

Priestly playwright, secular priest: William Drury's Latin and English drama *

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the literary career of the secular priest William Drury, with an emphasis on his drama. The Latin plays which he wrote for performance at the English College in Douai are among the best-known English Catholic college dramas of the Stuart era; markedly different from the Jesuit drama which dominates the corpus of British Catholic college plays, they suggest conscious dissociation from that imaginative tradition. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, a satirical closet drama which intervenes in the controversy surrounding the legitimacy and extent of England's Catholic episcopacy, can also be attributed to Drury. In both his Latin and English drama, Drury draws imaginative stimulus from his ideological opposition to Jesuits and other regulars. Yet his characteristic blend of didacticism and comedy, and his sympathy for the plight of all English Catholics—surely fomented by the death of his Jesuit brother in the notorious “Fatal Vesper”—point to broader priestly concerns.

KEYWORDS: William Drury; Robert Drury; Chalcedon controversy; Catholic college drama; English College; Douai.

**Dramaturgo sacro, clérigo secular:
el teatro latino e inglés de
William Drury****

RESUMEN: Este artículo examina la carrera literaria del sacerdote secular William Drury, especialmente sus obras teatrales. Las obras latinas que escribió para su representación en el Colegio inglés de Douai están entre las obras para

**Dramaturgo clerical, clérigo secular:
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RESUMO: Este artigo examina a carreira literária do clérigo secular William Drury, com ênfase no seu drama. As peças latinas que escreveu para serem representadas no Colégio Inglês em Douai estão entre os mais conhecidos dramas escritos

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** Translation into Spanish by Tamara Pérez-Fernández.

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colegios católicos ingleses mejor conocidos de la era Estuardo; marcadamente distintas a los dramas jesuitas que dominaron el corpus de las obras para colegios católicos británicos, sugieren una disociación consciente de esa tradición imaginativa. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, un drama de armario satírico que interviene en la controversia en torno a la legitimidad y al alcance del episcopado británico en Inglaterra, también puede ser atribuido a Drury. Tanto en sus obras latinas como en las inglesas, Drury extrae su estímulo imaginativo de su oposición ideológica hacia los Jesuitas y otros habituales. Y sin embargo, su mezcla característica de didacticismo y comedia, y su compasión por la difícil situación de todos los católicos ingleses—seguramente fomentada por la muerte de su hermano jesuita en las famosas “Vísperas fatales”—apuntan a preocupaciones clericales más amplias.

PALABRAS CLAVE: William Drury; Robert Drury; Controversia de Calcedonia; Teatro de colegios católicos; Colegio inglés; Douai.

no contexto dos colégios católicos ingleses da era Stuart; marcadamente diferentes do drama jesuíta que domina o corpus das peças dos colégios católicos británicos, estas peças de Drury sugerem uma dissociação consciente dessa tradição imaginativa. *Hierarchomachia: or the Anti-Bishop*, um drama satírico para ser lido que intervém na controvérsia em torno da legitimidade e extensão do episcopado católico em Inglaterra, também pode ser atribuído a Drury. No seu drama latino e em inglês, Drury é estimulado imaginativamente pela sua oposição ideológica aos jesuítas e a outros clérigos regulares. No entanto, a sua mistura característica de didatismo e comédia e a sua compaixão pela situação de todos os católicos ingleses—certamente fomentada pela morte do seu irmão jesuíta na notória “Véspera Fatal”—apontam para preocupações clericais mais amplas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: William Drury; Robert Drury; Controvérsia da Calcedônia; Drama dos colégios católicos; Colégio Inglês; Douay.

On 27 June 1623, a formal disputation took place between two Jesuits, John Sweet and John Percy *alias* Fisher, and two members of the established church, Francis White and Daniel Featley.¹ In the course of this, a Catholic gentleman observed that their church in England lacked preachers, leading Fisher to commend the capacities of

two brothers, *Druries*, Gentlemen borne, [...] of whom *William Drury* had composed a tragicke Comedy of *Alared*, or *Alfred* sometime King of *England*, [...] As also a pleasant Comedie called *Death and the Divell*, by which a reasonable man might iudge of their pregnancie, and sufficiency to any employment.

On hearing that the other brother, the Jesuit Robert Drury, “was on Sundayes to supply the place of a Predicant [preacher] at a certaine

¹ On this debate, see (most recently) Rodda (2014, 175–181), and Wadkins 2004. Its date is given in Featley (1623, A3a).

house in the Blacke Friers," the gentleman in question "promised to be a daily attendant, as one of the auditory" (Anon. 1623, 18-19; partially quoted in Freeman 1966, 293). One hopes he was not present at the so-called "Fatal Vesper," when the roof at this house collapsed and many of the congregation were killed, including Robert Drury himself (Cooper and Bradley 2004).² The above account is taken from one of the many pamphlets occasioned by the catastrophe, whose notoriety was enhanced by the date it took place, 26 October 1623: 5 November in the Catholic Gregorian calendar, causing it to be seen as God's vengeance for the Gunpowder Plot (Walsham 1994; Witmore 2001, 10-14, 130-154; Quint 1993, 278-281).

The other brother mentioned by Fisher, the secular priest, dramatist and poet William Drury, is the main subject of this article.³ This study addresses his drama, focusing on a new addition to the canon of his work: *Hierarchomachia, or the Anti-Bishop*, a manuscript play of uncertain authorship to date, which can now confidently be attributed to him.⁴ Together with the Latin dramas Drury published, it confirms his place as an important early seventeenth-century English playwright — albeit one whom most scholars in the area have never read — and a leading commentator on early Stuart Catholicism. *Hierarchomachia* is a satirical closet-drama inspired by contemporary tensions on the English mission between regular clergy — those who, like Jesuits, Benedictines and others, were members of a religious order — and secular clergy, who were not. A secular priest himself, Drury comes down firmly on the side of his own kind.⁵ Yet his play sympathetically addresses the difficulties faced by all members of the English Catholic clerisy, and can be seen as paying oblique tribute to the fate of his Jesuit brother. As within his college dramas, mockery never occludes moral and spiritual instruction.

² Another Catholic priest of the same name was martyred earlier in the century (Holmes 2004).

³ Except where otherwise indicated, biographical information is taken from Cooper and Kennedy 2004; Freeman 1966; Siconolfi 1982; and Tricomi 1993.

⁴ Rome, Venerable English College, MS C17. The modern edition (Gossett 1982) is referred to below. See also Wiggins (2012-, 8: #2316), where it is entitled *The Anti-Bishop*.

⁵ In his printed oeuvre, Drury is described not as a priest but as an English nobleman (*nobili Anglo*: e.g. on the title-page to the 1641 edition of *Dramatica poemata* — see below, footnote 8), presenting him as secular in more ways than one.

Drury's college drama

The Drury brothers came of a gentry family with other literary connections. Sir Robert Drury, from another branch of the family, commissioned the "Anniversaries" from John Donne to commemorate his daughter Elizabeth, and Robert Southwell, the poet and Catholic martyr, was also a distant relation.⁶ William Drury's early education was in London, after which he moved to the English College at St Omer, one of the foundations set up on the Continent after the Reformation to educate England's Catholic youth; the plays mounted by the College may have been an early influence on him (Houliston 1993). He became a seminarian at the Venerable English College, Rome, in 1605 and was ordained to the priesthood in 1610. Thereafter he spent time in England: he was in London in 1612, jailed at some point during that period and released in 1618 thanks to the intervention of Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London. Returning to England in 1621, he was imprisoned one or more times over the period 1632–1635, and seems to have died in or after 1643.

Drury wrote three Latin dramas: *Aluredus, sive Alfreodus*, a tragicomedy featuring England's King Alfred; the comedy *Mors* (Death); and the tragicomic *Reparatus Sancti Joannis Evangelistae concreditum* (Reparatus entrusted to St John the Evangelist), printed under the title *Reparatus, sive Depositum* (Reparatus, or the Trust). All were performed between 1618 and 1621 at the English College in Douai, where he was teaching at the time, and at least one was particularly well-received; a repeat performance, requested by the town magistrates, needed to be moved outdoors to accommodate the numbers attending, and the performers were rewarded with a barrel of wine afterwards.⁷ Moreover, and very unusually for English Catholic college drama, they were printed. *Aluredus* and *Mors* were first published at Douai in 1620 with a poem, "*De venerabili Eucharistia*," based around the conceit of the Eucharist being

⁶ As well as the biographical sources cited above, see Rowe 2004 and Bald 1959.

⁷ See Wiggins (2012–, 7: #1880 [*Mors*], #1909 [*Aluredus*], #1983 [*Reparatus*]); and Dana Sutton's editions of all three plays on the "Philological Museum" website (Drury 2014). They are also briefly discussed in Norland (2013, ch.8). On the response to Drury's most successful play, see Burton and Williams (1911, vol.1, 148 [Latin] and 372 [English translation]). It is described as a *comedia*; the dates suggest it was either the blackly humorous *Mors* (Death) or, conceivably, the tragicomic *Aluredus sive Alfreodus*.

celebrated by bees, and again in 1628 under the title *Dramatica poemata*, with the addition of *Reparatus sive Depositum*; in 1641, the latter volume was reprinted in Antwerp.⁸ This substantial presence in print helps to explain why, in Drury's home country and among his English contemporaries, he appears to have been the best-known Catholic college dramatist of his era. *Mors* and *Aluredus* were both translated into English in the seventeenth century, suggesting a popularity unparalleled by—for instance—Joseph Simons, the English Catholic college playwright most obviously comparable to Drury in terms of ability and contemporary print dissemination.⁹ The copy of the 1620 edition now in Cambridge University Library comes from the bequest of John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and author of the highly anti-Catholic play *Loiola*, suggesting that Drury's work penetrated beyond Catholic circles—admittedly, Hacket and Drury could have agreed on their dim view of the Jesuit order.¹⁰

Plays as popular as Drury's would usually figure in standard accounts of Tudor and Stuart theatre. Yet Catholic college drama tends to be ignored altogether by scholars in the field, even though its texts survive in some quantity and performances are relatively well documented. Their Latin works against them, as does the fact that they were performed on the continent. But in Drury's case as in others, this attitude is becoming increasingly untenable. After all, these plays were written by English subjects, often dealt with English topics—as *Aluredus* indicates—and were authored, acted and viewed by individuals whose faith led them to engage passionately with the implications of Englishness. Working towards their greater mainstream visibility makes particular sense in relation to Drury's

⁸ On the plays' publication, see Blundell *et al.* (2018, 45). On "De venerabili Eucharistia," cf. the texts covered in Haskell 2003. Drury's verse would deserve separate study, especially since "The first part of the Recovery of the Holy Crosse," a partial translation of Francesco Bracciolini's epic poem *La croce racquistata* (Worcester College, Oxford: MS 4) can probably also be attributed to him; the titlepage of this manuscript credits "Willyam Drury, gentleman" (cf. footnote 5).

⁹ All vernacular quotations from the play are taken from Robert Knightley's translation of *Aluredus* (Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Rawl. poet. 80), edited by Tricomi (Knightley 1993). See also Hall 1918 and Sutton's edition (Drury 2014). To date, Simons's work has only been identified in mainland drama once, heavily adapted (Shell 2016).

¹⁰ L* 13.51 (9): Oates (1986, 404), where *Aluredus* is described, oddly, as the "Jesuistical counterpart" to *Loiola*. See also Hacket 1988. My thanks to Liam Sims for further information.

own plays, since these often have closer generic affinities with professional drama performed on the English mainland than with the Jesuit plays which dominated English Catholic college theatre. These tended to be Latin tragedies dramatizing the exemplary life and glorious death of an early Christian martyr: perhaps in Rome, Byzantium, or England. They made lavish use of song, dance and spectacle, staging both heavenly and diabolic aspects of the supernatural. Relationships between men were foregrounded, such as the father-son bond, brotherhood, friendship and the dynamic between tutor and pupil. Comedy was played down, perhaps restricted to interludes in between the main action, and there would be no women characters apart from the odd personification: all in accordance with the strictures and recommendations in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the handbook which shaped Jesuit educational provision across Europe.¹¹ Most surviving English plays in this tradition come from the Jesuit-run college at St Omer, where Simons was based (McCabe 1983), and Drury's plays look different from contemporary St Omers productions in several ways: for instance, the presence of women—not, it is true, as love interest, but as relations to male protagonists—and the relatively large amount of space given to farce. Moreover, in an age where English Jesuits sometimes reacted negatively to popular festive tradition, Drury's drama—as discussed below—exploits the nostalgic pro-Catholic attitudes sometimes evident within representations of England's past in the early Stuart professional theatre.¹² Factionalism apart, secular priests might well

¹¹ "The subject-matter of the tragedies and comedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing that is not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced" [*Tragoediarum et comoediarum, quas non nisi Latinas ac rarissimas esse oportet, argumentum sacrum sit ac pium; neque quicquam actibus interponatur, quod non latinum sit et decorum, nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducatur*] (Pavur 2005, 35; translating the 1599 version of the *Ratio*). Despite this, female characters were not unusual in Jesuit drama (e.g. Stefonio 1655); the English College at St Omer, whose productions—as commented above—dominate the surviving corpus from British institutions, may have been unusual in its relatively strict adherence to the prohibition. On the Jesuit preference for didactic comedy, see Winniczuk 1968.

¹² For instance, Jesuit prisoners at Wisbech Castle disapproved strongly of Christmas celebrations involving a hobby-horse and Morris dancers (McCoog 2017, 10). However, both Jesuit and non-Jesuit college dramatic traditions were sometimes indebted to English professional theatre (Cottagnies 2017 and 2019). Wiggins suggests several definite or possible vernacular dramatic influences on Drury (see footnote 7).

have found it easier than Jesuits to draw on creative energies of this kind because they had less of a dramatic house style—yet it would be no surprise if the author of *Hierarchomachia* should, earlier in his career, have availed himself of freedoms which Jesuit dramatists did not automatically have.

English history is addressed within both Jesuit and non-Jesuit college drama, though the English College at Douai had a particular penchant for old English plots—for instance, during Drury’s time there, Thomas Carleton’s play *Fatum Vortigerni* dramatized the life of Vortigern, the fifth-century English ruler who invited the Saxons to Britain to fight against the Picts and Scots, but then allowed them to take over.¹³ Drury’s play deals with the events of the year 878, after Alfred and his army had been defeated by Danish forces; Alfred goes into hiding on the island of Athelney in Somerset, then musters his forces again and wins the Battle of Eddington. This leads to a pact between Alfred and Guthrum, the leader of the Danes, whereby England is divided between them and Guthrum, converting to Christianity, is baptized with the name Athelstan.¹⁴ At the beginning of the play, Athelrede—one of Alfred’s retinue—laments: “Wee have bin Britans; but that name must be | eraz’d, and Cuntry too, by th’ cruell Danes, | A Cuntry styl’d y^e Nursery of Saints” (I.i, 10–12).¹⁵ Another courtier, Humfrey, echoes the sentiment: “O England! | Not to be found in thy selfe, whose sorrows | Are preludes of joy to th’insulting foe” (I.ii, 8–10).¹⁶ These sentiments go past the literal truth of what is being represented on stage—Alfred and his nobles may be dispossessed, but they are still on English soil. By the same token,

¹³ For this, and Carleton’s lost play *Emma*, see Wiggins (2012–, 7: #1906 [*Fatum Vortigerni*]; #1951 [*Emma*]). Joseph Simons’s *Mercia* (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2083), which plays up themes of martyrdom, is an example of a Jesuit play on ancient Britain. On the sources of *Aluredus*, see Blundell *et al.* (2018, 44–47). On recusant interest in the Saxons, see Hamilton 1999.

¹⁴ Hall (1918, 22–26), suggests that the play’s focus on peaceful conversion may have anti-Jesuit overtones: an idea which would be worth exploring further in the context of *Hierarchomachia*.

¹⁵ “*Fuimus Britanni. Nomen & gentem simul | Delere Danus properat. Occidimus: truci | Gemit icta clade terra Sanctorum Parens.*” Transcription taken from Drury (1641, 3), the edition probably used by Knightley (1993, 23).

¹⁶ “*ô Britannia | Vix tibi superstes! ense cui saevo furens | Insultat hostis, clade praeludens tuâ*” (I.ii, 64–66); “sense” in 1641 mis-renders an exclamation mark followed by “ense” (1620, 1628).

though, it points to parallels between Alfred's court and exiled English Catholics and foregrounds the idea that Alfred has been outlawed for his faith—a deliberate simplification of the actual historical situation, but very pertinent to Drury's audience.

English saints figure prominently in Drury's play. Neothus – St Neot – performs miraculous healings, while in the prologue, St Cuthbert presents himself as responding to Alfred's pious prayers for England's succor:

Piety's no Captiue to the Orbs above
 But oft unto afflicted lands doth moue.
 This makes me to forsake the glorious skyes
 To visit my poore Cuntry w^{ch} exhausted lyes
 A prey to Mars, where the inhuman Dane
 With sacrilegious Crueltys doth staine
 Our holy Alters; but Im come to bring
 Help to th'afflicted, mindfull of that King
 Of my deare England, who zealously intent
 so oft his prayres unto my eares hath sent [...]
 I goe; strait to return an Actor here. (Prologue, 7–16, 30)¹⁷

Saints, if appropriately petitioned, can intervene on earth, and Cuthbert's parting words herald his participation in the plot. He also speaks the epilogue, addressing England's hapless present state and channeling the militant spirit of so much Catholic college drama:

Lo! by bloodshed Alfred won the laurel wreath for you [O England!]
 from the enemy of the faith, whom you now suffer to triumph anew.
 [...] O devoted band of youth, hope of an island in the midst of
 shipwreck, you who are like to a spark of the faith cast from a great
 fire, from which the fatherland will shine with a brighter flame, take
 up the arms of piety [...] conquer by enduring.¹⁸

¹⁷ "nescit in caelo tamen | Pietas teneri, qui in afflictas ruat | Miserata gentes redditâ in terras viâ. | Hinc luminosi templa deserui aetheris, | Patriaeque repeto Marte turbatas domos; | Ubi Danus hostis volitat, atque omni furens | Crudelitatis genere funestat pias | Sacrilegus Aras; ferre sed miseris opem | Descendo rebus, Angliae carae memor, | Et Regis ad me prece recurrentis piâ | [...] do locum, in scenam brevi | Rediturus actor" (1–2). In 1641, "aeris" is a mistake for "aetheris" (1620, 1628).

¹⁸ "Alfredus ecce sanguine paravit tibi | Ab hoste fidei lauream hunc pateris novos | De te triumphos ferre. [...] Turba vos iuvenum pia, | Spes naufragantis insulae, & fidei velut | Scintilla magnis eruta ex incendiis, | Ardebit unde patria meliori face, | Pietatis arma sume; [...] | Patiendo vince" (18–20, 24–28, 31; line numbers taken from the transcription of 1641 in Knightley 1993, 155).

Suggestively, in Robert Knightley's otherwise very complete English translation of the play, the appeal to youthful Catholics is left out, meaning that the epilogue ends in a more downbeat spirit: "But England's now a Stepmother, alas, | which once of Saints a fertile Parent was" (17-18).¹⁹ Knightley was writing in 1659, a year before the Restoration, and transposing Drury's play onto the Royalist plight – not the only time that Catholic writing got a new lease of life that way.²⁰

In different ways, both Drury and his translator are channeling pro-Catholic nostalgia: a mood which, earlier in the century, was surprisingly prevalent in the London professional theatre. Drury might well have seen plays of this kind during his time in London, despite the fact that he was so often in jail; imprisoned Catholic priests frequently did visit the theatre in early seventeenth-century London (Semper 1952; Siconolfi 1982, 18-19).²¹ One such drama, William Rowley's *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*, was put on at the Red Bull Theatre around 1618, the year that Drury was released from jail (Wiggins 2012-, 7: #1868). This play features the outlawed Alfred in sanctified company: his sons, who avoid persecution by becoming apprenticed to a shoemaker and adopting the names of Crispin and Crispianus, later patron saints of the craft; the protomartyrs of England, St Alban and St Amphibalus; and Winifred, a saint of the Welsh borders (Chapman 2001). The play, not surprisingly, stops short of fully endorsing the holy well associated with St Winifred, reputedly miraculous and a notorious rallying-ground for recusants (Walsham 2014, ch.7). Yet contemporary analogues for religious persecution are hinted at: for instance, when Crispin and Crispianus's master comments that "we must drink strong drinke, as we shew our Religion, privately. 'Tis dangerous to be good Christians now a daies" (Rowley 1638, B4b). Plays like this have common ground with *Aluredus*, and Drury is likely to have found them inspirational.

¹⁹ "*Noverca facta, quae prius fueras parens*" (17: Knightley 1993, 155). In a sermon preached in the Venerable English College, Rome, in 1583, Robert Bennett compared England to a stepmother: see Underwood (2021, 4-26). My thanks to Dr Underwood for this reference.

²⁰ See Potter (1989, 106-107), written before the identification of R.K. as Knightley. On Knightley's Catholic and royalist connections, see Tricomi (1993, 17-22).

²¹ For the various London prisons in which Drury was held, see Anstruther (1975, 88-89).

All the same, he had a very different agenda from writers for London's professional theatre. *A Shoemaker a Gentleman* exploits pro-Catholic sympathies in a pragmatic, discreet way which maximizes possible audience appeal; Drury, by contrast, could be surer of his audience and had an educational task to fulfil. As the above-quoted epilogue demonstrates, his dramatization of England's past history is not just an imaginative return to the good old days or an acknowledgement of current difficulties, but a reproach to the heretical present and a call to future action. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Alfred's conversion to a more upright way of life is central to the drama. At the start of the play, he is presented as the rightful monarch and personally sympathetic, but also as flawed enough to incur St Neot's reproaches: "You esteeme y^r selfe then | Miserable when you suffer Evells. | I thought you had bin miserable when | you had committed them" (IV.ii, 73-76).²² After St Neot's remonstrations, Alfred behaves with conspicuous virtue in the succeeding episode when St Cuthbert, disguised as a mendicant, begs bread at a time when Alfred and his family are nearly starving, and Alfred shares their last loaf with him. Their landlord goes out to catch some fish instead, whereupon Cuthbert appears to Alfred in a dream, prophesying victory and predicting that, as a sign, the landlord will return laden with fish. This duly happens, conflating references to two Gospel miracles: the loaves and fishes in Christ's feeding of the five thousand, and the fish glut which Christ arranges for his disciples.²³ Thus, Alfred's contrition followed by his charity legitimizes the happy ending.

Aluredus is comic in both senses, since slapstick content is typical of Drury, and would surely have gone down well with his young actors. For instance, the pretensions of Braggadochia, a *miles gloriosus* (boastful soldier) straight out of Plautus, are cut down to size at various points: he is ridden like a horse by two boys and beaten up by Crabula, an old woman.²⁴ These farcical scenes recall Drury's other

²² "Tunc esse miserum te putas, quando mala | Iam pateris: ego te, quando fecisti mala, | Miserum putavi" (IV.2, 54). Sutton queries whether Alfred's faults are stressed enough for this plot development to be convincing (introduction).

²³ Narrated in (e.g.) Matthew 15:29-38; Luke 5:1-10.

²⁴ The name may recall Braggadocchio in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Bayley 1990, 286-287). On the stock character of the *miles gloriosus* at this period, see Miola (2019, 321-322). The type could figure in Jesuit drama too (Winniczuk 1968, 305-306).

early Douai play, *Mors* (Herbrüggen 1991). In this comic rewriting of the Dr Faustus story, the protagonist Scombrio bargains with Death to ensure his father Chrysocancrion's speedy demise, so that he can inherit his hoarded wealth. Death lays claim to him, and Scombrio agrees on condition that he must pray before his death, while secretly resolving never to pray again. The twist is that Scombrio's miserly father has pledged his son's soul to the Devil in return for greater wealth. The play harks back to diabolic antics on the London professional stage: for instance, the scene in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* where Faustus and Mephistophilis disrupt a gathering of Catholic clerics, who then try to exorcise them.²⁵ But in sharp contrast to Marlowe's play, Catholicism keeps creeping into Drury's: for instance, the Devil in *Mors* is clearly Protestant, since he denies the existence of purgatory and upholds the notion that one can only be saved by faith (Siconolfi 1982, 158–159, 177–178 [faith and good works], 198 [purgatory]). But, that said, Drury sometimes takes the opportunity for a sly jibe at the excesses of his own denomination, as in the exchange when Chrysocancrion is enquiring into the devotional habits of one of his servants, Crancus: “CHR: What praier thou? | CR: I lift my heart to thee. | CHR: To th' Crosse | Or th' Jibbett[?] | CR: your gould & silver Crosses I doe meane” (Act 2.4, pp.145–156).²⁶ Elaborate and valuable crosses are associated with Catholicism, but the implication is that Crancus is less interested in their devotional significance than their monetary value – rather like his master. In this respect as in others, Drury's instructional remit is never far away.

Mors is something of a hybrid: comparable to, and borrowing from, contemporary devil-plays in the English mainstream; reaching back to late medieval drama in its debt to the morality play; and drawing as well on the Roman New Comedy of Plautus and Terence, like so

²⁵For a plot-summary of Marlowe's play, see Wiggins (2012–, 2: #810). Other devil-plays of the period include Thomas Dekker, *If This Be Not a Good Play the Devil Is in It* (Wiggins 2012–, 6: #1641); Dekker (?), *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (Wiggins 2012–, 5: #1392), and Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (Wiggins 2012–, 6: #1810). Herbrüggen (1991, 652) footnotes a suggestion from Clarence H. Miller (presumably orally transmitted) that Drury's play bears similarities to Jonson's. See also Siconolfi (1982, 70–75), and Cox 2000.

²⁶“CH. *Et tu?* | CRA. *Ad te levavi.* CH. *Nempe ad patibulum.* | CR[A]. *Immo ad tuas cruces aureas, & argenteas.*” The vernacular translation is Robert Squire's (Newberry Library, Chicago, Case MS 5A/7), as edited in Siconolfi 1982. It is not clear whether Squire used the 1620 or 1628 edition of *Mors* (Siconolfi 1982, 85); the Latin quotation above is from the latter, at 106.

many humanist educational productions (Miola 1994 and 2019; Ford and Taylor 2013). Counter-Reformation concerns are more implicit – yet, in a community where martyrdom threatened so many alumni, writing a comedy about death had a particular insouciance. Michael Siconolfi has complained that the characters seem to over-react when, as often, they are told to “go hang yourself”: “it soon becomes as tiresome as puns about horns and cuckolds in other plays of the period” (1982, 94). Yet, at Douai, this would have recalled how many Catholic martyrs went to their death with a smile and a joke: at the scaffold steps, Sir Thomas More quipped to the Lieutenant at the Tower of London, “I pray you [...] see me safe up and, for my coming down, let me shift for myself” (Roper 1962, 254). In 1726, several decades after England’s last Catholic martyrs had been executed, this juxtaposition was recalled at the Jesuit College in Ypres, when Drury’s play was split up into a series of comic interludes punctuating a tragedy about the seven Maccabean brothers: young men put to death for their involvement in a revolt against the banning of Jewish religious practices (Proot 2013). This repurposing seems appropriate for a playwright who, from the tragicomic *Alfredus* to the dark comedy of *Mors*, was happiest when straddling generic boundaries.

Drury’s third play for the English College at Douai, *Reparatus sive Depositum*, lacks its second part (Wiggins 2012–, 7: #1983), but what survives is in the same vein. *Reparatus*, the protagonist, is a *protégé* of St John the Evangelist who has gone to the bad and joined a band of robbers, equated to heretics, Protestants and antinomians. The theme of good and bad mentoring, common in Catholic college drama, is explored with considerable emotional complexity as *Reparatus* undergoes a number of existential crises, leaning towards good and evil in turn. But in this context his name reassures: the past participle of the Latin *reparo*, it means “renewed,” “restored,” or “repaired.”²⁷ Drury likes mixing different planes in his cast-lists: in *Mors*, Death and the devil mix with humans; in *Alfredus*, saints and mortals walk together upon English earth; while in *Reparatus*, realistic and allegorical characterisation are blended. At one point, for instance, an allegorical representation of Heresy poses as the robber-heretic Cacus, whose name is Latin for “rascal” and may pun on *cacare*, the Latin for

²⁷ The fourth-century bishop and martyr St *Reparatus* appears not to be a point of reference.

“to defecate.”²⁸ Cacus’s indecorous behavior extends to a stint in women’s clothing after a fugitive steals his normal attire: his declaration that he inverts himself (*verto*) in so doing draws audacious attention to cross-dressing, more evidence of how Drury deployed plot-devices familiar from mainstream Tudor and Stuart theatre (Drury 1641, Act 2.3, 191). Indeed, *Reparatus* features not just women’s clothing but women’s roles, some of which trigger interesting plot gambits. The politician Polypus, worried that people will think he is of the same religion as his Christian wife Sophronia, considers banishing her and sending his sons to be instructed by someone else,²⁹ while *Reparatus*’s mother Beatrix has a big scene where she and the Bishop of Sardis lament their respective shortcomings towards *Reparatus*.

Drury’s authorship of *Hierarchomachia*

Such a prominent deployment of women characters is unusual in English Catholic college drama: numerically dominated by Jesuit authors, who—as commented above—seldom included female roles, and hardly dealt with gender issues either. In exploiting this relative freedom, Drury is probably making a partisan statement. He was, after all, a secular priest writing plays for the English College at Douai, which cut educational ties with Jesuits during his time at the institution—and though his brother was a Jesuit, siblings do not always agree.³⁰ Moreover, the closet drama *Hierarchomachia: Or the Anti-Bishop*—which, as the rest of this article will outline, can be securely attributed to Drury—comes down firmly on the side of secular priests. A satirical *roman-à-clef*, *Hierarchomachia* musters several comic types from the ranks of Stuart Catholicism—mostly real individuals with lightly anagrammatized names—and comments on

²⁸ If so, this would recall the notoriously scatological Luther: Oberman 1988. On cratylid naming, see the discussion of *Hierarchomachia* below, pp. 131-132.

²⁹ In post-Reformation England, familial separations did sometimes take place on grounds of religion: Underwood 2014, part II.

³⁰ In 1619, the college removed its students from Jesuit-run schools in the town and taught them in-house after the escalation of claims that an English student was being disciplined with undue harshness: Burton and Williams (1911, 1:148-175; translated at 372-387). See also Milward (2004) on Matthew Kellison (1561-1642), the college president appointed in 1613 who was responsible for this.

the Chalcedon controversy. This continued an ill-tempered internecine debate which had blown up late in Elizabeth I's reign, over suspicions that the archpriest who oversaw Catholic secular clergy in England was overly deferential to Jesuit interests. The papal appointment of a bishop for England in 1623—the appropriately named William Bishop, who held the titular see of Chalcedon in Asia Minor—did little to quieten the debate, since both Bishop and his successor, Richard Smith, were beset by questions concerning the extent of their authority (Lake and Questier 2019). In all its stages, this controversy had the broad effect of posing secular priests against Jesuits and other regulars, though the Jesuits were usually cast as the arch-villains by their opponents. Peter Lake and Michael Questier have recently ventriloquized the opinion, common among both early modern Catholics and Protestants, that “the Jesuits were the quintessence of disorder in both Church and State—an equal threat to the powers of prince, bishop, and pope” (230)—and the author of this play would have agreed.

Though *Hierarchomachia* is currently listed as anonymous in all scholarly sources, Drury's name was associated with it in the early 1630s, around the time of its composition (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2316). For instance, writing to Peter Biddulph in January 1633, John Southcot comments on “a certaine <English> comedy supposed to be made by Mr Drury, called the Antibishop” that is likely to incur complaint from individuals “toucht in it.” Southcot instructs Biddulph that

if any such complaint be made [...], you may answer that the clergy in generall doth not avow any such work, nor hath any knowledg of it, nor that Mr Drury is the author but rather [...] are persuaded that he could not be the author by reason of his sore arme (his right arme) which hath held him these 6 or 7 yeares, wherby he is altogether unable to write with that hand. Neither does my lord *bishop* know either the work or the author for certaine, but only by hearsay.³¹

A contemporary Latin redaction of this or a similar account repeats the story without alluding to Drury by name, and dismisses it because “this priest [...] strongly denies that he is its author. He has completely

³¹ Clerk [John Southcot] to [Peter Biddulph], 18 January 1633 (Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster (AAW), A XXVII, no.3, 9–10), as edited in Questier (2005, 144–145). On this and other contemporary references to the play, see Gossett (1982, 21–27).

lost the use of his right hand now for six years – so that he is not able to move it, in fact.”³² Yet there is a problem here: though a sore arm certainly affects the physical act of writing, it does not impede the imagination, and someone afflicted in this way can dictate to an amanuensis, or even write with the other hand. In the early modern period, and still sometimes to this day, the word “author” has – like the Latin *auctor* – broad associations with the idea of origination which can point to the physical rather than the mental production of a text; these, in turn, could be used to deflect attention from someone who had thought up a subversive drama, but not written it down.³³ If this is happening here, it would not be the only time that members of a community well-used to equivocation were economical with the truth (Mullaney 1980, Butler 2012).³⁴ In Southcot’s account, besides, we are nowhere unambiguously assured that Drury is not the author, just that the clergy in general have no knowledge that he is the author, and “are persuaded” he could not have been.

The problematic nature of these reports becomes especially conspicuous when set against the fact that anagrammatized versions of Drury’s name feature both in the play and in its paratext. Weighing up pre-existing discussions of attribution for her edition of *Hierarchomachia*, Suzanne Gossett interpreted Southcot’s remarks as a reason for downplaying the attribution to Drury, concluding that there was a better – albeit inconclusive – case for Peter Fitton (1982, 22–23). But in a review of Gossett’s edition, P.J. Holmes (1987) reopened the question. He was more convinced by the case for Drury, pointing out that the character Erudius’s name was a near-anagram of “Drueius”; though the second “R” is lacking, it is as close to the original as many of the other names in *Hierarchomachia*. Regarded simply as a cratylic name, it works well for the most learned and judicious character in the play, given its connotations of erudition; the fact that it does not immediately present as an anagram diverts attention from the question of a real-life original, and hence any buried declaration of authorship. But the discussion can be moved on

³² “*Sacerdos iste [...] quod Authorem se perneget, manus suae dextrae usum à sex iam annis penitus amisit, ita ut nec movere quidem eam possit*” (AAW, A XXIII, no. 41, 105: “*Ex litteris scriptis*”).

³³ OED, “author,” n. esp. II 4 a.

³⁴ My thanks to Michael Questier for discussions of this point.

by pointing to another, better, anagram on the title-page of *Hierarchomachia*; the authorial pseudonym given on this, “Reuerardus,” can be anagrammatized as “Drurraeeus,”³⁵ In conjunction with Holmes’s discovery, contemporary suspicions and the penchant for comedy in Drury’s previous plays, this amounts to a convincing case for his authorship.

Like “Erudius,” “Drurraeeus” is not obviously an anagrammatic pseudonym. Many of those in *Hierarchomachia* are not seriously intended to conceal the original, declaring themselves by their obviousness or their lack of relationship to any pre-existing name: “Bolnutus,” for instance, which denotes the Jesuit Richard Blount. “Reuerardus,” on the other hand, boasts an overt double pun, on the name “Everard,” and on “Reverend,” pointing towards the priesthood of the writer.³⁶ In the context of a play which deals with a quarrel between the secular and regular clergy, the latter word is loaded in itself, as if the title of priest is good enough for the author without the additional styling of, say, Jesuit or Benedictine. The play’s historical sourcing is just as sharply angled towards contemporary polemical relevance, exploiting the resemblance between present-day English quarrels and those of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in medieval Germany and Italy. Guelphs supported the pope, Ghibellines the Holy Roman Emperor; in *Hierarchomachia* the Guelphs are the pro-episcopal faction, figuring the secular priests, while the Ghibellines stand for all who oppose the bishop. The comparison functions more as a loose reference to Catholic factionalism than a detailed attempt at historical recall, perhaps because point-by-point correspondence could have worked against Drury’s message. The balance to be struck between allegiance to the pope and loyalty to monarchs was fiercely debated among Drury’s Catholic contemporaries, not least because of the divisive Oath of Allegiance imposed after the Gunpowder Plot (Questier 1997). But the focus of *Hierarchomachia* is elsewhere, revolving round the Ghibellines’ futile attempts to besmear the bishop’s reputation. The attempts of Jargus – based on the Jesuit Laurence Anderton – to bring the laity round to the Ghibelline way of thinking comically backfire. Hiding from those

³⁵ See the title-page reproduced in Gossett (1982, 50).

³⁶ The name “Everard” may have been intended to evoke Everard 1611, an anti-Jesuit autobiographical account of its author’s time at the Venerable English College, Rome.

he has angered, he finds himself—in a comic reference to priestholes—up a chimney disguised as a devil and unable to get out of his costume.³⁷ The play's combination of satire and farce deliberately recalls Ben Jonson's work, with *Every Man Out of his Humour* a consistent point of reference (Gossett 1982, 27–34).

Also reminiscent of Jonson is the attitudinous “Apology” at the beginning of the text. Famously, Jonson was given to arguing that his plays were just as morally instructive as sermons, and much more entertaining; Drury, who is just as up-front with his didactic agenda, makes an interesting point of contrast to Jonson.³⁸ It was always a problem for satirists to distinguish adequately between *saeva indignatio* and bitchery, something which Drury gets round by writing:

I intended this work as a private satisfaction to myself, expressing some strong apprehensions I had of the indignity of this opposition, which brought with it into my fancy the persons of particular men [...] If I spare them not for it, let them thank themselves, that spare not by their example to incense the zeal of the most remiss spirit and make it sensible of a wrong offered to the very heart and soul of religion. (52–53)³⁹

Later on, he develops the theme:

I leave them [...] that may seem to be any way pointed at in this comedy, in their full freedom to take to themselves as much or as little of the imputation laid upon them as they list or can with a safe conscience, and wish them to be the less troubled, the more they find themselves inwardly free from blame. For to an innocent man nothing can prove so glorious in the end as to have his actions thoroughly tried and his very thoughts put to the test. (54–55)

Here, Drury advances a remarkably positive vision of satire as having the potential to be “glorious”—at least, to those who are tested by it and emerge triumphant. Comedy, thus conceived, is a stimulus to conscience. Drury's casuistical thoroughness bespeaks a priestly stance, perhaps most of all in the way he does not exempt himself

³⁷ Death as a blackface chimney-sweeper features in *Mors* (Siconolfi 1982, 122, 147).

³⁸ For a recent discussion of Jonson's position, see Preedy 2014; for a general account of Jonson's satire, see Dutton 2000; and on the dichotomy between polemical and didactic satire, see Renner 2014, 386.

³⁹ All references to Gossett 1982 give page numbers for both facsimile and transcription.

from potential criticism: “I should not be much moved to see my name brought on the stage, though to no other end than to serve as a scarecrow to affright the spectators from doing ill” (54–55). Drury is, for once, writing as himself, and the high degree of authorial reflexivity is worth noting.

In this as in other ways, *Hierarchomachia* is highly metatheatrical. The prologue features the spectators Therulus and Lucianus, respectively Protestant and puritan;⁴⁰ the Ghibelline Bolnutus vows in relation to his opponents, “were they saints, I’ll find | A way to bring their credit on the stage | And spot them with aspersions that shall dye | Their souls in grain” (82–83, lines 496–498); and Jargus, reflecting ruefully on his disguise as a devil, opines:

This will prove a theme
For comedies hereafter, and my name
Will fly upon the stage, entitling plays
Of church revenge in “Jargus’ Chimney Plot,”
Or else, “The Politician Mewed, Transformed,
Characterised, Endevelled,” and such stuff (196–199, lines 2406–2411)

This comes at the point in the play when Jargus is stuck in his devil-costume, a comic scenario which has serious resonances in a recusant context; Catholic priests operating in England would, after all, have been used to adopting disguises. Moreover, the anagrammed names of Drury’s priestly characters recall how so many of their originals adopted at least one alias, often more. Given that they often had some claim to those aliases – perhaps a family connection, perhaps no more than wordplay – one can see this as a kind of onomastic equivocation: true, but not true enough to be dangerous.⁴¹ In a further twist to the play’s reflexivity, the characters explicitly reflect on such issues. Speaking to a pursuivant, one clerical member of the Ghibelline faction declares that no “Romish priests” are present, to which another adds: “No simple ones he means; | For we are mixed [anagrammatized], or double [using aliases], not contained | In

⁴⁰ It has not been previously pointed out that “Lucianus” anagrammatizes “Caluinus” (cf. Drury’s use of the same anagram in *Mors*, identified by Siconolfi 1982, 245); the reminiscence of Lucian, a classical exemplar for satirical dialogue, is felicitous. Similarly, the name of Lucianus’s interlocutor Therulus anagrammatizes “Lutherus.” On negotiating the relationship between playwright and audience in early Stuart satirical drama, see Yearling 2016.

⁴¹ Cf. Southgate 2004.

odious names" (260–261, lines 3421–3424). This comment qualifies the first speaker's polemical term "Romish," which could certainly be thought of as an "odious" name—and, in so doing, signals resistance to the epithet. Though both speakers are priests, and both Ghibellines, they differ in their willingness to use Protestant polemical terminology, even when throwing pursuivants off the scent. But then again, the pursuivant appears to be well aware that he is being deflected; remarking "I know you, and I know you not; suspect, | And not suspect you," he demands financial compensation and turns a blind eye thereafter (260–261, lines 3427–3428). The scene vividly recalls Annabel Patterson's idea that censorship is to be understood as a game between author and censor, where not playing by the rules is penalized rather than subversive comment *per se* (1984). More generally, the satire of the scene is mitigated by Drury's sympathy for the plight of all Catholic priests.

This broader perspective is also conveyed via the character of Erudius, whose name—as commented above—is a near-anagram of Drury's own, as well as connoting learning and wisdom. This gambit, unashamedly linking Drury's authorial persona to good sense, is used to extend the prologue's self-conscious theatricality. At the beginning of Act 5, for instance, Erudius declares of his anti-episcopal opponents, "In this last act to alter thus and swerve | From our own doctrine and the church's form [...] It makes me tremble when I think on't" (226–227, lines 2869–2870, 2879): a comment appropriate both to the play's end and to the extra-theatrical present day. It is also Erudius who looks beyond the play's squabbles to voice more positive visions of religion, hints of what both sides were fighting for. In one such speech, he declares:

Were it not I know the church
 To be a sun unblemished in itself,
 Yet oftentimes to us with clouds obscured,
 My faith might oft miscarry in those mists
 And times of dissolution, [when] those lights
 That should encourage us, with every puff
 That passion raiseth glimmer, or go out,
 And leave us in the dark to grope our way,
 Were not that gracious help that guides our souls
 Unto eternity, our fixèd star. (224–227, lines 2851–2860)

Here Erudius is addressing Candle, his usual interlocutor and the character in the play most resistant to definition. As his name suggests, he holds a candle for Erudius, assisting him by shedding light on proceedings. Yet as his designation “Neutralist, or time Critick” in the *dramatic personae* suggests, he is difficult to pin down ideologically.⁴² At times he demonstrates an outspokenly Counter-Reformation mindset. When Erudius says, “I fear me Luther and his afterbirth | Had never ruffled so against the pope, | Had the *magistri nostri* of those days | Not swelled but taught the way of Christian love | With more humility” (224–225, lines 2833–2837), Candle voices his agreement: “I see thou dost not mean | To palliate abuses that have crept | Among the Romanists themselves” (224–225, lines 2843–2845). But at other points he is variously characterized as a Nicodemist, someone who supports the true church in secret; compared to the Jesuit Jargus; and seen as contemptuous of all churches, or simply irreligious (58–59; 114–115; 116–117; 74–75). A protean character who facilitates a wide-ranging debate, he gives us access to Drury’s heterodox imaginings.

In this era “candle” was a synonym for “rush,” given the contemporary popularity of rushlights, and this points to yet another connotation of Candle’s name: Friar Rush, a trickster-figure whose antics figured in oral and print culture across medieval and early modern Europe.⁴³ A devil sent to a friary under that name to sow discord among its inhabitants, he plays tricks ranging from the harmless to the positively cruel. In one story, he kills the friary cook by throwing him into a seething kettle of water; in another he makes truncheons, with which the friars mount a pitched battle (Anon. 1626). The idea of a devil passing as a friar and acting as an *agent provocateur* was clearly too tempting for Drury to pass up, especially given his feelings about the religious orders, and Friar Rush is invoked at two points in *Hierarchomachia*.⁴⁴ Candle shows his kinship with him not only onomastically, but in the way he stage-manages the action to

⁴² For “neutralist,” see *OED*, A, n. 1: “A person who maintains an attitude of neutrality between competing theories, ideas, etc. (in early use *spec.* in matters of religion).”

⁴³ *OED*, “rush” n, 1 d; see also “rushlight,” n.

⁴⁴ Cf. the earlier comments of the secular priest Christopher Bagshaw on Robert Persons, the controversial leader of the Jesuit order in England: “Is not such a mans talke of peace like the speech of frier Rush after he had set all by the eares”? (“An answer of M. Doctor Bagshaw to certayne poyntes of a libel,” 40; in Ely 1602).

pitch the clerics against each other. Jargus even complains that Candle has maneuvered him into simulating the Friar— “Well, if he have betrucked me in this sort, | And for his pleasure made me play the part | Of Robin-good-fellow or Friar Rush [...] | I’ll study to requite him if I live” (196–197, lines 2376–2378, 2380): a self-characterization which is all the apter because, at this point in the play, Jargus is still in his devil-suit. Lucianus the Calvinist develops the idea: “But when comes Jargus down to act his part? | I long to see the devil kindly played. | Have you read Friar Rush?” (163, lines 1818–1820). Thus, the devil-friar is not exclusively associated with any character, but acts as a multivalent point of reference.

Conclusion

Multi-layered intertextuality of this kind indicates a sophisticated playwright when—as here—it is brought off with *élan*. If *Hierarchomachia* were by a canonical author, it would be admired and much written about. Elegant, sharp and mischievous, it reads well even when compared to the work of Drury’s literary model Jonson. An even apter point of comparison might be Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess*, another play which exhibits the bravura deployment of satirical archetypes within a plot inspired by religio-political controversy—including Drury’s savior Gondomar as the Black Knight (Wiggins 2012–, 8: #2130). In this as in other ways, the existence of *Hierarchomachia* is a reason to query the sharp dividing line that has often been drawn between London professional drama and the drama of the English Catholic colleges on the Continent. This essay has also argued that Drury’s Latin drama yields points of comparison between the two worlds: especially where, in *Aluredus*, he nostalgically depicts the medieval Catholic world so familiar within Stuart dramatic romance and tragicomedy.

Yet, for all that, Drury’s plays were vehicles of priestly ministry— which recalls the episode at the start of this essay in which Drury is compared to his brother Robert. In the description of their literary talents, the familiar comparison of sermons and plays is evoked with a censorious Protestant spin: the idea that *Mors*, or any comedy, would make “a reasonable man [...] iudge” of the brothers’ “pregnancie, and sufficiency to any employment” has to be ironic. Since this comes from a pamphlet about the Fatal Vesper, we may

even be intended to pick up on the fact that the gathering in question took place near the Blackfriars Theatre. Either way, given the context, the author strongly implies that both Catholic sermons and Catholic drama are a misuse of wit. Edward Benlowes's Latin poem on the tragedy makes a similar point, reading in translation: "Drury, when you sprinkle your empty thoughts from the pulpit, when you spread abroad the empty phantoms of your mind, you will die, struck down by a wooden beam."⁴⁵ Thus portrayed, Robert Drury is not just a mistaken preacher but a vacuous fantasist, justly annihilated by a wrathful God.

Perhaps Robert Drury's death affected his brother's literary imagination too. The latter's playwriting career seems, from the texts we have, to have fallen into two unequal halves: the college drama from 1618–1620, when he taught at Douai, and *Hierarchomachia*, around 1631, written at a time when he was in England. The Fatal Vesper had happened in between, and one polemical production inspired by it makes a suggestive point of comparison to Drury's only English-language play. As suggested above, one of the differences between *Hierarchomachia* and Drury's earlier work is the satirical hits at living individuals, who figure in the play under punning or anagrammatized versions of their real names. Protestants poked similar fun at Catholics, and in a series of polemical engravings connecting the Gunpowder Plot and the Fatal Vesper, Guy Fawkes and Robert Drury are arraigned through wordplay (Walsham 1994, 68–69). Fawkes's name frequently invited puns on *faux*—in French, "false"—and one engraving, "A Plot with Powder," labels an image of him "Faux why." In "No Plot No Powder," a companion picture displaying the Fatal Vesper, the preacher's body, painfully spreadeagled amidst the ruins, is labelled "DREW(a)Ry": punning on his name in the light of the draughtsman's distortion, which in turn points to the mutilation caused by Drury's live burial (Figs. 1 and 2). The whole rhyme, "Faux why Drew awry," connects Guy Fawkes's treason to Drury's providential punishment.

⁴⁵ "Drurie, cum cerebro conspergis pulpita vano, | Dum spargis cerebri phasmata vana tui, | Trabe peremptus obis." Benlowes's poem is preserved in Fuller (1970 vol.5, 539–544); translation from Davidson and Davidson (1971, 46–47). Witmore discusses the theatricality of the incident (2001, 140, 149, 152).

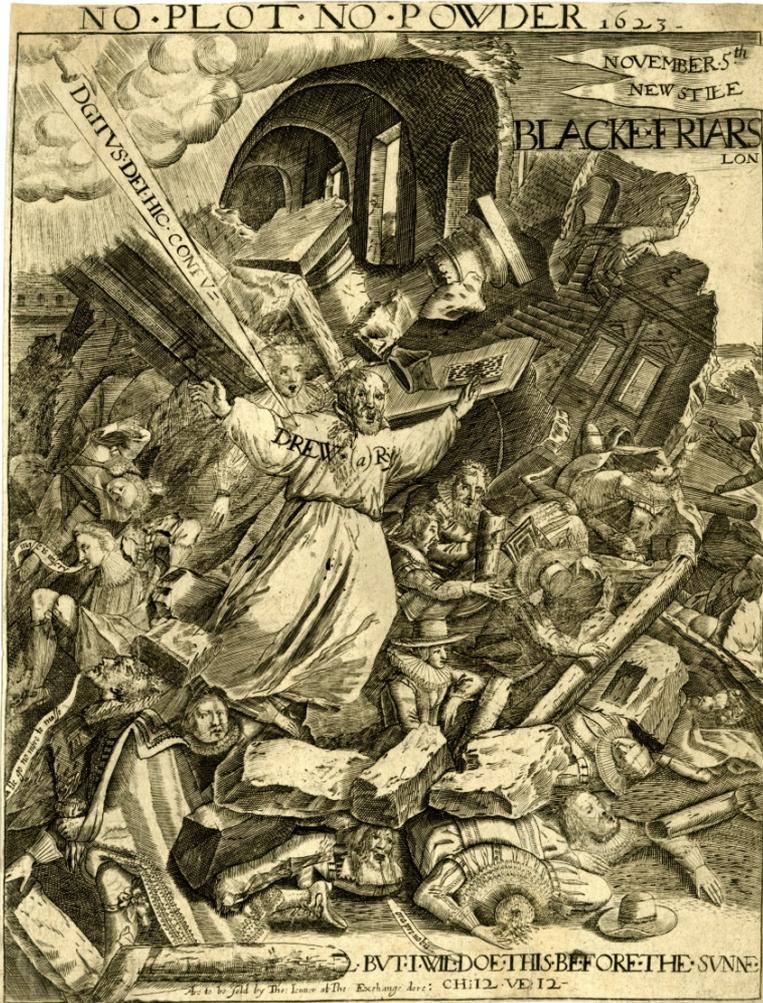


Figure 1: "No Plot No Powder" engraving (Thomas Jenner, 1623). © The Trustees of the British Museum

Might someone as sensitive to onomastics as William Drury have remembered this mocking pun on the family name when writing *Hierarchomachia*? Certainly, both "Erudius" and "Reverardus" dismember and reconfigure it: "Drew awry" indeed. And if so, this would extend Drury's imaginative preoccupation with concealment

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and the toll this takes on identity, from the trials of King Alfred to the subterfuges of outlawed priests. Though Jargus's unyielding devil-disguise in *Hierarchomachia* shows a secular priest's desire to mock Jesuits and other regulars, it also speaks compassionately to the shared plight of all England's Catholics. In this play, and Drury's others, farce and factionalism figure prominently, but so does its author's missionary agenda: sometimes, Friar Rush is a gadfly for God.



Figure 2: detail of Jenner's engraving, showing the figure of Robert Drury.

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