration of The First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 251-75 (p. 255). Ironically, the *Supplication* was first officially published with the support of the Bishop of London in 1600, at the time of the Archpriest Dissension. The Jesuits had tried to limit access to manuscripts of Southwell’s appeal to the Queen because they believed it was too emollient to Elizabeth. Catholic activists Peter Bullock and James Duckett might not have agreed; both were hanged in 1602 after having been found guilty of distributing the text. See Scott R. Pilarz, *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), pp. xiv and 239.

⁶⁵ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, p. 76.

⁶⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fifteenth Chapter, p. 197.

is 'your physician' who comes 'with words as medicinal as true' for the healing of misguided and lost souls.⁶⁷ Paulina, in powerful and resonant lines, warns Leontes that 'It is an heretic that makes the fire, / Not she which burns in't.'⁶⁸ 'I'll not call you tyrant', she says,

But this most cruel usage of your queen,
Not able to produce more accusation
Than your own weak-hinged fancy, something savours
Of tyranny, and will ignoble make you,
Yea, scandalous to the world.⁶⁹

After the 'death' of Hermione, she challenges Leontes:

What studied torments, tyrant, hast for me?
What wheels, racks, fires? What flaying, boiling
In leads or oils? What old or newer torture
Must I receive, whose every word deserves
To taste of thy most worst?⁷⁰

These references to the accusations, tortures and punishments that captured Jesuit priests could expect to face are graphically transposed to Paulina's words. Robert Cecil is recorded as telling a friend about the interrogations of Southwell after the Jesuit's capture:

They boast about the heroes of antiquity but we have a new torture which is not possible for a man to bear. And yet I have seen Robert Southwell hanging by it, still as a tree trunk, and none able to drag one word from his mouth.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 53 and 36.

⁶⁸ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 113-14.

⁶⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 114-19.

⁷⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 172-76.

⁷¹ Recorded in *An Epistle of Comfort*, ed. by Margaret Waugh, 'Introduction', p. ix. See also Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 288.

In the various accounts of Southwell's trial, all include his accusation that he suffered torture at the hands of Topcliffe. 'I have been tortured ten times. I had rather endured ten executions.'⁷²

In the Tenth Chapter of *An Epistle of Comfort*, Southwell writes, 'how can we but willingly embrace the death that assigneth us to our last home, delivering us out of these worldly snares[...] ?'⁷³ If his appeal to Elizabeth is more emollient than was acceptable to some of his Jesuit colleagues, he insists at the end of *An Humble Supplication* that the Catholics are slandered by 'open and unsupportable untruths, no lesse needful for your majesty to know, then for us to disprove'.⁷⁴ Courage, truth, honesty and self-knowledge are the subject matter of both Shakespeare and Southwell. In the beautiful and powerful statue scene which is the climax of *The Winter's Tale*, these qualities triumph. Perdita, like her mother, has already been shown to possess both courage and constancy. She does not quail at Polixenes's anger when revealing himself at the sheep-shearing.

I was not much afeard, for once or twice,
I was about to speak and tell him plainly,
The selfsame sun that shines upon his court
Hides not his visage from our cottage⁷⁵

⁷² Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 309. See also Henry Garnet's accounts of Southwell's trial and execution, London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscript Anglia A. 11. Also, Garnet's letter to Aquaviva dated 22 February 1595, Fodo Gesuitico, Rome, F.G. 651, f. 115., reproduced in Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606*, pp. 194-9. Also, Richard Verstegan, *A Breve Discourse of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr Robert Southwell Priste of The Socitie Of Jesus*, London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Archives, Anglia MS A 111.1. (11.1).

⁷³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Tenth Chapter, pp. 138.

⁷⁴ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, p. 86.

⁷⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 4.447-50.

Equally, she gains Camillo's admiration when refuting his argument that only 'Prosperity's the very bond of love'. 'I think affliction may subdue the cheek, / But not take in the mind',⁷⁶ she retorts, in lines reminiscent of Sonnet 116.⁷⁷ Just as Southwell's Marie Magdalen is steadfast in her love despite difficulties and dangers, so Perdita is equally loyal and true.

By the final scene, Perdita has already been revealed as the King's daughter that she truly is, and with the return to life of the Queen, the 'grace' which Hermione has personified in the first part of the play, and Perdita in the second half, is finally fully restored to Leontes.

You gods, look down,
And from your sacred vials pour your graces
Upon my daughter's head!

are Hermione's first lines after descending and embracing her penitent husband.⁷⁸ Love, forgiveness and reconciliation are the hallmarks of the end of *Winter's Tale*, as they are of the other Late Plays. They are also the key elements of a great deal of Southwell's writings, both in verse and prose. 'Let grace forgive, let love forget my fall', summarises the Christian theology that informs all of Southwell's work.⁷⁹ In *The Winter's Tale*, the 'grace' that Leontes deliberately rejects at the beginning of the play, is visibly restored when Hermione 'embraces him' and 'hangs about his neck'.⁸⁰

The word 'grace' and its variants are found more than twenty times in the play; in Shakespeare's works as a whole there are 516 uses of 'grace', and a further 184 of

⁷⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 4.578 and 581-2.

⁷⁷ Shakespeare, Sonnet 116, ll. 11-12. "Love alters not [...] / But bears it out even to the edge of doom". *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Katherine Duncan Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Nelson, 2004).

⁷⁸ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 121-3.

⁷⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 785.

⁸⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 111 -12.

‘gracious’.⁸¹ As John Pitcher indicates in his Arden edition of the play, the connotations here range from seemliness, reputation, honour, purity, God’s blessing, virtue, salvation, forgiveness, mercy and spiritual cleansing.⁸² The word is first used in the second scene when Hermione teases her husband with ‘Grace to boot!’, and follows this up with ‘O, would her name were Grace!’⁸³ The light-hearted tone with which the play begins soon darkens when Leontes shows his first obvious sign of the jealousy which will almost destroy his kingdom. ‘Then didst thou utter, / ‘I am yours for ever’’, leads to an unsuspecting Hermione claiming light-heartedly, ‘Tis grace indeed.’⁸⁴ By Act Two Hermione has been imprisoned, a punishment which she accepts stoically as ‘for my better grace.’⁸⁵ During her trial she asks Leontes to confirm ‘how I was in your grace’,⁸⁶ and after Perdita’s banishment and Hermione’s apparent death, Time emphasises the connection between mother and daughter by telling us that Perdita is ‘now grown in grace / Equal with wondering.’⁸⁷ After Polixenes’s intervention at the sheep-shearing, Autolycus gleefully describes the tortures awaiting the Shepherd for daring ‘to offer to have his daughter come into grace!’⁸⁸ Having finally reached Sicilia, Perdita and Florizel are described by the repentant and joyful Leontes as a ‘gracious couple’.⁸⁹ He shortly uses the same adjective to describe Polixenes as, ‘A graceful

⁸¹ Marvin Spevack, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, vol. I, *Drama and Character Concordances to the Folio Comedies* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1968). Also, vol. IV, *A Concordance to the Complete Works* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1969).

⁸² Pitcher, ‘Introduction’, note to 1. 2. 80, p. 156.

⁸³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 80 and 99.

⁸⁴ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 104-5.

⁸⁵ *The Winter’s Tale*, 2. 1. 122.

⁸⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 46.

⁸⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 1. 24-5.

⁸⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 781-2.

⁸⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 1. 133.

gentleman' against whom 'I have done sin', one of many signs of his true repentance.⁹⁰ After listening to the Steward's account of the discovery of Perdita's real parentage, the Gentleman remarks that with 'Every wink of the eye some new grace will be born.'⁹¹

The striking repetition of 'grace' in the play suggests a deliberate usage by Shakespeare.

'Grace' was an important point of division between Catholic and Protestant doctrine during the Reformation, with Catholic theology insisting that 'Grace was envisaged as a process' which was enabled by, among other things, the performance of good works.⁹² Protestants, in particular Calvinists, were more inclined to view grace as 'a manifestation of God's will',⁹³ and to reject the Catholic belief that it was 'conditional on good behaviour, conscience, or proper observance of the sacraments.'⁹⁴ Richard Hooker, the prominent Anglican theologian, wrote that, 'Though grace therefore bee lost by desert, yet it is not by desert given.'⁹⁵ Paul's words in *Romans* were a key text for Protestants: 'they are justified by His grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus,'⁹⁶ as were the verses in *Ephesians*, 'For by

⁹⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 170-1.

⁹¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 2. 108-9.

⁹² Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 290. This was the doctrine promulgated at the Council of Trent in January 1547. See Cummings, p. 290; for a detailed discussion of all the deliberations of the Council, Hubert Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. E. Graf, 2 vols. (London: 1957-61).

⁹³ Cummings, *The Literary Culture*, p. 290.

⁹⁴ Cummings, *The Literary Culture*, pp. 290-1. Calvin's views are recorded in his *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Strasbourg: W. Rihel, 1539) 3. 24.

⁹⁵ Richard Hooker, 1554-1600 *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594. In *Works of Hooker*, 5 vols., ed. by W. Speed Hill (Cambridge Mass.: Folger Library Edition, Belknap Press, 1972-90), iv. 165. Also, Cummings, *The Literary Culture*, p. 320.

⁹⁶ Romans 3. 24, *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of your selves: it is the gifte of God, not of workes'.⁹⁷

Shakespeare, however, would seem to suggest in *The Winter's Tale* that Leontes's recovery of 'grace' is at least partially earned because of the 'saint-like sorrow' he has demonstrated over sixteen long years.⁹⁸ As with Southwell's Peter, 'Divorc'd from grace thy soule to penance wed'.⁹⁹ At the very least we can accept that Shakespeare, like Southwell, was offering his audience 'acute reflections on the intellectual challenges of Reformed theology,'¹⁰⁰ even if Southwell's reflections are less opaque than those of his 'cosen'.

In the final scene, therefore, Paulina is able to accord Leontes the grace lost because of his jealousy and mistrust of Hermione. Paulina describes Leontes's willingness to visit her 'poor house' as 'a surplus of your grace which never / My life may last to answer.'¹⁰¹ Leontes himself applies the epithet to Hermione when he sees her statue, 'she was as tender as infancy and grace.'¹⁰² In an example of the typology that is common in the play, Leontes's language reminds us of Act one Scene two, where Polixenes describes the innocence of youth:

We were as twinned lambs that did frisk i' th' sun
And bleat the one at th' other: what we changed
Was innocence for innocence.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Ephesians 2. 8-9, *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

⁹⁸ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 2.

⁹⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynte*, l. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Adrian Streete, *Protestantism and Drama in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 12.

¹⁰¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 6-8.

¹⁰² *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 26-7.

¹⁰³ *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 67-9.

Leontes's return to grace and innocence, made possible by his deep repentance in which he has 'paid down / more penitence than done trespass',¹⁰⁴ enables him to recover 'that which is lost',¹⁰⁵ in his wife, his daughter, and his old friend, Polixenes. 'Grace' returns to Sicilia, not only through the restoration of Hermione and Perdita, but also through the transformation of Leontes from the 'tyrant' king of the first half of the play¹⁰⁶ into the man who, like Peter, has been able to achieve 'true remorse'.¹⁰⁷ As a result, both Peter and Leontes have found the gracious cancellation of their 'debtes'.¹⁰⁸ Brian Cummings has argued that an important characteristic of language in the early modern period was 'an endless aspiration to escape from itself, to reach out for grace.'¹⁰⁹ In this emphasis on 'grace' by both Shakespeare and Southwell, we can again see a close connection between the characters created and the themes developed by both of these powerful and sensitive writers.

I have already discussed Southwell's address *To the Reader* found before the Waldegrave Manuscript. His intention, to find 'measured wordes' to enable him to 'applie' 'verse to virtue', is an important element in his literary relationship with Shakespeare.¹¹⁰ Both writers have a deep concern for their art, even if the uses they put it to are different. In his plays, Shakespeare is the professional man of the theatre, entertaining his audiences, but also stimulating their minds and hearts. Southwell's aims, as we have seen, are more overtly polemical. He concludes *To the Reader* with the uncompromising assertion that 'It is the

¹⁰⁴ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 133.

¹⁰⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 114 and 120.

¹⁰⁷ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 782.

¹⁰⁸ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 792. This is in the final line of the poem; 'Cancell my debtes, sweete Jesu, say Amen.'

¹⁰⁹ Cummings, *The Literary Culture*, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ Southwell, *To the Reader*, ll. 15-16.

sweetest note that man can singe / When grace in Vertews keye tunes natures stringe.’¹¹¹ But ‘grace’ also sweetens *The Winter’s Tale*, even if the ‘speaking picture’ of the stage still allows each member of the audience to ‘discover his own truth’.¹¹²

The importance of ‘nature’, especially for *The Winter’s Tale* will be considered later.

Southwell’s use of grace, however, is also highly significant in his work, and extremely extensive. The *Letters* to his father and brother both use the word in key passages; in the peroration of the letter to his father, he implores him to seek ‘the light of grace’, so that he may escape ‘the horror of eternal night’.¹¹³ He reassures his father that ‘grace quickneth’;¹¹⁴ his brother is warned not to ‘stop up the passages with mire by which the pure waters of grace must flow into your soul’.¹¹⁵ In 1589, as part of his work in England, Southwell translated into English a work entitled *A Hundred Meditations on the Love of God*, in two of which he writes of ‘the benefitt of grace given unto our soule’, and of ‘the benefitt of this divine grace and love’.¹¹⁶ It is in his verse, however, that Southwell is most concerned with the effects of

¹¹¹ Southwell, *To the Reader*, ll. 17-18.

¹¹² M. Trousdale, *Shakespeare and the Rhetoricians* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1982), p. 49. Discussed in Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 71.

¹¹³ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, (Forgotten Books, 2012), p. xviii. This page is missing in the edition available on EEBO.

¹¹⁴ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. iii, EEBO, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Southwell, *Letter to his Brother*, p.xx. This letter is printed in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell*, but with no critical comment. The wording of the letter, with its references to ‘bail’, ‘prison’, ‘bondage’ and liberty’, suggest that its recipient was Richard Southwell, Robert’s brother, who was held as a prisoner in the Fleet with Stephen Vallenger, who was accused of aiding in the publication of *A True Reporte Of The Death & Martyrdome of M. Campion, Jesuite and Preiste* in 1582. Vallenger had both his ears cut off; Richard was an executor of his will. See Kew, Public Record Office, Special Commissions of the Exchequer, E. 178/2978. Also, Anthony Petti, ‘Stephen Vallenger (1541-1591)’, *Recusant History*, 6.6 (October 1962). Professor Peter Davison was unaware of the existence of this letter during a private conversation at Campion College, Oxford, on 4 October 2017.

¹¹⁶ Southwell, *An Hundred Meditations On The Love Of God* (1589), ‘Meditations’ xxxviii and xxxix. These were translated from the work of Father Diego de Estella. There is a copy of the work in The Jesuit Archives, London. See Anne R. Sweeney, *Robert Southwell Snow in Arcadia: Redrawing the English Lyric Landscape, 1596-95* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 82, and James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard

‘grace’. *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ‘Mary Magdalens Blushe,’ ‘At home in heaven’, ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’, ‘Contente and ritche’, ‘Dyers phancy’, ‘A Vale of teares’, ‘The prodigall chylds soule wracke’ and ‘The Conception of our Ladie’ from the sequence of poems on the Virgin Mary and Christ, are all examples of his verse which contain uses of ‘grace’, often with considerable repetition. *Saint Peters Complaynt* has almost twenty examples, starting with Peter’s guilt and grief at his betrayal of Christ with which the poem begins, causing his soul to be ‘Divorc’d from grace.’¹¹⁷ The ‘crusted malice’ of Christ’s accusers on the night of his arrest ‘could admit no grace’,¹¹⁸ and for Peter and all those estranged from God’s love, ‘Sinne did all grace of riper groth devour’.¹¹⁹ Man’s rebellion from his true nature, and his defiance of God has led only to his being ‘Disrob’d of grace [...] wrapt in Adams rags.’¹²⁰ The similarity to Leontes’s fall from grace, when he accuses Hermione of adultery and turns love and harmony into falsehood and hatred, is striking. The movement of Southwell’s poem mirrors *The Winter’s Tale* in the protagonists’ journey through sin and suffering to penitence and forgiveness. For both Peter and Leontes, their ‘losse of grace’, was caused because ‘My sight was vaild till I my selfe confounded’.¹²¹ As we have seen, both poem and play end with the reconciliation and renewal brought about by repentance, patience and grace.

In ‘Mary Magdalens Blushe’ Southwell again imagines the thoughts and feelings of the heroine of *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, this time exploring the shame and guilt caused by the sensual life she led before encountering Christ. Southwell imaginatively develops the

Brown, eds., *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xxiv. Over ninety of these *Meditations* refer to ‘love’ or ‘beloved’.

¹¹⁷ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 10.

¹¹⁸ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 249.

¹¹⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 480.

¹²⁰ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 576.

¹²¹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 670 and 663.

Biblical narrative found in all four Gospels. Mary's 'blushinge face' bears testimony to the weakness that led her to seek a life where 'sence' and 'pleasure' 'spoyleth yow of grace'.¹²² The guilt and repentance shown in the poem will lead ultimately to her conversion, and to the loyalty and love shown to Christ in *Funerall Teares*. As with Peter - and Leontes - the grace that enables the characters' transformations is evident and an important element in this short poem. In the longer 'Content and ritche', where the voice heard is apparently that of the poet himself, the opening stanza personifies grace.

I dwell in graces court
 Enrichd with vertues rightes
 Faith guides my Witt, love leades my Will
 Hope all my mynde delightes.¹²³

The poem celebrates the simplicity of living when 'I feelee no care of coyne',¹²⁴ and in memorable lines Southwell declares, 'My mynd to me an Empire is / While grace affordeth helth'.¹²⁵ Like the 'dear love' celebrated in Shakespeare's Sonnet 124, which is not dependent on 'smiling pomp' nor 'policy, that heretic',¹²⁶ Southwell enjoys 'Contented thoughts' because 'My blisse is in my breste'.¹²⁷ Courts, crowns, empires, wealth, fine clothes and rich food are nothing to the poet, who has 'no hopes but one / Which is of heavenly raigne'.¹²⁸ The 'sweet love remembered' by Shakespeare will also bring 'such wealth [...] / That then I scorn to change my state with kings.'¹²⁹ Southwell's 'love' is clearly

¹²² Southwell, 'Mary Magdalens Blushe', ll. 1, 25, 7 and 32.

¹²³ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 1-4.

¹²⁴ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', l. 25.

¹²⁵ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 27-8.

¹²⁶ Shakespeare, Sonnet 124, ll. 1, 6 and 9.

¹²⁷ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 10 and 12.

¹²⁸ Southwell, 'Content and ritche', ll. 21-2.

¹²⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 29, ll. 13-14.

for a divine rather than an earthly object, but the language and imagery and values expressed in these seemingly very personal verses by both poets are again strikingly similar.

In 'Dyers phancy', Southwell's adaptation of Dyer's love verses into a poem of repentance for sin, Southwell explores the guilt and unease caused by the sinner's 'mortall fall [...] whom grace and vertue once advaunced'.¹³⁰ The narrator admits, 'my sence is passions spie', which has destroyed the peace of mind that he enjoyed 'While grace did it upholde'.¹³¹ In the same way, Leontes, once he is possessed by jealousy and mistrust, loses his self-control, and therefore his ability to see and judge clearly. 'There is a plot against my life, my crown; / All's true that is mistrusted.'¹³² He can no longer distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil. 'I have drunk, and seen the spider.'¹³³ Like the speaker in 'Dyers phancy', he is 'forsaken firste by grace', and can only wonder, 'Then grace where is the joye'?¹³⁴ Like the later Leontes, the speaker's repentance is clearly sincere; 'Yet is my greife not faynd / Wherein I sterve and pyne' are almost the final lines of the poem.¹³⁵ He knows too that 'I cannot blott out of my harte / That grace wrote in his name',¹³⁶ and if the mercy and forgiveness offered by God's grace are only pre-figured in this poem, unlike at the conclusion of *The Winter's Tale*, others of Southwell's works show the full extent of divine grace.

'The prodigall chylds soule wracke', which as the title suggests uses the extended image of a storm at sea to evoke a soul 'Enwrapped in the waves of woe / And tossed with a toilsome

¹³⁰ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complainte', ll. 42-3.

¹³¹ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', ll. 37 and 40.

¹³² *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 47-8.

¹³³ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 45.

¹³⁴ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', ll. 77 and 81.

¹³⁵ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', ll. 149-50.

¹³⁶ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', ll. 107-8.

tide',¹³⁷ continues with the first-person narrator rescued from the 'bewitching charmes' of 'Death and deceite'.¹³⁸ The poem concludes with the narrator saved from the 'Syrens songs' that threatened to engulf him, and restored because 'mercy raysd me from my fall, / And grace my ruines did repaire'.¹³⁹ Equally, the Bohemian sea that mocked 'the poor souls' in Antigonus's ship becomes the 'prosperous south wind friendly' that restores Perdita, and ultimately Hermione, to a transformed and gentle Leontes.¹⁴⁰ A similar theme is found in Southwell's 'Lew'd Love is Losse', where the poet urges the reader to turn from the impure graces of 'Beautyes base [...] That do thy erring thoughtes from god remove'.¹⁴¹ The first-person voice, presumably that of Southwell himself, begs his readers to choose instead 'Trew love in heaven', and attribute 'All grace to god from whome all graces runne'.¹⁴² Instead of falling into 'the luring trayne of phansies trapp',¹⁴³ in another reminder of Southwell's warning against the dangers of yielding to 'The feyning Poets stile',¹⁴⁴ he wishes the reader to mend his 'Misdeeming eye', and to see clearly again.¹⁴⁵ Failure to do this will lead only to 'The grave of grace'.¹⁴⁶ Paulina's command to Hermione in the final scene, 'Tis time; descend; be stone no more;' is followed by the beautiful line, 'I'll fill your grave up'.¹⁴⁷ The 'marvel' that fills both the on-stage and off-stage audiences who watch Hermione obey

¹³⁷ Southwell, 'The prodigall chylds soule wracke', ll. 6-7.

¹³⁸ Southwell, 'The prodigall chylds soule wracke', ll. 41 and 37.

¹³⁹ Southwell, 'The prodigall chylds soule wracke', ll. 49 and 59-60.

¹⁴⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 3. 88 and 5. 1. 160.

¹⁴¹ Southwell, 'Lewd Love is Losse', ll. 3-4.

¹⁴² Southwell, 'Lewd Love is Losse', ll. 12 and 6.

¹⁴³ Southwell, 'Lewd Love is Losse', l. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Southwell, 'Dyers phancy', l. 146.

¹⁴⁵ Southwell, 'Lewd Love is Losse', l. 1.

¹⁴⁶ Southwell, 'Lewd Love is Losse', l. 39.

¹⁴⁷ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 99 and 101.

Paulina and step down to embrace Leontes,¹⁴⁸ is analogous to that which fills Southwell when he considers that ‘Gods love alone doth end with endlesse ease / Whose joyes in hope, whose hope concludes in peace’.¹⁴⁹

Other significant references to ‘grace’ in Southwell’s verse include the first of the poems in his sequence of fourteen poems on the Virgin Mary and Christ, ‘The Conception of our Ladie’. This short poem identifies Mary as ‘Our Second Eve’ who distils ‘the shoure of grace’, and who ‘was bred in grace’.¹⁵⁰ The baby who grew to be Christ’s mother combined ‘Both grace and nature’,¹⁵¹ in a description that reminds us of Florizel’s praise of Perdita, whose grace when she dances makes him wish her ‘A wave o’ th’ sea, that you might ever do / Nothing but that’.¹⁵² Southwell’s praise of Mary is equally hyperbolic when he writes: ‘What grace to men or Angells god did part / Was all united in this infants hart.’¹⁵³

The imagery of the infant Jesus described in perhaps Southwell’s most famous poem, ‘The burning Babe’, will be discussed in the next chapter, but Southwell’s hymn of praise to Mary describes how her birth will allow earth to breed ‘a heaven for gods new dwelling place’;¹⁵⁴ in other words, ‘The Nativity of Christe’ that becomes the sixth poem in the sequence. This union of heaven and earth, alluded to in Southwell’s letter to his father when he writes that, ‘Nature by grace is not abolished, nor destroyed, but perfited’,¹⁵⁵ mirrors words from

¹⁴⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 3. 100.

¹⁴⁹ Southwell, ‘Lewd Love is Losse’, ll. 17-18.

¹⁵⁰ Southwell, ‘The Concepcion of our Ladie’, ll. 1, 4 and 18.

¹⁵¹ Southwell, ‘The Concepcion of our Ladie’, l. 7. Southwell also uses the phrase in his *Letter to his Father*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵² *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 141-2.

¹⁵³ Southwell, ‘The Concepcion of our Ladie’, ll. 11-12.

¹⁵⁴ Southwell, ‘The Concepcion of our Ladie’, l. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Southwell, *Letter to his Father*, p. iii, *EEBO*, p. 5.

Revelation 21 where John sees ‘a new heaven, & a new earth.’¹⁵⁶ The ‘floures of grace’¹⁵⁷ that are to be found in God’s presence can be enjoyed again by humankind, once they see clearly that it is only the delusion of ‘mortall worthes’ that cause the ‘Misdeeming eye’¹⁵⁸ to exile them from being ‘At home in heaven’. These ‘veyles thy graces shrou’d’, and prevent those who have strayed from realising that ‘Grace more then thyne but gods the world hath none.’¹⁵⁹

Southwell’s somewhat difficult syntax here perhaps emphasises the urgency and passion with which he addresses his readers. Leontes’s thoughts, too, in the anger and anguish he suffers once his jealousy has possessed him, can be difficult to follow, although perhaps more so on the page than in the theatre. When displaying his mistrust of Hermione and Polixenes, he confuses Mamillius, as well as Polixenes and Hermione in a lengthy speech which begins, ‘Can thy dam? May’t be / Affection? – thy intention stabs the centre, / Thou dost make possible things not so held’.¹⁶⁰ Polixenes’s response is simply, ‘What means Sicilia?’¹⁶¹ Stephen Orgel has suggested that Shakespeare’s first audiences might also have struggled with such syntactically difficult speeches.¹⁶² Russ McDonald has commented on ‘the chaotic metrical scheme in Leontes’ ravings about sexual infidelity’.¹⁶³ He does not, however, fully accept that such apparently distorted verse, with its use of elision in particular to help create ‘such disorientating language’, is Shakespeare’s way of indicating Leontes’s ‘unstable

¹⁵⁶ Revelation 21 v. 1, *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

¹⁵⁷ Southwell, ‘At home in heaven’, l. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Southwell, ‘Lewd Love is Losse’, ll. 1-2.

¹⁵⁹ Southwell, ‘At home in heaven’, ll. 1 and 42.

¹⁶⁰ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 137-9.

¹⁶¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 146.

¹⁶² *The Winter’s Tale*, The Oxford Shakespeare, 1996, ed. Orgel, Introduction, pp. 11-12.

¹⁶³ Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare’s Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 29.

mind.’¹⁶⁴ McDonald is unconvinced that such speeches as are found in the opening two acts in particular are intended to reflect ‘the character’s frame of mind’.¹⁶⁵ It is noticeable, however, that Leontes’s equally sudden repentance in Act Three restores him not only to a clearer vision of the truth, but to a simpler and more direct idiolect.

I have too much believed mine own suspicion.
Beseech you, tenderly apply to her
Some remedies for life.¹⁶⁶

Shakespeare’s use of language, both during the period of Leontes’s ‘diseased opinion’ and after his equally sudden and dramatic repentance, surely reflects both Leontes’s mental state as well as Shakespeare’s theme of wrong-seeing and misjudgement.¹⁶⁷ The clarity and gentleness of the short speech quoted above, with its use of ‘beseech’ and ‘tenderly’, show the transformation in Leontes. His ‘sickness’, as much as Hermione’s apparent death, both require a form of treatment to bring about the restoration of the joy that once existed in Sicilia. These ‘remedies for life’ are also Southwell’s main concern throughout his writings. If Leontes ‘denies everything that is real’ while under the spell of his jealousy,¹⁶⁸ then Southwell argues that ‘errorr gravelled with Jelosye / And cares of life’¹⁶⁹ prevent man from recognising and accepting the ‘one perfect blisse’ that would restore his joy and peace.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ McDonald, *Shakespeare’s Late Style*, pp. 29 and 88. McDonald discusses what he calls the ‘debatable question of mimetic prosody’ throughout his book, particularly in his Introduction, pp. 29-37.

¹⁶⁵ McDonald, *Shakespeare’s Late Style*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 148-50.

¹⁶⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 295.

¹⁶⁸ Pitcher, *The Winter’s Tale*, ‘Introduction’, p. 8.

¹⁶⁹ Southwell, ‘Loves Garden Grief’, ll. 9-10.

¹⁷⁰ Southwell, ‘From Fortunes Reach’, l. 24.

‘Christ, health of fever’d soules’ and ‘light of the blind’, is Southwell’s remedy for healing the ills of mankind.¹⁷¹

We have seen the importance that Southwell attaches to grace, and its significance for *The Winter’s Tale*, with the various meanings which Shakespeare attaches to the word. Another key image in the play can be described as revealing the antithesis of grace. In ‘Saint Peters afflicted mynde’, Southwell has Peter admit that ‘My Malidye is sinne / And languor of the mynde’.¹⁷² The first two Acts of *The Winter’s Tale* are full of uses of disease imagery to describe the afflictions of Leontes, and the madness that has gripped him so suddenly. When he sees Hermione offer her hand to Polixenes, his aside is, ‘I have *tremor cordis* on me.’¹⁷³ He is instantly certain of Hermione’s guilt: ‘I find it, / And that to the infection of my brains’.¹⁷⁴ ‘Physic for’t there’s none: / It is a bawdy planet’.¹⁷⁵ As we saw above, Camillo begs him to ‘be cured / Of this diseased opinion,’¹⁷⁶ but Leontes insists that, ‘Were my wife’s liver / Infected as her life, she would not live / The running of one glass.’¹⁷⁷ Camillo tells Polixenes that:

There is a sickness
Which puts some of us in distemper, but
I cannot name the disease, and it is caught
Of you that yet are well.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 751 and 753.

¹⁷² Southwell, ‘Saint Peters afflicted mynde’, ll. 9-10.

¹⁷³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 110.

¹⁷⁴ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 144-5.

¹⁷⁵ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 199-200.

¹⁷⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 294-5.

¹⁷⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 302-4.

¹⁷⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 380-3.

Polixenes denies Leontes's accusation, insisting 'then my best blood turn / To an infected jelly',¹⁷⁹ and he be shunned 'worse than the great'st infection / That e'er was heard or read',¹⁸⁰ if he had 'Touched his queen / Forbiddenly.'¹⁸¹

All these examples are found in just over three hundred lines in the second scene of the play. Shakespeare is clearly showing the sudden and destructive power of the sin that has overtaken Leontes. It has led him within minutes from a sulky reply to Hermione, 'At my request he would not',¹⁸² to demanding the murder of his best friend. Paulina, who stands out against the King's delusions, tells him that she comes,

With words as medicinal as true,
Honest as either, to purge him of that humour
That presses him from sleep.¹⁸³

She is his 'loyal servant, your physician'.¹⁸⁴ Just as Macbeth's ambition and crimes lead to 'the torture of the mind' that comes to possess him,¹⁸⁵ so Leontes's jealousy prevents him from sleeping; 'he hath not slept tonight', his servant warns Paulina.¹⁸⁶ And as with Macbeth, his 'sickness' has repercussions beyond his own feelings and distempers the whole state. 'Bleed, bleed, poor country!', exclaims Macduff.¹⁸⁷ For Bohemia, the loss of both heirs is an

¹⁷⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 413-4.

¹⁸⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 419-20.

¹⁸¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 412-3.

¹⁸² *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 87.

¹⁸³ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 36-8.

¹⁸⁴ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 53.

¹⁸⁵ Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Methuen, 2006), 3. 2. 21.

¹⁸⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 3. 30.

¹⁸⁷ *Macbeth*, ed. by Muir, 4. 3. 31.

equally catastrophic situation. By being ‘in rebellion with himself’, Leontes has potentially brought disaster on his country as well as on his family and friends.¹⁸⁸

Southwell’s ‘remedy’ to still ‘the wormes of conscience that within me swarme’,¹⁸⁹ is, as we have seen, to persuade his readers to accept the ‘Mercy’ and forgiveness offered by the ‘pretty babe all burninge bright’, whose birth and death washes ‘mens defiled soules’.¹⁹⁰ As the Gentleman in *The Winter’s Tale* observes, ‘Every wink of an eye some new grace will be born.’¹⁹¹ David Beauregard comments that on the restoration of Hermione at the climax of the play, ‘The merely natural is left behind and Shakespeare ventures into a more spiritual region, the realm of grace.’¹⁹² Southwell wrote in *An Epistle of Comfort* of ‘the fullnesse of felicity, which neither eye hath seene, nor eare hearde, nor man’s heart atchived.’¹⁹³ If these lines return us to St Paul - and Bully Bottom - they also return us to the final scene of *The Winter’s Tale*, where forgiveness, reconciliation and love have purged the infection and sickness from Sicilia. The same chapter of *An Epistle of Comfort* also describes in more detail the nature of the ‘felicity’ to be found ‘In The Nexte Worlde’, where

The understanding shall be without erreure, the memorye without forgetfulnessee, the wille without evile desyeres, the thoughts pure and comfortable, the affection ordinate and measurable, all the passions governed by reasone and settled in a perfect calme.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 352.

¹⁸⁹ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 779.

¹⁹⁰ Southwell, ‘The burning Babe’, ll. 11, 4 and 12.

¹⁹¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 2. 108-9.

¹⁹² David N. Beauregard, *Catholic Theology in Shakespeare’s Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 110.

¹⁹³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fourteenth Chapter, p. 191.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

The movement throughout *The Winter's Tale* has been from sin, suffering, death, sorrow and repentance, to the new life and love expressed by Florizel and Perdita and restored ultimately to the relationship of Leontes and Hermione. In the second scene of the play, Hermione's giving her hand to Polixenes helps to inflame Leontes's jealousy. But in the final moments of the play, Leontes can say:

Look upon my brother. Both your pardons,
That e'er I put between your holy looks
My ill suspicion.¹⁹⁵

As Southwell would wish for his readers, and as his writings encourage, Leontes is no longer 'in rebellion with himself'.¹⁹⁶

Henry Garnet's account of Robert Southwell's execution at Tyburn described him as 'the bravest of martyrs', whose demeanour on the scaffold when facing his sentence of being hung, drawn and quartered, was of 'courage and nobility and gentleness'.¹⁹⁷ Southwell's final speech insisted that 'God Almighty knoweth that I never intended any harm' against the Queen, and he prayed for the 'preservation and salvation of her body and soul'.¹⁹⁸ The crowd of spectators, apparently led by Lord Mountjoy, refused to allow the intended evisceration of Southwell's body, and instead the hangman pulled on his legs until he was dead.¹⁹⁹ The

¹⁹⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 147-9.

¹⁹⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 2. 352.

¹⁹⁷ Henry Garnet, Letter to Aquaviva, 22 February 1595, Stonyhurst MS, Anglia 2, 4. Also Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606*, p. 197.

¹⁹⁸ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 322.

¹⁹⁹ Charles Blount (1563-1606), became the 8th Lord Mountjoy in June 1594. Devlin describes him as being a member of the Essex / Southampton circle, p. 262. A soldier and courtier, he was, as we have seen, long-term lover and then husband of Lady Penelope Rich. His presence and involvement at Southwell's execution is attested to in Garnet's letters to Rome of 22 February 1595 and 7 March 1595, London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst MS, Anglia 2, 4. Also in the contemporary account by Richard Verstegan, London, Jesuit Archives Stonyhurst MS, Anglia, A. ii, 1. Verstegan (1550-1640) was a Catholic 'intelligencer', based mainly in Antwerp, and heavily involved in correspondence with English recusants. See *The Letters and Despatches of Richard*

butchering then began, but rather than being dragged over the ground to the quartering block, Southwell's body was carried carefully by the hangman, 'a most unwonted courtesy', according to Garnet.²⁰⁰ Mountjoy is recorded there as exclaiming, 'I cannot answer for his religion, but I wish to God that my soul may be with his.'²⁰¹

The grace displayed by Southwell at his death and during his trial can also be seen in Hermione's dignity and courage during her trial before Leontes and his Lords. Like Southwell, she was 'accused and arraigned of high treason [...] contrary to the faith and allegiance of a true subject'.²⁰² Like Southwell also, she denied the charge, although well aware that 'Mine integrity / Being counted falsehood, shall, as I express it, / Be so received.'²⁰³ Southwell argued that 'By God I will be tried, but not by the law, for the law is contrary to the law of God.'²⁰⁴ Hermione's words were more poetic, but similar in meaning:

If powers divine
Behold our human actions - as they do -
I doubt not then but innocence shall make
False accusation blush and tyranny
Tremble at patience.²⁰⁵

Verstegan, ed. by Anthony G. Petti (London: Catholic Record Society, 1959). The contemporary Catholic historian Diego de Yepes also wrote an account in Spanish of Southwell's execution: *Historia Particular de La Persecucion De Inglaterra* (Madrid: 1599), pp. 642-47. Devlin describes Southwell's execution, pp. 323-4. The entry for Blount in the DNB is illuminating about Mountjoy's political and military career: *DNB online*, Christopher Maginn (Jan. 2008).

²⁰⁰ Henry Garnet, Letter to Aquaviva, 1 May 1595. Rome, Fondo Gesuitico, 651 f. 138. Cited by Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606*, p. 198.

²⁰¹ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 234.

²⁰² *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 13-19.

²⁰³ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 25-27.

²⁰⁴ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 307.

²⁰⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 27-31.

Hermione was ‘on every post / Proclaimed a strumpet’, and suffered from being denied ‘The childbed privilege’; instead, she has been hurried to public trial before ‘I have got strength of limit’.²⁰⁶ Threatened by Leontes with torture, ‘in whose easiest passage / Look for no less than death’,²⁰⁷ she reminds us of Southwell’s ordeal at the hands of Topcliffe, with torture, as Southwell described it, ‘worse than the rack’.²⁰⁸ When moved to Newgate just before his execution, Southwell was reportedly so weak from his sufferings that ‘his sides were not strong enough for him to call out aloud’ to the jailer.²⁰⁹ Like Hermione, Southwell remained calm and courteous throughout his trial, even when abused by Topcliffe, who lost his temper and shouted, ‘I would blow you all to pieces!’²¹⁰ Hermione’s replies to Leontes’s angry accusations remain gracious, though firm. ‘More than mistress of / Which comes to me in name of fault, I must not / At all acknowledge.’²¹¹ She denies all knowledge of conspiracy, ‘I know not how it tastes’,²¹² as did Southwell, who admitted that he was a Catholic priest, and ‘I thank God for it, but no Traitor’.²¹³ Hermione has faith that:

innocence shall make
False accusation blush and tyranny
Tremble at patience.²¹⁴

Her sufferings, however, have led her to prize life, ‘As I weigh grief, which I would spare.’²¹⁵ Southwell had long accepted that he would be almost certain to end his life on the scaffold,

²⁰⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 99-100, 101 and 104.

²⁰⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 88-9.

²⁰⁸ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 310.

²⁰⁹ Henry Garnet, Letter to Aquaviva, 22 February 1595. See note 178 above.

²¹⁰ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 311.

²¹¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 58-60.

²¹² *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 71.

²¹³ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 306.

²¹⁴ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 29-31.

and thereby achieve ‘the unspeakable felicity prepared [...] in the worlde to come’.²¹⁶ But, as *An Humble Supplication* makes clear, he regarded his reputation and honour, and that of the Jesuit order, as more important than his death. ‘An infamed life, being to free minds, more irksome than an innocent death’, he insists to the Queen.²¹⁷ His careful but courteous argument in his *Supplication*, made ‘reason his guide into our deliberations’.²¹⁸ The tone of the *Supplication* was, in fact, so reasonable that steps were later taken by the Jesuits to restrict the circulation of the appeal.²¹⁹ Southwell insists, however, on the loyalty of Catholics to the Crown, referring to ‘our too much wronged innocence’, and insists also that treason is ‘an offence that carrieth with it selfe a staine of infamie, as can never be taken out’.²²⁰

Hermione’s speech at her trial is not in order to save her own life, but, like Southwell’s, because of

Honour,
‘Tis a derivative from me to mine,
And only that I stand for.²²¹

For life, ‘I prize it not a straw’; she defends herself only ‘for mine honour, / Which I would free’.²²² As Southwell told the Queen, ‘we have beene long enough cut from all comforts, &

²¹⁵ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 42.

²¹⁶ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Thirteenth Chapter, p. 188.

²¹⁷ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, ed. Bald, p. 2.

²¹⁸ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, p. 20.

²¹⁹ Pollard Brown, ‘Robert Southwell and the Written Word’, p. 255.

²²⁰ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, pp. 19 and 21.

²²¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 42-44.

²²² *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 107-09.

stinted by an endlesse taske of sorrowes growing in griefes'.²²³ Similarly, Hermione tells Leontes:

Now, my liege,
Tell me what blessings I have here alive,
That I should fear to die.²²⁴

Again, we see a close similarity between the words and ideas of the playwright and the Jesuit. Hermione's speech ends with her 'altogether just' appeal to the oracle.²²⁵ Yet her final words are not of anger, but still of love. She wishes that her father, the Emperor of Russia, was alive to behold his daughter's trial: 'yet with eyes / Of pity, not revenge.'²²⁶

Southwell wrote of the Jesuit mission that, 'We come to shed our own, not to seek the effusion of others' blood.'²²⁷ The death of the Queen, her councillors or any of her Protestant subjects if caused by Catholic hands, would be 'our purchase of eternal dishonour.'²²⁸ He addresses the Queen respectfully as 'most excellent Princes';²²⁹ Hermione is equally courteous to Leontes, 'I never wished to see you sorry; now / I trust I shall.'²³⁰ Southwell's trial and execution, however, can be seen as a part of his evangelical purpose, symbolising his perfect faith in the goodness and justice of God. His final words on the scaffold, having

²²³ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, pp. 84-5.

²²⁴ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 104-06.

²²⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 115.

²²⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 120-21.

²²⁷ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, p. 59.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication*, p. 66.

²³⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 123-4.

prayed for the Queen and country, were, ‘*In Manus Tuas, Domine*’, as he made the sign of the cross.²³¹ Hermione’s faith is equally strong when she affirms, ‘Apollo be my judge’.²³²

The pre-Christian settings of *Pericles*, *The Winter’s Tale* and *Cymbeline* give Shakespeare the freedom to allude to religious matters in a way that would have been difficult or impossible with a contemporary setting. As S. L. Bethell pointed out, the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos ‘is poetically built up into a symbol of God’s overruling providence.’²³³ Few Shakespearean plays contain more Biblical allusions than *The Winter’s Tale*, with more than thirty in Act one Scene two alone, and at least sixty in the final two scenes of Act five.²³⁴ It seems clear that Shakespeare is concerned here, as Southwell was, with presenting the Christian view of the relationship between God and man. In words from Southwell’s best-known poem, ‘The fewell Justice layeth on and Mercy blowes the coals’.²³⁵ Christopher Baker argues that the Late Plays ‘all portray a dramatic movement towards unification and harmony that suggests the permanence of such spiritual values as love, forgiveness, and redemption.’²³⁶ The reunion of estranged or lost characters in *Pericles*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*, as well as in *The Winter’s Tale*, helps to create the ‘emotionally overwhelming moments’ that make the endings of these plays so powerful.²³⁷ The parallels between the trials of Southwell and Hermione, with their courage and faith and endurance, are clearly evident. The later events of *The Winter’s Tale* also reflect ideas and beliefs of great importance to Southwell, that were

²³¹ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 323.

²³² *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 114.

²³³ S. L. Bethell, *The Winter’s Tale: A Study* (London: Staples Press, 1947), p. 237.

²³⁴ Richard Parr, unpublished MA dissertation, *An Analysis of Biblical References in “The Merchant of Venice”, “Measure For Measure” and “The Winter’s Tale”* (Shakespeare Institute, 2010), Appendix, pp. ix-xiii.

²³⁵ Southwell, ‘The burning Babe’, l. 11.

²³⁶ Baker, *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare*, p. xi.

²³⁷ McDonald, *Shakespeare’s Late Style*, p. 231.

expressed by him in language again connecting him with Shakespeare, as we shall see. Sean Benson argues that ‘Shakespeare repeatedly evokes Christ’s resurrection from the dead when long-lost characters reunite’.²³⁸ Shakespeare’s skill as a dramatist allows him to bridge the two contrasting sections of *Winter’s Tale*, not just with the choric use of Time in Act four Scene one, but earlier, immediately after the famous stage instruction, *Exit, pursued by a bear*.²³⁹ The entrance of the Shepherd, with his complaints against ‘these boiled brains of nineteen and two-and-twenty’, changes the tone of the play from tragic to comic - and tender.²⁴⁰ Harley Granville- Barker was the first critic to classify the play as tragi-comedy.²⁴¹ The mood created by the Clown’s excited and somewhat unfeeling account of the deaths he has witnessed is transformed by his father’s gentleness and compassion on discovering the baby Perdita. ‘I’ll take it up for pity’, he tells us.²⁴² He also tells his son to ‘bless thyself’,²⁴³ words associated with the action of making the sign of the cross, a rite then associated with Catholicism and therefore disapproved of by more extreme Protestants.²⁴⁴ It was an action performed three times by Southwell while on the scaffold.²⁴⁵

The Shepherd’s following words are even more significant; ‘thou met’st with things dying, I with things newborn.’²⁴⁶ Southwell’s ‘The burning Babe’, his celebration of Christmas Day,

²³⁸ Sean Benson, *Shakespearean Resurrection: The Art of Almost Raising the Dead* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), p. 1.

²³⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3 .57.

²⁴⁰ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3. 62-3.

²⁴¹ Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), pp. 91-2.

²⁴² *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3. 74-5.

²⁴³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3. 110.

²⁴⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, second edition, 2005), p. 473.

²⁴⁵ Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 323.

²⁴⁶ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3. 110-11.

describes ‘A pretty babe all burning bright’,²⁴⁷ just as Shakespeare’s Shepherd describes the infant Perdita as ‘A pretty one, a very pretty one’.²⁴⁸ Perdita’s return to Sicilia will fulfil the Oracle; her relationship with Florizel, which is both erotic yet innocent, will wipe away the memory of Leontes’ sexual jealousy and disgust. ‘No barricado for a belly’, exclaims Leontes in his cynicism;²⁴⁹ ‘Not like a corpse – or if, not to be buried, / But quick and in mine arms’, is Perdita’s response to Florizel’s teasing.²⁵⁰ Their love, with Shakespeare’s emphasis on their innocence, is shown to be both true and natural. Florizel tells Perdita

I think you have
As little skill to fear as I have purpose
To put you to’t.²⁵¹

Their desire for each other is natural and good, but controlled. As Southwell wrote in *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, ‘there is nothing nowe more needeful to be entreated, than [...] to draw this floud of affections into the right chanel’.²⁵² Leontes’s promise of help to the runaways because ‘Your honour [is] not o’erthrown by your desires’,²⁵³ is reminiscent of Prospero’s warning to Ferdinand and Miranda not to ‘give dalliance / Too much the rein’.²⁵⁴ Florizel and Perdita’s love, however, is entirely pure, strong and honourable. It defeats both Leontes’s earlier attempts to destroy the baby Perdita, and Polixenes’s threats to their

²⁴⁷ Southwell, ‘The burning Babe’, l. 4.

²⁴⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 3. 69-70.

²⁴⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 203.

²⁵⁰ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 131-2.

²⁵¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 151-3.

²⁵² Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, EEBO (London: printed by John Wolfe for Gabriel Cawood, 1592), ‘Dedication’, p 2. The original text is held in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. Also, *Prose Works of Father Southwell, S.J.*, ed. by W. Jos. Walter (London: Keating and Brown, 1826), ‘Dedication’, pp. iv-v.

²⁵³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 1. 229.

²⁵⁴ *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1999), 4. 1. 51-2.

relationship towards the end of the sheep-shearing scene. The identification of Perdita with Hemione, discussed earlier, allows the audience to see ‘things newborn’ in a double sense, in both the discovery of Leontes’s daughter and heir, and in Hermione’s miraculous return.

This movement from death to life, from despair to hope, is a paradigm of the Christian Gospel which Southwell laid down his life to proclaim. His ‘A childe my Choyce’ praises the ‘Almightie babe’, and insists that, ‘To love him life to leave him death to live in him delighte’, and ‘out of his teares his sighes and throbs doth bud a joyfull springe’.²⁵⁵ The sheep-shearing scene is not completely idyllic - it does, after all, contain Autolycus as well as an angry Polixenes - but it shows sufficient love, innocence, grace and joy to prepare us for their full revelation in the final two scenes of the play. Winter turns to ‘joyfull’ Spring and new life at the conclusion of the play, in a contrast to the ending of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, where ‘Hiems, winter’, seems to have the last word rather than ‘Ver, the spring’.²⁵⁶ The discovery of Perdita as Leontes’s daughter, only narrated, and not seen by the audience, strikes the onlookers ‘as they had heard of a world ransomed, or one destroyed.’²⁵⁷ Southwell would concur with both these images. He wrote in the final lines of ‘The prodigall chylds soule wracke’,

Where cheyn’d in synn I lay in thrall
Next to the dungeon of despaire
Till mercy raysd me from my fall,
And grace my ruines did repaire.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Southwell, ‘A childe my Choyce’, ll. 15, 6 and 14.

²⁵⁶ *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 5. 2. 879.

²⁵⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 2. 14-15.

²⁵⁸ Southwell, ‘The prodigall chylds soule wracke’, ll. 57-60.

The ‘resurrection’ of Hermione is, of course, the dramatic climax of the play. Critics argue about whether Hermione was really dead. Paulina seems certain she is: ‘I say she’s dead – I’ll swear’t’, she asserts in Act three Scene two.²⁵⁹ If anyone can bring her back to life, ‘I’ll serve you / As I would do the gods.’²⁶⁰ The reference here to divine intervention is marked. Leontes wishes to be brought, ‘To the dead bodies of my queen and son’, and has Hermione buried with Mamillius; ‘One grave shall be for both’. He vows to visit the grave daily, ‘So long as nature / Will bear up with this exercise’.²⁶¹ In the final scene he acknowledges that

I saw her,
As I thought, dead, and have in vain said many
A prayer upon her grave.²⁶²

Death seems to have defeated life. The return to life of characters believed dead is, of course, a dramatic moment used by Shakespeare before, and used again in *Cymbeline*, but in none of the plays does it assume the overtly Christian symbolism found here.²⁶³ ‘It is required / You do awake your faith’, Paulina tells both the on-stage audience of courtiers and the off-stage spectators.²⁶⁴ She speaks to the statue of Hermione, ‘I’ll fill your grave up’, and insists that Hermione is now able to ‘bequeath to death your numbness, for from him / Dear life redeems you.’²⁶⁵ The Christian reference here seems clear. What happens is not rational, for it ‘is all

²⁵⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 200.

²⁶⁰ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 203-4.

²⁶¹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 3. 2. 231-240.

²⁶² *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 3. 139-41.

²⁶³ In *Cymbeline* with the awakening and later recognition of Imogen/Innogen; in *The Comedy of Errors* with the twins and Emilia; in *Much Ado About Nothing* with Hero, and in *Pericles* with Thaisa. Even Sir John Falstaff amazes the audience by rising up after his apparent death at the hands of the Earl of Douglas, (*Henry V*, 5. 4).

²⁶⁴ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 3. 94-5.

²⁶⁵ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 3. 101 and 102-3.

as monstrous to our human reason / As my Antigonus to break his grave'.²⁶⁶ But, as Southwell writes in *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, 'Love is not ruled with reason',²⁶⁷ a belief that Shakespeare also expresses, as we shall see in the next chapter. Mary's devotion to her apparently dead saviour is expressed when she declares, 'And if this be a fault, I will never amend it',²⁶⁸ Leontes for his part exclaims, 'If this be magic, let it be an art / Lawful as eating.'²⁶⁹

The coming to life of Hermione is wonderful theatre, and designed to 'strike all that look upon with marvel.'²⁷⁰ As Gillian Woods says, 'Ironic detachment rarely forms a part of the theatrical experience of this play.'²⁷¹ Shakespeare avoids diluting the wonder, by making Paulina say only, 'There's time enough for that,' when Hermione seems about to provide further explanation.²⁷² 'Some man wil say, How are the dead raised up?', in Paul's words,²⁷³ but *The Winter's Tale* is content to leave Leontes, the courtiers and the audience to accept that 'No settled senses of the world can match / The pleasure of that madness. Let't alone.'²⁷⁴ Shakespeare has dramatized in his 'old tale'²⁷⁵ the heart of the Christian message. 'Hathe not God made the wisdome of this worlde foolishness?'²⁷⁶ Southwell wrote with similar

²⁶⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 1. 41-2.

²⁶⁷ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, EEBO, p. 64, Walter, p. 160.

²⁶⁸ Southwell, *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*, EEBO, p.16., Walter p. 51

²⁶⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 110-11.

²⁷⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 100.

²⁷¹ Gillian Woods, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 207.

²⁷² *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 128.

²⁷³ 1 Corinthians 15 v.35. *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

²⁷⁴ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 72-3.

²⁷⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 2. 60.

²⁷⁶ I Corinthians, 1 v. 20. *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

meaning, 'That worldly weedes needes must he loath That can these flowres finde.'²⁷⁷ As Sarah Beckwith writes, 'It is not how Hermione has survived that is important but **that** she has.'²⁷⁸

Ewan Fernie has described the movement of the play as 'how to redeem him, [Leontes] and restore the world.'²⁷⁹ Leontes's repentance is clearly sincere and also moving. Unlike his previous, unreasoning anger, he accepts Paulina's bitter attack immediately after Hermione's death, 'Thou didst speak but well / When most the truth'.²⁸⁰ And despite Paulina's heartbroken insistence that 'a thousand knees, / Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting', could never bring 'the gods' to forgive him,²⁸¹ Southwell knows instead that 'Mercy doth as much belonge / As Justice to a godde.'²⁸² Southwell would also write, again in the voice of Peter, 'Redeeme my lapse with raunsome of thy love', and end the poem with a heartfelt prayer, 'Cancell my debtes, sweete *Jesu*, say Amen.'²⁸³ As an early modern dramatist, Shakespeare was prevented by the 1606 Act of Abuses from openly invoking the Christian God on stage, but it seems clear that the language and dramaturgy of the final scenes of the play are indeed 'infused with the aura of resurrection.'²⁸⁴ Leontes has repented for sixteen long years, resisting all pleas to take another wife. His reward is indeed 'Like an old tale

²⁷⁷ Southwell, 'Seeke flowers of Heaven', ll. 23-4.

²⁷⁸ Sarah Beckwith, *Shakespeare and the Grammar of Forgiveness* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 130.

²⁷⁹ Ewan Fernie, *Dark Lightning*, programme notes to the 2013 RSC touring production of *The Winter's Tale*, directed by Lucy Bailey.

²⁸⁰ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 229-30.

²⁸¹ *The Winter's Tale*, 3. 2. 207-10.

²⁸² Southwell, 'Saint Peters remorse', ll. 27-8.

²⁸³ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 787 and 792.

²⁸⁴ Ewan Fernie, 'Shakespeare, Spirituality and Contemporary Criticism', in *Spiritual Shakespeares*, ed. by Ewan Fernie (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-27 (p. 4).

still', that 'should be hooted at';²⁸⁵ or, again in Paul's words, 'the foolishnes of God is wiser than men'; 'unto the Grecians, foolishnes'.²⁸⁶ Gillian Woods comments that 'forgiveness, like the emergence of a living woman from the shape of a statue, is wonderful and in some sense irrational.'²⁸⁷ Bethell argued that the play 'isn't an allegory, but works on the structure of sin, repentance, and redemption',²⁸⁸ the movement from tragic to comic that signifies the Christian's journey, and that is echoed in so much of Southwell's writings. In the opening scenes of *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes showed the lack of faith that brought about the tragedy. By the conclusion of the play he has regained the faith and self-control that enables him to order, 'No foot shall stir', when Paulina suggests that some might think 'it is unlawful business / I am about'.²⁸⁹

Southwell puts it equally simply when he writes: 'Let grace forgive, let love forget my falle'.²⁹⁰ For both authors, as we have seen, grace, mercy, forgiveness and love are central themes in some of their finest writing.

If Shakespeare's religious affiliations can be justifiably described as 'opaque',²⁹¹ when Perdita kneels to Hermione's statue in Paulina's chapel and says,

²⁸⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 2. 60 and 5. 3. 116-7.

²⁸⁶ 1 Corinthians 1 v. 25 and v. 23. *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition.

²⁸⁷ Woods, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions*, p. 207.

²⁸⁸ Bethell, *The Winter's Tale: A Study*, p. 76.

²⁸⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 98 and 96-7.

²⁹⁰ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, l. 785.

²⁹¹ See above, p. 273.

And do not say 'tis superstition, that
I kneel and then implore her blessing. Lady,
Dear Queen,²⁹²

the setting and action 'could hardly be more inflammatory in Protestant London', with the play's overt references to the Marian elements in Catholic worship.²⁹³ Southwell's devotion to 'Our Lady', the Virgin Mary, is made clear in a number of his poems, in particular, his sequence of *Poems on the Virgin Mary and Christ*, which ends with 'The Assumption of our Lady'. This poem refers to the Catholic tradition that Mary did not die but was transported directly to Heaven after her death. 'Our Princely Eagle mountes unto the skye', wrote Southwell;²⁹⁴ his *Scripta Autographa*, 'Poema de Assumptione B V M', a long poem written in Latin, concludes in translation with the words, 'The Virgin takes her seat as Queen of Heaven. Death, overwhelmed, takes flight.'²⁹⁵ While in Rome, Southwell became supervisor or Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the English College.²⁹⁶ Official antipathy towards what was regarded as mere superstition - in other words, ritual and iconography in worship, including the veneration of Mary - is seen in the authorised editions of Southwell's poetry in the 1590s and early seventeenth century. Here, poems with Marian or Eucharistic content were 'simply omitted'.²⁹⁷ Shakespeare must have known that theatre,

²⁹² *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3. 43-5.

²⁹³ Pitcher, 'Introduction', p. 46. Archbishop Matthew Parker stated to Elizabeth that 'The danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other'. See *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. by John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), p. 85. This reference is cited in Gillian Woods, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions*, p. 183.

²⁹⁴ Southwell, 'The Assumption of our Lady', l. 12.

²⁹⁵ Southwell, 'Poema de Assumpttione B[eatea] V[irginis] M[ariae]', l. 219. London, The Jesuit Archives, 'The Autograph Manuscript, Stonyhurst MS A. v.4. The work is also included in Davidson and Sweeney, eds., *Collected Poems*, pp. 88-97, including a translation from the Latin by Winifred Stevenson.

²⁹⁶ Scott R. Pilarz, S.J., *Robert Southwell and The Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 221.

²⁹⁷ Davidson and Sweeney, *Collected Poems*, pp. 145-151 (p. 146). See also *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.*, ed. by James H. Macdonald and Nancy Pollard Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. lxii-lxv.

too, could be regarded as equally ‘seductive, duplicitous, and inauthentic’.²⁹⁸ Whether or not one accepts Phebe Jensen’s view of *The Winter’s Tale* as a play with strongly Catholic overtones, where Shakespeare creates ‘a devotionally specific identification of festivity with Catholicism’ in the sheep-shearing scene, and where the statue scene ‘is saturated with Marian iconography’,²⁹⁹ Hermione tells us that she has ‘preserved / Myself to see the issue.’³⁰⁰ This could clearly remind spectators of the legend associated with Mary’s death, that she did not die to corruption, but was raised to heaven: ‘Tombe prison is for sinners that decease’.³⁰¹ Perdita’s kneeling before the statue can be seen, therefore, as risking, in Archbishop Parker’s words, ‘the danger of idolatry’.³⁰² It has already been made clear that Paulina’s wonderful statue, apparently created by the master Giulio Romano, is kept in her chapel, and not in her gallery.³⁰³ Whether, in this late play, Shakespeare has allowed the Catholic ritual so dear to Southwell to influence his staging is unclear.³⁰⁴ Certainly, in his presentation of both Hermione and Perdita, Shakespeare has effectively personified ‘grace’. To use Southwell’s words, the development of the play dramatizes and ‘prepare[s] a way for grace’s entrance’.³⁰⁵ In the climax of *The Winter’s Tale*, grace triumphs over jealousy, separation, and, it would seem, even death.

²⁹⁸ Huston Diehl, ‘Religion and Shakespearean Tragedy’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy*, ed. by Claire McEachern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 86-102 (p.98).

²⁹⁹ Phebe Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare’s Festive World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 230 and 226.

³⁰⁰ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 3. 127-8.

³⁰¹ Southwell, ‘The Assumption of our Lady’, l. 3.

³⁰² See note 279 above.

³⁰³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 5. 2. 95 and 5. 3. 10 and 86.

³⁰⁴ John Marston wrote scornfully in 1598, ‘Looke how the peevish Papists crouch, and kneele / To some dum Idoll with their offering’, *The Metamorphis of Pygmalion’s Image* (London: 1598), cited in Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare’s World*, p. 227.

³⁰⁵ Southwell, *Letter to his Brother*, p. xxi.

We have already seen Southwell tell his father that ‘Nature by grace is not abolished’.³⁰⁶ Shakespeare’s allusions to the contemporary debate about Art and Nature are principally seen in Perdita’s discussion with Polixenes about ‘great creating Nature’, which ends with her determined rejection of the cultivated ‘gillyvors’.³⁰⁷ She will ‘not put / The dibble in earth to set one slip of them’,³⁰⁸ despite Polixenes’s more sophisticated argument that ‘The art itself is Nature’.³⁰⁹ We have already seen both Shakespeare’s and Southwell’s interest in the nature of art. Southwell’s poems, in particular, ‘Seeke flowers of Heaven’ and ‘Loves Garden grief,’ employ extensive imagery from flowers and gardens to explore themes of ‘everlastinge springe’³¹⁰ contrasting with the ‘seedes of all Iniquitye’ which attempt ‘To banish grace’.³¹¹ The ‘thornes of Envye / And stakes of strife [...] gravelled with Jelosye’ that Southwell describes,³¹² can easily be compared to the ‘goads, thorns, nettles, tails of wasps’, which vividly depict Leontes’s state of mind as a result of the ‘spotted’ sheets he only imagines.³¹³ We have also seen previously the use both poets make of the word ‘spotted’. With such linguistic congruences that have been examined, as well as the clear repetition of Southwellian themes, Southwell’s influence can therefore be recognised in *The Winter’s Tale*, as well as in Shakespeare’s earlier plays discussed in previous chapters. At the very least, putting both writers together in this way allows us an appreciation of their shared influences and similar concerns, and helps to enrich our understanding and appreciation of both writers.

³⁰⁶ *Letter to his Father*, p. iii, *EEBO*, p. 5.

³⁰⁷ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 88 and 82.

³⁰⁸ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 99-100.

³⁰⁹ *The Winter’s Tale*, 4. 4. 97.

³¹⁰ Southwell, ‘Seeke flowers of Heaven’, l. 7.

³¹¹ Southwell, ‘Loves Garden grief’, ll. 13 and 18.

³¹² Southwell, ‘Loves Garden grief’, ll. 7-9.

³¹³ *The Winter’s Tale*, 1. 2. 327 and 325-6.

Shakespeare's concerns in *The Winter's Tale* include themes of love, reconciliation and the sometimes 'long and painful journey of self-discovery' described by Deborah Curren-Aquino; all themes connected with Southwell's work.³¹⁴ The necessity of human beings recognizing 'the truth of your own seeming', however this is defined, is shared by both writers.³¹⁵ 'Truth', like 'grace', is an important word in *The Winter's Tale*. Many of the characters need to 'come up to th' truth',³¹⁶ seen most dramatically perhaps in the importance of accepting the truth of the oracle. Peter Milward refers to the 'restoration of moral harmony to man, effected by forgiveness and love', which he sees in all of Shakespeare's late plays;³¹⁷ Peter Davidson, equally, argues that 'the essential matter and purpose of Southwell's poetry (as that of his mission) is that of reconciliation'.³¹⁸ Scott Pilarz's final sentence in his important book on Southwell refers to 'writing reconciliation in an era of religious strife'.³¹⁹ And in a discussion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Christopher Baker describes what he sees as 'the profound and mystifying changes wrought by love'.³²⁰ In *Love's Labour's Lost*, as we have seen, the courtiers err in first depriving themselves of women's company, and then in failing to recognise the importance of true and self-sacrificial love. In 'Lifes deaths loves life', Southwell describes Christ,

³¹⁴ Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, 'Introduction' to the New Cambridge edition of *The Winter's Tale*, p. 1.

³¹⁵ *The Winter's Tale*, 4. 4. 657.

³¹⁶ *The Winter's Tale*, 2. 1. 193.

³¹⁷ Peter Milward, S.J., *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973), p. 276.

³¹⁸ Davidson, 'The Text of this Edition', in *Collected Poems*, ed. by Davidson and Sweeney, pp. 145-51 (p. 145).

³¹⁹ Pilarz, *Robert Southwell and The Mission of Literature, 1561-1595*, p. 280.

³²⁰ Baker, *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare*, p. 71.

To whome all love is dewe.
Who for our love did choose to live
And was content to dye³²¹

The Winter's Tale begins with Camillo's prayer that 'the heavens continue their loves.'³²²

The play ends with that love restored, and despite the suffering that Leontes's 'sickness' has caused, with a beautiful scene of harmony, of reconciliation and, most all, of love. These are exactly the same qualities that inspired all of Robert Southwell's writing.

³²¹ Southwell, 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 4-6.

³²² *The Winter's Tale*, 1. 1. 31.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PHOENIX AND TURTLE AND THE BURNING BABE

Beauty, truth and rarity,

Grace in all simplicity¹

Dying I rise²

En ma fin est mon commencement³

¹ Shakespeare, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', in *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury 2007), ll. 53-4. All subsequent citations from the poem refer to this edition.

² Southwell, The English translation of the Latin sub-title, *Dum morior orior* used by Southwell as the sub-title to 'Decease release', his epitaph to Mary Stuart.

³ The motto embroidered by Mary on both her 'Clothe of Estate' and her Bed of State. These embroideries were mostly created during the time Mary was in the company of Bess of Hardwicke, between c. 1569-1584. Bess's fourth husband was the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Mary's jailor in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, particularly at Tutbury Castle and Chatsworth. See Michael Bath, *Emblems for a Queen: The Needlework of Mary Queen of*

The beautiful moment towards the end of *The Winter's Tale* when Perdita kneels and implores the blessing of Hermione's statue suggests, as we have seen, an overt reference to the veneration of the Virgin Mary.⁴ Southwell's birthplace at Horsham St Faith, close to the ruined shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, may have influenced his own later veneration of Mary, seen clearly in his sequence of poems on her life, beginning with 'The Conception of our Ladie' and concluding with 'The death of our Lady'. But he also wrote about another 'Queene' and 'prince' called Mary; one of his most powerful poems, 'Decease release', is in the voice of Mary Stuart, executed in February 1587, at the beginning of Southwell's mission.⁵ The eventual unveiling of a statue of Mary at her tomb in Westminster Abbey in October 1612 was performed 'with honour, as dead rose-leaves are preserved'.⁶ The statue took seven years to complete, and Shakespeare must have known of it when writing *The Winter's Tale*, even if there is no real evidence to support the theory that he revised the play to introduce the statue at some time after Simon Forman saw it on 15 May 1611. It has been suggested that Shakespeare added the statue scene, having 'taken heart from the Marion iconography of this monument to a royal Catholic martyr'.⁷ Forman's account of the

Scots (London: Archetype Publications, 2008). Also, a letter to William Cecil written by Nicholas White after White's visit to the Queen at Tutbury in February 1569. White referred to the motto, adding 'which is a ryddil I understand not'. A. Strickland, *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with her Personal History*, 3 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1842-43), vol. 2, 1842, p. 308; Bath p. 4.

⁴ Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 5. 3. 42-6.

⁵ Southwell, 'Decease release', ll. 13, 29 and 33.

⁶ Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, 10 October 1612, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, vol. X, pp. 9-10. Cited by Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 247. Wilson's chapter II, 'The statue of our queen: Shakespeare's open secret', pp. 246-70, is an interesting if polemical discussion of *The Winter's Tale* and its links with Catholicism.

⁷ Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 246. For discussion of the theory of a major revision of *The Winter's Tale*, see Pitcher, 'Introduction', pp. 83-93, especially pp. 90-92.

performance he saw at the Globe makes no mention of the Statue scene in his ‘Book of Plays’, hence the somewhat unconvincing suggestion that the scene was added subsequently.⁸

‘Decease release’, as we shall see, makes use of emblems closely associated with Mary Stuart, found on the famous tapestries woven during her years of imprisonment. These tapestries return us to the story of Anne, Countess of Arundel, and therefore to the historical background with which this study has been partly concerned. Both the historical setting and the cryptic use of emblems and symbols are important for *The Phoenix and Turtle*, the final Shakespearean work to be discussed in detail in this thesis. The background and symbolism are equally important for Southwell’s *The burning Babe*, perhaps his most well-known poem. A comparison of these two poems also allows us to conclude the discussion of the different kinds of love, so important for an understanding of the works of Shakespeare and Southwell previously examined. Examining *The Phoenix and Turtle* also enables us to return to the question of a relationship between them, both literary and personal, as well as the congruity of their sympathies and beliefs. Into this discussion comes the poignant story of Anne Line, referred to previously in Chapter Two, who was related to the Southwells, executed at Tyburn in 1601, buried by Anne Dacres, and perhaps one of ‘the fools of Time’ of whom Shakespeare wrote so movingly.⁹

‘Decease release’, with its subtitle of ‘Dum morior orior’, ‘Dying I rise’, is the only Southwell poem we can confidently date. Mary was executed on 8 February 1587; a manuscript copy of the poem is found in the papers of Anthony Bacon, Francis’s brother, with an inscription in

⁸ Forman’s detailed synopsis of the play is printed in E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), 2. pp. 340-1. See also, *The Winter’s Tale*, ed. Pitcher, pp. 84-5.

⁹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 124, l. 13. *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997).

French indicating ‘Some verses by Mr Southwell on the Scottish Queen, received the month of February, 1586’ (using the old style of dating; i.e. 1587 new style).¹⁰ The poem is found in the Waldegrave MS, next to another politically sensitive poem, ‘I dye without desert’. ‘Decease release’ was not included in any of the early modern editions of Southwell, indicating the potential danger for anyone possessing or copying the poem. It was not officially published until 1817.¹¹ Mary’s death, dressed in a red petticoat and bodice, the symbolic colour of martyrdom, caused uproar across Europe.¹² This ‘daughter of debate’, as Elizabeth termed her, would become an important symbol of martyrdom for English Catholics, representing both the suffering and steadfastness to which Southwell’s writings continually gave expression.¹³ He would refer to the dead Queen in his 1591 *Humble Supplication* to Elizabeth, describing Mary as ‘your more infamed than faulty Cosen’, and bitterly accusing Walsingham of entrapping her by forging the fatal letter from Babington that led to her trial, and ultimately her execution.¹⁴

¹⁰ Lambeth Palace Library, Bacon Papers, MS 655. Cited in Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 147. Also, Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 267.

¹¹ *Saint Peter’s Complaint and Other Poems by the Rev. Robert Southwell*, ed. by W. Joseph Walter (London: 1817). See Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, note 41, p. 163.

¹² For Mary’s death see Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 12, and Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), Chapter 26, ‘The Dolorous Stroke’, pp. 523-42.

¹³ “Daughter of Debate” is found in a poem attributed to Queen Elizabeth. The poem, ‘Ditty’, was published in London in 1589 by Richard Field of Stratford in an anthology by George Puttenham entitled *The Arte of English Poesie*; modern edition ed. by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: University Press, 1936), p. 248, ll. 11-12. For discussion of the reaction to Mary Stuart’s death see Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 66, and Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), pp. 243-7. Also, John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: Viking, 2016), pp. 81-92.

¹⁴ Southwell, *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie* (December 1591). This citation is from an edition indicating ‘Printed, Anno Do. 1595’, *EEBO*, p. 45, and pp. 31-45 for Southwell’s accusations against Walsingham and his agents. The original is held in London, The British Library. It seems likely that despite the suggestion online that the edition was published by a ‘Secret English Press, c. 1600?’, it is in fact the official edition published in 1600 with the support of the Bishop of London, in an attempt to stir up anti-Jesuit feeling among Catholics at the time of the ‘Archpriest dissension’. A modernised edition is ed. by R. C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 25, ll. 18-19. For his accusations against Walsingham see pp. 17-23.

The ideas expressed in ‘Decease release’ are similar to Southwell’s thoughts in his poems such as ‘Seeke flowers of Heaven’, ‘Life is but Losse’, ‘What joy to live’ and ‘At home in heaven’, as well as in prose writings such as *An Epistle of Comfort* and *The Triumphs over Death*. Mary’s fate ‘was no death to me but to my woe’, and released her ‘from prisoner to a Prince enhaunc’d’.¹⁵ The scaffold was merely ‘the bed where ease I found’, and, in what can be seen as a concise summary of Southwell’s own life and work, ‘losse of life an endless life assur’d’.¹⁶ But the poem, written in popular ballad form (unusual for Southwell, employing decasyllabic four-line stanzas with an A B A B rhyme scheme), contains a number of images that reveal his knowledge of emblems associated with Mary Stuart, and found in her embroidery, particularly in the tapestries known as the Oxburgh Hangings.¹⁷ The use of emblems in Jesuit education would have been familiar to Southwell, as their use clearly was to Mary, also.¹⁸ ‘Great secrets could lie hidden in simple things’.¹⁹ As an example, the Rose that buds in line 27 of the poem is a symbol that was used to represent both Mary Stuart and the Virgin Mary.²⁰ Ian Donaldson describes the use of emblems by Catholics ‘to convey truths which for one reason or another could not be openly spoken’.²¹ When Southwell describes how ‘The lopped tree doth best and soonest growe’, and how ‘By loppinge shott I

¹⁵ Southwell, ‘Decease release’, ll. 26 and 33.

¹⁶ Southwell, ‘Decease, release’, ll. 21 and 20.

¹⁷ The collection of needlework known as the Oxburgh Hangings has been kept at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk since 1761, and most are still on long-term loan there, under the guardianship of the National Trust. The remainder are kept at the V and A museum, London. See Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*.

¹⁸ See *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August 1996*, ed. by John Manning and Marc Van Vaecck (Brepols, 1999), *Imago Figurata Studies*, vol. 19. Also, John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), especially pp. 128-31 and 193-7.

¹⁹ Anne R. Sweeney, *Robert Southwell: Snow in Arcadia: Redrawing the English Lyric Landscape, 1586-95* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 114.

²⁰ Manning, *The Emblem*, pp. 121 and 194-5.

²¹ Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life*, pbk edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.), p. 147.

upp to heavenly rest', he alludes to both the Oxburgh bed-hangings, and to the trial and execution of the Duke of Norfolk, father-in-law to Anne Dacres.²² At the Duke's trial in 1572 after the discovery of the Ridolfi Plot, he was charged with receiving an embroidered cushion from Mary, whom he hoped to marry, with a picture of a knife cutting down vines, accompanied by the words 'Virescit Vulnere Virtus' – 'Virtue flourishes from its wounds'.²³ The emblem and words were regarded by the government as a coded message from Mary to Norfolk. Mary was in the habit of sending gifts of embroidery to her friends and supporters. When Anne Dacres was suffering marital difficulties before her husband's conversion to Catholicism, Mary sent her embroidery, showing 'a tree framed, whereon two turtles sate', with the motto 'Amoris Sorte Pares, 'Equal in the fortunes of love'.²⁴ The turtle doves represent both women in mourning; Anne for her husband's neglect, Mary for the death of Norfolk. Shakespeare would also use the emblem of a turtle dove to represent faithfulness in love.

'Decease release' also alludes to the image of the phoenix, a common emblem in both English and European emblem books.²⁵ The 'fading smoke' created by the 'pounded spice' becomes an image of Mary herself, 'Gods spice I was',²⁶ and Southwell would also use the phoenix as a central image in 'The burning Babe'. The 'lopped tree' is pictured again, not only in

²² Southwell, 'Decease release', ll. 4 and 8.

²³ For Norfolk's trial and the significance of the cushion see Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, pp. 58-9; also, Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 17-18; Peter Daly, *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York: AMS Press, 1982), p. 23; Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years*, pp. 27-9.

²⁴ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 56; also, *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his Wife*, ed. from the original MSS by H. G. Fitzalan-Howard, Duke of Norfolk (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1587), pp. 13 and 266-7. This is based on a manuscript written by Anne's chaplain, preserved in the family archives.

²⁵ Manning and Van Vaecck, *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, give a number of examples. Also, Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 89 and 109.

²⁶ Southwell, 'Decease release', ll. 1-2 and 5.

Norfolk's gift and the Oxburgh bed-hangings, but also on a silver hand-bell, recorded in Mary's own inventory of her possessions.²⁷ The decoration shows a hand pruning a vine, and the motto is again 'Virescit Vulnere Virtus'.²⁸ A jetton of Mary reissued in 1579 also showed an image of the vine, with the motto 'Mea Sic Mihi Prosunt' - 'Thus are mine to me' - ²⁹ a motto possibly alluded to in 'My frendes my foyle' in 'Decease release'.³⁰ Southwell's role as Anne's chaplain at Arundel House would certainly have allowed him to have viewed Mary's bequests to Anne, which included not only part of the hangings, but also Mary's rosary, prayer book and the white veil she wore at her execution.³¹

'Drama, like emblem, exploits the relationship between verbal and visual reception'.³² We have seen Shakespeare's use of the statue in *The Winter's Tale*; the flowers presented by Perdita to Polixenes and Camillo, as well as the 'fantastic garlands' made by Ophelia in *Hamlet* also have symbolic meanings.³³ Other plays, particularly *Pericles*, also make dramatic use of emblems.³⁴ Southwell's 'I dye without desert', placed next to 'Decease

²⁷ Southwell, 'Decease release', l. 4.

²⁸ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, pp. 60-1.

²⁹ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, pp. 64-5. There is an illustration of the jetton on p. 65.

³⁰ Southwell, 'Decease release', l. 18.

³¹ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 12.

³² Charles Moseley, 'Emblems', in *The Cambridge Guide to the Worlds of Shakespeare: vol. 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1600*, ed. by Bruce R. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 407-17 (p. 407).

³³ *The Winter's Tale*, 5. 3 and 4. 4. 73-108; *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 4. 7. 166.

³⁴ In 'the triumph' of Thaisa's wooing, the Sixth Knight (Pericles himself) has 'a withered branch that's only green on top / The Motto: In hac spe vivo', ('in this hope I live'), which is described by Simonides as 'A pretty moral'. *Pericles*, ed. by Doreen DelVecchio and Antony Hammond, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2. 2. 1 and 43-5. Another use of emblems comes in *All's Well That Ends Well*, with the reference to 'one Captain Spurio, with his cicatrice, an emblem of war'; ed. by Russell Fraser, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2. 1.41. Charles Moseley points out that a number of Shakespearean titles could in themselves be seen as emblematic; e.g. *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Much Ado about Nothing*; *All's Well that Ends Well* and even *The Winter's Tale*. Moseley, 'Emblems', p. 415.

release' in the Waldegrave MS, allows its speaker to describe himself as 'a gracious plant for fruite for leafe and flower', a continuation of the motif of flowers and fruit found in the Oxburgh tapestries.³⁵ Sweeney sees Mary as 'the likeliest subject' for the poem,³⁶ although its reference to 'A noble peere for prowess witt and power' perhaps makes Philip Arundel a more likely candidate., particularly in view of Southwell's personal connection with him.³⁷ The description in Southwell's 'Amenomon' of 'The shippe that from the port doth sayle',³⁸ and its stormy voyage through 'many a billows boystrous brunt / and stormy blast', may be a reflection of the storm-battered vessel that Mary embroidered on her Bed of State, with the Motto 'Nunquam Nisi Rectam', 'Never if not upright'. Such emblems, as Ben Jonson's friend William Drummond indicated, 'if ingeniously conceited, are of daintie device and much esteeme'.³⁹

The cruciform panels to the main Oxburgh Hangings include an illustration of a phoenix rising from its flaming nest, and next to Mary's cipher and initial, a turtle dove standing on a cut branch.⁴⁰ Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and Turtle* makes use of a number of images that are clearly 'ingeniously conceited', and offer the same challenge to understand their significance as do the emblems worked by Mary, as does the imagery used by Southwell, particularly in 'The burning Babe'. As well as the phoenix and turtle-dove, Shakespeare

³⁵ Southwell, 'I dye without desert', l. 25.

³⁶ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 202.

³⁷ 'I dye without desert', l. 47.

³⁸ Southwell, 'Amenomon', ll. 1-4.

³⁹ William Drummond of Hawthornden, letter to Ben Jonson of 1 July 1619, cited in Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 17. Drummond's letter describes the tapestry.

⁴⁰ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, Appendix 1, 'The Oxburgh Hangings', pp. 127-32. For what are known as 'The Marian Hangings', including discussion of the cruciform panels, see pp. 127-9, especially p. 128. There is also an illustrated figure of 'The Marian Hangings', 1.8, p. 13.

introduces into his poem the ‘death-divining swan’ and the ‘treble-dated crow’.⁴¹ The *Threnos* suggests that at the heart of the poem’s mystery lie ‘Beauty, truth and rarity, / Grace in all simplicity,’⁴² values familiar from our study so far of Shakespeare and Southwell.

Shakespeare refers to the legend of the phoenix in other works, including *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*.⁴³ *The Phoenix and Turtle* is his contribution to Robert Chester’s *Love’s Martyr*, published in 1601 by Edward Blount and printed by Shakespeare’s fellow Stratfordian Richard Field.⁴⁴ Blount would later be an investor in and co-publisher of the First Folio,⁴⁵ and Sir Henry Salusbury, the son of the dedicatee of *Love’s Martyr*, would write verses addressed to Heminges and Condell, congratulating them on their success in producing the Folio.⁴⁶ The matrix of connections so important to this study are again apparent. Chester’s collection of poems, ‘allegorically shadowing the truth of Love / in the Constant Fate of the Phoenix / and Turtle’, was made in honour of the knighthood of the

⁴¹ Shakespeare, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 15 and 17.

⁴² *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 53-4.

⁴³ *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by David Bevington, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2005, ‘O thou Arabian bird’, 3.2.12. *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), ‘She is alone th’ Arabian bird’, 1. 7. 17. *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 1999), ‘In Arabia / There is one tree, the Phoenix’ throne, one phoenix / At this hour reigning there.’ 3.3. 22-4. *Henry VIII*’s Epilogue refers famously to ‘the maiden phoenix’, in lines usually attributed to Fletcher; *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, The RSC Shakespeare, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), ll. 43-5. Sonnet 19 refers also to ‘And burn the long-lived Phoenix in her blood’, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. Duncan-Jones, l. 4.

⁴⁴ *Shakespeare’s Poems*, ed. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, ‘Introduction’, p. 91. There is a fuller discussion in James M. Bednarz, ‘Contextualizing “The Phoenix and Turtle”: Shakespeare, Edward Blount and the “Poetical Essays” group of “Love’s Martyr”’, in *Shakespeare Survey 67, Shakespeare’s Collaborative Work*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 131-49.

⁴⁵ Bednarz, ‘Contextualizing “The Phoenix and Turtle”’, pp. 147-8.

⁴⁶ John Klaue, ‘“The Phoenix and Turtle” in its time’, in *In the Company of Shakespeare. Essays on English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans*, ed. by Thomas Moisan and Douglas Bruster (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), pp. 206-30 (pp. 224-5). See also John Kerrigan, ‘Shakespeare, Elegy, and Epitaph, 1557-1640’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare’s Poetry*, ed. by Jonathan F. S. Post (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapter 13, pp. 225-44 (p. 234). The verse can be found in Cardiff, The National Library of Wales, MS 5390 D.

Welshman Sir John Salusbury.⁴⁷ Salusbury was brother-in-law to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, through his marriage in December 1596 to Ursula Stanley, natural daughter of the fourth Earl of Derby.⁴⁸ The importance of the Stanleys for Shakespeare has already been discussed. (See in particular Chapter 1). Salusbury's knighthood indicates that he had recovered the trust of the Queen, damaged because of his brother Thomas's involvement in the Babington Plot. Thomas Salusbury was executed on 21 September 1586 in the reprisals that would lead also to Mary Stuart's execution.⁴⁹ Executed on the same day as Thomas Salusbury was Jerome Bellamy, a member of the family so well-known to Southwell.⁵⁰ The Catholicism of at least some members of the Salusbury family is confirmed by the career of another John Salusbury (c.1575-1626), a relative who was converted to Catholicism as a teenager, and fled to the continent, becoming a priest and then a Jesuit. He returned to Wales around 1603 as part of the Jesuit Mission, using the alias of Parry, and would remain there until his death.⁵¹ Ursula Stanley, Sir John's bride, would bear her husband ten children, a fact that led Honigsmann to speculate that *The Phoenix and Turtle* was written for the wedding in

⁴⁷ *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, 'Introduction, pp. 91-124, and Kerrigan, 'Shakespeare, Elegy, and Epitaph', pp. 225-44.

⁴⁸ For Sir John Salusbury, see Kerrigan, 'Shakespeare, Elegy, and Epitaph', p. 231; also, James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love: The Mystery of "The Phoenix and Turtle"* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), especially pp. 64-68. His personal motto was 'To be able [to do harm] and abstain from it is noble', words echoed in Shakespeare's Sonnet 94, 'They that have power to hurt, and will do none'; see *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, pp. 100-02.

⁴⁹ For Thomas Salusbury, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online entry, Enid Roberts (2008); also, Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love*, p. 64. See also Mark Bland, "'As Far from All Revolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church College MS 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies*, 8 (2000), 53-4. Salusbury family manuscripts were discovered by the literary historian Carleton Brown in 1914, and are kept in Oxford, Christ Church College. Brown also edited *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* (London: Kegan Paul, Trencher, Trübner, 1914).

⁵⁰ Joseph Gillow, *English Catholics – A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of The English Catholics*, 5 vols. (London: Burns & Oates, 1885), vol. 3, p. 74. Also executed on the same day (21 September) was Robert Gage, related both to the Copleys and the Earl of Southampton.

⁵¹ D. L. Thomas, 'John Salusbury, alias Parry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 August 2018]

1586 and not to celebrate Salusbury's knighthood in June 1601.⁵² The poem's references to 'Leaving no posterity' and 'married chastity' would certainly seem an unlikely tribute to John and Ursula if Shakespeare intended *The Phoenix and Turtle* to allude to them.⁵³ As we shall see, many other candidates have also been suggested. Klause supports the composition date of 1601, arguing, however, that Shakespeare's contribution to Chester's volume was 'entirely on his own terms' rather than following any schematic plan devised by Chester.⁵⁴ Although critics disagree on both the historical background and the meaning of the poem, few challenge the view that it is 'one of the most beautiful and mysterious poems ever written.'⁵⁵ The similarities to Southwell's *The burning Babe*, the poem that Ben Jonson famously envied, will be considered shortly.⁵⁶

Shakespeare's connections with Cheshire and Lancashire were discussed in detail in the first chapter of this thesis. The Salusburys were also part of the network of families and alliances described there. Thomas Salusbury married the daughter of Jane Bulkeley of Cheadle in Cheshire, a prominent family living at Bulkeley Hall close to the Ardens, Davenports, Fittons and Warrens mentioned earlier.⁵⁷ These families' connection to John Bretchgirdle and John Brownsword, both familiar with the Shakespeares, has also been examined. The Derby

⁵² E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998), 2nd edition, pp. 90-113, especially pp. 101 and 108.

⁵³ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 59 and 61.

⁵⁴ Klause, "'The Phoenix and Turtle' in its time", p. 215.

⁵⁵ Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love*, p. 192.

⁵⁶ 'Southwell was hanged, yet so he had written that piece of his 'The Burning Babe' would have been content to destroy many of his.' Ben Jonson quoted by William Drummond in Ben Jonson, *Works*, ed. by C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-1952), vol. 1, p. 137. Cited by Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 1. Interestingly, 'The burning Babe' was not published officially until Cawood's 'newlie augmented' 1602 edition.

⁵⁷ Joseph Gillow, *English Catholics*, vol. 5, p. 470. According to Gillow, Thomas Salusbury was one of the number of wealthy young men who took vows to support and financially aid the missionary priests.

Household Books record the frequent visits of members of the Salusbury family to the Stanleys, sometimes overlapping with both the Houghtons and Heskeths.⁵⁸ The social and familial bonds that were so important in the period suggest one reason for Shakespeare's involvement in *Love's Martyr*. The relationship between the Salusburies and Stanleys was long-lasting; as late as 1641, a masque written by Thomas Salusbury, John's grandson, was performed at Knowsley.⁵⁹ John Salusbury was also a member of the Middle Temple, admitted in March 1595.⁶⁰ Other members included John Marston and members of the Combe family from Stratford with whom Shakespeare had business dealings and who would also bequeath his sword to Thomas Combe.⁶¹ Thomas Greene, the Stratford Town Clerk, also belonged to the Middle Temple, where *Twelfth Night* was performed in 1602. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen think it 'quite possible' that this connection facilitated a personal relationship between Shakespeare and Salusbury.⁶²

As well as Sir John and Ursula Stanley, many other possibilities have been suggested to explain who or what the Phoenix and Turtle represent. These include Elizabeth and Essex, Elizabeth and John Salusbury and Elizabeth and her subjects.⁶³ Three recent interpretations,

⁵⁸ *The Derby Household Books, Including A Diary Containing the Names of The Guests who Visited The Latter Earl at His Houses in Lancashire*, by William Ffarington, Esquire, *The Comptroller*, ed. by Rev. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society vol. xxxi (Manchester: The Stanley Papers, Part 2, vol. 31, 1853), pp. 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44. These entries are all between May and December, 1587. See also Preston, Lancashire Archives, DDF 2429. p. 13 col. 1. A number of these dates, referring to theatrical performances, are confirmed in *REED Lancashire*, ed. by David George (Toronto: Buffalo: London: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 180.

⁵⁹ George, *REED Lancashire*, p. 184 and note, p. 357.

⁶⁰ Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love*, pp. 64-5; Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, pp. 102-3.

⁶¹ Stanley Wells, 'A Close Family Connection: The Combes', in *The Shakespeare Circle: an Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Chapter 12, pp. 149-60 (pp. 149, 157, 159).

⁶² Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 'Introduction', p. 103.

⁶³ For discussions of the poem see Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Truth of Love*; William H. Matchett, *The Phoenix and the Turtle* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), particularly Chapter 5, 'The Broader Context:

however, link the poem more closely with Robert Southwell. John Klaue describes the poem as ‘specifically Catholic’,⁶⁴ and sees the form and language as strongly influenced by the *Dies Irae*, a medieval Latin poem sung as a hymn during the Catholic *Requiem for The Dead*.⁶⁵ He also suggests a connection with Thomas Aquinas’s Eucharistic hymn *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, traditionally sung on the feast of Corpus Christi, a feast banned by Cranmer in 1548, and removed from the Book of Common Prayer in 1559.⁶⁶ Southwell adapted this hymn in his poem ‘Saint Thomas of Aquines Hymne read on Corpus Christy daye’, where he describes ‘one or thousands housled’,⁶⁷ the Old English word for receiving the Eucharist used later by Hamlet’s father.⁶⁸ Klaue also sees Shakespeare’s paradoxical reference to ‘married chastity’ in *The Phoenix and Turtle* ⁶⁹as possibly referring to Southwell’s ‘Our ladyes Spousalls’. Here, Southwell describes the Virgin Mary paradoxically; ‘Wife did she live yet Virgin did shee die / Untowched of man’.⁷⁰ Klaue’s discussion goes on to claim that *The Phoenix and Turtle* ultimately criticises Salusbury for lapsing in the Catholic faith for which his brother

“Loves Martyr” In *The Period*, pp. 134-86; Richard C. McCoy, ‘Love’s Martyrs: Shakespeare’s “Phoenix and Turtle” and the Sacrificial Sonnets,’ in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chapter 9, pp. 180-208; Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare’s Poems*, ‘Introduction’ pp. 134-86; Kerrigan, ‘Shakespeare, Elegy and Epitaph’, especially p. 231. A later chapter in the same volume is also relevant, John Kerrigan, ‘Reading “The Phoenix and Turtle”’ in *the Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare’s Poetry*, ed. by Jonathan F. S. Post (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 540-59.

⁶⁴ Klaue, “‘The Phoenix and Turtle’ in its Time’, p. 215

⁶⁵ Klaue, “‘The Phoenix and Turtle’ in its Time’, note 34, p. 228

⁶⁶ Klaue, “‘The Phoenix and Turtle’ in its Time’, pp. 218-9. For Corpus Christi, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400 - C.1580*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, second edition, 2005), pp. 43-4, 460, 566, 580; also, Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 242.

⁶⁷ Southwell, ‘Saint Thomas of Aquines Hymne read on Corpus Christy daye. *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*’, l. 46.

⁶⁸ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Anne Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare, 1. 5. 77 – ‘Unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled’.

⁶⁹ ‘The Phoenix and Turtle’, l. 61.

⁷⁰ Southwell, ‘Our ladyes Spousalls’, ll. 1-2.

died.⁷¹ If correct, this view suggests that Shakespeare might have viewed Salusbury as someone who feared ‘policy, that heretic’ and was another of the great number of Elizabethans who was not prepared to ‘die for goodness’.⁷²

A slightly earlier interpretation of the poem was made by Clare Asquith in ‘A Phoenix for Palm Sunday’.⁷³ She, too, associates the poem with Catholicism in general and Southwell in particular. She also sees connections with *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, but appears to confuse the Corpus Christi celebrations with Palm Sunday.⁷⁴ She argues that Shakespeare’s poem describes the Mass celebrated by a group of mission priests to commemorate the executions of both Southwell and Henry Walpole, author of ‘Paper, Penne, Inke’, who was executed on 17 April 1595.⁷⁵ Asquith’s argument is not strengthened by her assigning the date of the Requiem to Palm Sunday 13 April, four days before Walpole’s execution. She argues that ‘the bird of loudest lay’ refers to the soloist leading the hymn, and that ‘the priest in surplice white’ is clearly a Catholic reference.⁷⁶ Less convincingly, the ‘cinders’ and ‘urn’ must contain the ashes of Southwell and Walpole’ and the ‘shrieking harbinger’, is undoubtedly Topcliffe, who tortured both men.⁷⁷ Shakespeare’s presence as Master of Ceremonies at the Mass is confirmed by the poem’s references to the ‘trumpet’, an allusion to the Globe, and to

⁷¹ Klaue, “The Phoenix and Turtle” in its Time’, pp. 219 and 223. He sees Shakespeare’s poem as ‘a subtle and enigmatic insult to the man to whom he ostensibly offered homage.’ (p. 223).

⁷² Shakespeare, Sonnet 124, ll. 9 and 13.

⁷³ Claire Asquith, ‘A Phoenix for Palm Sunday’, *The Times Literary Supplement* (April 13, 2001), pp. 14-15.

⁷⁴ Palm Sunday was celebrated on 13 April 1595. Corpus Christi was a separate festival celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, usually late May or early June. See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 43.

⁷⁵ For Henry Walpole see entry in *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, volume XX, 1917), pp. 621-3, signed [A. J.]

⁷⁶ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 1 and 13.

⁷⁷ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 55, 65 and 5.

the ‘chorus’ and ‘their tragic scene’.⁷⁸ The puzzling reference to ‘married chastity’⁷⁹ is explained as one of ‘the many teasing riddles’ and ‘teasing vagueness’ found in the poem, but which refer to the spiritual marriage, ‘the dedicated vows, of Holy Orders’.⁸⁰

If Asquith’s argument that the poem is connected with Southwell fails to convince, partly because of her allegorical certainty, an article by John Finnis and Patrick Martin, ‘Another Turn for the Turtle’, is more carefully argued, and also leads us back to Anne Dacres, and to Anne Line.⁸¹ Finnis and Martin accept the 1601 date for the poem, thereby rejecting Asquith’s argument that it was intended as an immediate elegy in memory of Southwell. They do believe, however, that the poem pays tribute to people that he knew. The reference to ‘the requiem’ establishes the background as Catholic, while ‘married chastity’ suggests that the Phoenix and Turtle were a married couple.⁸² The Phoenix is seen as emblem of new life gained through a loss of self, while the Turtle stands for love and fidelity.⁸³ All these graces seem exemplified in the lives of Roger and Anne Line.⁸⁴ Anne Higham or Heigham was born to a Protestant family in Dunmow, Essex, and educated at court, but converted to Catholicism and married a fellow convert, Roger Line, in London on 3 February 1583. Her conversion caused her father to disown her, and when Roger refused his dying uncle’s request to attend a Protestant service, he, too, was disinherited from the large estate intended for him. Roger was

⁷⁸ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 3 and 52.

⁷⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 61.

⁸⁰ Asquith, ‘A Phoenix for Palm Sunday’, p. 14.

⁸¹ John Finnis and Patrick Martin, ‘Another Turn for The Turtle: Shakespeare’s Intercession for “Love’s Martyr”’, in *The Times Literary Supplement* (April 18, 2003), pp. 12-14.

⁸² *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 16 and 61.

⁸³ Finnis and Martin, ‘Another Turn for the Turtle’, p. 12.

⁸⁴ Finnis and Martin’s identification of Anne Line as a subject for Shakespeare’s poem had in fact been suggested earlier in Clara Longworth, Countess de Chambrun’s *My Shakespeare, Rise!* (Stratford-Upon-Avon and London, 1935). See Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare’s Poems*, pp. 93 and 561.

then arrested in January 1585 while attending an illegal Mass; after years of imprisonment he was finally exiled in 1591. Anne was destitute, and was forced to allow their small son, John, to be brought up in Hampshire by Roger's parents. Roger Line died abroad in 1594, never seeing his wife and child again.⁸⁵

Anne Line was befriended by John Gerard, Southwell's Jesuit colleague, who introduced her to the Wisemans of Braddocks, Essex, the neighbours of Penelope Rich, future husband of Lord Mountjoy, who was present at Southwell's execution. Line tutored the Wiseman children, and then became the housekeeper at a safe house in London rented by Henry Garnet to shelter both newly arrived priests and young people travelling to seminaries and convents in Flanders and France, just as Southwell had done many years before. Gerard wrote of the lady to whom he gave the codename 'Mistress Martha', that she was 'a very good and prudent widowed lady'.⁸⁶ He added, 'she was full of kindness, very discreet and possessed her soul in great peace'.⁸⁷ He also wrote that she had 'made a vow of chastity, a virtue that even as a wife she had valued greatly.'⁸⁸ As well as the reference in *The Phoenix and Turtle* to 'married chastity', Gerard's comment might also remind us of Imogen, the faithful heroine of *Cymbeline*, whose 'pudency so rosy' when she 'restrain'd' her husband Posthumus's 'lawful

⁸⁵ For details of Anne line's life, and that of her husband, Roger, see Finnis and Martin, and John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translated from the Latin by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), particularly pp. 82-6 and 152-4. A recent book that is full of interesting information, although not always supported by evidence, is Martin Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse* (Brighton: The Book Guild, 2013). Dodwell has summarised his findings in 'Revisiting Anne Line: Who was she and Where did she come from?', *Recusant History*, vol. 31 (Catholic Record Society, 2013), 375-89. Also, Christine J. Kelly, *DNB online* (23 September 2004). Anne Line would be the last woman executed in Elizabeth's reign for the offence of concealing missionary priests.

⁸⁶ Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p. 82.

⁸⁷ Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p. 84.

⁸⁸ Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p. 86.

pleasure’, ‘might well have warmed old Saturn; that [he] thought her / As chaste as unsunn’d snow.’⁸⁹

Anne Line was eventually caught and arrested when attracting attention while at a too well-attended Mass in London on 2 February 1601. The unusual numbers of men and women entering the house drew the attention of pursuivants. She was tried on 25 February, and hanged at Tyburn two days later. She had previously told Gerard that ‘I naturally want more than anything to die for Christ’.⁹⁰ In his last letter before setting out for England, Southwell also wrote of ‘what I so violently desire’; that is, to join the ranks of ‘happy martyrs’.⁹¹ His *Epistle of Comfort* insisted, ‘What more renowned dignity, than to dye in this cause’.⁹² Southwell believed steadfastly in ‘the glory of martyrs in this worlde, and the unspeakeable felicitye prepared for them in the worlde to come.’⁹³ Like Southwell, Anne Line died on the gallows while making the sign of the cross.⁹⁴ Her body was rescued from a common pit dug in the road by the intervention of Anne Dacres, Countess of Arundel, who ‘sent her coach

⁸⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 61; Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Nosworthy, The Arden Shakespeare, 2.4.161-5. Dodwell’s *Anne Line: Shakespeare’s Tragic Muse* concludes with a lengthy epilogue, ‘The Symbol-Line Allegory’, in which he argues that Imogen allegorises Anne Line, who represents ‘true spirituality [...] which will be restored to its rightful place in Britain’. This is ‘the message of *Cymbeline*’, p. 75.

⁹⁰ Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p. 84; Kelly, *DNB online*.

⁹¹ Southwell, letter to his friend John Deckers, 5 July 1586, sent from St. Omer. See Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), pp. 99-100. Southwell first met Deckers (b. 1560) in Douai, where they became close friends. Deckers also became a Jesuit; he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and Theology at Douai.

⁹² Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, British Library copy, (‘Imprinted at Paris’), The Eleventh Chapter. Also, *EEBO*, (London: John Charlewood? In Arundel House, 1587?), p. 137. The original is held in Oxford, The Bodleian Library.

⁹³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, *EEBO*, The Thirteenth Chapter, p. 18.

⁹⁴ Kelly, *DNB online*; Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare’s Tragic Muse*, p. 114. See also a letter from Henry Garnet to Claudio Aquaviva, Jesuit General, 11 March 1601, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, (Jesuit Archives) Rome, Anglia 31 II, fols. 172 v – 183 v., cited in Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 281. There is also an account in a manuscript kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Brudenell Ms Eng. Th. b. 2.

[...] and therein brought the body to her own house where it was kept with reverence'.⁹⁵

Anne Line's body was eventually given a fitting burial. It was perhaps fitting that Line would be beatified by Pius XI in December 1929, along with Philip Howard and Robert Southwell.⁹⁶

The matrix of Catholic connections that has been constantly referred to in previous chapters also includes Anne Line. Her marriage to Roger Line related her to the Shelleys of Michelgrove, Sussex, and through them to the Earl of Southampton's family, as well as to the Copleys and Southwell's mother Bridget Copley. The Shelley connection also links her to the Earl of Worcester.⁹⁷ A government report from 1594 lists those attending Mass at the Earl of Worcester's London house, and included 'Mrs Lyne and her acquaintance Mr. Shelley'.⁹⁸ Finnis and Martin see Worcester, a Catholic closely connected with Essex and Southampton, as the link between the Lines and Shakespeare.⁹⁹ As we have seen, the Shelley and Belknap connections lead directly to the Ardens, and hence to William Shakespeare. When Anne was arrested in 1601, arrested with her was Margaret Gage, neé Copley, daughter of Thomas Copley, a member of the family and who had been earlier exiled for recusancy.¹⁰⁰ Margaret was Southwell's cousin. Devlin thinks it was she who interrupted Southwell's journey to the scaffold by kneeling and asking for his blessing.¹⁰¹ Southwell responded with, "Dear cousin, I

⁹⁵ Fitzalan-Howard, Duke of Norfolk, *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his Wife*, p. 293.

⁹⁶ Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse*, p. 127.

⁹⁷ See above, Chapter 2; also, Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse*, 'Roger Line Family Tree', p. xviii, and p. 35. Also, Devlin, *Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr*, pp. 15 and 264; John Klaue, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), p. 40.

⁹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Elizabeth and James, Addenda 1580 -1625*, ed. by Mary Ann Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1872), vol. 32, note 64, January 20 1593, p. 346.

⁹⁹ Finnis and Martin, 'Another Turn for the Turtle', pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁰ Dodwell, 'Revisiting Anne Line: Who was she and Where did she come from?', p. 383; Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse*, p. 97; Henry Garnet, letter to Aquaviva, 11 March 1601, (see note 90 above).

¹⁰¹ Devlin, *Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr*, pp. 319-20.

thank you, and I pray you pray for me.”¹⁰² We have previously seen the connections between the Gages, the Southamptons and the Arundels. Other interesting and relevant connections include Anne’s acquaintance with the priest William Thomson, alias Blackburn, one of the priests involved in the Denham exorcisms, who had for a time acted as chaplain to Anne.¹⁰³ Thomson, executed at Tyburn in April 1586, had been sheltered at the house of William Higham, Anne’s brother, who had also converted to Catholicism.¹⁰⁴ Thomson, we remember, was also a colleague of Robert Dibdale of Shottery. Another member of the Gage family, Robert, was also executed at the same time as Jerome Bellamy and Thomas Salusbury for involvement in the Babington Plot.¹⁰⁵ As with previous historical evidence, there is no certainty, but a great number of very strong circumstantial facts to suggest a plausible connection between Southwell and Shakespeare.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia tells Bassanio that ‘One half of me is yours, the other half yours - / Mine own, I would say; but if mine, then yours, / And so all yours.’¹⁰⁶ For the Phoenix and Turtle, equally, ‘So between them love did shine [...] Either was the other’s mine’.¹⁰⁷ This meant for them, as with Portia, ‘That the self was not the same’.¹⁰⁸ The ‘Love

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare’s Tragic Muse*, p. 57; John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, p. 83; SP12 / 190 f.78 records ‘taken without byshopsgate at Masse with blackborne Alias Thomson that was hanged’. For the Denham exorcisms see F.W. Brownlow, *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and The Devils of Denham* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), pp. 165-72. Thomson was arrested at the home of Robert Bellamy, Southwell’s friend. (Brownlow, p. 165.)

¹⁰⁴ John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Gillow, *English Catholics*, vol. 3, p. 74.

¹⁰⁶ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Jay. L. Halio, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3. 2. 16-18.

¹⁰⁷ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 33-4.

¹⁰⁸ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 38.

and constancy'¹⁰⁹ that Portia offers Bassanio is vital and powerful; not dead but alive, and mirrors both the love of Anne and Roger Line, as well as the compassion and self-sacrifice which Southwell expresses in 'The burning Babe', where the burning Christ child will 'washe them in my bloode'.¹¹⁰ Christ's 'Love is the fire and sighs the smoke', as Southwell uses both the phoenix legend and the imagery of the alchemist's furnace to convey his theme.¹¹¹ For both Southwell and Shakespeare, 'Love hath reason, Reason none', so that 'Reason in itself confounded, / Saw division grow together'.¹¹² Human love and Divine love mingle together for the Phoenix and Turtle, 'Co-supremes and stars of love',¹¹³ as they did for Leontes and Hermione, and also for Southwell in his epiphany described in 'The burning Babe'. The poet recounts that he was 'shyveringe in the snowe' but his vision of 'A pretty babe all burning bright' reminded him that 'it was Christmas daye.'¹¹⁴

Finnis and Martin's identification of Anne and Roger Line with the Phoenix and Turtle has a strong case for acceptance, even if their allegorical interpretation relies sometimes on supposition rather than evidence. For example, they suggest that 'the priest in surplice white' represents Father Francis Page', who officiated at the Mass where Anne was arrested; and also believe that the 'shrieking harbinger' represents Sir John Popham, who presided over Anne's trial, and Southwell's.¹¹⁵ The 'treble-dated crow' is Henry Garnet, and William Byrd

¹⁰⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 22.

¹¹⁰ Southwell, 'The burning Babe', l. 14.

¹¹¹ 'The burning Babe', l. 10.

¹¹² *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 47 and ll. 41-2.

¹¹³ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 51.

¹¹⁴ 'The burning Babe', ll. 1,4 and 16.

¹¹⁵ Finnis and Martin, 'Another Turn for the Turtle', p. 14; *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 13 and 5.

presented as ‘the bird of loudest lay’.¹¹⁶ Gerard Kilroy, however, accepts these identifications, suggesting also that the ‘defunctive music’ of the Requiem refers to the motet apparently sung on the scaffold by the two priests executed with Anne, Fathers Barkworth and Fieldcock.¹¹⁷ Finnis and Martin’s conclusion, that *The Phoenix and Turtle* is ‘the poet’s own testimony to these two persons’ unity, constancy and goodness’, has much to support it, and again helps to strengthen the likelihood of a connection between Southwell and Shakespeare.¹¹⁸ The final line of the poem, where the mourners are invited to repair to the urn containing their ashes and, ‘for these dead birds sigh a prayer’, returns us to a clearly Catholic world where prayers for the dead were welcomed.¹¹⁹

Shakespeare’s Sonnet 74, with its description of ‘The coward conquest of a wretch’s knife’, includes, ‘My life hath in this line some interest’,¹²⁰ an allusion which has attracted the interest of Richard Wilson, as do two similar references in *The Tempest*. Here Stephano demands, ‘Mistress Line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line!’, and Trinculo responds with, ‘We steal by line and level’;¹²¹ allusions which the Arden editors

¹¹⁶ Finnis and Martin, p. 14; *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 17 and 1. Honigmann noted earlier that ‘the eagle, feathered king’ (*Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 11,) could refer to the Derby crest of an eagle carrying a child. See E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The ‘Lost Years’*, second edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 107.

¹¹⁷ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 14. Gerard Kilroy, letter to *the Times Literary Supplement*, No. 5222, responding to the article by Finnis and Martin (2 May, 2003), p. 17. For the deaths of Father Mark Barkworth and Father Roger Fieldcock (or Filcock), see Dodwell, *Anne Line: Shakespeare’s Tragic Muse*, pp. 119-22. Also, *The Rutland Papers: Manuscripts of The Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1888), 369.f.

¹¹⁸ Finnis and Martin, ‘Another Turn for the Turtle’, p. 114.

¹¹⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 67.

¹²⁰ Shakespeare, Sonnet 74, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), ll. 11 and 3.

¹²¹ *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1999), 4. 1. 236-9.

suggest have ‘defied satisfactory explanation’.¹²² Wilson also supports Finnis and Martin’s identification of Anne and Roger Line as the Phoenix and Turtle.¹²³ Whether the references in *The Tempest* are deliberate allusions to Anne Line will probably remain uncertain. If they are, it might suggest a certain callousness on Shakespeare’s part in attempting to provoke laughter from the allusions. Stephano and Trinculo are, though, on a mission, however amateurish, to murder the play’s central character, Prospero, and rape his daughter. Theirs may be the callousness, if any exists. Nevertheless, *The Tempest*’s concluding emphasis on forgiveness, mercy and reconciliation allows Ferdinand to describe Prospero as he ‘of whom I have / Received a second life’, in religious imagery that even Caliban echoes when he promises to ‘seek for grace’.¹²⁴ The ‘Grace in all simplicity’ that *The Phoenix and Turtle* hymns,¹²⁵ and which *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Tempest* dramatise, contrasts strongly with the human wisdom or ‘Reason’, which can only be defeated and ‘confounded’ by such powerful and victorious evidence of love.¹²⁶ To reveal such love and mercy was clearly Southwell’s intention in ‘The burning Babe’. It was also Shakespeare’s in *The Tempest*. When Ariel shames his master into allowing his ‘affections’ to become as ‘tender’ as Ariel’s would be, ‘were I human’, Prospero is finally able to assert that ‘The rarer action is / In virtue than in vengeance.’¹²⁷ He joins Portia, Isabella, Cordelia, Imogen and Hermione among other of his creator’s characters in recognising that to be fully human requires both forgiveness and love. Once again, we can recognise the similarity that binds these two writers together.

¹²² Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, *The Arden Shakespeare*, note, p. 259.

¹²³ Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, pp. 12, 201 and 298. Wilson thinks that ‘Secret Shakespeare, who lived in terror of Tyburn, ... had cause to immure the relics of the martyrs in their urn’, p. 298. This reference to *The Phoenix and Turtle* adds, however, that the secrets of the poem remain ‘virtually impenetrable’, p. 298.

¹²⁴ *The Tempest*, 5. 1. 194-5 and 5. 1. 296.

¹²⁵ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 54.

¹²⁶ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 41 and 47.

¹²⁷ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Vaughan and Vaughan, 5. 1. 18-28.

Both *The Phoenix and Turtle* and 'The burning Babe' are concerned with expressing 'the truth of love', to quote from the title page of *Love's Martyr*.¹²⁸ If critics differ widely in their interpretations of *The Phoenix and Turtle*, all agree that the poem contains 'a haunting music', a phrase which can also easily be applied to Southwell's poem.¹²⁹ Both poems, especially 'The burning Babe', are short, both are lyrical and both depend on the reader's recognition and understanding of the imagery used to make the poets' intentions clear, in the same way that emblemists expected their readers to decipher their works. Southwell and Shakespeare both also employ paradox in their poems; Southwell contrasts the cold and snowy 'Winter's night' with the 'sodayne heat which made my hart to glowe' when he perceives the 'pretty babe'.¹³⁰ The 'floodes of teares' that the babe sheds contrast with the 'flames, which with his teares were fedd', and the 'furnace', which is fuelled by 'woundinge thornes', contrasts with the liquid of the 'bath' in which the Christ child will 'washe them in my bloode'.¹³¹ The imagery of alchemy is combined with allusions to the phoenix, where 'Love is the fire and sighs the smoke the ashes shame and scornes'.¹³² As the vision 'vanisht out of sight', the poet remembers 'that it was Christmas daye'.¹³³ The poem's sixteen lines succeed in summarising the whole of the Christian Gospel, with its references to the 'woundinge thornes' and 'bloode' reminding us of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion.¹³⁴ The heart of the poem, though, lies in its

¹²⁸ Two copies of the original 1601 edition of *Love's Martyr* are extant, in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. For further details of editions see Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 'Introduction', p. 94.

¹²⁹ John Kerrigan 'Reading "The Phoenix and Turtle"', in *the Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry*, ed. by Jonathan F. S. Post (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapter 30, pp. 540-59 (p. 543).

¹³⁰ Southwell, 'The burning Babe', ll. 1, 2 and 4.

¹³¹ 'The burning Babe', ll. 5-6, 9 and 14.

¹³² 'The burning Babe', l.10.

¹³³ 'The burning Babe', ll. 15-16.

¹³⁴ 'The burning Babe', ll. 9 and 14.

contrast between justice and mercy. Just as Prospero remits any punishment for the ‘three men of sin’, and as Portia famously insists to Shylock, ‘The quality of mercy is not strained’,¹³⁵ so Southwell’s imagery demonstrates the forgiveness available for ‘mens defiled soules’ because of the child’s sacrifice.¹³⁶ ‘For which as nowe on fire I am to worke them to their good’, although poignantly, ‘none approach to warme their hartes or feele my fire but I’.¹³⁷

Shakespeare’s poem, too, offers paradoxes: between life and death, love and reason and between ‘division’ and ‘this concordant one’.¹³⁸ The uniting in love and death of the Phoenix and Turtle creates a unity where paradoxically ‘Distance and no space was seen’, and where ‘the self was not the same’.¹³⁹ Just as Portia offers ‘Myself and what is mine to you’,¹⁴⁰ so the ‘two-in-one transcendental love’¹⁴¹ described in *The Phoenix and Turtle* is mirrored in Southwell’s poem, where the love and sacrifice of Christ’s ‘fautles brest’ enables men to return to the love of God that Southwell preaches.¹⁴² In ‘lifes deathes loves life’ he writes of Christ’s mission, ‘Who for our love did choose to live / And was content to dye’.¹⁴³ At the end of this poem he advises his readers, ‘Mourne therefore no true lovers death’.¹⁴⁴ In ‘what joy to live’, as elsewhere in his writings, Southwell argues that true joy and peace can only be

¹³⁵ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, The Arden Shakespeare, 3. 3. 153 and *The Merchant of Venice*, The Oxford Shakespeare, 4. 1. 181.

¹³⁶ ‘The burning Babe’, l. 12.

¹³⁷ ‘The burning Babe’, ll. 13 and 8.

¹³⁸ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 42 and 46.

¹³⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 30 and 38.

¹⁴⁰ *The Merchant of Venice*, 3. 2. 166.

¹⁴¹ Kerrigan, ‘Reading “The Phoenix and Turtle”’, p. 549.

¹⁴² ‘The burning Babe’, l. 9.

¹⁴³ Southwell, ‘Lifes deathes loves life’, ll. 5-6.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Lifes deathes loves life’, l. 29.

found in accepting the ‘Mercy’ offered by the ‘burning Babe’, a surrender of the self to God that paradoxically will bring the freedom ‘To live where best I love’.¹⁴⁵ For the Phoenix and Turtle also, where ‘between them love did shine’; their willingness to surrender self, so that ‘Either was the other’s mine’, brings the poet’s admiring command: ‘To this urn let those repair / That are either true or fair.’¹⁴⁶

Shakespeare expresses the same idea of self-surrender succinctly when he writes that ‘Property was thus appalled / That the self was not the same’.¹⁴⁷ Selfhood and ownership have been willingly sacrificed to the life-giving power of love, an abnegation of the individual that defeats reason, whose personification admits that ‘Love hath reason, Reason none, / If what parts can so remain.’¹⁴⁸ His poem, therefore, lauds the ‘utter denial of common sense’,¹⁴⁹ in the same way that Paul referred to the Gospel as ‘unto the Jewes, even a stumbling block, & unto the Grecians, foolishness’.¹⁵⁰ Where Theseus mocked ‘Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend / More than cool reason ever comprehends’,¹⁵¹ both Shakespeare and Southwell defend the ‘imagination’¹⁵² that can recognise that ‘To live where best I love’ is the answer to man’s search for contentment.¹⁵³ Sonnet 125 expresses Shakespeare’s belief that ‘a

¹⁴⁵ Southwell, ‘What joy to live’, l. 12; ‘The burning Babe’, l. 11.

¹⁴⁶ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 33, 36 and 65-6.

¹⁴⁷ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 37-8.

¹⁴⁸ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 47-8.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Ellrodt, ‘An Anatomy of “The Phoenix and Turtle”’, in *Shakespeare Survey 15: The Poems and Music*, ed. by Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 99-110 (p. 107).

¹⁵⁰ 1 Corinthians 1 v. 23, in *The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition, Facsimile (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2007).

¹⁵¹ Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. by Peter Holland, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 5. 1. 5-6.

¹⁵² *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 5. 1. 8 and 14.

¹⁵³ Southwell, ‘What joy to live’, l. 12.

true soul' must 'mutual render, only me for thee'.¹⁵⁴ Southwell urges, 'O soule out of thy selfe seeke god alone'.¹⁵⁵ In *The Phoenix and Turtle* Shakespeare argues that love has the power that can cause 'division grow together, / To Themselves yet either neither, / Simple were so well compounded'.¹⁵⁶ If Shakespeare foregrounds the experience of human lovers while Southwell is concerned with the relationship of man and God, their arguments and language, nonetheless, have striking congruence. The Christian's experience and journey and the experience and commitment of lovers are remarkably similar, as John Kerrigan has pointed out.¹⁵⁷ Both Southwell and Shakespeare celebrate a 'two-in-one transcendental love'.¹⁵⁸ 'Who lov'd our love more then his life / And love with life did buy', sums up Southwell's beliefs.¹⁵⁹

If Shakespeare's poem places more emphasis on the human element of 'Beauty, truth and rarity' rather than the divine in his use of the phoenix legend,¹⁶⁰ Southwell also uses the imagery of the phoenix on a number of occasions. In *An Epistle of Comfort*, for example, he compares the death and rebirth of the phoenix to the death of martyrs. As the ashes 'becometh a Phenix agayne', so the martyrs by 'exposing themselves thereupon to the scorching heate of persecution, they sacrifice themselves in the flame of patience and charitye', thereby enabling the 'posteritye of the Church' to be preserved.¹⁶¹ Four chapters

¹⁵⁴ Sonnet 125, ll. 12-13, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Duncan-Jones.

¹⁵⁵ Southwell, 'At home in heaven', l. 41.

¹⁵⁶ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 43-4.

¹⁵⁷ Kerrigan, 'Reading "The Phoenix and Turtle"', p. 551.

¹⁵⁸ Kerrigan, 'Reading "The Phoenix and Turtle"', p. 549.

¹⁵⁹ 'Lifes deathes loves life', ll. 7-8.

¹⁶⁰ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 53.

¹⁶¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, EEBO, The Eleventh Chapter, p. 138.

later in *An Epistle of Comfort* Southwell writes, ‘and yet of our ashes spring others’.¹⁶² In his poem ‘Christs bloody sweate’ he devotes an entire stanza to comparing the suffering of Christ during his Passion to the ‘Phenix fate’, whom ‘flames consume whom streames enforce to die’, in a repetition of the contrasting of fire and water.¹⁶³ Southwell describes ‘howe bleedeth burning love’, in a reference both to the cross and to Christ’s suffering in Gethsemane.¹⁶⁴ Southwell also describes ‘a Phenix fyerye paynes’, and the poem’s conclusion is, ‘Such fire is love’.¹⁶⁵ The imagery here may perhaps also allude to the deaths of martyrs, and the burning of their entrails, the usual practice after such executions. The alchemical imagery of ‘The burning Babe’, with its references to ‘metall’, ‘furnace’ and ‘bath’, is revisited in ‘A Vale of teares’, where the poet’s call for repentance asks the reader to ‘Lett former faultes be fuell of the fire / For grief in Lymbecke of thy hart to still’.¹⁶⁶ Again, the image is of refining, not base metals, but human souls. In *Saint Peters Complaynt*, the repentant Peter describes ‘the limbeck of thy dolefull breast’ and urges that ‘as fire the coals let penance blow’, in stanzas where he also refers to the ‘solest Swan’.¹⁶⁷ In *The Phoenix and Turtle*, Shakespeare also uses the imagery of alchemy when he asserts that ‘Simple were so well compounded’.¹⁶⁸ If the conclusion to Shakespeare’s poem seems more sombre and pessimistic, when he writes that ‘Truth and beauty buried be’,¹⁶⁹ both poets express similar

¹⁶² *An Epistle of Comfort*, EEBO, The Fifteenth Chapter, p. 197.

¹⁶³ Southwell, ‘Christs bloody sweate’, ll. 7-12 (ll. 7-8).

¹⁶⁴ ‘Christs bloody sweate’, l. 9.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Christs bloody sweate’, ll. 11 and 17.

¹⁶⁶ ‘The burning Babe’, ll. 9, 12 and 14; ‘A Vale of teares’, ll. 69-70.

¹⁶⁷ Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaynt*, ll. 457, 460 and 451.

¹⁶⁸ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 44.

¹⁶⁹ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 64.

ideas, using language and imagery that is strikingly the same, in what can be fairly described as ‘the burdon of thy songe’.¹⁷⁰

In *Twelfth Night*, Viola swears to Olivia that she has only ‘one heart, one bosom, and one truth’,¹⁷¹ and in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* Lysander declares to Hermia that ‘my heart unto yours is knit, / So that but one heart we can make of it.’¹⁷² In *The Comedy of Errors*, also, Adriana’s heartfelt plea to the Antipholus she mistakes for her husband (and who lives at The Phoenix) is worth quoting at length.

O, how comes it,
That thou art then estranged from thyself? –
Thyself I call it, being strange to me,
That undividable, incorporate,
Am better than thy dear self’s better part.¹⁷³

The words could be Southwell’s, who believed that ‘Mans mynde a myrrhour is of heavenly sightes’, and therefore his true happiness lay in a reconciliation and union with God.¹⁷⁴ The Phoenix and Turtle are fully themselves when united, and for Southwell, God is ‘harts love soules truest life’.¹⁷⁵ ‘Trewe love’ is therefore the concern of both of our poets; ‘as love in twain / Had the essence but in one’.¹⁷⁶ Anne Sweeney summarises both Southwell’s works and his life as ‘the principle of sacrifice through love’.¹⁷⁷ Shakespeare’s Sonnet 123 avows

¹⁷⁰ Southwell, ‘A Vale of teares’,

¹⁷¹ Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. by Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3. 1. 156.

¹⁷² Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. Holland, Oxford World’s Classics, 2. 2. 48.

¹⁷³ Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 2001), 2. 2. 119-123.

¹⁷⁴ Southwell, ‘Looke home’, l. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Southwell, ‘From Fortunes reach’, l. 23.

¹⁷⁶ Southwell, ‘Lew’d Love is Losse’, l.12 - ‘Trewe love in Heaven seeke’ - and *The Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 25-6.

¹⁷⁷ Sweeney, *Snow in Arcadia*, p. 281.

that ‘this shall ever be, / I will be true’,¹⁷⁸ and, as we have seen in *The Phoenix and Turtle*, Shakespeare ‘is concerned only with the perfect union achieved by the lovers’ souls’.¹⁷⁹

There has been no attempt made here to explicate all the mysteries of *The Phoenix and Turtle*, but instead to try to show how the poem resonates with Southwell’s work, particularly his magnificent ‘burning Babe’. The use of emblematic imagery is common to both poets, although, as we have seen, less easy to explicate in *The Phoenix and Turtle*. The connections we have traced to Mary Stuart, Anne Dacres and Anne Line return us to the historical approach used earlier in the thesis, as well as to the themes of love, faith and steadfastness discussed previously. If at the end of Shakespeare’s poem both the Phoenix and Turtle die and ‘in cinders lie’,¹⁸⁰ Shakespeare would later create characters who in one sense would return from the dead. Marina, Imogen, Perdita, Hermione and Miranda all survive, through love and faith and endurance. Imogen, who ‘is alone th’ Arabian bird’, is mourned by Arviragus, who believes that ‘the bird is dead / That we have made so much on.’¹⁸¹ But Imogen is alive, and if ‘Reason is still in search of explanations where only wonder is appropriate’,¹⁸² then both Southwell and Shakespeare reveal to us their faith that wonder and love can ultimately triumph over reason. To return to the beginning of this chapter, ‘In my end is my beginning’.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Shakespeare, Sonnet 123, ll. 13-14, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. Duncan-Jones.

¹⁷⁹ Ellrodt, ‘An Anatomy of “The Phoenix and Turtle”’, p. 104.

¹⁸⁰ *The Phoenix and Turtle*, l. 55.

¹⁸¹ Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, The Arden Shakespeare, 1. 7. 17 and 4. 2. 197-8.

¹⁸² Kerrigan, ‘Reading “The Phoenix and Turtle”’, p. 555.

¹⁸³ The motto of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; see above note 3.

CONCLUSION

And that your love taught it this alchemy ¹

Alchemy was (and remains today) a perfect metaphor for talking about the operations of the transforming imagination ²

The purifying furnace referred to twice in lines ten and twelve of ‘The burning Babe’ is, as we have seen, a symbol taken from alchemy and used by Southwell to signify the refining of human souls rather than base metals. The significance of ‘love’, whether human or divine, for both Shakespeare and Southwell, has been an important element in this thesis. Both writers consistently offer us their views on love, and both explore its centrality for human experience. If Shakespeare’s concerns are primarily the importance of love in human relationships, of all

¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 114, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), l. 4.

² Margaret Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and the Creative Imagination: The Sonnets and ‘A Lover’s Complaint’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 3.

kinds, and Southwell's are focused on exploring man's relationship with God, thematic and artistic connections between the two authors have still been demonstrated. Margaret Healy's comment that 'In Shakespeare's hands poetic making [...] cannot be disentangled from soul remaking and divine considerations' is apposite, as has been shown.³

A further aim in the thesis has been to explore the viability of comparing Southwell's work with Shakespeare's, as a writer who not only perhaps influenced his famous 'cosen', but whose work is worthy of comparison as someone who also possessed 'the transforming imagination'. Philip Caraman, despite his Catholic and Jesuit sympathies, wrote dismissively of Southwell's 'minor masterpieces of prose and a few enduring poems'.⁴ Centuries before, Francis Bacon was more enthusiastic, commenting on *An Humble Supplication* that 'it is curiously written, and worth the writing out for the art; though the argument be bad.'⁵ A more recent critic of Southwell is unusual in arguing that 'Southwell is one of the greatest Elizabethan prose writers'.⁶ Peter Davidson believes that in the early modern period, 'everyone read Southwell', but that is far from true today.⁷ Almost twenty years ago, Alison Shell pointed out that Southwell seldom appears on the undergraduate curriculum.⁸ Davidson believes that few academics other than himself currently lecture on Southwell.⁹ At a recent student seminar in Stratford, only one of the eighteen post-graduates working on

³ Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and the Creative Imagination*, p. 179.

⁴ Philip Caraman, *Henry Garnet 1555 -1606 and The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 22.

⁵ Francis Bacon, Letter to his brother Anthony, 5 May 1601. *The Letters and the Life of Sir Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding, 7 vols (London: Longmans, 1861 – 1874), ii, (1862), p. 368.

⁶ Frank Brownlow, *KM 80: A Birthday Album for Kenneth Muir: Tuesday, 5 May, 1987* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, for private circulation), 1987), p. 27.

⁷ Private conversation with Professor Davidson, 4 October 2017.

⁸ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 58.

⁹ Conversation with Davidson, 4 October 2017, Campion College, Oxford.

Shakespearean subjects reported that they had read any Southwell.¹⁰ If the polemical nature of Southwell's work is undoubtedly off-putting for some readers, his skill as both poet and prose writer makes him well-worth reading, apart from the insights that his work offers into the murky but fascinating world of Elizabethan politics and religion. Southwell's ability to create convincing and effective narrators, for example, as with the voices of Peter and Mary Magdalen, stands comparison with Shakespeare's rightly admired and skilful and dramatic use of soliloquies.

If Southwell's work is not often compared with Shakespeare's, the fascination with the topic of Shakespeare and religion, discussed in the Introduction, has not abated. Recent television programmes dealing with Elizabethan espionage and the Gunpowder Plot, and the success of Ben Elton's sit-com *Upstart Crow*, demonstrate popular interest in the topic, quite apart from the academic books cited.¹¹ The episode of *Upstart Crow* screened in September 2017, for example, focused with considerable accuracy on 'a treasonous Catholic Mass' performed by 'a Jesuit terrorist in Warwickshire'. This traitor, dispatched from 'the Pope's private spy factory', was no less than Simon Hunt, ex-Stratford schoolmaster, 'follower of the heretic Campion', come back secretly to terrify his old pupil, one Will Shakespeare! Hunt was even eager to be arrested, for then 'I can embrace the martyr's death.' Within the humour, there were serious issues explored that we have seen to be of vital significance in the lives of the

¹⁰ Student Seminar held at The Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, 29 May 2018. Happily, Southwell is taught in the undergraduate courses at the University of Birmingham.

¹¹ *Elizabeth's Secret Agents*, a BBC three-part documentary, was broadcast in October and November 2017. The contents included the entrapment and execution of Mary Stuart, John Gerard's arrest and escape and the Gunpowder Plot. *Gunpowder*, billed as a 'seventeenth century thriller', was a fanciful account of the Gunpowder Plot, starring Kit Harington as Robert Catesby. The first episode was broadcast on 21 October 2017, and also featured Liv Tyler as Anne Vaux.

people examined in this thesis.¹² In another genre, the first in Rory Clements's popular series of thrillers, set in the 1580s and 90s, and featuring one John Shakespeare as a sixteenth century Philip Marlowe, has familiar characters vital to the plot.¹³ These include Richard Topcliffe and his assistant Nicholas Jones, Walsingham and his cryptographer Phelippes, and Robert Southwell himself, who risks his anonymity to help Shakespeare track down a murderer. Walsingham warns John Shakespeare of the danger posed by Southwell, citing as evidence a treasonable poem discovered in manuscript describing Mary Stuart as 'a Sainte', 'Martyr' and 'Rose'. Clements's research has clearly led him to a reading of 'Decease release'.¹⁴

The popularity of such programmes and novels suggests that troubling twenty-first century issues of faith, fanaticism and terrorism are seen to be reflected in fictional or factual representations of late sixteenth century England. Southwell and Anne Line's desire for martyrdom and Shakespeare's apparent wish to avoid it, which has been discussed earlier, are relevant topics in an age where suicide bombers citing a religious conviction are a constant and world-wide danger. Shakespeare and Southwell also inhabited a world divided by religion, and where a person's beliefs and actions could bring imprisonment or even death. Therefore, examining their lives and work clearly has relevance and value today. The 'Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors' of Burghley's description, cited at the opening of this thesis, have paradoxically been described as 'transcendently fine human beings', and a view

¹² This episode from the second series of *Upstart Crow*, written by Ben Elton and directed by Richard Boden, was broadcast on BBC 2 on 18 September 2017. It starred David Mitchell as Will Shakespeare, and Geoffrey Whitehead as Simon Hunt.

¹³ Rory Clements, *Martyr* (London: Hodder Paperback, 2016).

¹⁴ Southwell, 'Decease release', ll. 13, 14 and 27.

taken that the ‘very fact that they lived ennobles the human race’.¹⁵ Two days after Southwell’s execution in February 1595, Garnet wrote of his friend and colleague that he was ‘an invincible soldier, a most faithful disciple, and courageous martyr of Christ [...] my most beloved companion and brother’.¹⁶ Shakespeare may or may not have been one of those included in Alison Shell’s call for a broader definition of Elizabethan Catholicism, ‘which acknowledges that not all Catholics were exemplary, or conspicuously dissident and heroic.’¹⁷ Shakespeare’s beliefs remain frustratingly opaque, but by comparing his work with Southwell’s it is hoped that some light has been shed on the life-changing issues that united them, sometimes divided them, but always clearly connected them in their mutual desire to explore faith, reason and love.

In Southwell’s address to the readers of *The Triumphs Over Death*, he referred to ‘such men whose names I know, and whose fame I have heard, though unacquainted with their persons.’¹⁸ Whether or not Shakespeare and Southwell were personally acquainted, the evidence that they knew of each other, were familiar with each other’s work, had connections in common, and may have been related, has all been examined. Questier commented that he was sure that he could do more than merely write ‘a connected series of biographical

¹⁵ Geoffrey Hill, *The Lords of Limit: Essays on Literature and Ideas* (London: André Deutsch, 1984), p. 37. The second chapter of this book, ‘The Absolute Reasonableness of Robert Southwell’, pp. 19-37, was originally delivered as *The Joseph Bard Memorial Lecture to The Royal Society of Literature, London*, on 17 May 1979.

¹⁶ Letter from Garnet to Acquaviva, 22 February 1595. Cited in Thomas M. McCoog, S. J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1549-1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 183.

¹⁷ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 15.

¹⁸ Southwell, *The Triumphs over Death*, ‘The Authour To The Reader’, (London: Valentine Simmes for John Busby, 1595), ll. 2-3, *EEBO*.

sketches', and this research into the web of connections and 'affinities' discovered has aimed to demonstrate how significant they are in linking Southwell with Shakespeare.¹⁹

The importance of the archival research for Chapter One, proving the existence of the Hesketh Players, has already been stressed, as has the significance of research into the Cheshire and Lancashire families who were part of a widespread Catholic affinity. In the same chapter, the research into 'Shakeshafts' in the Lancashire parish records, as well as the emphasis on the significance of John Bretchgirdle and John Brownsword, can be claimed to offer an original approach to the argument for Shakespeare's Lancashire connections. The examination in Chapter Two of comparatively obscure figures such as Swithin Wells and Richard Bold, as well as discussion of more well-known people such as the Earl of Southampton and the Arundels, helps to broaden and deepen evidence for this connection between Southwell and Shakespeare. The building up of what has been previously described as a mosaic of pieces of information, has brought together people, places and events, not necessarily striking as individual pieces of evidence, but when fully assembled able to show us a picture of connections between Shakespeare and Southwell that is far more recognisable than existed previously. For example, the fact that Viscount Moontjoy, present at Southwell's execution, and only 'minimally conformist', lived while resident in London in the parish of St Saviour's Southwark, is unremarkable.²⁰ If one then adds in the fact that William Shakespeare was also resident in the parish during his time in Blackfriars, a further possible if unprovable

¹⁹ Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 3.

²⁰ Felicity Heal, 'Experiencing Religion in London: Diversity and Choice in Shakespeare's Metropolis', in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 57-78 (p. 71).

connection can be glimpsed.²¹ If then we take into account that no evidence from communion tokens exists to indicate a conforming, church-going Shakespeare during his time in Silver Street, then another, slight, shred of evidence can be added to the picture.²² One must also add, however, that as only heads of households appear to have been recorded in the church accounts, the evidence here for Shakespeare's recusancy is merely a possibility.²³ But out of 'these fragments', sufficient evidence has been collected and assembled to be able to argue for a far closer and more important connection between Shakespeare and Southwell than has generally been accepted.²⁴

Alexander Grosart's 'Memorial – Introduction' to his edition of Southwell's poetry refers to what he calls 'certain *Shakespereana*' recognisable from Southwell's verse. Grosart briefly cites allusions to Southwell from works as disparate as *Venus and Adonis*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Troilus and Cressida*.²⁵ Chapters Three to Five of this thesis in particular have attempted to develop both Grosart's work, and, more significantly, the important work of John Klause. Although Chapter Three has suggested flaws in Klause's methodology, and the thesis attempts to use a more convincing and analytical approach than Klause employs, he still remains an important and inspirational scholar. Recent computer-driven analysis of Shakespeare's debt to George North has emphasised a methodology of comparison 'within

²¹ Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), particularly pp. 36-47. Also, David Kathman, 'Living with the Mountjoys', in *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 174-85.

²² Heal, 'Experiencing Religion in London', p. 57.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ 'These fragments I have shored against my ruins', T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, in *Selected Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 'What the Thunder said', l. 430.

²⁵ *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell S. J.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (Printed for Private Circulation, 1872), pp. lxxxix-xciii. Grosart's ground-breaking edition was limited to only 106 copies, one of which can be found in London, Mount St., The Jesuit Archives.

very narrow proximity', unlike Klause's approach.²⁶ Despite this, however, Klause's argument that the allusions he finds must have 'biographical implications because, in order to read and remember the other man's works so well, he had to have access to them in the first place', is valid and important and one that I fully support.²⁷

The analysis in the thesis of Shakespeare's works suggests an obvious correlation in imagery, diction and themes for the two writers. If Southwell admits that 'a Poett a lover and a lyer', are by many reckoned but three words of one significacon', his emphasis on truth, love and self-knowledge is shared by Shakespeare.²⁸ As we have seen in our discussion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Winter's Tale*, one of Shakespeare's key intentions in these plays is to dramatize and foreground a number of important characters who can justly be described as being 'in rebellion' with themselves.²⁹ Southwell also is primarily concerned to ensure that his readers return to or remain in the grace that the love of 'The burning Babe' offers them, and which for many has been rejected or forgotten. Such love ensures, as we have seen consistently argued in Southwell's work, that mankind returns to his natural pre-lapsarian state where 'Mans mynde a myrrhour is of heavenly sightes'.³⁰ Southwell, of course, clearly prioritises 'Christian workes' in both his verse and prose.³¹ His intention is unashamedly polemical, and his aims and audience are

²⁶ The analysis, by Dennis McCarthy and June Schlueter, compared Shakespeare's complete works with North's *A Brief Discourse of Rebellion and Rebels* (1576). Reported by Dominic Cavendish, *Sunday Telegraph*, 25 February 2018, p. 18.

²⁷ F. W. Brownlow, 'Review of "Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit"', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 132-4 (p. 133).

²⁸ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 3-4.

²⁹ *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 1. 2. 352.

³⁰ Southwell, 'Looke home', l. 3.

³¹ Southwell, *The Author to the Reader*, l. 18, (verse introduction to *Saint Peters Complaynt*).

therefore more limited than Shakespeare's. Alison Shell has perceptively suggested that for Southwell, 'profane and lying poetry becomes a microcosm of all sin.'³² However, the success of such works as *Saint Peters Complaynt*, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* and *The Triumphs over Death* suggests Southwell's popularity with his contemporary readers. If London's theatre-going public were well aware of Shakespeare's genius and his popularity, still, 'everyone read Southwell'.³³ If Davidson is correct in his belief that 'everyone read Southwell', then Southwell's understanding of human nature, his compassion, linked to his burning zeal for souls, as well as his skill in expressing himself in a variety of poetic and prose forms, make his popularity and influence understandable. Certainly, the number of published editions of his poetry immediately after his death, as well as the great success of *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares* in his lifetime, suggest an enthusiastic appetite to read his writings. Shakespeare's own 'poetic making' reveals his own, remarkable understanding of all aspects of the human condition, including spiritual concerns and difficulties.³⁴ He wrote in *The Rape of Lucrece*, in words that might well have come from Southwell, 'Desire doth fight with Grace, / For there it revels, and when that decays, / The guilty rebel for remission prays.'³⁵ Equally, Southwell's ability and willingness to make use of the tropes of erotic love, more commonly associated with Shakespeare, but applied imaginatively by Southwell in such works as *Marie Magdalen* and *An Epistle of Comfort*, suggests that a 'conversation' between both writers in the sense of a shared sensibility is a comfortable proposition.³⁶ Southwell's

³² Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and The English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660*, p. 69.

³³ Peter Davidson, (see note 5 above).

³⁴ Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and the Creative Imagination*, p. 179.

³⁵ Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece*, in *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed, by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), ll. 712-14.

³⁶ For example, Christ is 'like a most faithfull paramour of our soule [... who] Hath often sent us embassyes of love, saying "Dicite Dilecto Meo, Quia Amore Languéo"'. ("Tell my beloved that I languish for love".) *An Epistle of Comfort*, (secretly printed, 1587), *EEBO*, p. 18.

imaginative ability to ‘dramatize [...] an often painful love relationship with the divine’, both in his verse and in his prose, makes a comparison with Shakespeare valid, as well as helping to illuminate the great skill of both writers.³⁷ ‘The burning Babe’ poignantly expresses what Southwell sees as man’s rejection of Christ’s offered love. ‘Yet none approach to warme their hartes’. Helena, rejected by Bertram throughout almost the whole of *All’s Well That Ends Well*, also poignantly accepts that she too ‘Must die for love.’³⁸ This shared understanding of love, faithfulness and the complexity of the human heart brings together both Shakespeare and his cousin, Southwell.

Ewan Fernie has powerfully argued that ‘poetry and spirituality are kin’, and are equally alike in their ability to ‘reach through the world of mere appearances into the heart of reality.’³⁹ This thesis has argued that Shakespeare and Southwell are both alike in their ability to explore what Shell calls ‘the fallible human imagination’.⁴⁰ Both writers have created what Brian Cummings has described as ‘a language of authenticity for the self.’⁴¹ Shakespeare and Southwell, therefore, are united in their desire to bring to their audiences a vision of ultimate truth, ‘the truth of your own seeming’, in Camillo’s words.⁴² Both are also able to explore imaginatively and with intellectual rigour what lies behind Audrey and Touchstone’s comical discussion before their abortive matrimonial encounter with Sir Oliver Mar-text. While

³⁷ Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 119.

³⁸ Southwell, *The burning Babe*, l. 8; Shakespeare, *All’s Well That Ends Well*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Russell Fraser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1. 1. 80.

³⁹ Ewan Fernie, ‘Shakespeare, Spirituality and Contemporary Criticism’, in *Spiritual Shakespeares*, ed. by Ewan Fernie (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-27 (p. 4.).

⁴⁰ Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, p. 64.

⁴¹ Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 348.

⁴² Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, ed. Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, 4.4. 657.

Touchstone wishes that, 'I would the gods had made thee poetical', Audrey's plaintive reply is, 'I do not know what poetical is. Is it honest in deed and word? Is it a true thing?' 'No, truly;' responds Touchstone, 'for the truest poetry is the most faining, and lovers are given to poetry'.⁴³ Shakespeare's comic genius returns us here to the serious contemporary debate concerning 'a Poett a lover and a lyer' which was of such importance to both Shakespeare and Southwell, and has been of equal importance to this thesis.⁴⁴ If Southwell argues that 'the Vanity of men cannot Counterpease the authority of god', we have seen that for both Southwell and Shakespeare the imagination as well as the honesty of the poet is of central concern.⁴⁵ The 'strong imagination' that Theseus is so eloquent in scorning is of equal importance to both.⁴⁶ In a different context, Theseus asks Philostrate, 'How shall we find the concord of this discord?'⁴⁷ Both Shakespeare and Southwell are able to create something much finer and more lasting than mere 'fancy's images'. If Southwell largely rejects 'The world with jesses of delights',⁴⁸ the works of both of these writers grow 'to something of great constancy; / But, howsoever, strange and admirable.'⁴⁹

In Susannah Brietz Monta's interesting work on martyrdom and literature in the early modern period, cited above, despite her obvious knowledge and appreciation of Southwell's writings, she fails to include any recognition of a literary connection to Shakespeare.⁵⁰ She rightly

⁴³ *As You Like It*, the Arden Shakespeare, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 3. 3. 13-18.

⁴⁴ Southwell, *Epistle*, l. 3.

⁴⁵ Southwell, *Epistle*, ll. 4-5.

⁴⁶ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5. 1. 18.

⁴⁷ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, 5. 1. 60.

⁴⁸ Southwell, 'Mans Civill Warre', l. 11.

⁴⁹ *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Foakes, 5. 1. 25-7.

⁵⁰ Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*.

points out the conflict that is explored in Southwell's work between worldly pleasures and earthly love, contrasted with the divine joys which Southwell frequently extols. She does not, however, suggest, the similarity of Southwell's ideas and language in comparison with such passages as we have seen earlier from, for example, plays ranging from *As You Like It* to *Hamlet* and *Measure For Measure*, as well as the three plays we have discussed in more detail. 'To sue to live, I find I seek to die, / And seeking death, find life would', does, as we have seen repeatedly, sum up Southwell's pastoral message, as well as encapsulating Duke Vincentio's homily to Claudio.⁵¹ Peter Davidson expressed the view that Southwell's work was, on the whole, more cheerful and optimistic than Shakespeare's.⁵² This is debatable - such a passage as this from *An Epistle of Comfort* can easily be compared with the apparent bleakness and despair of, for example, large parts of *King Lear*, as well as Duke Vincentio's speech to Claudio:

If we have anye thing that, delighteth us, it is in so manye hazardes, that more is the feare of leasinge it, than the ioye of the use of it.⁵³

Southwell's astute but pessimistic view of human inability to live in the moment is developed in the Duke's poetically rich warning to Claudio.

Thou art not thyself:
For thou exists on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust. Happy thou art not;
For what thou hast not, still thou striv'st to get,
And what thou hast, forget'st. ...
... If thou art rich, thou'rt poor;

⁵¹ Shakespeare, *Measure For Measure*, ed. by J. W. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 1965), 3. 1. 42-3.

⁵² Peter Davidson, private conversation (Campion College, Oxford: 4 October, 2017)

⁵³ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Fourth Chapter (London: John Charlewood: Arundel House, 1587?), EEBO, p. 42, copy from The Bodleian Library, Oxford. See also the modernised edition edited by Margaret Waugh, with a Foreward by Philip Caraman (London: Burns & Oates, 1966), pp. 48-63.

For, like an ass whose back with ingots bows,
Thou, bear'st thy heavy riches but a journey,
And death unloads thee.⁵⁴

But *Measure For Measure* ends with a wonderfully dramatic moment when Isabella, 'Against all sense', kneels and begs for the life of the man she thinks has murdered her brother.⁵⁵

Southwell, too, for all his acceptance of the hardships, sorrows and disappointment of life, particularly for many of the Catholics for whom he was writing, found ultimate joy and consolation in the forgiveness and mercy found 'At home in heaven'.

The thesis has argued that by comparing Shakespeare and Southwell, and putting them 'into conversation' with each other, we are able to learn more about both writers and understand more about the world they lived in. Stuart Gillespie's influential book on Shakespeare's reading and sources, despite the breadth of its learning, with almost two hundred detailed entries, still contains only the briefest reference to Southwell or to his possible influence on Shakespeare.⁵⁶ He merely comments that 'fleeting echoes of Southwell seem to occur in *The Rape of Lucrece* and *King Lear*'.⁵⁷ It is one of the main aims of this thesis, however partially, to redress this approach, for the benefit, I would argue, of our appreciation of both writers. When Southwell describes 'A moste glorious and blessed pallace, whose verye pavement, set with so manye bryght and glorious starres', we can appreciate his vivid description of the wonders awaiting the faithful Christian in heaven.⁵⁸ Similarly, when Lorenzo points out to Jessica 'how the floor of Heaven / Is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold', we can also

⁵⁴ Shakespeare, *Measure For Measure*, ed. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, 3. 1. 19-28.

⁵⁵ *Measure For Measure*, ed. Lever, 5. 1. 431.

⁵⁶ Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London & New Brunswick, NJ: Athlone Press, 2001); reprinted in The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

⁵⁷ Gillespie, 2001 edition, p. 469.

⁵⁸ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, The Tenth Chapter, *EEB0*, p. 134.

admire the beauty of the imagery, and also wonder, perhaps, whether Shakespeare was remembering his ‘cosin’ in his choice of metaphor. Shakespeare allows Lorenzo to remind Jessica, and his theatrical audience, that the stars are ‘Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins.’ But, sadly, ‘Such harmony is in immortal souls’ and ‘whilst this muddy vesture of decay / Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.’ Southwell, one feels, would have approved both the sentiment and the way it was expressed.⁵⁹

The world that Southwell and Shakespeare lived in, is, of course, alien in many ways to us, despite the similarities that also existed and to which attention has been drawn. The protest song popular among Catholics in Lancashire, recorded in *Great Hodge Podge* some time after 1580, may seem quaintly archaic and far removed from modern sensibilities.

Wee Catholikes torments sore
With heresies fowl wailing tonge
With prisons, tortures, loss of goodes
Of lande, yea lives, even theeves amonge,
Do crave with haste purchased with grieffe
Of thee (Sweet Jesu) some relieffe.⁶⁰

The ballad, however, offers an insight into the lives of ordinary men and women of the period, marginalised and discriminated against because of their faith, but hoping and praying for

⁵⁹ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5. 1. 58-65.

⁶⁰ This ballad and other songs and ballads, including both words and music, are found in a collection entitled *Great Hodge Podge*, a Family Miscellany compiled by William Blundell and other family members with material dating from c. 1580 up until the Civil War. The Blundells were a prominent Lancastrian and Catholic family, who included at least one ‘obstinate priest’. The collection was made in two leather-bound volumes, available at Preston, Lancashire Archives, Great Hodge Podge, DDBL acc. 6121, Box 4. See also Emilie K. M. Murphy, ‘Music and Catholic Culture in Post-Reformation Lancashire: Piety, Protest, and Conversion’, *British Catholic History*, 32 4 (October 2015), 492-525 (p. 524). This journal, published by Cambridge University Press for the Catholic Record Society, is the successor to the earlier journal *British Catholic History*. Murphy draws attention to the way that music was used ‘to emphasise social and religious bonds’, p. 524. For the reference to the ‘obstinate priest’, Richard Blundell, see J. Stanley Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants* (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1947), p. 104. This volume is 110 New Series in the extensive *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with The Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Cheshire*.

better times. Southwell spoke for such people and understood and shared their sufferings. In *An Epistle of Comfort* he wrote powerfully and with passion about what he had seen of human suffering.

What comforte, can a man reape, in a place that is governed by the prince of darcknesse,
peopled with gods and our enemyes, where vice is advaunced, vertue scorned, the badd
rewarded, & the good oppressed? ⁶¹

Shakespeare, in arguably his most powerful play, would echo Southwell's words.

What, art mad? A man may see how this world goes with no eyes; look with thine ears.
See how yon justice rails upon yon simple thief. Hark in thine ear: change places, and handy-
dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief? ⁶²

And a few lines later comes Lear's bitterest and most scornful denunciation of evil and injustice.

There thou mightst behold the great image of authority. A dog's obeyed in office. ⁶³

Shakespeare and Southwell might not always have shared the same views, but here again we can recognise two great writers in harmony in their desire to tell the truth about how they perceive the human condition.

This thesis has also examined what Davidson has described as 'the particular force which the copied word, treasured in private, held in the recusant community'. ⁶⁴ Nancy Pollard Brown's

⁶¹ Southwell, *An Epistle of Comfort*, 'The Fourth Chapter', *EEBO*, p. 44.

⁶² Shakespeare, *King Lear*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by Jay L. Halio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4. 5. 144-7.

⁶³ *King Lear*, ed. Halio, 4. 5. 150-1.

⁶⁴ Peter Davidson and Alison Shell, 'Nancy Pollard Brown (1921-2015)', *British Catholic History*, 33 1 (May 2016), pp. 9-11 (p. 11).

valuable study of manuscript dissemination has been cited previously in Chapter Two.⁶⁵ In her discussion she gives much helpful information on the setting-up of illicit printing presses, their locations, as well as the names of some of the printers involved in what was a dangerous occupation. She also discusses some of the known recipients of such copied words and how the manuscripts reached them. Among the documents she has examined is the manuscript kept in Gonville and Caius College Library, also cited earlier.⁶⁶ As well as containing the copy of Southwell's *A Shorte Rule of a Good Life*, the manuscript also includes two lists of names with the birthdays of the people added. These names include the four children of William Skinner of Rowington Hall, Warwickshire, head of a recusant family, who would later be arrested on suspicion of 'harboring the Jesuyte'.⁶⁷ Brown demonstrates that Skinner was closely in touch with the Catholic community in Spitalfields discussed earlier, which included Anne Dacres, Countess of Arundel, Henry Garnet and Southwell himself, as well, almost certainly, as the site of the secret press used to print some of Southwell's writings.

An important element in the thesis has been to demonstrate the wide network of Catholic affinities, and, in particular, to show the clear links existing between Warwickshire, Shakespeare's birthplace and the county to which he continually returned, and Catholic connections elsewhere, often in London. The watermark on the manuscript described above, which consists of an ecclesiastical ewer topped by a rose, with the addition of the initials 'P', 'D' and 'B', is also found on a sixteenth century commonplace book with Latin entries

⁶⁵ Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, ed. by Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 120-143.

⁶⁶ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Library, MS/218/233, (Index SoR 317).

⁶⁷ Brown, *Paperchase*, p. 123, citing a letter from the Puritan magistrate Job Throckmorton, dated 13 January 1584.

grouped together, apparently used as an aid to preparing sermons.⁶⁸ The book was later used as a record of *The Customs and Usages of the Manor of Rowington*, but the original writing remains.⁶⁹ Another Catholic who came from Rowington was a man named John Grissold, who served as a steward in Anne Vaux's household after being recommended by the Skinner family. Grissold, alias James Johnson, was arrested with Garnet after the Gunpowder Plot and tortured. His brother, Robert, was hanged in Warwick in 1604 for serving a Catholic priest, John Sugar, who was also executed. Their father, John Grissold, senior, was remembered in William Skinner's will.⁷⁰ Manuscripts of Southwell's *An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie* and the edition of *An Epistle of Comfort*, kept in the Bodleian Library and cited above, are also printed on this paper with the same water mark.⁷¹

This further summary of a section of Brown's research indicates and supports what has also been a continual theme of this thesis, that the widespread matrix of complicated and intricate connections linking Catholic families and communities in the period, was a vital element in the story of Robert Southwell. Such connections supported him, helped him in the creation and transmission of his writings, and played a vital part in his life in England from his return in 1586 to his betrayal and arrest in 1592. It is hoped that the significance of William Shakespeare's involvement in such connections and affinities has also been sufficiently

⁶⁸ See figure 3.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Paperchase*, pp. 135-7.

⁷⁰ Brown, *Paperchase*, p. 137. For the Grissold family see also, Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: Bodley Head, 2014), pp. 167, 219, 279, 300-1, 330.

⁷¹ Brown, *Paperchase*, p. 138. Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8 E.45.Th.

demonstrated, thus enabling us to see him alongside Southwell, both as an historical figure and as a fellow writer. As Blair Worden puts it, ‘no text can be sealed from life’.⁷²

Jeffrey Knapp is another critic who has argued for the strongly Christian elements in Shakespeare’s writing, although refusing to allocate a specifically doctrinal allegiance in his works. Knapp’s approach emphasises the importance of religion - or religions - in understanding Shakespeare’s plays. ‘We cannot fully grasp Shakespeare’s own aims [...] until we come to terms with those religions too.’⁷³ In an age where religion is no longer of primary importance to many, its importance to Shakespeare and to the world he inhabited can be overlooked. For Southwell, of course, religion was the essence and bedrock of his life and work. This thesis has tried to show how much influence the obviously religious Southwell had on his much more famous ‘cosin’, far more, I suggest, than has usually been recognised. I believe, therefore, that we need to continue to look for connections between Shakespeare and Southwell, both in terms of literary allusions, and with further examination of contemporary figures discussed in this text. Plays such as *Measure For Measure*, *All’s Well That Ends Well* and the three other late plays not discussed in detail here, might well offer interesting insights into Shakespeare’s debt to Southwell. The connections between such figures as Sir John Salusbury, the Stanleys, and the Houghtons and Heskeths offer further fields for research, as do the careers of Richard Bold and Swithin Wells, where there is surely more to be discovered. Southwell’s aristocratic connections may have included the third Earl of Southampton far more than has been hitherto realised. Historical research into the

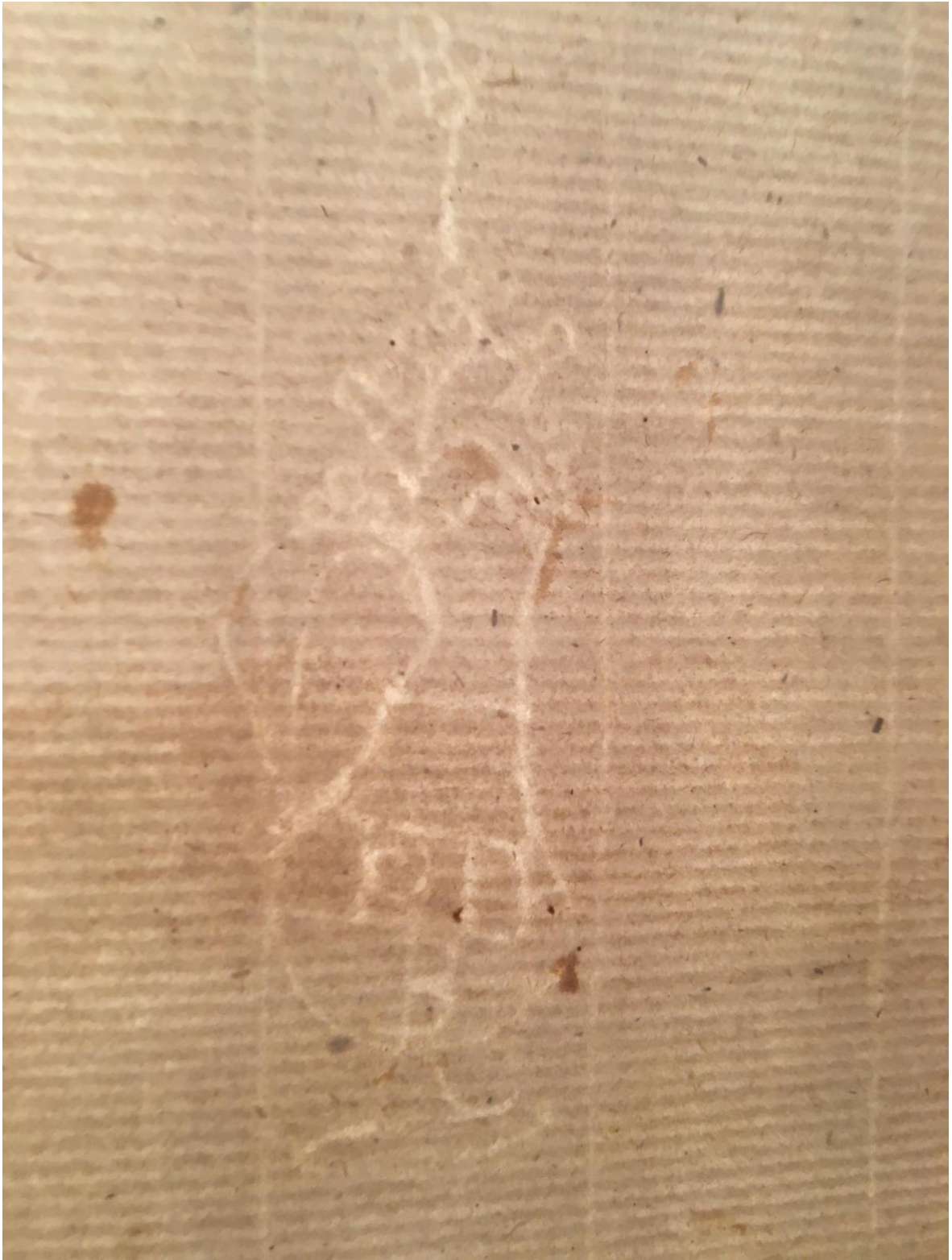
⁷² Blair Worden, ‘Shakespeare in Life and Art: Biography and *Richard 11*’, in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate. 2006), p.23-42 (p. 23).

⁷³ Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. xiii.

Hampshire families known to Southampton and his family may also unearth interesting connections so far unrecognised.

I have argued, therefore, that William Shakespeare and Robert Southwell are worthy of being compared; in their lives, in their works and in the themes that bind them together. For them both, as with all great artists, their concern ultimately was to record the truth as they perceived it. In the end, Brownlow's moving words about Southwell can also be applied to his 'cosin' Shakespeare. 'The theme of Southwell's writing was also the theme of his life.'⁷⁴

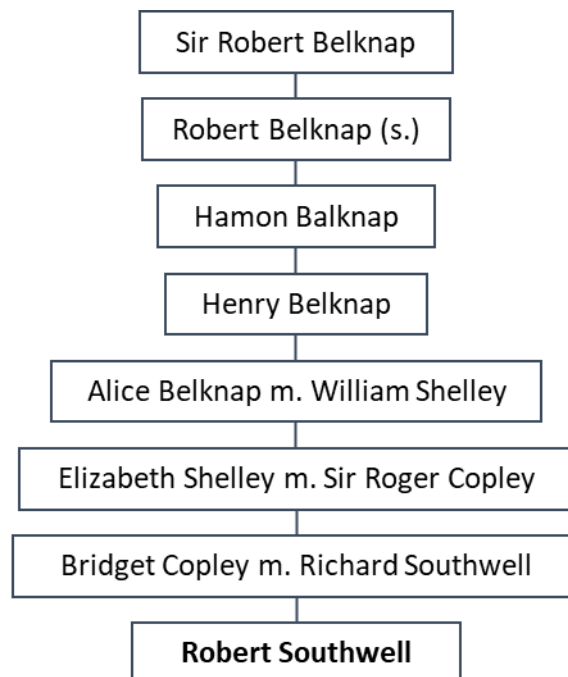
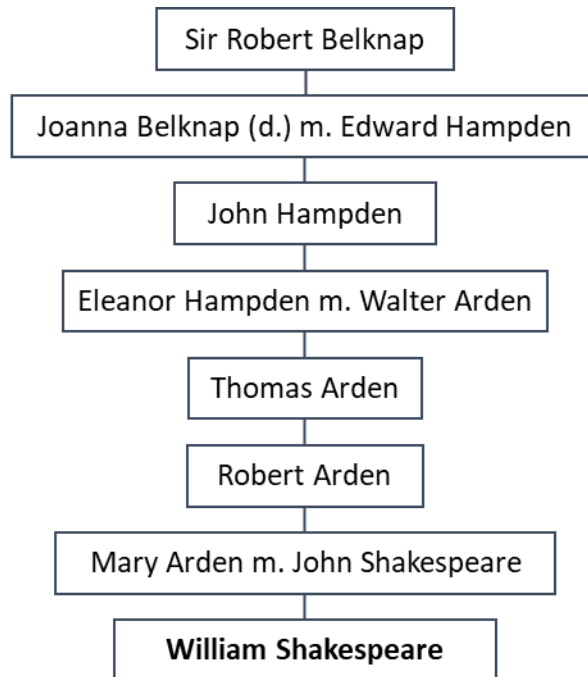
⁷⁴ F.W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), p. 129.

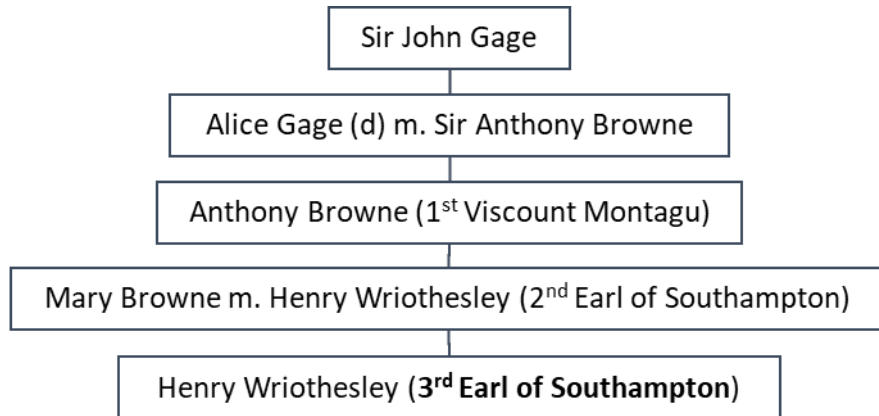


The Rowington Watermark

By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library

Family Trees of the Southwells and Shakespeare





Alice Gage's nephew, Edward Gage of Bentley, m. Margaret Shelley, thereby providing a direct family connection with the Copleys and **Southwells**.

Appendix

THE PROSE WORKS OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL

An Epistle To His Father 1586, although dated October 1589, and first printed by Henry Garnet's second clandestine press, 1596-97, with *A Short Rule of Good Life*. Possibly written and sent in October 1586.

An Epistle of Comfort 1587-1588 Printed clandestinely at Southwell's own press.

A Hundred Meditations On The Love Of God c.1589 (translated from Father Diego de Estella).

Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares 1591 (London: Cawood and Busby, 1591).

The Triumphs Over Death 1591 (London: Simmes and Busby, 1595).

An Humble Supplication to Her Majestie 1591.

A Short Rule of Good Life Completed 1592 (Garnet's second press, 1595).

Letter to Robert Cecil (6 April 1593).

THE POEMS OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL

Saint Peters Complaynt, With other Poemes (London: Wolfe, March 1595)

Saint Peters Complaynt, With other Poemes (London: Cawood, April 1595)

Moeoniae (London: Busby, 1595)

Collected Poems (St. Omer: 1616) Inclusion of 'WS' and 'cosen'

Collected Poems (St. Omer: 1620) inclusion of full identification of Robert Southwell

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Archival Sources

A Breve Discourse of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr Robert Southwell Priste of The Socitie of Jesus, written by Richard Verstegan, 1595, London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscripts, Anglia A. 111.1.(11.1)

A Hundred Meditations on The Love Of God, Robert Southwell, London, Jesuit Archives

A Shorte Rule of Good Life, Robert Southwell, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, Manuscript 218/233

A Shorte Rule of Good Life, Robert Southwell, Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, Throckmorton Manuscripts, (T)

An Account of The Trial and Execution of Father Robert Southwell, written by Henry Garnet, 1595, London: Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscripts, Anglia A. 11

An Apology Against the Defence of Schism, written by Henry Garnet (London: Secret Press, 1593)

An Epistle of Comfort, Robert Southwell, Stonyhurst College, 1604, 'Imprinted at Paris', V1 F 136

An Epistle of Comfort, Robert Southwell, London, Jesuit Archives, 1616 edition, 'by R. S. of The Societie of Iesus'

An Epistle of Comfort, Robert Southwell, London, British Library, undated, 'Imprinted at Paris'

Arden Hall, Stockport, Stockport Local Heritage Library, Box 19 (H)

Benefactors to Winchester, John Trussell, transcribed by Tom Atkinson, Winchester, Winchester Record Office, W/K1/13/2

Bond of Obligation from Thomas Throckmorton of Coughton, Co. Warw, Esq, to Queen Elizabeth for £2000, 14 December 1596, in Frederick Christian Wellstood's *Biographical Collections*, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., 39 Eliz., DR 1030/3/34

Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Elizabeth I, 1585-1586, ed. by W. K. Boyd, vol VIII (London: H. M. S. O., 1914)

Certificates of Indicted Recusants 1592, Edward Tangye Lean Collection, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., DR362/24

Collection of Early Modern Bibles, including Great Bible of 1541 and Douai Bible of 1582, Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham

Collection of Emblematic Books, Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham

Commission of 23rd November, 1591, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., ER82/2/4

Commissioners Report on Stratford Recusants, 25 September 1592, Kew, The National Archives, State Papers Domestic Elizabeth, S.P. 12/243, no. 76

Corporation Records of Stratford-Upon-Avon, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., Council Book A, pp.190, 259

Derby Household Books, Preston, Lancashire Archives, Ref. DDF 2429

Ecclesiastical Visitations from The Archdeaconry of Chester, 1598 and 1601, Chester, Cheshire County Record Office, fos. 151v. - 152v., 187, 187v.

Examinations of Swithin Wells, 9 August 1586, Kew, The National Archives, SP12/192 f.24, f. 92r.

Examination of Richarde Smithe of Uxenden, and others, 14 August 1586, Kew, The National Archives, SP12/192 f.59

Examinations of John Bolt, 20-21 March 1593/4, Kew, The National Archives, SP/12/248, fols. 108-10

Forfeited Estates Commission, Kew, The National Archives, subscribers to The Oath of Allegiance, list of Lancashire Recusants, list of 'Warwickshire Papists, FEC 1, 1112, 1178, 1284

Great Hodge Podge, compiled by William Blundell, Preston, Lancashire Archives, DDBL acc. 6121, Box 4.

Information given by Roger Ogdeyne, 23 May 1582, Kew, The National Archives, SP12/153 f.121

Instructions Re Recusants in Warwickshire, temp. Q. Elizabeth: Further Instructions to the Commissioners, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., ER82/2/4

In the Parrishe of Stratford-Upon-Avon, September 1592, Edward Tangye Lean Collection, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., DR362/24

In the Wracks of Walsingham, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl Poet, 291 fol. 16

Inventory of Robert Hesketh, (1620), Preston: Lancashire Archives, WCW 1620

Lansdowne Manuscript, (1607), London, British Library, The Burghley Papers 72, f.153f. (1592)

Letters Concerning Recusancy in Warwickshire December 1591- December 1592, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., ER82/2/4

Letters to and from Robert Southwell, London, Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscripts, Anglia A. 1 (1554-1594)

Letters from Henry Garnet, S. J., to Rome, London: Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscripts, Anglia 2,4 (1595-1600)

Letter describing the performance of Love's Labour's Lost at Southampton House, 1604-5, Kew, The National Archives, The Marquess of Salisbury Manuscripts, 189/95, SP/14/12, f.32r.

Library of The Parish Church of St Mary, Warwick, Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections, University of Birmingham

Little Malvern Court Collection, The State Of The Church, 1602, Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham

Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire London, British Library, Royal 18 Diii f. 81v-82

Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares, and also *Saint Peters Complaynt with Sundry Other Selected, And Devout Poemes*, Stonyhurst College, 1620, second edn. From St Omer, 1620, VI F 16 (includes inscriptions 'To My Worthy Good Cosin Maister W. S.' and 'Your loving Cosin')

Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares, London, Jesuit Archives, 1634? (Inscription suggests copied from an earlier edition)

Norfolk, Church of England Baptism, Marriages and Burials, 1535-1812, Norwich, Norfolk Record Office

Notes (by Lord Keeper Puckering from the information of Ben. Beard) of the names of Catholics, priests, etc, 24 May 1594, Kew, The National Archives, SP12/248 f.250

Papal Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis* (May, 1570), cited extensively in Alford, Stephen, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), pp. 45-6, 95-6

PRO State Paper, Kew, The National Archives, 12/168/35

Recusancy at Stratford-Upon-Avon, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., PR292/3

Recusants in Warwickshire 1592, Stretforde Super Avon, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library, S.B.T., ER82/2/4

Scripta Autographa, Poems by Robert Southwell, Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS A. v.4

Snitterfield Court Rolls, 1542-1543, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., ER 24/24/1+2 and DR/38/1432 0S4

Stapleton, Thomas, *A Fortresse of The Faith*, (Antwerp: 1565), Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, Birmingham, University of Birmingham

The Bond of Association, 19 October 1584, Kew, The National Archives, SP 12/173/1, fols. 132r.-133r.

The Derby Household Books, Week of the first of Auguste, 1590, DDF 2429, (The Lancashire Record Office, Preston)

The Genealogye of the Worshipful and Auncient Familie of the Heskaythes of Rufford in Lancashire Copied from the Original Roll Together with the Hesketh Pedigrees from the Visitations of Lancashire, 1613, 1664 etc (London: Privately Printed, 1869). Preston, Lancashire Archives

The Hesketh Papers, Preston, Lancashire Archives, DDHE

The Hoghton Papers, Deeds and Papers, Preston, Lancashire Archives, DDHO 11, No. 215 33 Eliz. 1590/1 Feb. 19

The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners During The Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Part 11, 1581-1602, Catholic Record Society, 2, *Miscellanea ii* (Privately Printed At The Arden Press, 1906)

The Registers of Stratford-On-Avon, transcribed by Richard Savage (London: The Parish Register Society, 1905)

The Rutland Papers: Manuscripts of The Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1858), 369.f

The Trial of Stephen Vallenger, San Marino, California, Henry Huntingdon Library, Ellesmere Manuscript EL 2665

The Waldegrave Manuscript, London: Jesuit Archives, Stonyhurst Manuscript A. v 27,

Touchstone of Tradition, John Trussell, Winchester, Winchester Record Office, fol.10

Updated List of Stratford Recusants, Sir Richard Savage Papers, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Warwickshire, Shakespeare Centre and Library Archive, S.B.T., ER82/2/4

Warren of Poynton Family Records: 1382-1732, Chester, Cheshire County Archives, DVE 2401/1/1

Will of John Arderne of Hardon, 1551, Chester, Cheshire County Archives, Bishops' Registers, c. 1530-1580, EDA/2/1

Will of Alexander Hoghton 3 August 1581, Preston, Lancashire Archives, WCW 1581, 2/1463/5

Will and Inventory of Possessions of Stephen Vallenger, Kew, The National Archives, Special Commissions of the Exchequer E. 178/2978

Primary Sources

Allen, William, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholiques* (Douai: 1584)

Allison, A.F., and D.M. Rogers, eds., *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558-1640 vol 2 Works in English* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994)

Bailey, F.A., *The Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescott, 1523-1607, Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol.95* (Liverpool: 1944), pp.1-30

Baldwin Elizabeth, and Lawrence M. Clopper, and David Mills, eds., *Records of Early English Drama: Cheshire* 2 vols (London and Toronto: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2007)

Bate, Jonathan, and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, The Royal Shakespeare Company Shakespeare (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007)

Bearman, Robert, ed., *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1559-1609* Vol V (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Dugdale Society and Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2011)

Bennett, J.H.E., *The Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester* (Chester: Chester Corporation, 1906)

Bowler, Dom Hugh, *Recusant Roll No. 2: An Abstract in English, 1593-1594* (Catholic Record Society, volume 57, 1965)

Bowler, Dom Hugh, *Recusant Roll Nos. 3 (1594-1595) and 4 (1595-1596)* (Catholic Record Society, volume 61, 1970)

Brinkworth, E. R. C., *Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford*, (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1973)

Brown, Carleton, ed., *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* (London: Kegan Paul, Trencher, Trübner, 1914)

Burghley, William, *A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended Against the Realm* (18 October 1591, issued November 1591). Reprinted in Robert Southwell, *An Humble Supplication To Her Maiestie*, ed. by R. C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. 1-6)

Calthrop, M.M.C., *Recusant Roll No.I, 1592-1593, Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrance Pipe Office Series* (Catholic Record Society, volume 18, 1916)

Catholic Record Society, *Miscellanea* (London: The Arden Press, 1907)

Campion, Edmund, *A letter to the Privy Council* (1580), in Robert S. Miola, ed., *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Resources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 64-6

Cummings, Brian, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Dasent, John Roche, ed., *Acts of The Privy Council of England, 1581-1582*, vol 13 (London: H.M.S.O., 1896)

Dugdale, William, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, Vol. 2 (London: 1566)

Du Lauris, André, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight*, trans. by Richard Surphlet (London: 1599)

Earwaker, J.P., ed., *An Index to the Wills and Inventories now preserved in the Court of Probate, at Chester. From A.D. 1545 to 1620* (Printed for The Record Society, Volume II, 1879)

Fishwick, Henry (Lieutenant Colonel), ed., *A List of the Lancashire Wills Proved Within the Archdeaconry of Richmond From A.D. 1457-1680 and of Abstracts of Lancashire Wills Belonging to the Same Archdeaconry, in The British Museum, From A.D. 1531-1652* (Record Society, 1884)

Foley, Henry S. J., *The Diary of The English College, Rome, From 1559-1773*, in *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. vi (London: Burns and Oates, 1880), p. 314

Fox, Levi, ed., *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1593-1598*, Vol V (Stratford-Upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society, 1990)

Fishwick, Henry, Lieutenant Colonel, *A List of The Lancashire Wills Proved Within The Archdeaconry of Richmond. From A.D. 1457-1680. And of Abstracts of Lancashire Wills belonging to The Same Archdeaconry, in The British Museum. From A.D. 1531-1652* (Printed for The Record Society, Volume X, 1884)

Fitzalan-Howard, Henry Granville, *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his Wife* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857)

Fripp, Edgar I., ed., *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records, 1563-1620*, 4 vols (Oxford: F. Hall for The Dugdale Society, 1921)

Fripp, E., S., Rev., 'The Minister Who Baptised Shakespeare', (magazine article? no date), pp. 767-75 [accessed Chester, The Cheshire County Archives, ref. 209779]

Frith, Richard, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times: A Series of Original Letters*, 2 vols (London: 1838)

Furness, Horace, Howard, ed. *A New Variorum edition of Shakespeare*, vol X (Philadelphia: 1895)

Garnet, Henry, *An Apology Against the Defence of Schisme* (London: secret press, 1593)

George, David, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991)

Gifford, George, *A Dialogue Between a Papist and a Protestant* (London: 1582)

Gillow, George, *Lord Burghley's Map Of Lancashire In 1590*, (Privately Printed for The Catholic Record Society At The Arden Press, 1909)

Goodale, John, *The Mirrour Or Lokynge Glasse of Lyfe* (London? R. Wyer, 1532?)

Gottfried, Rudolf. Ed., *The Works of Edmund Spenser* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949)

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, James I, 1603-1610* (London: Longmand, & Roberts, 1857)

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, c 1591-1594* (London: Longman Green, 1865)

Green, Mary Anne Everett, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1601-1603 and Addenda, 1547-1565* (London: H. M.S. O., 1870)

Green, Mary Anne Everett, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Addenda, Elizabeth and James I, 1580-1625* (London: H. M. S. O., 1872)

Hacket, Helen, *The Times Literary Supplement* (18 April, 2014)

Hamilton, Dom Adam, *The Chronicles of The English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St Monica's in Louvain, 1548 to 1625* (Edinburgh: Sands and Co., 1904)

Harsnett, Samuel, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Imposters To With-Draw the Harts Of Her Maiesties Subjects From Their Allegiance, and From The Truth Of Christian Religion Professed In England, Under the Pretence Of Casting Out Devils* (London: James Roberts, 1603)

Henslowe, Philip, *Diary*, ed. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961, second edn 2003)

Hunnis, William, *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule* (London: Henry Denham, 1583)

Jones, Emyrs, ed., *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Jones, Jeanne, ed., *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories 1538-1699* (Stratford- Upon-Avon: The Dugdale Society in association with The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2002)

Jonson, Ben, *Works*, ed. by Herford, C. H., and P. and E. Simpson, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925-52)

Lemon, Robert, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581-1590* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865)

MacDonald, Mairi, ed., *The Register of the Guild of the Holy Cross, Stratford-Upon-Avon* (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in association with The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2007)

McCoog, Thomas M., S. J., *The Letters of Robert Southwell, S. J.*, 'Periodicum Semestre 2, vol 63 (Rome: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, (1994)

Maginn, Christopher, 'Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 July 2018]

Malone, Edmund, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, 10 vols (1790)

Marston, John, *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image* (London: 1598)

Meres, Francis, *Palladio Tamia: Wit's Treasury*, (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1598)

Milward, Peter, Letter to *Times Literary Supplement* (2 January 1998)

Miola, S. Robert, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Osório, Jerónimo, *An Epistle of The Reverend Father in God Hieronymus Osorius*, trans. by Richard Shacklock (Antwerp: 1665)

Parish Registers of Ashton-Under-Lyne: Baptisms and Marriages, 1594-1720; Burials, 1596-1720 (Lancashire Parish Register Society, transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1927-1928)

Parish Registers of Broughton, Near Preston, 1653-1759 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by A. E. Hodder, 1913)

Parish Registers of Garstang Church, 1567-1658 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brearley, 1925)

Parish Registers of Great Harwood, 1547-1812 (L.P.R.S., edited by Archibald Sparke, 1937)

Parish Registers of Kirkham, 1539-1600 (L.P.R.S., edited by R. Sharpe France, 1944)

Parish Registers of Kirkham, Part II, 1601-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by R. Cunliffe Shaw, Undated)

Parish Registers of North Meols, 1594-1731 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1929)

Petti, Anthony G., ed., *Recusant Documents from The Ellesmere Manuscripts: List of Catholic Exiles* (Catholic Record Society, 60, 1968)

Pollen, John Hungerford, ed., 'Father Person's Memoirs, *Miscellanea IV* (Catholic Record Society, volume 4, 1907)

Pollen, John Hungerford, collected and edited, *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs, volume I, 1584-1603* (Catholic Record Society, volume 5, 1908)

Pollen, John Hungerford, and William McMahon, collected and edited, *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs, volume II* (Catholic Record Society, volume 21, 1919)

Prescot Records, (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, volume 89, 1937)

Puttenham, George, *The Arte of Englishe Poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589), modern edition ed. by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: University Press, 1936)

Raffel, Burton, ed., *The Annotated Shakespeare* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005)

Raines, F. R., (Rev), *The Derby Household Books, Including A Diary Containing the Names of The Guests who Visited The Latter Earl at His Houses in Lancashire*, by William Ffarington, Esquire, *The Comptroller* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1853)

Recusant Roll No 1, Michaelmas 1592 - Michaelmas 1593: Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrance Pipe Office Series, ed. M. M. C. Calthrop, Catholic Record Society 18 (London: 1916)

Recusant Roll No 2, 1593 – 1594, An Abstract in English, ed. Dom Hugh Bowler, Catholic Record Society 57 (London: 1965)

Recusant Rolls No 3, 1594 - 1595 and Recusant Roll No 4, 1595-1596, ed. Dom Hugh Bowler, Catholic Record Society 61 (London: 1970)

Registers of the Parish of Aldingham, 1542-1695 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Swainson Cowper, 1907)

Registers of the Parish Church of Altham, 1596-1695 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1909)

Registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn, 1600-1660 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1911)

Registers of the Parish Church of Blackrod, 1606-1671 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Thomas H. Winder, 1909)

Registers of the Parish Church of Brindle, 1558-1714, (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Rev. K. Jacques and Henry Brierley, 1901)

Registers of the Parish Church of Burnley, 1562-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by William Farrer, 1899)

Registers of the Parish Church of Bury, 1590-1616 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Rev. W.J. Lowenberg and Henry Brierley, 1898)

Registers of the Parish Church of Cartmel, 1559-1661 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1909)

Registers of Childwall, Part I, 1557-1680 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Robert Dickinson, 1967)

Registers of the Parish Church of Chipping, 1559-1694 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Alice Brierley, 1903)

Registers of the Parish Church of Chorley in the County of Lancaster, 1548-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Edward McKnight and Henry Brierley, 1910)

Registers of Clitheroe, 1570-1680, St. Mary Magdalene (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by John Perkins, 1998)

Registers of the Parish Church of Colne, 1559-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Thomas Backhouse Eckroyd, 1904)

Registers of the Parish Church of Croston: Christenings, 1543-1685; Weddings, 1538-1653; Burials, 1538-1634, (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Croston, 1900)

Registers of the Parish Church of Eccles, 1564-1632 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by A.E. Hodder, 1906)

Registers of Flixton, Part I, 1570-1730 (L.P.R.S., edited by Dr. John Perkins, 1998)

Registers of the Chapel of Hale in the Parish of Childwall: Baptisms and Burials, 1572-1740; Marriages, 1572-1754 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Robert Dickinson, 1951)

Registers of the Parish Church of Lancaster, 1599-1690 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1908)

Registers of the Cathedral Church of Manchester, 1573-1616 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1908)

Registers of the Parish Church of Middleton, 1541-1663 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Giles Shaw, 1902)

Registers of Newchurch in Pendle, 1574-1754 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by B.J.Cryer and J.Perkins, 2002)

Registers of Newchurch in the Township of Culcheth, 1599-1812 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Walter Jenkinson Kaye, Jnr. and Rev. Eugene Whittenbury Kaye, 1905)

Registers of the Parish Church of Ormskirk, 1557-1626 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Josiah Arrowsmith, 1902)

Registers of the Parish Church of Padiham, 1573-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by John A. Laycock, 1903)

Registers of the Parish Church of Poulton-Le-Fylde, 1591-1677 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by William Edward Robinson, 1904)

Registers of the Parish Church of Prescott, 1531-1595 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by J.Perkins, 1995)

Registers of the Parish Church of Preston, 1611-1635 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by A.E. Hodder, 1913)

Registers of the Parish Church of Radcliffe: Baptisms and Burials, 1557-1783; Marriages, 1560-1761 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by James Clayton, 1922)

Registers of the Parish Church of Ribchester, 1598-1694 (L.P.R.S., transcribed, edited and indexed by J. Arrowsmith, 1906)

Registers of the Parish Church of Standish in the County of Lancaster, 1560-1653 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Henry Brierley, 1912)

Registers of the Parish Church of Stalmine, 1583-1724 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Mrs. W.E. Robinson, 1914)

Registers of the Parish Church of Walton-On-The-Hill, 1556-1663 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Arthur Smith, 1900)

Registers of the Parish Church of Whalley, Volume I, 1538-1601 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Thomas Backhouse Ecroyd, 1900)

Registers of the Parish Church of Whalley, Volume II, 1605-1653 (L.P.R.S., 1936)

Registers of the Parish Church of Whittington, 1538-1764 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Fanny Wrigley and Thomas H. Winder, 1899)

Registers of the Parish Church of Wigan, 1580-1625 (L.P.R.S., transcribed and edited by Josiah Arrowsmith, 1899)

Registers of Winwick Parish Church: baptisms, 1563-1620; Marriages and Burials, 1600-1620 (L.P.R.S., transcribed by Robert Dickinson, 1970)

Raines, F.R., ed., *The Stanley Papers, Part 2: The Derby Household Books*, May 1587-Sugust 1590 (Manchester: The Chetham Society No.31, 1853)

Recusant Roll. No. 1, Michaelmas, Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrance Pipe Office Series, in Catholic Record Society 18 (London: 1916)

Ringler, Jr., William, ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)

Rogers, D. M., ed., *English Recusant Literature, 1583-1640* (London: Scolar Press, 1974)

Rowe, Nicholas, *Some Account of the Life, etc. of Mr William Shakespear*, Introduction to *The Plays*, 6 vols (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709)

Savage, Richard, transcribed by, and annotated by Edgar I. Fripp, *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1553-1566, Vol. I* (London: Oxford University Press and the Dugdale Society, 1924)

Savage, Richard, transcribed by, and annotated by Edgar I. Fripp, *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1566-1577, Vol. II* (London: Oxford University Press and the Dugdale Society, 1924)

Savage, Richard, transcribed by, and annotated by Edgar I. Fripp, *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1577-1586, Vol. III* (London: Oxford University Press and the Dugdale Society, 1926)

Savage, Richard, transcribed by, and annotated by Edgar I. Fripp, *The Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Other Records 1586-1592, Vol. IV* (London: The Dugdale Society, 1929)

Savage, Richard, transcribed by, *The Registers of Stratford-On-Avon Co. Warwick: Burials 1558-1622-3* (London: The Parish Register Society, 1905)

Shakespeare, William, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Shakespeare, William, *All's Well That Ends Well*, ed. by Russell Fraser, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Shakespeare, William, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by David Bevington, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Shakespeare, William, *As You Like It*, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006)

Shakespeare, William, *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Methuen, 1995)

Shakespeare, William, *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2006)

Shakespeare, William, *King Lear*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Shakespeare, William, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by G. R. Hibbard, The Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1990)

Shakespeare, William, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by John Kerrigan, The New Penguin Shakespeare (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996)

Shakespeare, William, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998)

Shakespeare, William, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by William E. Carroll, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Shakespeare, William, *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Methuen, 1984)

Shakespeare, William, *Measure For Measure*, ed. by J. W. Lever, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 1965)

Shakespeare, William, *Measure For Measure*, ed. by Brian Gibbons, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Shakespeare, William, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Harold F. Brooks, The Arden Shakespeare, second series, (London: Methuen, 1979)

Shakespeare, William, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Peter Holland, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Shakespeare, William, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Shakespeare, William, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Sukanta Chaudhuri, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017)

Shakespeare, William, *Pericles*, ed. by Doreen DelVecchio and Antony Hammond, the New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Shakespeare, William, *Richard III*, ed. by John Jowett, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Shakespeare, William, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Shakespeare, William, *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H.R. Woudhuysen, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

Shakespeare, William, *Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomas Nelson, 1997)

Shakespeare, William, *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, The Arden Shakespeare, second series, (London: Methuen, 1962)

Shakespeare, William, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Jay L. Halio, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Brian Morris, The Arden Shakespeare, second series (London: Methuen, 1981)

Shakespeare, William, *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomas Nelson, 1999)

Shakespeare, William, *The Tempest*, ed. by David Lindley, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

- Shakespeare, William, *The Third Part of King Henry VI*, ed. by Michael Hattaway, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Shakespeare, William, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by Jonathan Bate, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Thomson Learning, 2004)
- Shakespeare, William, *Twelfth Night*, ed. by Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, The Oxford Shakespeare, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by S. L. Bethell, The New Clarendon Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Ernest Schanzer, The New Penguin Shakespeare (London: Penguin, 1969)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Stephen Orgel, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. by Robert Kean Turner and Virginia Westline Haas (New York: T. M. L. A .O. A., 2005)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by John Pitcher, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010)
- Sidney, Philip, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. by J. A. Van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966)
- Southwell, Robert, *A Hundred Meditations of The Love of God*, handwritten volume, from a Manuscript at Stonyhurst College, (John Morris, 1873), London, Jesuit Archives, 19/3/34
- Southwell, Robert, *An Epistle of Comfort, To the Reverend Priestes, and to the Honorable Worshipful, and Other of the Laye Race Restrained in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth* (1587) ed. D.M. Rogers (Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1974)
- Southwell, Robert, *An Epistle of Comfort* ed. by Margaret Waugh (London: Burns & Oates, 1966)
- Southwell, Robert, *An Humble Supplication To her Maiestie*, (1591) ed. by R.C. Bald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953)
- Southwell, Robert, *Letters of Robert Southwell, S. J.*, ed. by Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: IHSJ, 1994)
- Southwell, Robert, *Letter to Robert Cecil*, 6 April 1593, in Scott Pilarz, S. J., *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 272

Southwell, Robert, *Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares*, ed. by W. Jos. Walter in *Prose Works of Father Southwell, S. J.* (London: Keating and Brown, 1826)

Southwell, Robert, *Prose Works of Father Southwell, S. J.*, ed. by W. Jos. Walter (London: Keating and Brown, 1826), copy in London, Jesuit Archives

Southwell, Robert, *Spiritual Exercises and Devotions*, ed. by J. M. de Buck and trans. P. E. Hallett (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931)

Southwell, Robert, *St Robert Southwell, Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davidson and Anne Sweeney (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2007)

Southwell, Robert, 'The Author to The Reader', verse introduction to *Saint Peters Complaynt*, in *St Robert Southwell, Collected Poems*, ed. by Peter Davidson and Anne Sweeney (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2007) 63

Southwell, Robert, *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S. J.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (London: Robson, Fuller Worthies Library, 1872)

Southwell, Robert, *The Complete Works of R. Southwell, S.J.* (London: D. Stewart, 1876). This is available as a modern reprint published by Forgotten Books (2012), www.forgottenbooks.org It in

Southwell, Robert, *The Life of Brother Edward Throckmorton (1582-1583)*, ed. Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1878)

Southwell, Robert, *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* ed. by James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

Southwell, Robert, *The Triumphs over Death, or A Consolatory Epistle For Afflicted Minds in The Effects of Dying Friends. First Written For The Consolation Of One, But Now Published For The General Good Of All*, in *The Prose Works of Father Southwell, S. J.*, ed. by W. Jos. Walter (London: Keating and Brown, 1826)

Southwell, Robert, *The Triumphs Over Death* ed. by J. W. Trotman (London: The Manresa Press, 1914)

Southwell, Robert, *To the worshipful his very good father Mr., R. S. his dutiful son R. S. wishes all happiness*, in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell* (London: D. Stewart, 1876), Appendix No. 1, pp. i-xviii

Southwell, Robert, *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. by Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1973)

Southwell, Robert, *Understanding that you were resolved*, letter to his brother, in *The Complete Works of R. Southwell* (London: D. Stewart, 1876), Appendix 11, pp. xix-xxi

- Speed, John, *History of Great Britain* (London: 1611)
- Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Queen*, ed. A.C. Hamilton, 2nd edn. (London: Longman, 2007)
- Spenser, Edmund, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin Books, 1999)
- Spenser, Edmund, *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1949)
- Stow, John, *A Survey of London* (1598) ed. by H. B. Wheatley, (London: Everyman, 1997)
- Strickland, A., *Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Documents Connected with her personal History*, s vols (London: H. Colburn, 1842-43)
- Stubbes, Philip, *The Anatomy of Abuses in England Part II: The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation, 1583*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnival, The New Shakespeare Society (London: Trübner, 1882)
- The Derby Household Book, Week of the first of Auguste, 1590*, DDF 2429 (Lancashire Record Office)
- The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol XX, entry for 'Henry Walpole' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917), pp. 621-3
- The Genealogye of the Worshipful and Auncient Familie of The Heskaythes of Rufford in Lancashire Copied from the Original Roll Together with The Hesketh Pedigrees from The Visitations of Lancashire, 1613* (London: Privately Printed, 1869)
- The Geneva Bible*, 1560 edition, facsimile (Peabody, Mass., Hendrickson, 2007)
- The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners During The Reign Of Queen Elizabeth, Part II, 1581-1602*, Catholic Record Society, vol. ii, *Miscellanea*, (London: Arden Press, 1906), pp. 219-88
- The Registers of Stratford-Upon-Avon Co. Warwick* (London: Parish Register Society, 1898)
- The Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol iii, reprinted (London: Dawsons, 1966)
- Walpole, Henry, *An Epitaph of the Life and Death of the most famous Clerk and virtuous Priest, Edmund Campion* (London: printed by Stephen Vallenger, 1582)
- Webb, William, *A Description of the Macclesfield Hundred*, in J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present; or A History of the Hundred in the County Palatine of Chester, From Original Records*, vol. 1 (London: 1880)
- Weever, John, *Epigrammes In the Oldest Cut, and Newest Fashion* (London: 1599), edited by R.B. McKerrow (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1911)

Wiggins, Martin, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama: 1553-1642: A Catalogue*, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 –

Yopez, Diego, *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (Madrid: 1599), ed. by D. M. Rogers (Farnborough: Gregg, 1971)

Secondary Sources

Ackroyd, Peter, *Shakespeare: The Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2005)

Akrigg, G. P. V., *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968)

Akrigg, G. P. V., ‘Something more about Shakespeare’s Patron’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 28 (1977), 65-72

Alexander, Catherine, ‘William Beeston’, in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 41.

Alexander, Catherine M. S. A., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare’s Late Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Alford, Stephen, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012)

Allison, A. F., and D. M. Rogers, eds., *The Contemporary Printed Literature of The English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols (1989-1994)

Anderson, David K., *Martyrs and Players in Early Modern England: Tragedy, Religion and Violence on Stage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014)

Anstruther, Godfrey, *The Seminary Priests: Elizabethan 1558-1603* (Ware and Durham: St Edmund’s College and Ushaw College, 1969)

Asquith, Clare, 2001. ‘A Phoenix for Palm Sunday: Was Shakespeare’s Poem a Requiem for Catholic Martyrs?’ *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 April, pp. 14-15

Asquith, Clare, ‘Oxford University and *Love’s Labour’s Lost*’, in Dennis Taylor and David Beauregard, eds., *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 80-102

Asquith, Clare, 'Hidden Codes in Love's Labour's Lost' in *Religion and The Arts* (Volume 8.2, 2004)

Asquith, Clare, *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005)

Astington, John H., *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Astington, John, 'The Burbages', in *the Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 248-60

Astle, William, ed., 'The Fittons of Gawsworth', *Cheshire Notes and Queries* (Stockport: Swain and Co., 1896), 81-2, [accessed at Chester, Cheshire County Archives, ref. 104090]

Aubrey, John, *Brief Lives*, ed. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1982)

Bagshaw, Samuel, *History, Gazeteer and Dictionary of Cheshire* (Sheffield: 1850)

Bailey, F. A., 'The Churchwardens' Accounts of Prescot, 1523-1607. *Transactions of The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol 95 (Liverpool: 1944), 1-30

Bailey, F. A., 'Prescot Grammar School in Elizabethan Times', in *Transactions of The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, LXXXXVI (Liverpool: 1946)

Baker, Christopher, *Religion in the Age of Shakespeare* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007)

Baker, Oliver, *In Shakespeare's Warwickshire and The Unknown Years* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1937)

Baldo, Jonathan and Isabel Karremann, 'A World of Difference: Religion, Literary Form, and the Negotiation of Conflict in Early Modern England', in Jonathan Baldo and Isabel Karremann, eds., *Forms of Faith: Literary Form and Religious Conflict in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 1-17

Barton, Anne (Bobby Ann Rosen), "'Love's Labour's Lost'", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4.2 (1953), 414-26

Bate, Jonathan, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997)

Bate, Jonathan, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008)

Bate, Jonathan, and Dora Thornton, *Staging The World: Shakespeare* (London: British Museum Press, 2012)

Bate, Jonathan. 2014. 'Now All the World is Shakespeare's Stage', *Daily Telegraph* 21 April, p. 17

Bath, Michael, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994)

Bath, Michael, *Emblems for a Queen: The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Archetype Publications, 2008)

Batson, E. Beatrice, *Shakespeare and the Christian Tradition* (Lewiston, N.Y. and Lampeter: Edwin Mellon Press, 1994)

Batson, E. Beatrice, ed., *Selected Comedies and Late Romances of Shakespeare from a Christian Perspective*, Studies in Art and Religious Interpretation 29 (Lampeter: Edwin Mellon Press, 2002)

Battenhouse, Roy W. "'Measure For Measure" and Christian Doctrine of the Atonement', in *Publications of The Modern Language Association of America*, LXI (December 1946), 1029-59

Battenhouse, Roy W., ed., *Shakespeare's Christian Dimension: An Anthology of Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994)

Baynham, M., ' "Twice Done and then Done Double": Equivocation and the Catholic Recusant Hostess in Shakespeare's "Macbeth"', in G. Burgess, R. Wymer, and J. Lawrence, eds., *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 101-12

Beal, Peter, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol 1, part 2 (London: Mansell, 1980)

Beales, A.C.F., 'A Biographical Catalogue of Catholic Schoolmasters in England: Part I: 1558-1603', *Recusant History* 7 No.6 (London: The Arundel Press, October 1964), 260-89

Bearman, Robert, '"Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?" Revisited', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 53 (2002), 83-94

Bearman, Robert, 'John Shakespeare's "Spiritual Testament": A Reappraisal', in Peter Holland, ed., *Shakespeare Survey, 56: Shakespeare and Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 184-202

Bearman, Robert, 'John Shakespeare: A Papist or just Penniless?', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56 (2005), 411-33

Bearman, Robert, 'Life Documents', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The World Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 839-45

Beauregard, David N., ““Inspired Grace”: Shakespeare’s Theology of Grace in “All’s Well That Ends Well” in *Renascence* 51 (1999), 219-39

Beauregard, David N., ‘Shakespeare on Monastic Life: Nuns and Friars in “Measure For Measure”’, in *Religion And The Arts* 5. 3 (2001), 248-72

Beauregard, David N., ‘Preface: Shakespeare and Catholicism’, *Religion and the Arts*, 5.3 (2001), 245-7

Beauregard, David N., ‘Shakespeare and the Bible’, *Religion and the Arts*, 5.3 (2001), 317-30

Beauregard, David N., and Dennis Taylor, eds, *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England* (Fordham University Press, 2003)

Beauregard, David N., *Catholic Theology in Shakespeare’s Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008)

Beckwith, Sarah, *Shakespeare and the Grammar of Forgiveness* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2011)

Beckwith, Sarah, ‘Acknowledgment and Confession in *Cymbeline*’, in Ken Jackson, and Arthur F. Marotti, eds., *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Post-Modern Perspectives* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), pp. 97-126

Bednarz, J., *Shakespeare and The Truth of Love: The Mystery of “The Phoenix and Turtle”* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)

Bednarz, James M., ‘Contextualizing *The Phoenix and Turtle*: Shakespeare, Edward Blount and the “Poetical Essays” group of *Love’s Martyr*’, in *Shakespeare Survey* 67, *Shakespeare’s Collaborative Work*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 131-49

Benson, Sean, *Shakespearean Resurrection: The Art of Almost Raising the Dead* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009)

Benson, Sean, *Heterodox Shakespeare* (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2017)

Berry, Philippa, “‘Salving The Mail’: Perjury, Grace and the Disorder of Things in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*”, in Ewan Fernie, ed., *Spiritual Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 94-108

Berry, Ralph, ‘The Words of Mercury’, *Shakespeare Survey* 22: *Aspects of Shakespearean Comedy*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 69-77

Berry, Ralph, *Shakespeare’s Settings and a Sense of Place* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016)

Betteridge, Thomas, 'Writing Faithfully in a Post-Confessional World', in Andrew J. Power, and Rory Loughnane, eds., *Late Shakespeare, 1608-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Bevington, David, "'Jack hath not Jill": failed courtship in Lyly and Shakespeare', in *Shakespeare Survey 42 Shakespeare and the Elizabethans*, ed. by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-13.

Bevington, David, *Shakespeare and Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Bevington, David, 'The Debate about Shakespeare and Religion', in David Loewenstein, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 23-39

Blackstone, Mary A., 'Lancashire, Shakespeare and the Construction of Cultural Neighbourhoods in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.186-204

Bland, Mark, "'As Far from All Revolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church College MS 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000) pp. 53-4

Bloom, J.H. ed., *The Register of the Gild of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Mary, and St. John the Baptist of Stratford-Upon-Avon* (1907)

Bloomfield, Jem, *Words of Power: Reading Shakespeare and The Bible* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2016)

Blundell, Dom F. O., *Old Catholic Lancashire*, 3 vols (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1925 -1941))

Boitani, Piero, *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*, trans. by Vittorio Montemaggi and Rachel Jacoff (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013)

Bossy, John, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (New York: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1976)

Bossy, John, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

Bossy, John, 'Recusant History and After', *British Catholic History*, 32.3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, May 2015), 271-79

Bowden, Peter J., *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1962)

Bowler, Dom. Hugh, 'Recusant Role No. 2, 1593-1594: An Abstract in English', *Catholic Record Society*, 57 (1965)

Bradbrook, Muriel, *The School of Night: A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1936)

Brennann, Gillian S., 'Papists and Patriotism in Elizabethan England', *Recusant History* 19 (Catholic Record Society, 1998-9), 1-15

Brigden, Susan, *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors 1485-1603* (London: Penguin 2001)

Brinkworth, E.R.C., *Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford* (London: Phillimore, 1973)

Britton, Dennis, *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014)

Broadbent, C. 'Shakespeare and Shakeshafte', *Notes and Queries*, 201 (1956), 54-7

Brock, Susan, 'Shakespeare's Neighbours and Beneficiaries', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells. eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 213-29

Brown, Cedric C., and Arthur R. Marotti, *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997)

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'The Structure of "Saint Peters Complaynt"', *Modern Language Review*, 61 (1966), 3-11

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', in Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, eds., *Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, vol 1 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989)

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'Robert Southwell: The Mission of the Written Word', in Thomas M. McCoog, and Joseph Munitiz, eds, *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits. Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 285-300, 2nd ed., with additional material (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007)

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'Anne Howard, Countess of Arundel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 January 2015]

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'A Shorte Rule of Good Life: A Handbook for The English Mission', *Recusant History* 30 1 (2010), 47-59

Brown, Nancy Pollard, 'Robert Southwell's Mary Magdalen', *Recusant History* 31 1 (2012), 1-11

Brownlow, F.W., 'Shakespeare and Southwell', in *K.M. 80: A Birthday Album for Kenneth Muir* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1987), p. 27

Brownlow, Frank, 'John Shakespeare's Recusancy: New Light on an Old Document', in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40 (1989), 186-91

Brownlow, F.W., *Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham*, (Newark, London and Toronto: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1993)

Brownlow, F. W., *Robert Southwell* (New York: Twayne, 1996)

Brownlow, Frank, 'Richard Topcliffe: Elizabeth's Enforcer and the Representation of Power in *King Lear*', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson, eds., *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 161-78

Brownlow, F. W., 'Review of John Klause's "Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit"', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61. 1 (Spring 2010), 132-4

Bruce, John, and Thomas Thomason Perowne, *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853)

Bryant, J. A., *Hippolyta's View: Some Christian Aspects of Shakespeare's Plays* (Lexington: Kentucky University Press, 1961)

Bullough, Geoffrey, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare: Volume One, Early Comedies, Poems, Romeo and Juliet* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964)

Burgess, G., R. Wymer, and J. Lawrence, eds., *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

Caraman, Philip, S. J., *Henry Garnet (1555-1606) and The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964)

Caraman, Philip, S. J., *A Study in Friendship: Saint Robert Southwell and Henry Garnet* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995)

Challoner, Richard, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as Well Secular as Regular and of Other Catholics of Both Sexes, that have Suffered Death in England on Religious Accounts from The Year of our Lord, 1577-1684* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1924)

Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage* (4 volumes, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923)

Chambers, E.K., 'A Blackfriars House, Shakespeare's Investment, Hiding Holes', Letter to *The Times*, 23 April 1928

Chambers, E.K., *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* 2 vols, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936)

- Chapin, John, ed., *The Book of Catholic Quotations* (London: John Calder, 1957)
- Childs, Jessie, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014)
- Clements, Rory, *Martyr* (London: Hodder Paperback, 2016)
- Collinson, Patrick, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967)
- Collinson, Patrick, 'William Shakespeare's Religious Heritage', in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994)
- Collinson, Patrick, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious Publishing in England 1557-1640', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol 4, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 29-66
- Cooper, Thompson, revised by Michael Mullett, 'Alexander Briant', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 3 January 2013]
- Cooper, Thompson, revised by Ceri Sullivan, 'Thomas Cottam', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 20 December 2014]
- Corns, Thomas N., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Cox, John D., 'Was Shakespeare a Christian, and if so What Kind of Christian Was He?', *Christianity and Literature*, 55. 4 (Summer 2006), 539-66
- Cox, John D., *Seeming Knowledge: Shakespeare and Skeptical Faith* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007)
- Crofts, J., *Packhorse, Wagon and Post: Land Carriage and Communication under the Tudors and Stuarts* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967)
- Croston, James, *County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire* (Manchester and London: John Heywood, 1887)
- Cummings, Brian, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Cummings, Brian, *Mortal Thoughts: Religion, Secularity and Identity in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Cummings, Brian, 'Shakespeare and The Inquisition', *Shakespeare Survey* 65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 306-22

Curran, John E., 'Book Review', [Peter Iver Kaufman, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (2013)] *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 3 (2003), 1115-6

Curran, John E., and Peter Iver Kaufman, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2013)

Dailey, Alice, *The English Martyr from Reformation to Revolution* ((Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012)

Daly, Peter, *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York: AMS Press, 1982)

Davidson, Peter, and Shell, Alison, 'Nancy Pollard Brown (1921-2015)', *British Catholic History*, 33 1 (2016), 9-11

Davies Anthony, 'Love's Labour's Lost', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 264-6

Davies, Anthony, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 296-9

Dawson, Anthony, B., 'Shakespeare and Secular Performance', in Paul Yachnin and Patricia Badir, eds., *Shakespeare and the Culture of Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 83-97

de Groot, John Henry de, *The Shakespeares and the Old Faith* (New York: Crown Press, 1946)

Dean, Richard, *Rufford Old Hall: A Souvenir Guide* (Swindon: National Trust, 2007)

Devlin, Christopher, 'Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets' – I *The Month* 4. 3 (Sept. 1950), 169-80

Devlin, Christopher, 'Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets' -- II *The Month* 4. 5 (Nov. 1950), 309-19

Devlin, Christopher, *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956)

Diehl, Huston, 'Religion and Shakespearean Tragedy', in Claire McEachern, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 86-102

Dixon, Thomas, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Dobson, Michael and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Dodwell, Martin, *Anne Line: Shakespeare's Tragic Muse* (Brighton: Book Guild Publishing, 2013)

Dodwell, Martin, 'Revisiting Anne Line: Who was she and where did she come from?', *Recusant History*, 31.3 (May 2013), 375-89.

Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Doran, Susan, ed., *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2003)

Dromgoole, Dominic, *Will and Me: How Shakespeare Took Over My Life* (London: Allen Lane, 2006)

Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992)

Duffy, Eamon, 'William Cardinal Allen, 1532-1594', *Recusant History* 22.3 (Catholic Record Society, May 1995), 265-90

Duffy, Eamon, 'William Allen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 3 January 2014]

Duffy, Eamon, 'Was Shakespeare a Catholic?' 1996. *Tablet* 27 April, pp. 4-7 (online 2011)

Duffy, Eamon, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001)

Duncan-Jones, Katherine, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991)

Duncan-Jones, Katherine, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes From His Life* (London: Arden, 2001)

Duncan-Jones, Katherine, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Arden, 2004), pp. 1-103

Dutton, Richard, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson eds., *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003)

Dutton Richard, 'Shakespeare and Lancaster', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds., *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 143-68

Dutton, Richard, "'The Comedy of Errors' and the Calumny of Appelles: An Exercise in Source Study', *Religion and the Arts* 7 1 (2003), 11-30

Dutton, Richard, 'Shakespearean Origins', in Takasho Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne, eds., *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 69-83

Dutton, Richard, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Earwaker, J.P., *East Cheshire: Past and Present; or A History of the Hundred in Macclesfield in the County Palatine of Chester, from Original Records*, 2 vols (London: For the Author, 1880)

Eccles, Mark, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press,

Edmondson, Paul, and Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Edmondson, Paul, and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Edmondson, Paul, 'John Heminges and Henry Condell', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 315- 88

Egan, Gabriel, 'Beeston, Christopher', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 40-1

Eggert, Katherine, 'Alchemy', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 309-16

Eliot, T. S., *Selected Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961)

Ellrodt, Robert, 'An Anatomy of *The Phoenix and Turtle*', in Allardyce Nicoll, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 15: The Poems and Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 99-110

Elzinga, J. G., 'Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 13 January 2015]

Enis, Cathryn, 'Edward Arden and the Dudley Earls of Warwick and Leicester, c. 1572-1583', *British Catholic History*, 33.2 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, October 2016), 170-210

Enos, Carol Curt, *Shakespeare and the Catholic Religion* (Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing, 2000)

Enos, Carol Curt, 'Catholic Exiles and "As You Like It": Or, What if You Don't Like it at All?', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds. *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)

Enos, Carol Curt, *Shakespeare Settings: Stratford / Park Hall, Lancashire / Cheshire / The Catholic Mission, and London* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2007)

Erne, Lukas, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Evans, Malcolm, 'Mercury Versus Apollo: A Reading of *Love's Labour's Lost*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* XXV (1975), 113-127

Fallow, John, 'John Shakespeare', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 26-39

Fernie, Ewan, ed., *Spiritual Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 2005)

Fernie, Ewan, 'Shakespeare, Spirituality and Contemporary Criticism,' in *Spiritual Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-27

Fernie, Ewan, *The Demonic: Literature and Experience* (London: Routledge, 2012)

Fernie, Ewan, ed., *Redcrosse: Remaking Religious Poetry For Today's World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013)

Fernie, Ewan, "'Another Golgotha'", in David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 172-90

Ferrell, Lori Anne, 'Religion: Introduction', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 681-90

Ferrell, Lori Anne, 'Religious Persuasions, c. 1580-c. 1620', in Arthur F. Kinney, and Thomas Warren Hopper, eds., *A New Companion To Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), pp. 143-153

Finnis, John, and Patrick Martin. 2003. 'Another Turn for The Turtle: Shakespeare's Intercession for *Love's Martyr*', *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 April, pp. 12-14

Finnis, John, and Patrick Martin, 'Thomas Thorpe, "WS", and the Catholic Intelligencers', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33 (2003), 1-43

Foakes, R. A., and R. T. Rickert, eds., *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961)

Foley, Henry, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* 7 vols (London: Burns and Oates, 1875-83)

Foster, Joseph, compiler, *Pedigrees of the County Families of England, Volume 1 Lancashire* (London: Head, Hole and Co., 1873)

Fowler, Elizabeth, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland', in Richard A. McCabe, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Fraser, Antonia, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996)

Fraser, Russell, A., *Young Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982)

Fraser, Russell A., *Shakespeare: The Later Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992)

Freedman, Rosemary, 'Shakespeare's Forms of Address', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to The Worlds of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 192-8

Freeman, Rosemary, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948)

Freinkel, Lisa, *Reading Shakespeare's Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to The Sonnets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)

Fripp, Edgar Innes, *Shakespeare's Stratford* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928)

Fripp, Edgar Innes, *Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)

Fripp, Edgar Innes, *Shakespeare Studies: Biographical and Literary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930)

Fripp, Edgar Innes, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1938)

Fripp, Edgar Innes, *The Minister Who Baptised Shakespeare* (Chester: Cheshire County Archives: untitled magazine article, 209779, no date), pp.767-765

Fulton, Thomas, and Kristen Poole, eds., *The Bible on The Shakespearean Stage: Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Gajda, Alexandra, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Garnett, Oliver, *Coughton Court, Warwickshire* (Swindon: National Trust, 2012)

George, David, 'The Playhouse at Prescott and the 1592-94 Plague', in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare* eds. Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.227-42

Gerard, John, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, translated by Philip Caraman (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1951)

Gibbons, Brian, 'Erring and Straying Like Lost Sheep: "The Winter's Tale" and "The Comedy of Errors"', in *Shakespeare Survey 50: Shakespeare and Language* (1997), pp. 111-123

Gillespie, Stuart, *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London and New Brunswick, N.J.: The Athlone Press, 2001; reprinted in *The Arden Shakespeare*, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015)

Gillow, Joseph, *A Literary and Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols, (London: Burns and Oates, 1885 – 1902)

Graham, Kenneth J.E., and Philip D. Collington, eds., *Shakespeare and Religious Change* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009)

Granville-Barker, Harley, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (London: William Heinemann, 1912)

Graves, Michael, A., R., 'Edmund Campion', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 3 January 2014]

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004)

Greenfielde, Sayre, 'Allusions', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 1021-27

Greer, Germaine, *Shakespeare's Wife* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

Groves, Beatrice, *Texts and Traditions: Religion in Shakespeare 1592-1604* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007)

Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)

Gurr, Andrew, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Guy, John, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years* (New York: Viking, 2016)

Hackett, Helen, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1995)

Hackett, Helen. 2014. 'Book reviews' of Gillian Woods, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions* (2013), and Sophie Read, *Eucharist and The Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (2014), *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 April, p. 11

Hadfield, Andrew, 'Does Shakespeare's Life Matter?', *Textual Practice*, 23. 2 (2009), 181-199

Hadfield, Andrew, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Hadfield, Andrew, 'Richard Barnfield, John Weever, William Basse and other economiasts', in Paul Edmondson, and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 199-212

Haigh, Christopher, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975)

Haigh, Christopher, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., *The Life of William Shakespeare* (London: John Russell Smith, 1848)

Hamer, Douglas, 'Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?', *Review of English Studies* 21 (1970), 41-8

Hamilton, Donna B., *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992)

Hamilton, Donna B., and Richard Strier, eds., *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Hamilton, Donna B., *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Hamlin, Hannibal, *The Bible in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Hamling, Tara, 'Thomas Greene', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 135-43

Hammer, Paul, E., 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59.1 (2008), 1-35

Happé, Peter, and Wim Hüskén, eds., *Staging Scripture: Biblical Drama, 1350-1600*, (Leiden: Boston, 2016)

Harland, John, ed., *The Lancashire Lieutenancy Under The Tudors and Stuarts*, The Chetham Society, vol XLI (Manchester: 1859)

Harmson, Theodor, 'William Weston', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 January 2015]

Harrison, Brian A., ed., *A Tudor Journal: The Diary of a Priest in The Tower 1580-1585* (London: St. Paul's Publishing, 2000)

Hassel, Jr., R. Chris, 'Love versus Charity in *Love's Labour's Lost*', *Shakespeare Studies X* (1977), 17-42

Hassel Jr., R. Chris, 'The Accident and Gait of Christians: Hamlet's Puritan Style', *Religion and The Arts* 7.1 (2003), 103-27

Hassell, R. Chris, *Shakespeare's Religious Language: A Dictionary* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005)

Heal, Felicity, 'Experiencing Religion in London: Diversity and Choice in Shakespeare's Metropolis', in David Loewenstein, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 57-78

Healy, Margaret, *Shakespeare, Alchemy and the Creative Imagination: The Sonnets and 'A Lover's Complaint'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Hibbert, Christopher, *The English: A Social History, 1066-1945* (Grafton Books, 1987)

Hibbs, Stacey and Thomas Hibbs, 'Virtue, Natural Law, and Supernatural Solicitation: A Thomistic Reading of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*', *Religion and the Arts*, (5.3 (2001), 273-96

Hill, Geoffrey, *The Lords of Limit: Essays on Literature and Ideas* (London: André Deutsch, 1984)

Hill, W. Speed, ed., *Works of Hooker*, 5 vols, Folger Shakespeare Library Edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1972-90)

Hodgetts, Michael, 'In Search of Nicholas Owen', *The Month*, vol.26 4, (October 1961), 197-209

- Hodgetts, Michael, *Secret Hiding Places* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1989)
- Hodgetts, Michael, 'Campion in the Thames Valley', *Recusant History*, 30, (The Catholic Record Society, May 2010), 24-46
- Hogge, Alice, *God's Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and The Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Harper Collins, 2005)
- Holderness, Graham, *The Faith of William Shakespeare* (Oxford: Lion, 2016)
- Holland, Peter, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 54: Shakespeare and Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Holland, Peter, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 65: A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Holland, Peter, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 67: Shakespeare's Collaborative Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Holman, Emily, "'My Poor Jude – How You've missed Everything!': Reading Ignatian Discourse in *Jude The Obscure*", *The Hardy Society Journal*, 13.2 (Summer 2017), 65-85
- Holmes, P. J., *Elizabethan Casuistry*, Catholic Record Society 67 (London: 1981)
- Holmes, Peter, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of The English Catholics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Holmes, Peter, 'Anthony Tyrrell', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 February 2015]
- Honan, Park, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Honan, Park, 'Meres, Francis', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 287-91
- Honan, Park, 'Henry Wriothesley Third Earl of Southampton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2012 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 February 2015]
- Honigmann, E.A.J., *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985; 2nd edn, 1998)
- Honigmann, Ernst, 'The Shakespeare/Shakeshafte Question, Continued', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54 1 (2003), 83-94
- Hood, Christobel, M., *The Book of Robert Southwell* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1926)

Horsler Val, Martin Gorick and Paul Edmondson, *Shakespeare's Church: A Parish for the World* (London: Third Millennium, 2010)

Hotson, J. L., *I, William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937)

Houliston, Victor, 'Robert Parsons', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 February 2014]

Hughes, Ted, *Shakespeare and The Goddess of Complete Being* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996)

Humphrey-Smith, Cecil R., *The Phillimore Atlas of Parish Registers* 3rd Edition (Chichester: Phillimore, 2003)

Hunt, Maurice, 'Helena and the Reformation Problem of Merit in "All's Well That Ends Well"', *Religion and the Arts* 7 1 (2003), 129-58

Hunt, Maurice, *Shakespeare's Religious Allusiveness: Its Play and Tolerance* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006)

Hunter, Robert Grams, *Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness* ((New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965)

Irvine, W. Fergusson, and J.H.E. Bennett, eds, *The Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. 12 (Chester: The "Chester Courant" Office, 1917)

Jackson, Ken, and Arthur M. Marotti, 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies', *Criticism* 46 (2004) 167-90

Jackson, Ken, and Arthur M. Marotti, eds., *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Postmodern Perspectives* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011)

Jackson, Ken, *Shakespeare and Abraham* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2015)

Janelle, Pierre, *Robert Southwell the Writer* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1935)

Jedin, Hubert, *History of the Council of Trent*, trans. E. Graf, 2 vols (London: 1957-1961)

Jensen, Phebe, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community: The Simpsons at Gowlthwaite Hall, in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds., *Region, Religion and Patronage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 101-20

Jensen, Phebe, 'Singing Psalms to Horn-Pipes: Festivity, Iconoclasm and Catholicism in "The Winter's Tale"', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55. 3 (2004), 279-306

Jensen, Phebe, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Kastan, David Scott, *A Will to Believe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Kathman, David, 'John Weever', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 3 March 2015]

Kathman, David, 'Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby, Lord Strange', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2013, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 March 2016]

Kathman, David, 'The Mountjoys', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 174-85

Kaufman, Peter Iver, *Religion Around Shakespeare* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013)

Kaushik, Sandeep, 'Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State', *Midland History*, 21 (June 1996), 37-72

Keen, Alan, and Lubbock, Roger, *The Annotator: The Pursuit of an Elizabethan Reader of Halle's Chronicle Involving Some Surmises About The Early Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Putnam, 1954)

Keenan, Siobhan, 'The Simpson Players of Jacobean Yorkshire', in *Theatre Notebook* 67 1 (The Society for Theatre Research, 2013), 16-35

Kelly, Christine, J., 'Anne Heigham or Higham', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004 {oxforddnb.com}, {accessed 1 July 2018}

Kendall, Gillian Murray, 'Overkill in Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 43 (1992), 33-50

Kerr, Cecil, *The Life of the Ven Philip Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936)

Kerridge, Eric, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985)

Kerrigan, John, 'Reading *The Phoenix and Turtle*', in Jonathan S. Post, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 540-59

Kerrigan, John, 'Shakespeare, Elegy, and Epitaph, 1557-1640', in Jonathan F. S. Post, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 225-44

Kerrigan, William, *Shakespeare's Promises* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999)

Kietzman, Mary Jo, *The Biblical Covenant in Shakespeare* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Kilroy, Gerald, ““Paper, Ink and Penne”: The Literary Memoria of the Recusant Community’, *The Downside Review* 119 (2001), 95-124

Kilroy, Gerald, 2003. ‘Letter’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 May, p. 17

Kilroy, Gerald, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Kilroy, Gerald, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Kinney, Arthur F., and Thomas Warren Hopper, eds., *A New Companion To Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2017)

Klaue, John, ‘Venus and Adonis: Can We Forgive Them?’, *Studies in Philology*, 85 3 (University of North Carolina Press: Summer 1988), 353-377

Klaue, John, ‘Politics, Heresy, and Martyrdom in Shakespeare’s Sonnet 124 and “Titus Andronicus”’, in James Schiffer, ed., *Shakespeare’s Sonnets: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 219-40

Klaue, John, ‘New Sources for Shakespeare’s “King John”: The Writings of Robert Southwell’, *Studies in Philology*, 98 4 (University of North Carolina Press: Fall 2001), 401-27

Klaue, John, “‘The Phoenix and the Turtle’ in its Time’, in Thomas Miosan and Douglas Bruster, eds., *In the Company of Shakespeare: Essays on English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses, 2002), pp. 206-30

Klaue, John, ‘Catholic and Protestant, Jesuit and Jew: Historical Religion in “The Merchant of Venice”’, in *Religion and the Arts*, 7 (2003), 65-102

Klaue, John, *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008)

Knafla, Louis A., ‘Alice Spencer, Lady Strange, Countess of Derby’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 March 2016]

Knafla, Louis A., ‘Henry Stanley, Fourth Earl of Derby’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2015, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 1 March 2016]

Knapp, Jeffrey, *Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation and Theater in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 2002)

Knight, G. Wilson, *The Crown of Life: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare’s Final Plays* (London: Methuen, 1948)

Kott, Jan, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, revised edn, trans, by B. Taborski (London: Methuen, 1967)

Kozuka, Takashi, and J.R. Mulryne, eds, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)

Kuchar, Gary, 'Decorum and the Politics of Ceremony in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*' in Ken Jackson, and Arthur F. Marotti, eds., *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Post-Modern Perspectives* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), pp. 46-78

Kuchar, Gary, *The Poetry of Religious Sorrow in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Lake Peter, and Michael Questier, *The Anti-Christ's New Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London: 2002)

Lake, Peter, *Bad Queen Bess? Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Lamb, Mary Ellen, 'The Nature of Topicality in *Love's Labour's Lost*', in Stanley Wells, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 38* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 45-59

Lander, Jesse M., 'Thinking with Fairies: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Problem of Belief', in Peter Holland, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 65* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 42-57

Lane, Joan, ed., with medical commentary by Melvin Earles, *John Hall and his Patients: The Medical Practice of Shakespeare's Son-in-Law* (Shakespeare Birthplace Trust: Allan Sutton, 1996)

Laoutaris, Chris, *Shakespeare and the Countess: The Battle that Gave Birth to the Globe* (London: Fig Tree, 2014)

Laroque, François, 'Popular Festivity', in Alexander Leggatt, ed., *The Cambridge Companion To Shakespearean Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 64-78)

Leatherbarrow, J. Stanley, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, vol 110 in *Remains Historical and Literary Connected With The Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1947)

Leggatt, Alexander, ed., *The Cambridge Companion To Shakespearean Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Leland, John L., 'Sir Robert Belknap', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2011 [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 2 February 2015]

- Levenson, Jill L., and Robert Ormsby, eds., *The Shakespearean World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017)
- Levi, Peter, *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1998)
- Loewenstein, David, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Loewenstein, David, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Longworth De Chambrun, Clara, *My Shakespeare, Rise* (Stratford-On-Avon: Shakespeare Press, 1935)
- Longworth De Chambrun, *Shakespeare Rediscovered* (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938)
- Longworth De Chambrun, Clara, *Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1957)
- Lupton, Julia, 'Birthplaces: Shakespeare's Belief / Believing in Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 65 (Winter 2014), 399-420
- MacGregor, Neil, *Shakespeare's Restless World: An Unexpected History in Twenty Objects*, (London: Penguin, 2014)
- MacKinnon, Lachlan, 'Susanna Hall', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 71-85
- Maclean, Sally-Beth, 'A Family Tradition: Dramatic Patronage by the Earls of Derby', in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 205-226
- Maclean, Sally-Beth, 'Adult Playing Companies 1583-1593', in Richard Dutton, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 39-55
- Maginn, Christopher, 'Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy (8th)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 5 September 2017]
- Mallin, Eric S., *Godless Shakespeare* (London: Continuum, 2007)
- Maltby, Judith, *Prayer Book and People on Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Manning, John, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002)

- Manning, John, and Marc Van Vaeck, eds, *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition: Selected Papers of the Leuven International Emblem Conference, 18-23 August 1996*, Imago Figurata Studies, vol 19 (Brepols, 1999)
- Manley, Lawrence, and Sally-Beth Maclean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014)
- Marotti, Arthur F., 'Manuscript, Print, and the Social History of the Lyric', in Thomas N. Corns, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 52-79
- Marotti, Arthur F., *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Marotti, Arthur F., 'Southwell's Remains: Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England', in Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti, eds., *Texts and Cultural Changes in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1997)
- Marotti, Arthur F., ed., *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early-Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1999)
- Marotti, Arthur F., 'Shakespeare and Catholicism' in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 218-241
- Marotti, Arthur F., *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2005)
- Marotti, Arthur F., and Ken Jackson. 'Religion, Secularity, and Shakespeare', in Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby, eds., *The Shakespearean World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 542-56
- Marshall, Peter, and Geoffrey Scott, eds., *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)
- Marshall, Peter, *Faith and Identity in a Warwickshire Family: The Throckmortons and The Reformation* (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 2010)
- Marshall, Peter, 'Choosing Sides and Talking Religion in Shakespeare's England', in David Loewenstein, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 40-56
- Marshall, Hilary, *Palaeography for Family and Local Historians* (Andover: Phillimore, 2004)
- Martin, Michael, *Literature and the Encounter with God in Post-Reformation England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014)

Martz, Louis, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954)

Marx, Steven, *Shakespeare and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Matchett, William H., *The Phoenix and Turtle* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965)

Mayer, Jean-Christophe, *Shakespeare's Hybrid Faith: History, Religion and the Stage* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

McCabe, Richard A., ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

McEachern, Claire, and Debora Shuger, eds., *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

McEachern, Claire, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

McEachern, Claire, *Believing in Shakespeare: Studies in Longing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

McCoog, Thomas M., 'The Letters of Robert Southwell', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 63 (Rome: 1994), pp. 101-24

McCoog, Thomas M., *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555-1650* (London: Publications of The Catholic Record Society, 74-75, 2 Volumes, 1994-1995)

McCoog, Thomas M., ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Rome: IHSJ, 2007)

McCoog, Thomas M., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland and England, 1589-1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)

McCoog, Thomas M., "And Touching our Society": *Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England. Studies and Texts*, 183 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2013)

McCoy, Richard C., 'Love's Martyrs: Shakespeare's *Phoenix and Turtle* and the Sacrificial Sonnets', in Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, eds., *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 180-208

McCoy, Richard C., *Faith in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

McCoy, Richard, 'Awakening Faith in *The Winter's Tale*', in David Loewenstein, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 214-30

- McDonald, Russ, *Shakespeare's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- McEachern, Claire, and Debora Shuger, eds., *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- McGrath, Patrick and Joy Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourers and Helpers', *Recusant History* 19 (Catholic Record Society, 1998-9), 209-33
- McGrath, Patrick, 'The Bloody Questions Reconsidered', *Recusant History* 20 (1991), 305-19
- McGuinness, Frank, *Mutabilitie*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1997)
- McManaway, James. G., 'John Shakespeare's Spiritual Testament', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 18 (1967), 197-205
- Meek, Richard, and Erin Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)
- Merriam, Thomas, 'Gulielmus Clerkue Stratfordiensis At The English College in Rome: Inconclusive Evidence for a Catholic Shakespeare', *Religion and the Arts*, 7.1 (2003), 167-174
- Miller, George C., *Hoghton Tower in History and Romance* (Preston: The Guardian Press, 1954)
- Milward, Peter, S. J., *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973)
- Milward, Peter, S. J., *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1977)
- Milward, Peter, S J., *The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays* (Southampton: Saint Austin Press, 1997)
- Milward, Peter, S. J., 'Letter', *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 January 1998, p. 15
- Milward, Peter S.J., 'Shakespeare in Lancashire', *The Month*, 33. 4 (April 2000), 141-6
- Milward, Peter, S J., 'Religion in Arden', in Peter Holland. Ed., *Shakespeare Survey*, 54, *Shakespeare and Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 115-21
- Milward, Peter, S.J., 'Shakespeare's Jesuit Schoolmasters' in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 58-70
- Milward, Peter, S.J., 'Shakespeare's Religious Background Revisited', *Religion and the Arts* 8 2 (2004), 260-71

- Milward, Peter, S.J., *Shakespeare the Papist* (Ann Arbor: Sapienta Press, 2005)
- Milward, Peter, S.J. 'The Eye of the Typhoon', *Recusant History*, 29. 4 (2009), 449-58)
- Milward Peter, S. J., 'Shakespeare and the Martyrs', *Recusant History*, 31 1 (May 2012), 13-21
- Miola, Robert S., 'An Alien People Clutching their Gods? Shakespeare's Ancient Religions', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54, *Shakespeare and Religions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 31-45
- Miola, Robert S., *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Resources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Miola, Robert S., 'Two Jesuit Shadows in Shakespeare: William Weston and Henry Garnet' in *Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Post-Modern Perspectives*, ed. Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011)
- Miola, Robert S., 'Publishing the Word: Robert Southwell's Sacred Poetry', *The Review of English Studies* 64 (2013), 410-32
- Monta, Susannah Brietz, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Moorwood, Helen, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong, Shropshire* (Much Wenlock: R. J. L. Smith and Associates, 2013)
- Morris, Ivor, *Shakespeare's God: The Role of Religion in the Tragedies* (London: Routledge, 2014)
- Moseley, Charles, 'Emblems', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 407-17
- Muir, Kenneth, *Shakespeare's Sources: 1, Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Methuen, 1957)
- Muir, Kenneth, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 22: Aspects of Shakespearian Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)
- Mullaney, Steven, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015)
- Mulryne, J.H., ed., *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford: Society, Religion, School and Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)
- Murphy, Emilie K. M., 'Music and Catholic Culture in Post-Reformation Lancashire: Piety, Protest, and Conversion', *British Catholic History*, 32. 4 (2015), 492-525

- Murphy, John, *Darkness and Devils: Exorcism and "King Lear"* (Athens Ga.: Ohio University Press, 1984)
- Murray, Molly, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature: Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Murray, Molly, 'Forms of Religious Expression', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 746-53
- Mutschmann, K., and Wentersdorf, *Shakespeare and Catholicism* (New York: AMSP, 1969)
- Nelson, Alan H., 'His Literary Patrons', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 275-88
- Newdigate, C. A., S.J., 'A New Chapter in the Life of the Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J., *The Month* 801 (March 1931), 246-54
- Newton, Lady, *The House of Lyme*, (London: William Heinemann, 1917)
- Nicholl, Charles, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007)
- Nicholls, Mark, 'Robert Catesby', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 3 February 2014]
- Nicoll, Allardyce, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 15: The Poems and Music* (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1970)
- Noble, Richmond, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935)
- Norman, Clare, *Baddesley Clinton* (Swindon: The National Trust, 2009)
- Nuttall, A. D., *Shakespeare The Thinker* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007)
- O' Connell, Michael, 'The experiment of romance', in Alexander Leggatt, ed., *The Cambridge Companion To Shakespearean Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 215-229)
- Oliver, Stefan, and Croton, Guy, *Understanding Signs and Symbols: Heraldry* London: Quantum, 2013)
- Orgel, Stephen, and Sean Keilen, eds., *Shakespeare and the Literary Tradition* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1999)
- Palfrey, Simon, and Emma Smith, *Shakespeare's Dead* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2016)

- Parr, Richard, *An Analysis of Biblical References in The Merchant of Venice, Measure For Measure and The Winter's Tale*, unpublished MA dissertation, (Shakespeare Institute, 2010)
- Paster, Gail Kern, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds., *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)
- Paterson, Don, *Reading Shakespeare's Sonnets: A New Commentary* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010)
- Pearce, Joseph, *The Quest for Shakespeare: The Bard of Avon and the Church of Rome* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008)
- Persons, Robert, 'Notes Concerning the English Mission' in 'Father Persons's Memoirs', ed. by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., in *Miscellanea IV* (London: Catholic Record Society IV, 1907)
- Petti, Anthony G., ed., *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan, c. 1550-1640* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1959)
- Petti, Anthony, 'Stephen Vallenger, 1541-1591', *Recusant History*, 6.6, (Bognor Regis: Arundel Press, October 1962), 248-64
- Pilarz, Scott R., *Robert Southwell and the Mission of Literature, 1561-1595: Writing Reconciliation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)
- Plowden, Alison, 'Francis Throckmorton (1554-1584)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, May 2007), {oxforddnb.com} [accessed 18 May 2018]
- Pollen, John Hungerford, ed., *Unpublished Documents Relating to The English Martyrs, vol 1 1584-1603*, Catholic Record Society 5 (London: 1908)
- Pollen, John Hungerford, and William MacMahon eds., *The English Martyrs vol II: The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1557-1595*, Catholic Record Society 21 (London: 1919)
- Poole, Kristen, 'Theater and Religion', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to The Worlds of Shakespeare, vol 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp 690-7
- Post, Jonathan, F. S. ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2013)
- Price, Diana, 'Reconsidering Shakespeare's Monument', *The Review of English Studies* XLVIII (1997), 168-82
- Questier, Michael, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Questier, Michael, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1590-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Questier, Michael, “‘Like Locusts over all the World’: Conversion, Indoctrination and the Society of Jesus in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England’, in Thomas M. McCoog, ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007), pp.347-370

Questier, Michael, Thomas M. McCoog and Ginevra Crosignani, eds., *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010)

Rasmussen, Eric, ‘Chronology’, in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 78

Read, Sophie, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Richards, Raymond, *The Manor of Gawsworth, Cheshire* (Manchester: E. J. Morton, 1957)

Richmond, Velma Bourgeois, *Shakespeare, Catholicism and Romance* (New York: Continuum, 2000)

Roberts, Enid, ‘Thomas Salusbury’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 3 March 2017]

Roberts, Sasha, *Reading Shakespeare’s Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003)

Rosen, Adrienne, ‘John Trussell’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2008 [oxforddnb.com], [accessed 1 March 2015]

Rowe, Nicholas, *Some Account of the Life Etc. of Mr. William Shakespeare* (London, 1709)

Rowse, A.L., *William Shakespeare: A Biography* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1963)

Rutter, Carol Chillington, ‘Richard Field’, in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 161-73

Ryrie, Alec, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Sams, Eric, *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1545-1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995)

- Scarisbrick, J.J., *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984)
- Schiffer, James, ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland, 1999)
- Schoenbaum, Samuel, *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press with the Scholar Press, 1975)
- Schoenbaum, Samuel, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Schoenbaum Samuel, *William Shakespeare: Records and Images* (London: Scholar Press, 1981)
- Schoenfeldt, Michael, ed., *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006)
- Scully, Robert E., *into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580-1603* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011)
- Shaaber, M. A., 'The First Rape of Faire Hellen', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8 (1957), 407-48
- Shagan, E., ed., *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)
- Shaheen, Naseeb, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999)
- Shapiro, James, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber & Faber, 2005)
- Shapiro, James, *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015)
- Sharpe, Jesse David, 'Book Reviews' in *English* 62. 239 (Winter 2013), 409-11
- Shell, Alison, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Shell, Alison, 'Why Didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?' in Kozuka and Mulryne, eds., *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85-112
- Shell, Alison, *Oral Catholicism and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Shell, Alison, *Shakespeare and Religion*, The Arden Shakespeare, third series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010)

Shell, Alison, 'Delusion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', in David Loewenstein, and Michael Witmore, eds., *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 81-95

Shell, Alison, and Peter Davidson, 'Nancy Pollard Brown (1921-2015)', *British Catholic History*, 33.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, May 2016, 9-11

Shield, H.A., 'A Stratford Schoolmaster', *The Month*, vol CCXII 1128 (August 1961), 109-11

Shrank, Cathy, 'Southampton: Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 442

Shuger, Debora K., *The Renaissance Bible* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1994)

Shuger, Debora K., *Political Theologies in Shakespeare's England: The Sacred and The State in "Measure For Measure"* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011)

Simpson, Richard, *Edmund Campion* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867)

Singleton, Frank, *Hoghton Tower, Lancashire* (Hoghton: Hoghton Tower Preservation Trust, 1999)

Sissons, C. J., 'Shakespeare's Friends: Hathaways and Burmans at Shottery', *Shakespeare Survey* 12 (1959), 95-106

Smith, Bruce R., ed., *The Cambridge Guide to The Worlds of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Smith, Simon, Watson, Jackie, and Kenny, Amy, eds., *The Senses In Early Modern England, 1558-1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

Sohmer, Steve, 'Religion', in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 372-4

Sokol, B.J., *Shakespeare and Tolerance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

South, Malcolm H., *The Jesuits and the Joint Mission to England During 1580-1581* (Lewiston: 1999)

Spedding, James, ed., *The Letters and Life of Sir Francis Bacon*, 7 vols (London: Longmans, 1861-1874)

Spevack, Marvin, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*, 4 vols (Hildesheim: George Olms, 1968-69)

- Squiers, Granville, *Secret Hiding Places: The Origins, Histories and Descriptions of English Secret Hiding Places Used by Priests, Cavaliers, Jacobites and Smugglers* (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1933)
- Stanley, Peter Edmund, *The House of Stanley: The History of an English Family from the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press, 1998)
- Sterrett, Joseph, *The Unheard Prayer: Religious Toleration in Shakespeare's Drama*, vol 6 of "Studies in Religion and the Arts" (Leiden: Brill, 2012)
- Stewart, Alan, 'Manuscript Culture', in Bruce R. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge Guide To The Worlds Of Shakespeare, vol 1, Shakespeare's World, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.), pp. 360-66
- Stokes, C.C., *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries* (Stratford -Upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1907)
- Stow, John, *A Survey of London* (London: 1598) New edition (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997)
- Streete, Adrian, *Protestantism and Drama in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 360-6
- Streete, Adrian, ed., *Early Modern Drama and the Bible; Contexts and Readings, 1570-1625* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011)
- Strier, Richard, 'Finding Pygmalion in the Bible: Classical and Biblical Allusion in *The Winter's Tale*', in *The Bible on The Shakespearean Stage: Cultures of Interpretation in Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 156-68
- Strype, J., *Annals of The Reformation*, 4 vols (Oxford: 1824)
- Sweeney, Anne R., *Robert Southwell: Snow in Arcadia: Redrawing the English Lyric Landscape* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)
- Swift, Daniel, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Targoff, Ramie, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)
- Taylor, Dennis, 'Hamlet in Purgatory', *Shakespeare and the Arts*, 5.3 (2001), 331-7
- Taylor, Dennis, 'Introduction: Shakespeare and the Reformation', in *Shakespeare and the Arts* 7.1 (2003), 1-9
- Taylor, Dennis, 'Sorting out Catholic and Protestant Elements in Shakespeare', *Religion and the Arts*, 7.1 (2003), 175-90

Taylor, Dennis, and David Beauregard, eds., *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003)

Taylor, Gary, 'Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (1985-1986), 210-46

Taylor, Gary, 'Forms of Opposition: Shakespeare and Middleton', *English Literary Renaissance* vol 24, 2 (Spring 1994), 283-314

Taylor, Gary, 'Divine [] Sences', *Shakespeare Survey* 54 (2001), 13-30

Thomas, D. L., and N. E. Evans, 'John Shakespeare in the Exchequer', in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 15 (1984)

Thomson, Peter, *Shakespeare's Professional Career* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Thurston, Rev. Herbert, 'The Spiritual Testament of John Shakespeare', *The Month: A Catholic Magazine*, Vol. 118.569 (1911), 487-502

Tillyard, E.M.W., 'The Elizabethan World Picture', 1942, new edition (London: Pimlico, 1998), cited in David Beauregard, *Religion and The Arts* 5.3 (2001) 245

Todd, Margo, ed., *Reformation to Revolution: Politics and Religion in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Trousdale, M., *Shakespeare and the Rhetoricians* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1982)

Van Es, Bart, "'Johannes Factotum'? Shakespeare's First Contact with the Acting Companies', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (Winter 2010), 551-577

Van Es, Bart, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Walsh, Brian, *Unsettled Toleration: Religious Differences on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Walsham, Alexandra, *Church Papists, Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society and The Boydell Press, 1993; second edition (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000)

Walsham, Alexandra, "'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England", in David Lemmings and Claire Walker, eds., *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), pp. 41-62

Wark, K. R., *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 3rd Series XIX, 1971)

Watson, Jackie, “Dove-like looks” and “serpents eyes”: staging visual clues and early modern aspiration’, in Simon Smith, Jackie Watson and Amy Kenny, eds., *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 39-54

Watson, Robert, ‘*Othello* as Protestant Propaganda’, in, *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Waugh, Evelyn, *Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr* (London: Longman, 1935; reissued London: Penguin Classics, 2011)

Weeks, William, ed., *Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century* (Clitheroe: Advertiser and Times, 1887)

Weis, René, *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 2007)

Weis, René, ‘Was there a Real Shakespeare?’, *Textual Practice* 23 Issue 2 (2009), 2115-228

Wells, Stanley, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 38 Shakespeare and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Wells, Stanley, ed., *Shakespeare Survey 42 Shakespeare and the Elizabethans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Wells, Stanley, ‘Arms, Shakespeare’s coat of,’ in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 21-2

Wells, Stanley, ‘William Shakeshaft’, in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 417

Wells, Stanley, ‘John Shakespeare’, in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Oxford Companion To Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 418-19 (p. 419)

Wells, Stanley, *Shakespeare for All Times* (London: MacMillan, 2002)

Wells, Stanley, ‘The Combes’, in *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography*, ed. by Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 149-60

Westfall, Suzanne, ‘He Who Pays The Piper Calls The Tune: Household Entertainments’, in Richard Dutton, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 263-79

Weston, William, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan, 1611*, ed. and translated by Philip Caraman, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955)

Wheler, R. B., *History and Antiquities of Stratford-Upon-Avon*, (London: J. Ward, 1806)

Whittick, Christopher, 'William Shelley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2013 {oxforddnb.com}, [accessed 6 January 2018]

Wickham, Glynne, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram, eds., *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Williams, Penry, 'Anthony Babington', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, online edition, 2004, {oxforddnb.com} [accessed 3 March 2015]

Wills, Gary, *Witches and Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Wilson, Ian, *Shakespeare: The Evidence Unlocking the Mysteries of the Man and his Work* (London: Headline, 1993)

Wilson, Richard, 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits: New Connections Supporting the Theory of the Lost Catholic Years in Lancashire', *Times Literary Supplement* (19 December 1997), pp. 11-13

Wilson, Richard, 'Introduction: A Torturing Hour', in Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson, eds., *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-39

Wilson, Richard, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

Wilson, Richard, *Worldly Shakespeare: The Theatre of our good Will* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016)

Winstanley, Michael, 'Shakespeare, Catholicism, and Lancashire: A Reappraisal of John Cottom, Stratford Schoolmaster', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 68.2 (Summer 2017), 172-91

Wood, Michael, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003)

Wood, Michael, 'Mary Shakespeare', in Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, eds., *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 13-25 {Wood followed up his chapter with a television programme, *Shakespeare's Mother: The Secret Life of a Tudor Woman*, transmitted on BBC 4 on 12 February 2015}

Woods, Gillian, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Worden, Blair, 'Shakespeare in Life and Art: Biography and *Richard II*', in Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 23-42

Woudhuysen, Henry, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)

Wrightson, Keith, *A Social History of England 1500-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Yachnin, Paul, and Patricia Badir, eds., *Shakespeare and the Culture of Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008)

Yates, Frances, A., *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Cambridge: At The University Press, 1936)

Online Databases

Ancestry.com Horstead, Norfolk, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1535-1812 {database online} filmed 11 February 1994

Early English Books Online <eebo.chadwyck.org> (Various early editions of Southwell's prose works are available here, and are cited as necessary in the footnotes)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography www.oxforddnb.com

Oxford English Dictionary www.oed.com

Poem Hunter www.poemhunter.com

REEDS online <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/reed/>

Tudor Place <www.tudorplace.com.ac/Bios>