

Spenserian Images of Catholicism In Book I of *The Faerie Queene*

Ibrahim Mumayiz
The Hashemite University

Abstract: Due to the continuously hostile Elizabethan-Papal relations which persisted throughout Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) and covered Spenser's entire lifetime, Spenser nurtured pejorative images of Catholicism of a monstrously graphic nature. In Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, Papal-led Catholicism was regarded as being satanic evil. This evil Catholicism was used by Protestantism to define and defend itself. Spenser's vilifying views of Catholicism are expressed through the character of Archimago, who represents all what Protestants like Spenser saw in Catholicism such as pilgrimages, falsity, magical practices, hypocrisy, deception, and disguise. These accusations were based on what Protestants saw in the behavior of "Church Papists". The paper also puts forward the view that Archimago was a Jesuit, probably Robert Persons, the arch Jesuit that the black insects, flies, and sprites in Book I refer to Catholic missionary priests sent by the Pope and the Jesuits secretly into England.

1. Historical Background: Elizabethan-Papal Hostilities

The politically and religiously contentious Elizabethan-Papal relations had systematically aggravated Protestant anti-Catholic polemics. Almost the entire span of Spenser's lifetime was spent under the pall of steadily worsening relations between Elizabeth and the Papacy. Thus the period in which Spenser was writing *The Faerie Queene*, as Wall (1977:160) points out, 'was one in which anti-Papal feeling ran especially high in England'. Religion and politics, Wall explains, domestic and international concerns, 'all intermingled to inform almost every situation in England'; and that 'the vividness of Spenser's language showed his persistence in dealing with the Catholic-Protestant controversy. (ibid: 161).

The root cause of papal hostility to Elizabeth I goes back to winter, 1538/39, in Rome, with the publication of Cardinal Reginald Pole's *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione* (On the Defense of the Unity of the Church) in which Pole accused Henry VIII of having made sexual advances towards Ann Boleyn's mother and then turning to her sister Mary, who became his mistress. Ann Boleyn, says Pole, refused to be a mistress and insisted on being a wife (Froude, 1864: 554-5). Pole's book had given the Papacy the indelible impression that Boleyn womenfolk were nothing but courtesans. At Elizabeth's accession this pejorative Papal view of her moralities was compounded with the serious charge of heresy. Elizabeth's first Pope, Paul IV (R. 1555-1559) pursued a harshly corrective attitude towards her. Described as 'stubborn, harsh, impetuous and impatient of all opposition... a difficult man at the best of times', (Quinn,

1981:396). He issued the bull "Cum Ex Apostolatus" of February 16th 1559 which deposed any prince suspected of heresy; and which coming within a year of her accession 'may have been represented as aimed at her'. (Pollen, 1920:51n). Paul IV was also known for his drive against the courtesans of Rome. He was a man 'whom a speech against whores would be most characteristic'. (Shell, 2001 49). With Pole's book in mind Paul IV could well have viewed the heretical English queen in the same light as Rome's fallen women. This Pope, however, turned down his invective after Philip II of Spain's offer of marriage to Elizabeth, which induced Paul IV to remain silent, and Catholics in England were not urged to resist (Wernham, 1971:24). The effect of Elizabeth's first Pope's vilifying, hostile stance on young Spenser, brimming with youthful allegiance to "His Queene" was to firmly place the Papacy, in mind though not yet in writing, in those darksome regions of the imagination inhabited by the evil, the sinister, and the grotesque.

The next Pope, Pius IV (R. 1559-65), described as 'the most conciliatory of men' wrote a letter to Elizabeth on May 5th 1560 expressing his good wishes, promising her assistance, and sending her his personal envoy, Parpaglia, Abbot of St. Salvatore, near Turin. (Hughes, 1942:155,159). Significantly, this conciliatory attitude was characteristic of Catholic Europe throughout the 1560's. The Portuguese bishop Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca wrote 'an open- letter' to Elizabeth entitled *Epistola ad Elizabethan Angliae Reginam de Religione* (first edition, 1562) in which he urged Elizabeth to return to the bosom of the Holy church⁶. But Elizabeth interpreted such pleadings and propitiation as signs of weakness in the Catholic world. Her position consequently stiffened. In May 1561 she refused to admit the Papal Nuncio Martinegro, or to be represented at general church councils, such as Trent (Wernham, 1971: 305). The pleadings and propitiations pertaining to this particular papacy would have given youthful Spenser; articulate, perceptive, and alert to domestic and foreign trends, images of the papacy and papal surrogates, of stealth, cunning, falsity and deception; images now to be retained, later to be graphically represented by Archimago in Book I of *The Faerie Queene* (see below). Pius V (R. 1566-1572) seeing how his predecessor's conciliations had failed abruptly issued his excommunication bull "Regnans in Excelsis", described by Alexandra Walsham as 'that clumsy technically flawed document that decisively established the fatal connection between deference to Rome and disloyalty to the Queen (Walsham, 1999:14). Even some leaders of the exiled English Catholic community were hostile to the bull, wishing it was never issued. William Allen, Rector of the English College, Douai, wished 'it had lain dead with Pius Quintus the author and publisher thereof, forever', and in a *True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics* (1584) Allen describes how in spite of the bull, Catholics both at home and abroad obeyed her (the Queen) with 'such loialtie as subiectes ought to do their Soueraine'. But Pius V claimed that the bull was issued in response to requests from English Catholics, and he could not in conscience refuse it (Allen, 1582; 152). Pius V, by adding injury to insult was probably instrumental in formulating those bestial images of the Papacy and its underlings to be found in

Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, and which are graphic representations of the loathing Spenser felt for the Papacy.

Pius V fuelled the fires of Protestant hatred by his blatant support for Mary Stuart. He gave Mary 20,000 gold crowns, with promises to give more (Montor, 1911:106,107). He wrote to the Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland on February 20th 1570 supporting their rebellion against Elizabeth and lauding their quest to restore the kingdom of England, and liberate it 'from the shameful slavery in which it is kept by the passions of one woman' (Montor, Ibid). Protestant polemics against the Papacy reached a crescendo of vilification, to become a national neurosis in the Papacy of Gregory XIII (R. 1572-1585) in whose times the first books of *The Faerie Queene* were written. Elizabethan-Papal relations then took a down turn for the worse. Gregory XIII was urging Philip II to do his "holy duty" in liberating England (Hughes, 1942:193). He gave his moral approval, and encouragement, to plans to assassinate Elizabeth (Meyer, 1916 : 268, 278). Sixtus V (R. 1585-1590) was the Armada Pope, whose ferocious temper was proverbial. 'All historians agree' wrote Von Pastor 'how impetuous he was in anger... extraordinary severe in all things... of great vehemence of character... terrible... powerful...' But it was his cold hard cash, rather than his hot wrath, that spoke loudest. He put his hoard of five million ducats safely kept at the Castle of St. Angelo, at the disposal of Philip II to finance the Armada (Pastor, XXI,1932:132). Thus the two Pontificates of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V generated such Protestant polemical wrath as was graphically transposed on to the very beginning of *The Faerie Queene*, fraught as it is with pictures of monsters, dragons and serpentine creatures expressive of Spenser's anti-Papal feelings. Spenser's bestial imagery in *The Faerie Queene* reflects the new trend of monster depiction in English writing. Until the middle of the 16th century, established English wisdom identified monsters in substantially the same way it had throughout the previous millennium. But, as Brammal (1966) points out, by 1570 a type of English monster virtually unknown before appeared on the scene. English authors like Spenser, anxiously attempting to express political, religious and social tensions, realized that the language of monstrosity would prove a powerful rhetorical tool. Spenser's transposing his anti-Catholic polemics into monstrous images enhanced the picture story-book aspect of *The Faerie Queene*. An old lady to whom Alexander Pope read early parts of *The Faerie Queene* said that he had shown her 'a gallery of pictures' (Freeman,1970:18).

Spenser's resort to monstrous images early in *The Faerie Queene* reflects the ultra-vehemence of Protestant anti-Catholic polemics aggravated by Elizabethan-Papal hostilities. Though seemingly directed against the Pope as anti-Christ, Protestant polemics' vilifying energies targeted all Catholics, from the Pope to the Catholic man-in-the-street. As Shell (2001:16) points out 'anti-Popery was a shaping factor to domestic, and foreign policy, throughout this period, stimulating precautions which were out of all proportion to any real threat that Catholics could have posed, and... it was a stimulus to imaginative writers'.

Spenser's bestial imagery (see below) reflects the extent to which Papal-led Catholicism was so ardently repudiated. Popery was regarded as being almost synonymous with Satanic evil; being the debasement and perversion of Christ's teaching, with Antichrist, the Pope, being the negative image of Christ.' Spenser's use of bestial anti-Catholic imagery served Spenser's purposes of condemnation. Anti-Catholic imagery occupied an ideologically unique position: visualization of it could be argued to be acceptable, since to visualize it was to condemn it on its own terms. Spenserian anti-Catholic images show how religious iconography is needed so that 'theological concepts may be crystallized and retained'. Clerk (1981:68) states that 'an iconography of religious polemic is needed *to give imaginative substance to hatred*'. All Protestants who believed in idolatry 'thought that it was the distinguishing stain of Catholicism'; and a whole tradition of Protestant writers headed by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* explored the perniciousness of idolatry in imaginative verse '(Shell, 2001:37). Alison Shell refers to 'a small battalion of recent critics' who remind us that Spenser was committed to using verse for religious concerns (Shell, *ibid*). Spenser's usage of verse for religious polemic concurred with the general spirit of the age. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England Catholicism was the enemy against which an emergent Protestant nationalism both defended and defined itself, and which also made its way into imaginative writing such as Spenser's, where disloyalty and idolatry were simultaneously condemned: 'disloyalty towards the sovereign was to the Protestant statesman, what idolatry was to the Protestant theologian'; both identified papalism as a prime Catholic ill' and both statesman and theologian were 'comprehensive accusations leveled against Catholics, acting as unifying theories to explain all manifestations of popish perversity and misbehaviour. (Shell, 2001:109,110).

2. Archimago

2.1. An image of anti-Catholicism in *The Faerie Queene*

Archimago is the hypocritical and perfidious magician in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, seeking from 'his magick bookes... mighty charmes to trouble sleepy minds' (I, I, 36); and, in charmes and magic he is considered 'to have wondrous might' (I, III, xxxviii). Archimago represents, first, Protestantism's main indictment of Catholicism; that Catholics resort to magical spells, charms, relics of Saints, talismans and amulets, and not to, as they should, to scripture-based devotions. This Protestant charge is based on late medieval devotional practices which Catholics perpetuated, way past the Reformation, till late Elizabethan times. Late medieval English prayers, which survive even today in large numbers, were jotted in the margins or flyleaves of books; collected into prayer-rolls either professionally commissioned or home-made, in devotional manuals and commonplace books, but above all else, gathered into Primers, or Books of Hours (*Horae*). By the eve of the Reformation these *Horae* were produced in various; numerous editions, each numbering thousands of copies, ranging in price from pounds to a few pence. These *Horae* contain the heart and soul of

late medieval religion which persisted in post-Reformation Catholicism, and together with what 'magical' accretions as were appended to them, aroused such Protestant condemnation as represented by Archimago. Arising out of the pious practice of individual monks who added the private recitation of the fifteen gradual psalms (120-34), and the seven penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143) to the public liturgy of the seven monastic hours, the *Book of Hours* or "Primer" as it was often called in England acquired, as Eamon Duffy (1992:210) explains, an identity as a separate book, and absorbed other material, most notably the so-called "Little Office" or "Hours of the Blessed Virgin". It appears that Post-Reformation, especially Elizabethan Catholicism had incensed Protestantism by treasuring these primers whose "Little Office" was recorded and widely distributed.

As the late medieval devout laity increasingly sought to emulate monastic piety, the *Hours of the Blessed Virgin* offered both a convenient and religiously satisfying way of sharing in the monastic round of prayers. For the "Little Hours" included some of the most beautiful and accessible parts of the Psalter, notably the gradual psalms "whose humane and tender tone was accentuated by the Marion antiphons, lessons, and collects celebrating the beauty, goodness and merciful kindness of the Virgin (Duffy: Ibid). Devout, literate, lay people gave the primer, dominated by the "Little Office" a central role in their devotions. Some *Books of Hours* (Primers) were lovingly produced and embellished, with gilt initials, jeweled covers, exquisite miniatures; and many surviving *Horae* were designed for a wealthy readership. The advent of printing dramatically widened the access ability of the *Horae*, with 114 editions of the Latin *Horae* published between Caxton's first printing of the *Horae* and the appearance of the first Protestant primers in the 1530's (Duffy, 1992: 211, 212).

It was not so much the dominance of the Virgin in the Latin *Horae* which aroused Protestant wrath, but what was appended to such *Horae*: The sense of defiance in the face of relentless enemies is an insistent and striking feature in prayer after prayer of the *Horae*, many of which take the form of exorcisms or adjurations. Now, the 'magick' element Protestants abhor in Catholic prayer lies in the re-direction of prayer from supplication to save one's soul, towards saving one from one's enemies. Richard III had one such prayer copied into his Book of Hours calling on the Saviour to free him from the plots of his enemies.

Many of the prayers against the Devil found in the *Horae* come very close to being spells or charms than anything else. A rubric prefixed to a prayer used by Richard III promised that if used on thirty successive days by one free from mortal sin 'all his trouble will turn to joy and comfort, whether he says it for himself or for another'. Such prayers for the deliverance from evil seem to point to a devotional underground in which the dividing line between prayer and magic is not always clear. The mid fifteenth century Yorkshire gentleman Robert Thornton's prayer against his enemies was found in his commonplace book. Those who recited this prayer, attributed to St. Paul, neither thieves nor enemies in battle would have power to harm them. Those who carried Thornton's prayer about them win favor 'before kyng or prynce or any other

lorde'. A cup of water blessed by reciting the prayer over it would bring safe delivery to women in labor, or, if cast into stormy seas, would quell them. Wheaten bread blessed by reciting this prayer would be a speedy cure for diarrhea... etc..." (Duffy, 1992: 276). The same pattern of apocryphal attribution, supernatural promises and invocations against the ancient enemy, which outraged such scripturally minded Protestants like Spenser occur in the *Horae* devotions associated with the so-called "Letter to Charlemagne", a legend found in dozens of forms in manuscript. It was declared to have been brought direct from heaven by an angel to Charlemagne on the eve of a battle against the Saracens to free the Holy Land. Whoever carried it about and recited it would:

Overcome their enemies, spiritual and physical, would not perish in battle and would not be robbed or slain by thieves. They would be immune to the dangers of pestilence, thunder, fire and water, and would not be troubled by the evil spirits who turned all these to mischief. Pregnant women could ensure safe delivery and the survival of their children long enough to receive baptism by writing the prayer on a strip of parchment and placing it or wearing it round their bellies. The prayer preserved against attacks of epilepsy, ... (ibid)

'What are we to make of all this?' Eamon Duffy asks. 'Here, he answers, 'are prayers which reveal a great ocean of popular belief infinitely remote from Christian Orthodoxy... (they) all seem to point to a *Magical* rather than an *orthodox* religious outlook' (Duffy, 1992:275). Their presence in the Sarum and York *Horae* seem to point to a folk religion 'which owed more to the survival of pagan and *Magical* ways of thinking than to Orthodox Christian piety' .Spenser would have such 'magical' ways of thinking in mind when referring to Archimago's 'magick bookes' with which he troubles 'sleepy minds'. Archimago is not only a condemnation of Elizabethan magical books of devotion. But Spenser seems also to be drawing unseen support from medieval sources that condemn the 'magical' and the 'superstitious' in Christian prayer. *The Doctrinal of Sapyence*, a manual for priests published by Caxton in 1489, cautioned against the misuse of the Charlemagne prayers. Those "that make (such) wrytynges...and seyn that alle they that bere such e...on them not peryshe in fyre ne in water...Alle they that sell it, gyve or leve it, synnen right grievously" (Duffy, 1992 :277). The *Malleus Maleficarum*, the magisterial medieval treatise on witchcraft, and magic, recognized that many popular magical practices had fallen into the hands of indiscreet and superstitious persons (Duffy, 1992 278).

2.2. False pilgrim

Archimago being pejoratively described as a 'false pilgrim' (I, vi, xlvi) is another facet of Spenser's anti-Catholicism in Book I. Pilgrimage was a basic Catholic religious practice and a cornerstone of Catholic belief. Even after the Reformation and well into the Elizabethan era when most of the English shrines were obliterated, Catholic writers exhorted their co-religionists to uphold and venerate the practice of Pilgrimage. Gregory Martin's *A Treatyse of Christian Peregrination* (1583) explains that pilgrimage honors God through visiting the

shrines of his saints, and refers to the three wise men of the Nativity 'that they come in pilgrimage to Christ'. Robert Persons' *A Treatise of Three Conversions* (1603) refers to pilgrimage as veneration of the ancient martyrs and their tombs. 'we keep ether dayes and feasts...we put them in our ecclesiastical calendar and martyrologe; we keepe their reliques; we honour their tombes; we call upon them in heaven to pray for us...all which Protestants do mislike'. Gregory Martin explains that heretical abhorrence of Catholic religious practices such as pilgrimage and honoring of relics arose from 'lacke of faith, and want of deuotion' (Martin, 1583:51). What aroused Protestant objection to Catholic pilgrimage was what was considered to be the spurious nature of the objects venerated in Catholic shrines. In Norfolk, to name but one county, pilgrims went to St. Edmund's church, Norwich where part of St. Edmund's shirt was preserved; to Westacre, where part of St. Andrew's finger was venerated; to the chapel of St. Mary of Pity in Norwich Cathedral where the Virgin's blood is kept (Rye, 1887:173,177).

The legendary or fictitious nature of such relics would render pilgrimage to them, in Spenser's view, as being 'false', hence Archimago 'the false pilgrim'. The only genuine pilgrim, Spenser appears to believe, was the pilgrim to the Holy Land, hence we have a 'good pilgrim', a palmer, in Book II (I, 7). But veneration of Saints was by no means a local or indigenous manifestation peculiar to England, or to Catholic Europe. As Max Weber explained, with the exception of Judaism and Protestantism all religions have had to reintroduce cults of saints... to accommodate themselves to the needs of the masses (Weber, 1965:103). In May 1534 William Marshall, translator of Marsiglio of Padua, issued an English Primer whose preface was a vigorous attack on the legends of Saints- *A prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly Meditation* (Duffy, 1992:382). A violent outcry erupted against Marshall's Primer so that a second edition had to be published in which Marshall had to explain himself:

I dyd not of any perverse mynde or opinion, thinking that...holy saints might in no wyse be prayed unto, but rather because I was not ignorante of the .. *vayn superstitious maner that diverse and many persons have... used in worshyppyng (ibid)*'.

Thus, Spenser's views on false pilgrimage were based on those superstitious elements associated with pilgrimage going back to Reformation times.

2.3. Falsest man alive

Spenser's anti-Catholic polemics as represented by Archimago has hypocrisy as one of its main constituents. Hypocrisy here takes several forms:

- Archimago gives a false sense of piety- 'Sober he seemed, and very sagely sad' (I, i, xxix).
- There is craft. Archimago is subtle, able to insinuate himself into simple hearts: 'Subtill Archimago's... diuelish crafts/ that had such might over true meaning harts' (I, ii, ix).
- He would entrap true religion, Una, whom 'he hated as the hissing snake' and in whose 'many troubles did Most pleasure take' (I, ii, ix).

- He is a master of disguise: 'Some time a fowle , some time, a fish in a lake/ Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell' (I, ii, x).
- He is also a foolish recluse: 'silly old man that lives in hidden cell/ Bidding his beades all day for his trespass' (I, i, 30). How could such a recluse 'Tydings of warre and worldly trouble tell' (I, i, 30) which marks Archimago as representative of fugitive and cloistered Catholicism - 'hard by a forest's side far from resort of people that did 'pass In travel to and fro' (I, xxxiv) underlines what Protestants considered as a 'self-indulgent religiosity, a withdrawal from the active life, which is actually an expression of faithlessness' (Gless, 1994: 76).

Given the aforementioned characteristics of Archimago; hypocrisy, deception, disguise, seductiveness; a question raising itself would be 'who did Spenser have in mind when he drew Archimago?' A suggested answer is: those Catholics who *had* to attend state churches; to disguise their true (papist) convictions, and resorted to deceptive forms of equivocation. Catholic presence in Protestant churches raised the Protestant cry that 'there be many *in* the church that are not *of* the church (Walsham, 1999 :18). Archimago, charged by Spenser as being the 'falsest man alive', is based primarily on hypocrisy- a charge often directed against Catholics attending State churches. Richard Hooker's 1596 *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity* states that the church had not only saints but 'hypocrites and dissemblers whose profession at the first was but only from the teeth outward'. Alexandra Walsham states that Hooker's hypocrites and dissemblers 'comprehended unequivocally the church papists of Elizabethan England' (Walsham, 1999:19). Catholics volunteering to attend state churches were under suspicion both of treachery and hypocrisy. An anonymous Catholic publication addressed them saying they will always be looked upon with suspicion regardless of their forced obedience. '...now you perform the true obedience of good subiectes' the anonymous publication states, 'by suffering patiently whatsoever the lawe of youre cuntrye shall laye upon you' (HB, 1587:39). Several Catholic anonymous tracts 'hypocritically' turned a blind eye to Catholic attendance at state churches. An anonymous MS circulating in prisons where Catholics were held suggested that, under duress it was *not* mortal sin to go to heretical churches (Walsham, 1999:51). This MS was widely attributed to Dr. Alban Langdale, then resident chaplain to Anthony Browne, Lord Montague of Cawdray, Sussex. Langdale stated that 'the bare goinge and naked carporall presence' in Protestant churches was in its own nature' faultless, neither explicitly endorsed nor condemned by divine law '(Walsham, 1999: 52).

In Langdale's opinion spiritual responsibility lay primarily with the clerical elite, and Catholic laymen should 'take out a lesson not to be bussye in exasperatinge our adversaries'; that royal servants and aristocratic advisors might go to church without accountability, and that a temporal ruler had the right to command submission (Walsham,1999:53,54). Langdale here was re-iterating the position of his master Anthony Maria Browne, Lord Montague. Montague was allowed a measure of freedom and influence unique for a Catholic peer to enjoy (Manning, 1969:103). Elizabeth was convinced of his deep and genuine patriotism.¹

Montague acted as a breakwater against the rising swells of anti-Catholicism. His power to protect arose from the hard distinction he made religion and politics, representing 'the religious principles of the Catholic Reformation while rejecting the aggressively political overtones that blew out of Philippine Spain' (Manning, 1968:160). Thus, Montague was one of the main figures in Elizabethan England who emboldened Elizabethan Catholics, making them more flexibly ready to attend state churches. 'Church papists' were internally strengthened by Montague's stance, upheld as a model for Catholic self-assertion and confidence by those who frequented Cawdray or had heard of it. The pejorative characteristics evinced by Archimago were those with which Protestants vilified those Catholics who, emulating Montague's example, attended state churches. Such Protestant charges included hypocrisy, deception and falsity. To Catholics lauding Montague's example, attending state churches was an assertion of their rights as English people loyal to their Sovereign. To Protestants like Spenser they were deceptive, time-serving hypocrites. Langdale was not alone in allowing for Catholic attendance at Protestant churches. Thomas Bell, a Church of England curate converted to Catholicism, boldly endorsed the position of devout Catholics who complied with the heretical adversary to protect their families and preserve their property for a future Catholic regime (Walsham, 1999:56).

Spenserian charges of falsity and hypocrisy represented by Archimago were largely based on the disrespectful and defiant behaviour of Catholics attending Protestant services. Bell, for one, in an astoundingly bold and defiant outburst, declared in front of the whole congregation 'I am come hither not for any lyking I have of the sacraments, service, or sermons used in this place.. but only to give a sygne of my allegiance and true loyalty to my prince' (Walsham,1999:27). William Allen advised priests 'howe and where to condescend (to heretical practices) without Synne... not always to be rigorous, never over scrupulous, so that church discipline be not *evidently* un fringed, nor no acte of schisme or synne *plainly* committed...be assured that in most cases of this kind 'tutior est via misericordiae quam justitiae rigoris'- the way of mercy is safer than the rigor of justice. (Walsham, 1999: 63). Catholic casuistry shewed a clear clerical approval of individuals being hesitant to rigidly adhere to a doctrinal position that would cause harassment, hardship, and impoverishment (Walsham, 1999: 64). The casuist advised that Catholics were justified by the laws of self-preservation in showing themselves in state churches during life, or livelihood-threatening situations; or when faced with family and financial ruin (Walsham, 1999: 65). Thus the writings of Langdale, Bell and the Casuists substantiated Protestantism's traditional vilification of popery as an inherently duplicitous and *hypocritical* system of belief (Walsham, 1999: 67). What Protestants saw as the double-faced Catholic was accentuated by prominent Catholics being seen as duplicitous.² Charges of hypocrisy were aggravated by known practicing Catholics making seemingly odd appearances at Protestant churches. William Flamstedd of Preston Capes, Northamptonshire who was 'vehemently suspected of papistrie and volubly defended prayers to Mary, the Saints, and the dead *saw*

no objection to coming to Protestant service every Sunday (Walsham , 1999: 89). Church papists also found Protestant services the most readily available forum to express their ridicule and repudiation of the Reformation.³

But Spenser's Archimago strikes one as being a multi-representational image; one that reflects more than one aspect of Spenserian anti-Catholic polemics. Aside from representing the hypocrisy, duplicity, deception, and a variety of Catholic errors such as 'false pilgrimage', the Arch-magician of Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, we are told, is 'a strange man', 'of whom I can you tidings tell'; a man 'that wasteth all this country farre and near' (I, I, xxxi). Archimago appears to the reader to be a man heavily possessed with arcane, esoteric knowledge, thickly imbued with dark, troubled and troubling nuances. One is struck by his air of mystery; his clever, calculating and sinister nature; a darksome figure with an axe to grind, as if he was nursing troubling grudges that others have yet to fathom. Being the arch-magus, the primal magician he 'induces images of delusion within the imaginations of all fallen human beings' (Nohnberg, 1976: 106). Spenser always made a distinction between magic and miracle, and between black magic and white magic, a distinction fundamental to Reformation theological polemic and which inevitably led to the association of Roman Catholicism with black magic (Brooks-Davies, SP.ENCYC, 1977:106). The fact that popes were identified by Spenser as necromancers suggest, says Douglas Brooks-Davies, that Archimago is a necromantic papal Antichrist (Brooks-Davies : Ibid).

The character descriptions given so far, strongly suggest that Archimago, with his appearance as a fatherly 'aged sire in long blacke weedes clad' (I, I, 29) may have been drawn by Spenser to represent a Jesuit. There is a reference in *Pathomachia*, a university play of 1630 (STC 19462) to 'Archimago the Jesuit' (Brooks-Davies, *ibid*: 53). On Spenser having a Jesuit in mind when he drew Archimago, it is significant that the first books of *The Faerie Queene* were written during the secret mission of the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Persons to England in 1580.⁴

Another two Catholics who may have contributed to Spenser's drawing Archimago as a 'multitude of Catholic sins' was the Jesuit Robert Southwell and his father Richard Southwell, Junior. Robert Southwell was known as a Jesuit to the English government and was closely watched while he was training for the priesthood and while joining the Jesuit order in Rome.⁵ The case of the two Southwells' Richard Southwell, Junior, the father, and Robert Southwell, the son would have given Protestant polemicists considerable ammunition to fire at Catholics for being hypocritical time-servers. Here, it would have been Protestantly charged, we have a church Papist who, through double-faced sycophancy, had wormed his way into the Royal Court; and yet whose own son was a dangerous Jesuit who, as events later proved, would enter England illegally and pose a direct threat to national security(Devlin,1956:91). Richard Southwell was further tolerated at Court for his support of Elizabeth's marriage to the Duke of Anjou, a match which Elizabeth seemed to have favored at the time. Elizabeth favored those Catholics who favored the French marriage. It was

in her interest to keep moderate Catholics like Richard Southwell at hand as useful allies and contacts. In sum, the Southwell case brings into relief a vituperative slant of Protestant polemics which ignores, overlooks, or simply is unaware of basic facts and extenuating circumstances which prompt Catholic 'church papistry, or, in Southwell's case, court attendance: Southwell, understandably, wanted for himself a mere pittance of what his own father, Richard Southwell, senior, copiously enjoyed during the Reigns of Henry VIII and Mary. Given the reference to Archimago the Jesuit in *Pathomachia*; and the character description of Archimago given above; it is hereby suggested that Spenser's arch-magician bears many, if not striking, resemblances to Robert Persons. Persons, to the Elizabethan regime, mirrors Archimago's threatening, sinister, furtive, depraved, bold, bad traits. Like Archimago, Persons to the English regime was a dangerous conspirator who had to be closely watched, and whose villainies were ever afoot and never ending. He had a hypnotic ability to extract recognition, and the dynamism to win the confidence of both Pope and the Spanish king. He felt no compunction in overthrowing Elizabeth's regime, and viewed Scotland as a springboard for any attempt on England, and was heavily involved in the 'empresa'; the planned invasion of England, from Scotland, by way of Berwick, in summer 1583 by three armies of fifteen thousand men each. In a meeting with Philip II before leaving Madrid on April 30th 1583 the King assured him that the Anglo-Scottish enterprise would begin that year. Persons was involved in the attempts of leading Scottish Catholics; Lennox, Huntley, Eglinton, Argyll and Caithness, to convert King James II to Catholicism. On September 24th 1583 Pope Gregory XIII gave Persons a bill of exchange for four thousand gold crowns to provide King James VI with a personal bodyguard, since Elizabeth was busy promoting her own faction in Scotland (Edwards, Persons undated:39,41,52). Persons was so deeply involved in Pan-European, anti-Elizabethan politics that, as Francis Edwards puts it, 'he could no more withdraw from politics than could a walnut shell from a whirlpool (Edwards, Ibid:116). His pet project could be said to have been the conversion of James VI, with plans to appoint an Italian Jesuit, Antonio Baranticollo as private tutor to the Scottish king (Edwards, ibid: 61.n3) More than other Jesuits, Persons notwithstanding his age, was an excellent horseman, which greatly enhanced his mobility, elusiveness, and to the Protestant regime in England, his threat. He was once nearly captured by English soldiery issuing from Mechlin while on his way to Paris, but being a good horseman, 'flew ahead of his pursuers' (Ibid:105) and in May 1585, he was attacked by soldiery while traveling from Brussels to Termode, 'but his horsemanship saved him' (Edwards, Ibid:108).

Archimago reminds one of Persons rather than any other Jesuit. Others, like William Allen were just as involved in "The Enterprise" as Persons was (Williams, 1994:1). But it was Person's character and personality in contrast to Allen's dullness which remind one of Archimago, and which places him in a category of his own among English, and indeed other European Jesuits. Aside from a haunting ability to extract recognition, Persons had, like Archimago, a unique 'gravitas' that attracts, magnet-like, a suspicious, scrutinizing attention

which promptly generates outbursts of polemicism (Houliston, Polemical, 1994:141). Moreover, Persons' gravitas has the ability of generating myths; myths of veneration and edification among Catholics; and, spontaneously, myths of perfidiousness among Protestant polemicists (Houliston, 1994: Ibid). Studying Archimago's manifold forms of perfidiousness remind one of how the Protestant authorities in England viewed Persons, as a Jesuit and an adversary; the perpetrator of those Catholic beliefs and practices Protestant labeled as 'false', 'magical', and 'bad'.

3. The Legions of Sprights- Seminary Priests

In 1574, the first batch of Seminary priests from were sent back to England to help revive the Catholic faith (Knox, 1878: xxxviii). Since 1574 a steady stream of seminarians infiltrated England causing consternation and anxiety; and as their numbers steadily increased, loathing and horror to the English Elizabethan authorities in particular and steadfast Protestants like Spenser, in general. In Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, this horror is reflected in hyper-polemical diction which, fraught with revulsion, is thick with bestial depictions of the seminarians crawling out of the cesspits of Papal iniquity to swarm all over the legs of the Protestant knight:

She poured forth out of her hellish sinke
Her fruitful cursed spawn of serpents small
Deformed monsters, fowle and black as inke,
Which swarming all about his legs did crall
And him encumbered sore, but could not hurt at all (I, I, x i i)

Such lurid depictions of seminary priests reflect how Spenser's psychology was graphically inflamed by his convictions: the deeper, and hence the more polemical these convictions were, the more lurid and bizarre the imagery used to depict them (Reid, 1981: 356). Seminary priests are described as 'Legions of Sprights' that the aged beadsman Archimago 'cald out of deep darknesse dred':

And forth he cald out of deepe darknesse dred
Legions of Sprights, the which like little flies,
Fluttering about his euer damned hed,
A- waite whereto their service he applyes
To aide his friends, or fray his enemies (I, I, x x x v i i)

Spenser viewed seminary priests as over-indoctrinated, over-disciplined volitionless tools commanded by their superior, Archimago, to proceed forthwith to their doom. They swarm, moth-like, into the flames of perdition, and being steeped in Catholic, Papal 'Error' they call their moth-like death martyrdom. All this is due to their being systematically indoctrinated in the hatred of Protestantism. Indeed, Seminary rectors admit this. William Allen, Rector of the Douai Seminary stated clearly that the aim of the College was 'to stir up a zealous and just indignation of the heretics (Knox, 1878: xxxviii). Visual effects were extensively and graphically displayed to help instill the concept of

martyrdom in the seminarians. Walls of European seminaries displayed frescoes of a gory and lurid nature described by an art historian as 'brutal et sauvage' (Male, 1951:110). The most graphic of such frescoes were the 'Pomerancio Frescoes' in the English College Rome which no longer exist but others quite similar to them, also by Pomerancio, are still extant in the church of St. Stephano Rotundo, Rome.⁶

One establishment where student priests were initially selected for future seminary training, and the English mission, was the Novitiate of St. Andrea in Rome. The Jesuit in charge of this novitiate in 1579-80 when the first books of *The Faerie Queene* were written, was Robert Persons (Catholic Record Society, 39, 1904: 201). Due to Persons direct and coercive rule and his overwhelming force of personality brought to bear on the novices, they were turned, in Spenser's Protestant parlance, into little 'flyes' swarming out of Jesuit institutions

The Sprite then gan boldly him to wake

...

Hither (quothe he) me Archimago sent

He that stubborne sprites can wisely tame

He bids them to him send for his intent

A fit false dreame, that can delude thae sleepers sent (I, i, x l i i i)

The novices at St. Andrea were ruthlessly selected by Persons. They were expected to possess and display the basic virtues of obedience, self denial, piety, suppression of personal opinion, discipline, discretion and confidence (Jurado, 1980:89). Spenser's dehumanizing seminary priests into 'flyes' and 'sprights' arose from what Protestants perceived as the horrific fanaticism associated with the Catholic quest for Martyrdom; a quest that persisted systematically throughout Spenser's adult life. At Persons seminary at Seville, five students had died shortly before October 8th, 1598 only a year before Spenser's own death. Their last words were reported as conveying their great sorrow not to have survived to be 'cut to pieces for the Lord's Sake' (Edwards, Persons, undated: 189).

The rationale for this desire 'to be cut to pieces', viz martyrdom, is explained by William Allen (in Knox, 1878). The aim of the college in stirring up 'a zealous and just indignation of the heretics' (see above) was based on instilling into students the extent and nature of the harm inflicted on England by the Protestant heretics. 'We picture to them' Allen explains (ibid) 'the mournful contrast visible at home, the utter desolation of all things sacred which there exists'. The seminary, says Allen (ibid), preaches to students how 'our country once so famed for its religion is now void of all religion; our friends and kinsfolk, all our dear ones perishing in schism and godlessness; every goal and dungeon filled to overflowing, not with thieves and villains but with Christ's priests and servants, hay, with our parents and kinsmen '(Knox, 1878: xxxiv).⁷ To Protestants, Catholic martyrdom was a multi-purpose weapon to be used for political, as well as religious purposes. Seminary priests, moreover, were, for all intents and purposes, well-trained intelligence officers. Students at Douai were

given a thorough knowledge of the Protestant mind, how it works, its nuances and inclinations. 'We make our students' Allen declares 'thoroughly acquainted with the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdities, cheats and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as with their ridiculous writings, sayings and doings' (Knox, 1878 :xliii). What horrified Spenser and his Protestant compatriots was the Samson-like mission of the seminarians, intent on bringing what they perceived as the Protestant Dagon temple of iniquity down upon its heretical worshippers, and themselves.

Spenser's usage of 'flies' and 'sprights' to depict the seminarians was based on the prolific and uncontrollable ways these 'creatures' 'incubated' and 'spawned'. English Catholic households regularly supplied the European seminaries with students, who reached these institutions through circuitous, under-cover means way out of the reach and control of the Elizabethan authorities.⁸

The transportation of student priests, as John Bossy explains, were arranged by merchants and agents operating all along the north-west coast of Europe who knew the world of long-range communication and operated between the Continental network and routes in and out of England.⁹ Thus, Spenser's 'flies' and 'sprights' persisted in breeding. Two decades of Elizabethan surveillance had failed to cauterize their breeding and incubation grounds. They continued to swarm in and out of England, relentlessly driven by the all-consuming urge for martyrdom, which both appalled and disgusted Protestantism simply because there was no defence against it. Robert Southwell in his *Epistle of Comfort* challenges his Protestant persecutors: "you see, when you condemn us, you crown us; when you kill us, you increase us. As St. Augustine says 'the resurrection of immortality sprung more fertility when it was sown in the blood of martyrs' (Waugh, 1966: 228). By comparing their martyrdom to those of Christians in ancient Rome, the seminary priests had, religiously, placed Protestants in a no-win situation. Christians in the Roman World, Catholics pointed out, lived under penal conditions similar to those under which Elizabethan Catholics languished. Elizabethan Protestants saw Catholics as favoring a foreign prince, the Pope, practicing a 'foreign' religion and isolating themselves as an alien part of the population. Christians in the Roman empire were seen as keeping to themselves, scorning Roman religion, and behaving as an anti-social sect. The second century A.D Roman pagan writer, Celsus, writing against Christians, said they formed 'associations contrary to the laws', did not join in public worship; and conducted themselves as an 'obscure and secret association'. Ancient Romans saw Christians (as Protestant Elizabethans saw the seminarians) as 'religious fanatics', self-righteous outsiders, arrogant innovators, who thought only their beliefs were true (Wilken, 1984 :45 ,55,63). What made seminarian martyrdom all the more dangerous to Protestants like Spenser was that it was not to be rushed headlong into; but that the seminarians were instructed to lie low till it was decreed that they should be martyred: 'Though the desire for martyrdom should be constant, fervent, humble and devout' wrote Robert Southwell, 'yet I ought not to take for granted that this inspiration is sent

so that I may know for certain that I am to undergo death in defence of the faith' (De Buck, 1930:109).¹⁰

Furthermore, and to aggravate yet further Protestant consternation and perplexity, there were gradations to seminarian martyrdom, seen by Catholics as gradually ascending phases of suffering, culminating in the final physical termination of life through execution. Only the elect achieved this singular honor. The majority had to be satisfied with unending and miniscule forms of 'martyrdom' consisting of unlimited miseries suffered under the pall of Protestant heresy. In Spenserian parlance, not all seminarian 'sprights' and 'flyes' rush conveniently, mothlike, into self-extinction. Most 'fester' and proliferate underground; unseen, uncaught.¹¹

4. Summary & Conclusion

Spenser's anti-Catholic polemic was heavily charged by the perpetually overstrained Elizabethan-Papal relations which eased only in the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592-1605) who re-aligned himself away from Philippine Spain, towards Henrician France through the Peace of Vervin (1598).

Religious polemic in *The Faerie Queene* renders it a work of sectarian invective, at par with other Elizabethan polemic against Catholicism. In this capacity it sheds light on the anti-Catholic nature of Spenser's Protestantism; i.e. what Spenser *specifically* objected to in Elizabethan Catholicism. First among such objections is the 'Magical' nature of Catholic belief represented by the arch-magician Archimago. Unlike Protestantism, Catholic ritual prayer, Spenser charges, is 'magical' that is, instead of prayer being a pious and direct supplication to the Godhead, Catholics resort, impiously and circuitously, to *talismanic* means to seek what should have been sought by devout Christian prayer. Such talismanic means include, it is suggested, *Horae* and Primers to which prayers, believed to have 'magical' powers, are appended. Such magical incantations are superstitiously believed to confer blessings and ward off calamities. Specimens given of such 'magical' prayers include Richard III's 'Hours' and 'Letter to Charlemagne'. Archimago as a false pilgrim represents Spenser's Protestant rejection of Catholic pilgrimage and saint veneration as an idolatrous, blasphemous worship of mortals when worship is due to the Godhead alone. To Spenser, the only correct, pious pilgrimage is represented by the 'good palmer' of Book II who goes on the only correct pilgrimage, to the Holy land. Archimago, Spenser's 'falsest man alive' is an indictment of Catholicism as being bereft of moral and ethical rectitude. Church papistry; Catholic casuistry; equivocation are but forms of hypocrisy and Time-serving duplicity, all being aspects of falsehood. Spenser, through Archimago, viewed Catholicism as being mendacious and unrighteous by allowing its adherents to attend Protestant churches whose services they abhorred. Archimago is a magician in our modern sense of the word, in that he deludes the eye into believing what he wanted it to believe through deftly-managed deception. In this way he deludes through his 'magic bookes' – *Horae*, Primers, Psalters etc., 'sleepy mindes'. The reference in

Pathomachia, a university play, to 'Archimago the Jesuit'; a play performed within a decade and a half of Spenser's death, seems to suggest that those who knew Spenser when he was writing the first books of *The Faerie Queene* knew that he probably had a Jesuit in mind when he drew Archimago and that this, becoming common knowledge, had found its way into *Pathomachia*.

Spenser's description of seminary priests as 'flyes' and 'sprightes' reflects a Protestant sense of self attrition caused by the Elizabethan Catholic quest for martyrdom. An admixture of horror, disgust and nausea are metamorphosed into bizarre entomological imagery. Spenser, here, is translating Burleigh and Walsingham's, and their spies' reports on Catholic priests' intentions, movements and associations; into lurid graphic imagery. Spenser was pictorially expressing what Elizabeth's intelligence chiefs 'full well knew, but could not so well express'.

Notes

¹ During the Armada he proved his unquestionable loyalty by arriving at Tilbury with two hundred horsemen including two of his sons and a very young grandson ready to do battle for the Queen (Scott, 1854:180,181). He shared the Lieutenancy of Sussex and Surrey with Sir Thomas Sackville from 1569 to 1585.

² Elizabeth Vaux discreetly recruited conformist tutors after being required to notify the Privy Council on the private education of her sons (Caraman, Gerard, 1956:176). William Byrd, composer at the Chapel Royal, a church papist until 1585, thereafter led a double life, 'casuistically combining stalwart recusancy at home with unqualified conformity at court (Walsham, 1999:82). Byrd was perhaps the Catholic most persistent in leading such a double life. He always helped his fellow Catholics by contributing to musical sessions of a distinctly Catholic nature, discreetly, in Catholic houses. A company of Catholics which included Byrd and the Jesuit William Weston met at the house of Richard Bold at Hurleyford on the evening of July 14th 1586, during which Byrd presented a musical performance of his *Psalms sonnets and songs of sadness and piety* (Caraman, Weston, 1955:251).

³ Alexandra Walsham cites the cases of Sir Richard Shireburn, Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Nicholas Gerard. Shireburn, in church, defiantly blocked his ears with wool against the blasphemies of heretical devotions. Cornwallis sat in church defiantly, and contemptuous of the entire congregation read a Catholic 'Lady Psalter' while others were on their knees at prayer in Suffolk. Gerard loudly, and impudently, chanted the Catholic Latin psalms as soon as Protestant services commenced at Etwell, Derbyshire (Walsham, 1999:90). "Parson Howlet's Hypocrites" came to church 'without all reverence... they nodded or slept during devotions... or else were walking and jangling, or occupied themselves in some popish paltry book... and were lying in waite, to stir up strife, and to disquiet the church' (Walsham, 1999: Ibid). Laurence Chaderton exhorted those in his audience at Paul's Cross in October 1578 who merely come to church every Sabbath to hear divine service as law requires to throw off these 'clokes of hypocrasy and wordes of lies' (Walsham, 1999:104). Arthur Dent's fictional godly villager, Philogathius, declared that 'this age indeed aboundeth with many hollow hearted hypocrites, dissemblers and time-servers, which howsoever they make a face, and beare a countenance as though they loved the gospel, yet their heart is not with it. Their hart is with Atheism. Their hart

is with Popery. They have a pope in their belly: they be church-Papists' (Walsham, 1999: 106).

⁴ A Jesuit mission to be sent to England was decided upon in the period between William Allen's arrival in Rome on October 10th 1579, and the date of his departure therefrom, February 16th 1580. Allen, having left Rome, Persons set about forthwith to execute plans for the Jesuit mission. He would go to England as superior, accompanied by Campion. As superior, Persons first entered England on June 12th 1580 by the Dover Calais route. The two Jesuits were everywhere, and Protestant England was astir with this daring mission. By July 18th they were at Hoxton. By mid November the two Jesuits had established a chain of reception points to which newly arrived priests could report for work. On November 16, Campion left for missionary work in Lancashire. By mid April Persons just escaped a raid by pursuivants at Stonor. The two Jesuits were as hyper-active as they were elusive. They preached in the morning, meditated in the afternoon and wrote in the evening. After supper they heard confessions or discussed problems with visitors. They changed their abodes frequently to avoid capture. But in view of the numbers who flocked to them and found out where they were their avoidance of capture was astonishing. Heading for Norfolk, Campion was captured and brought to London on July 22nd 1581 and held in the Tower. Persons had left England and was staying in Rouen in the winter of 1581. Campion was executed on December 1st 1581 (Edwards, Persons, undated: 26, 31) All this furtive, hectic and, to the English government, sinister Jesuit activity took place while Spenser was writing the first books of *The Faerie Queene*.

⁵ When Southwell and Henry Garnet left Rome for England on May 8th 1586 they were seen off early that morning by Robert Persons at the Milvian Bridge, two miles north of Rome. The three Jesuits were watched by an English government agent, probably Jonas Meredith, a shady priest who through Walsingham's European spy network, relayed reports of Southwell and Garnet's movements (Devlin, 1956:97) And yet Southwell, Persons' right-hand man in Rome, and a dangerous Jesuit who was closely watched, had a father comfortably tolerated as a church-papist in Elizabeth's Court, and whose sympathies, wrote Henry More 'lay with the Catholics but he kept away from Catholic services to serve the times instead'. He enjoyed the protection of the law which was willing enough that all who conformed to the Protestants at their prayers should be left otherwise unmolested'. (Edwards, Jesuits, 1981:239) Richard Southwell, Junior, was a church papist between 1577 and 1582 and was one of a small group of Catholics tolerated at Court who included Lord Henry Howard and Lord Arundel. This Catholic circle at court was described by Mauvissiere, the French Ambassador, as being 'in high favor with the Queen' (Simpson, 1859:161)

⁶ George Gilbert, an English layman resident in Rome commissioned Niccolo Circignani, the Pomeranian, to paint the frescoes at the English College. Gilbert had been converted to Catholicism by Robert Persons and consequently developed a desire for martyrdom in the wake of Edmund Campion (Male, 1951: 110) Thirty-five engravings of the Pomerancio Frescoes were collected and published by Jean Baptiste Cavallerius in *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* (1584). A year later Cavallerius published *Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphae*, containing thirty two more of the Pomerancio frescoes (Dillon: passim).

⁷ Allen then explains 'that all these things have come upon our country through our sins'. Thus, sin was the linchpin that bound history to politics, and then to personal salvation through atonement. The ultimate in salvation, to save one's soul, one's countrymen, one's country, is through martyrdom.

⁸ Fifteen year old Robert Southwell and his cousin John Cotton, heading for the Douai Seminary in summer 1576 from one of numerous creeks, channels and inlets of Warblington, on the Hampshire coast, were hurried aboard a barque that was loading such cargoes as salt, kersies or horses; or aboard a vessel that had unloaded and was about to sail (Devlin, 1956:13,14ff). Once on the continent, student priests were promptly collected by contacts and delivered to their Seminaries. Within a few days of their crossing Robert Southwell and John Cotton had registered at the Douai seminary on June 10th 1576 (Knox, 1878:105)

⁹ They arranged passages, gave directions, cashed bills of exchange, received and forwarded letters, gathered news and passed it to Douai, Rheims and Rome. 'Without them' Bossy States, 'the English mission is inconceivable' (Bossy, 1962:47).

¹⁰ Southwell was to prove this. Having landed in England at dawn on July 8th 1586 (Devlin, 1956: 101) He remained at large, and a constant thorn in the side of Elizabethan authorities, till he was captured by Richard Topcliffe the pursuivant at midnight Sunday, June 25th 1592. His execution on March 3rd (February 21st in England) 1595, showed that he had spent nine years at large in England deftly eluding capture. This 'waiting' for martyrdom could be much more a cause for concern to Protestants than a headlong rush into it.

¹¹ Thomas Hyde's *Consolatorie Epistle* exhorts Catholics 'who suffer in the world' to 'content yourselves with this kynde of suffering...this dayly affliction is a kind of martyrdome. They be martyres which be content... to suffer rebukes, reuilles, slanders. This is ye secret martyrdome of the mind, the other is the open martyrdome of the body by death'. The martyr, Hyde explains, much to Protestant anguish by suffering death proves that his will has triumphed over theirs; asserting itself, in spite of death. 'By this the martyrs conquered when they suffered, Hyde explains, that 'though they were killed in body, yet they could not be made to yelde in soule'. The tormentors were overcome because they could not do what their wil was to do'(Hyde, 1580 :F3).

Source

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