"And Touching Our Society"

Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England

A proper understanding of Elizabethan England, scholars now realize, requires careful consideration of the previously maligned and marginalized Catholic perspective. Elizabethan Jesuits, albeit few in number, loom large in this perspective because of their spiritual writings, controversial treatises, devotional poetry, and archival remains, as well as the "moral panic" occasioned by their reputation within the Elizabethan government. England provided the new Society of Jesus with unique opportunities and special challenges. The few Jesuits within the kingdom lived and worked clandestinely, oftentimes in great fear and without the safety of a religious community, an ecclesiastical structure, and government approbation. They had to adapt all aspects of their lives - from living conditions to religious attire - because of the many obstacles arising from their work in uncharted territory. Talented Jesuits such as the multi-faceted Robert Persons, the charismatic Edmund Campion, and the lyrical Robert Southwell, in person and by press, consoled the suffering English Catholics, confounded erroneous opinions, and forged a corporate identity despite missteps of colleagues such as James Bosgrave and Jasper Heywood. The articles collected here, some of which appear in English for the first time, consider different aspects of their ministries as they formulated positions on occasional conformity to the Established Church, martyrologies, succession to the English throne, and religious involvement in political matters, as well as the difficulty of maintaining the support of their often perplexed continental colleagues.

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Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England

Thomas M. McCoog



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MANUFACTURED IN CANADA

Dedicated to my sisters

Barbara McCoog Wilson (1936–1987) Geraldine McCoog Carman (1933–2000)

to my nephew

James David Moore (1954–2009)

to my colleague

László Szilas, SJ (1927–2012)

to my teachers

Father Richard A. Farrant (1916–1995) Josephine Serbin Speranzo (1916–2011) Dr Edward G. Sutula (1920–2012)

and to my friends

William Joseph Sproat, Jr. (1947–1970) John P. Majka (1944–1985) Monsignor J. Clement Bennington (1914–2006) René Jacques Gunning (1922–2006)

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Preface

Of the thirteen articles collected here, earlier versions of ten were previously published. Of the ten, one was translated into Spanish; the original English version appears here for the first time. I have re-worked each article, at times significantly. Much background information, necessary for a stand-alone article, has been eliminated as needless repetition. Bibliographical references have been updated, some interpretations nuanced, and a few errors, grammatical and historical, corrected. All passages in foreign languages have been translated. In the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, previous archivists built up an invaluable collection of transcripts and translations. Among the transcribers and translators were John Hungerford Pollen, SJ, Leo Hicks, SJ, Basil FitzGibbon, SJ, Francis Edwards, SJ, Philip Caraman, SJ, and, arguably the most comprehensive, Penelope Renold. I frequently used and adapted their work. For previously untranslated material I acknowledge assistance from Gerard Kilroy, Aloysius P. Kelley, SJ, and Claude Pavur, SJ, for Latin documents; and Antonio Maldonado, SJ, for Spanish. I thank John LaRocca, SJ, and Michael Questier for their helpful comments. The anonymous readers of the edited manuscript recommended that I venture into the unknown sea of literary criticism. Paulina Kewes kindly guided me through its perilous waters. Nicoletta Basilotta, Caterina Talloru, Robert Danieluk, SJ, Mauro Brunello, and James F.X. Pratt, SJ, of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; James Hodkinson, SJ, Anna Edwards, and Mihaela Repina of Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu facilitated my research. Once again Andrea Campana demonstrated her indefatigability by proofreading and indexing the collection.

An earlier version of Chapter One appeared in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture* 1573–1580, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, SJ (Rome/St Louis, 2004), 645– 673; of Chapter Two in *Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001): 185–213; of Chapter Four in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 899–913; of Chapter Five in *Jezuicka Ars Historica*, ed. Marek Inglot, SJ, and Stanisław Obirek, SJ (Kraków, 2001), 355–375; of Chapter Six in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 63 (1994): 101–124; of Chapter Seven in *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg, SJ*, ed. Thomas M. Lucas, SJ (Chicago, 2003), 327–364; of Chapter Nine in Spanish in *Los Jesuitas en Andalucía: Estudios conmemorativos del* 450 aniversario de la fundación de la provincia, ed. Wenseslaus Soto Artuñedo, SJ (Granada, 2007), 163–185 and in Hungarian in *Historicus Societatis Iesu: Szilas László emlékkönyv*, ed. Antal Molnár (Budapest, 2007), 151–168; of Chapter Ten in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 73 (2004): 149–220; of Chapter Twelve in *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester, 2005), 95–127; and of Chapter Thirteen in *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale* 1601–2001; *Guerra, Política, Exilio y Religión*, ed. Enrique García Hernán, Miguel Ángel de Bunes, Óscar Recio Morales, and Bernardo J. García García (Madrid, 2002), 23–38. I thank the editors and the publishers for their permission to publish different versions of their articles.

Finally I am grateful to Thomas S. Freeman, Ann M. Hutchinson, and Alison Shell for their encouragement and their inclusion of this edition in their series, and Fred Unwalla for overseeing publication.

Abbreviations

AAW	London, Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu
ARCR	The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Refor-
	mation between 1558 and 1640. Ed. A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers.
	2 vols. Aldershot: Scolar, 1989–1994.
ABSI	London, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BIHSI	Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu
BL	London, British Library
CRS	Catholic Record Society
CSP Domestic	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI,
	Mary, Elizabeth, Preserved in the Public Record Office. Ed. Robert
	Lemon and Mary Anne Everett Green. 12 vols. London: Long-
	man, 1856–1872.
CSP Foreign	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth. Ed.
	Joseph Stevenson et al. 23 vols. in 26 pts. London: Longman;
	HMSO, 1863–1950.
CSP Simancas	Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Pre-
	served Principally in the Archives of Simancas. Ed. Martin A.S.
	Hume. 4 vols. London: HMSO, 1892–1899.
CSP Scotland	Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen
	of Scots, 1547-1603. Ed. Joseph Bain et al. 13 vols. in 14 pts. Edin-
	burgh: H.M. General Register House; HMSO, 1898–1969.
MHSI	Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
Mon. Angl.	Monumenta Angliae. Ed. Thomas McCoog, SJ, and László Lukács,
	SJ, with the third vol. 3 vols. MHSI 142, 143, 151. Rome: Institu-
	tum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1992–2000.
num(s).	number(s)
0.5.	old style

RSTCA Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ire-
land and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640. Ed. A.W. Pol-
lard and G.R. Redgrave. 2nd. ed. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical
Society, 1976–1991.TNAKew, The National Archives of the United Kingdom