

## The image of Thomas More in 20th century plays – A presentation of five More dramas\*

The history of dramas about Thomas More covers a period of nearly five centuries, starting with the famous *Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* (c. 1595) and continuing to this day.<sup>1</sup> The fact that, in all, more than one hundred and forty plays were written about the English lord chancellor underlines the importance attached to his life, which remains undiminished even in our times.

As Friedrich-K. Unterweg pointed out in the last *Moreana*, these plays can be divided into a Latin group (45 plays) and a vernacular group (96 plays) and form two significant periods in the history of More dramas. The first stretches from c. 1612 to c. 1770. Whereas 44 plays (mostly Latin Jesuit dramas) were composed during these 160 years, the concentration of dramas is even higher in the second period: 60 plays from c. 1890 to 1987. About half of the plays of this period were written for “private stages”<sup>2</sup> and the rest for the professional stage.

The following article is going to deal with dramas of the group last mentioned. As there is not enough room to deal with all the English, American, German and French plays, which constitute the main part of the group in question, I will concentrate on five plays. As will be shown, these may be regarded as typical exponents of the interpretation of the subject in their countries of origin.

The focus of the discussion will be on Jean Anouilh's *Thomas More ou l'Homme Libre*<sup>3</sup>, which was the main topic of the Paris symposium in June 1991. In addition, four other plays, all written after More's canonization, will be analysed: an English play by Morna Stuart<sup>4</sup>, an American drama by Felix Doherty<sup>5</sup>, and two German adaptations by Thomas Regau and Caspar Willeke<sup>6</sup>. Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons* (London 1960), one of the most famous dramas about More, is not included in the following analysis because it is very well known and has already been extensively researched in *Moreana* and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

As none of the authors dealt with – apart from Jean Anouilh – is known to a larger audience, I will give a biographical sketch at

the beginning of each analysis. Furthermore, I will provide some information on the *dramatis personae* and the structure and setting of each play. A short summary of the contents of each drama is going to round off this more general picture.

Following that, I will present the image of More which these works project. Applying an intrinsic approach, I shall concentrate mainly on the text of the plays and leave out questions which refer to the sources of the dramatists. This means that I will not try to assess the historical accuracy of each drama, as this is only of secondary importance for the discussion. The main aspect I am going to dwell on will be More's reaction to the King's Great Matter, or, to put it more precisely, the way in which More's reaction is projected. This is the most important event in these dramas and thus not only the most obvious aspect to analyse, but also the one aspect that best enables the reader to compare the dramas presented.

#### Jean Anouilh, *Thomas More ou l'Homme Libre* (1987)

Jean Anouilh (1910-1987) was born in Bordeaux, but lived mostly in Paris from 1920 onwards. There, he studied law for a short period of time. He started writing plays and film scripts in 1932. His most famous works include *Antigone*, *Becket* and *The Rehearsal*.<sup>8</sup>

*Thomas More ou l'Homme Libre* was written by Anouilh in the 1960's at the suggestion of Bernard Basset.<sup>9</sup> Although it was composed as a film script, it was never turned into a film, due to the great success of Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons* brought to the screen by Zinnemann. It was not until 1987 that it was published, a few weeks after Anouilh's death, and this only in a limited edition. In the discussion of his script, I will quote from the English translation of Lucienne Hill. Only a few copies of this unpublished version are available, one of them at the Moreanum in Angers.

#### *Dramatis personae*:<sup>10</sup>

Rupert; Thomas More; Mrs More; Norfolk; 5-6 Conseillers; Jack; Cecily; Margaret; John Clement; Le Roi; Anne; un homme; une femme; un tailleur; un valet; trois évêques; Lord Ausley; Sir Cromwell; Rich; Lord de Wiltshire; l'Archevêque de Canterbury; Doctor Wilson; le Lieutenant; Lady Allington; Master Pope.

#### *Structure and setting*:

No acts, no scenes; story covers the following episodes: More, as Lord Chancellor, attending mass; 5-6 judges visit More in Chelsea;

the whole family assembled at dinner table; Henry VIII visits More in Chelsea; More as a parish clerk; More's resignation; More has to face charges of bribery; More's summoned before the Commission; More as a prisoner in the Tower; visited by Margaret and Cromwell; Richard Rich's attempt to deceive More; [More's trial]; More's execution.

#### *Contents*:

The action, which stretches from 1529 to 1535, starts in More's house at Chelsea, where he is visited after mass by some judges who complain of his great leniency towards criminals. More, however, can easily refute all these charges. The next two episodes take place in his house, as well. The first one shows More as a loving and affectionate father, surrounded by his family. But it is Margaret that he trusts most of all and to her that he gives his hair shirt that she may wash it. This family setting comes to an end when Henry VIII visits More in Chelsea. Although the king tries to convince his chancellor that his case is just, More remains steadfast. The next thing we come to know is More's resignation, which Henry accepts reluctantly. A little bit later, More refuses to attend Anne's coronation. Henry, who still sticks to his promise to urge him no more, is finally persuaded by Cromwell to act against More. More has to face charges of bribery, but he is able to refute all allegations. Then he is summoned before the Commission and asked to swear the Oath of Supremacy. He refuses to do so, without explaining his reasons, and is immediately imprisoned in the Tower. Margaret comes to visit him and tries to convince him to swear. She is very desperate, but cannot make her father change his mind. More reacts in the same way when Cromwell visits him in his cell, a little later on. But despite More's steadfastness and circumspection, Richard Rich almost succeeds in tricking him into stating that Henry can never be Supreme Head of the Church. It is only at the very last moment that More realises the danger he is in and immediately stops speaking. He is, however, sentenced to death, regardless of his staying silent. In the end, More is executed, having written a last letter to his daughter Margaret.

#### *Characteristics*:

Anouilh's script cannot be divided into acts or scenes. It is rather a succession of episodes from More's life, all firmly connected. The whole script is characterised by narrative passages, for example Rupert's report of More's trial, which is presented in most dramatic scenes by Bolt and Doherty.

Another special feature of Anouilh's script is the use he makes of flashbacks and close shots – devices which cannot be employed in drama. Moreover, the action is embedded in a kind of frame, as both the beginning and the end of the script deal with More's execution.

*Anouilh's image of Thomas More*

Anouilh's *Thomas More* is, without any doubt, the most historically accurate of all the dramas I am going to discuss. This is due to the fact that the author makes use of historical sources to a much higher degree than the other playwrights do. His most important source is – as can easily be seen – William Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, from which he very often quotes directly. It is Rupert, one of the characters and the personified voice of More's son-in-law, William Roper, who provides the link between the audience and the actors by mostly reproducing what Roper says in his work. These extensive quotations from Roper's *Life* may create the impression that Anouilh's script is a dramatization of Roper's biography. But despite the high degree of authenticity achieved through this method, everything that Rupert tells us in Anouilh's script is as important for the way More is projected as what other characters say or do. Rupert's passages must not be regarded as neutral reproductions; by including or excluding certain passages, by attaching importance to some of Rupert's statements while neglecting others, and by adding text to William Roper's original version in a number of cases, Anouilh clearly uses the passages from Roper's *Life* to help create an image of More which is very much his own.

First of all, it is important to point out a few general characteristics of Anouilh's *Thomas More*. He is described as a man who strictly sticks to his convictions. This can be seen when he says,

I don't like flexible things. Everything around us is stiff and hard. And you have to break things or bang into them – or wear them down, but that takes time. There are some things which I wear down patiently. There are some I break. There are some I go banging into head first. I get bumped and bruised but I always bang at them with my head, on the same spot. (p. 13)<sup>11</sup>

Thus, it is only consistent that More is absolutely incorruptible, which becomes evident when he presents Gresham, who sent him a golden goblet, with a silver gilt cup that is worth four times as much (pp. 10-11 in the English version / pp. 25-26 in the French text). Another basic characteristic of More is his outstanding intelligence, which almost everybody appreciates. For instance, in the dialogue right at the beginning of the play, Lord Norfolk says to an old Lord,

When I get confused in some piece of business and he unravels it in three words, I really am forced to admit – regretfully – that intelligence is an important privilege too. (p. 4)<sup>12</sup>

But More is not only an intelligent man, he is also modest. When Norfolk visits him in Chelsea and reproaches him for serving at mass, he replies, "I love doing little things. I love digging my garden, cleaning some object myself. We fight, my man and I, over who does my shoes." (p. 25)<sup>13</sup> Apart from his modesty, there is still another characteristic to balance his intelligence, that is his sense of humour. This, for example, can clearly be seen when he talks to his little granddaughter Cecily (pp. 9-10/pp. 22-24). But this does not mean that he takes everything lightly. On the contrary, his wife Alice says to him, reproachfully, "Everything's always a serious matter with you." (p. 11)<sup>14</sup>

This attitude applies to religion, as well. He explicitly states that God is the master of the king (p. 25/pp. 53-54). Furthermore, he firmly believes that life cannot be easy: "We cannot go up to heaven on feather beds. Our Lord Himself went there with great pain and many tribulations." (p. 13)<sup>15</sup> But More's religiousness is not limited to words. He proves himself a Christian in deeds, too. He wears, for example, a hair shirt, which he wants to hide from everybody but Margaret, whom he asks to wash it for him (pp. 15-16/p. 35). And Rupert tells us that More attends mass and takes communion before undertaking any vital affair (p. 45/p. 91).

After this general characterization of More, one aspect deserves special attention, that is More's reaction to, and his actions concerning the King's Great Matter.

As I have already shown, Anouilh's *Thomas More* is a very complex figure, a "round character", so to speak. This holds true in the case of the king's Matter, as well. I think one may say that the basic conflict in this play is not the one between More and Henry or his counsellors, but the one between his loyalty to the king and his loyalty to God. More is, without any doubt, a faithful servant to Henry, but there are certain limits he cannot violate without, at the same time, committing a terrible sin. More himself expresses this view when he talks to Margaret in the Tower,

Oh, if it were only possible to satisfy the King without offending God! But it's always the same story: there's the King and there's God. (p. 61)<sup>16</sup>

We come to know fairly early in the play that this conflict weighs very heavily upon More. But he is nevertheless very cautious and does

not tell anybody what he feels.<sup>17</sup> He does not trust Henry's favour, and even after the king has visited him in Chelsea, which – as his son-in-law Rupert points out – is an extraordinary favour, he says,

I give thanks to Our Lord, my son, that his Majesty is showing himself so benevolent towards me, and I do believe he favours me as well as any subject in this realm. However, son Roper, I may tell you, I have no cause to pride myself on it, for if my head could win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go. (p. 22)<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, he is fully aware that he himself as lord chancellor will be concerned with the king's affair very soon. He tells his wife, "if the King separates the English Church from the See of Rome, it will concern us all. Myself first of all." (p. 17)<sup>19</sup> But despite this awareness he only asks the king not to urge him anymore, and does not yet resign from chancellorship. This, however, is the next step he takes, completely in keeping with the characteristic consistency we observed. He asks Norfolk to present his petition to the king, and, being a cautious man, he keeps the reasons for this decision to himself and tells Norfolk that he is tired. When Norfolk, who knows that fatigue is not the motive, replies, "You're going to do something foolish, Thomas!" (p. 26)<sup>20</sup> More shows that he is not only intelligent, but also very prudent and farsighted. He is aware of the things to come and hopes to avoid them by resigning:

That foolishness is an act of prudence which will save me from even greater folly [...] The decree is now only a matter of weeks. The oaths will follow. Perhaps an ordinary private citizen, retired in some country house somewhere, and vowed to the exclusive service of God, will have more chance of eluding it. (p. 26)<sup>21</sup>

More is determined to cling to his convictions even if he has to pay dearly for doing so, because – as he puts it – "being free is very dear." (p. 27)<sup>22</sup>

Notwithstanding his determination, he is in no way eager to become a martyr.<sup>23</sup> Like the More of history, he trusts in his abilities as a lawyer, which he will use carefully and cleverly to protect himself against any difficulties (p. 27/p. 58). There are, however, limits to the extent he wants to employ his cleverness, for he does not allow it to infringe upon his honour and integrity. For that reason, he does not attend Anne's coronation, although Henry urges him to do so (p. 35/p. 72). When Norfolk rebukes him because of his refusal, More tells him the story of the emperor and the virgin and adds: "It is not in my power not to be devoured, but as God is my good lord, I will provide

that they shall never deflower me." (p. 35)<sup>24</sup> Now he even goes so far as to calmly face the prospect of his own death. He says to Norfolk, who tells him: "You're a dead man.", "Is that all, my lord? Then the only real difference between you and me is that I shall die today and you tomorrow." (p. 35)<sup>25</sup>

It is not that he is not afraid of what might befall him. On the contrary, he admits to having not much courage (p. 42/p. 85), and we see him lying beside his sleeping wife, praying for God's assistance, as "miserable fear" torments him every night (pp. 44-45/pp. 89-90). But once he is summoned before the commission for the first time, he is glad to have gone so far that he cannot go back again. He tells Rupert (with a metaphor not from Roper's *Life*):

It's wonderful to have reached this clearing, all drenched in light, at the far end of one's fear ... One is a free man ... (p. 42)<sup>26</sup>

This, however, cannot lead him to disclose the reasons for his refusal to the commission, which summons him a second time. He acts as he predicted, i. e. he hopes to employ his abilities as a lawyer in order to protect himself against punishment. He claims that he is willing to set down his reasons in writing, if the king orders him by Letters Patent to do so (p. 50/pp. 100-101).

He is consistent in his refusal to reveal his secret thoughts, and this characteristic trait can be found in another area as well. When he is taken into the Tower he thanks God that he has had the courage to hold on: "There, Lord, it's done. And I thank You; it was easy." (p. 53)<sup>27</sup> Now he regards himself as a free man (p. 59/p. 117) and says he does not suffer very much. He even feels that God, who is nearer to him there than in his home at Chelsea, is turning him into a spoilt child (p. p.60/p. 118). He has, as he puts it, only one mortal pain, namely to see his family suffer because of his decision (pp. 54-55/p. 109). This, again, is consistent with the beginning of the play, where Anouilh describes More as a loving and affectionate father (pp. 8-14/pp. 21-33).

But despite all his confidence and trust in God More resents being regarded as a martyr. For that reason he gives Margaret his hair shirt so that nobody may find it in his cell. "There would be some flaunting of saintliness in their eyes which I don't like. Take it away. I have something better now." (p. 63)<sup>28</sup> He is, however, sure that he is not going to die in vain, as he tells Margaret<sup>29</sup> and, later on, Cromwell<sup>30</sup>.

Although More is willing to suffer death, he does not change his strategy of staying silent. This can be seen when Rich visits him in the

Tower and almost succeeds in tricking him into revealing his reasons. More stops talking about the matter the very moment he realises the danger he is in (p. 73/p. 145). In contrast to Bolt's and Doherty's plays, More does not even disclose his thoughts when he is sentenced to death. He only adds – to the shame of the lords – that he hopes to meet them as friends in heaven (p. 76/p. 149).

In the end, More is glad to die and leave this world. Therefore he thanks his old friend Sir Thomas Pope for the “good news” and he states, “I have always been greatly obliged to the King's Highness for the benefits and honours he has so bountifully heaped upon me [...] I am grateful most of all that it pleases him to rid me so soon of the miseries of this wretched world.” (p. 78)<sup>31</sup>

### Morna Stuart, *Traitor's Gate* (1939)

Morna Stuart, born in India in 1905, was educated at St. Michael's School in Oxford, and afterwards studied there at St. Anne's College. During the Second World War she served in the army. She worked in an advertising agency from 1937 to 1962, but had already started writing plays, short stories, poems and magazine articles in 1925.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Dramatis personae:*

Sir Thomas More; Dame Alice More, Thomas More's second wife; Margaret Roper, his eldest daughter; William Roper, her husband; John Clement, the adopted son of Thomas More; Margaret [Peg] Clement, his wife; Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State; Thomas Howard, Lord Norfolk; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Nicholas Wilson, late Chaplain to the King; Solicitor-General Rich.

#### *Structure and setting:*

Act I, The living-room of Sir Thomas More's house in Chelsea, on an evening in April, 1534; Act II,i, The living-room in the Clements' house at Bucklersbury on the Sunday morning following; Act II,ii, A room in Lambeth Palace, three days later; Act III, i, The lower room of the Bell Tower, Tower of London in May, 1535; Act III,ii, The same room in the Bell Tower, one month later; Act III,iii, The same room in the Bell Tower, a month later.

#### *Contents:*

Stuart's play, which was performed for the first time at the Duke of York's Theatre in London on November 17th, 1938, stretches over the period from early April 1534 to July 5th, 1535. In the first act and in the first scene of the second act, More is shown surrounded by his family

at Chelsea and Bucklersbury, respectively. But in both instances royal power interferes with this domestic setting. In act I, Lord Norfolk and Cromwell pay an informal visit to More, without achieving anything. In act II, a little boy serves the notice upon More to appear at Lambeth. This is the setting in act II, scene ii, when on April 17th, 1534 More and Nicholas Wilson wait for Archbishop Cranmer, who is to see the king and gain his assent to a secret oath that More and others are to swear. But Cranmer is denied approval by Queen Anne. Cromwell and Norfolk pay again an “informal visit” to More, this time in Lambeth Palace. At the end of act II, More is sent to the Tower, where we meet him again in act III (May 1535). Margaret is allowed to visit her father, but she cannot persuade him to swear the oath. When More sees his Carthusian friends go to Tyburn, fear makes him unfit to speak with her. Rich comes to take away More's books and writing materials. After that we see a certain rapprochement between More and Cromwell. This development continues in act III, scene ii, a month later. Here we come to know that Dr. Wilson has taken the oath. More, who confides in Cromwell, is visited by Margaret Clement at the end of the scene. In the last scene, which takes place on the day before More's execution, More and Cromwell become friends.

#### *Characteristics:*

A great part of the action is set in More's house at Chelsea and at Bucklersbury, the home of Peg and John Clement. Most scenes of the first two acts serve to illustrate More's private life and his deep love for his children.

The choice and depiction of the *dramatis personae* is quite unusual. More's adopted son John Clement and his wife play a very large role, while More's favourite daughter Margaret remains in the background. King Henry does not appear on stage, and Cromwell is presented in a way which differs greatly from all other plays discussed.

Moreover, Stuart dramatises only a very small section of More's life, as the action begins two years after his retirement from the king's service.

#### *Stuart's image of More:*

The More of Stuart's drama may be characterized best by what Nicholas Wilson says to him in Lambeth Palace, “You are sensible and cautious, you are not forever rushing on martyrdom.” (p. 74) This is exactly what the play is about: More's fear of torture and his eagerness to avoid capital punishment, and subsequently all the steps he takes to escape it.

This becomes evident during Norfolk's and Cromwell's visit to Chelsea. We hear Margaret say to her mother,

I believe they have something to say, but Father is showing them every mortal thing he possesses, one after the other, from the mulberry-tree to the lavender. (p. 18)

Thus it is clear that More does not want to reveal his opinion on the King's Great Matter. He is very careful and does not do anything inconsiderately or rashly. More himself says, "I do leave nothing to chance!" (p. 40), and even Cromwell has to acknowledge his caution, "You safeguard yourself with all a lawyer's prevision and accuracy!" (p. 34) The ground of his defence is, as More tells Wilson, "a silence which has no disaffection nor treason" (p. 70). But that is only one part of his plan. He is furthermore convinced that he will be allowed to swear a secret oath, for which Cranmer is to gain permission from the king. This is the reason why More is so composed during his talk with Wilson. These plans, however, do not succeed, and it is Cromwell who sees into More's heart and recognises his true nature, "You are a clever lawyer with a great fear of pain." (p. 98) This is a very concise, but nonetheless true characterization of More. Cromwell calls More a "coward" (p. 109), which, in the end, More himself acknowledges to be (p. 127).

There is still another trait of More which is of interest here and which is fully consistent with the characterization given above. It is again Cromwell who realises this fact and confronts More with it directly, when he says to him, "You hoped that Fisher or Houghton would give you a lead which would salve your conscience." (p. 99) This is indeed what Stuart's More had hoped for. In act I, we learn that he wants to visit Fisher on the following Sunday. He regards him as a saint and says, "he is as the best part of me." (p. 44), and in act II, scene i, he tells Peg that he must see Prior Houghton (p. 55). But More's dependence on Fisher is even more evident when he comes to know that the bishop has not been shown the secret oath. He cries out, "So that again I cannot know his mind - only his soul!" (p. 81) Although More worships Fisher, and Houghton as well, he is not able to follow their example and is fully aware that his deeds do not correspond with his words. Thus he says to Cromwell,

[...] You will tell them that Fisher and Houghton were what I pretended to be. Tell them that I was a traitor indeed when I entered at that gate! (p. 126)

These words point to Stuart's focus of interest. In contrast to the other dramas it is not the conflict between the king and his former chancellor that is the centre of attraction, but More's inner struggle to reach the right decision and his excessive and almost indescribable fear of Tyburn. When Margaret visits him in the Tower and he sees a procession starting, not yet knowing who is in it, he talks about Tyburn and "[...] speaks the [...] word with terrible emphasis, and then draws in his breath."<sup>33</sup> But his terror grows even worse when he recognises his Carthusian friends: "his voice breaks [...] his face is hardly recognisable and his voice is distorted."<sup>34</sup> He asks Margaret to leave him alone, because, as he says, "I am not fit to speak with you." (p. 89) Tyburn is what he is afraid of most, right until the end of the play. When Cromwell comes to see him in the last scene and tells him there is no reprieve from the king, More cannot believe that he is going to die such a dreadful death.

I am to die to-morrow! If I should die unto my Lord and call for the Oath, praying them to kill me quickly! I could not have a man flogged, but I shuddered. I am no wanton to be stripped and carved before a crowd! I cannot endure it. I shall fail at the last! (In a voice weak and wondering as a child's, he says:) It cannot be true! It cannot! (p. 121)

It is only when Cromwell tells him that he is going to die by the axe that More recovers and gains that confidence which he has in Anouilh's play. In the end More is "sublimely happy" (p. 126), as he puts it, and he says to Cromwell, "I can never, never thank you enough for what you have brought me." (p. 124)

#### Felix Doherty, *The King's Servant* (1950)

There is little that is publicly known about Felix Doherty. All that I was able to find out is that he was a lawyer and wrote at least one other play, *Song Out of Sorrow*, which was produced at the Blackfriars, New York, in 1941.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Dramatis personae:*

Richard Rich; Henry the Eighth; Anne Boleyn; Thomas Boleyn; Thomas Cromwell; William Warham; Mrs Margaret Roper; Lady Alice More; Thomas More; Palmer; Cecily; William Kingston; Richard Southwell; Thomas Audley; Christopher Hale; Clerk; Foreman of the Jury; Judges (optional); Jury; Executioner.

*Structure and Setting:*

Act I,i, The Prince's Chamber, Westminster, October 17, 1529; Act I,ii, The same, February 11, 1531; Act I,iii, The same, evening of the same day; Act I,iv, The same, May 16, 1532; Act II,i, The same, April 17, 1534; Act II,ii, The royal apartment, York Place, early October, 1534; Act II,iii, The Tower of London, May 4, 1535; Act III,i, Westminster Hall, July 1, 1535; Act III,ii, York Place, July 6, 1535; Act III,iii, Tower Hill, the same day.

*Contents:*

Doherty's play covers a period of nearly six years. It starts with More reluctantly accepting the chancellorship in October 1529. We hear about Cromwell's plan to suppress the clergy in February 1531 and, a year later, about More's resignation when he fails to convince the king, who has literally been blackmailed by Anne. In April 1534 More is summoned before Henry, Cromwell and Boleyn to swear the oath. Although Margaret, who accompanies More because of his bad health, is finally persuaded to take the oath – with amendments – More himself refuses to swear and is taken into the Tower. Henry no longer loves Anne, who has failed to bear him a son. We see him flirting with Cecily, a young blonde. When Rich tries to trick More into making a treasonous statement, More is on his guard. In the following trial scene, More is sentenced to death because of Rich's perjury. King Henry is getting increasingly estranged from Anne, whom he blames for More's death. The play ends with More's execution on Tower Hill.

*Characteristics:*

One typical feature of Doherty's play is that not a single scene takes place at Chelsea and that More's family plays only a secondary role. In contrast to Stuart's drama, there is just one scene that is set in the Tower.

Unlike all other plays discussed here, Doherty dwells extensively on the trial of More. He gives a detailed account of More's defence and makes Rich's perjury all the more evident. This drama is the only one to depict Anne as More's true antagonist and the real driving force behind Henry's and Cromwell's actions against him.

Two other interesting features of the play are the detailed description of characters (pp. 8-10) and the comprehensive production notes (pp. 118-133), which Doherty adds to the text of his drama (pp. 11-117).

*Doherty's image of More:*

More is depicted in a less radical way than in Stuart's play. When Warham urges him to accept the chancellorship right at the beginning of the play, More reveals his great foresight and tells the archbishop,

The time will come when I must squarely oppose the king. If I do, I put my life in danger; if I do not, I put my soul in danger. (p. 30)

Yet he accepts the office at last, in order to prevent worse things. What More predicted to Warham finally comes true and he is forced to speak his mind. He is very outspoken indeed and says to Henry that Cromwell's plan is tantamount to usurping "a power that comes from the Pope" (p. 47) and that it means to "tear Christendom asunder." (p. 49) Furthermore, he refuses to go to Rome and plead Henry's cause there, because, as he puts it, "I do not believe it is just." (p. 48) This frankness comes to an end the very moment More resigns from his post. From that time on he does everything not to offend the king and he will not reveal the reasons for his refusal of the oath. He wants to keep a neutral position, which can clearly be seen when he tells Boleyn, "I leave men to their consciences – and I ask only to be left to mine." (p. 63) He definitely thinks that his silence will save him from punishment. Thus, he says when he learns that the Carthusians are to die,

But these men have spoken out – I have not! And you cannot kill a man for keeping silent! (p. 80)

More's carefulness, which I have already pointed out both in Anouilh's and in Stuart's plays, is necessarily linked to another trait of his character. Keeping in mind More's attitude, one is not surprised that he is not willing to become a martyr. On the contrary, he tells Warham, "I can run away from danger; it is my duty in prudence to do so." (p. 30) And a little later on he says, "[...] I am not the stuff of which martyrs are made." (p. 30) He sticks to this view right to the end of the play, when he explains to Thomas Boleyn,

Am I a man of such holy life that I should offer myself to death? Faith, were I to do so, God might well let me fall for my presumption. (p. 78)

But all this does not mean that More, unlike Stuart's protagonist, is not sure which side to choose. He has not the slightest doubt that he is doing the right thing, for, as he tells Cromwell, "against your Parliament stands the rest of Christendom." (p. 62) Although he is

conscious of his loyalty towards Henry, he makes it absolutely clear that God's authority is far above that of the king: "the dutiful subject will obey God rather than man. He will be more careful of offending his conscience than of anything else in the world [...]." (p. 95) In addition, More does not need Fisher's lead, as he does in Stuart's drama. He says in his defence speech that the bishop asked him about his answers to the commission and explains, "I replied that I had already settled my conscience and that he must satisfy his, according to his own mind." (p. 96) This confidence enables him to tell Cromwell, who has warned him that the king's anger meant his death, "why then we differ only in this: that I may die today, and you may die tomorrow." (p. 64) Furthermore, he gets the strength out of this confidence to overcome his fear and to stand by his convictions, although, as he admits, he is "such a coward" that he shrinks "from the very thought of pain." (p. 65)

As a consequence, More is not haunted by the vision of Tyburn to the extent that Stuart describes. At the outset, his dread of this cruel punishment makes him quiver when Cromwell depicts all the horrors of the execution in an attempt to convince him (p. 79). More shows the same reaction when Margaret talks to him about it (p. 89), but when he sees the procession of the Carthusians "a look of exaltation dawns on his haggard features" and he listens to their chant "with uplifted, enraptured face."<sup>36</sup> After that, his fear seems completely gone.

In the end, More is glad to die so soon. He forgives everyone who has sought to destroy him and says he hopes to meet them in heaven (p. 110), just as he does in Anouilh's play. In his speech before his execution he tells the audience that the king has bestowed many favours upon him. "But greater than any favor he has shown me is that which he shows me today. For today he rids me of the misery of this wretched world." (p. 115) And we come to know that in his last prayer "his voice [is] ringing with divine confidence".<sup>37</sup>

### Thomas Regau, *Thomas Morus* (1951)

Thomas Regau is the pen name of Karl Heinz Stauder (1905-1960), a German neurologist. Under this pseudonym, he wrote a number of dramas, shorter novels and essays.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Dramatis personae:*

Heinrich VIII., König von England; Katharina von Aragon, seine Gemahlin, im Exil; Sir Thomas More, (Morus) Lordkanzler; Margarethe, seine Tochter; Patenson, sein Hausnarr; Chapuys,

Gesandter Kaiser Karls V.; Kardinal Campeggio, päpstlicher Legat; Kardinal von Canterbury; Bischof John Fisher; Adelige am Hofe; Graf Thomas Boleyn; Anne Boleyn, seine Tochter; George Boleyn sein Sohn; Herzog Norfolk; Herzog Suffolk; Graf Surrey; Graf Percy Northumberland; William Carrey; James Compton; Thomas Cromwell, Staatssekretär; Jack, des Königs Narr; Kingstone, der Kommandant des Towers; Longland, des Königs Beichtvater; Sir John Chambers, des Königs Leibarzt; Lord Rutland, der Wächter der Krone; Gloria, Kammerfrau der Königin; Bessie, Kammerfrau der Anne Boleyn; Ein Richter; Ein Offizier; Bischöfe; Adelige; Soldaten; Diener; Kammerfrauen; Wachen.

#### *Structure and Setting:*

Act I,i, Catherine's room in Kimbolton; Act I,ii, A room in Westminster; Act II, The Royal Apartment in Westminster; Act III, The same; Act IV,i, Anne Boleyn's rooms in Whitehall; Act IV,ii, Thomas More's study in Chelsea; Act V, Thomas More's cell in the Tower.

#### *Contents:*

Regau's play starts at the time when Henry is trying to get rid of Catherine, who lives in Kimbolton, and no longer at court. Cardinal Campeggio, the papal legate, tries to persuade her to enter a monastery for the sake of England. Catherine agrees to this proposal, but only on condition that Henry does the same. Campeggio, who, as Catherine knows, has been bribed by Henry, cannot accept this. In the second scene we witness More's righteousness when he refuses to bribe Campeggio with even more money than the king, and when he is not willing to allow three masked men access to Anne's rooms. We learn that this is just one of Cromwell's tricks to check More's loyalty. Henry, who has seen his lord chancellor wearing a monk's habit under his garment, comes to the conclusion that More is not flexible enough for his plans. The court appointed by the pope to decide on Henry's marriage has to be cancelled because Catherine refuses to participate.

In the third act, Chapuys, the envoy of Charles V, informs Henry that someone has tried to assassinate Bishop Fisher. When the king learns of Anne's bad health - she is taken ill with the plague - he is in great doubt of his actions. But these doubts do not last long - as soon as he is told that Anne is recovering, he regains his confidence.

More cannot convince Anne to forgo the throne during his visit to her rooms in Whitehall. Anne tells More about her love to Northumberland, which was destroyed by Henry. More realises that

he cannot serve the king anymore and therefore begs to resign. But Henry wants him to sign a bill before he leaves office. More is just about to sign when he discovers that this is the Oath of Supremacy. He refuses the oath and is arrested. All this takes place in his house at Chelsea. In the final act, Queen Anne pays a secret visit to More in his cell in the Tower and they become friends. Margaret and Patenson try to persuade More to flee, but he refuses to do so.

*Characteristics:*

From a literary point of view, Regau's drama is by no means elaborate. The diction is very pompous, and there is not much of a real plot. Regau pays no attention to historical facts, which suggests that he has written this play for a specific purpose. Indeed, all characters are painted in black and white, and even More cannot be called a "round character".

Moreover, Regau includes a large number of characters who are merely *dramatis personae* of sub-plots or scenes not directly connected with the Thomas More action. In this regard, his drama resembles *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* and, in particular, 19th-century German adaptations of the subject.<sup>39</sup> As in these plays, More remains in the background, and everything that happens is used to underline Henry's despotism. This despotism is stressed in the characterization of Anne, who is, like More, one of the many victims of the king. Here, she no longer is his opponent, but, on the contrary, even establishes a friendship with him in the end.

*Regau's image of More:*

There are three aspects which constitute the author's image of More. First of all, he values law very much – law is always to be interpreted as law plus justice. Chapuys says about More that the law is what he lives in.<sup>40</sup> And More himself tells Anne, "the law is more important than you and me."<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, in his opinion only the law can provide the throne with lasting power.<sup>42</sup> But although More regards the law as even higher than the king<sup>43</sup>, he does not treasure it as the ultimate principle.

The second aspect that strikes the reader's attention is More's attitude towards duty and loyalty. Not surprisingly, he is described as a dutiful man who, in the words of James Compton, a member of the king's party, "would give his life for it."<sup>44</sup> This is the reason why he does not want to leave England. He believes in the importance of the part he plays and says to Margaret, "Is the coxswain allowed to desert his ship, just because he cannot command the winds?"<sup>45</sup> But again,

there are definite limits to the duty one has to perform, as More sees it. For instance, when he is asked to sign the oath, he refuses and says, "my duty cannot extend any further."<sup>46</sup>

The third trait of More's character which comes into prominence is his trust in God. In his view, "a Christian has to face every visitation, as they all come from God."<sup>47</sup> In addition, More regards himself as the one who "is to lead the pilgrimage" of those in England who still believe in traditional values.<sup>48</sup> An outward sign of More's faith is the fact that he wears a monk's habit, something one does not find in the other plays.

All this – his love for the law, for duty and above all for God – provides More with a very high degree of confidence, a degree he never has in the other plays discussed. For that reason, he dares to be outspoken with the king and tells him that all his plans only aim to render his marriage with Anne possible.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, he frankly states that "no temporary prince can ever be head of the Church."<sup>50</sup> When More is arrested there is not a single moment when he fears execution. On the contrary, he is glad to die "for something greater than the king."<sup>51</sup>

Caspar Willeke, *Der Hochverräter* (1953)

Caspar Willeke was born on April 1st, 1909. He is a Doctor of Divinity, living in Dortmund, Germany. He has written a number of dramas and essays.<sup>52</sup>

*Dramatis personae:*

Heinrich VIII., König von England; Anna Boleyn, Hoffräulein (später Königin); Herzog von Norfolk; Campeggio, päpstlicher Kardinallegat; Thomas More, Lordkanzler; Erasmus von Rotterdam; Graf von Wiltshire, Vater von Anna Boleyn; Thomas Cromwell, Günstling des Königs; Frau More, Gattin des Lordkanzlers; Margaret Roper, seine Tochter; Harry Patterson, Narr im Hause More; George, Davis, seine Freunde; Schliesser; Verschiedene Bürger; Volk; Soldaten; Engel des Gerichtes.

*Structure and Setting:*

Prologue, Between heaven and earth; Act I,i-vi, Thomas More's house at Chelsea; Act II,i-ii, A tavern near the Tower; Act II,iii-iv, The Royal Palace; Act II,v-vii, Lambeth Palace; Act III,i, Thomas More's cell in the Tower; Act III,ii, The Royal Palace; Act III,iii-iv, Westminster Hall; Act IV,i-iii, Thomas More's cell in the Tower; Act V,i-ii, The

same; Act V,iii, A street in London; Act V,iv, Tower Hill; Act V,v, The Royal Palace; Epilogue, Between heaven and earth.

*Contents:*

Willeke, who calls More "the high traitor" in the title of his play<sup>53</sup>, covers the period from about 1533 to July 6th, 1535. The prologue and the epilogue take place in heaven. An angel summons More and Henry, who still shows no sign of remorse. In the epilogue, Henry is condemned to eternal damnation, while More is included among the blessed.

The first act shows More in his house at Chelsea, with Erasmus and Campeggio, among others, as his visitors. After a while More's fool Patterson enters the room and tells More and the others that Henry has married Anne. When the king joins the party, he reveals his despotism and is angry at More's reaction to his marriage. In act II, we see Patterson and his friends Davis and George in a pub near the Tower. Davis tries to lure George into Cromwell's service. After that, More and his fool are seen at Lambeth Palace, where they have to appear before the commission. Patterson swears the oath, whereas More refuses to do so. He is immediately imprisoned in the Tower. Cromwell visits More there in act III and revives his strength, although that is definitely not what he wanted to achieve. Meanwhile, Norfolk accuses Cromwell of grave wrongdoings, which the king gives Norfolk time to prove. Davis and George have both entered Cromwell's service and they are now instructed what to charge More with. More, however, is able to refute all allegations in his trial. But then he openly states that the king is not Supreme Head of the Church, and is sentenced to death for treason. In act IV, More is visited in his cell by Alice, Margaret and Henry, but none of them can change his mind. Finally, More is executed, having been sentenced by the king to die by the axe. In the end, Henry has to acknowledge that More is victorious, and he blames his death on Anne. When Norfolk is able to prove Cromwell's disloyalty Henry orders him to be arrested.

*Characteristics:*

Willeke's play is similar to Regau's *Thomas Morus* in many ways, apart from the fact that it is written in German, too. The same pompous diction is used, the plot is far from being well-structured, and there is the same black-and-white pattern as in Regau's play.

Willeke is the only one to have chosen the classical form of tragedy, at least technically speaking. His prologue and epilogue constitute a kind of frame for the action and serve his didactic purposes.

These are much more evident than in the other plays, as Henry is punished for his evil doings and sent to hell. But it is not only the king who cannot escape his just punishment: Cromwell too has to pay for his intrigues and is arrested. His fall can be attributed to Norfolk, who is portrayed in a different way. He is not only an upright man and in a certain way congenial with his friend Thomas More, but also very critical of Cromwell. Thus, for the good of the state, he produces convincing proof of Cromwell's disloyalty.

*Willeke's image of More:*

Willeke's play resembles Regau's concerning the image of More. In the beginning, More has a presentiment. When Campeggio wishes him well, he says, "We'd need that desperately."<sup>54</sup> Later on, when his fears have come true, he anticipates "a storm over England".<sup>55</sup> He cannot believe that Henry has married Anne and he says so. He leaves no doubt that he is on Catherine's side (pp. 31-32). When Henry tells everybody in More's house about his plans for the future, More dares to reply, "all I see is despotism."<sup>56</sup>

But he does not stay so frank for a long time. Although he vows to stick to his conviction (p. 38), he is now more careful and remains silent (pp. 51, 70). On the other hand, he is so confident to have chosen the right side that he calmly refuses the oath (p. 57). He says during his trial that "he is one with the whole of Christendom."<sup>57</sup>

There is only one moment in the play when More is uneasy and very fearful (p. 58). But then Cromwell comes to visit him and tries to persuade him. This, however, is exactly what invigorates More, who from that time on is never again in doubt of his actions and his strength (p. 61). This is evident, for instance, during the trial, as he easily refutes the accusations of Davis and George. He says he is fully aware that he cannot avoid the terrible things which are to befall him.<sup>58</sup> Therefore he states, even without being asked, that, in his opinion, Henry is in no way Supreme Head of the Church (p. 70). The rest of the play shows More as a happy martyr, who regards his death as a deliverance (p. 74) and his execution as a great favour (p. 91). He is yearning for eternity (p. 77). In the end, More is transfigured, as the turnkey observes (p. 91), and he is happy as a bridegroom on his wedding day (p. 91).

### Conclusion

Summing up what I have pointed out with regard to Anouilh's play, one might say that the basic conflict in this drama is the one between More's loyalty to the king and to God. When he has decided that he cannot follow Henry any longer, he acts very carefully and does all he can to avoid capital punishment, as he definitely is not eager to become a martyr. Although he is sure that he is on the right path, he keeps silent and does not reveal the reasons for his refusal even after he has been sentenced to death. In the end he is glad to die and leave this miserable world.

More's fear of death is even more visible in Stuart's play. Here, as in Anouilh's drama, he leaves nothing to chance and hopes to employ his abilities as a lawyer to save himself. But when he is not allowed to swear a secret oath and is put into the Tower, his dread of Tyburn is almost insurmountable. He desperately needs the lead of Fisher or Houghton, as Cromwell, who is gradually becoming a close friend of More's, realises. More admits to being a coward. Only after Cromwell has told him that he is to die by the axe, is he able to face his death.

Doherty's *The King's Servant* does not create the image of such a troubled and fearful man. Yet again, More is not seeking to be a martyr. Although he is outspoken in the beginning, he remains silent after his resignation. Unlike Stuart's protagonist, he is full of confidence and easily overcomes his fear of Tyburn. In the end he is glad to die, as he is in Anouilh's play, and he thinks of his execution as a favour.

In Regau's play More treasures the law and he is dutiful, but all this only to a certain extent. His love for God is visible in his very appearance, since he wears a monk's habit. Furthermore, his confidence is so strong that he never has the slightest doubt and not only is never afraid of death but is even eager to die.

This is also, more or less, the way Willeke portrays More. But unlike Regau's hero, More remains silent after he has frankly contradicted Henry, and there is even a short moment when he is not sure he can face his death. This, however, does not last long and he regains his confidence. During the trial, he denies the king's supremacy without being asked for his opinion. More dies happily and, to cap it all, he is transfigured.

Looking at the five dramas I have analysed in a more general way, the following must be stated. The first three plays pay greater attention to the historical facts and treat the matter more objectively. Their authors present More as a man with strengths and weaknesses

and as a loyal subject in conflict with state power, who tries to avoid trouble, without violating his conscience, because he loves his life and family. He does not always know what to do, but struggles for the right decision.

It is Stuart who most completely concentrates on this inner conflict and illustrates in detail More's complicated situation after his refusal of the oath. Although her *Traitor's Gate* seems at first sight to be an extreme interpretation of the subject, her image of More is actually quite close to history. As the *De Tristitia Christi* and his last letters prove, the historical More was no stranger to fear, but took the right to flee danger, just as Christ advised his disciples to do.

Thus, Stuart's play is no wild fancy but one of the most drastic expositions of a drama group that portrays More as a reluctant martyr. This image of More is typical of most of the English, American and French plays written after More's canonization. Therefore, their triple treatments of the subject may be regarded as representatives of 20th century More dramas in their countries of origin.

This holds also true for the two German plays, although their image of More differs greatly from the other three. German post-canonization dramas on the subject stick to a traditional, somewhat hagiographic interpretation and in this resemble the Jesuit plays.<sup>59</sup> German dramatists tend to forget that Thomas More was not a "living saint", but a man with human feelings, who had to overcome his fear of death and his horror of a most cruel execution. Their characterization of More as a willing martyr forms a striking contrast to the image of the chancellor in the drama group discussed above, which concentrate on More's inner struggle and thus make his victory over Henry and his counsellors all the more impressive and convincing.

Notwithstanding these substantial differences in the treatment of the subjects, one must not forget, that all the plays discussed above portray More as a man who follows his conscience, or to put it another way, as an "homme libre".

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## NOTES

\* This article is partly based on a paper I gave on the occasion of the annual meeting of the French *Amici Thomae Mori*, Paris, June 22nd, 1991.

1. For the paragraphs on the history of plays about More cf. the first comprehensive study on More dramas: Friedrich-K. Unterweg, *Thomas Morus Dramen vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart. Wesensmerkmale und Entwicklungstendenzen*. Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, Zurich 1990. Cf. also by the same author: "A Man For All Stages - Five Centuries of Thomas More Dramas." *Moreana*, vol. XXVIII, 108 (1991), pp. 5-32.

2. Friedrich-K. Unterweg, "A Man For All Stages", pp. 21-25.

3. Paris: La Table Ronde, 1987, 157 pp. I do not define the term "drama" in the strict classical sense, so that Anouilh's film script can be included in the discussion.

4. Morna Stuart, *Traitor's Gate. A Historical Play in Three Acts*. London 1939, 128 pp.

5. Felix Doherty, *The King's Servant. A Play in Three Acts*. New York 1950, 133 pp.

6. Thomas Regau, *Thomas Morus. Schauspiel*. Tübingen 1951, 96 pp.; Caspar Willeke, *Der Hochverräter. Lordkanzler Thomas More*. Tübingen 1953, 108 pp.

7. A comparison of Bolt's and Anouilh's plays was, for example, the subject of a paper by Florence Tessier during the Paris meeting in June 1991. "Commitment is of No Season - Bolt's play and Anouilh's script." *Thomas Morus Jahrbuch 1991*, edited by Hermann Boverter, Düsseldorf 1991, pp. 88-92.

8. *Modern World Drama. An Encyclopedia*, edited by Myrton Matlaw, New York 1972, pp. 31-32. Cf. also Friedrich-K. Unterweg, *Thomas Morus-Dramen*, p. 290.

9. Marie-Claude Rousseau, "Entre Théâtre et Cinéma: Le Script de Anouilh." *Moreana*, vol. XXVIII, 108 (1991), pp. 33-40.

10. All the *dramatis personae* are given as in the original. This means that peculiarities of the authors, including the spelling, remain unchanged.

11. "Je n'aime pas ce qui est souple. Tout est raide autour de nous. Et il faut casser, ou se heurter - ou user, mais c'est long. Il y a des choses que j'use, patiemment. Il y a des choses que je casse. Il y a des choses auxquelles je me heurte de front. J'ai des bosses mais je cogne toujours de la tête, au même endroit." (p. 30)

12. "Quand je m'embrouille dans une affaire et qu'il la dénoue en trois mots, je suis bien forcé de constater - à regret, mais de constater tout de même - que l'intelligence, aussi, est un privilège important." (p. 13)

13. "J'aime faire de petites choses. J'aime bêcher mon jardin, nettoyer moi-même quelque objet. Mon valet et moi nous nous disputons mes chaussures." (p. 54)

14. "Tout est grave toujours avec vous!" (p. 26)

15. "On ne va pas au Ciel dans un lit de plumes, ce n'est pas la voie. Le chemin que Notre Seigneur a pris pour s'y rendre a été plein de douleurs et de tribulations." (p. 31)

16. "Ah! s'il était possible de contenter le Roi sans que Dieu s'en trouve offensé! Mais c'est toujours la même histoire: il y a le Roi et il y a Dieu." (p. 122)

17. More says to Alice, "I don't confide in anybody." (p. 17); "Je ne me confie à personne." (p. 39)

18. "Je rends grâce à Notre Seigneur, mon fils, de ce que Sa Majesté se montre si bienveillante à mon égard et je crois en vérité qu'il me favorise autant qu'aucun sujet de ce royaume. Toutefois, fils Rupert, je puis te dire que je n'ai point lieu d'en être fier, car si ma tête pouvait lui gagner un château en France, elle ne manquerait pas de tomber." (p. 49)

19. "Si le Roi sépare l'Église d'Angleterre du siège de Rome, cela nous concernera tous. Et moi le premier." (pp. 39-40)

20. "Vous allez faire une folie, Thomas!" (p. 56)

21. "Cette folie est un acte de prudence qui m'évitera d'en faire une bien plus grande [...] Le décret n'est plus qu'une question de semaines. Les serments suivront. Peut-être qu'un simple particulier retiré au fond d'une maison de campagne, dans le service exclusif de Dieu, aura plus de chance d'éluder." (p. 56)

22. "C'est cher d'être libre." (p. 58)

23. "I've no taste for martyrdom." (p. 27); "[...] Je n'ai pas le goût du martyre." (p. 58)

24. "Il n'est pas en mon pouvoir de n'être pas dévoré, mais Dieu étant mon bon Seigneur, je peux faire en sorte de n'être pas défloré, My Lord." (p. 72)

25. "Est-ce là tout, My Lord? Alors, en vérité, la seule différence qu'il y ait entre vous et moi, c'est que je mourrai aujourd'hui et que vous mourrez demain." (p. 73)

26. "C'est merveilleux d'être arrivé dans cette clairière inondée de lumière, au bout de sa peur ... On est un homme libre ..." (p. 85).

27. "Voilà Seigneur, c'est fait. Et je vous remercie: c'était facile." (p. 107)

28. "Il y aurait quelque ostentation de sainteté à leurs yeux que je n'aime pas. Emporte-le ... J'ai mieux maintenant." (p. 124)

29. "But when Caesar tries to take something else there must be one man - one is enough nearly always - who'll say no." (p. 62); "[...] Quand César veut prendre autre chose, il faut qu'il y en ait un - un seul suffit presque toujours - qui dise non." (p. 122)

30. "The echo of all those refusals will not be stilled. That is what matters." (p. 68); "L'écho de tous ces refus ne se sera pas tu. C'est l'essentiel." (p. 135)

31. "J'ai toujours été grandement obligé envers Sa Majesté pour les bienfaits et les honneurs dont Elle m'a comblé à maintes occasions [...] je lui suis obligé par-dessus tout de ce qu'il lui plaise me débarrasser si tôt des misères de ce malheureux monde." (p. 153)

32. *The Authors' Who's Who*, edited by J. V. Yates, London 1971, pp. 763-764. Cf. also Friedrich-K. Unterweg, *Thomas Morus-Dramen*, p. 296.

33. Stage direction, p. 87.

34. Stage direction, p. 88.

35. Felix Doherty, p. 128.

36. Stage directions, p. 90.

37. Stage direction, p. 116.

38. *Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender. Nekrolog, 1936-70*, edited by Werner Schucher, Berlin, New York 1973, s. v. Stauder, Heinz. Cf. also Friedrich-K. Unterweg, *Thomas Morus-Dramen*, p. 295.

39. Friedrich-K. Unterweg, "A Man For All Stages", pp. 16-21.

40. "Sir Thomas Morus lebt nur im Gesetz." (p. 9) All English translations mine.

41. "Das Recht ist mehr als Ihr und ich [...]" (p. 76)

42. "Es schenkt der Mensch dem Throne keine Dauer, das Recht allein verleiht ihm Fortbestand." (p. 54)

43. "Ich dien dem Recht und in ihm meinem König, Doch wenn der König sich vom Rechte scheidet, – so wahr mir Gott der höchste Richter ist – dann dien' ich erst dem Recht und dann dem König!" (p. 46)
44. "Für Recht und Treue ist sein Leben feil." (p. 28)
45. "Darf denn der Steuermann das Schiff verlassen, weil er den Stürmen nicht gebieten kann?" (p. 84)
46. "Hier endet meine Untertanenpflicht." (p. 85)
47. "Christ sein, das heißt: sich jeder Prüfung stellen, Prüfung ist stets von Gott." (p. 26)
48. "Es leben Tausende in Englands Grenzen, die Englands altes Bild wie ich bewahren. Wer gibt das Zeichen ihrer Pilgerschaft?" (p. 82)
49. "Der eig'nen Hochzeit dient Ihr, nicht dem Lande!" (p. 54)
50. "Nie kann ein Weltfürst Herr der Kirche sein." (p. 55)
51. "Daß ich für Größres sterben darf als ihn [i. e. den König]!" (p. 91)
52. *Kürschners Deutscher Literatur-Kalender*, 54th edition, edited by W. Schucher, Berlin 1963, p. 718. Cf. also Friedrich-K. Unterweg, *Thomas Morus-Dramen*, p. 296.
53. This must be regarded as an expression of irony, as this is Henry's view of More, but definitely not Willeke's.
54. "Das tāt' uns bitter not!" (p. 19)
55. "Ich seh Gewitter sich versammeln über England." (p. 22)
56. "Ich seh nur Willkür [...]." (p. 34)
57. "Ich weiß mich eins mit aller Christenheit [...]." (p. 30)
58. "Ich weiß, ich hab' auf Gnade nicht zu rechnen, / So nehm' denn seinen bösen Lauf, Ihr Herrn, / Das Bittere, das ich nicht wenden kann." (p. 69)
59. Friedrich-K. Unterweg, "A Man For All Stages", pp. 10-16.

### Précis

Christoph Peters' article presents five More dramas of the 20th century, all written for the screen or the professional stage.

Anouilh's script, which historically is fairly accurate, depicts More as a careful man. He tries to avoid torture and capital punishment, but he is nevertheless confident in having made the right decision; More stays silent and, in the end, is glad to die.

Stuart, who concentrates on More's inner struggle, shows him as an even more fearful man. He cannot face the prospect of Tyburn, and only when he is condemned to die by the axe does he regain a measure of confidence.

Although Doherty does not create such a radical image of More, his protagonist is in no way eager to become a martyr. But his confidence enables him to overcome his fear of Tyburn.

The remaining two German dramas by Regau and Willeke are completely different. Both of them depict More as a willing martyr, who courageously opposes the king and is never afraid of what will happen to him and his family.