Stage Devils in English Reformation Plays

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I

The More Things Change. . . . Prevailing conceptions of stage devils in early English drama derive from patterns of critical interpretation that were established early in the twentieth century. Most influential in forming these patterns was E. K. Chambers, but Chambers was assisted to varying degrees by W. W. Greg, A. W. Pollard, and W. W. Skeat. Pollard's *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes* went through eight editions in a little under forty years (1890 to 1927), becoming the standard anthology for students, who used it until well past the middle of the century. Pollard judged the late morality plays severely; he rejected their penchant for personification because it tended "to didacticism and unreality," and was therefore "wholly undramatic," with the result that "the popularity of the later Morality significantly coincided with the dullest and most barren period in the history of English literature."[1]

Pollard's view was not seriously challenged until seventy years after his first edition, in the work of Bernard Spivack and David Bevington, who both in various ways vindicated dramatic personification and the Vice in particular. Yet even in their important revision of the critical tradition, they supported an evolutionary teleology that had been established by Chambers. Spivack's interest in distinguishing personifications from flesh-and-blood characters was dictated by his thesis about the influence of the Vice on late Elizabethan dramatic characterization, and he therefore exaggerated the place of devils in the mystery plays while understating it in moralities: "The Devil, who in the Christian mythos is the father of evil, has only a negligible place in the morality drama. In the cyclical mysteries and in the miracles he is a familiar personage." Only two plays among those that Spivack designated as "miracles" (usually now called saint plays)

are in fact extant in English, and devils are a late addition to one of them, the Digby *Conversion of St. Paul*, so Spivack's generalization concerning the miracle plays is based on an extremely small, and likely unrepresentative, sample. According to Spivack, devils appear in "only nine of the almost sixty surviving" morality plays,[2] but he does not note that this proportion is about the same as the proportion of pageants that include devils in each of the extant mystery cycles.[3]

If the devils in Protestant morality plays are approached without evolutionary assumptions, continuity with earlier devils is apparent and more important than Chambers's account would suggest. The principal difference is not a gradually evolving secularism but the sudden impact of the Protestant Reformation.[4] Devils that appear in Protestant plays are no less morally and spiritually serious than devils in pre-Reformation drama, but the assumptions that motivate them are radically new. The earliest Protestant dramatists, John Bale and John Foxe, were themselves formed by traditional religion—that is, by pre-Reformation Christian faith and practice.[5] Bale in fact spent more than twenty-five years as a Carmelite friar until his conversion to the reformed view in 1533. Bale and Fox therefore understood the Devil's traditional role in cosmic history, in the life of the community, and in the individual Christian's life, and they also understood how that role was embodied in drama.[6]

Early Reformation dramatists' deliberate attempt to redefine the Devil's role was no mean task, but ultimately it succeeded, even if it did so by compromise, in the manner of the English Reformation as a whole. Demolishing prevailing views through satire and iconoclasm was only the first step. Putting something new in place required the ability to assign new meaning and impose a new shape on ecclesiastical, liturgical, and dramatic tradition, to master assiduous historical scholarship according to the new humanist model, to put scholarship to work in winning hearts and minds, to reinvent dramatic convention, and to persevere in all this against overwhelming resistance, both official and popular. The task succeeded when political events eventually took a decisive turn in the reformers' favor, so that their innovations became an established tradition in their own right. The reformers' opponents' effort to preserve and renew the old faith, including its emphasis on traditional devils, was no less determined, and throughout most of the sixteenth century it was not clear which view was going to prevail. When the reformers finally triumphed, their effort effectively determined the future of

English religion and English drama, and subsequent history has been written mostly by the victors. Eventually these came to include Whig historians and, in the fullness of time, E. K. Chambers.

Rather than standing in the way of new belief and practice, then, the coherence of traditional religion enabled reformers to construct an equally coherent view of their own, which in many respects was a mirror image of what they had rejected. Though traditional religion judged reformed views to be heretical (i.e., to stand morally and spiritually outside the sacral community), reformers did not abandon the concept of heresy. Instead, they defined traditional views as heretical and their own as true. The reformers' debt to traditional religion is evident in the extent to which they reproduced a variation of it. Tolerance was not their aim; that would come with enlightened skepticism about religion itself. What the Reformers invented, out of a system of absolute differences, was a new system of absolute differences that inverted the system they had received.

Many traditional ideas, then, including traditional ideas of the Devil as the enemy of Christian community and its sacral cohesion, were not only preserved by the reformers but were modified by them to distinguish the old from the new. We can see this process at work in the earliest Protestant plays, written by John Bale in the late 1530s, at just about the same time as the passage of the Henrician Ten Articles, the first official formulation of reformed doctrine in England. This legislation was a reformed triumph of sorts, because the Articles endorsed only three sacraments (baptism, Eucharist, and penance), rather than the traditional seven, but it was a compromise, since the three sacraments affirmed by the reformers were still officially commended as means of salvation.

Bale's new mystery plays, dealing with the life of Christ, helped to propagate faith in the Ten Articles by reinterpreting the sacrament of baptism and the role of the Devil in opposing it. Bale's interpretation of the Devil was openly ground breaking, because he was the first English dramatist to identify the Devil with traditional Christianity itself—an association that countless English dramatists, including Shakespeare, would imitate.

Although one of Bale's plays is about Christ's baptism, its title subordinates the sacrament to the Protestant emphasis on biblical interpretation: *Johan Baptystes Preachynge*. Moreover, Bale assigns himself a part in the play as John's spiritual successor, "Baleus Prolocutor," the expounder of the scriptures, who ex-

plains how to understand the baptism of Jesus and the devils who were traditionally banished by the sacraments:

> Ye shall se Christ here submyt hymselfe to Baptym
> Of Johan hys servaunt, in most meke humble wyse,
> In poornesse of sprete that we shuld folowe hym,
> Whose lowlye doctryne the hypocrytes despyse.
> Folowe hym therfor, and shurne their devylysh practyse.[7]

Devilish practice is still an undoubted reality for Bale. What banishes it, however, is not the sacrament of baptism but following Christ in humility, and the sacrament is less important for itself than for what it represents, as John carefully explains: "Thys baptyme of myne to yow doth represent/ Remyssyon in Christ" (171–72). "Represent" is the key word, since Bale here adopts the position advanced by Zwingli that interpreted the sacraments as signs of salvation, not salvation itself.

For the uninitiated viewer, the play may not have seemed very radical because Bale clearly works within well-known dramatic conventions. When Satan himself appears, however, in *The Temptation of Our Lord*, he is suggestively disguised as a hermit rather than as a courtly gallant or dissimulating royal counselor, which are his accustomed disguises in pre-Reformation drama. With fawning hypocrisy, he tells Jesus,

> A brother am I of thys desart wyldernesse,
> And full glad wolde be to talke with yow of goodnesse,
> If ye wolde accept my symple cumpanye. (83–85)

Although Bale also had ample precedent for ecclesiastical hypocrisy on the English stage, none of the extant English plays on Christ's baptism put the Devil in clerical disguise.[8] Bale makes his innovation explicit when Satan himself announces that the pope is his ally (333–37).

Bale's anachronism (alluding to the pope in the midst of Christ's temptation) is not itself innovative, for scriptural drama had long conflated biblical events with their contemporary significance on stage. Rather, what is new is the identification of traditional religion itself with the Devil, even though Bale was indebted in part to traditional religion for the idea of the Devil as the enemy of Christ and Christ's followers. The Pharisees and Sadducees of *Johan Baptystes Preachynge* are thus thinly disguised Roman clerics, and John's denunciation of them is Bale's denunciation of the unreformed ecclesiastical hierarchy in the late

1530s:

> Ye generacyon of vypers! Ye murtherers of the prophetes!
> Ye Lucifers proude and usurpers of hygh seates!
> Never was serpent more styngynge than ye be,
> More full of poyson nor inwarde cruelte! (255–58)

What Protestant devils stand *for* is defined by what they stand *against*, as in traditional religion, but for Bale what they stand against is entirely new, as Baleus Prolocutor makes clear at the end of the *Temptation:*

> What enemyes are they that from the people wyll have
> The scriptures of God, whych are the myghty weapon
> That Christ left them here, their sowles from helle to save,
> And throwe them headlondes into the devyls domynyon.
> If they be no devyls I saye there are devyls non. (420–24)

Following Bale's influential and pioneering model, Protestant playwrights repeatedly identified the Devil with the ritual and beliefs of traditional religion. Such demonization became so familiar that it is hard to imagine its breathtaking boldness in a world where it had not previously existed, and its frequent repetition by subsequent playwrights should not be taken for granted but should be seen as a tribute to Bale's remarkable success in redefining that for which the Devil stood.

Among extant Protestant plays, the literal demonizing of traditional religion appears in innumerable ways. One of the most persistent is the pattern whereby infidels and Vices betray themselves by their pious allusions to the old faith and by their vigorous Catholic oaths. In his unreformed phase, Lusty Juventus swears "By the blessed mass," and Hypocrisy the Vice intones "Sancti amen" as he enters.[9] In *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art* (c.1559–68), the unrecoverable Moros refuses to learn, asserting that he "can ring the Saunce [sanctus] Bel,/ And fetch fier when they go to Mattins."[10] The character called Confusion in *The Longer Thou Livest* may or may not be a devil,[11] but Wager unquestionably identifies traditional believers, personified by Moros, with the biblical fool who "saith in his hart there is no god" (1599). Given that devils and fools who are not identified with traditional religion but are nonetheless animated by the same idea also appear in the Towneley mystery plays, it is not hard to see how confusing the middle years of the sixteenth century were. For traditional and reformed views were being

staged simultaneously with equal assurance about the meaning of devils and folly, even though the two sides presented diametrically opposed views.[12] Ill Report, the Vice in *Virtuous and Godly Susanna* (dated 1563–69), swears by "Gogges woundes" and by "Gogges blood," and he is the only one who does so in this explicitly Old Testament play.[13] The Vice Nichol Newfangle exclaims "*Sancte benedicite*" when he first sees the Devil in *Like Will to Like* (written between 1562 and 1568), and he follows the exclamation with many such imprecations.[14] Even in *The Disobedient Child* (c.1559–70), which rejects morality play abstractions in favor of Roman comedy's social types, degenerate characters swear "By Goddes precious" and "By Coxe bones," and they drop such expletives from their speech when they come to their (Protestant) moral senses.[15]

Playwrights after Bale were influenced not only by his innovative notions of what the Devil stood for but also by his reformed idea of what the Devil opposed. Bale was indebted to traditional religion for his identification of true community with the Church, but since the Church no longer consisted of all baptized Christians who participated in the sacraments, true community was very much smaller for Bale than it was for pre-Reformation playwrights. Indeed, his plays tend to reduce the true community to a minority of one reformed preacher whose sole companion is his God.

Given the unpopularity of reformed views, it is a wonder that the Protestant community ever succeeded in expanding beyond a company of martyrs. One key reason for its doing so was its close tie to the monarchy. Henry VIII led the way in forging the bond between reform and the king when he declared himself, rather than the pope, to be head of the English Church. Although he personally disliked reformed views, the reformers offered his best hope of support in his assumption of ecclesiastical headship that would enable him to annul his marriage to Katherine of Aragon and marry a Lutheran, Anne Boleyn. Queen Mary's surrender of the church's headship again to the pope was perhaps as severe a blow to the Protestant cause as was her government's rigorous pursuit of traditional heretics, and Elizabeth's revival of Henry's claim was an important sign of better times for the reformers.

A striking indication of the new reformed community's identification with the crown is a consistent feature of Protestant drama: the players' concluding prayer for the monarch which appears as early as the reign of Edward VI. Having abandoned

the sacraments of confession, penance, and absolution, playwrights invented the prayer for the monarch as an appropriate way to represent a new source of social cohesion at the end of a play. The shape of the reformed community is clear in the earliest of such prayers, at the end of *Lusty Juventus,* when Good Counsel addresses the audience directly in asking prayer for "our noble & vertuous king" (1157). Now reformed from his hankering after the old faith, Lusty Juventus adds:

> Also, let vs pray for al the nobilitie of this [realme],
> And namely for those, whom his grace au[ctorised],
> To mayntayne the publike welth ouer vs & them,
> That they may se his gracious actes published,
> And that they, being truly admonished,
> By the complaint of them which are wrongfulli opprest
> May seke a reformation, and se it redrest. (1163–69)

Making social cohesion the responsibility of king and nobility is an inevitably secularizing move, especially in contrast to pre-Reformation plays where the focus is the sacraments. Even this move did not have a secular motive, however, as *Lusty Juventus* makes clear in its action. For the aim of the play is not structural political or social reform but rather the reformation of doctrine and liturgy, the essential expressions of belief about destiny in this life and the next.

That which concluding prayers for the monarch did in a small way to promote the new idea of true community in drama, Bale and Foxe did much more successfully in their invention of a new shape for the English past. The consequent rewriting of English history was one of Bale's principal inspirations and one of his most important legacies to Foxe. Both *King Johan* and *Christus Triumphans* are evidence of their authors' heady new sense of what history really showed about the papacy and kings, at least if one looked at history from the reformed perspective, and Foxe's massive and influential *Actes and Monuments* is based on the same historical assumptions.

This reformed view of history is important for a history of the Devil in English Reformation drama, because Bale and Foxe both made the Devil's opposition to what they saw as the true Church central to their vision of the past and its bearing on their present. In keeping with his identification of traditional Christianity with the Devil, Bale followed the Continental reformers in understanding the papacy as Antichrist, a reading of the Book of Revelation as a key to history since the time of Christ. Like the redefinition

of heresy and truth, this insight also involved a reversal of assumptions in traditional religion and was thereby indebted to it. Thus in Chester's *Antichrist*, which dates from the late fifteenth century, gullible kings believe Antichrist's assurance that they need have no fear if they believe in him: "I put you owt of heresye/ to leeve me upon."[16] They discover their error only when those whom Antichrist raises from the dead are unable to receive the Eucharist. In effect, the play thus stages a miracle of the host, and the true source of Antichrist's amazing power is revealed when a demon boasts that Antichrist performed miracles "through my might and my postee" (664) as he draws Antichrist's soul out of his body to carry it to hell.

Bale's Antichrist is identical to Chester's except that Bale's is the pope and is therefore himself the sponsor of belief in eucharistic miracles, which happen only by demonic power (according to Bale), if they happen at all. In contrast, Chester's Antichrist is an anti-Protestant caricature, because the heresy he advocates is Lollardy, the English anticipation of mainstream Protestant belief. For Bale and Foxe, Satan sat in Rome, not in the English Church, and the two reformers thought Antichrist's alliance with hell was revealed through Protestant understanding of the Bible's lessons about history—including English history. Increasingly, Bale came to believe "that S. Jhons Apocalips hath as well his fulfilling in the particular nacions, as in the universal church," a conviction that underlay his account of English martyrs in *The Acts of English Votaries*.[17]

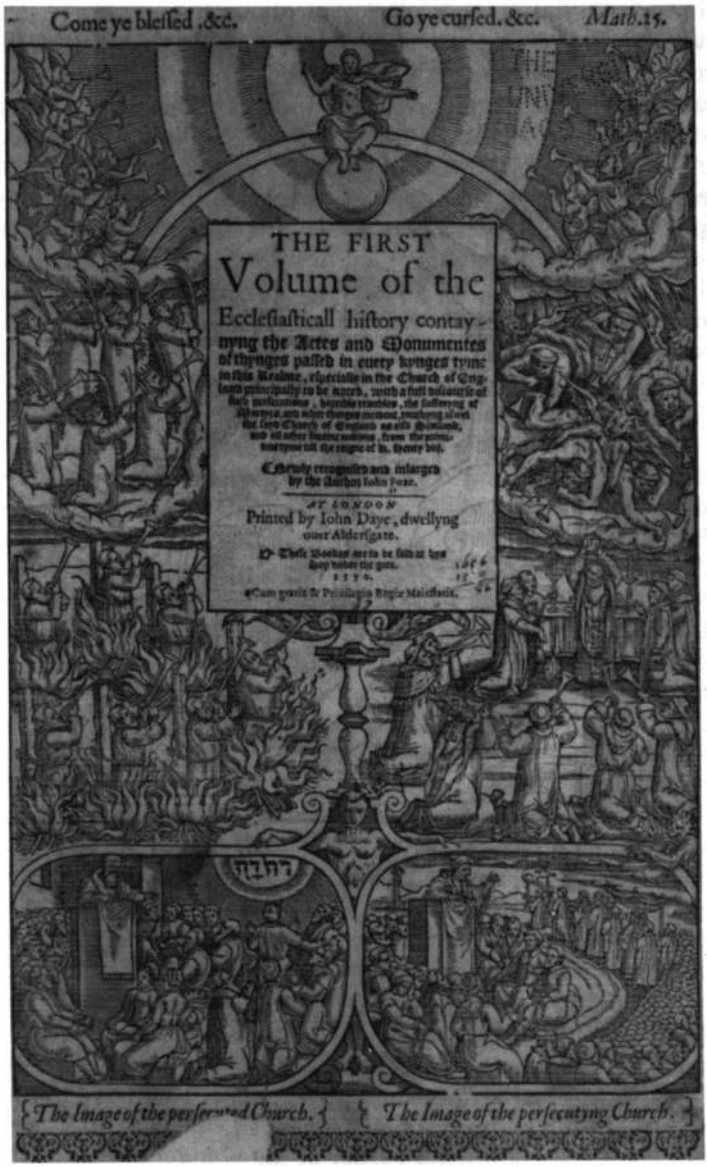
Bale's strong sense of absolute binary opposition between true faith and heresy was therefore not his invention. It had its origin in traditional religion, where it is manifest in the contrast between sacramental community and the Devil in pre-Reformation drama. The same contrast is evident in the iconography and characteristic shape of the narratives in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Bale's oppositional thinking is apparent in the title and substance of another of Bale's works that influenced Foxe, *The Image of Both Churches*, and this kind of thinking inevitably invites deconstructive readings, as several critics have recently shown.[18] Deconstructing Bale, however, puts the emphasis on his intellectual limitations at the risk of ignoring what his way of thinking tells us about his historical situation—where his binary thinking came from, what original intellectual effort went into his reinvention of tradition, and what contribution he made to the formation of English national identity as distinctly Protestant.[19]

Bale's impact on innovative ideas about Protestant devils and

the new community takes iconographic form in John Day's woodcuts for Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. On the title page of Day's editions of this work are the same binary oppositions that we have seen in Bale's plays and in the plays of those who followed him in the Protestant tradition (fig. 1). The page is divided vertically into two columns, with "Come ye blessed &c." inscribed above the left column in the 1570 edition, and "Go ye cursed &c." above the right. The reference is to Jesus' parable of the sheep and goats in Matthew 25, the same text that governs the opposition of saved and damned in the mystery plays' pageants of the Last Judgment. On Foxe's title page, too, Christ sits in judgment, beckoning with his right hand, rejecting with his left. A column that represents the new reformed community is thus on God's right hand, the demonic opposition on God's left.

The two columns are distinguished by their respective visions of liturgy, social body, and eschatology, categories that imply each other on both sides of the theological divide. Eschatalogy is indicated by opposing woodcuts: on the left are seven crowned martyrs, clothed in white robes of righteousness and carrying palms of triumph (Revelations 7:9); on the right, five defrocked and tonsured clerics are dragged downward by devils who resemble in every detail the demons in woodcuts that continued to be published in primers, books of hours, and other works of popular traditional devotion until the reign of Elizabeth. Below the eschatalogically triumphant martyrs on Foxe's title page are seven others, who literally and symbolically establish the wholeness of the new community in the breaking of their own bodies amid a fiery death at the stake, an image whose textual counterpart is Foxe's description of Laurence Saunders's preparation for burning at the stake in Coventry in 1555: "he was wonderfully comforted, in so much as not only in spirite, but also in body, he receaued a certayne taste of that holy communion of Saincts, whilest a most pleasant refreshing did issue from euery part and member of the body vnto the seate & place of the hart, and from thence did ebbe and flow to and fro, vnto all the partes againe."[20] Opposed to this image of the new sacred social body on Foxe's title page is its demonic parody of the old faith: a priest elevates the host in a Eucharist whose blasphemous idolatry is signaled by the approving gaze of an onlooking devil.

In the lower right-hand corner of the woodcut, the same devil also intrudes into the liturgical space of the old faith and appears to bless it blasphemously with his left hand. A priest addresses his homily to a crowd preoccupied with the vain repetition of the

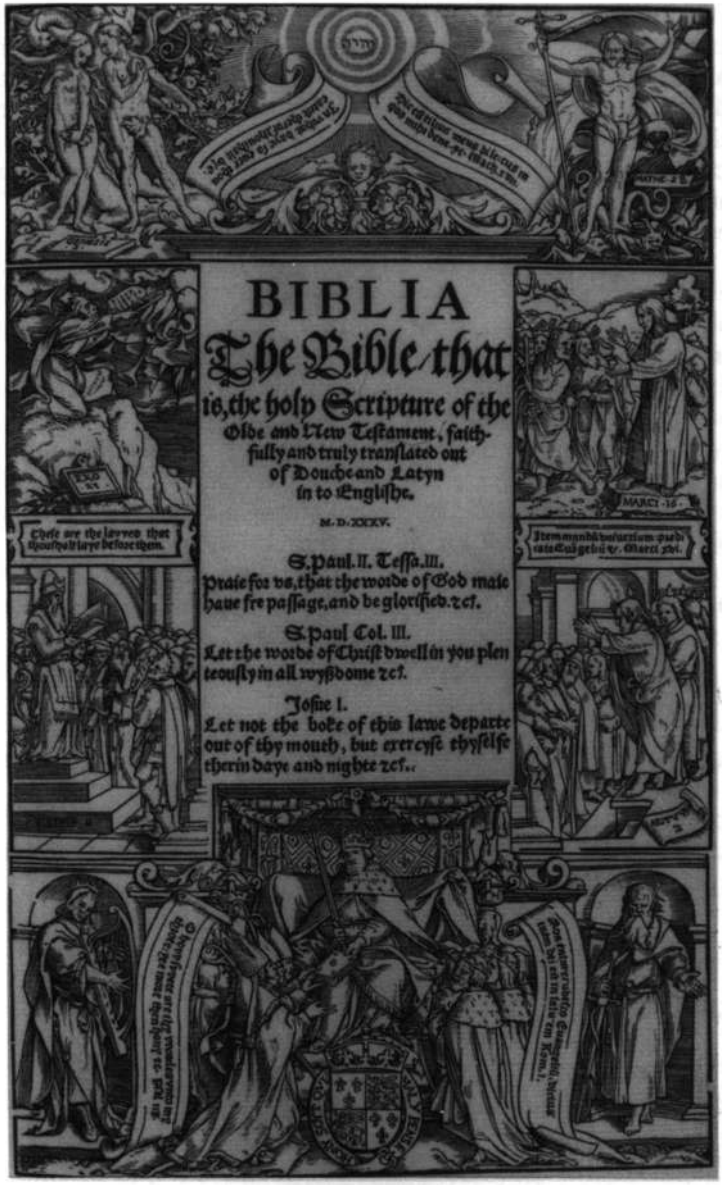


1. Engraved title page for the first volume of John Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes* (London: John Day, 1570). By permission of the University of Chicago Library.

rosary, while a ritual procession wends its way toward a shrine in the background. In contrast, the new community on the left focuses on the Word of God, seeing it in the Bibles open on their laps, and hearing it from a preacher who mediates it directly, as indicated by the shimmering Tetragrammaton. The influence of Bale's *Image of Both Churches* is evident in the subscriptions for each column in the 1570 edition: "The Image of the persecuted Church" on the left, "The Image of the persecutyng Church" on the right.

A more traditional source for Day's iconography is evident in the 1535 title page of Coverdale's Bible (fig. 2), which Hans Holbein also arranged according to a principle of binary opposition. In Holbein's woodcut, however, the opposition is typological and reads as a progression from old to new across the page from left to right, so that "good" and "evil" are in reversed positions from those they occupy on Foxe's title page. The sinful Adam and Eve with the serpent, shown on the left, have their counterpart on the right in the redemptive Christ treading on a dragon and devils, Moses giving the law has his counterpart in Christ delivering the sermon on the mount, and so forth. This kind of opposition is entirely traditional, drawing on and bringing up to date similar iconographic contrasts in the *Biblia Pauperum,* for example. In fact, Holbein's title page is Protestant only in the image at the foot of the page that shows Henry as head of the Church delivering the Bible to his bishops. As John King points out, the Tetragrammaton at the top of the page has its earthly manifestation below, in the godly king's reverence for the Bible.[21] The dramaturgical counterpart to this image of the king is the concluding prayer for the monarch in English Reformation plays.

Completing the iconography of the new community in Foxe are depictions of royal power. Invariably, as in Bale's *King Johan,* the power of monarchs is subdued by that of popes. A spectacular series of half-page woodcuts in the 1583 *Actes and Monuments* depicts popes and their representatives in the act of humiliating kings and emperors.[22] Often the depictions are accompanied by the phrase "Image of Antichrist." But in three cases, monarchs dominate the papacy. The initial "C" that begins the book is elaborately decorated to depict Queen Elizabeth with the pope beneath her feet, the opening page of book 7 has a woodcut of Henry VIII with his feet resting on Pope Clement, and the opening page of book 9 shows Edward VI delivering the Bible to his prelates, as his father does on the title page of Coverdale's



2. Title page of the Coverdale translation of the Bible (1535). Woodcut by Hans Holbein. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Bible. Pictorially, only the three Tudor reforming monarchs thus reverse the historical trend, and the woodcuts powerfully suggest that England has a uniquely Protestant and providential destiny.

Anti-Catholic drama likely made a smaller contribution to a new sense of national identity than did Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, but Foxe's book helps to clarify what the dramatists aimed to achieve. Even in many plays that were "offered for acting" by small commercial acting companies in the 1560s and 1570s, the weight of humanist learning is still heavy, as it is in Bale and Foxe, and the assumed audience would seem to have been well educated and staunchly Protestant. It is hard to see how such plays could have had much popular appeal, especially since Protestantism itself was not popular. Still, the drama undoubtedly made some contribution to establishing a new and distinctively Protestant culture in England, and plays whose learning is less heavy should be seen as part of the same movement that adapted popular songs to a godly Protestant purpose.[23] In any case, Protestant drama is secular only in contrast to the sacramental drama that it aims to reform, whether in its humanist impulse to adapt classical culture or in its pious impulse to adapt popular culture. If we are looking for evidence of incremental progress toward the full flowering of secular drama in Shakespeare and his contempories, the devils of Protestant drama are not a promising place to find it.

II

. . . *The More They Stay the Same.* One consequence of adapting traditional drama to Protestant purpose was that dramatists obliterated the original social function of the conventions they borrowed. What anti-Catholic drama gained in a sharp polemical edge it therefore lost in social observation and satire. When Bale creates a character called Dissimulation in *King Johan*, he does so not to satirize self-seeking upward mobility, as playwrights had done repeatedly before him. Rather, his Dissimulation enacts yet another facet of Catholic hypocrisy and oppression, eventually incarnating himself as Simon of Swinset, the monk who poisons King John. Despite the unprecedented concentration of wealth that accrued to Henry VIII and those he favored following the dissolution of the monasteries, Bale identifies injustice exclusively with the Catholic church, which alone concentrates wealth: "False Dyssymulacyon doth bryng in Privat Welth," as Sedition remarks (771).

3. Justice with scales. Woodcut in John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1583). By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Bale's skewed view of social justice also has an iconographic counterpart in Foxe (fig. 3). The endleaf woodcut in volume 1 of the 1583 *Actes and Monuments* shows Justice with a scale, in a woodcut that complements the title page. In the pan on the left (i.e., on Justice's right) is a Bible, sunk almost to the ground by its weight and surrounded by Jesus with his soberly costumed followers. Into the other pan a pope in full vestments pours a hoard of coins (or perhaps obles), decretals, decrees, rosaries, censers, jeweled crosses, goblets, and other precious items. A tonsured priest attempts to pull down the right arm of the scale, and a devil hangs onto the bottom of the pan, which swings high in the air, despite the mound of treasure in it. The woodcut is an allegory of salvation, and Justice weighs competing Catholic and Protestant views, just as God judges the Catholic and Protestant communities in the title page woodcut (the same right/left opposition is evident in both). Nonetheless, Justice holds the sword of state, and her traditional associations are with social issues, not soteriology. Day's woodcut is like Bale's plays in subsuming social justice into a preoccupation with competing ideas of doc-

trine and the Church.

Other early Protestant plays follow the same pattern. When Hypocrisy approaches Lusty Juventus, the Vice pretends to be a friend and acts offended when Juventus honestly fails to recognize him:

> I crye you mercy, I was sumwhat bolde
> Thinking that your mastership would,
> Not haue bene so straunge:
> But now I perceyue that promocion,
> Causeth both man, maners, and fashion,
> Greatly for to chaunge. (558–63)

This kind of dramatic dissimulation is borrowed directly from Medwall and Skelton, but, unlike them, Wever is not satirizing upward mobility, despite the suggestiveness of his language. As the scene develops, it becomes clear that he is borrowing satire of the pushy parvenu to create an allegory of the Reformation, with Lusty Juventus as the nascent Protestant movement itself and Hypocrisy as Catholic persuasion to return to the fold. "Yes I haue knowen you euer since you were bore," asserts Hypocrisy,

> Your age is yet vnder a score.
> Which I can well remember:
> I wisse, I wisse you and I,
> Many a time haue bene ful mery,
> When you wer yong and tender. (566–71)

The sly insinuation is courtly, as in Skelton and Medwall, but its satire is not aimed at the court. Rather, it is used to support the allegory of the old faith's appeal to waverers. Wever thus empties the convention of its social implications and substitutes anti-Catholic satire.

Not all reformed observers, however, were as quick to turn a blind eye to new Protestant wealth and power as were Bale, Foxe, and Wever, and when those who saw it pointed it out, they drew on pre-Reformation traditions that had been formed by centuries of social observation and satire. The result is a resurgence of satire involving devils and vices that derives from pre-Reformation social satire on the stage, even though that satire originated in a sacramental conception of social cohesion. "Resurgence" is crucial in describing this development because the evolutionary view of early drama sees later Protestant playwrights' attention to social issues as an incremental step in the inevitable progress

toward secularization. Generalizations about the "otherworldly" focus in pre-Reformation drama are a rhetorical way to make the evolutionary argument work, but they have led to a neglect of social vision in the earliest plays, a consequent failure to compare that social vision with its stage manifestation in the later sixteenth century, and thus a failure to recognize continuity between pre-Reformation and Reformation drama.

A moral understanding of social problems is as old in English drama as the fragmentary *Pride of Life* in the late fourteenth century, and satirical devices used by playwrights in an increasingly Protestant society to attack greed and its effects in fact originated in drama before the Reformation. When Theology, Science, and Art converse sagely in *All for Money* (1559–77), Theology thus remarks that money corrupts even those who study theology:

> But many of them doe vse an vnchristianly order,
> For money they will handle full cruelly their neighbour:
> Is not this an hinderance to the knowledge of Gods worde,
> Without they amend, God will strike them with his sworde.[24]

Theology speaks with the prophetic denunciatory voice of Bale or Foxe, but the comment is directed at concentrated wealth *per se*, not at Catholics. In *Like Will to Like* the Vice Nichol Newfangle informs the audience that Lucifer has taught him

> All kinde of sciences . . .
> That vnto the maintainance of pride might best agree.
> I learnd to make gownes with long sleeues and winges:
> I learnd to make ruffes like calues chitterlings:
> Caps, hats, cotes with all kinde of apparails,
> And especially breeches as big as good barrels.
> Shoos, boots, buskins, with many pretie toyes:
> All kinde of garments for men, women and boyes.
> (86–93)

Again, Nichol's satirical target is not Catholics but social affectation *per se*. His lines could as easily have been penned in 1467 as in 1567, and they indicate the establishment of a Protestant elite that invited satirical denunciation no less than the social elite had done before the Reformation. The Vice in *Enough Is as Good as a Feast* (1559–70) is called Covetous, and when he proposes that he and his fellows change their names, the point is social satire (just as in Medwall), not anti-Catholic satire. Inconsideration becomes Reason, Temerity becomes Agility, Precipitation be-

comes Ready Wit, and Covetous becomes Policy. Wager almost certainly knew that Covetousness in Medwall's *Nature* also renames himself Worldly Policy.

Such "pure" examples of Protestant social commentary are relatively rare. Often they are combined in complex ways with the new ideal of Protestant community, and the result has not been adequately understood or appreciated. The idea behind this effect is stated by Foxe himself in his description of the reign of Edward VI:

> In summe, duryng the whole time of the 6. yeares of this king much tranquility, and as it were a breathing time was graunted to the whole Church of England: So that the rage of persecution ceasing and the sword taken out of the aduersaries hand, there was now no dau*n*ger to the godly, vnlesse it were onely by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more dammage in corrupting me*n*s minds, then any time of persecution or affliction. (1583 edition, 2:1297)

Foxe's concern follows from his equating true godliness and true community with suffering and martyrdom. Persecution sharpens one's spiritual edge, in this view, and prosperity just as surely takes it off. This is a new and distinctly Protestant basis for moral censure of concentrated wealth and power.

The problem of Protestant hypocrisy is treated centrally in several plays from the 1560s and 1570s that stage devils as the enemies of community. Though these devils are sometimes equated with Catholicism, as in other Protestant plays, the emphasis is on the devils' corruption of the social body through their drive for wealth and power, and in this respect they represent a major strand of continuity with their predecessors in pre-Reformation plays.

Thomas Garter's *Virtuous and Godly Susanna*, for example, is in effect a Protestant saint play, since the heroine's fidelity is rewarded by the unexpected appearance of "*the spirite of Danyell*" (1061), who acts redemptively on behalf of a godly woman just as saints had done in pre-Reformation plays such as the Digby *Mary Magdalen* or the lost play of St. Eustace at Braintree, Essex. Though Daniel speaks like a Protestant preacher, the object of his prophetic denunciation is not Catholic doctrine but the elders' abuse of power. The elders are two personified abstractions, Sensualitas and Voluptas, who are inspired by Satan, like all traditional vices, and Satan follows his forebears by boasting of his success at the beginning of the play:

> I wallow now in worldly welth,
> And haue the world at will,
> Into eche hart I creepe by stealth,
> Of blood I haue my fill. (31–33)

Susanna's exemplary character is expressed in her chastity, but her chastity is the means by which she manifests her faithfulness in the midst of prosperity; therefore she is the moral opposite of the corrupt judges, who repeatedly gloat over their wealth and invincible power, as corrupt worldlings do in pre-Reformation drama. Before the elders' assault on her, Susanna thanks God for her blessings, asking that they will not reduce the strength of her moral commitment:

> O Lorde doe graunt that these thy giftes doe not our hartes so fyll,
> That if thou lay thy hand on vs, we take that part for ill.
> But as by this thy prouidence, we liue and take our rest,
> We may if any storme doe fall, account it for the best. (680–83)

Susanna has internalized the ideal of the suffering martyr, and that ideal is soon tested by the vicious judges, whose harassment is recognized by Susanna as the "storm" she had feared: "Oh Lord, oh God, oh King of blisse, what stormes does stop my breth" (767). Still, she reckons that to risk her reputation is better than "to attempt my Lord my God with this so vyle a sinne" (772). True Report in fact affirms Susanna's innocence before Daniel proves it, because he remembers hearing Susanna pray for fortitude in the midst of plenty:

> Why Lorde doest thou loue me so well, that liue in welth alway,
> Graunt to me God once in my lyfe, a little peece of thrall,
> But stande by me good Lord I say, let me not synke nor fall. (828–30)

When the Devil reappears after Susanna's vindication, he admits that God has withstood his force, "And them that I doe seeke to get, he keepes them in his hande" (1387). This complaint could as well be voiced by the Devil at the end of any pre-Reformation play, and Garter's Devil has no hint of anti-Catholicism about him.

T. Lupton's *All for Money* announces its concern with Protestant hypocrisy in its opening lines, when a prophetically dressed Prologue laments modern infidelity: "Howe is the Scripture with many abused/ With mouth it is talked, but with liuing denyed" (3–4). Lupton, schematically presenting a variety of responses to

wealth and power, assigns various attitudes to appropriately named abstractions, after the manner of John Heywood, and incidentally reveals education to be the new criterion of social elevation in the Tudor monarchy. Susanna's counterpart is thus Learning without Money, who endures his privation patiently, along with a poor commoner named Neither Money nor Learning. The moral opposite of these two is Money without Learning, whose costume reveals his character, as the costumes of courtly gallants do in earlier plays: "*apparelled* like a riche churle, with bagges of money by his siides [sic]" (657 *s.d.*).

Morally most closely akin to Money without Learning is Learning with Money, who is the play's most subtle hypocrite and presumably the one referred to in the Prologue's contrast between affirmation and action. Learning with Money claims that wealth only follows virtue (799–805) and that he is generous to the poor (853–56), but his fine words are belied by his proud boast when he first enters:

> Who may be compared to me in degree?
> Who is more happie then Learning with money?
> Learning at the first to riches me preferd:
> And monie is the cause that I am nowe honoured. (606–09)

If money is indeed the reason that people honor him, then he is really no better than Money without Learning, who has only fair weather friends, as Learning without Money points out (748–51).

The ultimate source of greed in *All for Money* is Satan, as in *Virtuous and Godly Susanna*, and Satan's motive for inspiring greed in Lupton's play is the same as in virtually every pre-Reformation play in which the Devil appears.

> My kingdome will decay through my ancient enemie Jesus,
> For without mannes companie I can haue no consolacion,
> All had bene mine owne but for Christes death and passion. (474–76)

Having said this, Satan calls in Gluttony and Pride, "*dressed in deuils apparel*" (485 *s.d.*) to assist him. Lupton departs from strict Protestant expectation in reverting to the tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins, which have no specific scriptural origin.[25] (Contrast his play with Lewis Wager's *Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen* [1550–66], for example, where the seven devils cast out of Mary are not identified with the Seven Deadly Sins. Wager thus pointedly departs from a long pre-Reformation tradition that includes the Digby *Mary Magdalen*.) Moreover, Lupton

stages vices (gluttony and pride) as devils, a practice that appears as early as *The Castle of Perseverance*.

The plot of Protestant hypocrisy produced by wealth appears in perhaps its simplest outline in W. Wager's *Enough Is as Good as a Feast*. In this play Heavenly Man espouses an attitude of moderation and for a time succeeds in winning Worldly Man to his point of view. However, a bevy of vices led by Covetous disguise themselves, insinuate themselves into Worldly Man's favor, effect the dismissal of Enough as his adviser, and eventually corrupt him to his damnation. A Calvinist division between those elected to salvation and those who have chosen damnation affects Wager's play, as various critics have pointed out.[26] Important for the present argument, however, is that the application of this division to the Protestant community actually makes the play more traditional than the plays of Bale and Foxe, since, as in pre-Reformation plays, the play's central concern is with attitudes toward wealth and power ("the world") rather than toward Catholics.

We see this when Covetous persuades Worldly Man to dismiss Enough as his steward, in a scene of fine dissimulation that equals Skelton's in its subtlety, and anticipates Iago's uncanny skill with reverse psychology. Pretending to mourn Worldly Man's covetousness, Covetous in fact persuades him to acquire and spend in order to avoid a shameful reputation for tightfistedness (sig. D). Covetous thus teaches Worldly Man enough arguments to withstand the moral reasoning of Enough, who denounces him in lines reminiscent of the prophet Daniel's in Garter's *Susanna*:

> I knowe s*o*me in this realme which once were co*n*tent
> With poorely inough which God to them had sent.
> Wishing of a good conscience as they said verily:
> That God would once again restore the veritie.
> If it please thee good Lord (said they) thy woord vs again send
> And then truely our Couetouse liues we wil amend.
> But since it hath pleased God, them to welth to restore:
> They are ten time more Couetouse then they were before.
> Yea hedling without all consideration· *headlong*
> They for Couetouse make some laws in that nation.
> Such buying and selling of Leaces and benefices:
> Such doubling of wares to extreme prices.
> So shamefully God's ministers they poule and shaue:
> That not half inough to liue vpon they haue. (sig. Diii^{v})

The Devil of this play appears only at its end to carry Covetous to hell on his back, but his brief boastful speech is entirely traditional. He is the prideful motivator of the proud, a monarch who attempts to rival God, and therefore the spiritual begetter of the likes of Worldly Man:

> Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh, all is mine, all is mine,
> My kingdome increaseth euery houre and day:
> Oh, how they seek my magestie deuine,
> To come to me they labour all that they may. (sig. Gi^{r})

Moreover, the play refers several times to devils before Satan appears, and the references are to social injustice, not to Catholic doctrine and practice. Satan's enhancement of his own kingdom is thus a direct threat to the godly Protestant community, which is now identified with "this realm," not simply with a minority of suffering martyrs. "My Londlord is zo couetous as the deuil of hell" (sig. Ei^{r}), complains Tenant in "Cotesolde speech (sig. Ei^{r}, *s.d.*), as he indicates the effects of Covetous in the realm.

> Chad thought a while a go my Londlord would not haue doon thus
> For he said he would be a heauenly man I wus.
> But zoule, the Deuil is as Heavenly as he:
> Three times wurse than he was be vore as var as I can zee.
> (sig. Ei^{v})

As complex as *Enough* is simple, Nathaniel Woodes's *The Conflict of Conscience* (1570–81) is the latest and most striking example of playwrights turning their attention to social problems in the new Protestant establishment. To be sure, the play is also virulently anti-Catholic and seemingly preoccupied with questions about free will and divine determinism, a point in which it anticipates Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Still, its continuity with other Protestant plays that address problems of social justice is one of its most important features.

Woodes's Protestant protagonist, Philologus, owes much to the concept that Lupton laments at the beginning of *All for Money*: "Howe is the Scripture with many abused/ With mouth it is talked, but with liuing denyed" (3–4). Woodes explains his character's name with reference to the aporia between moral affirmation and practice:

> But syth PHILOLOGVS is nought else, but one that loues to talke,
> And common of the worde of God, but hath no further care, *commune*

> According as it teacheth them, in Gods feare for to walk,
> If that we practise this in deede, PHILOLOGI we are,
> And so by his deserued fault, we may in tyme beware.[27]

Philologus himself outlines the standards by which he ultimately fails. The body of Christ, he explains to Mathetes, is the body of the martyrs, who "must needes suffer, vnlesse that they be dead" (153), because suffering is what unites the community in the love of God. Suffering is therefore the way to discern the true Church from the false, "Of the which, the one doth suffer, the other doth torment:/ And in the woundes of his Brother is delighted" (158–59). Bale's and Foxe's image of both churches thus reappears in *The Conflict of Conscience*, and Woodes is no less emphatic than the early reformers about the importance of discerning "Gods Church from the Diuels" (195).

The difference is that Woodes recalls these early Protestant pieties in the 1570s in order to stress Foxe's point about the difficulty of maintaining them in a time of ease and prosperity. The truth of God, Philologus urges, brings an "incumbrance . . . vpon them that will it professe,/ Wherfore, they must arme themselues, to suffer distresse" (197–99). Mathetes rejoins with an emphatic summary of the position Philologus has outlined:

> This is the summe of all your talke, if that I gesse a right,
> That God doth punnish his elect to keepe their faith in vre,
> Or least that if continuall ease, and rest enioy they might:
> God to forget through hautinesse fraile nature should procure:
> Or els by feeling punishment, our sinnes for to abiure:
> Or els to proue our constancy, or lastly that we may,
> Be instruments in whom his might, God may abroad display. (238–44)

Philologus ultimately fails in each of these standards of faithfulness, and Mathetes's allusion to "all your talke" is a pointed pun on Philologus's name and essence, whether Mathetes intends it or not. Though based on the story of Francesco Spira, an actual Protestant who recanted, Woodes's story is as firmly grounded on a personified abstraction as any other morality play. What has made this point difficult to grasp is not only the fact of Spira's story in the background but the particular abstraction Woodes embodies in Philologus which involves a failure to maintain the specific moral standards of the new Protestant community.

As in pre-Reformation plays, what those standards are is suggested by the activities of those who violated them—the vices. Satan calls Avarice, Tyranny, and Hypocrisy into the kingdom in

support of Catholic oppression, but these vices also express essential aspects of the failures of Philologus not only because he is a Protestant apostate but because his choice to become Catholic is a connivance with evils perpetrated by a persecuting Church. In effect, Philologus as a Protestant apostate is worse than a Catholic.

Philologus describes his own condition before recanting by comparing it to Susanna's:

> My case indeede I see most miserable,
> As was *Susanna* betwixt two euyls placed,
> Either to consent to sinne most abhominable:
> Or els in the worldes sight to be vtterly disgraced:
> But as she her chastitie at that time imbraced,
> So will I now spirituall whordom resist,
> And keepe mee a true Virgin to my louing spouse Christ.
> (1358–62)

This is a revealing comparison, because Woodes reads Susanna's story in exactly the same way Garter does—as a test of faithfulness in the face of suffering. Philologus is able to withstand interrogation because he is a good talker and verbally defeats his interrogators, as Foxe's martyrs invariably do,[28] but he is undone by Sensual Suggestion, who presents him with vivid imaginative portrayals of the deprivation he faces if he persists in his Protestant views. Philologus summarizes the alternative himself:

> to be oppressed by the Legates authorytie:
> And in this world to be counted an abiect:
> My Landes, wife and Children also to neglect:
> This later part to take, my Spirit is in readinesse,
> But my Flesh doth subdue, my Spirit doubtlesse. (1496–1500)

Unlike Susanna, he is unable to risk his reputation since he prefers social standing and wealth to his Protestant commitment. He is therefore unable to resist the Cardinal's offer of "wealth and prosperitie" (1580).

Cardinal might as well be named Mundus because he offers the same temptation to which Worldly Man succumbs in *Enough Is as Good as a Feast* and to which Humanum Genus succumbs long before in *The Castle of Perseverance*, where the tempter is actually called Mundus. Woodes's play has been described as secular because Philologus is modeled on an actual human being, but the issues are every bit as "otherworldly" in *The Conflict of*

Conscience as they are in the early fifteenth-century *Castle of Perseverance*, because the ultimate consequence of worldly choices in both cases is spiritual peril, or what Philologus calls "spirituall whordom." "To say trueth," he affirms damningly to his sons, "I doo not care, what to my soul betide,/ So long as this prosperitie and wealth by mee abide" (1958–59). This is Humanum Genus's sentiment precisely when he submits to Mundus: "What schulde I recknen of domysday/ So þat I be ryche and of gret aray?"[29] Protestant soteriology offers Philologus no second choice after death, and his care for worldly prosperity therefore dooms him eternally, unlike Humanum Genus, though Woodes's alternative ending, in which Philologus repents before he dies, suggests that Woodes may have felt the tragedy was too harsh. In any case, the point about spiritual destiny remains. In this latest of Protestant morality plays, the critical moral issues are identical to those in the first extant traditional morality in English of which we know. Despite the great divide of the Reformation, both playwrights understand moral issues—including issues of social justice—in the context of ultimate human destiny, and the function of stage devils in both plays is to clarify what ultimately counts.

III

The Devil and the Vice in Protestant Plays. An objection to the argument that later Protestant devils mark a resurgence of pre-Reformation tradition is that they are less interesting, and less frequently staged, than the Vice. Even in plays where devils do appear, they usually do so only briefly, at the beginning or end of a play, leaving the most visible and effective work of evil to the Vice. An influential comparison of these two traditional stage characters is Spivack's negative assessment of the Devil in Protestant plays:

> In none of these . . . plays is he anything more than the functionless and undifferentiated source of all evil, whose deputies in the real action of the plot are the vices. . . . In all these plays he is for the most part a grotesque and lugubrious figure, without verve or alacrity —a lumbering, helpless target at whom the Vice shoots his scurrilous jests. He never has any part in the intrigue itself and never associates with its human victims. His sole, easily dispensable, business is to commission the Vice, without whose aid he is helpless.[30]

Spivack's commitment to Chambers's story of secular evolution

in early drama explains this generalization but also weakens it. Spivack slants his account to favor the Vice because he sees the Vice as a transitional figure between "otherworldly" and "this-worldly," or secular, concerns in drama. Unlike the Devil, Spivack argues, personified abstractions, of which the Vice was chief, could be made to serve social and political purposes (i.e., secular purposes), and the Vice therefore supplanted the Devil. The Vice was eventually supplanted in his own turn, according to the inexorable logic of secular progress, by mimetic human characters, whose concreteness made them the most "this worldly" of all.

Spivack's story of incremental secular change prevented him from recognizing the continuity between stage devils before and after the Reformation. In the Protestant plays we have just surveyed, the dichotomy between "this-worldly" and "otherworldly" is false, as it is for pre-Reformation plays, because playwrights consistently use the Devil to dramatize the destiny of those who make morally tragic choices in the context of their ultimate ("spiritual") destiny. In short, whether early religious drama is traditional or Protestant, its devils' social function is directly related to their moral and spiritual function.

To assert, as Spivack does, that the Devil does nothing more than commission the Vice is therefore to acknowledge a great deal more than Spivack's dismissive language suggests, for where the Devil and the Vice are concerned, there is never any question about precedence or superiority: the Vice derives his authority and power from the Devil. In *The Longer Thou Livest, Like Will to Like*, and *Enough Is as Good as a Feast*, the Devil carries the Vice off stage on his back at the end of the play—a stage device anticipated by Bale in *King Johan* when he has Usurped Power carry Sedition in the same manner. That this is a stage emblem of relative power is evident in the relationship between Usurped Power, whose historical counterpart is the pope, and Sedition, whose historical counterpart is a mere monk. There is no doubt about who serves whom.

Even in plays where the Devil does not appear, the language of the Vice makes his subordination clear. No stage devils appear in *The Tide Tarrieth No Man* (1576), for example, but the inspiration for Courage, the Vice, is borrowed in part from *The Ship of Fools*, and Courage is quite clear about where the ship is headed:

> We meane to preuayle,

> And therefore we sayle,
> To the Diuell of hell.
> . . .
> I Corage do call,
> Both great and small,
> To the Barge of Sinne:
> Wherein they doe wallow,
> Tyll hell doe them swallow,
> That is all they do win.[31]

Spivack is right, too, that the Vice often mocks the Devil in Protestant plays, but it would be a mistake to assume that the Devil is therefore a figure of mere scorn. Sedition, the Vice in Bale's *King Johan*, mercilessly mocks both King John and Dissimulation, another vice, yet we cannot conclude from this even-handed treatment that King John and Dissimulation are to be understood merely as grotesque, lugubrious, and helpless targets of the Vice's wit. In *Enough Is as Good as a Feast* three lesser vices, called Temerity, Inconsideration, and Precipitation, invoke "Couetouse the Vice" (sig. Bii^{r}) and then, proceeding to mock him, trade insults with him about prisons and hanging. When Covetous calls for his cap, gown, and chain so he can undertake the rescue of Worldly Man from the influence of Contentation and Enough, he foolishly rejects the gown since he mistakes it for a cloak, and Temerity speaks mockingly of him to the other vices: "Why my brother is blinde, I hold you a Crown:/ Body of me he knoweth not a Cloke from a Gown" (sig. Biv^{r}). If the Vice himself is mocked by his henchmen, as in *King Johan* and *Enough Is as Good as a Feast*, then being mocked cannot be a sign of a stage figure's evolutionary decline since these are plays from the height of the Vice's popularity.

Rather, the Vice's mockery of the Devil needs to be seen in the context of vice mockery in general. When vices taunt and rail at virtues, as they do consistently from *The Castle of Perseverance* on, their mockery is best understood as self-defeating—a manifestation of the myopia and self-absorption which constitute destructive moral choices and result in more of the same. The neo-Marxist attempt to read vice mockery as subversive social protest has not adequately explained why vices consistently represent concentrated wealth, competitive upward mobility, and upper-class oppression. Examples range from the World and Flesh in *The Castle of Perseverance* who are repeatedly identified as kings, to Ambidexter in *Cambises* who connives at Sisamnes's exploitation of Commons Complaint and Commons Cry. These

vices share their commitment to social privilege with such figures as Mischief in *Mankind* who exploits country priests and laboring peasants with scurrilous jibes and practical jokes. This is not to deny that when vices mock virtues they are irresistibly funny, indulging an impressive repertory of scatological and bawdy jokes, pratfalls, and stage buffoonery that accounts as much as anything does for the enduring comedy of early drama in performance. My point is simply that risibility *per se* does not determine social and moral function, especially when the vices are clearly satirical embodiments of upper-class pretension, arrogant upward mobility, or the concentration of wealth and power.

When vices mock each other, or when vices mock devils, they enact another kind of moral self-defeat, albeit one no less funny than when vices mock virtues. One of the ways in which devils and vices serve the purpose of social satire in pre-Reformation drama is by vicious infighting, which reflects the realities of baronial civil war, because civil war reflects the broader collapse of social cohesion that resulted from the failure of charity.

These moral insights, which originally shaped vice conflict, continued to shape it in Protestant drama. When Hypocrisy first meets Tyranny and Avarice in *The Conflict of Conscience*, he mocks them in asides. Even in Foxe's Latin play, *Christus Triumphans* (1556), a low-comedy scene creates the same effect of vice mocking vice when Saul quarrels with Polyharpax, a scribe who overcharges him and eventually falls into fisticuffs with him, until both are cudgelled by citizens (2.5). Saul has not yet become Paul, and his unconverted behavior therefore manifests the self-destructive and chaotic entropy of evil. The Vice in fact mocks the Devil in only four extant plays: *Lusty Juventus*, *Virtuous and Godly Susanna*, *Like Will to Like*, and *All for Money*. The Vice's mockery of the Devil is not a sign that the Devil was obsolete or was giving way to the vitality of the Vice. Conflict between the Devil and the Vice in Protestant drama is a perpetuation of Vice conflict from the pre-Reformation morality play, and it has the same significance.

This continuity is complemented by other indications of traditional stage devilry that occur in later Protestant plays. Noticed above has been Lupton's staging of two of the Seven Deadly Sins in *All for Money*, even though the tradition of the Seven Sins is non-biblical in origin and should therefore be technically objectionable to Protestants. The Deadly Sins are also mentioned in *Virtuous and Godly Susanna*. Ill Report boasts in soliloquy about his great antiquity and his ubiquitous influence, which he

attributes to "The pollicy of the Deuill" (147). He explains that policy is motivated by the Devil's envy, which has prompted him to use five of the Seven Deadly Sins to try to corrupt Susanna: pride (153), gluttony (155), envy (157–58), sloth (166), covetousness (171).

Satan himself mentions six of the Seven Deadly Sins in *The Disobedient Child* (sig. Fiii^{v}), and his doctrinal correctness is so retrograde by Protestant standards that he even invokes the World, Flesh, and Devil (sig. Fiv^{v}), though this infernal trinity is not biblical and therefore should not, strictly speaking, be called upon in a Protestant play. Indeed, the Devil in this play is likely one reason why Spivack leaves *The Disobedient Child* out of his study altogether. The play contains no personified abstractions and therefore disqualifies itself as a morality play by Spivack's definition, yet its prodigal son plot is the basis of other contemporary plays which are also concerned with the appropriate rearing of young people.[32] Moreover, Ingelend's Satan makes havoc of evolutionary schemes, since in him are combined characteristics of both the Devil and the Vice, as is the case with devils in the mystery plays. He enters by demanding room, exulting in his cleverness, and taking the audience into his confidence in the manner of the Vice, but his boasting is unmistakably the Devil's:

> The kyngdome of God is aboue in Heauen
> And myne is I tell you beneth in Hell:
> But yet a greater place if he had delt euen
> He shulde haue gyuen me and myne to dwell,
> For to my Palace of euery Nation
> Of what degree or birth so euer they be,
> Come runnynge in with such festination,
> That other whyles they amased me,
> Of all the Jewes, and all the Turkes,
> yea and a great parte of Christendome
> When they haue done my wyll, and my workes
> In the ende they flye hither all and some. (sig. Fiv^{r})

This is wholly traditional; it does not single out Catholics or any other Christian heresy (from a Protestant viewpoint) as the Enemy, and its explicit concern is how spiritual destiny is manifested in moral choice—in this play, the "secular" choice of a young man to neglect his education and marry a woman who is interested only in his wealth.

One of the most traditional stage images of the Devil in Re-

formation drama appears in the fragment W. W. Greg called *Processus Satanae* and dated to the decade of the 1570s, which makes it contemporary with *The Conflict of Conscience*.[33] In addition to the Devil, the figures of God, Christ, the archangel Michael, and the four daughters of God are all staged in this play. Indeed, the subject would seem to be appropriate to the cosmic scale of the mystery plays, though the particular subject of this play is not treated in any extant cycle. The fragment is an actor's part, containing only God's lines, from which the rest of the play must be inferred. What is important about it is its extraordinary conformity to traditional religious expectation as late as the second decade of Elizabeth's reign. Nothing about the fragment is obviously Protestant. It neither favors Protestant doctrine nor opposes traditional religion. If the fragment is as late as Greg thinks it is, it exemplifies the residual strength of traditional religion in stage plays.

The perpetuation of the mystery cycles into the decade of the 1570s in fact makes clear that "progress" is a misleading term for drama of the sixteenth century. The cycles are now recognized to have ceased performance for a number of reasons and not simply on account of official suppression and resistance.[34] The eventual recovery of a pre-Reformation tradition of stage devils in fact parallels other cultural changes in Protestant England. While national identity was becoming increasingly Protestant and radical Protestants were calling for ever stricter reform in Church and society, the reality of daily parish life seems often to have been less disturbed by the upheavals of mid-century than we might have imagined. What Ronald Hutton has recently called a "merry equilibrium" slowly emerged, marked by the retention of many features of popular culture that had been formed by parish life before the Reformation.[35] That equilibrium was far from complete in the sixteenth century, but the elements that eventually led to it were certainly in place, and the perpetuation of popular stage devils with traditional moral meaning is one such element.

NOTES

[1] Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes: Specimens of the Pre-Elizabethan Drama*, 8th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), xliii.

[2] Bernard Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 130.

[3] The ratio of pageants that stage devils to those that do not ranges from a low of

three out of thirty in Towneley (10 percent) to seven out of forty-seven in York (17½ percent) to ten out of forty-one in N-Town (24 percent) to a high of six out of twenty-four in Chester (25 percent). Spivack's figure of nine out of sixty morality plays that stage devils is equivalent to 15 percent, but he does not specify the nine plays to which he refers. In his Bibliography of Morality Plays (*Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*, 483–93), ten (not nine) of the plays stage devils, and the list omits *The Disobedient Child*, which also includes a stage devil. Of these eleven plays, only four are pre-Reformation; one is Edwardian, and six are Elizabethan (using Spivack's own dates). In any case, the correct proportion is eleven out of sixty-one, or 18 percent.

[4] For parallel developments in other aspects of life in Tudor England, see C. John Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[5] For the term 'traditional religion,' see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

[6] I have recently argued for a revised assessment of pre-Reformation stage devils in three essays: "Drama, the Devil, and Social Conflict in Late Medieval England," *American Benedictine Review* 45 (1994): 341–62; "The Devil and Society in the English Mystery Plays," *Comparative Drama* 28 (1994): 407–38; and "Devils and Vices in English Non-Cycle Plays: Sacrament and Social Body," *Comparative Drama* 30 (1996): 188–219.

[7] John Bale, *The Complete Plays*, ed. Peter Happé, 2 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), 2:36–37 (*Johan Baptystes Preachynge*, 19–23). *The Temptation of Our Lord* and *King Johan* are also cited from this edition.

[8] Happé points out that the French *mystères* also depict Satan as a hermit (Bale, *The Complete Plays*, 2:150–51), so even this detail reveals nothing of Bale's reformed perspective.

[9] R. Wever, *An Interlude called Lusty Juuentus*, ed. J. M. Nosworthy (Oxford: Malone Society, 1971), sigs. aii^{r}, bii^{v} (ll. 65, 370). This play is dated 1547–53.

[10] W. Wager, *The longer thou Liuest, the more fool thou art*, ed. A. Brandl, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 36 (1900): 19 (ll. 164–65).

[11] Confusion is not identified as a devil in the casting list or in speech prefixes, and he does not act like a devil. But three points suggest that he may have been staged as a devil nonetheless: (1) the stage direction that he should enter "*with an ill fauowred visure, and all thinges beside ill fauoured*" (1794 *s.d.*), (2) Moros's request to Confusion to carry him off to hell on his back (1842–43), (3) a sixteenth-century handwritten note in an early edition of *The Longer Thou Livest* that identifies Confusion as "the devilles messenger." The last point is observed by T. W. Craik, who notes that a devil is named Confusion in Richard Robinson's *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* of 1574 (*The Tudor Interlude* [Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1958], 132, n. 6).

[12] For some suggestions concerning the influence of this concept of folly on the devils of the Towneley mystery plays, see Martin Stevens and James Paxson, "The Fool in the Wakefield Plays," *Studies in Iconography* 13 (1992):48–79.

[13] Thomas Garter, *The Comedy of the moste vertuous and Godlye Susanna*, ed. W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937 [for 1936]), sigs. Aiii^{r}, Bi^{r} (ll. 70, 82, 214).

[14] Ulpian Fulwell, *Like Will to Like*, sig. Aiii^{r} (ll. 103ff), in *Two Moral Interludes*,

ed. Peter Happé, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[15] Thomas Ingelend, *The Disobedient Child*, Tudor Facsimile Texts (London: T. C. and E. Jack, 1908), sig. Fi^{r}.

[16] *The Chester Mystery Cycle*. ed. R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, EETS, s.s. 3, 9 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974–86), 1:411 (Play XXIII, 87–88).

[17] *The Actes or Unchast Examples of the Englysh Votaries* (London, 1560), 2: sig. I7, as quoted by Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale, Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1976), 87.

[18] Ritchie D. Kendall, *The Drama of Dissent: The Radical Poetics of Nonconformity, 1380–1590* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 90–131; David Scott Kastan, "'Holy Wurdes' and 'Slypper Wit': John Bale's *King Johan* and the Poetics of Propaganda," *Rethinking the Henrician Era*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 267–82; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66–72.

[19] On Bale and the formation of national identity, see Peter Womack, "Imagining Communities: Theatres and the English Nation in the Sixteenth Century," in *Culture and History, 1350–1600*, ed. David Aers (New York and London: Harvester, 1992), 91–145; and Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 247–68. Both Womack and Helgerson evoke Benedict Anderson's concept of a nation as an "imagined community" to explicate Bale's and Foxe's thinking about nascent nationhood. For a broader and more complex view, see Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 1–27.

[20] John Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes*, 2 vols. (London: John Day, 1583), 2:1495.

[21] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 191.

[22] In the 1583 edition, the woodcuts are presented together on a series of pages (1: 783–91).

[23] Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, 102–12.

[24] T. Lupton, *A Moral and Pitiful Comedie, Intituled, All for Money*, ed. Ernst Vogel, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 40 (1904): 149 (ll. 123–26).

[25] Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952), 43–67.

[26] See S. de Ricci's introduction to W. Wager, *Enough Is as Good as a Feast* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1920); David M. Bevington, *From* Mankind *to Marlowe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 152–69; Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 93–98.

[27] Nathaniel Woodes, *The Conflict of Conscience*, ed. Herbert Davis and F. P. Wilson, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), sig. Aii^{v} (Prologue, ll. 43–47).

[28] On Woodes's debt to Foxe in the trial scene, see Leslie M. Oliver, "John Foxe

and *The Conflict of Conscience*," *Review of English Studies* 25 (1949): 1–9.

[29] *The Castle of Perseverance*, ll. 606–07, in *The Macro Plays*, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS, o.s. 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 21.

[30] Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*, 131.

[31] George Wapull, *The Tyde taryeth no Man*, ed. Ernst Rühl, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 43 (1907):15 (ll. 126–28, 135–40).

[32] Susan Brigden, "Youth and the English Reformation," *Past and Present* 95 (May 1982): 38–67; White, *Theatre and Reformation*, 109–29; and Howard B. Norland, *Drama in Early Tudor Britain 1485–1558* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 149–60.

[33] *Processus Satanae*, ed. W. W. Greg, in *Malone Society Collections II*, pt. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), 239–50.

[34] See, for example, Bing Bills, "The 'Suppression Theory' and the English Corpus Christi Plays: a Re-Examination," *Theatre Journal* 32 (1980): 157–68. The traditional view is put forward by Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries End* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).

[35] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 227–62.