

*Nobody Expects the English Inquisition: Mary I's Persecution of Protestants through European Eyes**

The historiography of Mary I's brief restoration of Catholicism (1553–58) has changed dramatically over the past thirty years. Once seen as an insular, naïve and futile attempt to turn back the clock on the English Reformation, Mary's short-lived Counter-Reformation has increasingly been recognised as a far more dynamic and energetic enterprise. This reassessment has been driven by a number of historians, but it has been associated most strongly with the work of Eamon Duffy.¹ Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars* (1992) and *Fires of Faith* (2009) not only emphasised the Marian Church's remarkable success in restoring the fabric of Catholic worship and providing effective religious instruction in print and pulpit, but also argued for the broader European significance of the religious reforms instigated by Archbishop Reginald Pole's London synod of 1556.²

Several aspects of this revisionist reassessment have found broad acceptance—few scholars would now deny that the Marian Church showed signs of vitality and vigour, harnessing both home-grown and foreign ideas in its efforts to restore Catholicism on English soil. However, the overwhelmingly optimistic appraisal of Marian successes characteristic of some revisionist work, Duffy's in particular, has divided opinion. Historians such as Andrew Pettegree and David Loades have remained unconvinced that the foundations laid by Mary were strong enough for Catholicism to endure had she lived longer, while Duffy has been accused of glossing over the significant disagreements that existed within the

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1. L. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), chs 4–5; J. Edwards and R. Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot, 2005); W. Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot, 2006); E. Evenden and V. Westbrook, eds, *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Farnham, 2015). See also my recent historiographical overview in F.E. Smith, 'Reinventing the Counter-Reformation in Marian England, 1553–1558', *Historical Journal*, lxiv (2021), pp. 1105–27.

2. E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (London, 1992), ch. 16; E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (London, 2009).

Marian Church hierarchy.³ This article does not seek to relitigate the case for the overall impact of the Marian Counter-Reformation, but instead focuses on one particular aspect of Duffy's reassessment which has proven the most controversial, namely, his suggestion that the regime's brutal programme of Protestant persecution—a programme which saw almost 300 English Protestants burned alive—was a considerable success. Mary and Pole embarked, Duffy argued, on a well-planned, competently executed and persuasively defended campaign against English Protestantism: a campaign which succeeded in exercising an unprecedented level of local supervision over the religious conduct of the English people thanks to the co-ordinated efforts of a broad coterie of energetic bishops, priests, justices of the peace and special heresy commissioners. As a result, Duffy suggested, the campaign was achieving its aims by the end of Mary's reign: 'the protestant hydra was being decapitated'.⁴ Such suggestions have found some support in the work of Thomas Freeman, Ceri Law and, most recently, Gonzalo Velasco Berenguer.⁵ However, many other historians have voiced concerns that Duffy stretched the evidence further than it would go, insisting instead that the burnings were ultimately counter-productive, emboldening rather than enfeebling English Protestantism.⁶ The scholarly consensus currently remains largely with the assessments of historians such as Loades and Pettegree, for whom the persecutions were both wrong-headed—driven by blinding zeal rather than careful political calculation—and 'conducted with a clumsy heavy-handedness'.⁷ As Duffy himself admitted in 2022, 'it remains to be seen how much of [*Fires of Faith*'] "uncomfortable" line of argument about the effectiveness of the burnings will ultimately find a place in perceptions of Queen Mary's and Cardinal Pole's attempted Counter-Reformation'.⁸

3. A. Pettegree, 'A.G. Dickens and his Critics: A New Narrative of the English Reformation', *Historical Research*, lxxvii (2004), pp. 39–59, at 55–7; D.M. Loades, *The Religious Culture of Marian England* (London, 2010); D.M. Loades, *Mary Tudor* (Stroud, 2011), p. 263; F.E. Smith, *Transnational Catholicism in Tudor England: Mobility, Exile and Counter-Reformation* (Oxford, 2022), ch. 5. Peter Marshall offers a balanced appraisal of revisionist accounts of Mary's reign in his *Reformation England, 1480–1642* (3rd edn, London, 2022), ch. 4.

4. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, *passim*, esp. chs 4–7; quotation at p. 7.

5. T.S. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution', in S. Doran and T.S. Freeman, eds, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 171–205; C. Law, 'The 1557 Visitation of the University of Cambridge', in Evenden and Westbrook, eds, *Catholic Renewal*, pp. 65–92; G. Velasco Berenguer, *Habsburg England: Politics and Religion in the Reign of Philip I (1554–1558)* (Leiden, 2023), ch. 6.

6. D.M. Loades, review of Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, *Journal of British Studies*, l (2011), pp. 473–4, at 474; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 261–3; D. MacCulloch, review of Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xli (2010), pp. 1303–5, at 1304.

7. D.M. Loades, *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation* (London, 1991), p. 7; A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 156–67, quotation at 156; Pettegree, 'A.G. Dickens and his Critics', p. 57.

8. E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (3rd edn, London, 2022), p. xxxiii.

This article attempts to move the debate over the burnings forward and in new directions by considering it from a different perspective—namely, by exploring European Catholic perceptions of Mary's campaign against Protestant dissent. This perspective has been largely absent from the historiography on the burnings, with most studies focused squarely on English responses and rooted in English sources (above all John Foxe's unashamedly partisan *Actes and Monuments*). When foreign attitudes have been discussed, it has usually been to suggest that the burnings, in the words of Andrew Pettegree, 'would have seemed decidedly old-fashioned as well as brutal' to European observers—an argument supported by problematic statistical comparisons between English and European heresy persecutions. What we lack is a sustained and systematic survey of foreign reactions to the Marian campaign against heresy, both during and after her reign.⁹

This European Catholic perspective is important for several reasons. First, it provides us with an assessment of the Marian persecutions grounded in contemporary perceptions and therefore less coloured both by the knowledge that Protestantism ultimately triumphed on English soil, and by the Protestant polemics of Foxe. As Paul Cavill's recent work on Marian heresy forfeitures has demonstrated, there is much to be gained by escaping the gravitational pull of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.¹⁰ Secondly, there is good reason to listen seriously to what foreign observers had to say about the burnings. England being the first nation to return to Catholicism after falling to the Protestant faith, foreign Catholics had a vested interest in coming to frank and honest assessments as to the success or failure of the Marian project, as it could help in their own battles against Protestantism.¹¹ Finally, and most importantly, examining foreign perspectives allows us to move beyond questions of how *effective* the burnings were, and instead engage with the far more valuable question of their broader *significance*. By exploring what Catholics in Spain, Italy and France thought about the Marian strategy for dealing with Protestantism, we can appreciate the extent to which it helped shape and inform approaches to heresy elsewhere throughout Europe.

9. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 161–2. The notable exception here, discussed in detail below, is the Spanish reaction: J. Edwards, 'The Spanish Inquisition Refashioned: The Experience of Mary I's England and the Valladolid Tribunal, 1559', *Hispanic Research Journal*, xii (2012), pp. 41–54; E. Evenden, 'Spanish Involvement in the Restoration of Catholicism during the Reign of Philip and Mary', in Evenden and Westbrook, eds, *Catholic Renewal*, pp. 45–64; Berenguer, *Habsburg England*, ch. 6.

10. P.R. Cavill, 'Heresy and Forfeiture in Marian England', *Historical Journal*, lvi (2013), pp. 879–907.

11. The eyes of Catholic Europe were certainly on Marian England in other respects; see C. Streckfuss, 'England's Reconciliation with Rome: A News Event in Early Modern Europe', *Historical Research*, lxxxiii (2009), pp. 62–73; C. Streckfuss, '"Spes Maxima Nostra": European Propaganda and the Spanish Match', in A. Hunt and A. Whitelock, eds, *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 145–57; M. Tibble, *Nicolaus Mameranus: Poetry and Politics at the Court of Mary Tudor* (Leiden, 2020), ch. 7.

By considering a range of different sources, from ambassadors' reports and correspondence to funerary orations and printed polemic, this article argues that contemporary European assessments of the Marian campaign against heresy were far more positive than historians have hitherto acknowledged. Furthermore, by exploring two separate case-studies, the archdiocese of Milan under Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and the princely court of France during the ascendancy of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, it demonstrates that European Catholic leaders actively appropriated aspects of that campaign, hoping thereby to emulate Mary's success in dealing with her 'Protestant problem'. In this way, this article not only invites us to reconsider Eamon Duffy's controversial arguments regarding the burnings, but also suggests that Mary's brief restoration of Catholicism was far more important for the development of the incipient European Counter-Reformation than is usually recognised. This article thereby contributes to ongoing efforts to 'de-centre' our understanding of the Catholic Reformation—recognising the extent to which that phenomenon relied upon the interplay and exchange of ideas between Catholicism's southern European centres and more peripheral regions such as England.¹²

I

A principal source for European Catholic opinion on the Marian persecutions is the correspondence of foreign ambassadors and agents resident in Marian England. Historians have typically employed such reports somewhat selectively to support arguments for the ultimate failure of the Marian campaign against heresy.¹³ However, a more detailed analysis, paying closer attention to the ways in which ambassadors' opinions changed over the course of Mary's reign, reveals a rather more nuanced picture.

Despite all agreeing on the evils of Protestant heresy, Catholic ambassadors to Marian England had particular agendas which coloured their reports on the progress of the persecutions. Concerns about the security of Spaniards in England rendered the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, especially alert to any hints of popular religious unrest.¹⁴ This much can be seen in his alarmist response to the Wyatt rebellion of 1554, during which he advocated strongly for both Spanish military intervention and

12. S. Ditchfield, 'Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, ci (2010), pp. 186–208; T. Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford, 2015).

13. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 162; D.M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553–58* (2nd edn, London, 1991), p. 276; Loades, *Religious Culture of Marian England*, pp. 123–4.

14. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 113; A. Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester, 2020), p. 147.

the execution of Elizabeth.¹⁵ Renard's reports were also shaped by his (not unfounded) belief that Philip was excluding him from confidential business, and his (less well-founded) fear that Protestants were planning to assassinate him for his role in restoring the realm to papal unity—both of which 'added a paranoid touch' to some of his dispatches.¹⁶ The reports of the French ambassador, Antoine de Noailles, were similarly shaped by a mixture of political and personal factors. Noailles took his official instructions to obstruct the Anglo-Spanish alliance (which constituted a direct threat to France) very much to heart, involving himself intimately with various conspiracies against the English queen. He was accordingly quick to report any sign of discontent which might be exploited to weaken the English regime.¹⁷ His experiences in England also bred a lasting hatred for the English which can be detected in his reports from 1555 onwards.¹⁸ In contrast, the Venetian ambassadors, Giovanni Micheli and his replacement Michiel Surian, do not seem to have had any particular axes to grind in their reports from England. Nevertheless, as Filippo de Vivo has argued, the *relazioni* (end-of-mission reports) of Venetian ambassadors were not neutral documents, but instead often used observations from abroad to support or counter particular political arguments within the Venetian republic.¹⁹

However, despite their varying personal and political agendas, it is striking that these foreign ambassadors all offered remarkably similar interpretations of Mary's campaign against Protestantism. For the first two years following the revival of the English anti-heresy laws in January 1555, French, Italian and Spanish ambassadors all spoke with more or less one voice in suggesting that the executions were succeeding only in confirming Protestants in their beliefs. In a series of dispatches in 1555 and 1556, the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michieli repeatedly recounted the constancy of Protestants in the face of the flames. Following a burning in Essex in April 1555 he explained how the victims, 'with most vehement exhortations, persuaded all the people

15. *Calendar of Letters, Dispatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain* (13 vols, London, 1862–1954) [hereafter *CSPSp*], xii, pp. 31, 221. See also the account of Renard's activities during and after the rebellion in J. Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (London, 2011), pp. 168–78.

16. D. Loades, 'Renard, Simon (c.1513–1573)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*]; E.H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (London, 1940), pp. 223–6.

17. D. Potter, 'Noailles, Antoine de (1504–1563)', *ODNB*; Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 150–51, 161–2, 287; E.H. Harbison, 'French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary', *American Historical Review*, xlv (1940), pp. 533–51.

18. Potter, 'Noailles'; *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre: Rédigées par feu M. l'abbé de Vertot* (5 vols, Leiden, 1763), ii, p. 242.

19. F. de Vivo, 'How to Read Venetian "Relazioni"', *Renaissance and Reformation*, xxxiv (2011), pp. 25–59. We might also question the accuracy of the intelligence relayed in some ambassadorial reports. Ambassadors such as Renard and Noailles, as well as the Mantuan ambassador Annibale Litolfi, could not speak English and therefore relied on third parties for much of their information. D.S. Chambers, 'A Mantuan in London in 1557: Further Research on Annibale Litolfi', in E. Chaney and P. Mack, eds, *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 73–108, at 84, 87, 91–5; Harbison, 'French Intrigue', p. 535.

to persist in their religion and to endure, as they themselves did, every persecution and torment’—something which ‘so moved the people that the governor feared they would turn on himself and his officials’.²⁰ This same impression was shared by the Mantuan Aloisio Schivenoglia, an agent of the Gonzaga family then serving as secretary to the ardently Catholic Sir Thomas Tresham. Schivenoglia wrote to the Duke of Mantua from London in May 1556 after having witnessed the burning of ‘an old man of seventy who hobbled [to the place of execution] on his crutches, willingly, angrily and pertinaciously declaring himself, of ‘a blind young man whose spirit was perverse and obstinate’, and of ‘two elderly and two younger women’ who ‘went happily to their deaths, without shackles or any other constraints, as if they were going off to be married’.²¹ French visitors spoke in remarkably similar terms. Following a visit to London in which he had observed the burning of John Rogers in February 1555, the prothonotary to the French king (and brother of the ambassador Noailles) explained how Rogers’s constancy brought such pleasure to the onlooking crowd, who were so unafraid to offer words of succour and encouragement, that it seemed to be more like a wedding than an execution.²² The following month, the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, likewise explained to Charles V that the executions had ‘hardened and encouraged many, having seen the constancy, or rather stubbornness, with which these heretics face the flames’.²³ There seems to be a tacit recognition throughout these reports of what Peter Lake and Michael Questier have discussed in the context of the Elizabethan persecution of Catholics: namely, the ability of the condemned to appropriate contemporary conventions surrounding last dying speeches and the notion of a ‘good death’ in order to appeal to their audiences, sometimes even winning the transient sympathy of their religious opponents.²⁴

20. ‘con vehementissime horationi persuaso tutto quel popolo a persister nella loro religione et soportar come essi facevano ogni persecutione et ogni crutiato si commossero talmente quelle genti che temè il governor che non si voltassero verso lui et li sui ministri’: Kew, *The National Archives* [hereafter TNA], PRO 31/14/3 [first part], pp. 12–14, at 14, Giovanni Michieli to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 8 Apr. 1555 (printed in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* (38 vols, London, 1864–1947) [hereafter *CSPV*], vi, no. 49). This volume is split into two parts, with page numbers restarting at the beginning of each part. The first part, from which the above passage is drawn, consists of deciphered sections of letters transcribed in the second.

21. ‘un vecchio di 70 anni che andava con le ferle, et che volontariamente sè ito ad accusarsi, et pertinace è morto nel fuoco; et un cieco giovane, ma molto perverso et ostinato nel suo mal animo. Sabbato poi bruciorno quattro donne due vecchie e 2 giovinii ... quali vanno tanto allegramente alla morte, senza ligarli et senza altro sforzo che pare vaddino a nozze’: Aloisio Schivenoglia to Duke of Mantua, May 1556, quoted and tr. in M. Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 122–3.

22. *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles*, iv, pp. 172–4, at 173 (François de Noailles to Anne de Montmorency, 4 Feb. [1555]).

23. ‘telles exécutions ont endurci et rebouté plusieurs subjectz pour avoir veu la constance ou plustost opiniâtreté avec laquelle lesdicts hérétiques ont enduré le feug’: Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon [hereafter BmB], MS Granvelle 73, fos 270r–271v, at fo. 270v, Simon Renard to Charles V, [27 Mar. 1555]. This copy of the letter is undated. Dating drawn from *CSPSp*, xiii, no. 161.

24. P. Lake and M. Questier, ‘Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, no. 153 (1996), pp. 64–107, esp. 95–104.

As well as emboldening Protestants, foreign ambassadors also often suggested that the burnings might provoke popular revolt. The French ambassador Antoine de Noailles noted in May 1556 that, 'by fire and sword, and with the utmost rigour of justice, [the Queen] puts to death so many people, against which all her subjects make a great outcry, being of the opinion that these unfortunate wretches who are subjected to so many different torments, all die innocent'.²⁵ Although Noailles was inclined to play up even the smallest hint of English unrest, his assessment was echoed by the Venetian ambassador Michieli, who reported in June 1555 that the Marian bishops were intent on executing the sentences against the heretics, 'and two days ago, to the displeasure *as usual* of the population here, two Londoners were burned alive'. Such 'sudden severity' he concluded, 'is odious to many people'.²⁶ A year later, following the execution of Thomas Cranmer, he warned of the possibility of a great 'commotion (*scandolo*)', 'as demonstrated daily by the way in which the preachers are treated, and by the contemptuous demonstrations made in the churches'.²⁷ Meanwhile, in a series of dispatches to Philip and Charles V in the wake of the February 1555 burning of John Rogers, the imperial ambassador Renard reported murmurings in London among 'the nobles and heretical people' and warned that 'unless God remedies it, or moderation is used, things will take a dangerous turn'.²⁸ The following month he expressed his opinion to Charles V that the English bishops 'are so hot and hasty about religion and papal amity, causing several heretics to be burned every day, that I fear their zealously may cause the people to rise in arms this spring'.²⁹

Foreign ambassadors and agents were therefore more or less united in their fear that, initially, the executions were both emboldening Protestants and provoking public opposition. However, it is worth stressing that such assessments were founded more on the grounds that the *timing* was wrong, rather than the strategy itself. Renard's objections to the burnings

25. 'par le feu & le glaive, & en toute extresmité de rigueur de justice, elle fasse mourir tant de personnes, dont tout son peuple faict une grande clameur, estans en oppinion que ces paulvres miserables qui sont mesnez en tant de divers supplices, meurent tous innocens': *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles*, v, pp. 369–71, at 370–71 (Antoine de Noailles to Anne de Montmorency, 22 May 1556). See also Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors*, p. 225 n. 70.

26. 'Si attende pur ad essequir le sententie contra gli Heretici, et dui giorni sono, con il solito dispiacer di questo populo, furono abbruggiati vivi dui di questa terra'; 'anchora che a molti questa così subita severità sia molesta': TNA, PRO 31/14/3 [second part], pp. 51–3, at 53, Giovanni Michieli to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 1 June 1555 (*CSPV*, vi, no. 116). Emphasis my own.

27. 'il che sarà stato con la morte di lui di peggior scandalo, li come ogni di è dimostrato con li modi, che si usano verso li Predicatori, et con li dispreggi, che si fanno nelle Chiese': TNA, PRO 31/14/3 [second part], pp. 175–9, at 179, Giovanni Michieli to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 24 Mar. 1556 (*CSPV*, vi, no. 434).

28. 'prévoyis, si Dieu n'y remédie ou que telle précipitation ne se modère, les choses prendront dangereux succès': BmB, MS Granvelle 73, fos 335r–336r, at fo. 335r, Simon Renard to Charles V, [10 Feb. 1555] (date from *CSPSp*, xiii, no. 149). See also *CSPSp*, xiii, nos 147, 148.

29. 'les évesques, principalement celluy de Londres, sont si chaulx et si hastifz ès choses de la religion et amis du pape, faisant brusler plusieurs hérétiques de jour à aultre, que je doubte telle précipitation occasionne le peuple aux armes en ce printemps': BmB, MS Granvelle 73, fo. 270v.

in 1555 centred principally on the ‘hastiness’ of the English bishops in proceeding to executions.³⁰ As he explained to Philip II in February, ‘there are other means of chastising the obstinate *at this early stage*, such as secret executions, banishment and imprisonment’. The key was to proceed ‘safely, cautiously and slowly’.³¹ Renard’s cautiousness in this respect was no doubt a reflection of Charles V’s own well-known anxiety to keep the pace of Catholic restoration in England slow and steady so as not to provoke discontent (an anxiety which had delayed the papal legate Reginald Pole’s return to England for over a year following Mary’s accession).³² Similar concerns were also shared by Giovanni Michieli, for whom it was the ‘*sudden severity (subita severità)*’ of the persecutions in 1555 that, in his opinion, was ‘odious to many people’.³³ In contrast, by the final years of Mary’s reign, several foreign ambassadors seem to have come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the programme of persecution had succeeded at least in pacifying the Protestant threat, even if it had largely failed to convert the hearts and minds of committed heretics. In a long *relazione* sent back to Venice in May 1557, Giovanni Michieli reiterated his belief that many in England were not yet Catholic—‘internally, their souls are more ulcerated than ever’—and he expressed doubts about the future of Catholicism in the realm since, as a general rule, the English people were so irreligious that they would feign a conversion to Islam or Judaism ‘were their king to evince belief in it and will it so’.³⁴ Nevertheless, in stark contrast to his earlier fears that the burnings were emboldening Protestants, he now insisted that the overwhelming majority ‘dare not show [their heretical beliefs] for the fear they have of losing both life and estate’.³⁵ As a result, they were dutifully conforming, frequenting churches and, for all intents and purposes, ‘appearing Catholics (*parer cattolici*)’—a ‘taciturnity and quietness (*taciturnità e quiete*)’ which he found surprising.³⁶ In other words, the persecutions, despite doing little to win over the hearts and minds of Protestants, had succeeded in scaring them into outward

30. Ibid. Renard repeats this term multiple times in his letters of early 1555. See *CSPSp*, xiii, nos 147, 148, 164.

31. ‘il y a autres moyens pour chastier les obstiner en ce commencement sort par secrettes executions, par bannissement, par detencion de leurs personnes, et secure, caute, et lente festinare’: Vienna, ÖSTA Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, StAbt Großbritannien Diplomatische Korrespondenz 17–1, fos 85r–86v, at 85v, Simon Renard to Philip II, 5 Feb. 1555 (*CSPSp*, xiii, no. 148). My own emphasis.

32. For Pole’s difficulties in securing permission to return to England, see J. Edwards, *Archbishop Pole* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 124–40. Pole expressed his frustration at Spanish cautiousness in this respect in a blunt letter to Philip in September 1554. *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, ed. T.F. Mayer (4 vols, Aldershot, 2002–15), ii, no. 939.

33. TNA, PRO 31/14/3 [second part], p. 53.

34. ‘nell’interno gl’animi sono più che mai ulcerati; ‘perchè il medesimo fariano della religione maomettana o della giudaica, purchè il re mostrasse di credere, e volesse così’: *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, ed. L. Firpo (13 vols, Turin, 1965–), i, pp. 443, 444.

35. ‘non ardiscono di mostrarsi per la paura che hanno della perdita dei beni e della vita’: *ibid.*, p. 443.

36. Ibid., pp. 443–4.

conformity. Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, one of Philip II's most prominent diplomats and a critic of Archbishop Pole, seems to have concurred.³⁷ Writing to Philip in November 1558 while Mary I lay on her deathbed, he explained his fears for the future of Catholicism in England, since Elizabeth was 'inclined to govern through men who are believed to be heretics'. However, he nonetheless implied that Mary's actions up to that point had succeeded in forcing Protestantism into hiding. '[T]here is not a heretic or a traitor in all the kingdom', he explained, 'who has not joyfully *raised himself from the grave* in order to come to [Elizabeth's] side'—a phrase which might imply that, in Feria's opinion, Protestantism was somewhat dormant: ready to spring back into life with the new queen's accession, certainly, but currently in a quiescent state.³⁸

A more explicit articulation of this same idea can be found with Michieli's replacement as Venetian ambassador to England, Michiel Surian. Writing to the Venetian Doge and Senate on 3 April 1557, he explained how religion was currently being 'regulated with less severity'—a reference to the notable decline in burnings that spring.³⁹ While he believed that this might, in part, be designed to 'avoid farther [*sic*] exasperation of the public mind', he also suggested that it was because the burnings were doing their job and scaring Protestants into conformity. '[A]lthough few are perhaps really Catholics at heart', he acknowledged, 'everybody, nevertheless, in appearance, makes a show of living religiously, so there is no cause for proceeding against them'.⁴⁰ Later that month, Surian painted an even rosier picture of the success of the Marian campaign in Canterbury, where, he explained:

through the goodness, prudence, and doctrine of the Right Reverend Legate [Pole], religious affairs have prospered so much that, although that region had been more corrupted than all the rest of the kingdom, it is now nevertheless so well reformed that it can set a great example not only to the whole of this island, but to Flanders likewise, and to some part of Italy.⁴¹

37. See Figueroa's comments on Pole's 'lukewarmness' in his letter to the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadaneira on 22 March 1558: 'El cardenal es buen hombre, pero es muy tibio'. *Patris Petri de Ribadaneira, Societatis Jesu sacerdotis: Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inedita, ex autographis, antiquissimis apographis et regestis deprompta*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, lviii, lx (2 vols, Madrid, 1920–23), I, no. 107 (CSPSp, xiii, no. 415).

38. 'No ay ningún erege ni traydor en todo el reyno que no se aya levantado de la sepultura para venir a ella': Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, 'The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558', ed. and tr. M.J. Rodriguez Salgado and S. Adams, *Camden Miscellany*, xxviii (1984), pp. 302–44, at 321–2, 331. My own emphasis.

39. See Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 129.

40. CSPV, vi, no. 852 (Michiel Surian to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 3 Apr. 1557). This letter does not appear among the other transcripts of Surian's letters in TNA, PRO 31/14/5.

41. 'con la bontà, et prudentia et dottrina del Reverendissimo Legato le cose della Religione sono ridutte in modo, che se ben quella parte è stata più corrotta di tutto il resto del Regno, tuttavia hora è così ben riformata, che può dar grande essemplio, non solamente a tutta questa Isola, ma anchora alla Fiandra, et a qualche parte della Italia': TNA, PRO 31/14/5, pp. 301–3, at 301, Michiel Surian to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 21 Apr. 1557 (CSPV, vi, no. 863).

This favourable impression of Pole's efforts in Canterbury was echoed by the Mantuan ambassador to Philip II, Annibale Litolfi, who wrote to the Duke of Mantua in April 1557 explaining that, though there were still many Protestants in England, in Canterbury Cardinal Pole 'has worked miracles', succeeding even in 'having converted certain very stubborn old heretics'. As a result, he suggested, there was hope of many more fruits yet to come from the efforts of the queen and her archbishop.⁴² Another Mantuan observer, Aloisio Schivenoglia (whose earlier remarks upon the constancy shown by English Protestants in the face of the flames were discussed above), similarly seems to have been convinced that Mary had done enough to ensure that 'matters of religion would continue in the accustomed manner' in the immediate wake of Elizabeth's accession.⁴³

Overall, therefore, these reports from foreign ambassadors and agents suggest a qualified endorsement of the Marian anti-heresy campaign. They were sceptical that the executions would persuade those English people infected with heresy to recant. And, initially, they were worried that the burnings might provoke popular revolt. Nevertheless, as the campaign wore on they seem to have come to the opinion that the burnings were succeeding in driving Protestantism underground—scaring evangelicals into outward conformity. Although perhaps not the most ringing of endorsements, this may well have been counted a success in the eyes of Mary and Pole. Indeed, as Tom Freeman has suggested, the elimination of the most publicly recalcitrant dissenters was by no means an insignificant achievement—'[i]t meant that the restoration of Catholicism could continue without open defiance'.⁴⁴

II

Looking beyond the reports of ambassadors, another significant foreign perspective on the burnings comes from the various Spanish theologians, monks and friars who accompanied Philip II to England in 1554. Historians such as John Edwards, William Wizeman and José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras have underlined the contribution of these Spaniards to the Marian restoration more broadly, including the revival of monasticism, the purging of the universities of Protestant influence, the reforms of Archbishop Pole's legatine synod, and the re-establishment of key features of

42. 'Scrivono da Contuberi, ch'el Reverendissimo Legato hà fatto anch'egli miracoli in questi giorni santi, massimamente in haver convertiti certi vecchi heretici ostinatissimi': Chambers, 'A Mantuan in London', pp. 104–5 (Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, 22 Apr. 1557). This would seem to vindicate the Marian Church's early decision to transport those convicted of heresy throughout Canterbury diocese to the cathedral city for execution, rather than having them burned in their local communities. See Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 129.

43. *CSPV*, vii, no. 2 (Aloisio Schivenoglia to Ottaviano Vivaldino, 31 Dec. 1558). Although, from observing Elizabeth's recent behaviour, he was rapidly being disabused of that belief.

44. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal', p. 179.

Catholic devotion such as Corpus Christi processions.⁴⁵ However, the Spanish contribution to Mary's campaign against heresy has typically been seen as somewhat negligible.⁴⁶ Such an impression is founded upon a sermon delivered by Philip's confessor, Fray Alfonso de Castro, in February 1555 in which he 'did earnestly inuey against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in scripture to burne any for his conscience'.⁴⁷ More recently, Eamon Duffy has warned against taking Castro's objections too far. Not only do the details of his sermon come from John Foxe (and so are likely to have been heavily glossed), but Castro was a supporter of heresy trials and executions in general, as evidenced by his published writings on the subject. It may well be, therefore, that this sermon was inspired more by Castro's fear that the executions might turn popular opinion further against the Spanish in England than by any qualms about the policy itself.⁴⁸ Regardless, it is abundantly clear that the other Spaniards who accompanied Philip to England were fully in favour of the policy. Spanish theologians, including Castro, appear to have contributed to the ideological justification of the campaign in print and pulpit, while the Dominicans Bartolomé Carranza, Pedro de Soto and Juan de Villagarcia were directly involved in the trials and burning of English Protestants.⁴⁹ Carranza's work on a catechism for use in England ultimately brought him under the suspicion of the Inquisition following his return to Spain. However, numerous witnesses during his Inquisition trial affirmed his role as one of the key individuals pushing for further repression in England—to the extent that he had criticised Archbishop Pole for being 'milder than he would have wished in the punishment of such

45. J. Edwards, 'Spanish Religious Influence in Marian England', in E. Duffy and D. Loades, eds, *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 201–27; J. Edwards, 'Corpus Christi at Kingston upon Thames: Bartolomé Carranza and the Eucharist in Marian England', in Edwards and Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 139–52; J.I.T. Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el cardenal Pole: Un navarro en la restauración católica de Inglaterra (1554–1558)* (Pamplona, 1977); J. Edwards, 'Fray Bartolomé Carranza: A Spanish Dominican in the England of Mary Tudor', in Edwards and Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 21–32; A. Hegarty, 'Carranza and the English Universities', in Edwards and Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 153–72. For Philip II's role in overseeing these religious developments, see Samson, *Mary and Philip*, esp. ch. 7.

46. See, for example, D. Loades, 'The English Church during the Reign of Mary I', in Edwards and Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 33–48, at 46–7; G. Alexander, 'Bonner and the Marian Persecutions', in C. Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 157–75, at 160–62.

47. John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Euery Kynge's Tyme in this Realme* (London, 1570), p. 1705, available via *The Acts and Monumentes Online* (University of Sheffield, 2011), at <http://www.dhi.ac.uk/fox> (accessed 23 Apr. 2024).

48. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 82–3, 113; Alfonso de Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses libri XIV* (Paris, 1534; repr. Antwerp, 1556); Alfonso de Castro, *De Iusta haereticorum punitione libri III* (Lyon, 1556). As Stefania Pastore has shown, Castro's treatises on heresy were all shaped and informed by the political situation in which he wrote them: S. Pastore, *Il Vangelo e la Spada: L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome, 2003), pp. 208–13.

49. Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 260–65; Evenden, 'Spanish Involvement in the Restoration of Catholicism', pp. 56–63; Berenguer, *Habsburg England*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 242–61.

things'.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, Villagarcía certainly seems to have believed that the English campaign had succeeded in reducing the number of Protestants by the end of Mary's reign. Reflecting on the nature of heresy and its punishment, in an unpublished treatise written in the early 1560s, he explained: 'When I left England, for every heretic that could be counted, one would find ten Catholics; and in Spain, by God's mercy, I do not think one true heretic can be found. This is because when this weed first appears, it is immediately rooted out'.⁵¹ Admittedly, Villagarcía was writing following his imprisonment by the Spanish Inquisition (largely on account of his association with Carranza), so he had considerable incentive to make himself appear tough on heresy. Nevertheless, his comments conform with his activities in Marian England, where, alongside de Soto, he played a prominent role in the examination and ultimate execution of Thomas Cranmer.⁵²

There can be little doubt that Philip II also thought the Marian anti-heresy campaign a considerable success. Had his experience in England led him to believe otherwise, it seems unlikely that he would have written to his sister, the regent Juana, just two months after Mary's death, urging her to encourage the Supreme Council of the Inquisition to 'punish thoroughly and with great rigour the heresies that I hear are over there [in Spain], and to neglect nothing in service of this aim, whoever is implicated'.⁵³ Philip's father, Charles V, had expressed similar sentiments to Juana earlier that year, noting approvingly how Philip had executed 'so many sharp justices' in England, even against bishops, and suggesting that similarly swift and strong action against heresy was needed in his own

50. 'Y oyó dezir que el arzobispo de Toledo andava descontento del Legado, por velle más blando de lo que él quisiera en el castigo de estas cosas': Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el cardenal Pole*, pp. 100–101, at 101 (extract from testimony of Luis Venegas at the Inquisition trial of Bartolomé Carranza, 19 Sept. 1562). For further evidence of Carranza's support for the burnings, see *ibid.*, pp. 104–5 (testimony of Ruigómez de Silva, 22 Oct. 1562); 109–10 (testimony of Juan de Benavides, 29 Dec. 1562). The Inquisitorial trial evidence for Carranza's involvement in the Marian burnings has been explored in detail by John Edwards in *Mary I*, pp. 260–65. On Carranza's catechism, see W. Wizeman, 'The Pope, the Saints, and the Dead: Uniformity of Doctrine in Carranza's *Catechismo* and the Printed Works of the Marian Theologians', in Edwards and Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 115–38.

51. 'En Ynglaterra quando de allá salí, por buena cuenta se hallauan por vn herege diez cathólicos y en España por la misericordia de dios creo no ay vn Herege fino: Porque en asomando esta malayerba, luego la arrancan de Raíz': Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS 010547, fo. 74r, Juan de Villagarcía, 'Diálogo llamado cadena de oro. Compuesto por el muy Reverendo religioso y doctíssimo padre maestro F. Joan de Villagarcía Regente del insigne Collegio de S. Gregorio de Valladolid entre dos cristianos, Conuiene a saber. Ioan y Antonio: Y sirue para dar a entender aquellas cosas conque vn herege se pueda y deua volver a la sancta fee cathólica de Iesu cristo' [c.1559–1563]; tr. Velasco Berenguer, *Habsburg England*, p. 277.

52. See D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (London, 1996), pp. 581–2, 586–9, 595–6.

53. 'Suplico a Vuestra Alteza mande y hable de mi parte al Arzobispo y al Consejo de la Inquisición, que castiguen muy bien y con gran rigor estas herejías que escriben que allá hay, y que no dejen de hacer ninguna cosa de las que para esto convengan y toque a quien tocaren': *El Arzobispo Carranza: 'Tiempos Recios'*, ed. J.I.T. Idígoras (5 vols, Salamanca, 2003), iv, pt. 1, pp. 589–90, at 590 (Philip II to Princess Juana, [Nov. 1558]).

hereditary Catholic realms.⁵⁴ Such advice seems to have been unnecessary; Philip committed himself to a particularly brutal campaign in the Spanish-held Netherlands in the early 1560s. Despite repeated warnings from the Count of Egmont that the strict anti-heresy placards would lead to popular revolt (just as Simon Renard had once warned him in the English context), the Spanish king remained convinced that persecution was the right course.⁵⁵ As he wrote to Margaret of Parma, governor of the Netherlands, on 17 October 1565, 'If one fears disturbances there is no reason to think that they are more imminent and will be greater when one does allow the inquisitors to perform their proper duties and when one does assist them'. In fact, he was of the firm belief that things had got so bad not because of the harsh laws against heresy, but rather because of the 'negligence, leniency and duplicity of the judges' who had failed to enforce them.⁵⁶ One might suggest that Philip's religious zeal was such that, even had he thought the Marian campaign a failure, he would have felt duty-bound to continue the battle against heresy elsewhere. As Geoffrey Parker has suggested, Philip's 'messianic mindset' could lead him to prioritise religious principle over political calculation.⁵⁷ However, Philip repeatedly recalled his time in England, and specifically his record in quashing heresy there, as a great success. During his sworn testimony at the Inquisition trial of Bartolomé Carranza in October 1562, the Spanish king boasted that 'many heretics had been burned and many others converted' during his period in England, affirming that Carranza in particular had been a key figure in the campaign and that he had written to the Dominican to thank him personally for his efforts in that regard.⁵⁸ In a letter to the Duke of Alba eight years later, ordering him to prepare to lead a Catholic crusade against Elizabeth I, Philip again recalled his time in England as a glorious success, reminding the Duke that 'God has already granted that, by my intervention and my hand, that kingdom was previously restored to the Catholic religion'.⁵⁹

54. 'Y pues esto es así, y en Inglaterra se han hecho y hacen tantas y tan crudas justicias, hasta obispos, por la orden que allí ha dado, como si fuera su rey natural, y se lo permiten, mucha mas razón hay para que acá, de donde lo es, y todos tan cristianos, se haga en esto la demostración que la calidad del caso requiere': L.P. Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste* (2 vols, Brussels, 1854–5), I, no. 173 (Charles V to his daughter Juana, 25 May 1558).

55. G. Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (London, 2014), pp. 144–7.

56. *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, ed. and tr. E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink (London, 1974), pp. 53–6, at 55 (Philip II to the Duchess of Parma, 17 Oct. 1565). Andrew Pettegree's suggestion that 'Mary was not a well-travelled woman, but her husband would have been able to tell her that, as a means of building the faith, burning dissidents did not work' is therefore difficult to substantiate. Pettegree, 'A.G. Dickens and his Critics', p. 57.

57. Parker, *Imprudent King*, p. 93.

58. 'se relaxaron muchas personas y otras se reduxeron'; 'el dicho arzobispo puso en el dicho negocio mucho trabajo ... Y su Magstad scribió al dicho arzobispo dándole gracias': Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el cardenal Pole*, pp. 102–3 (testimony of Philip II in the trial of Bartolomé Carranza, 14 Oct. 1562).

59. 'es, a saber, haver sido yo Rey de aquel Reyno en que Dios fue servido que ya una vez, por mi medio y por mi mano, se restituyese la religión católica': *La Batalla del Mar Océano: Corpus documental de las hostilidades entre España e Inglaterra (1686–1604)*, ed. J. Calvar, J.I. González-Aller

Equally positive assessments of the Marian burnings can be found in the orations which accompanied the various funeral services marking Mary's death across Europe, from Brussels in the Spanish-held Netherlands to the heart of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome.⁶⁰ While such orations are unlikely to offer the most critical of appraisals, it is nonetheless notable that they foregrounded Mary's success in restoring Catholicism to her kingdom, including her efforts against heresy. For example, in Habsburg-controlled Naples, the Conventual Franciscan and renowned preacher against heresy, Francesco Visdomini, preached a sermon in February 1559 in which he portrayed Mary as the providential saviour of England.⁶¹ When 'miserable England was entirely excommunicated' during the reigns of Henry and Edward, he explained, 'in one lone Mary was preserved all the faith and sinew of Catholic truth'.⁶² She was subsequently raised to the throne with a heavenly mandate to save the realm from the clutches of heresy. '[A]bove all, above all care, above all importance, she attended to divine worship and the Catholic religion, opened churches, purged temples, restored altars ... accused and did not excuse the grave faults of her people'. '[I]mmediately upon her appearance', Visdomini concluded, 'fortune changed its face, so that whoever had fled, followed, and whoever had won, lost, and whoever had been stubborn, yielded'.⁶³ Similarly, in a funerary sermon delivered in Brussels in December 1558 (and published the following year), the suffragan bishop of Arras François Richardot praised at length:

the zeal, the passion, the toils, the courage, the constancy which this virtuous Princess always displayed so as to ensure that the Name of God shone throughout her Kingdom, so that his holy Commandments were kept, so that the fear of his judgments remained, so that the meaning of his true word was soundly

Hierro and M. Del Campo Mérida Valverde (5 vols, Madrid, 1988–2015), i, no. 27 (Philip II to Duke of Alba, 14 July 1570). For further evidence of Philip's support for the English campaign, see Velasco Berenguer, *Habsburg England*, pp. 275–6.

60. Tibble, *Nicolaus Mameranus*, pp. 173–87.

61. Francesco Visdomini, *Oratione funebre fatta in Napoli nell'bon. essequie della serenissima regina d'Inghilterra* (Naples, 1559). On Visdomini, see E. Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), ch. 2. On this sermon specifically, see E. Michelson, 'An Italian Explains the English Reformation (with God's Help)', in E. Michelson, S.K. Taylor and M.N. Knoll, eds, *A Linking of Heaven and Earth: Studies in Religious and Cultural History in Honor of Carlos M.N. Eire* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 33–48.

62. 'era la misera Inghilterra sco[m]municata tutta, in una sola Maria tutta la fede, & tutt'il nervo della Catholica verità si stava': Visdomini, *Oratione funebre*, sig. A3r.

63. 'sopra tutto, sopra ogni cura, sopra ogni importanza, al culto divino, & alla catholica religione attende, apre le chiese, purga i tempii, rimette gli altari ... accusa, & non excusa le gravi colpe della sua gente'; 'subito al suo apparir ca[m]bia la fortuna il volto, & chi fuggiva segue, & chi vinceva, perde, & chi insultava, cede': *ibid.*, sig. A3v. Michelson, 'An Italian Explains the English Reformation', pp. 40–41, detects a degree of uncertainty over the future of Catholicism in England in this sermon, largely on the basis of Visdomini's silence on the subject. However, that silence might equally be taken as a sign that Visdomini believed that, despite the accession of Elizabeth, Mary had done enough to ensure a Catholic future for England.

understood, so that Faith, Piety, Religion, and all that concerns the honour of his holy house was faithfully observed.

This zeal had, he went on, given her the strength to 'put to flight the gangs and forerunners of the antichrist that wanted to encroach on her kingdom'.⁶⁴ Given the religious situation in the Spanish-held Netherlands, in which (as already noted above) Philip II's strict anti-heresy placards were frequently not enacted due to the unwillingness of local officials to enforce them, Richardot may well have hoped that his sermon might encourage others to emulate Mary's devotion in purifying the realm of heresy. Indeed, he suggested as much, making the point that he was recalling 'a few of her great and heroic virtues, not so much to illustrate the memory of her name as to present us another real example that may be imitated'.⁶⁵ It is worth noting here that Mary's apparent success in ridding England of Protestantism would have appeared all the more impressive to European audiences for whom England was perceived as having been lost to heresy for over two decades before her accession (that is, since Henry VIII's split with Rome in 1533)—a sharp contrast with English perceptions that their Church had only really parted from Catholicism in the late 1540s.⁶⁶

III

The positive impression of the Marian campaign against heresy among foreign Catholic observers was echoed, albeit inadvertently, by European Protestants. Eamon Duffy has suggested that the explosion of anti-Nicodemite literature produced by English Protestant exiles during

64. 'le zelle, l'affection, les labeurs, le courage, la constance, que ceste vertueuse Princesse a tousiours monstré, pour faire, que en son Roiaume, le Nom de Dieu fust illustré, ses saints Commandemens gardez, la crainte de ses jugements maintenue: la teneur de sa veritable parole sainement entendu: la Foy, la Pieté, la Religion, & tout ce que concerne l'honneur de sa sainte maison, y fut reueremment obserué': François Richardot, 'Un autre sermon, fait par le susdit Richardot, devant Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye: Aus Obsèques de la Royne Marie d'Angleterre. Célébrées audit Bruxelles en ladite Eglise Sainte Gudle', in *Le Sermon Funebre, Fait Devant le Roy, par Mesire François Richardot, Evesque de Nicople, et Suffragant d'Arras: Aus Obseques et Funerailles du Tresgrand, et Tresvictorieux Empereur Charles Cinquième* (Antwerp, 1559), sigs E2v–F6r, at sig. F4v (tr. Tibble, *Nicolaus Mameranus*, pp. 177–87).

65. 'quelque chose de ses grandes & heroïques vertus: non tant pour illustrer la memoire de son nom, que pour proposer à nous, autre vraie matiere d'imitation': Richardot, 'Un autre sermon', sig. E4v (tr. Tibble, *Nicolaus Mameranus*, p. 177). On this wider context, see J. Woltjer, 'Public Opinion and the Persecution of Heretics in the Netherlands, 1550–1591', in J. Pollmann and A. Spicer, eds, *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 87–106, esp. 105–6.

66. See, for example, the sad opinion of religion in England articulated by various Spaniards throughout the 1530s and beyond, detailed in P. Marshall, 'The Other Black Legend: The Henrician Reformation and the Spanish People', *English Historical Review*, cxvi (2001), pp. 31–49, esp. 36–40. For evidence that similar sentiments may have been prevalent in Italy, see William Thomas's relation of a supposed conversation between himself and 'certain Italian Gentlemen' during his travels in Italy in 1546: William Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue of the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. J.A. Froude (London, 1861), esp. pp. 12–13.

Mary's reign was, far from a mark of strength, 'actually a symptom of extreme anxiety among the reformed leadership'—testimony to Protestant fears that the burnings were scaring English evangelicals into conformity.⁶⁷ The demonisation of Mary and her burnings, in literature produced by European Protestants, might be seen as a sign of something similar: a realisation that the Marian campaign was succeeding in extinguishing the true faith in England, and a fear that similar tactics might be adopted elsewhere. This is certainly the impression given by a graphic German woodcut printed in Nuremberg in late 1555 and entitled *Relations from the Church in England* (Fig. 1).⁶⁸ The image depicts several Marian bishops, led by the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, as ravenous wolves drinking the blood of Protestant reformers. It was copied from an illustration in the anti-Catholic tract *The Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe*, by the Protestant exile William Turner, published in Emden earlier in 1555.⁶⁹ Here, the text was rewritten for a German audience, with the final section addressed directly to the German Protestant reader: 'For eight years the divine word has shone / In England in every place, / Ingratitude was the reason for which / It has now been extinguished. / Now it [England] listens to the anti-Christ, / who is the bishop of Winchester'.⁷⁰ The passage ended with a stark warning to the 'German man' to keep these awful events in England 'always before your eyes (*allzeit vor augen*)' and be thankful for God's word, lest He allow a similar tragedy to befall Germany.

Similar concern about the Marian burnings among European Protestants can be found with the publication of a Latin translation of Edmund Bonner's 1554 London visitation articles, printed on a Protestant press in Leipzig in 1555 and translated into German the following year.⁷¹ Bonner's London visitation had employed a series of probing questions into a vari-

67. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 163.

68. *Der Kirchen in Engelandt gelegenheit* ([Nuremberg]: [Hans Glaser?], [c. 1555]); copy at Zentralbibliothek Zürich, PAS II 1/4a, digitised at <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-91886> Public Domain Mark. On the dating, see R.J. Smith, 'The Lambe Speaketh ... An English Protestant Satire', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, lxi (1998), pp. 261–7, at 264.

69. William Turner, *The Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe* (Emden, 1555). See also M. Jones, 'The Lambe Speaketh ... An Addendum', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, lxiii (2000), pp. 287–94.

70. 'Acht jar leuchte das Götlich wortt / In Engelandt an allem ortt / Undanckbarkeit die ursach war / Darumb es ist verloschen gar / Nun höret es den wider Christ / Der zu Wintonien Bischoff ist': *Der Kirchen in Engelandt gelegenheit*.

71. Edmund Bonner, *Nova inquisitio haereticae pravitatis in regno Angliae, scripta populari lingua gentis, et impressa Lundini, conversa autem in Latinum sermonem, ut omnes pii intelligent, quàm salutaris ipsa sit, et quantum optare debeant, similem fieri in aliis etiam regnis inquisitionem* (Leipzig, 1555); Edmund Bonner, *Neue Inquisition oder nachforschung der ketzer Meister im Koenigreich Engelland erstlich in Englischer sprach beschrieben zu Lunden gedruckt nachmals ins Latein gebracht und nu auch verdeutschet* (Eisleben, 1556). Awareness of Bonner's visitation articles on the Continent may have been raised by John Bale. Bale would eventually publish a heavily annotated version of the articles in 1561, but the preface suggests that he originally wrote it in Basle in 1554: John Bale, *A Declaration of Edmonde Bonners Articles Concerning the Cleargye of Lo[n]don Dyocese Whereby that Excerable [sic] Antychriste, Is in His Righte Colours Reueled in the Yeare of Our Lord a. 1554* (London, 1561), sig. A3r.



Figure 1. *Der Kirchen in Engelandt gelegenheit* (*Relations from the Church in England*) ([Nuremberg]: [Hans Glaser?], [c.1555]). Zurich, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, PAS II 1/4a, available via *e-manuscripta* (ETH-Bibliothek et al.), at <https://doi.org/10.7891/e-manuscripta-91886> Public Domain Mark.

ety of different practical markers of Catholic orthodoxy in order to detect and arrest a large number of evangelical non-conformists, some of whom were subsequently burned following the restoration of the heresy laws in

January 1555.⁷² The Latin translation reproduced these questions, but added a series of marginal glosses pointing out the religious error contained within them. It also appeared under a new satirical title, *A New Inquisition into Heretical Depravity in the Kingdom of England ... Translated into Latin so that All Pious People Will Know How Salutory it Is, and How Greatly it Is to Be Desired to Erect Similar Inquisitions in Other Kingdoms*. Although the suggestion that the Marian 'inquisition' might inspire similarly brutal persecutions elsewhere was clearly intended to scare Protestant readers into greater zeal and vigilance, there is no reason to believe that the fear itself was not genuine. Indeed, this translation seems to attest to Protestant awareness of the terrifying efficiency with which the Marian regime leveraged the normal processes of episcopal visitation in order to effect what Thomas Freeman has termed the 'unprecedented local supervision of religious conduct'—an idea to which we will return below.⁷³

It is little wonder, then, that hopes for the future of the Protestant faith on English soil were distinctly muted among foreign Protestants in the immediate wake of Elizabeth's accession. As John Calvin recalled in a letter to the English secretary of state William Cecil in January 1559, although there was now hope that Elizabeth I would usher in a new age of godly worship, 'the fearful cloud of darkness ... had well nigh reduced to despair all pious minds' during Mary's reign.⁷⁴ Rudolph Gwalther, writing from Zurich to Elizabeth's physician Richard Masters earlier that month, warned that anything short of a full-throated and uncompromisingly Protestant religious settlement in England would be destined to fail in the face of intransigent and ingrained popery.⁷⁵ While such fears were no doubt inspired largely by Elizabeth's studied ambiguity regarding her religious intentions over the first months of her reign, the realisation that Mary had done so much to weaken native English Protestantism probably also played a part.⁷⁶ This was certainly the impression being given by English Protestants in correspondence with their foreign counterparts. Writing to Heinrich Bullinger in May 1559, John Jewel lamented the efficacy with which the Marian regime had purged the English universities of Protestants, so that 'there are scarcely two individuals who think with us, and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit, that they can do

72. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 90–91; Alexander, 'Bonner and the Marian Persecutions', pp. 168–9.

73. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal', pp. 180–81.

74. *Letters of John Calvin: Compiled from the Original Manuscripts and Edited with Historical Notes*, ed. J. Bonnet and M.R. Gilchrist (new edn, 4 vols, New York, 1972), iv, p. 15 (John Calvin to William Cecil, 29 Jan. 1559).

75. *The Zurich Letters: Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetic Reformers, during the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. and tr. H. Robinson, 2nd ser. (2 vols, Cambridge, 1845), i, no. 5 (Rudolph Gwalther to Richard Masters, 16 Jan. 1559).

76. On Elizabeth's ambiguity regarding religion at the beginning of her reign, see P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT, 2018), p. 420.

nothing ... You would scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time'.⁷⁷

IV

The evidence presented above suggests that foreign observers both during and immediately after Mary's death do not seem to have shared historians' pessimistic assessments of the Marian campaign against heresy. Rather than seeing it as 'decidedly old-fashioned as well as brutal', Mary's record as a rigorous, uncompromising and, on the whole, effective scourge of heretics seems to have garnered her a considerable degree of respect in the minds of European Catholics, and fear in the hearts of Protestants.⁷⁸ However, it remains to be seen whether the Marian example influenced the approach to heresy taken by any other European Catholics in the years following her death. To explore this issue, this article now turns to focus on the anti-heresy campaigns launched by two European cardinals: Carlo Borromeo, who became archbishop of Spanish-controlled Milan in 1564, and Charles de Lorraine, who was in effective control of French religious policy in the late 1550s and early 1560s.

Although Carlo Borromeo is principally remembered for his far-reaching reform programme—a programme which would become a model for Catholic reform throughout Christendom—one of his earliest priorities following his appointment as archbishop of Milan was the extirpation of heresy.⁷⁹ With its status as a key communications and transport nexus bringing a constant stream of people, texts and ideas into the archdiocese from neighbouring Switzerland and the Waldensian valleys, mid-sixteenth-century Milan was 'a highway for heresy rather than a bastion of Catholicism'.⁸⁰ The alarming spread of heretical belief had prompted Philip II to introduce a Spanish-style Inquisition (under royal control) to Milan in the early 1560s. Borromeo, together with the Milanese ruling classes, had successfully resisted this attempt, believing it to be a plot by the Spanish king to encroach upon the goods and livelihoods of the Milanese people.⁸¹ Nevertheless, Borromeo was well aware that

77. *The Zurich Letters: Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others, with some of the Helvetic Reformers, during the Early Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. and tr. H. Robinson, 1st ser. (2 vols, Cambridge, 1842), i, no. 14 (John Jewel to Heinrich Bullinger, 22 May 1559).

78. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 161.

79. On 'model bishops' such as Borromeo, see C. McNamara, 'Molding the Model Bishop from Trent to Vatican II', *Church History*, lxxxviii (2019), pp. 58–86, esp. 58–61; C. McNamara, *The Bishop's Burden: Reforming the Catholic Church in Early Modern Italy* (Washington, DC, 2020), pp. 5–16.

80. R. Midura, 'Policing in Print: Social Control in Spanish and Borromean Milan (1535–1584)', in N. Lamal, J. Cumby and H.J. Helmers, eds, *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leiden, 2021), pp. 21–46, at 27.

81. On this convoluted episode, see M.C. Giannini, 'Fra autonomia politica e ortodossia religiosa: Il tentativo d'introdurre l'Inquisizione "al modo di Spagna" nello Stato di Milano', *Società e Storia*, xci (2001), pp. 79–134.

previous efforts to deal with heresy in his archdiocese—efforts led by the Roman Inquisition—had proven insufficient. As he explained during an oration to the second Milanese provincial council in 1569, the ‘deadly torches of heresies’ which had erupted in neighbouring provinces had come to:

surround us on all sides and are here even at the gangway of the ship. It is to be feared that at any hour or moment this force of waters will burst into our province and carry it away entirely in its waves unless we meet the danger with the help of God and the greatest vigilance of the pastors.⁸²

Accordingly, Borromeo’s first two provincial councils in the 1560s issued substantial legislation against heresy, much of which empowered the bishops and clergy of his diocese to take the matter in hand at the expense of the Roman inquisitors.⁸³

With this context in mind, it seems significant that Borromeo sought out and recruited two individuals who had been intimately involved in the Marian Counter-Reformation. As his first vicar-general—a vitally important position during the period from 1564 to 1566 when Borromeo was not resident in his diocese—he appointed Nicolò Ormaneto, who had served as Archbishop Pole’s datary and legal adviser in England.⁸⁴ During this same period, Borromeo also appointed Thomas Goldwell, the Marian bishop of St Asaph and another close associate of Pole, as his auxiliary.⁸⁵ Borromeo clearly valued the experience these individuals had gained in England. In a letter to his secretary on 6 May 1564, he explained that he was sending Ormaneto to Milan since, on account of his past experience as a ‘disciple of that cardinal of happy memory, Pole of England’ (as well as the time he had previously spent with the bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti), he believed him to be ‘one of the best men that I could have in these times for the government of my Church of Milan’.⁸⁶

82. *Charles Borromeo: Selected Orations, Homilies and Writings*, ed. and tr. J.R. Cihak and A. Santogrossi (London, 2017), p. 32 (Borromeo’s oration at the second provincial council, 24 Apr. 1569).

83. A. Borromeo, ‘L’arcivescovo Carlo Borromeo e la lotta contro l’eresia’, in F. Buzzi, D. Zardin and C. Alzati, eds, *Carlo Borromeo e l’opera della ‘Grande Riforma’: Cultura, religione e arti del governo nella Milano del pieno Cinquecento* (Milan, 1997), pp. 303–22; A. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Turin, 1996), pp. 283–5.

84. On Ormaneto in England, see J.P. Marmion, ‘The London Synod of Reginald, Cardinal Pole, 1555–6’ (Univ. of Keele Ph.D. thesis, 1974), pp. 71, 73, 269–70; T.F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 292–5. On Ormaneto’s career more broadly, see P. Preto, ‘Un aspetto della Riforma cattolica nel Veneto: L’episcopato padovano di Niccolò Ormaneto’, *Studi Veneziani*, xi (1969), pp. 325–63; C. Marcora, ‘Nicolò Ormaneto, Vicario di San Carlo (Giugno 1564–Giugno 1566)’, *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano*, viii (1961), pp. 209–590.

85. T.F. Mayer, ‘Goldwell, Thomas (d. 1585)’, *ODNB*.

86. ‘Fra pochissimi giorni partirà di qui messer Niccolò Ormanetto uno dei maggior huomini ch’io potessi havere in questi tempi per il governo di quella mia Chiesa di Milano ... Egli fu allievo del Card. di felice memoria, Polo d’Inghilterra et poi ministro principale del Vescovo Giovanni Matteo de Verona’: Borromeo to Tullio Albanese, 6 May 1564, quoted in Marcora, ‘Nicolò Ormaneto’, pp. 226–7, at 226.

Ormaneto was held in such esteem by those who knew him, Borromeo continued, 'that I must find myself consoled, if I have deferred so long in providing for someone to my satisfaction for this government, with the restoration that I expect from the good administration of this man whom I now send'.⁸⁷ Borromeo also seems to have had great hopes for Goldwell: so eager was he to recruit the English bishop that he ignored advice from his secretary that money might be saved by simply appointing Ormaneto his auxiliary instead. Borromeo clearly had reason to believe that Goldwell would be worth the expense.⁸⁸

Did Borromeo recruit Ormaneto and Goldwell on the basis of their involvement in the Marian regime's campaign against Protestantism, in the hope that they might help emulate aspects of that campaign in Milan? Both Ormaneto and Goldwell had certainly proved themselves to be highly efficient in the pursuit of heretical deviance in England, especially through their involvement in pastoral visitations. Although the Marian regime's campaign against heresy was a multi-pronged effort, relying on dedicated heresy commissions, parish clergy and a considerable degree of elite and popular lay co-operation on the ground, its success in identifying evangelical dissent was greatly enhanced by the 'vigorous use of the normal processes of visitation' by zealous bishops and their agents. Such visitations were, of course, about more than just the pursuit of heresy—they were vital mechanisms for assessing the spiritual and material needs of parishes. Nevertheless, as Eamon Duffy and Tom Freeman have demonstrated, the Marian regime successfully exploited their potential as an inquisitorial tool, using them to exert intense scrutiny over the private lives of the English people, searching not only for overt heretical activity and literature, but also for examples of non-conformist behaviour on the basis of which further examinations could be made.⁸⁹ This approach can be seen clearly in the Marian visitation articles for dioceses such as London, Canterbury, Gloucester and Lincoln, and it was ultimately enshrined in the twelfth decree of Reginald Pole's London synod of 1556.⁹⁰ In his role as bishop of St Asaph, Goldwell had presided over a similar visitation in Wales, his injunctions of August 1556 demonstrating a keen concern with

87. 'egli è tale in somma per giuditio di chi lo conosce che io mi debbo trovar consolatissimo se ho differito tanto tempo a provveder di persona a mia satisfattione per questo governo con il ristoro che io spero del buon regimento di quest'huomo che io mandarò hora': *ibid.*

88. Marcora, 'Nicolò Ormaneto', pp. 268–9.

89. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 130–34, quotation at 131; Freeman, 'Burning Zeal', pp. 180–81. As Freeman notes, although there was nothing unprecedented about the use of visitations in this way, arrests made on this basis 'loomed much larger in Mary's reign than ever before': *ibid.*, p. 180. On the importance of lay as well as clerical activism in the campaign, see *ibid.*, pp. 184–90.

90. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 222 n. 6. The text of the synod's decrees survives in two versions, the fullest of which was published in Rome in 1562. On the relationship between the two versions, see *The Anglican Canons, 1529–1947*, ed. G. Bray (Woodbridge, 1998), p. xlv. The full text of the twelfth decree is printed and translated *ibid.*, pp. 131–7.

heresy, unlicensed preaching and immoral behaviour.⁹¹ Meanwhile, Ormaneto had taken a leading role in the visitations of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge—visitations which had involved the forensic examination of religious practice in individual colleges, the destruction and public burning of heretical books and numerous sermons against Protestant error. The Cambridge visitation had also culminated in the dramatic exhumation and burning of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius—a spectacle which may have been masterminded by Ormaneto himself.⁹² As Ceri Law has recently suggested, the organisation and rigour of the Cambridge visitation seems to corroborate Eamon Duffy's arguments regarding the rigorous and effective nature of the Marian campaign against heresy more broadly.⁹³ Ormaneto epitomised this rigour: following the conclusion of the Cambridge visitation a new set of injunctions was issued, but within two weeks Ormaneto had written to the Vice-Chancellor accusing him of 'slacknes' in acting upon them.⁹⁴

It may well be the case, therefore, that Borromeo recruited Ormaneto and Goldwell in the hope that they might energise his campaign against heresy in Milan with skills and tactics they had honed in Marian England. The Marian strategy of harnessing the inquisitorial potential of pastoral visitations would certainly have chimed with Borromeo's desire to entrust the pursuit of heresy more to his bishops than to the Roman Inquisition.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Goldwell and Ormaneto do indeed seem to have applied some of the lessons they had learnt in England to the Milanese anti-heresy campaign. For example, Borromeo's first provincial council of 1565—a council largely organised and led by Ormaneto—incorporated the London synod's aforementioned decree on pastoral visitations directly into its own decree on the subject.⁹⁶ Ormaneto and Goldwell also used their English experience of such visitations to help them conduct a full visitation of the Milanese archdiocese that same year.⁹⁷ Borromeo clearly hoped that this visitation would prove every bit as rigorous as those the pair had

91. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, ed. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy (3 vols, London, 1910), ii, pp. 409–11.

92. Mayer, *Reginald Pole*, pp. 292–5; J. Edwards, *Archbishop Pole* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 179–88. For the suggestion that Ormaneto may have masterminded the burning of Bucer and Fagius, see Arthur Golding, *A Briefe Treatise Concerning the Burnyng of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambrdyge, in the Tyme of Quene Mary, with Theyr Restitution in the Time of Our Most Gracious Soverayne Lady that Now Is* (London, 1562), sig. ¶ 3r, fo. 129r.

93. Law, '1557 Visitation of the University of Cambridge', pp. 90–91.

94. C. Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, 1535–84* (Woodbridge, 2018), p. 79.

95. Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, p. 284. As Wietse de Boer has noted, Borromeo was also more than willing to turn other pastoral practices, such as confession, towards more 'inquisitorial' ends: W. de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden, 2000), ch. 2, esp. p. 54.

96. As demonstrated by Idígoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole*, pp. 307, 321–31, 336. On Ormaneto's importance in the first provincial council, see E. Cattaneo, 'Influenze veronesi nella legislazione di san Carlo Borromeo', in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento: Atti del Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, Bologna 2–6 sett. 1958* (Padua, 1960), pp. 123–66, at 130.

97. Marcora, 'Niccolò Ormaneto', pp. 301–4.

conducted in England. Writing to Ormaneto on 12 May 1565, he outlined his hope that:

your trip will be salutary and most fruitful, and as for what you say about being forced to take up the scourge in your hand—that you do it unwillingly, but that the sins of the many will force you to take it up—do in this how God inspires you. For I am certain that you will use it so appropriately, and so temper justice with mercy and severity with clemency, that all will bear fruit and satisfaction.⁹⁸

Borromeo continued to benefit from Ormaneto's experience of visitation in England throughout the decade. In February 1566, Ormaneto wrote to Borromeo regarding the seminary the cardinal had founded in 1564, but which had fallen into bad practices due to the 'abundance of charity (*habbondantia di charità*)' demonstrated by the former master.⁹⁹ Consequently, Ormaneto explained, it was 'necessary to establish certain regulations for the temporal and spiritual government of this place, and I intend to make every effort to have those statutes of the Colleges of England, which are most complete in all respects'—a likely reference to the injunctions Ormaneto had helped issue during the Marian visitation of either Oxford or Cambridge.¹⁰⁰

Of course, it was not only their experience of dealing with heresy that recommended Ormaneto and Goldwell to Borromeo. The Milanese archbishop probably also hoped to capitalise on their experience with Reginald Pole's broader programme of episcopal and clerical reform.¹⁰¹ This programme was encapsulated in many of the decrees of Pole's London synod of 1556—decrees which Ormaneto had most likely had a hand in drafting—which had been published in Rome in 1562.¹⁰² These decrees imposed strict regulations on clerical behaviour and dress, aiming thereby to transform the clergy into pious role models for the laity to emulate. It also emphasised the importance of regular sermons delivered personally by bishops, as well as the vital need for bishops and high-ranking clerics

98. 'Spero nel Signore che l'andata vostra sarà salutare et fruttuosa grandemente et quanto a quello che dite di essere forzato a prendere in mano il flagello et che lo fate mal volentieri, ma che i peccati di molti vi astringeranno a prenderlo pur in mano, fate in questo quello che Dio vi ispira, poichè io son certo che voi lo adopererete così a tempo et tempererete in modo la giustizia con la misericordia et con la severità, la clemenza che tutto partorirà frutto et satisfattione': Borromeo to Ormaneto, 12 May, 1565, quoted in Marcora, 'Nicolò Ormaneto', p. 302.

99. Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 37 inf., no. 28, fos 50r–51v, quotation at 50v, Ormaneto to Borromeo, 26 Feb. 1566.

100. 'È necessario far alcuni ordini per il governo temporale et spirituale di questo loco, et voglio far ogn'opra per haver de quei Statuti de Collegii d'Inghilterra, che son compitissimi in tutte le parti': *ibid.*, fo. 51r–v. For the injunctions in question, see *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, ed. T.F. Mayer and C.B. Walters (4 vols, Aldershot, 2002–8), iii, nos 1768, 1911.

101. And, in the case of Ormaneto, his experience with the similar reform programme initiated by Gian Matteo Giberti. On which, see Cattaneo, 'Influenze veronesi', *passim*.

102. Marmion, 'London Synod', p. 73; Reginald Pole, *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis Reginaldi Poli cardinalis* (Rome, 1562).

to be resident in their benefices. Most significantly, the synod ordered the erection of seminaries in cathedrals for the education of future generations of clerics to a high standard.¹⁰³ It seems highly likely that Ormaneto's involvement with such a programme might have attracted the attention of a reforming bishop such as Borromeo who, as Wietse de Boer has argued, embarked upon a similarly 'comprehensive program of clerical discipline' from his earliest years in office.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, it is important not to draw too sharp a distinction between the reform of the clergy and the battle against heresy. Reginald Pole himself had emphasised that these were one and the same in his opening address at the second session of the council of Trent in January 1546:

[W]rong opinions about faith, like brambles and thorns, have sprung up in the God's-garth entrusted to us. Hence, even if, as is their wont, these poisonous weeds have spread of themselves, nevertheless if we have not tilled our field as we ought—if we have not sowed—if we took no pains at once to root up the springing weeds—we are no less to be reckoned their cause than if we ourselves had sowed them.¹⁰⁵

The spread of heresy, he had argued, had been exacerbated by the negligence of bishops who did not reside in their benefices, failed to make provision for preaching the Word of God, and offered the priesthood 'to the unworthy and to those who differ from lay-folk only in dress'.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, Pole's attempts to reinvigorate the clergy and episcopacy in Marian England need to be recognised as an integral part of his overall strategy for ridding England of Protestantism. Borromeo clearly shared this same strategy: in a sermon he delivered to his first provincial council in October 1565, Borromeo argued that heresy had spread because provincial councils had not been regularly held. The principal role of such councils was to 'evaluate ... the cultivation of the vineyard and the exercise of the stewardship by the shepherds of the Lord's flock'. Without such clerical supervision, ecclesiastical discipline 'slid and fell miserably' and heretical beliefs had consequently taken root among the people. Borromeo therefore implored the assembled fathers to take as their model the priests of the early Christian Church—individuals who 'cultivat[ed] and guard[ed] the vineyard of the Lord with the greatest diligence and labour', leading by example and preaching the Word of God. He ended with an admonition entirely redolent of Pole's sharp words at Trent:

¹⁰³ Edwards, *Archbishop Pole*, pp. 174–7. For the text of the decrees, see *Anglican Canons*, ed. Bray, pp. 68–161.

¹⁰⁴ De Boer, *Conquest of the Soul*, pp. 6–7. See also Smith, *Transnational Catholicism in Tudor England*, pp. 228–31.

¹⁰⁵ 'Cardinal Pole's Eirenikon', ed. and tr. V. McNabb, *The Dublin Review*, cxviii (1936), pp. 149–60, at 153 (Reginald Pole's address to the Council of Trent, Jan. 1546).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

'God forbid that we allow [Christ's flock] to be destroyed or scattered on account of our faults or negligence'.¹⁰⁷

Overall, therefore, the evidence above suggests not only that Borromeo regarded the Marian regime's campaign against heresy as a success, but that he may have seen it as a source of considerable inspiration. The Marian Church's vigorous and systematic use of pastoral visitations in order to identify evangelical dissent, together with its thoroughgoing attempts to transform the clergy and episcopacy into bastions of Catholic piety, seem to have been regarded by the Milanese archbishop as helpful models to emulate in his own battle against Protestant error. It is little wonder, therefore, that, following the departure of both Goldwell and Ormaneto in the late 1560s, Borromeo would continue to recruit Catholics raised in Marian England in his ecclesiastical administration.¹⁰⁸

V

Turning from Borromean Milan to Valois France, an even clearer example of the Marian campaign against heresy shaping the approach of European Catholics can be found. Despite the existence of strict royal edicts against heresy in France and the dramatic growth of the French Protestant movement, the number of individuals put to death for heresy over the latter half of the 1550s was in decline. This was due largely to the actions of magistrates in both local courts and regional *parlements*, for whom a mixture of nepotism, disenchantment with the policy of repression itself and sympathy for Protestant ideals, combined with a deeply ingrained sense of legalism, conspired to dissuade them from trying heresy cases or from convicting or imposing harsh sentences.¹⁰⁹ This was all much to the chagrin of the French king, Henri II, who desperately wanted to deal more harshly with the growing Protestant problem in France.¹¹⁰ After securing a peace treaty with Spain and England in April 1559, Henri finally had the

¹⁰⁷. Charles Borromeo: *Selected Orations*, ed. Cihak and Santogrossi, pp. 27–31 (Borromeo's oration at the first provincial council, 15 Oct. 1565).

¹⁰⁸. One John Harris fled England to Milan where, in 1570, he was made the archpriest of the Church of San Giorgio Martire in Cornate d'Adda. While in post, he proved himself assiduous in the reform of the church, its clergy and parishioners, as can be seen from his various letters to Borromeo: Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 121 inf., no. 270, fo. 562r–v; F 126 inf., no. 16, fos 25r–26v; F 127 inf., no. 138, fo. 277r–v. Later in 1579, the scholar Owen Lewis, who had been trained in civil law at Marian Oxford, was invited to become Borromeo's vicar-general: M.E. Williams, 'Lewis, Owen (1533–1594)', *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁹. The most detailed recent work on the French persecutions in this period is S. Daubresse, *Conjurer la disension religieuse: La justice du roi face à la Réforme, 1555–1563* (Ceyzérieu, 2019). See also E. Durot, *François de Lorraine, duc de Guise entre Dieu et le roi* (Paris, 2012), pp. 503–10; W. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parliaments* (London, 1999), pp. 146–60; W. Monter, 'France: the Failure of Repression, 1520–1563', in P. Benedict, S.S. Menchi and A. Tallon, eds, *La Réforme en France et en Italie: Contacts, comparaisons et contrastes* (Rome, 2007), pp. 465–79.

¹¹⁰. As shown by his issuing of a series of increasingly draconian royal edicts against heresy throughout this period: Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, pp. 127, 157, 170.

opportunity to devote his attention fully to the issue. Accordingly, on 2 June, he issued the edict of Écouen, which took aim at those magistrates who had proved unwilling to enforce the existing anti-heresy legislation. The edict underlined the inextricable link between heresy and sedition, and stressed that every effort now needed to be made to identify and prosecute Protestants, especially those associated with Calvin's Geneva. It proposed to dispatch special commissioners into each province to facilitate 'the expulsion, punishment and correction of the said heretics (*l'expulsion, punition et correction desdits hérétiques*)' by taking cognisance of such cases from local courts. These commissioners, Henri demanded, were to be given every assistance, including force of arms, by the judges and provincial officers, who were themselves to show the utmost diligence in identifying and capturing heretics, and who were no longer to demonstrate any leniency towards those found guilty—those who did so, the king warned, would be punished.¹¹¹ This edict was followed, eight days later, by an unprecedented royal intervention in France's premier court of law, the *parlement de Paris*. Henri, having been informed that many within the court were in favour of reducing the general severity of punishments for heretics, marched into the chamber and, after hearing their deliberations on the matter, had eight of the judges arrested.¹¹²

Henri II died on 10 July, but his renewed crusade against heresy was continued during the reign of his teenage son, François II, under whom the administration of civil and religious affairs was effectively controlled by Cardinal Charles de Lorraine.¹¹³ A series of further declarations and measures aimed at persecuting Protestants was issued over the course of 1559.¹¹⁴ Although these measures were only partially enforced outside Paris, they succeeded in creating an atmosphere of fear in the French capital, where the *parlement* confirmed seventeen death sentences between July 1559 and January 1560. Most of these executions were for those of low social status, but on 23 December 1559 Anne du Bourg, nephew of the former chancellor of France Antoine du Bourg, became the first sitting judge in over thirty years to be executed for heresy.¹¹⁵

111. L. Romier, *Les origines politiques des Guerres de Religion* (2 vols, Paris, 1913–14), ii, pp. 362–4, quotation at 363 (Edict of Écouen, 2 June 1559). Daubresse suggests that, despite circulating in the provinces and acting as a statement of intent, the edict may never have been enacted: *Conjurer la dissension religieuse*, p. 90.

112. Daubresse, *Conjurer la dissension religieuse*, pp. 80–90; Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, pp. 168–9.

113. Although the cardinal's responsibility for instigating this crusade has, as Stuart Carroll has demonstrated, been exaggerated, it is clear that Lorraine was responsible for its continuation over the first half of François II's reign: S. Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 101–3, 107–14.

114. Louis de Condé, *Mémoires de Condé, ou, Recueil pour servir à l'histoire de France*, ed. D.F. Secousse (6 vols, Paris, 1743), i, pp. 305–13; Daubresse, *Conjurer la dissension religieuse*, pp. 90–100.

115. Daubresse, *Conjurer la dissension religieuse*, pp. 100–105; Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, pp. 170–73; Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, pp. 111–12.

Both Henri II and the cardinal de Lorraine, therefore, seem to have agreed that a more intensive and rigorously enforced programme of persecution was the way to deal with the growing Protestant threat in France in the summer and autumn of 1559. In this belief, there is reason to believe they were inspired by Marian England. Henri II had been keeping a keen eye on the progress of Mary I's campaign against heresy from a very early stage. A report sent to Philip II from the imperial ambassador to France in April 1556 explained how, having discussed the difficulties he was having with the spread of Protestantism in his kingdom, the French king had brought up 'the heresies in England and the good work the Queen had done in that connection'.¹¹⁶ This admiration later developed into imitation, as is suggested by an intriguing letter sent by the cardinal de Lorraine to his sister Marie de Guise (queen regent of Scotland) on 2 June 1559. Guise was attempting to suppress the Protestant rebellion that had begun in Perth three weeks earlier, and Lorraine offered counsel for dealing with 'these wicked Lutherans (*ces meschants lutheriens*)'. 'If God permits you to overcome them', he explained,

you must chastise them well and remove the principal leaders, and do with them as the late Queen of England did; since God, perhaps, allows this in order to remove from your kingdom the households of those who, in time, will be able to obstruct us.¹¹⁷

Lorraine did not elaborate further, but it seems clear enough that he thought Mary I's campaign against heresy in England, which had likewise targeted the outspoken leaders of the evangelical movement (at least initially), should serve as a guide for her namesake in Scotland.¹¹⁸ In this suggestion, he was reiterating instructions he had sent earlier that year, calling upon Marie to 'persew and punis with fyre and swerd' all heretics, and rebuking the Queen for her 'gentill bearing' which had allowed heresy to spread in the first place.¹¹⁹

However, as well as guiding their approach to heresy in Scotland, both Lorraine and the French king may also have found in Marian England

¹¹⁶ *CSPSp*, xiii, no. 266 (Count Lalaing to Philip II, 11 Apr. 1556).

¹¹⁷ 'si dieu vous permet d'en venir à bout, ils les fault bien chastier et oster les principaulx chefs, et en faire comme faisoit la feue Reyne d'angleterre, car Dieu, peult estre, permect cela afin de oster de vostre royaume les maisons de ceulx qui, avecques le temps, nous pourront empescher': Paris, Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères [hereafter ADMAE], Mémoires et documents, Angleterre, tome 15, fos 26r–27r, at 26v; Cardinal de Lorraine to Marie de Guise, 2 June 1559.

¹¹⁸ Guise's daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, would receive the same advice to 'take for her model Mary, Queen of England' from Pope Pius IV following her return to Scotland in 1561. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library*, ed. J.M. Rigg (2 vols, London, 1916–26), i, no. 126 (Pope Pius IV to Mary Queen of Scots, 3 Dec. 1561).

¹¹⁹ According to the Scottish diplomat Sir James Melville: *Memoirs of His Own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill, 1549–1593: From the Original Manuscript* (Edinburgh, 1827), p. 77. This was clearly a strategy approved by Henri II: ADMAE, Mémoires et documents, Angleterre, tome 15, fos 25r–26r, Anne de Montmorency to Marie de Guise, 1 June 1559.

inspiration for their own religious policy in France. In the same letter in which he suggested that the Scottish queen regent take Marian England as a model for dealing with the 'wicked Lutherans', Lorraine informed her that they were having similarly difficult struggles with the Protestants in France, and that he and the king were hoping to launch a new offensive which would 'leave no stone unturned in order to chastise them well'—no doubt an allusion to the aforementioned edict of Écouen, which was issued the same day this letter was sent.¹²⁰ Could it be, therefore, that Henri and Lorraine also had the Marian example in mind as they launched their new offensive against French heresy in the summer of 1559? The edict of Écouen certainly echoed aspects of the Marian anti-heresy campaign, both in its general tone, insisting on the inextricable link between heresy and sedition, and also in its establishment of royally appointed heresy commissions tasked with searching out heresy in the provinces. Although such commissions were not entirely unknown in France, having been employed by François I in 1545, their revival in 1559 may have been prompted by the Marian regime's successful use of similar commissions to launch investigations into heresy in those areas in which bishops had proven reluctant to do so. Such a strategy would probably have appealed to Henri II, seeking a solution to his own provincial magistrates' reluctance to pursue and prosecute heretics.¹²¹ Such apparent borrowings are all the more striking given that the legal frameworks governing the pursuit of heresy in England and France were quite different. In contrast to England, where the Church remained heavily involved in the process, the 1540 edict of Fontainebleau had effectively 'laicised' the offence of heresy in France, removing it from the purview of Church courts. Although subsequent edicts had partially restored clerical cognisance of heresy, the lay courts remained in the driving seat throughout the 1550s.¹²² That the French king was apparently willing and able to take inspiration from the more episcopally driven model of his neighbour across the Channel suggests, perhaps, that we should not exaggerate the significance of such legal differences.

Further evidence that French religious policy was taking its cues from Marian England can be found in a report sent by the English ambassador in Paris, Nicholas Throckmorton, to Elizabeth I in September 1559, during the effective regency of the cardinal de Lorraine.¹²³ Throckmorton reported that the cardinal had recently 'set out strait and very extream

120. 'icy en france, nous sommes en une extresme poine pour le travail que nous y avons. Sy, esperons nous ... y travailler continuellement et n'y rien oublier à les bien chastier': ADMAE, Mémoires et documents, Angleterre, tome 15, fo. 26v.

121. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, p. 103; Monter, 'France: The Failure of Repression', p. 476. On the use of such commissions in England, both clerical and lay, see Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 92–5; Loades, *Religious Culture of Marian England*, pp. 26–31, esp. p. 31.

122. J. Bergin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France* (New Haven, CT, 2014), pp. 19–21; Monter, 'France: The Failure of Repression', pp. 472–3. On the contrasting situation in England, see Loades, *Religious Culture of Marian England*, pp. 25–31.

123. TNA, SP 70/7, fos 55r–59v (cipher follows at fos 60r–62v), Nicholas Throckmorton to Elizabeth I, 19 Sept. 1559.

injunctions' for dealing with Protestants in France—injunctions which had 'taken the patton as I do understand of the Cardinall pole, and the bushop of London his injunctions, set out by them in Quene Maries tyme'.¹²⁴ Details of these injunctions had been given to the French cardinal by a Scotsman, John Eldar, who, Throckmorton explained, hoped 'to incense the Cardinal of Lorraine with all suche matter as he thinketh wilbe acceptable unto him, and indede he is in good credit with him for suche maters'.¹²⁵ Although Throckmorton had a low opinion of the cardinal, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his report.¹²⁶ Having initially been attracted to evangelical ideas during his stay in Henrician England, the John Eldar mentioned by Throckmorton had returned to the old faith following Mary's accession, repenting of his former heresy and becoming a keen observer of England's Counter-Reformation. In 1555 he had published a laudatory account of the marriage between Mary and Philip, alongside an enthusiastic summary of Cardinal Pole's parliamentary speech following the reconciliation of England and the papacy.¹²⁷ He had certainly been in a position, therefore, to have collected details on the Marian anti-heresy campaign, a topic which clearly interested him; his 1555 tract noted approvingly that 'all erronious doctrine & heretical bokes with the teachers & setters fourth of the same, are convicted, abolished, yea, exploded and dryven out of Englande for ever', and he suggested that such a policy was working, causing the 'herers and favorers' of heresy to 'hartlye repent'.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Eldar was clearly held in high esteem by the French regime, which granted him a royal pension in 1559. Two years later, the cardinal de Lorraine gave him fifteen crowns as a parting gift.¹²⁹

It is unclear exactly which of Pole's or Bonner's 'injunctions' Eldar may have shown Lorraine, and Throckmorton did not elaborate further on the French policies he believed had been inspired by them. However, important similarities can be found between Marian policy and a series of French anti-heresy measures introduced in Paris over the autumn of 1559.

¹³⁰ These new measures ordered the destruction of Protestant meeting

^{124.} Ibid., fo. 58r.

^{125.} Ibid., fos 58r, 61r.

^{126.} On Throckmorton's opinion on Lorraine, see H.O. Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: A Study in the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 74.

^{127.} John Eldar, *The Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande, of the Arivall and Marryage of Philippe, Prynce of Spaine to Marye Quene of England, whereunto Is Added a Brefe Overture of Cardinall Poole ... for Reconcilement to the Catholyke Churche* (London, 1555). On Eldar's eventful career, see A. Ryrie, 'Paths Not Taken in the British Reformations', *Historical Journal*, lii (2009), pp. 1–22, at 2–7.

^{128.} Eldar, *Copie of a Letter Sent in to Scotlande*, sig. F1v–2r.

^{129.} Ryrie, 'Paths not Taken', pp. 4–5.

^{130.} It seems unlikely that Throckmorton was referring to any injunctions introduced by Lorraine in his role as archbishop of Rheims. Following the death of Henri II, Lorraine had deputised administration of his archdiocese to Bishop Louis Guillard, and I have been unable to find any corresponding heresy injunctions relating to Rheims for this period. Evennett, *Cardinal of Lorraine*, p. 227; G. Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims, métropolitaine de la Gaule belgique* (4 vols, Rheims, 1843–46), iv, pp. 340–42; *Les actes de la province ecclésiastique de Reims*, ed. T.M. Gousset

houses and the arrest of Protestant preachers. However, most significantly, they shifted the focus of the French anti-heresy campaign: no longer would it search only for those engaging overtly with Protestant ideas or practices, but it would also start checking for practical signs of Catholic orthodoxy by ‘multiplying intrusions into the privacy of Parisians’. For example, landlords were now ordered to spy on their tenants and ascertain ‘whether [they] go to Church to hear Divine Service, especially on feast days, and whether they live Catholic lives’.¹³¹ In this regard, French policy may well have been influenced by any of Pole’s or Bonner’s visitation injunctions—injunctions which, as has already been discussed above, scrutinised personal religiosity as much as they looked for overt heretical activity as a means to identify potential heretics.

That Lorraine seems to have regarded aspects of the Marian approach to heresy not just as effective but also as worthy of emulation is particularly significant given that, contrary to later Huguenot propaganda, the cardinal was no hawkish zealot. As the work of historians such as Stuart Carroll has convincingly demonstrated, Lorraine seems rather to have been predisposed *against* the use of force in dealing with heresy; he was an Erasmian reformer by inclination who believed that ‘heresy was better fought on the spiritual front unless some crime had been committed’. However, his overriding approach to religious policy was pragmatic, becoming more moderate or more vigorous in accordance with what he believed was most likely to maintain social and political order (and thus keep him and his family in power).¹³² If, therefore, he chose to appropriate aspects of the Marian strategy for dealing with heresy in 1559, he did so because he believed them to be the most expedient solutions to the Protestant threat at that time, rather than through an over-abundance of zeal.

VI

In the eyes of Catholic Europe, Mary I’s campaign against heresy was not a failure. On the contrary, for Italian and French ambassadors, Spanish prelates and princes, not to mention worried German Protestants, the English queen’s efforts to rid England of evangelical dissent seemed a considerable success. Meanwhile, for two of Catholic Europe’s most

(4 vols, Rheims, 1842–44), iv, pp. 150–353; J. Baker, ‘The House of Guise and the Church, c.1550–1588’ (Univ. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1995), pp. 167–73.

¹³¹. ‘faire diligence entendre & sçavoir si ceulx qu’ilz logent, vont aux Eglises oyr le Service Divin, mesmes les jours de Festes, & s’ilz vivent Catholiquement’: Condé, *Mémoires*, ed. Secousse, i, pp. 305–13, quotation at 309. Daubresse, *Conjurer la dissension religieuse*, pp. 98–9; S.C. Shannon, ‘The Political Activity of Francois de Lorraine, Duc de Guise (1559–1563), from Military Hero to Catholic Leader’ (Univ. of Boston Ph.D. thesis, 1988), p. 93; Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, p. 111.

¹³². Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, chs 5–6, quotation at p. 108; Carroll, ‘“Nager entre deux eaux”: The Princes and the Ambiguities of French Protestantism’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xlv (2013), pp. 985–1020.

prominent cardinals, both struggling to deal with the Protestant threat in their own territories, the Marian campaign stood out as a model to be emulated—an efficient, well-oiled inquisitorial system from which important lessons could be learnt. The willingness of Charles de Lorraine and Carlo Borromeo to copy the Marian Church's homework in this respect does not seem to have been unusual. Indeed, as John Edwards has suggested, the Spanish king Philip II may also have appropriated aspects of the Marian campaign upon his return to Spain: his decision in 1559 to endorse new powers for the Spanish Inquisition, allowing it to send even those heretics who had repented to the flames, may have been inspired directly by the Marian regime's decision to burn Archbishop Thomas Cranmer despite his having formally recanted. Similarly, Philip's public oath in October 1559 giving unquestioning support to the Holy Office emulated the Marian example, in which the repression of Protestantism had very much been championed by the monarchy.¹³³

Far from appearing anachronistic and old-fashioned to contemporary observers, therefore, the Marian persecutions played an active role in shaping European strategies for dealing with Protestant heresy—at least in the immediate aftermath of Mary's reign. This article has not considered the likely possibility that European appraisals of Mary's anti-heresy campaign subsequently changed over time. As the years went by and the enduring strength of English Protestantism made itself more and more apparent, Mary's campaign against heresy may well have started to appear less effective to European observers.¹³⁴ This realisation may have occurred sooner rather than later in France, where Henri II and Charles de Lorraine's brutal campaign against Protestantism was short-lived. In early 1560, prompted by the discovery of the so-called 'Conspiracy of Amboise', the French regime effected an abrupt about-face. In March, the edict of Amboise offered French Protestants a general pardon, while the edict of Romorantin a few months later returned all heresy cases to episcopal courts, thereby acknowledging the distinction between heresy and sedition. Together, these two edicts effectively decriminalised Reformed Protestantism.¹³⁵ The reasons behind this profound shift were complex and multi-faceted. However, it was in no small part the result of newfound doubts in the

133. Edwards, 'Spanish Inquisition Refashioned', pp. 47–8.

134. European uncertainties over the religious trajectory of England persisted for several years after Mary's death; see W. Monter, 'The Fate of the English and French Reformations, 1554–1563', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, lxiv (2002), pp. 7–19, at 11. The idea that the burnings were counter-productive can certainly be found among English Catholics towards the end of the sixteenth century. See, for example, the plan of the English Jesuit Joseph Cresswell for an English Counter-Reformation, expressed in a memorandum to the Spanish king dated 1600: 'it will be unjust ... to treat heretics ... as they were treated in England by queen Mary. Conversion may best be forwarded by caring well for working people, and by winning the people by suavity and mildness'. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas* (4 vols, 1892–99), iv, no. 697 (Joseph Cresswell to Philip III, 2 Dec. 1600).

135. Monter, *Judging the French Reformation*, pp. 174–8; Bergin, *Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, pp. 21–5.

minds of several prominent French Catholics about the efficacy of persecution—doubts based upon the observation that religious persecution had failed elsewhere in Europe—and a belief that other tactics (including toleration) needed to be pursued.¹³⁶ In this context, the Marian example was no longer invoked as an example to be followed. Nevertheless, it is perhaps significant that it was not invoked as evidence for the absolute futility of persecution either. For advocates of limited toleration, such as Arnaud du Ferrier, a councillor in the *parlement de Paris* in the early 1560s, it was Charles V, not Mary I, who immediately came to mind as a European monarch who had failed to crush Protestantism by force.¹³⁷ Estienne de La Boétie, a member of the Bordeaux *parlement*, similarly decried the fruitlessness of persecution as a vehicle for conversion in his 1561 tract, *Mémoire sur la pacification des troubles*. La Boétie insisted instead upon the need for thoroughgoing reform of the Catholic Church in the hope of persuading Protestants to return to the true faith. In making his case, he invoked Marian England as an example of the great difficulties involved in tackling Protestantism through force alone, although he did not label Mary's efforts a complete failure: 'Queen Mary of England restored Catholicism, completely abolished by King Edward, and was barely able to get her people (of barbarous and rebellious nature) to conform, and yet she did not reform the Catholic religion at all'. How much easier would it therefore be, La Boétie asked, to secure the conformity of Protestants in a France which had never fallen from the true faith, especially if the king also reformed the Church?¹³⁸

The fact that the Marian persecutions became an important part of European conversations about heresy, if only for a brief moment in the mid-sixteenth century, is significant. Not only does it suggest that Eamon Duffy's controversial arguments regarding the effectiveness of the burnings deserve more credence, but it also has important implications for our understanding of early modern English Catholicism more broadly. Although the Anglo-centricism that once characterised the historiography of this topic is steadily being eroded, the connection between English and European Catholicism is still too often conceived of in terms of one-way traffic—foreign influence on English Catholics.¹³⁹ As this article has

¹³⁶ Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, pp. 114–22, 134–8; M.C. Smith, 'Early French Advocates of Religious Freedom', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxv (1994), pp. 29–51.

¹³⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 4766, fos 24v–29r, at 25v–26r, Arnaud du Ferrier, 'Advis donné au roy par Mr du Ferrier sur les affaires et troubles du royaume', 1561. On this tract, see Smith, 'Early French Advocates of Religious Freedom', pp. 41–3.

¹³⁸ 'La roynne Marye d'Angleterre a remis la religion ancienne, du tout abolye par le roy Edouard, et a bien peu y rengier son peuple, de son naturel barbare et rebelle, et si ne reforme aucunement l'ancienne': Estienne de La Boétie, *Mémoire sur la pacification des troubles*, ed. M.C. Smith (Geneva, 1983), p. 90. On this tract, see Smith, 'Early French Advocates of Religious Freedom', pp. 39–40.

¹³⁹ For examples of English Catholics responding to the wider European Counter-Reformation, see A. Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present*, no. 168 (2000), pp. 72–123; A. Walsham, 'Luis De Granada's Mission to Protestant England: Translating the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter-Reformation', in

suggested, it is time we gave more thought to the other direction of travel—to England's role in shaping, not just responding to, the wider European Counter-Reformation. In both the case-studies discussed above, it was exiles who helped disseminate details of the Marian campaign against heresy, using their knowledge and experience in England to recommend themselves to foreign patrons. Historians have long recognised that Elizabeth I's accession inaugurated a steady diaspora of English Catholics, but they have typically focused on the significance of these exiles for the survival of Catholicism in England.¹⁴⁰ By focusing instead on their role as conduits for English religious ideas and practices to the Continent, we can not only help put early modern English Catholicism more effectively 'on the map', but also contribute to the ongoing project of de-centring our understanding of the Counter-Reformation itself. Marian England may have been geographically on the peripheries of Counter-Reformation Europe, but it occupied an influential space in the minds of Catholics at its centre.

This article also points towards new potential directions for the study of England's Protestant Reformation. Theologically, English Protestantism has usually been seen as largely derivative: dependent upon the thought, writings and direct involvement of a series of European figures, from Pietro Martire Vermigli and Martin Bucer to Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin. As Diarmaid MacCulloch once observed, '[T]he flow of ideas in the Reformation seems at least at first sight to be a matter of imports from abroad, with an emphatically unfavourable balance of payments'.¹⁴¹ However, there is considerable scope for exploring the ways in which religious reformers and political leaders on the Continent perceived and discussed the English Reformation in a broader sense—its ecclesiology, enforcement, pastoral strategies and so on—and whether such discussions helped inform religious change (both positively and negatively) elsewhere throughout Europe. A truly transnational history in this vein would be likely to require the combined expertise of a wide range of scholars.¹⁴²

T. Bela, C. Calma and J. Rzegocka, eds, *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Leiden, 2016), pp. 129–54; A. Walsham, 'Religious Ventriloquism: Translation, Cultural Exchange and the English Counter-Reformation', in V. Soen et al., eds, *Transregional Reformations: Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe* (Göttingen, 2019), pp. 123–55. Michael Questier has recently argued that post-Reformation Catholicism has long been recognised as, to some extent, 'international' in its character and outlook: M. Questier, 'Going Nowhere Fast? The Historiography of Catholicism in Post-Reformation Britain', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, lxxiv (2021), pp. 405–31, at 409–11.

^{140.} Although for a sign that this is beginning to change, see J.E. Kelly, 'England and the Catholic Reformation: The Peripheries Strike Back', *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, vii (2020), pp. 271–85.

^{141.} D. MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xv (2005), pp. 75–95, at 77.

^{142.} There are some promising recent signs of interest in this topic: D.R. Forteza, *The English Reformation in the Spanish Imagination: Rewriting Nero, Jezebel, and the Dragon* (Toronto, ON, 2022); J.E. Kelly, H. Laungerud and S. Ryan, eds, *Northern European Reformations: Transnational*

Nevertheless, it has the potential to reframe and revitalise several

Perspectives (Cham, 2020); D. Wendebourg et al., eds, *Sister Reformations—Schwesterreformationen* (3 vols, Tübingen, 2010–19).

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Article

long-standing debates over the Reformation in England, not least the question of its ultimate success or failure.

Lincoln College, Oxford, UK

FREDERICK E. SMITH