The Many Lives of *Raleigh's Ghost*: Reframing Atheism and the Afterlife in Early Stuart Britain

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In an essay on early modern "Stoics, Neoplatonists, Atheists, and Politicians," Brian W. Ogilvie presents the 1613 treatise *On Providence* by the Flemish Jesuit Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623) as "a classical time-warp" (762). Originally printed in Antwerp by Plantin as *De Providentia Numinis et Animi Immortalitate libri duo versus Atheos et Politicos*, the treatise addresses the rise of contemporary forms of atheism by lifting arguments from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* and Livy's *Natural History*, thus resurrecting for seventeenth-century Catholic readers the two-thousand-year-old philosophical debate between Stoics and Epicureans: a "time-warp," indeed. But even more "peculiar" and "odd" in Ogilvie's view (762) is the form taken by the treatise in its English translation, published in 1631 by the presses of a Continental English Jesuit college (most probably at Saint-Omer) under the title *Raleigh his Ghost. Or a feigned apparition of Syr VValter Rawleigh to a friend of his, for the translating into English, the booke of Leonard Lessius (that most learned man) entituled, De prouidentia numinis, & animi immortalitate: written against atheists, and polititians of these dayes* (Figure 1).

While Ogilvie could not but notice the strangeness of the title,[1] he does not, however, comment on the cultural, temporal, or linguistic and material forms of reframing that are effected in the title page, which presents the translation under the prominent tutelage of the most English figure of Sir Walter Raleigh, and addresses it to the "atheists, and polititians *of these dayes*" (emphasis mine).[2] Yet, as recent research on early modern paratexts, or liminal features of translated books, has demonstrated, the "thresholds" (Genette) of the printed translation play a crucial role, both in fashioning the material features of the book and in determining—or, sometimes also, destabilizing—the interpretive codes that shape its reception.[3]

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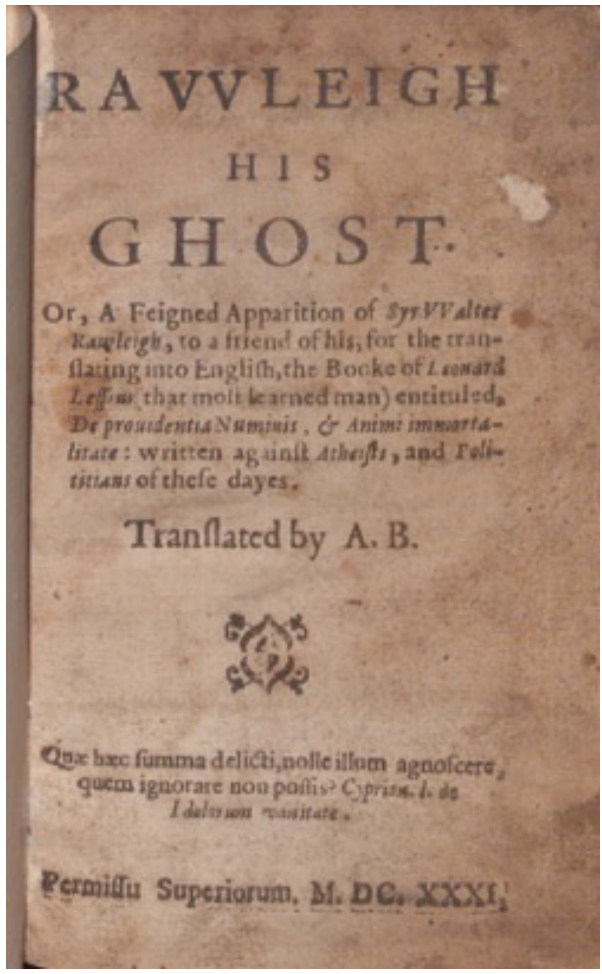

RAVVLEIGH
HIS
GHOST.
Or, A Feigned Apparition of Syr VValter Rawleigh, to a friend of his, for the translating into English, the Booke of Leonard Lessius (that most learned man) entituled, De providentia Numinis, & Animi immortalitate: written against Atheists, and Politicians of these dayes.
Translated by A. B.
Quæ hæc summa delicti, nolle illum agnoscere, quem ignorare non possis? Cyprian. l. de Idolorum vanitate.
Permissu Superiorum, M. DC. XXXI.

Figure 1. *Raleigh his Ghost… Translated by A.B.* (1631), title page.
Furness Collection, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania.

In the case at hand, the translator—who remains unnamed, providing only the initials A.B.—and his printer show great awareness of the framing potential of the paratext, exploiting the full range of possible uses. If one is to adopt Guyda Armstrong's distinction between authorial (here, translatorial, or, more generally, discursive), visual, and organizational paratexts ("Paratexts and their Functions" 41-42), the fiction of Sir Walter Raleigh's ghost is operative at all levels. In terms of discursive strategies, it offers the diegetic framework of the whole treatise. Not only is the name of the "feigned apparition" conjured twice on the title page, but it occupies the liminal space usually attributed to the translator's prefatory comments. Instead of the expected

dedication, or address to the reader by the translator or printer, the book opens on a note by "the Apparition to his Friend," signed "The Ghost of Sir W. Raleigh" (sig. *3r). In it, the ghost requests, as announced on the title page, that his "friend" translate Lessius's treatise, but as a personal "favour," so that his own name may be cleared of the accusations of atheism which he claims were "most unjustly" cast upon him when he was still alive: "therefore my humble, and earnest request is, that thou wouldst take the paines to translate the said treatise into English; and let the Title beare my Name, that so the Readers, may acknowledge it, as done by my solicitation" (sigs. *2v-3r). Even when the translator regains his rights in the address to the reader that follows the "Apparition," the customary apologies on the translation are directed, not to the author (nor to the reader, as is often the case), but to the ghost: "for if I have offended any, it must be *Syr Walter* himselfe" (sig. *4v).

While taking pride of place at the discursive level, since it provides the title, motive, and occasion for the translation, the "apparition" also dominates the book visually. "Rawleigh's Ghost" is printed in large font, not only on the title page, but also as a header for the first book of the treatise (sig. Ar). The words "ghost" and "apparition" particularly stand out on the title page and in the opening address, in fonts even larger than those used for Raleigh's own name. The conceit is carried over onto the organizational forms of the paratext: the running title on all even pages reads "Syr Walter Rawleighs ghost," thus creating the rather amusing impression that the ghost actually authored the book. Even further, with odd pages carrying as running titles the names of the various parts of the treatise, the layout cleverly fulfills the "feigned" function of the book, as we read across the pages: "Syr Walter Rawleighs ghost | Of the being of a God," "Syr Walter Rawleighs ghost | Immortality of the soul," etc.

The alleged motive for the translation, to clear Raleigh's name and reputation of aspersions of atheism ("a foul, and most unjust aspersion upon Me, for my presumed denial of a Deity", sig. *2v), is worth considering in some detail. The allusion is to the accusations levelled in the 1590s against Raleigh and other important Elizabethan figures such as George Chapman, Thomas Harriot, and Christopher Marlowe, for gathering together and allegedly sharing "atheistic" ideas. These allegations were especially voiced by Robert Parsons, then England's most prominent Jesuit, who in 1592 famously called the group "Walter Rawley's school of atheism" (qtd. in Bradbrook 12). The evocation of such events by the "apparition" in the 1631 volume raises a number of questions, considering the fact that the translation is one of a text written by a Jesuit, Leonardus Lessius; that it was printed by a Jesuit press, probably that of Saint-Omer; and that the translator, Raleigh's presumed "friend," is almost certainly a Jesuit himself. Sometimes attributed to the English Jesuit John Everard, the translation is more generally believed to have been penned by the Jesuit priest Matthew Wilson, alias Edward Knott (1581-1656), an English recusant educated at Saint-Omer who would go on to become Provincial for England in 1643 (Holmes). Brenda M. Hosington has recently identified an alternative candidate for the initials A.B.: Richard Lassels (1603-88), an English priest who used (among other aliases)

the initials of his mother, Anne Bold (Hosington 444-45). Although not an identified member of the Society of Jesus, he was educated at the English Jesuit College at Douai; this is also where he was ordained in 1632 and taught Classics until 1633 (Chaney).[4] Why, then, this concerted attempt by seventeenth-century Jesuits to denounce accusations made by a former generation of Jesuits? And why raise the ghost of Sir Walter Raleigh, almost four decades after the affair, and over twelve years after his death in 1618?

A clue may be found in the address "by the translator to the reader" directly following "the Apparition," in which the translator candidly declares that he has resorted to this fiction in order to catch the attention of readers:

> in regard of his eminency in the world when he was alive, I am the more easily perswaded, that the very Name of him (by way of this feigned Apparition, and the like answerable Title of the Translatio[n]) may beget in many an earnest desire of perusing this boke; and so become the more profitable. (sig. *4r)

The overt admission that the name and fame of Sir Walter Raleigh are being used as an editorial foil to attract readers and sell copy will be my leading thread here. The key to understanding this strikingly English reframing of Lessius's treatise, I shall argue, is thus to situate it as part of the Jesuit activities of production and clandestine dissemination of translations for the spiritual "profit" of English recusants, and also in regards to other instances of exploitation of Raleigh's enduring fame in contemporary translations and other "feigned apparitions." In so doing, I shall explore the various "time-warps," intertextual loops, visual tricks, and other manipulative devices that enable the translation of this famous ghost, through the circles of heaven or hell, and across material forms, ideological divides, and language barriers (real or imaginary), to seventeenth-century English readers.

* * *

To start from the Jesuit perspective, the 1631 volume follows upon several other English translations of Lessius's theological writings. All were produced at the presses of English Jesuit colleges established on the Continent, notably at Douai and Saint-Omer, and dedicated to the raising of the recusant youth and the diffusion of Counter-Reformation writings for English Catholics. In 1613, for instance, Lessius's 1610 "appendix" to his treatise *Quæ fides et religio sit capessenda* (Antwerp, 1609) was published in English as *A controversy, in which is examined, whether euery man may be saued in his owne faith and religion* (an anonymous translation, most probably published at Saint-Omer). This was followed in 1618 by the translation of the whole treatise (including the "appendix") as *A consultation what faith and religion is best to be imbraced,* also published by the English Jesuit presses (presumably at Saint-Omer), with further editions in 1619 (at the Jesuit college of La Flèche) and

1621 (at Saint-Omer again). This translation, attributed to the prolific Jesuit translator William Wright, was explicitly directed to the "Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London" and presented as a way of attaining the "true gate of Catholike faith wihich only leadeth to salvation" (sig. *5v). The year 1621 also saw the publication of *The treasure of vowed chastity in secular persons*, a translation penned by the prominent Jesuit, John Wilson, who ran the presses at Saint-Omer. The volume including an English version of Lessius's 1615 treatise, *De bono statu eorum qui vivent et colunt castitatem in saeculo*, was this time dedicated to Anne Vaux, a high-profile English Catholic whose Jesuit confessor, Henry Garnett, had been executed for his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, despite her numerous attempts at ensuring his escape. In the 1620s, she ran a clandestine school for sons of the Catholic nobility at her house in Derbyshire (Nicholls).

The 1631 translation of *De Providentia Numinis* is thus clearly inscribed within a programme of propagation of the works of the Jesuit theologian, and in particular those in defence of the Catholic faith, among English readers. All translations in the corpus outlined above emphasize this English readership through personal or collective dedications. Striking as it may be, the summoning of Raleigh and his ghost in the 1631 volume thus represents but an extreme version of a general trend to tailor the works of Lessius according to the specific needs, interests, and cultural references of the intended readers—almost a strategy of "localization," as we would say today.[5] Significantly enough, while the English version of Lessius's *De Providentia* does explicitly include "The Preface of the author" (sigs. *5v-6v), it nevertheless leaves out the original dedication by the Flemish theologian to the Bishop of Ghent, François Van der Burch. In this liminal piece, Lessius denounced atheism as a global problem, so to speak, noting that

> it flourishes in Japan, China, India, Tartary, and other barbarous lands; it flourishes among the Mahometans, many of whom attribute everything to fate […]; it flourishes among heretics, many of whom seem to wholly doubt all religion […] Finally, it even flourishes among many who call themselves Catholics, and think that they are better than all the theologians, and whose leader these days is Niccolò Machiavelli.[6] (trans. Ogilvie 777)

Lessius's scope is that of the Jesuit worldwide missions: in fact, the *De Providentia* would also be translated into Chinese as part of that proselytizing effort (De Backer 1736). Our translator instead appears to direct his work against the English variety of atheists. While he appears to paraphrase certain elements of Lessius's dedication ("secta [… eorum] qui Numinis providentiam et animorum immortalitatem tollunt, vel certe de his ambigunt," Lessius, *De Providentia* sig. *2r), he erases the specific locations named by Lessius to evoke only "divers men" who

> live as though there were neither God, Heaven, Hell, or any *Immortality of the soule*; and it is to be feared, that divers of them, are in their secret judgment so inwardly persuaded. Therfore for the awakening of all such, so monstrously perverted and blynded, I have taken the paynes to translate this ensuing Treatise… (sig. *3v)

His translation therefore targets the *English* "atheists and politicks of these days" already identified in the title, and it is in order to "awaken" them that he relies on a prominent figure in the English imagination.

The memory of Sir Walter Raleigh was indeed very much alive in the 1620s and 1630s (see Beer 109-37), and the mention of his ghost would certainly have aroused a certain amount of curiosity from the general reader. Ghosts seem to have represented a relatively common eye-catching device in the 1620s, with title pages variously featuring the spirits of the Duke of Mayenne (1622), of Robert Greene (1626), or of the Earl of Essex (1624, on which more is said below). That said, the connection established in the paratexts of the 1631 translation between Lessius's theodicy and the issue of Raleigh's faith, or lack thereof, appears somewhat tenuous in the context of the early 1630s. At the time, potential memories of the scandal surrounding Raleigh's alleged "school of atheism" in the 1590s had long been overshadowed by the more recent, and far more controversial, matter of his execution for treason in 1618. The main chief of accusation was that Raleigh had violated the peace treaty between the English and Spanish Crowns by conducting an incursion on Spanish-held territories in Guyana. It was widely believed, especially among Protestant subjects, that the King's hand in the matter had been forced by the machinations of the Spanish ambassador, the Count of Gondomar, and his Jesuit allies in England.

In fact, by the early 1630s, Sir Walter Raleigh and his ghost had already been enrolled in a string of sensationalist, anti-Catholic, and specifically anti-Jesuit writings. As early as 1620, the Protestant polemicist Thomas Scott had published the pamphlet *Vox populi, or News from Spaine*, presenting Raleigh's death as the result of a Spanish conspiracy. Falsely presented as a translation from the Spanish, the tract is framed as a copy of Gondomar's report to the Spanish court in 1618. The Spanish ambassador boasts of his success in derailing various English projects, among which, Raleigh's last expedition, and reveals that he has been maneuvering to ensure Raleigh's demise:

> I underwrought that admirable Engine *Raleigh*, and so was the cause his voyage (threatning so much daunger and domage to us) was overthrowne, and himselfe returning in disgrace, I pursued almost to death, neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all strings hold. (sig. Cr)

The lesson to be derived by the English reader is made explicit on the title page of the tract: "which may serve to forwarne both England and the United Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences."

The pamphlet was published just as the English Crown was entering negotiations with Spain, via Gondomar himself, towards a so-called "Spanish Match" between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. It caused such a political furore that Scott had to flee to the Lower Countries, where he became pastor of the English garrison at Utrecht, and continued to circulate anti-Spanish and anti-Jesuit tracts until his assassination in 1626 (Adams 144; Kelsey). Scott is believed to have gone into hiding

upon news of the arrest of the pamphleteer and newsbook editor Thomas Gainsford, whom he probably knew, and who owned a copy of the book (Adams 144). The details of Gainsford's arrest, as recorded by Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State to James I, reveal the existence of a companion piece to *Vox Populi* in the form of a manuscript tract suggestively titled "Sir Walter Raleighes ghost, or a conference betweene Gondomar the Friar Confessor and Father Baldwin the Jesuite at Elye House in Holborne" (Adams 142-43).

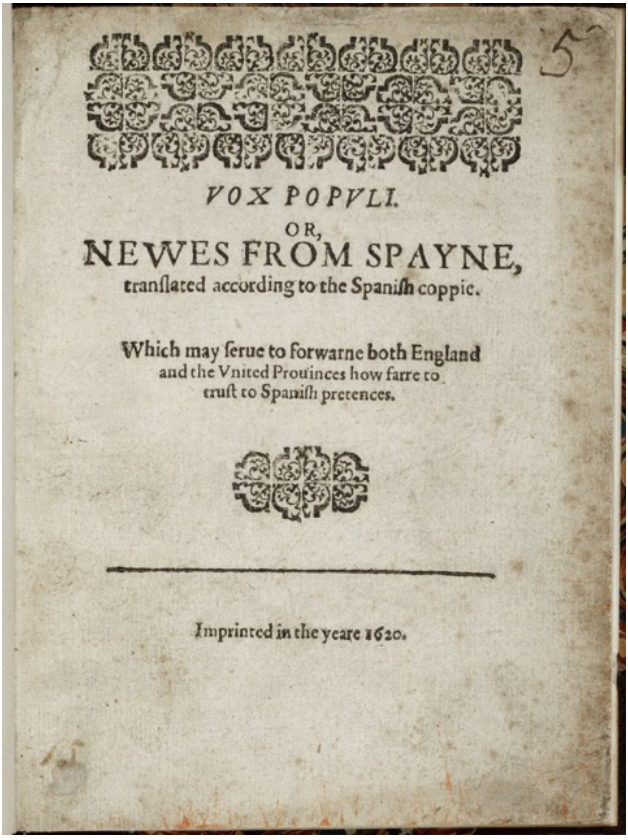
Gainsford's tract, which Calvert calls "as a seditious book as the other [*Vox Populi*], if not much worse" (qtd. in Adams 143), appears to have been composed in Nov. 1620, shortly after the publication of *Vox Populi*, and to have circulated in manuscript before it was seized (Adams 143).[7] At least three copies are extant, all acknowledging the relationship between Gainsford's manuscript satire and Scott's pseudotranslation. The copies held at the British Library (Harley Ms. 7187, fos. 2-30) and at Trinity College, Dublin (TCD MS 862 f232) both cap the original title with "Vox Spiritus" ("Vox Spiritus, or Sr Walter Rawleighs Ghost"), in obvious reference to Scott's *Vox Populi*. The Bodleian Library version (Rawlinson Ms.B.151) also echoes Scott's pamphlet with the subtitle "More News from Spaine" (Gainsford n.p.). While the extant copies, all dated 1622, vary somewhat, they all present the same plot. *Raleigh's Ghost*, or his "prosopopeia," as it is called in the British Library and Trinity manuscripts, stages a secret meeting (or "conference") between Gondomar, an unnamed friar, and the Jesuit William Baldwin, who had also been involved in the Gunpowder Plot but was released from prison in 1618 at the intercession of Gondomar, and directed the English college at Saint-Omer from 1622 until his death in 1632. They gloat upon the advancement of Spain's political interests and plot against the calling of a Parliament, which in effect had just been summoned at the time of Gainsford's arrest in order to support England's intervention against Spain in the Thirty Years' War. Their machinations are interrupted by the apparition of the headless ghost of Sir Walter Raleigh, who denounces their hellish intrigues and warns England against their deceit.

A similar device is deployed in the pamphlet, this time published by Scott himself, titled *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner*, and printed in 1626 at Utrecht, at least according to the imprint; the STC suggests that it was actually clandestinely printed in London. The setting is slightly different. Instead of Ely house (Gondomar's residence in England and the stage of the "Vox Spiritus" pamphlet), Scott reverts to the context of the Spanish court already exploited in *Vox Populi*. Again, we have Gondomar as a main character, whose indolent, self-aggrandizing reverie is suddenly disturbed by the apparition of Sir Walter Raleigh's ghost. The vision causes Gondomar to confess his sins against England, in a burlesque travesty of St. Paul's conversion narrative:

> on a sodaine (according to the weakenesse of his apprehension) there shined round about him a most glorious and extraordinary light; which might be taken rather for fire or flaming, then shine or glittering: and this appeared so sodainely, spred it selfe so largely and increased so violently, that terror, feare and amazement at one instant raised vpon

the heart of the Earle… (9)

The tract ends, here again, with a warning against Spanish diplomats and Jesuit spies ever colluding to advance the Spanish and Catholic causes, to compromise the Anglo-Dutch Protestant alliance, and to weaken the English crown.


VOX POPVLI.
OR,
NEWES FROM SPAYNE,
translated according to the Spaniſh coppie.

Which may ſerue to forwarne both England
and the Vnited Prouinces how farre to
truſt to Spaniſh pretences.

Imprinted in the yeare 1620.

Figure 2. *Vox Populi. Or, Newes from Spayne, translated according to the Spanish coppie* (1620), title page. The Folger Shakespeare Library.

The framing of the narrative in these various tracts evoking Spanish and Jesuit plots against Raleigh, and, more generally, Protestant England, is of particular interest. As already noted, and as visible from the title page layout (Figure 2), the 1620 *Vox Populi* is presented above all as a translated newsbook: "Newes from Spayne, translated according to the Spanish coppie." As Joyce Boro has recently found, the years surrounding the attempted Spanish Match were marked by a flourish of publications of Spanish works, feeding upon England's interest in, and anxieties about, Catholic Spain. A number of them were sensationalist pamphlets presented—some-

times falsely, as is the case here—as "news from Spain." This is clearly one of the most outstanding examples.[8] Scott's claim to "truth" is repeated in the followup 1624 pamphlet, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, also presented on the title page as "faithfully trans[l]ated out of the Spanish coppie by a well-willer to England and Holland." The subtitle promises the reader that he will find "Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament, wherein are discouered his treacherous & subtile practises to the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlandes"; and indeed, the tract includes an engraving representing an assembly of plotting English Jesuits, captioned as follows: "I have here set the *true portraiture* of the Jesuits and prists | as they use to sitt at Counsell in England to further y^e^ Catholicke cause" (54; emphasis mine).

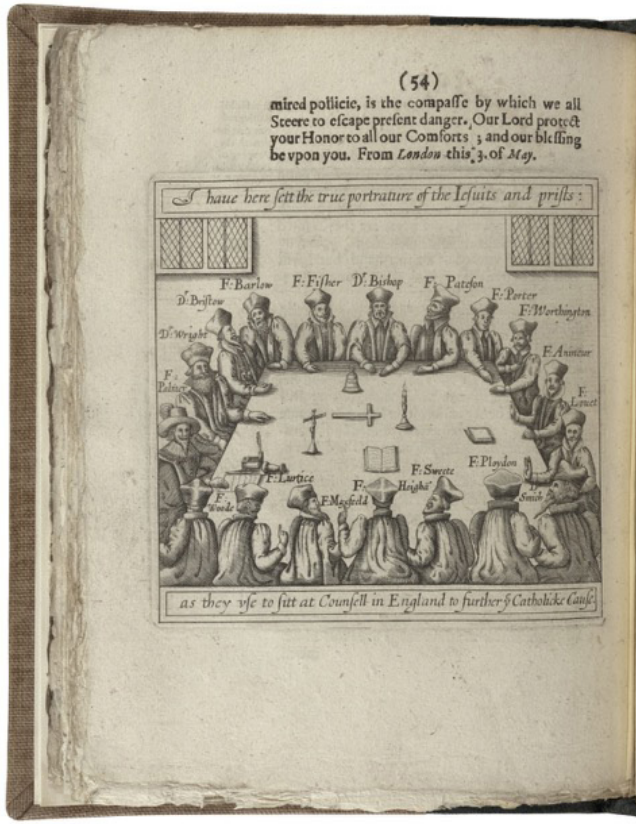


Figure 3. *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), 54.
The Folger Shakespeare Library.

In the case of the "Vox spiritus" manuscript, the satirical nature of the dialogue is more readily identifiable, even though the pamphlet apparently presents itself as the record of a "secret conference" between Gondomar and his Catholic co-conspirators.

First, the summons of a ghost represented at the time was not only a sensationalist ploy to catch the attention of readers, but also a recognizable satirical device. Besides their literary importance to the genre of Elizabethan tragedy, ghosts had been regularly summoned out of (putative) Purgatory to mock contemporary foibles and, increasingly so in the seventeenth century, to denounce political scandals. The ghost of Concini, Marquess of Ancre, thus appears, in "the fiction of a dialogue" translated from the French in 1617, as a warning against the cruelties and maneuverings of the Italian party at the French court. The "Vox Spiritus" pamphlet acknowledges such literary precedents: Raleigh's ghost's opening words, "*Cresce, cresce cruor sanguinis*" are actually borrowed from another English ghost, that of Clarence in the anonymous Elizabethan play, *The True Tragedy of Richard III* (1594, sig. A3r), with obvious political implications. The tract also refers to classical precedents that were recognizable by at least some English readers. While learned references appear to have been left out of certain extant copies of the manuscript, the British Library version includes on the first page a collage of various Classical *loci* for ghosts, including Seneca's *Troades* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, with the references spelled out in the margin (Gainsford fol. 1).

A singular feature of that same British Library manuscript further emphasizes the satirical nature of the pamphlet. In the title presenting the "conference" between Gondomar and his accomplices, the name of the Spanish Ambassador is spelled 'Gondamor' (fol. 1). Of course, this could be read as a simple spelling mistake: the name is indistinctly printed, "Gondomar," "Gondomor," and "Gondamor" in Scott's 1620 and 1624 *Vox Populi* tracts. Given, however, that the spelling "Gondamor" is repeated in a marginal caption written in a clear, italic hand (fol. 4), it is quite possible that the copyist was in fact punning on the Spanish "amor," thus adding a sexual slur to the already damning portrayal of the Count. As Daniel Lévy has recently noted (59), this pun is to be found in another anti-Catholic tract offering most intriguing connections with Scott's and Gainsford's pamphlets. Strikingly framed as "a letter from the Devil to the Pope" dated 1626, and later published in 1642, the tract includes a report of Scott's murder at Utrecht in that same year. In his "letter" spuriously presented as "translated out of y^{e} Dutche Copie," Lucifer offers Pope Urban VIII all kinds of grotesque, hellish devices to help him advance the Catholic cause. While the Devil boasts of Scott's murder as one of his many recent achievements, he also counts among his faithful allies the Spanish ambassador, "Count Gondamor." The ambassador is portrayed, with not-so-subtle innuendo, as "groaping in the night, and diving in the day, into the very intrailes (I meane the privie Chamber of their State, and Kingdome)" (5). A search through the EEBO-TCP corpus further reveals that the unorthodox spelling appears mainly in anti-Spanish writings such as Scott's *Vox Populi* (first and second parts), and, later, Robert Cotton's warning to Charles I against Spain, *The danger wherein the kingdome now standeth, & the remedie* (1628), or the blatantly anti-Catholic memoir by James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish pilgrime. Or, A nevv discouerie of Spanish popery, and Iesuiticall stratagems…* (1629).[9]

The spelling "Gondamor" in the 1622 manuscript of "Vox Spiritus, or Sr Walter Rawleigh's Ghost" thus appears to reflect the subversive practices of a vivid literary sub-culture involving sensationalist "news," spurious translations, and anti-Catholic satire.[10]

The relationship between fictional news and factual truth is addressed as such in the opening lines of Scott's 1626 printed pamphlet, *Raleigh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner*:

> Although the liberty of this times […] hath made all Newes (how serious of substatiall soever) lyable to the iealous imputation of falsehood, this relation I assure you, although in some circumstances it may leane too neare the florish of invention, yet for the pith or marrowe thereof, it is as justly allyed and knit to truth, as the light is to the day, or night to darkness. (1)

The title page itself offers an outstanding example of blurred lines between literary fiction, current events, and allegorical truth. While the subtitle advertises the tract as "discovering a secret Consultation newly holden in the Court of Spain," the title page also includes the "Cresce cruor sanguinis" couplet from the Elizabethan ghost of Clarence, in a direct echo of the 1620 "Vox Spiritus" tract. The front page equally features a translated verse from Psalm 14 providing the allegorical key of the alleged "relation," as it reminds the reader that "destruction and unhappiness is in [the] ways" of the wicked, while the righteous have "no feare […] before their eyes."

The apparition of the ghost before the eyes of the wicked is framed in similarly ambiguous terms. Truth and appearances are merged as Scott writes: "the nakednes of the truth is, that as [Gondomar] gazed thus fearefully about, there appeared or seemed to appeare before him the Ghost of Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Knight" (10). Similarly, the words heard by Gondomar and his companions are qualified as "these or the like words following" (11), or "these, or like words much like vnto these" (11). Such hedging strategies may naturally be read in relation to the ambivalent position of Calvinist theologians towards ghosts, after Purgatory had been officially abolished.[11] Scott's rhetorical hesitations also participate in the satirical portrayal of Gondomar as a superstitious Catholic, ready to interpret as supernatural manifestation what is in fact but an imaginary delusion: "I haue read that the Duke of Burgundie had like to haue dyed at the sight of the nine Worthies, which a Magician had discouered: but our Don Gondomar is like now to dye at the sight of nothing but aire and his owne imagination" (9-10). Yet these discursive ambiguities may also function as generic markers reminding the reader of the pamphlet's status as a mixture of "invention" and "truth." Such reminders were all the more important as the reason why *Vox Populi* had caused Scott so much trouble was that the pamphlet, presented as "translated news," had been received as a statement of facts, therefore exposing the author, or assumed translator, to accusations of libel, if not downright treason (Jensen 7). Scott was to defend his position in his following pamphlet *Vox Regis* (1624), arguing that what he wrote was but fictional history: "[the pamphlet] was called Vox Populi, to note it only probable, and possible, and likely not historical (I meane, for so much

as concerned the Plot)" (qtd. in Jensen 7). The opening of the 1626 *Raleigh's Ghost* and the narrative strategies surrounding the apparition clearly pertain to that same argument closely interweaving fictional narratives with the satirical acumen of political commentary.

To return to our 1631 Jesuit *Raleigh's Ghost*, whether we follow the STC's suggestion that the translator of Lessius's *De Providentia* was the Jesuit Matthew Wilson, alias Edward Knott, or the alternative solution that the A.B. initials stand for Richard Lasells, it is quite likely that the authors and printers of the translation were aware of the anti-Jesuit precedents. If, as suggested by the STC, the anonymous translator was Edward Knott, his posting as deputy provincial for the English establishment in the Lower countries in the 1620s puts him in a very good position to have encountered Scott's polemical writings, including the 1626 *Raleigh's Ghost* volume composed at Utrecht. If, in turn, we accept Hosington's suggestion of Richard Lasells as the person behind the A.B. signature, it is also possible from his position at Douai in the 1620s and early 1630s that he knew of the various satires involving Raleigh's ghost and English Jesuits. At any rate, considering that the obviously popular "Vox Spiritus" manuscript and Scott's *Vox Populi* pamphlets had directly attacked William Baldwin, who in 1631 was still rector of the English college at Saint-Omer, it is relatively safe to surmise that the translators and/or printers of the 1631 volume were aware of the anti-Jesuit aura surrounding the English ghost. The translated treatise, therefore, may very well have been designed as an alternative "apparition," in an attempt both to capitalize on the enduring popularity of Raleigh (and his ghost), and to reclaim his character from the hands of anti-Jesuit propagandists.

In fact, aside from the obvious intertextual connection created by the title, the framing of the apparition in the 1631 translation lends itself to dialogical connections with its anti-Catholic precedents. First, the explicit presentation of Raleigh's ghost as a mere attention-grabber could be read as an oblique way of highlighting Scott's own editorial practices. His tendency to recycle titles, thus creating usefully recognizable patterns for anonymous publications, is apparent from the *Vox Populi-Vox Dei* series, which was capped in 1624 by a *Vox Coeli* pamphlet ("printed in Elisium") including "two letters written by Queene Mary from heauen, the one to Count Gondomar, the ambassadour of Spaine, the other to all the Romane Catholiques of England." It also turns out that Scott's 1626 *Raleigh's Ghost* had been preceded by a pamphlet entitled *Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost* (1624), again playfully presented as "sent from Elysium," in twin reference to Essex's heavenly afterlife and to the blessed reign of Queen Elizabeth. Scott's (over-)use of ghost-titles and Raleigh's name may thus be the indirect target of the 1631 translator, as he plainly states the opportunistic nature of such editorial devices.

Second, the emphasis on the fictional nature of the ghost ("a feigned apparition") in the 1631 volume stands in stark contrast with the cultivated ambivalence of Scott's discourse on fiction and truth. Where Scott ambiguously manipulated the *topos* according to which the poet "never lieth" (to paraphrase Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*),

the Jesuit translator makes the much straighter argument that attractive fictions can lead readers to "profitable" truths: "this feigned Apparition, and the like answerable Title of the Translatio[n] […] may beget in many an earnest desire of perusing this boke; and so become the more profitable" (sig. *4r). A whole section of Lessius's treatise is actually dedicated to the existence of ghosts as one of the many proofs of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. While "spirits" represent the eleventh proof of God's existence in Book I of the treatise (206), Book II devotes a whole chapter to apparitions: "The Immortality of the Soule is futher evicted from the *returne back of Soules* after this life" (377; emphasis in original). While Scott's pamphlet tended to portray Raleigh's ghost as a figment of Gondomar's superstitious imagination, Lessius condemns instead those who treat such apparitions as mere forgeries. The passage in the 1631 English translation, which renders the Latin quite closely, reads as follows:

> all of which to say to have been forged were overgreat impudence: since this were to take away the credit of al historyes and to cast an aspersion of falshood and deceite (without any shew of reason) upon many most holy, learned, and grave authors. (379)[12]

The issue of truth and fiction is taken up again at the end of Book II, as Lessius engages with Machiavelli's well-known argument according to which "the doctrine of future retribution was first excogitated and forged only for policy, and the more easily to retaine people in obedience and obseruation of the laws" (440). First noting the lack of efficiency of such devices, "since a thing, which is a mere fiction and forgery cannot be so powerfull, as to beget probity, innocency, and iustice" (440),[13] Lessius goes on to turn the "political" argument upon its head, with a transparent reference to Machiavelli's *Prince*:

> It is usual for flatterers, and such as gape after the favour of Princes, to invent such projects, which may best serve for policy and cause the states of those princes to become more illustrious, and more permanent; with which kind of Sycophants the world at this present swarmes. (440)[14]

Here we touch upon the core of Lessius's attack "against atheists and politicks," as the title of the treatise explicitly stated. Noticeably enough, this is the only portion of the original title that is directly transferred onto the 1631 English version, as if to drive the point home. Again, if we read the 1631 volume in relation to Scott's precedent, the argument against Machiavellian "politicks" could very well be applied, in the eyes of English Jesuits, to polemicists such as Scott. From the Jesuit perspective, his anti-Catholic fictions, or "invented projects," were not instrumental to the bettering of the souls, but only to the advancement of a political cause. After all, the accusations levelled against Jesuits in Scott's pamphlets were all of a political nature.[15] The 1620 *Vox Populi* was one of the first, and most virulent attacks against the projected Spanish match. The "Vox Spiritus" tract was written in response to the calling of a Parliament to support England's intervention in the Thirty Years' War opposing the protestant prince, Frederic V, to the Spanish Habsburgs. The issue of the Anglo-Dutch alliance

is advertised on all title pages of Scott's anti-Jesuit publications explicitly addressing "England and Holland" (*Vox Populi*) or "England and the United Provinces" (*Second Part*). Scott himself was acting under the protection of Frederic V and his ambassador, at a crucial time in the game of religious and political alliances of the mid-1620s. As to the fashioning of political or ideological opponents as Machiavellian manipulators, Scott had certainly set a precedent in the matter by explicitly fashioning Gondomar as a new Machiavelli in the *Second Part of Vox Populi* ("Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament," see Figure 4 below). The translator, who for once intervenes in the Latin text by turning the generic "sunt permulti" into "swarms" of "Sycophants," thus appears be turning the anti-Catholic (and anti-Jesuit) rhetoric of Scott and the likes against its own initiators.

Figure 4. *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), title page.
The Folger Shakespeare Library.

If we finally step beyond the polemical recuperation of Sir Walter Raleigh and his ghost from the hands of anti-Jesuit pamphleteers, there is perhaps another, broader project at work in this translation "against the atheists, and politians of these days."

One notable element in the English reframing of Lessius's treatise is the insistence on the contemporary relevance of the work, both on the title page and in the prefatory material: "these days" and "these times" (sig. *3v). This is what made the connection with Raleigh appear at first so strange, since his trial for atheism was firmly established in the Elizabethan era. Yet the figure of Raleigh, a courtier interested in cosmology and natural philosophy, does bear some resemblance to the seventeenth century's new generation of atheists. These were the materialist libertines who, as the French theologian Marin Mersenne was famously to state in his own 1624 treatise against atheism, could be counted by the thousands in Paris alone (Kors 30). This new context is indeed the explanation for Lessius's apparently anachronistic engagement with Ancient philosophy, and, more particularly, with the Epicurean approaches to free will, Providence, and the material order of the world. While overtly setting out to refute ancient philosophers through both classical and Christian arguments, Lessius was actually engaging with modern atheism, which was then emerging into public discourse for the first time since antiquity (Ogilvie 775-76).

While the atheists "of these days," according to Lessius, were to be found all over the world, the 1631 translation, as we have seen, especially addresses the English phenomenon. The authors and printers of the translation may very well have had in mind the libertine milieux at and around the English court. These had already been attacked in another famous English Jesuit publication, the multi-volume translation of Nicolas Caussin's *La Cour sainte* by the English recusant Thomas Hawkins (the first tome being published in 1626, the second in 1630). In terms quite similar to Lessius's, Caussin, a high-profile Jesuit at the court of Louis XIII, had denounced the modern "sect of Epicures" ("une secte d'épicuriens raffinés," 111) who justified their dissolute lifestyle by adopting the materialist principles of ancient Epicureanism (157). While Caussin had in mind the French libertine movement also condemned by Mersenne, Hawkins adroitly transfers his remarks to the English context by dedicating his translation to Charles I's Catholic consort, Henrietta Maria, positing her as the defensor of piety and virtue among the English nobility (sig. *2r).

Caussin's treatise equally condemned the "profane" philosophy of fate as another form of atheism (45). The object of his attack, this time, was the Calvinist—or perhaps, more specifically, Jansenist—doctrine of predestination, which denied any form of free will, personal salvation being absolutely preordained by divine decree. The condemnation of Calvinist views via the philosophical critique of Stoicism already lay at the heart of Lessius's 1613 treatise. In the second part of the *De Providentia*, for example, Lessius inveighs against the Stoic view of afterlife as the mere return of the soul to the divine principle, stressing instead the principle of divine retribution for human deliberate actions:

> for granting that soules do liue after this life, what then is more easy to be belieued, then that they receaue either rewards or paynes, according to their different comporttments in this world? Since otherwise where should the Prouidance of God be? Or where Iustice? (408)

Overtly discussing the "vayne judgment of the Stoicks on the Soule," as the corresponding marginal printed note reads in the 1631 translation, Lessius's remarks clearly respond to the Calvinistic theology of predestination.[16]

The conflation of Calvinism with pagan Stoicism appears to have been widespread among Catholic apologists, but Lessius's views on providence take particular significance in the English context of the early 1630s. As is well known, the decade was marked by the theological and political debate on Arminianism. The doctrine, famously put forward in England by William Laud, sought to accommodate some degree of free will within the Protestant framework of divine predestination. While Arminianism was to become official dogma with the appointment of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, the movement had already gathered significant importance by the end of the 1620s, and Laud was actually promised the succession at Canterbury as early as 1626 (see Tyacke 145). The theological debate took a specifically political turn in 1629, when Arminianism was debated in Parliament by the Calvinist divines Francis Rous and John Pym, with the former defending predestination against "an error that maketh the grace of God lackey it after the will of man" (qtd. in Tyacke 146). The inclusion, in the 1631 *Raleigh's Ghost* volume, of Lessius's original preface ("The Preface of the Author") is not without significance here, since it specifically makes a political argument for the belief in Providence and retribution:

> It is a point principally incumbent and belonging to a gouernour, to giue a iust retaliation and retribution to men, recompensing their enormities and vyces with punishments, and their vertues with honours and rewards. All kinds of Gouerments […] do vnanimously confirme & warrant this assertion. […] Therefore admitting that there ought to be proposed both rewards and chatisements, thereby to debar men from vice & incyte them to vertue; It also followeth, that this diuine power is mightily to be feared, of al men, least they do incurre his indignation, and least they purchase to themselues his iust reuenge. (sig. *8r-v)

Not only did the translation of Lessius's treatise appear at a moment when the issues of providence and free will were under heated debate, but the arguments it proffered found a very specific echo among English readers. Some English Catholics, and the Jesuits in particular, appear in fact to have welcomed the theological rapprochement implicit in the Arminian approach to free will and divine retribution.[17] In 1634, the presses of Saint-Omer were to publish an *Apology of English Arminianism* by one O.N., which was followed in 1636 by the polemical treatise *A Direction to be observed*, by the Jesuit Matthew Wilson, alias Edward Knott, one of the candidates for our *Raleigh* translation, saluting the apparent convergences between Laudian Arminism and Catholic dogma (see Questier 54-55). In this context, the apparently odd case of *Raleigh's Ghost* sits squarely within the Jesuit agenda of response to, and intervention in, English theological and political debates. Whether the name of Raleigh be recuperated as an oblique refutation of anti-Jesuit conspiracy theories, or as a popular gateway, so to speak, into Catholic orthodox theology, the summons of his ghost at the threshold of Lessius's translated treatise reveals an acute awareness, among Jesuit

translators and printers, of the "cultural uses of print" (Chartier) as a medium of both material and ideological propagation.

* * *

The various manifestations of Raleigh's ghost in the 1620s and early 1630s offer a vivid illustration of the role played by translation, pseudotranslation, manuscript dissemination, and print production in the heated controversies of the early seventeenth century, whether they focused on ghosts, atheism, providence, or the place of Jesuits in Europe's spiritual and political landscape. The various modes of recuperation of the historical figure of Raleigh point to the metamorphic nature of the linguistic, material, and cultural transfers involved in the process. In the cases examined here, textual transmission takes the dual form of manuscript and print production. Readers are invited to engage with multilayered kinds of textuality, involving translation, pseudotranslation, and intertextual citation. Interpretive codes constantly shift, as genres and discourses are superimposed, often in a subversive or playful manner. So do the cultural and ideological uses of fiction, variously taking the form of sensational "news," satirical "narrations," or eye-catching "apparitions" designed to direct readers to ideologically- and culturally-encoded truths.

The multiplicity of textual, visual, and narrative codes at play in these (pseudo) translations calls in turn for a holistic, or "multi-modal" approach (see Armstrong, "Coding Continental"), in order to take into account, and therefore understand, the many framing strategies and manipulative devices engaged in each case. The historical context obviously plays a crucial role in the ideological encoding of our "ghost" pamphlets and translations. Their material features and visual elements also represent extremely important clues, for both the seventeenth-century reader and the modern critic, as to the interpretive uses of the text by its intended readership. It is therefore equally important to identify the narrative practices at work in each case, and to situate them in relation to the material and ideological subcultures to which they belong. One the one hand, we have a fast-developing culture of news, often sensational and subversive, circulating in manuscript and print; on the other, we have the Jesuit clandestine network of production and diffusion of printed Catholic texts among English recusants.

The ghost of Sir Walter Raleigh was to make two further apparitions in seventeenth-century print. The first one consists in the 1651 reprint of the 1631 volume, with a slight title variant, by the London stationers Thomas Newcombe and John Holden. Neither appears to have had overt Catholic sympathies: they had previously collaborated in 1650 to issue the devotional writings *The Balm of Gilead* by the Calvinist divine Joseph Hall. It is possible that they simply sought to capitalize on the sensational title of the book, as the translator of the 1631 edition had shrewdly predicted. An interesting point of comparison is that of Lessius's *Hygianisticon*, pub-

lished in English translation in 1634. The volume opens with an address to the reader in which the publisher apologizes for the Catholic origins of the treatise, assuring his readers that the contents are sound despite their objectionable source (sig. ¶5 r-v). There is no such disclaimer in the 1651 publication, which suggests that Holden may have been merely recirculating what looked like a good sell. In fact, some copies of that edition appear to have included a catalogue of miscellanies also sold by Holden, the advertisement being inserted directly after the attention-grabbing address to the reader (Plomer).

The second apparition belongs to the satirical tradition tapped by Scott, although in a different setting. "*Raleigh*'s Ghost in Darkness: or Truth Cover'd with a Veil" was published much later in the century as part of the 1694 miscellany *Chorus Poetarum*, containing pieces by various seventeenth-century wits such as John Denham, the Earl of Rochester, and Aphra Behn. The prosopopoeia, this time, consists in a verse dialogue between the ghost of Walter Raleigh and an allegorical "Britannia," who laments her recent decline, due in particular to the corrupting influence of France: "A Colony of French possess the Court: / Pimps, Priests, buffoons in th'Privy Chamber sport" (Gildon 55), while the ghost attempts to rouse the memory of her past Elizabethan grandeur. In the printed miscellany, the poem is attributed to the famous political poet "Andrew Marvell, Esq." (53). In fact, the satire was authored instead by Marvell's friend, John Ayloffe (DeForest Lord 228). Apparently set in the 1630s, at the court of Charles I, the dialogue was designed in the 1670s, and widely circulated in manuscript and print, as an oblique critique of James II's policies. As Nicholas Von Maltzahn has argued, the printing of the piece and its attribution to Marvell in the late seventeenth century were part of an attempt to recuperate the poet's name within a nascent Whig historiography (51 sqq). Although belonging to a different context, this late manifestation still makes a fitting finale to our study of Raleigh's afterlife in seventeenth-century polemical writings: it confirms the potential for textual, material, as well as temporal and ideological "warps" opened up by the name of the famous ghost in the minds of English writers, translators, printers, and their readers.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Daniel Lévy for bringing this translation to my attention as he was collecting entries for the forthcoming *Cultural Crosscurrents Catalogue* of printed translations in Stuart and Commonwealth Britain, 1641-1660, and was similarly struck by the unusual paratextual features of the book.

2. Ogilvie does note that the English title page omits the original mention of Lessius's identity as a Jesuit scholar; the original title page identifies him as "Societatis Jesu S[acrae] Theologiae Professor[…]" and displays the Society's device, while the 1631 volume only calls him "most learned." The Jesuit origins of the translation are, however, inscribed on the title page with the recognizable mention "Permissu Superiorum" in the imprint.

3. See on this, among others, Smith and Wilson; Coldiron; Armstrong, "Coding Continental"; Belle and

Hosington.

4. Lassels is actually best known for his later activities as a celebrated guide and early theorist of the Italian "grand tour" (Chaney).

5. Lawrence Venuti's notion of "domestication" also comes to mind. Venuti, however, associates this practice, in which the foreign origins of the translated work are effaced in favour of more familiar linguistic and stylistic features, to a degree of "invisibility" on the part of the translator and a certain compliance to dominant ideological and literary norms. This is hardly the case in these Jesuit translations, which represent instead acts of political and ideological activism.

6. "Sed nulla ex his vel hominum multitudine, vel locorum amplitudine, vel Regnorum et Provinciarum diversitate numerosior, quam secta ἀθεότητος, hoc est, eorum qui Numinis providentiam et animorum immortalitatem tollunt, vel certe de his ambigunt. Viget haec apud Iaponios, Sinas, Indos, Tartaros, aliasque barbaras nationes; viget apud Mahumetanos […] viget et apud haereticos, quorum plurimi de toto Religionis negotio dubitant [...] Denique viget enim haec secta inter multos qui Chatolici audire volunt et plus se omnibus Theologis sapere existimant: quorum dux hoc tempore Nicolaus Machiavellus" (Lessius, *De Providentia* sigs. *2r- 3r).

7. Adams accepts *prima facie* Calvert's attribution of the "Vox Spiritus" manuscript to Gainsford, but it could also have been penned by Scott himself, though if that had been the case, it would probably have been printed once Scott had reached the Netherlands, as was the case for his other pamphlets. The second part of *Vox Populi*, for example, enjoyed a surprising number of editions.

8. See analysis in Boro, and more generally, Barker on translated news from Spain and elsewhere.

9. In the latter case, the spelling is clearly not accidental: the Errata shows that close attention has been paid to the spelling of names throughout the volume.

10. A similar form of pun may actually be read in Scott's unorthodox spelling of Machiavelli as "Matchiavell" in the subtitle to *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), most probably in reference to the much-reviled Spanish "match." See Figure 4.

11. See Marshall (286-90 in particular). Calvin specifically insists that the fire of hell should be understood metaphorically, a position perhaps echoed by Scott as he announces the apparition by "a most glorious and extraordinary light; which might be taken rather for fire or flaming, then shine or glittering" (*Raleigh's Ghost* 9).

12. "Nimiae impudentiae est, dicere illa omnia esse conficta. Hoc enim est tollere fidem omnium historiarum, et plurimis viris sanctitate et erudition clarissimis, auctoritate gravissimis crimen imponere falsi, idque absque ulla probabili ratione" (Lessius, *De Providentia* 297).

13. "Neque est quod quis suspicetur hanc doctrinam politiae causa excogitatam, ad populum facilius in obsequio et legum obdedientia continendum. Res enim falsa et conficta tantas vires ad probitatem, innocentiam et justitiam habere non potest" (Lessius, *De Providentia* 346).

14. "Adulatorum est, et eorum qui Principum gratiam captant, fingere ea quae politiae serviant, et dominationem eorum illustriorem ac firmiorem efficiant. Tales hoc aevo sunt permulti" (Lessius, *De Providentia* 346).

15. Jensen notes, for instance, how Scott's individual perspective gradually becomes Britain's collective "Vox Populi" in these treatises (6-8).

16. Free will was an issue of particular interest to Lessius, who wrote his first treatise on the topic. It caused a huge controversy within the Catholic Church, with Lessius being accused, among other things, of Pelagianism, a heresy giving overdue importance to human agency over divine omnipotence. Lessius's theses were finally found to be orthodox but he was forbidden to write on the subject again; hence, perhaps, in the *De Providentia*, his resort to oblique comments under the guise of refuting Ancient philosophers.

17. See Questier for a detailed discussion of the links between English Arminianism and Catholicism.

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