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'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England

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> *A Jesuit reprobated* Is the childe of sin, who being borne for the service of the Divell, cares not what villany he does in the world; he is always in a maze, for his courses are ever out of order, and while his will stands for his wisdome, the best that falls out of him, is a foole; he betraies the trust of the simple, and sucks out the bloud of the innocent; his breath is the fume of blasphemy, and his tongue the firebrand of hell; his desires are the destruction of the vertuous, and his delights are the traps to damnation: he bathes in the bloud of murther, and sups up the broth of iniquity: plots, conspiracies, and all manner of mischiefe, are the chiefest aime of his studies: he frighteth the eies of the godly, and disturbeth the hearts of the religious; he marreth the wits of the wise, and is hatefull to the soules of the gracious. In summe, he is an inhumane creature, a fearfull companion, a monster, and a Divell incarnate; therefore to be quite packed out of this our England, to his owne proper center the whore of Rome.
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> Nicholas Breton (*Englands selected characters* (1643), 12)

Published in 1643, this vivid pen portrait in the guise of a witty Theophrastan character encapsulated a cluster of long-standing assumptions and anxieties about the notorious religious order founded by the former Spanish soldier Ignatius Loyola and officially commissioned in 1540 as the Society of Jesus. It gave graphic expression to a sobering stereotype of diabolical deviance and machiavellian villainy that had crystallized in the English Protestant imagination over the course of the previous century. As elaborated in a vast swathe of polemical sermons, tracts, plays, pamphlets and prints, the Jesuit was a puppet of the Counter Reformation papacy and a tool of the king

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of Spain, a crafty dissembler constantly dreaming up treasonous schemes to subvert states and assassinate divinely anointed princes and monarchs. 'Fatall and ominous to all well governed Common wealths', he was also a loyal servant of Lucifer, a chief instrument in his eternal struggle 'to uphold his tottering Antichristian kingdome' and to enlarge 'his infernall dominion' of Hell.[1] Endowed with almost superhuman powers to seduce the unwary, he was 'the Spawn of the Old Serpent', under whose 'gilded and spangled Skin, there lies a poisonous Sting'.[2] Synonymous with hypocrisy and equivocation by the early seventeenth century, the secretive and underhand activities of these 'Romish locusts' and 'pernicious caterpillars' became a focus for renewed hostility whenever events seriously jeopardized the religious and political stability of Stuart England. Re-etched and further embellished at each fresh crisis, the image of the evil Jesuit has acquired the status of an enduring black legend.[3] Forged on the double anvil of xenophobic anti-popery and Protestant patriotism, it neatly fits the mould of the classic folk devil and has been the subject of repeated episodes that bear the hallmark of a 'moral panic'. At such moments, the concerns of politicians, lawmakers, literate commentators and the populace at large have typically converged to produce a potent cocktail of hatred and suspicion and to exaggerate the magnitude of the threat which the Society of Jesus presented to the fabric of English society.

As delineated by its early theorists, the 'moral panic' was at root a pathological phenomenon. Carrying undertones of mass hysteria and collective delusion, the very concept was predicated on a positivist confidence about the capacity of scholars to differentiate 'fact' from 'fiction' that has been rendered deeply problematic by the advent of postmodernism.[4] Recent studies, however, have adopted a more sophisticated perspective and endeavoured to recover the rationality of the spasms of anti-Catholicism that periodically rocked sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English society. Rejecting the impulse to dismiss them simply as instances of popular credulity fuelled by a sensationalist press or manipulated (if not invented) by cynical elites for their own ends, they have sought instead to reconstruct the structure, function and ideological significance of these outbreaks of prejudice. With Frances Dolan, they have fruitfully approached fear not as a cloud or fog which prevents us from apprehending an underlying reality, but rather as the main event itself.[5]

Following in the footsteps of these historians, the present essay re-examines the furore that surrounded England's first real encounter with the Society of Jesus: the celebrated mission launched by Fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion in June 1580. Much ink has been spilt arguing about the nature and objectives of this eighteen-month enterprise. Sidestepping this historiographical minefield, here I shall concentrate on describing the haze of anxiety through which the regime and its subjects viewed the arrival of these Jesuit priests and on identifying the religious, political and cultural

climate in which this developed. My aim is to add some additional dimensions to a well-known story and to augment the picture that is emerging from important work by Peter Lake, Michael Questier and others on the origins, dynamics and contours of the Elizabethan public sphere.[6] Building on their insight that Catholics were not passive victims of the discursive processes that constituted it, but rather active participants in them, I shall also suggest that the Jesuits themselves played no small part in creating and fostering the impression that their entrée into England had precipitated intense alarm and consternation. They had their own reasons for perpetuating the idea that the mission had filled the Protestant nation with trepidation about the prospects for a reversal of a still precarious and partial Reformation.

3.1 The mission of Campion and Persons: Manifestations of a moral panic

It is important to emphasize that England had scarcely any direct contact with the Society during the first forty years of its existence. Ignatius himself crossed the Channel and may have briefly visited the capital while a student in Paris in 1531, but he made no effort to initiate a Jesuit mission to the country until the accession of Mary I to the throne. For reasons which remain disputed, his earnest offers to assist with the restoration of the Catholic faith in her reign were politely rebuffed by Cardinal Reginald Pole.[7] In 1541, by contrast, two of Loyola's followers had been sent to survey the deteriorating situation in Ireland, but they returned to Europe just thirty-four days later convinced that there was little scope for influencing the course of events in this feudal and inhospitable kingdom. Twenty years later David Wolfe undertook an expedition to his native Limerick but the limited mission he initiated here was aborted in 1567. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1562 the Dutchman Nicholas de Gouda had spent three months in Scotland investigating the state of religion at the request of Pope Pius IV. The timidity of the queen inhibited the political impact of his visit and the 'wonder of so strange a monster as a Jesuiste' in this northern kingdom blew over almost as soon as he left Edinburgh for Antwerp. It was not until 1578 that John Hay returned to the country with official permission.[8] A number of Englishmen joined the Society in the 1560s and 70s, but virtually all of these recruits remained stationed in Flanders, Italy or the Holy Roman Empire throughout the early decades of Elizabeth's reign.[9]

Despite the absence of actual Jesuits from England a hostile discourse about the activities of this burgeoning religious order was already beginning to evolve in this period. The very word originated as a term of abuse: coined in the fifteenth-century Netherlands and Rhineland to describe devout busy bodies who practised novel devotions and spoke censoriously of the clergy and ordinary Catholics, the name Jesuit or *jésuita* was readily applied to early members of the Society, who only belatedly embraced

the nickname as a badge of glory rather than shame.[10] It was firmly fixed in the English lexicon by 1561, when reports reached Rome that Jesuits had been the subject of vitriolic Protestant sermons warning of their eagerness to enter the country and wreak havoc with heresy.[11] A few years later Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, railed against them in the course of a dispute with Abbot John Feckenham, cleverly eliding the order with the tribe of Canaanites who were the cursed seed of Cham in the Bible. Horne's attack on the 'monkishe Jebusites' prompted a spirited 'counterblast' from the exiled controversialist Thomas Stapleton, who deftly turned the term back against his 'ghospelling brethrene'.[12] Foreign publications were also contributing to the formation of a negative visual and literary stereotype of the Society: a Bavarian broadsheet of 1569 depicted its members as filthy swine and several French, German and Polish pamphleteers had already made their false teachings (*falsche lehre*) the subject of diatribes by the late 1570s.[13] A Dutch tract translated into English as *The bee hive of the romishe church* in 1579 made mocking allusion to the 'marvellous holinesse of this newe Religion of the Jesuites, never heard of before: who have found out a way of ful perfection, which neither prophet, nor Apostle could never spie out before'.[14] Reformed commonplaces about this sly and sanctimonious upstart sect were already in wide circulation.

This was the backdrop against which Cardinal William Allen and Robert Persons began to urge the General of the Society, Everard Mercurian, to give his permission for the Jesuits to join the stream of seminary priests who had crossed over from the Low Countries into England to succour the faithful since 1574. Mercurian's hesitations about the wisdom of sanctioning such a perilous enterprise eventually gave way late in 1579 and Persons and Campion were appointed to lead the advance guard. They travelled across Europe to Rheims with a small entourage and at St Omer adopted disguises to aid their safe passage across the Channel in June 1580. Dressed as a captain, Persons went ahead, followed by Campion ten days later wearing the attire of a jewel merchant. After a brief stay in London, the pair split up to undertake a missionary tour of the provinces. The leak (or perhaps deliberate release) of Campion's manuscript 'challenge' or 'brag' (a bold defence of his intentions and call for a public disputation intended for circulation in the event of his apprehension) made his return to the capital extremely hazardous and compelled him to lie low in Lancashire, where he compiled his *Decem Rationes*. Daringly deposited in the university church of St Mary on the day of the Oxford commencement in 1581, this was part of an ambitious campaign of propaganda involving both clandestine printing and scribal publication. Persons' own *Briefe Discourse* calling upon Catholics to shun Protestant churches had proved no less inflammatory, not least because of its preface defending recusancy as an act of conscientious objection rather than political disloyalty and petitioning the queen for toleration. The capture of Campion in July of 1581 was at once a serious blow to the

defiant challenge which the two priests had mounted against the Protestant status quo and a new opportunity for public visibility. Humiliated, tortured and on 1 December hung, drawn and quartered, Campion's inexorable transformation into a martyr was the triumphant culmination of a year and a half of energetic evangelical and polemical activity. Like other priests, he turned the scaffold into a stage on which to mount a final protest against the Elizabethan state and to demonstrate the truth of his faith to the assembled spectators. Not long after Campion's apprehension, Persons had strategically retreated to the Continent to pursue other plans for achieving the re-Catholicization of England, but by then two other Jesuits, Jasper Heywood and William Holt, had landed at Newcastle. Others followed, but barely a dozen members of the Society would be present in the country at any one point before 1600.[15]

How, then, did the authorities and English society respond to the arrival of Persons and Campion? What evidence is there that this fostered a mood of anxiety, panic and fear? Even before they set foot on their native soil intelligence sources coordinated by Sir Francis Walsingham were reporting news of their journey. Officials at ports were put on high alert and apparently supplied with descriptions and mocked up pictures of their habits and features to help identify them.[16] After it became known that they had slipped through the net at Dover, attempts to detect and apprehend the two fathers, together with their disciples and sympathizers, intensified. On 6 September 1580, the Privy Council implored Lord Norris and Sir Edward Umpton to take diligent order that 'the places of haunte and the persons of sundry Jesuites and priestes lurking within the countie of Oxon' were thoroughly searched. Other letters written in the autumn suggest that the authorities believed that more than a handful were at large in the realm. Reports from spies on the Continent, communications from magistrates and sheriffs in the provinces and intercepted Catholic correspondence between Rheims and Rome reinforced the atmosphere of urgency which gripped Elizabeth's government.[17] So too did the anonymous papers and verses that were surreptitiously being dispersed along the channels of the Catholic underground. As Campion's 'brag' began to pass from hand to hand in manuscript, the houses of prominent laypeople were raided in pursuit of copies of these fly leaves and other 'lewd and forbidden books'.[18]

Simultaneously, the Protestant clergy began to crank a formidable counter-propaganda machine into action. The puritan minister William Charke led the way in December 1580 with his *Answere* to this 'seditious pamphlet', which viciously blasted these 'scorpions' who sought to poison the ignorant laity with their 'carnall intisements' and compared them with the frogs and caterpillars that had plagued ancient Egypt. He appended to his tract a translation of the former German Jesuit Christian Francken's *Colloquium Jesuiticum* (1578), an insider's expose of the 'pharisaicall religion' of 'a swarme of hypocrites and superstitious men' who cloaked their real

intentions under the guise of 'a feined & painted holinesse'.[19] The Welsh vicar Meredith Hanmer followed suit early in January with a fresh attack on Campion's 'bumbast' and upon an order of friars that he identified as another device of the devil to inveigle the simple. He followed this up later that year with a further set of scurrilous revelations about the 'rable of Locustes' that comprised the Society entitled *The Jesuites banner*, which also contained a systematic character assassination of its founder Ignatius Loyola.[20] Even more vituperative in tone was the Heidelberg professor of divinity Pierre Boquin's *Defence of the olde, and true profession of Christianitie against the new, and counterfaite secte of Jesuites*, translated by a certain 'T. G.' who declared it to be 'very necessarie, and profitable for this present time' to arm Englishmen and women against 'this newe army of Satan'. Boquin's book spared no effort to unmask this offspring of the Romish Antichrist and whore of Babylon. 'The parasites of wicked Popes, ignoraunt princes, and the superstitious vulgar people', these 'disguised Apostles' were the insidious agents of Lucifer's bid to nourish confusion and sow error in the last age of the Church 'under the color of reformation'.[21] Drawing on an older vocabulary of deviance, such works recombined familiar ingredients to flesh out the skeleton of this new epitome of evil.

The apostasy of a former student at the English College at Rome, John Nichols, in February was a windfall for the Protestant cause which the authorities eagerly exploited to cast fresh aspersions on the Jesuits. Alleged to be the 'Popes Scholer' and a renowned and learned doctor of the Society, Nichols' public recantation and the printed version of it that appeared soon after caused a considerable stir in the capital. The renegade proceeded to publish a further tract entitled his *Pilgrimage*, in which he 'displaied' the lives of 'the hypocriticall Jesuites' alongside those of 'proude Popes, ambitious Cardinals, lecherous Bishops' and 'fat bellied Monkes'. This crude exercise in caricature added a fresh element to the mix: it incorporated bawdy and salacious revelations about the sexual misdemeanours of members of the order and their lustful liaisons with courtesans and prostitutes.[22] Nichols, who was in fact a man of humble abilities, was probably assisted in his literary activities by the Protestant officials who stage-managed the sermons he delivered after his conversion at the Tower of London. Even Robert Persons had to admit that the 'tempest' caused by this episode had caused many in the kingdom to waver, compelling him to weigh in with his own 'discoverie' of Nichols' 'rank fraud'.[23]

The Nichols affair followed in the wake of a royal proclamation of 10 January 1581 which called for the arrest of these 'wicked instruments' of the pope and his delegates, whom, it declared, had been sent under the cover of 'a holy name' to corrupt and pervert the populace and foment rebellion in the realm. Maintainers and abettors of these 'vagrant persons' would receive severe punishment.[24] Later that month Parliament debated and passed a bill extending the law of treason to encompass the activities of missionaries who

withdrew her Majesty's subjects from obedience to her to the see of Rome and increasing the fines for recusancy and hearing mass to crippling sums. Sir Walter Mildmay's vehement speech to the Commons provides a clear expression of the impassioned anxiety about the Jesuit that underpinned this fierce legislative initiative. He spoke of the

> rable of vagrant fryers newly sprung upp and coming through the world to trowble the Church of God, whose principall errand is, by creeping into the howses and familiarityes of men of behaviour and reputacion, not only to corrupt the realme with false doctrine, but also under that pretence to stir sedition.

Tools of the papacy and its princely allies, it was vital that these 'runagates' were expunged from the country with the utmost expedition.[25] Such sentiments were shared by Lord Burghley, who would later write in his famous *Execution of justice* (1583) of the 'evident perils' that would follow, 'if these kind of vermin were suffered to creepe by stealth into the Realme and to spreade their poyson within the same, howsoever when they are taken, like hypocrites, they coloure and counterfeit the same with profession of devotion in religion'.[26] The language that suffused these acts, proclamations and official manifestoes provided a rhetorical resource that fed back into the wider anti-Jesuit discourse circulating around them: these authorized articulations of the threat presented by the 'sect' must be seen as lying on a continuum with other hostile representations of the Society.[27] It also set the agenda and supplied the justificatory framework for the public execution of Campion later that year, who was paraded down to London with a paper pinned to his hat emblazoned with the words 'CAMPION THE SEDITIOUS JESUIT' in capital letters.[28] Such forms of street theatre were simultaneously assertive spectacles of state power and Protestant superiority, and symptoms of a climate of fear about the vulnerability of England to a renewed assault by Rome's latest set of envoys.

Both strands of feeling also found expression in sermons, including those preached to Catholic prisoners in the Tower by William Fulke and John Keltridge in May of 1581 and subsequently published for wider consumption. The latter blasted the Jesuits as 'instruments of Satan, raysed up for our sinnes, as two edged Swoordes to rent and cut in peece, the poore Church of England', 'flaming firebrands' who loved the Pope as a terrestrial God.[29] Preachers at Paul's Cross such as Anthony Anderson and James Bisse joined the assault upon the 'late upstart Jesuits' and 'pestilent cancre worms' who troubled the commonwealth.[30] The same message was conveyed in the anti-popish ephemera that flowed from the press between June 1580 and December 1581: three halfpenny pamphlets and ballads with titles like *The rooting out of the romishe supremacy*; *The rippinge up of the popes fardell*; *All shall be well, the pope is now proved vicar of hell*; and *A gentle Jyrke for the Jesuit*

composed by the well known pot-poet William Elderton.[31] Such condemnations of the Catholic cause from 'the tribunal of an ale bench' bear witness to an atmosphere of debate and discussion about the arrival of the Jesuits that penetrated to all levels of English society.[32] Sung to rousing tunes by minstrels and balladmongers, such items both mirrored and moulded a political discourse that was by no means confined to the educated and literate. Frustratingly, few of the 'unseemly pictures' against the papacy and its minions that were circulating at the same time have survived. But a visual satire entitled *A newe secte of friars called Capichini* accompanied by a stanza of verses offers some insight into the flavour of this pictorial propaganda. Directed at another missionary order 'sprong up of late', it warned of the danger these humbly dressed evangelists (which 'doe nowe within Andwarpe keepe their abidinge') presented to unwary Protestants who listened to their 'false tidinge[s]'.[33] Such broadsides helped to give shape to emerging stereotypes and the collective anxieties which they enshrined.

Finally, attention must be drawn to the part played by speech in the formation of public opinion about the mission. At 'ordinary tables and in other public meetings' in the autumn of 1580 there was said to be 'no other talk' but of Campion's brag, and again in March 1581 a gentleman wrote to his cousin in Ludlow that there was 'much ado in London about papists & Jesuites'. A few months later Persons himself was reporting to his superior in Rome, Alfonso Agazzari, that

> there is tremendous talk here of Jesuits, and more fables are told about them than were told of old about monsters. For as to the origin of these men, their way of life, their institute, their morals and teaching, their plans and actions, stories of all sorts are spread abroad … and these contradict one another and have a striking resemblance to dreams.[34]

Remarkably similar rumours had apparently circulated in Scotland in 1579: when John Hay arrived in Dundee 'the word Jesuit was in everybody's mouth' and 'it was reported all over the kingdom that twelve members of the Society' had landed there and 'begun to prove that all the ministers were ignorant deceivers'.[35] Such gossip and hearsay were critical in crystallizing ideas and magnifying fears: to echo Ethan Shagan, every person in the chain of their transmission was participating in a conversation about contemporary religious politics and, moreover, adding to it.[36] This was something of which the Elizabethan regime itself was keenly aware: a proclamation issued in July 1580 clamped down on 'murmurers and spreaders' of rumours about foreign invasion and ordered that they be brought to local justices and punished as 'sowers of sedition' and 'traitorous contagions'.[37]

One index of the sensitivities to which the arrival of Persons and Campion gave rise in English society is the willingness of individuals to report imprudent remarks made by their neighbours. The case of John Pullyver, who

was indicted before the Essex assizes for saying that 'the masse was up in Lyncolneshier very brym' and 'that some did saie that we had no quene', is especially revealing: made on 23 July at Writtle, just a week after Persons had slipped into England, his statement and, more particularly, the reaction of his peers provides a tiny glimpse of the concerns and worries that were coming to a head in local communities that summer.[38] No less illuminating is an episode that reached the ears of the Privy Council in May of the following year. The queen's advisors sent a deputy, Lord North, to investigate allegations that William Shepherd, rector of Heydon on the border between Essex and Cambridgeshire, had 'in sondry sermons' delivered 'verie corrupte and daungerous doctrine, especially tending to the commendacion of the Jesuites (a verie lewde and seditious sorte of Popish preistes)' and that he remained adamantly 'in defence of his said doctrine and hathe procured malice towards the complainaunt'. Shepherd, who had been appointed to the benefice in 1541 and weathered the storm of the repeated religious upheavals of the previous four decades, appears to have been the victim of wilful misunderstanding by a faction of zealously Protestant parishioners intent upon depriving him of his living: preaching on New Year's Day he had innocently exhorted his hearers to aspire to new heights of spiritual virtue – 'to study to be true Christians, true Jesuits'. But his words assumed a sinister meaning in the context in which they were uttered and his 'ill willers' leapt upon the opportunity and accused him of commending 'those Jesuits that were lately entered into this land from beyond the seas' and 'the austerity and holiness of their lives'. Despite Shepherd's earnest protestations to the contrary, Lord North took a severe view of the seventy-eight year old minister's unfortunate blunder: he was prohibited from preaching in the future and restricted to reading from the book of homilies; ordered to recant his speech about the Jesuits; and to pay his accusers £3 10s.[39] The circumstances in which Shepherd clashed with his adversaries deserve more detailed scrutiny elsewhere; here they open a revealing window into the mindset of the godly and of leading figures in the Elizabethan regime at this tense and troubled time.

3.2 Politics, apocalypticism and the threat of popery

We must now turn to examine the environment in which these manifestations of 'moral panic' occurred. As Patrick Collinson commented more than forty years ago, this was a moment when 'Elizabethan policy stood balanced on a knife-edge': domestic politics converged with international issues to make the late 1570s a critical juncture. The ignominious fall of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, after clashing with the queen over the suppression of the prophesyings in 1576 had cast a lasting shadow over the progressive and militant Protestant party that had hitherto dominated at court. The ascendancy of moderate puritanism over which the earl of Leicester and his friends had presided now seemed in real danger of

eclipse, along with their fervent hopes for intervening more proactively in the Netherlands. Changes in the composition of the episcopal hierarchy were threatening the prospects for further reform of the Church and a circle of more conservative and crypto-popish courtiers, including Edward Vere, the earl of Oxford, Lord Henry Howard and Charles Arundell, were rising in influence at the heart of government. In October 1579, when Elizabeth temporarily banished Leicester and Walsingham from her presence and considered the promotion of four Catholics to the rank of privy councillors, 'there was the chance of a real palace revolution'.[40]

A key factor in the shifting kaleidoscope of alliance and patronage at court was the revival late the previous year of negotiations for a dynastic match between the English queen and Francis de Valois, duke of Alençon and now duke of Anjou. The whole notion of a marriage between the English monarch and the Catholic heir to the French throne was anathema to those of advanced Protestant views. In the eyes of men like the London lawyer John Stubbe, whose audacious protest against the alliance in *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* was punished by the amputation of his right hand, it was a heinous breach of divine law and a political catastrophe which opened the way for the kingdom to be absorbed into France. Stubbe's pamphlet struck a chord with a body of public opinion both inside and outside court antagonistic to the marriage, and to the associated possibility that some kind of religious liberty might be granted to Anjou's co-religionists. Oxford and others of Catholic sympathy were in fact directly angling for this with the queen.[41]

Thomas McCoog has recently suggested that the renewal of these marital negotiations was the vital factor that persuaded the reluctant Mercurian to sanction the Jesuit mission led by Persons and Campion. Expectations of a successful French match that would fundamentally transform the situation in England were, he argues persuasively, a *sine qua non* for the reversal of his earlier refusal to permit such a risky expedition. Upbeat reports from informants at home made it seem like a propitious time at which to parachute the Society into the country. In this sense the mission may indeed be seen as a daring religio-political intervention.[42] The leading English Catholics whom Allen and Persons claimed had called urgently for Jesuit assistance may well have included the pro-marriage courtiers Oxford, Arundell and Henry Howard. And here the fallout from the factional jostling that resulted in Oxford's defection from the Anjou camp at Christmas 1580 is surely significant: his confessions and the cluster of accusations he then levelled against his erstwhile friends hinted at just how serious was the current Catholic threat and how closely the Society of Jesus appeared to be implicated in it. Not only was Arundell alleged to have heard mass celebrated by a Jesuit; he was also said to have brought one to see the queen dance in her privy chamber. It is difficult to substantiate claims coloured by malice and said to be 'slanderous', but the very fact of their articulation served to fuel the atmosphere of anxiety I have been describing.[43]

Another element in the chemical equation that created this climate of acute unease was the papally financed and Spanish-backed invasion of Ireland by James Fitzmaurice in July of 1579. Accompanied by Nicholas Sander, Fitzmaurice had called upon the Irish lords to join him in a rebellion against the heretical Queen Elizabeth. The repercussions of this challenge resulted in skirmishes and conflicts that were not finally extinguished until the massacre of a force of Italians and Spaniards at Smerwick in November 1580.[44] The renewed fears of a general revolt and of an invasion of England itself that coincided with the Jesuits' arrival fed into the perturbation that surrounded it. Hearing reports of these schemes at Rheims, even Persons and Campion could foresee that they would be regarded as having been privy to them and that the ill-fated Irish offensive would render their own venture all the more dangerous.[45] This too served to heighten the sense that the religious integrity of the realm was in great jeopardy.

A further piece in the puzzle is the nexus between the concern generated by the arrival of the Jesuits and the simultaneous surge of animus against the 'horrible secte of grosse and wicked Heretiques' known as the Family of Love. Chris Marsh has seen the campaign against this mysterious and secretive group (whose members included several of the queen's own yeomen of the guard), which marked the late 1570s and 80s, as a product of the same worries within the puritan camp that galvanized the drive against papists. Denounced in sermons and tracts, hunted down in the provinces, targeted in a proclamation of 3 October 1580 and the subject of a parliamentary bill that nearly succeeded in outlawing them completely, the Familists, he contends, were 'a symbolic culprit, a punch bag against which radical protestants sought to relieve their hostile anxieties'. They were a scapegoat for the myriad fears of the godly at a moment of perceived emergency and crisis.[46] The chronological link between this crusade and the passions unleashed by the Jesuit mission is, I think, more than a mere coincidence. Both groups operated in a clandestine manner and deployed the printing press with ingenuity; both professed an intense spirituality that their enemies dismissed as hypocritical piety. These similarities were not lost on contemporaries, who regarded these 'sects' on the right and the left as two sides of the same diabolical coin. William Charke yoked the Jesuits with 'the godlesse familie of selflove' as enemies of the true Gospel; Meredith Hanmer was also quick to point out the ways in which the Jesuits 'shaketh hands' with their 'brethren' the Familists, a 'detestable' society of 'like antiquity'; and John Keltridge mentioned them in the same breath as evidence of the trials to which the Church of Christ was periodically subject by the permission of the Almighty.[47] Both were wolves in sheep's clothing. They were the 'false prophets' which Scripture warned would proliferate immediately prior to the end of the world.[48]

This brings us to a context for the clamour surrounding the Jesuit mission that has hitherto been overlooked by its historians. It is all too easy to

dismiss the apocalyptic and demonological language in which Elizabethan polemicists couched their attacks upon the Society as mere hyperbole and empty, if aggressive, rhetoric. We need, though, to take the eschatological tone of many of the texts that the arrival of Persons and Campion engendered very seriously. There is much to suggest that this was a moment when anxiety about providential intervention and the imminence of the final apocalypse reached one of a series of peaks of intensity. The message which some preachers conveyed from the pulpit during this period was fraught with ambivalence: their recognition of the unparalleled mercies and blessings that had been bestowed upon England was tinged with a conviction that its brazen ingratitude and manifold iniquities were drawing down the consuming wrath of God. At Paul's Cross and Christ's Church in January 1581, James Bisse warned his audiences that the Lord stood 'at the doores' and would soon turn their nation into a Sodom and Gomorrah. He would punish it with a famine of the word and cut down the barren fig tree which, after twenty-three years of the Gospel, had borne so little and such bitter fruit. Taking up the same parable as his text in April, Anthony Anderson was no less certain that lack of zeal combined with rampant sin and security had now tried divine patience to breaking point. The Jesuits and other 'Papisticall spirites [who] doe streame out againste us' were just one token that his sharp sentence against England would soon be executed.[49] Keltridge too was of the view that the 'candlesticke' of the true religion might shortly be removed.[50]

The sense that all this was a prelude to the second coming of Christ found widespread expression. At Exeter on 6 December 1579, John Chardon gave voice to mounting expectation that the end was nigh, telling his auditors to trim their lamps like wise virgins and urging them to take careful note of the signs in heaven and on earth that foretold the last days. Thomas Roger's 1577 translation of Sheltco a Geveren's tract on this topic, enlarged the next year, tapped into the same pocket of feeling and was followed by a work on the *General Session* in 1581.[51] Similar sentiments underpinned Stephen Batman's *Doome Warning all Men to the Judgemente* published in March of that year. This was a translation of the voluminous compilation of prodigies by the German writer Conrad Lycosthenes printed in 1557, augmented with many further examples of portents from England and Continental Europe – monstrous births, celestial apparitions, thunderstorms and other strange omens. Batman refrained from deciphering the significance of these phenomena individually, but it is clear that episodes like the birth of a grotesque double-headed baby in Northumberland in January 1580 and the plague of mice and owls which invaded the marshes of Essex in May 1581 carried particular allegorical and anti-Catholic significance for him. He saw them through the same prophetic lens as the popish ass and monk calf described by Luther and Melanchthon in a tract published in England the previous year – as a prelude to the final cataclysm. If his book can be read as 'a subtle sequel' to Stubbe's *Gaping Gulf* – a timely warning of the dangers

of the French match – it must also been seen as a product and symptom of the apocalyptic anxieties which the arrival of the Jesuits arguably served to stimulate and invigorate.[52]

The preoccupation of clerical writers with the 'extraordinary preachers' which God sent from heaven to summon human beings to judgement was mirrored at all levels of lay society.[53] The eighteen months of Persons' and Campion's mission saw a stream of ballads and pamphlets relating news of foreboding phenomena – malformed infants delivered to mothers in Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire; menacing visions of clashing armies and personages clad in black above Brodwells Down in Somerset and the sound of wailing hounds near Blondson in Wiltshire; sightings of spectral castles and ships near Bodmin and Fowey in Cornwall; and the blazing star or meteor that streaked across the sky on 10 October 1580.[54] Summarized in Anthony Munday's anthology of recent prodigies, *A view of sundry examples* and in John Stow's *Chronicles*,[55] these and other portents followed hot on the heels of the minor earthquake that had shaken London and the southeast on 6 April, a 'terrible wonder' that left a lasting impression on the collective English psyche and which was likewise seen by many as a prognostication of the last judgement. Preachers and pamphleteers like Abraham Fleming dilated on its meaning for many months afterwards and there was evidently much 'prophesieng of Doomes day' among the populace. Just the day before Campion crossed over to Dover, an official order for fasting and prayer each Wednesday and Friday was set forth in an endeavour 'to avert and turn God's wrath from us'. The liturgy called for heartfelt repentance lest the Lord quench the light of the Gospel and cast the English people and their children 'out into utter darkness'.[56] Re-situated in this context, it becomes apparent that for many Protestants the arrival of the Jesuits heralded the final showdown between truth and falsehood. Reinforced by the 'pestilent seedes' of Arianism, Anabaptism, Familism and atheism, these were the instruments by which Satan was laying the foundations for his last battle with Christ, the 'laste proppe, and staye' of Antichrist's 'totering and ruinous kingdome'. Buttressed with the relevant passages from Revelation and Thessalonians, this was the language T. G. deployed in dedicating his translation of Boquin's tract on the 'counterfaite secte' to the Privy Councillor Francis Russell, earl of Bedford. We need to take it quite literally. He and others genuinely believed that their world might be on the verge of destruction.[57]

And this was an outlook which Protestants shared with many of their confessional enemies. As Ottavia Niccoli has shown, Italy was awash with apocalyptic expectancy amid the religious ferment, internal political strife and foreign interventions that marked the three decades between 1500 and 1530. Denis Crouzet has found the same eschatological imagination flourishing in France during the late sixteenth-century wars of religion, especially in the circles of the militantly anti-Protestant Catholic League, and, as recently delineated by Geoffrey Parker, it also underpinned the 'messianic vision' of Philip II

of Spain.[58] There are tantalizing hints that the mentality of some Elizabethan Catholics had striking similarities. The 'book of painted pictures of prophecy' Charles Arundell was said to have exhibited at court is one intriguing straw in the wind.[59] Even more suggestive is Robert Persons' recollection, in the life he wrote of his companion in the 1590s, of the 'great motion of minds' that accompanied the Jesuits' arrival in the summer of 1580. According to Persons, the common and 'vulgar sort' of people were 'much moved' and 'amazed' by their coming and uncertain about what might ensue, particularly in the wake of certain 'strange signs and wonders that fell out at that time'. Some said that the deformed births were warnings to the Protestants concerning the 'monstrous doctrine compounded of all ancient heresies' of which their religion consisted and that the ghostly argosies and galleys seen assaulting the fortification in Cornwall signified 'these worthy champions of Christ that were newly come from beyond the seas to batter the castle of sin and heresy in England'. The hounds heard in Somerset were another sign of the power of Jesuit preachers to bark against error and the three dozen figures in black attire and harness which repeatedly encountered a rival force in the sky could be interpreted as the combat between these priests and the ministers of England, a contention that would not cease quickly but 'endure and every day wear hotter and hotter until at last the conquest remain on the one side or the other'.[60] These may have been retrospective embellishments dictated by hagiographical convention, but it would be wrong to dismiss the possibility that some contemporaries had indeed engaged in speculations of this kind. The competing meanings which people attached to these apparitions and portents afford compelling insight into the tensions that fractured the religiously divided society in which they were seen. They reveal in sharp relief the latent anxieties and hopes for which the Jesuit mission became a catalyst and focus in post-Reformation England.

3.3 Catholic apology, appellant propaganda and the making of the Jesuit myth

The arrival of Persons and Campion did, therefore, coincide with something approximating to the sociological model of a 'moral panic'. The concluding section of this essay examines how the Jesuits themselves consciously and carefully cultivated the idea that their first entrance to the country had greatly disturbed the English government and its subjects, and how they sought to shape the historical record accordingly. Both the reports of the mission which they sent back to their superiors in Italy in 1580–1, and the subsequent histories written by Persons and other priests to defend and celebrate their activities, emphasized the commotion their appearance had occasioned. Anxious to vindicate the decision to send them at such a treacherous time, the letters Persons dispatched to the General of the order Claudio Aquaviva, the rector of the English College Alfonso Agazzari, and

Pope Gregory XIII highlighted the natural receptiveness of the English people to their missionary endeavours and described the measures to which the Elizabethan regime felt compelled to resort to discredit them in an attempt to stave off mass defection. Intent upon underlining the purely spiritual nature of their enterprise, they implied that it had deliberately fabricated stories about the Society, manufactured antagonisms about the seditious intentions of the Jesuits that would help to keep it in power. Thus on 17 November 1580, Persons was at pains to stress both the fervour with which the populace had responded to their arrival and the 'false rumours' and 'fraud' which the authorities sought to impose upon it. Playing up the 'great throng' who resorted to the two fathers and the extraordinary zeal of the Catholics despite the intensity with which they were now being persecuted, in a missive written in August 1581, he described the official campaign of calumniation – the parliamentary speeches, polemical tracts, 'abusive edicts' and 'the infinity of lies' contained in John Nichols' recantation – only to underline its ineffectiveness. In October, he told of the 'very large harvest of souls' being gleaned by Heywood and Holt, adding that the more 'their adversaries are in fear for themselves, the more savage they are'.[61] Campion was no less ebullient in a letter that was destined to be frequently reprinted as a sacred relic of the martyr. Commenting on the stir that followed the circulation of his 'brag', he declared 'they teare and stinge us with their venemous tonges, calling us seditious, hypocrites, yea heretikes too, which is much laughed at. The people hereupon is ours, and that error of spreadinge abroade this writting hath much advaunced the cause'. The best efforts of the Protestant establishment to engineer popular animosity towards himself and Persons, he implied, were doomed to failure: the fruit of the mission was remarkable and its momentum unstoppable. So great was the common opinion of the Society, 'that I dare skarcely touch the exceeding reverence all Catholikes doe unto us'.[62]

Scribally copied for wider consumption and written with an eye to the probability that Protestants would intercept and read them, such texts contributed to the construction of a powerful legend about the vital role which the Jesuits had played in rescuing Catholicism in England from terminal decline and in creating a defiant and undaunted recusant community. The impression that their coming had caused 'greate stormes' and that propaganda had been cynically whipped up by Elizabeth's councillors to 'beguile and incense the simple against them' was implicit in the life of Campion Persons wrote at the behest of Aquaviva and in the various memoirs about the mission he prepared in the 1590s. Perpetuated in a range of printed works in the following decades, including William Allen's *Briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of twelve reverend priests* (1582), Edward Rishton's continuation of Nicholas Sanders' *De origine ac progressu schismatic Anglicani liber* (1585) and Thomas Worthington's *Relation of sixteen martyrs* (1601), it can also be found at the heart of Henry More's official history of the English

province of the Society published in Latin in 1660.[63] More opened his book with the comment that 'Of all countries to the north, England was nearly the last to see the Society of Jesus for the first time … it learned to hate the Society before it experienced any real reason for doing so', and he went on to detail how the Jesuits had braved 'the fury of the Reformers to become accepted in that island as indomitable defenders of the ancient faith'. Setting the tone for the self-congratulatory account of the order that followed, he quoted a letter written by Campion on the eve of his departure from St Omer for Dover: 'something positively like a clamour … heralds our approach. Only divine Providence can counteract this kind of publicity, and we fully acquiesce in its dispositions'.[64] By the mid-seventeenth century the notion that their advent had sparked a moral panic had become an integral part of the English Jesuits' self-affirming myth of their own origins.

And it is important to note that this developed in dialectic with a rival myth created by the Society's Catholic as well as Protestant critics.[65] It was a by-product of the bitter internecine disputes in which the Jesuits engaged with secular priests during the Appellant and Archpriest controversies at the turn of the seventeenth century. Present in embryo in the conflicts within the English College at Rome in the 1570s and flaring afresh during the so-called Wisbech stirs two decades later, the tensions between the Jesuits' uncompromising vision of how to re-Catholicize England and the more cautious and non-provocative approach favoured by those who had resigned themselves to minority status not merely provided a fertile breeding ground for the stereotypes constructed by Protestant polemicists, but also significantly augmented them. The vicious war of words that erupted between the two sides extended the black legend of the Jesuits as a 'generation of vipers' and evil conspirators in new directions. The stream of insults against this 'hispaniolised', machiavellian and satanic Society fired by William Watson, Christopher Bagshaw and Thomas Bluet in tracts like the *Sparing discoverie* and *Decacordon* (better known as the *Quodlibets*) was no less if not more ferocious than anything unleashed by the Protestants, who alighted upon these texts with jubilation and relish. Watson and his colleagues were also responsible for translating into English the anti-Jesuit works of Gallican Catholic writers like Etienne Pasquier and Antoine Arnauld.[66] They readily exploited the hostile analogy between members of the Society and puritans, Anabaptists and Familists, sowing further seeds for the belief that radical Protestant sects were the stooges of the Jesuits which flowered so extravagantly in the minds of men like William Prynne in the 1640s and 50s.[67] The caricature of the cunning plotter who hid his real intentions beneath a veneer of feigned sanctity they helped to elaborate has itself been seen as 'a personification or incarnation of the Appellants' fears', 'a concrete embodiment' of the ideological and psychological strains of the situation in which they found themselves at the end of Elizabeth's reign. In short, it too was a folk devil.[68]

In his controversial exploration of the workings of fear, myth and history in mid seventeenth-century England, J. C. Davis proposed that the Ranters were not a real religious movement but rather a projection of a cluster of potent anxieties about political strife, religious chaos, moral degeneration and gender inversion. They were a symbol of the maxim that if deviance does not exist, it is often necessary to invent it.[69] A rather different case has been argued here: the 'moral panic' that surrounded the Jesuit mission was not a malignant fantasy or phobia stirred up by vociferous commentators and a sensationalist press; it reflected instead sentiments and assumptions that were shared by a substantial cross section of English society and which bore witness to a widespread and well-grounded conviction, inflected with apocalyptic feeling, of the vulnerability of this young Protestant nation to domestic rebellion and foreign intervention.[70] In the process we have gained further insight into the texture and workings of the Elizabethan public sphere, and the capacity of Catholics not just to engage in but also actively to shape it. This had contemporary repercussions and it has also left lasting historiographical legacies. The echoes of the mutual conspiracy theories to which the mission gave rise that have lingered on in modern historical narratives are not merely a measure of the enduring power of confessional passions and prejudices.[71] They also remind us of how far we are at the mercy of the documentary artefacts people in the past left behind, and of the spectacles through which they refracted events. This essay has not sought to penetrate behind, so much as to analyse and to describe them.

Notes

I am grateful to Patrick Collinson and Anne Dillon for comments on a draft of this essay and to the editors for their patience.

1. Lewis Owen, *Speculum Jesuiticum, or the Jesuites looking-glasse* (1629), 1, 20–1.
2. *The character of a Jesuit* (1681). See also John Taylor, *A delicate, dainty, damnable dialogue. Between the devil and a Jesuite* (1642); *The Jesuits character* (1642); *The Jesuite and Prieste discovered* (1663).
3. See J. C. Aveling, 'The Jesuit in Literature', in *The Jesuits* (1981), ch. 1; Sydney Anglo, 'More Machiavellian than Machiavel: A Study of the Context of Donne's *Conclave*', in A. J. Smith (ed.), *John Donne: Essays in Celebration* (1972), 349–84; Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1993); Peter Burke, 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes', in Simon Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), 165–82; Eric Nelson, 'The Jesuit Legend: Superstition and Myth-Making', in Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (eds), *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (Manchester, 2002), 94–115; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourse in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, 2005), 42–53; Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories* (2005), ch. 5.

4. Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (1972); Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (Oxford, 1994); Kenneth Thompson, *Moral Panics* (1998); Chas Critcher, *Moral Panics and the Media* (Buckingham, 2003). See above, chs 1–2 for further discussion.
5. For some classic studies, see Carol Z. Wiener, 'The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), 27–62; Robin Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), 23–55; Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642* (1989), 72–106. Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), 5.
6. See Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History,* 72 (2000), 587–627; Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005), ch. 6. On Catholics as part of the political nation, see Ethan H. Shagan, 'Introduction', in Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005).
7. See Thomas F. Mayer, 'A Test of Wills: Cardinal Pole, Ignatius Loyola, and the Jesuits in England', in Thomas M. McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), 21–37; Thomas McCoog, 'Ignatius Loyola and Reginald Pole: A Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiasical History,* 47 (1996), 257–73; Thomas McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541–1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding'* (Leiden, 1996), 24–39.
8. See McCoog, *Society of Jesus,* 14–22, 52–61, for an account of these missions. On Scotland, see Michael Yellowlees, *'So Strange a Monster as a Jesuite': The Society of Jesus in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Argyll, 2003), chs 2, 4. The quotation is from a letter of Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil of 1 August 1562: J. H. Pollen (ed.), *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots During her Reign in Scotland 1561–1567* (Edinburgh, 1901), 142.
9. McCoog, *Society of Jesus*, 78, 101.
10. Aveling, *Jesuits*, 20.
11. McCoog, *Society of Jesus*, 101. See also OED, *s.v.* 'jesuit' and 'jesuitical'.
12. Thomas Stapleton, *A counterblast to M. Hornes vayne blaste against M. Fekenham* (Louvain, 1567), fol. 533 [*vere* 541]–542r.
13. David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825* (Berkeley, CA, 1973), 31–2. Foreign publications include Lukas Osiander, *Falsche Lehre der Jesuiten* (1568); Johann Fischart, *Fides Jesu et Jesuitarum* (1573), Pierre Boquin, *Assertio contra jesuitismum* (1576) and Jan Niemojewski, *Diatribe* (1577): see Burke, 'Black Legend', 181.
14. Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *The bee hive of the romishe church,* trans. George Gilpin (1579), fols. 20v–21r.
15. See McCoog, *Society of Jesus,* ch. 4 for a detailed account. On the way in which Catholic martyrs appropriated the scaffold, see Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 153 (1996), 64–107.
16. See Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, Stonyhurst MS Grene P, edited as Robert Persons, 'Of the Life and Martyrdom of Father Edmond Campion', *Letters and*

Notices, 57 (1877), 219–42; 58 (1877), 308–39; 59 (1878), 1–68, quotation at p. 14. All subsequent quotations are from issue 59.

17. John Roche Dasent et al. (eds), *Acts of the Privy Council of England 1542–1631,* (1890–1964), xii, 198 and see also p. 271. See also R. Lemon and M. A. E. Green (eds), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1547–1580* (1856), 672, 676; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581–90* (1865) 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 21, 31.
18. *Calendar of State Papers 1547–1580,* 688. See also Patrick Ryan (ed.), 'Some Correspondence of Cardinal Allen, 1579–85, from the Jesuit Archives', *Miscellanea VII*, Catholic Record Society 9 (1911), 31.
19. William Charke, *An answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite* (1580), sigs A8r, B1v, B8v, and passim. Francken's *Conference or Dialogue discovering the sect of Jesuites* (1580) was appended to it: quotations at sigs F8r, F3r.
20. Meredith Hanmer, *The great bragge and challenge of M. Champion* (1581), quotation at sig. A3r and *The Jesuites banner* (1581), quotation at sig. A2v.
21. Boquin, *Defence of the olde, and true profession of Christianitie* (1581), sigs A1v, A2v, pp. 74, 148, 160, and passim.
22. *A declaration of the recantation of John Nichols* (1581); *John Nichols pilgrimage* (1581), esp. sigs I1v–7r. See L. Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., vol. I to 1588*, Catholic Record Society 39 (1942), 85.
23. See J. H. Pollen (ed.), 'The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons', in *Miscellanea II*, Catholic Record Society 2 (1906), 181–2, and *Miscellanea IV*, Catholic Record Society 4 (1907), 7–9. Robert Persons, *A discoverie of I. Nichols minister, misreported a Jesuite, lately recanted in the tower of London* ([1581]).
24. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven, CT, 1964–9), ii. 481–4.
25. 23 Eliz.1, c.1; T. E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, vol. I *1558-1581* (Leicester, 1981), 504–5, and see 528.
26. William Cecil, *The execution of justice in England* (1583), fol. B1r .
27. Cf. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon,* 31–2.
28. Ryan, 'Correspondence of Cardinal Allen', 99; Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials,* 92–3.
29. William Fulke, *A sermon preached upon Sunday being the twelfth of March anno 1581* (1581); John Keltridge, *Two godlie and learned sermons* (1581), sigs A2v, D4v and passim.
30. James Bisse, *Two sermons preached, the one at Paules Crosse the eight of Januarie 1580* (1581); Anthony Anderson, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, the 23 of* Aprill (1581), quotations at sigs A7v, G5v.
31. See the entries in Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640,* (1875–94), ii. 371, 387, 397 and 388 respectively.
32. As described by Persons, *Discoverie*, sig. M6r.
33. As mentioned by Persons: Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials,* p. 60. *A newe secte of friars called Capichini* ([London?, 1580]).
34. Persons, 'Of the Life … of Campion', 62; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581–90,* p. 10; Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials*, 83.
35. W. Forbes-Leith (ed.), *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI* (1889), 145.
36. Ethan H. Shagan, 'Rumours and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII', in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), 31 and 30–66. See also Burke, 'Black Legend', 172–3.
37. Hughes and Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* ii. 469–71.

38. J. S. Cockburn (ed.), *Calendar of Assize Records: Essex Indictments: Elizabeth I* (1978), 203.
39. *Acts of the Privy Council,* vol. xiii *1581–1582,* p. 56; F. S. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder. Mainly from Essex Sessions and Assize Records* (Chelmsford, 1970), 48–9. On Shepherd's troubles, see the extended discussion in Mark Byford, 'The Price of Protestantism: Assessing the Impact of Religious Change on Elizabethan Essex: The cases of Heydon and Colchester, 1558–1594', (unpubl. Oxford DPhil thesis, 1989). On North, an ally of Leicester and a stout supporter of puritan preachers, see John Craig's entry in the *ODNB*.
40. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), 198, 200 and 191–207 passim.
41. See Natalie Mears, 'Counsel, Debate and Queenship: John Stubbe's *The discoverie of a gaping gulf,* 1579', *Historical Journal,* 44 (2001), 629–50; Mears, *Queenship,* 199–203. For this context, see also Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's* Arcadia *and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, CT, 1996).
42. Thomas M. McCoog, 'The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579–1581', *Catholic Historical Review,* 87 (2001), 185–213; Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere"', 612–25. See also John Bossy, 'English Catholics and the French Match', *Recusant History*, 5 (1959), 2–16. To speak of the mission as a religio-political enterprise is to open a large can of worms. For recent interventions in this ongoing debate, see Michael L. Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581', *Historical Journal,* 37 (1994), 761–74; Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot, 2007), ch. 2. On Persons, see also John Bossy, 'The Heart of Robert Persons', in Thomas M. McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), 141–58.
43. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581–90*, pp. 38–9. On Oxford's defection, which was prompted by Leicester, see McCoog, 'English Jesuit Mission', 202–3.
44. McCoog, *Society of Jesus*, 116–18.
45. See Persons, 'Of the Life of … Campion', 11. For the rumours see Hughes and Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ii. 469–71.
46. Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge, 1994), ch. 5, quotation at 126.
47. Charke, *Answere*, 'To the Reader'; Hanmer, *Jesuits banner*, sig. A3r–v; Charke, *Great bragge*, p. 3; Keltridge, *Two godlie and learned sermons*, sig. 4v. John Calvin linked Anabaptists with the Jesuits: *The institution of Christian religion* (1561), fol. 127r.
48. Matthew 7.15.
49. Bisse, *Two sermons*, sigs E1r, G3v–4r and passim; Anderson, *Sermon*, sig. A7r–v.
50. Keltridge, *Two godlie and learned sermons*, sig. 3r.
51. John Chardon, *A sermon preached in St. Peters Church in Exceter* (1580); Sheltco a Geveren, *Of the ende of this world, and the seconde commyng of Christ,* trans. Thomas Rogers (1577 and 1578); Thomas Rogers, *The general session* (1581). For the context, see Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth-Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Abingdon, 1978), esp. chs 8–9; Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford, 1979).
52. Stephen Batman, *The doome warning all men to the judgemente* (1581), citations at 408, 439. See John R. McNair's introduction to his facsimile edition (Delamar, NY, 1984), p. viii. Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, *Of two woonderful popish*

monsters to wyt, of a popish asse which was found at Rome in the riuer of Tyber, and of a monkish calfe, calved at Friberge in Misne, trans. John Brooke (1579). On German prodigy literature in this period, see Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, CA, 1988).

53. Anderson, *Sermon,* sig. F7v.
54. See Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 371, 372, 378, 379, 385, 392.
55. Anthony Munday, *A view of sundry examples* (1580); John Stow, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ* (1580), 1209–15.
56. For the reaction to the earthquake, see my *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 130–5. Abraham Fleming, *A bright burning beacon* (1580), sig. O4v and passim; W. K. Clay (ed.), *Liturgical Services: Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1847), 562–75, at 575.
57. Boquin, *Defence*, dedicatory epistle. An elaborately illustrated copy of Paul Grebner's Latin prophecy dating from *c.* 1574–1586 includes a depiction of a snake ('Jesuitas') being consumed by a stork: Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R. 16. 22, fol. 365r.
58. Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ, 1987); Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525–vers 1610)*, (Champ Vallon, 1990), esp. vol. ii, chs 16–18; Geoffrey Parker, 'The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), 167–221.
59. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581–1590*, p. 38.
60. Persons, 'Of the Life … of Campion', ch. 20, pp. 22–7. For later confirmation of the link between the earthquake and the arrival of Persons and Campion, see John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (1624), p. 54.
61. Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials,* 54–62, 83–90, 107–8. See also the Annual Letter for 1580–1, which was probably written by Persons, printed in Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (1877–84), iii. 37–41.
62. Printed in William Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of twelve reverend priests* (1908 edn; first publ. Rheims, 1582), 23, 25; cf. Persons' comment in Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials*, 59.
63. Persons, 'Of the Life … of Campion'; Pollen (ed.), 'Memoirs of Father Robert Persons', *Miscellanea II*, pp. 177 and 177–85 passim; Allen, *Briefe historie*; Nicholas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism. Published AD 1585, with a Continuation of the History, by Rev. Edward Rishton*, ed. David Lewis (1877), esp. 309–11; Thomas Worthington, *A relation of sixtene martyrs* (Douai, 1601), 53–4.
64. Francis Edwards (trans. and ed.), *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu (1660)* (Chichester, 1981), 10, 41, 77. On Jesuit historiography, see John O'Malley, 'The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where does it Stand Today?', in John O'Malley et al. (eds), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Societies and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto, 1999), 3–37, esp. 4–11.
65. A point made by Nelson, 'Jesuit Legend', 95.
66. For an overview of the literature generated by this dispute, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (1977), 116–26. For a Protestant taking advantage of the controversy, see Thomas Bell, *The anatomie of popish tyrannie* (1603).
67. See William M. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne 1600–1669* (London and Toronto, 1963), ch. 6, esp. 140–3. This fear is also given expression in *A catalogue of the severall*

sects and opinions in England and other nations (1647) and [John Moon], *A Jesuitical designe discovered: in a piece called, the quakers pedigree* (1674).

68. Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (1979), ch. 5, quotation at 180.
69. J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge, 1986).
70. Cf. Jonathan Scott, 'England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot', in Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), 107–31.
71. For some representative Protestant and Catholic expressions, see H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'Twice Martyred: The English Jesuits and their Historians', in *Historical Essays* (1957), 113–18 and Leo Hicks, *An Elizabethan Problem* (1964) and Francis Edwards, *The Jesuits in England: From 1580 to the Present Day* (Tunbridge Wells, 1985) respectively.