



HISTORIES OF THE SACRED AND SECULAR, 1700–2000

Anti-Catholicism in Britain and Ireland, 1600–2000

Practices, Representations and Ideas



Edited by
Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille
Geraldine Vaughan

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Histories of the Sacred and Secular, 1700–2000

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CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|---|-----------|
| 1 | The Catholic “Other” | 1 |
| | Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan | |
| Part I | Living Together: Catholic Responses to Anti-Catholicism | 19 |
| 2 | Catholic Strategies of Resistance to Anti-Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century England | 21 |
| | Luc Borot | |
| 3 | Anti-Popery in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Scottish Catholic Perspective | 37 |
| | Clotilde Prunier | |
| 4 | Everyday Anti-Catholicism in Early Eighteenth-Century England | 55 |
| | Carys Brown | |

| | | |
|-----------------|--|------------|
| Part II | Hating the Other: The Polemics of Anti-Catholicism | 73 |
| 5 | “The Great Contest Between the Papist and Protestant”: Anti-Catholicism in Lucy Hutchinson’s <i>Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson</i> | 75 |
| | Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille | |
| 6 | “Papists Make a Direct Profession of This Shamefull Sin”: Denouncing Catholic Ignorance in Seventeenth-Century England | 93 |
| | Sandrine Parageau | |
| 7 | Beyond “The General Consent of the Principall Puritans and Jesuits against Kings”: The Rationalist Plea for Resistance in John Milton and Algernon Sidney | 109 |
| | Christopher Hamel | |
| 8 | Through the French Looking Glass: Anti-Semitism, Anti-Protestantism and Anticlericalism. A Study in <i>Doctrines of Hatred</i> at the Turn of the Twentieth Century | 127 |
| | Valentine Zuber | |
| Part III | Capitalizing on Anti-Catholicism and the Rise of Englishness | 143 |
| 9 | The Scandalous Nun: Anti-Catholic Representations of English Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century | 145 |
| | Laurence Lux-Sterritt | |
| 10 | Joseph Addison, Anti-Catholicism and Politeness | 163 |
| | Claire Boulard Jouslin | |
| 11 | Papal Tyranny on the Stage: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the London Theatres | 181 |
| | Marc Martinez | |

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 12 | Anti-Catholicism and the Rhetoric of Slavery in Irish Writing, c. 1690–1730 | 199 |
| | James Ward | |
| Part IV The Demise of Anti-Catholicism in the Secularized World? | | 217 |
| 13 | Anti-Catholicism and the Scottish Middle Class 1800–1914 | 219 |
| | Martin J. Mitchell | |
| 14 | Fishing for Controversy: W.S. Kerr and the Demise of Church of Ireland Anti-Catholicism | 237 |
| | Alan Ford | |
| 15 | A New Order in Post-conflict Northern Ireland—The Museum of Orange Heritage | 255 |
| | Karine Bigand | |
| 16 | The Rise and Fall of Anti-Catholicism in Scotland | 273 |
| | Sir T. M. Devine and Michael Rosie | |
| 17 | Conclusion: Taking the Long View of Anti-Catholicism | 289 |
| | John Wolffe | |
| | Name Index | 301 |
| | Subject Index | 305 |

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LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| Table 15.1 | Order positions on religious issues, 2007–2008 (%). Jonathan Tonge et al., “New Order: Political Change and the Protestant Orange Tradition in Northern Ireland,” <i>The British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i> 13 (2011): 404 | 259 |
| Table 15.2 | Attitudes to republican violence, 2007–2008 (%). Tonge et al., “New Order,” 409 | 259 |
| Table 16.1 | Religion and occupational class National Statistics - Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), 2011: men aged 15–34 | 280 |
| Table 16.2 | Religion and occupational class (NS-SEC), 2011: women aged 35–54 | 280 |
| Table 16.3 | Catholics and mixed marriages/relationships, 2001 | 282 |



CHAPTER 1

The Catholic “Other”

Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan

This project unites French, British and Irish researchers—with their distinctive approaches and scholarly traditions—into exploring a form of “Otherness” in Britain and Ireland from the post-Reformation period up until today.¹ This interdisciplinary collection of essays, bringing together historians, literary scholars, sociologists and philosophers, offers a multi-faceted vision of issues associated with the “Otherness” of Roman Catholics in Britain and Ireland. It does not claim to identify with a single historiographical tradition but rather seeks to show the complexity of a phenomenon which spans five hundred years. Concentrating on practices,

¹The wide-ranging study of anti-Catholicism has been popularized by excellent recent publications such as John Wolffe, ed., *Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century: The Dynamics of Religious Difference* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).

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representations and discourses, it reflects the broadening of the historical field to culture since the 1970s, culture being anthropologically understood as “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life.”²

The “cultural turn” has had institutional and epistemological consequences which are relevant to our present project. For instance, by permitting ecclesiastical history to come out of its institutional ghetto, developments in methodologies have encouraged the emergence of a socio-cultural approach to religious history. Transformed perspectives have also resulted in a growing interest in individual voices and experiences and, most crucially for the study of anti-Catholicism, in their symbolic and verbal manifestations and constructions. Our common venture here is thus to offer a “polyphonic history”—recognising, as Peter Burke states, “the value of interaction, interpenetration and hybridization” of our different scholarly backgrounds and exploring the world of anti-Catholicism “between practices and representations.”³

Physical manifestations of Catholic hatred, assaults and violence throughout the early and late modern period are not central to our analysis. Contributors are more concerned with the elaboration, discourse and perpetuation of anti-Catholic prejudice. In his analysis on early modern anti-Popery, the historian Peter Lake stressed the twofold dimension of prejudice against the Catholic “Other,” which expressed irrational fears as well as the conscious assertion of a Protestant identity. As Lake further wrote: “[c]ertainly anti-Popery appealed to people’s emotions. It did so because it incorporated deeply-held beliefs and values and it helped to dramatize and exorcize the fears and anxieties produced when those values came under threat.”⁴

Is there a single definition of anti-Catholicism? Anti-Catholic sentiment was a complex, protean phenomenon directed against the Roman Church,

² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89.

³ Peter Burke, “Cultural History as Polyphonic History,” *Arbor* 743 (2010): 484. “Between Practices and Representations” is the subtitle of Roger Chartier’s *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1988). See Chartier, “Le monde comme représentation,” *Annales ESC* 44.6 (1989): 1505–1520.

⁴ Peter Lake, “Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 97.

its prelates and parishioners. It varied according to time and place. The historian John Wolffe has offered researchers a synthetic vision of its key strands.⁵ Three major aspects might be defined for our present study. First, and more markedly up until 1829 and the passing of Catholic emancipation, anti-Catholicism was set in a constitutional framework, emanating from the State and the legislature (the *Penal Laws* were meant to disable Catholic subjects on a religious, economic and political basis).⁶ This constitutional anti-Catholicism resulted from the belief that Catholic subjects were potentially disloyal to the Crown and British institutions. They were thus barred from civic and political positions. In the later nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, constitutional anti-Catholicism was embodied in the debates around the issues of secular and religious State primary education.⁷ Second, anti-Catholicism also meant anti-Popery, in the sense that it embodied a strong theologico-political prejudice against the "tyrannical" powers of the Pope and the Roman Church. Catholicism was viewed as an illiberal doctrine, in contrast with Reformation principles which affirmed liberty of conscience. Third, anti-Catholicism had a socio-national dimension, meaning that the "Other" was perceived as fundamentally un-English, un-British or un-Scottish—this is where debates on the inclusion of Ireland into a wider British identity come into perspective. This form of anti-Catholicism mobilised ethnic prejudices, based on the demeaning of continental and Irish national identities, considered as being inferior to a strong Protestant British identity.

This collection of essays thus works by multiplying angles and approaches to tackle the composite issue of anti-Catholicism since the

⁵ John Wolffe, "Protestant-Catholic Divisions in Europe and the United States: An Historical and Comparative Perspective," *Politics, Religion and Ideology*, 12.3 (2011): 250. See also J. Wolffe, "A Comparative Historical Categorisation of Anti-Catholicism," *Journal of Religious History*, 39.2 (2015): 182–202. Wolffe identifies four major categories of anti-Catholicism: constitutional-national, theological, socio-cultural and popular.

⁶ Penal Laws were passed after the Reformation and mainly enforced in Ireland. Their purpose was to exclude Catholics from the political, economic and military spheres. Its main provisions were progressively dropped from the late eighteenth century onwards. See, for instance, Sean Connolly, "The Penal Laws" in *Kings in Conflict: The Revolutionary War in Ireland and Its Aftermath 1689–1750* W, ed. A. Maguire (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1990), 157–172.

⁷ Geraldine Vaughan, "'Britishers and Protestants': Protestantism and Imperial British Identities in Britain, Canada and Australia from the 1880s to the 1920s," *Studies in Church History*, 54 (2018): 359–373.

Protestant Reformation in Britain and Ireland.⁸ However, anti-Catholicism was not exclusively a (British) Protestant affair. In the Catholic countries of Europe, anti-Catholicism could thrive in the form of anticlericalism—this was also the case in post-revolutionary France (Valentine Zuber’s chapter explores French manifestations of anti-Catholicism). It is of course difficult to infer, from a range of geographically and historically diverse studies, one single contention, but what this collection as a whole suggests is that there can be no teleological narration of anti-Catholicism—its manifestations have been episodic, more or less rooted in common world-views, and its history does not end today. To that effect, the chronological boundaries adopted here are fluid in order to reflect the conflictual nature of anti-Catholicism—from the reign of Elizabeth I up to the early twenty-first century. It is hoped that such a thematic and interdisciplinary approach will further help readers to understand how anti-Catholicism evolved and revolved in British and Irish history. In line with current historiographical trends, the first part of this book looks at Catholic and Protestant interactions in discourses and cultural practices and examines the Catholic response to outbursts of anti-Catholicism. Nevertheless, satire and controversy have always fuelled religious and political conflicts—the second part will examine anti-Catholic polemics in their plasticity and adaptability to various political, social and theological contexts. The third part of this collection will be devoted to the study of anti-Catholicism and the emergence of modern national identities, with a focus on Englishness. Finally, the fourth part will explore more contemporary issues, by trying to answer the following question: has anti-Catholicism truly declined since the late twentieth century?

⁸The case of Wales is not distinguished from the more general British experience in this collection. Nevertheless, there were specific features of anti-Catholicism in Wales, mainly connected to its strong Dissenting tradition. For an interesting debate on the changing nature and presence (or absence) of anti-Catholicism in Wales during the late modern era, see Trystan Owen Hughes, “Anti-Catholicism in Wales, 1900–1960,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53.2 (2002): 312–325; Paul O’Leary, “When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56.2 (2005): 308–325.

LIVING TOGETHER: CATHOLIC RESPONSES TO ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Until well into the twentieth century, the history of British Catholics and Catholicism was written by Catholics as a history of persecution and martyrdom. It was, to quote Alexandra Walsham, "an obscure byway and minor distraction from the grand narrative of progress that released the people of England, Wales and Scotland from popish ignorance, superstition and tyranny."⁹ One of the main reasons for this separatist and hagiographical methodology was the exclusion of English Catholics from full citizenship from the time of the Reformation onwards—apart from the short interruption of the reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)—until the Emancipation Act of 1829. However, since John Bossy's pioneering work, influenced by the French *Annales*, the English Catholic community and their cultural practices have received more historiographical attention.¹⁰ In 2005, in the preface to *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation,"* historian Ethan Shagan wrote that Catholicism "was not a discrete subject but a crucial facet of early modern culture" and made it clear that the purpose of his book was to "pull Catholicism back into the mainstream of English historiography."¹¹ The relationships between Catholics and Protestants in the post-Reformation era have now become a more central subject of study, as it appears essential to "[adopt] a perspective that examines Catholicism and anti-Catholicism, Protestantism and anti-Protestantism as inextricably linked bodies of opinion and practice."¹² There is much

⁹Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (2014; London: Routledge, 2016), 6.

¹⁰John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975). Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1585* (1992; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). For recent historiographical overviews, see A. Walsham, "In the Lord's Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain," *Catholic Reformation*, 1–52; Ethan Shagan, "Introduction: English Catholic History in Context," *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identities in Early Modern England*, ed. E. Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 1–21.

¹¹Shagan, *Catholics and the Protestant "Nation,"* vi, 1–2.

¹²Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, 3, 2; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3; Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Re-thinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); P. Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). For a literary approach, see Alison Shell, *Catholicism,*

evidence that early modern English Catholics interacted with the rest of society in multiple ways: contrary to what has often been assumed, they were not necessarily rejected by their Protestant parishes and continued to participate in local and national politics.¹³ This was particularly true of a category of Catholics, those called “Church Papists,” who conformed to the Church of England to avoid persecution and fines and who probably found it easier to integrate into the social life of their towns and villages than recusants.¹⁴ When Alexandra Walsham chooses the term “coexistence” to designate inter-denominational relationships, she warns us that there should be no idealising of interreligious cohabitation. Although Christian charity made it obligatory to love one’s neighbour, for most seventeenth-century Protestants, their religion was the only true one and Papists remained objects of hatred.¹⁵ Thus, the phrase “charitable hatred,” which encapsulates early modern interconfessional relationships, establishes that religious coexistence did not mean mutual acceptance in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ There is in fact much evidence that anti-Catholic sentiment persisted at least up until the end of the Hanoverian period and probably much longer as many pages of the present volume will suggest.¹⁷ To be sure, from the eighteenth century onwards, less repressive legislation in England made the cohabitation between Catholics and the

Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy. Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

¹³M. C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern Britain: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton, “Introduction,” *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England*, ed. N. Lewycky and A. Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 16–18.

¹⁴See A. Walsham, *Church Papists. Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), 1–3.

¹⁵A. Walsham, “Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration,” *The Seventeenth Century* 28.2 (2013): 115–137; Lewycky and Morton, *Getting Along* 14–15; Shagan, *Catholics and the Protestant “Nation,”* 2.

¹⁶A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred. Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 315–322.

¹⁷Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England. A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain. Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843–1945* (London: Routledge, 1994), 32–33; Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,” *Journal of British Studies* 31.4 (1992): 318–319.

predominantly Protestant population smoother, but it did not prevent outbreaks of sectarian violence, as for instance at the time of the Jacobite risings or of the Gordon Riots of 1780.¹⁸

The chapters in this first section examine various Catholic responses to anti-Catholicism. In the wake of recent studies, Luc Borot offers a survey of the diverse strategies of resistance devised by the seventeenth-century clandestine English Catholic minority, either at home or from abroad, in a context of State repression. However contradictory and heterogeneous those strategies were, they entailed that most English Catholics were willing to be part of the English nation. This is particularly manifest in their participation in national political life as well as in their efforts to maintain and preserve "a properly English spiritual lineage largely ignored on the Continent, and denied by English authorities."¹⁹ Clotilde Prunier traces an analogous desire among Scottish Catholics to belong to the Scottish nation, in a context of intensified Presbyterian persecution in the years following the battle of Culloden (1746) and during the debate on the Repeal of the Penal Laws (1778–1779). The paradox which emerges from the memorials and letters she examines is that the relief from persecution was eventually negotiated via the intervention of the British State whose laws eventually proved protective of the Scottish Catholic minority.²⁰ Finally, Carys Brown concentrates on interpersonal relationships between Catholics and Protestants through an examination of the correspondence of several eighteenth-century English families. Despite apparent peaceful coexistence between communities, she shows how age-old prejudices and stereotypes were perpetuated, revealing the resilience of every day anti-Catholicism mostly manifest in the form of verbal intolerance.

¹⁸Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism* 76–173; 204–244. See also George Rudé's seminal study: G. F. E. Rudé, "The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1956): 93–114.

¹⁹Luc Borot, "Catholic Strategies of Resistance to Anti-Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century England," in this volume [Chap. 8, p. 000]. See A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape. Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁰Clotilde Prunier, *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004).

HATING “THE OTHER:” THE POLEMICS OF ANTI-CATHOLICISM

The second section of this volume concentrates on anti-Catholic polemics, which developed in various contexts and genres and which persist today, probably because of their plasticity and their capacity to address political, theological and social issues in various contexts. For that matter the discourses of anti-Popery, which emerged after the reign of Mary Tudor, did not always mean to attack Catholicism but were used to label other forms of deviance: before the Civil War, for instance, the term “Papist” was used to designate the Laudian supporters of absolute monarchy.²¹ Nevertheless, despite the numerous metamorphoses and the adaptability of anti-Catholic discourse, anti-Catholic tropes remained remarkably permanent: Papists were still pictured as being treacherous to the State, deceitful, ignorant and superstitious; their religion was regarded as tyrannical, anti-Christian, persecutory and threatening to the integrity of both State and Church.²² Moreover, in the early modern period, these essentialising representations, in which Puritan preachers delighted, had an undeniable polarising effect and could produce symbolic and physical violence.²³ Obviously, the temptation is great for us to dismiss such bigoted discourses as irrational. Yet it must be recognised that for all their would-be irrationality, they were more often than not careful ideological constructions whose power of explanation and bearing on historical reality should not be downplayed.²⁴ For a number of revisionist historians, early modern anti-Popery—not Puritanism—was viewed as responsible for the major conflicts of the seventeenth century. To quote John Coffey, these historians “have identified

²¹ Lake, “Anti-Popery,” 92–97; Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles. Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49–50; Charles-Édouard Levillain, “Papistes et antipapistes dans l’Angleterre des Stuarts (1640–1689),” in “*Rome, L’unique objet de mon ressentiment.*” *Regards critiques sur la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), 215–227.

²² See P. Lake, “Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, ed. P. Lake and Kenneth Fincham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 80–97, here 96.

²³ Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 124–127. On anti-Popery in sermons, see Robin Clifton, “The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution,” *Past and Present* 52 (1971): 23–55, here 35–38.

²⁴ On the problematic dichotomy between ideas and practices, see Walsham, “Cultures of Coexistence,” 66–67. On the rationality of anti-Catholicism versus revisionist emphasis on passions, see Lake, “Anti-Popery,” 73–80.

Popery as the most powerful and visceral force in English politics, one which helped to topple Charles I and his son James II."²⁵ Furthermore, from the Henrician Reformation onwards, anti-Catholicism was a strong expression of national values. This was the case in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and also in sermons, satire and pamphlets. It was also perceptible in all the national narratives which contrasted "Protestant" successes—the victory against the Spanish Armada, the Glorious Revolution—with Catholic infamy—the Gunpowder Plot, the Irish Rebellion and the Popish Plot. All these events were endlessly repeated and recapitulated within a providential framework, the better to bring out the inherent danger of a foreign religion and the grandeur of Protestant Britain.²⁶ Unsurprisingly, throughout our time period, Protestant anti-Catholicism served to forge a British Protestant national identity, itself the cornerstone of Whig historiography while relegating Catholicism and Catholics to the margins of mainstream history.²⁷ Likewise, Roman Catholicism being for its enemies synonymous with tyranny, anti-Popery was, as Clement Fatovic argued, central "in the development of liberal and republican conceptions of liberty" from John Milton to William Blackstone.²⁸

By exploring and contextualising anti-Catholicism in seventeenth-century English intellectual debates and historiography, the chapters in this second section show the limits of anti-Catholic binary polemics and

²⁵ John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558–1689* (2000; London: Routledge, 2013), 3. On revisionist history and anti-Catholicism, see Lake, "Anti-Popery," 72.

²⁶ See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells. National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (1989; Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2004). Marotti, "Plots, Atrocities, and Deliverances. The Anti-Catholic Construction of Protestant English History," in *Religious Ideology*, 131–132. Lake, "Anti-Puritanism," 91; Anne McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism," *American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002): 739–767; Carol Z. Weiner, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 27–62.

²⁷ Walsham, *Catholic Reformation* 6–7; Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, "The Trials of the Chosen Peoples: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland," in *Protestantism and National Identity, c.1650–c.0.1850*, ed. I. McBride and T. Claydon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 7–9. Wolfe, *God and Greater Britain*, 16–17.

²⁸ Clement Fatovic, "The Anti-Catholic Roots of Liberal and Republican Conceptions of Freedom in English Political Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66.1 (2005): 37–58, here 39–41.

the occasional proximity between Catholic and Reformed discourses.²⁹ Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille traces the use of anti-Popery in Lucy Hutchinson's history-writing in the *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*. Writing from a Protestant perspective, Hutchinson demonstrates how and why Henry VIII's imperfect Protestant Reformation and the ensuing Popish policies of the Stuarts caused the outbreak of the Civil War. In her subsequent relation of the English Revolution in Nottinghamshire, her anti-Catholicism is less explanatory and proves ineffective in accounting for the complexity of historical reality. It gives way to virulent anti-Puritanism as the responsibility for the military conflict is shifted on to the Puritans whose moral conduct is presented as being as reprehensible as that of Papists.³⁰ The following chapter, by Sandrine Parageau, is less concerned with the targets and the purpose of anti-Catholic polemics than with the ideas and preconceptions that lay beneath them. Focusing mostly on early seventeenth-century theological and intellectual debates, she anatomises the cliché of Popish ignorance which, despite its ideological consistency, did not match the religious reality it sought to represent: Protestants, like Catholics, had to face problems of ignorance in dealing with their congregations. What is more, some among them were intellectually indebted to scholastic writings from which Catholic theologians also drew, which contributed to play down the divide between Catholic and Protestant discourses on the question of ignorance and confirms the "cross-pollination of ideas, imagery and texts across confessional divides" that a number of studies have brought to light.³¹ Such a blurring of the lines is also prominent in republican political thought. As Christopher Hamel demonstrates in his chapter about the deposition of tyrants, the two republican thinkers Algernon Sidney and John Milton were fully aware of the dangerous proximity between Reformed and Catholic arguments on the issue of resistance to tyrants. As a matter of fact, their hostility to Catholicism and their refusal to be taken for Jesuits in disguise made it impossible for them to base their approach on their scholastic arguments and led them to devise secular arguments based on natural reason. In that light, anti-Catholicism proved unexpectedly

²⁹ See Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 5; A. Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism" in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. A. F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 91–93.

³⁰ See Lake, "Anti-Puritanism," 86.

³¹ Shagan, *Catholics and the Protestant "Nation,"* 2. See Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 91.

constructive: by steering them away from theology and religious polemics, it enabled them to adopt more rational strategies. Finally, by way of comparison, Valentine Zuber's chapter reviews Leroy Beaulieu's famous equation between three discourses of hatred—anticlericalism, anti-Protestantism and anti-Semitism—which combined religious, racial and social resentments under the pretext of defending the integrity of the French nation supposedly threatened by "foreign" religions. The methodological limits of such a comparison are undeniable; however, by bringing together those three "antis", Leroy-Beaulieu reveals the uneasy proximity between those discourses of hatred, the rejection of religious pluralism and a nationalistic reactionary vision of French politics.

CAPITALISING ON ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE RISE OF ENGLISHNESS

The third part of this volume is an exploration of the connections between anti-Catholicism and Englishness in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Over the past three decades, historians have revisited the links between Protestantism and the construction of nationalities within the British Isles in the eighteenth century. In the early 1990s, this new approach was most clearly formulated by British historian Linda Colley with her best-selling *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, published on the other side of the Atlantic in 1992. In another article, Colley affirmed that "[t]he absolute centrality of Protestantism to the British experience in the 1700s and long after is so obvious that it has often been passed over."³² This renewed interest in the religious element at work within the elaboration of a British identity in the late modern era was clearly stimulated by the flourishing of socio-religious history. It also went against a too narrow Church-based writing of religious history—it was Protestantism as a common basis which was examined as a possible pillar for national identities. Accordingly, this third part asks whether anti-Catholicism can be considered an essential ingredient in the elaboration of an English Protestant national identity. Yet, historians Ian McBride and Tony Claydon have urged researchers to "find a way of writing about Protestantism and national identity which acknowledges their interdependency, but gives due weight to the mismatches between them."³³ In other words, although

³² Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," 316–317.

³³ McBride and Claydon, "The Trials of the Chosen Peoples," 26.

anti-Catholicism is central to our analysis here, we are aware that religious beliefs must not be overestimated in the building of national sentiment. However, there were periods when external threats and/or internal anxieties were duly exploited to foster patriotic sentiments—the wars against Catholic continental powers and eighteenth-century Jacobite rebellions being the most obvious examples. Historian Colin Haydon, who pioneered broad-range studies of eighteenth-century anti-Catholicism in his 1993 opus, wrote of the Jacobite scares as British equivalents of the *Grandes Peurs*, occasioning the “most spectacular manifestation of a deeply entrenched anti-Catholic *mentalité*.”³⁴ Public entertainment, sensational pamphlets and propaganda literature could all serve to raise levels of anti-Catholic anxieties—hence the success of lubricious nuns, stage frights and polite thrills in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mockery was used as a traditional weapon against Roman Catholics in Stuart and Georgian Britain—thus satire and comedy making fun of vicious friars and depraved prelates were sure to attract large audiences.

Another dimension of anti-Catholicism seldom explored is the profitable enterprise it represented for theatre managers and pamphlet publishers. Staging anti-Catholicism belonged to the “protean nature of anti-Catholic cultural forms.”³⁵ Marc Martinez explores the profit-making industry of stage entertainment during the great rising of 1745, focusing on the plays performed at two rival theatres, Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Analysing several anti-Papist plays, he shows how the repertoires of the two playhouses closely reflected contemporary anti-Papist hysteria. In giving vent to anti-Popery, the theatre managers unquestionably aimed at fostering patriotic feelings in times of national crisis, but they also sought to financially profit from the sensationalism of the plays. Capitalising on anti-Catholicism was also a characteristic of the abundant pamphlet literature circulating in early modern England. Nevertheless, although they were always a trope of anti-Catholic discourse, nuns and nunneries featured quite rarely in the anti-Catholic pamphlets circulated in the first half

³⁴ Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England*, 99.

³⁵ Haydon, “‘I love my King and my Country, but a Roman Catholic I hate’: Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England,” in *Protestantism and National Identity*, 43.

of the seventeenth century. Laurence Lux-Sterritt offers an exploration of the marketing success of two rare "scandalous nuns" writings published at two moments of national crisis, the "Spanish Match" and the "Irish Rebellion." Mockery and titillation were the key munitions intended to lure readers into a classic exposition and vindication of true Protestant national values: "England had to appear as safe haven for true Christians," where the Pope held no power. In the end, women were just used as objects to attract readers' attention, and the fate of English nuns in continental nunneries was quickly passed over. Can traces of anti-Catholic mockery be found in eighteenth-century English politeness? Exploring the concept of politeness as an instrument for historical analysis, Laurence E. Klein characterises it as a "useful tool for understanding and organizing cultural practices."³⁶ How could anti-Catholicism be compatible with the apparent moderation and tolerance of *English* politeness? In her chapter on Joseph Addison, the editor of *The Spectator*, Claire Boulard Jouslin argues that eighteenth-century politeness was a paradoxical agent of anti-Catholic expression aimed at strengthening English identity. Going through Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* and the Whig *Freeholder*, she shows that Catholicism loomed as "a threat to the integrity of the Protestant English nation and way of life."³⁷ She concludes that Addison's anti-Catholicism extended to the realm of fashion and manners which had to be purged of all traces of Popery. His agenda was clearly to make English politeness distinctly anti-Catholic—as part of the larger project of the reform of manners. Finally, in a chapter on anti-Catholicism in Irish writing, James Ward examines how Catholicism was conceptually and rhetorically associated with slavery—a common trope to refer to the attitude of the Church of Rome. Through a range of literary, political and philosophical texts, and adopting a memory studies approach, he analyses the persistence and evolution of antislavery rhetoric in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to Irish House of Lords' "Report on the State of Popery" in 1731.

³⁶Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45.4 (2002): 898.

³⁷See in this volume the chapter by Claire Boulard Jouslin, "Joseph Addison, Anti-Catholicism and Politeness," p. 000.

THE DEMISE OF ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN A SECULARISED WORLD?

Popular anti-Catholicism loomed large from the late eighteenth century to the late Victorian era. From the Gordon Riots (1780) to the anti-Popery busts of the early 1850s (1850 marked the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England) and in the 1880s, there were regular outbreaks of anti-Irish violence in British industrial cities. This upsurge in anti-Catholicism was connected to the increase in Irish (Catholic) immigration to Britain from the early nineteenth century onwards. The number of Irish born in Britain in 1841 amounted to 415,725 people who were unevenly distributed across Britain: Irish migrants tended to settle in industrial cities—in some cases, the Irish communities (i.e. the Irish born and their descendants) represented up to 20% of the population of industrial towns.³⁸ Martin Mitchell recounts in his chapter on nineteenth-century Scotland that the growth of Irish immigration added to, and intensified, existing anti-Catholic sentiment in Scotland. Yet, in a revisionist fashion, by focusing on middle-class Scots, he argues that there was not the widespread hostility to the Catholic community that some have claimed and that Scottish Protestants and Irish Catholics mixed and associated to a significant degree—for example, on local boards, educational enterprises and so on. This argument would seem to fit in with the more general view that the “secularisation” of late modern British society went hand in hand with a toning down of anti-religious prejudice. In other words, are “secularisation” and anti-Catholicism compatible? A teleological vision of modernisation would lead us into thinking that anti-Catholicism died with the decline of religious practice in Britain. Yet how can scholars account for the ostensible survival of a set of anti-Catholic attitudes up until today? In September 2010, when Pope Benedict XVI came on an official State visit to Britain, the “Protest the Pope” umbrella group, bringing together humanist, atheist and secular groups, prepared several actions and demonstrations against the papal tour. In Edinburgh, Rev. Ian Paisley and his ultra-Protestant supporters objected to the coming of the “antichrist” and distributed pamphlets listing “recent scandals” within the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, Secularist societies and Protestant religious groups testified to the survival of a British anti-Popery tradition going back to the Reformation. Yet, this protest against the

³⁸ Donald MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 34.

abuses of clerical power in the Roman Church is not confined only to these groups—in view of the current sex scandals involving members of the Roman Catholic clergy (with children and nuns as victims)—anti-Catholicism is also openly advocated by women campaigners and, in some cases, liberal Catholics.³⁹

The heated historiographical debates around the secularisation paradigm may have sometimes obscured our understanding of the late modern contemporaries’ relationship to religion. Without reviewing fifty years of intense scholarly discussion on the issue of modernisation and the socio-political withdrawal of organised religion, a few elements can be briefly retraced.⁴⁰ Since the 1960s, sociologists and historians from Europe and North America have been at the forefront of discussions around the existence, extent and chronology of the supposed “secularisation” of the Western world. In brief, secularisation can be defined as the decline of Churches as institutions and the drive from compulsory religious practice (commanded earlier by the State and then by the pressure of society and community) to personal choice—characterised by sociologist Grace Davie as the change “from obligation to consumption.”⁴¹ It was presented from the 1950s as associated with the urbanisation, industrialisation and global modernisation of Western societies since the late eighteenth century. Yet the “secularisation narrative” has been challenged with force in the past two decades by scholars who have insisted upon its teleological and positivist dimension—leading some to consider that the study of religious “change” rather than “decline” in Western societies offers a wider angle of analysis.⁴² How does the British anti-Catholic phenomenon interact with this vision of society where Churches and beliefs have, statistically at least,

³⁹ See the documentary aired on Arte on March 5, 2019: “Religieuses abusées, l’autre scandale de l’Église,” by Marie-Pierre Raimbault and Eric Quintin.

⁴⁰ Amongst recent publications, see David Hempton and Hugh McLeod, eds., *Secularization and Religious Innovation in the North Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Steve Bruce, *Secularization: In Defence of an Unfashionable Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴¹ Grace Davie, “From Obligation to Consumption: A Framework for Reflection in Northern Europe,” *Political Theology* 6.3 (2005): 281–301.

⁴² See Jeremy Morris, “Secularization and Religious Experience: Arguments in the Historiography of Modern British Religion,” *The Historical Journal* 55.1 (2012): 195–219; William Gibson, “New Perspectives on Secularisation in Britain (and Beyond),” *Journal of Religious History* 41.4 (2017): 431–438; John Wolffe, “Towards the Post-Secular City? London since the 1960s,” *Journal of Religious History* 41.4 (2017): 532–549. For a stimulating perspective on secularisation as a narrative, see David S. Nash, “Believing in

retreated since the 1960s? In the context of growing ecumenism from the 1960s, what prospects were still open for sectarian rivalries? Sectarianism, defined as the rivalries between Protestants and Roman Catholics, has had a particularly bitter history in Ireland and in Scotland.⁴³ The geographical shift to the Scottish and Irish contexts in part IV of this volume offers a reflection on the issue of the survival of anti-Catholicism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Certainly, overt anti-Catholicism has become more and more unfashionable since the 1970s. Exploring the writings of Anglican Bishop William S. Kerr (1873–1960), Alan Ford unearths the quintessence of three hundred years of anti-Catholic controversy within the Church of Ireland. He presents Bishop Kerr as the last of a long line of Church of Ireland clergy who saw their intellectual mission as attacking the “errors” of the Church of Rome. He demonstrates that the early 1960s saw the end of that type of controversial theology and the end of open anti-Catholicism within the Church of Ireland.

Moving away from the ecclesiastical institution, the history of the Orange Order (founded in the late eighteenth century) offers a perspective on long-lasting anti-Catholic stance (a Roman Catholic still cannot be admitted to the Order today) of a religious, social and political nature. Karine Bigand studies the ways in which Northern Irish Orangeism is currently trying to amend its sectarian image in post-conflict Ireland. The peace process and the new rhetoric of the post-conflict era have led the Order to reposition itself on the political spectrum. In recent years, it has also sought to rebrand itself as an open, inclusive institution, moving away from the strict defence of religious values to the promotion of Orange culture and heritage. Accordingly, both the chapters on Ireland do not qualify the survival of anti-Catholic prejudices but reflect on the general change in wide-ranging public and ecclesiastical opinion which now renders open anti-Catholicism socially and politically unacceptable.

The subsequent chapter offers a vision of anti-Catholicism set in a contemporary Scottish context. Since the 1999 Edinburgh Festival outcry of

Secularisation—Stories of Decline, Potential, and Resurgence,” *Journal of Religious History* 41.4 (2017): 505–531.

⁴³Sectarianism is a term which suits the Scottish and Irish contexts—it designates a complex blend of political, social and religious prejudice. The Victorians rather spoke of “bigotry.” Sectarianism can refer to a wide range of attitudes, from the “undue favouring of a particular denomination” (*Oxford English Dictionary*) in terms of employment or residence to overt violence displayed by one sect against another denomination. See G. Vaughan, *The ‘Local’ Irish in the West of Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 40–57.

James Macmillan, the renowned Catholic composer, who denounced a "visceral anti-Catholicism" in Scottish society, there has been an ongoing debate in public, government and academic circles as to the survival of sectarianism in the country.⁴⁴ Historian Sir Tom Devine and sociologist Michael Rosie argue that sectarianism in Scotland is definitely on the wane, much to the dislike of a rising anti-sectarian industry (because it is possible to capitalise on anti-sectarianism too!) encouraged by the recent Scottish government's inquiry into the phenomenon (2013–2015).⁴⁵ Thus, both chapters on contemporary Ireland and Scotland offer a wider understanding of the richer meaning of "secularisation" in the contemporary British Isles, in the sense that as a concept, it might be valid mainly to understand such secularisation not as the disappearance of organised religion, but rather as the reorganisation of religious beliefs in modern societies.⁴⁶

The concluding chapter by John Wolfé explores issues of *longue durée* continuity and change in anti-Catholicism, by insisting on the eschatological dimension of anti-Catholic rhetoric, and thus showing that anti-Catholics themselves envisioned their fight against Rome as a history without an end. Wolfé focuses on three pivotal events spanning the first half of the nineteenth century, namely, the Union of the British and Irish Parliaments (1800), Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales (1850). These events brought anti-Catholicism into enduring and complex association with both "the Irish question" and with assertive forms of British nationalism. While they need to be understood in the context of their time, they also resonate across the centuries, for example, back to the papal deposition of Elizabeth I in 1570 and forward to the travails of British (and especially Ulster Protestant) relations with the European Union. Finally, John Wolfé also investigates the emergence of a secularised form of anti-Catholicism since the 1950s and, in some cases, the transmutation of anti-Catholic discourse into contemporary forms of Islamophobia.

⁴⁴ See the academic response to James MacMillan's outcry: T. M. Devine, ed., *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2000); Steve Bruce, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

⁴⁵ *The Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland* (appointed in 2013) published its final report in 2015, concluding that sectarianism was still an ongoing problem in Scottish society and making a series of recommendations. See report on <https://www2.gov.scot/Publications/2015/05/4296> (accessed on December 6, 2018).

⁴⁶ Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Le pèlerin et le converti. La religion en mouvement* (Paris: Champs, 1999).

PART I

Living Together: Catholic Responses
to Anti-Catholicism



CHAPTER 2

Catholic Strategies of Resistance to Anti-Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century England

Luc Borot

The Fairies marry not; but there be amongst them Incubi, that have copulation with flesh and blood. The Priests also marry not.

Most scholars working on early modern English Catholicism will have recognized Hobbes's anti-clerical jibe from chapter 47 of *Leviathan*, published in 1651, in the midst of the century and of the revolutionary period.¹ Reception scholarship should lead us to wonder how a cultivated clandestine Catholic English gentleman, in the years leading up to the Restoration, would react on first discovering these lines. Would his humanist education allow him to laugh at the literary quality of the whole

¹Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 3, ch. 47, 1122.

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argument concluded by this joke, or would his religious, social and political experience, increased by those of a whole community for three generations, make him cringe at it? How could a community respond to the huge amount of talent serving anti-Catholicism when it was performed by Mr. Thomas Hobbes? But we also know, as this gentleman would, that it was not always performed with the same quality of wit. In the same century, in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot or during the mis-named “Popish” Plot, less worthy intellects than Hobbes’s were at work, and beyond words, policies buttressed an anti-Catholicism that was in many ways the default-setting, as it were, of British mentalities throughout the archipelago, with, as usual, a different status for Ireland.

An earlier slanderous piece, from the inferior pen of the soldier and polygraph Barnabe Rich, in his 1624 *New Irish Prognostication*, a conflation of his 1609 *Description of Ireland*, will take us into proper confessional hatred, tinged with ethnic rejection:

Now, to speak of [the] dispositions [of the Irish], whereunto they are addicted and inclined. I say, besides they are rude, uncleanlie, and uncivill, so they are cruell, bloudie minded, apt and ready to commit any kind of mischief. I do not impute this so much to their naturall inclination, as I do their education that are trained up in Treason, in Rebellion, in Theft, in Robbery, in Superstition, in Idolatry, and nuzeled from their Cradles in the very puddle of Popery.

This is the fruits of the Popes doctrine, that doth preach cruelty, that doth admit of murthers and bloody executions; by poisoning, stabbing, any other maner of practise howsoever: the pope teacheth subjects to resist, to mutinie, and to rebel against their Princes.

From hence it proceedeth, that the Irish have ever beene, and still are, desirous to shake off the English government.

From hence it doth proceed, that the Irish cannot endure to love the English, because they differ so much in Religion.²

If there was such a thing as an anthropology of Barnabe Rich, he would seem to take part in the debate on *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*. Is Catholicism so deeply ingrained into them that the Irish receive it with their mothers’ milk who themselves drank it from their mothers’ breast, or

²Barnabe Rich, *A New Irish Prognostication, or Popish Callender. Wherein is Described the Disposition of the Irish with the Manner of Their Behaviour, and How They for the Most Part Are Addicted to Poperie* (London: Francis Constable, 1624), ch. 4, 15–16.

are they corrupted by their religion, or does their nature merely provide Catholicism with such a fertile ground that it thrives there without fail? Therefore, another question comes to mind: how do you counter such prejudices when you have no legal right to speak up for yourself (or yourselves) because of your religion? Modern critics would describe Rich's stance as racist or the Irish in his description as "racialised." But there are many examples of similar language being used about English Catholics in England, and in Scotland they were characterised along the same lines well into the eighteenth century.

The Catholic community of England was "clandestine" or "underground" in those decades. For them, there was danger in visibility, therefore in protesting, in publishing, in petitioning, in using all legal forms of address and communication between subjects and authorities. Could you jeopardise your family and friends, and even your own lives, by sending a "loyal address" to a new sovereign, no matter how effectively loyal to your monarch you were, when the very mention or suspicion of your religious views would point to you as a traitor? Recent research on the religious demography of early modern England points to a Catholic population of between 1 and 2% of the whole in the latter part of the seventeenth century.³ But had one produced these figures to an angry "mobile" in the days of the "Popish" Plot and Exclusion Crisis around 1680, it would have been a very light argument when confronted with the reputation of power, influence and even witchcraft attached to that tiny, besieged population. Before the civil war, as Peter Marshall shows, the increase in the number of Jesuits in England (from 16 in 1598 to 193 in 1639) reveals at the same time some kind of toleration and a better sacramental provision for a more assertive community.⁴ As Hobbes also put it in *Leviathan*: "reputation of power is Power, because it draweth with it the adhaerence of those that need protection."⁵ In this very peculiar case, it may seem to work, but it works the other way around: because you have a reputation of

³ Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745. Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 2 and n7, sets their numbers at 60,000, referring to John Bossy, while Tim Harris, in *Restoration. Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660–1685* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 28, provides an estimation of 1.2% of the English population by mid-century.

⁴ Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642* (London: Arnold, 2003), 189.

⁵ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. 10, 132.

nefarious power, you draw the hostility of those who want to preserve their prosperity and power under their own government.⁶

Because of the specific status of English Catholics, the first set of resistance strategies examined will be religious, because the mode of repression and exclusion came from the State, the second set will be their political strategies, and because the imposition of Protestantism was done through a cultural revolution, the final area under consideration will be their cultural resistance, before raising questions about their political participation under James II as a form of resistance.

RELIGIOUS RESISTANCE

Religious attitudes to oppression are largely varied, ranging from violence to others and oneself to passive or active prayer. The missionaries and their supporters who were sentenced for high treason exposed their lives, the Gunpowder plotters targeted other people's lives, which led to effective loss of life and eventually exposed their own. The weapons of the Church are prayer and fasting (Matt. 17:20, Mark 9:28)⁷ so some chose to preserve the faith in secret at home, while others followed institutional forms of religious life privately or in monasteries and convents abroad.

As the editorial of the Leveller newsbook *The Moderate* reported in its issue on Charles I's execution, "not death, but the cause, makes the martyr."⁸ It was a way to cast discredit upon the king's demise in an atmosphere of mounting distrust at the Army grandees' doings. If we focus on the strategy and results of the Gunpowder plotters of 1605, we have a typical case of backfiring terrorism, which makes for an ironical joke with an anachronistic term.⁹ The plan targeting the royal family and the members of both Houses of Parliament overestimated the readiness of the mass of the English to support the accession of a foreign Catholic dynasty and the return to Catholicism as the only legal religion of England. The eventual success of the inculturation of Protestantism in the previous quarter of century had probably turned the plotters' expectations into pipe

⁶ Also see Marshall, *Reformation England*, 127, 163.

⁷ Biblical references are to the Douay-Rheims Bible, ed. Richard Challoner (London: Baronius Press, 2005). In the gospels, verse numbering may differ from standard numbering.

⁸ *The Moderate, Impartially Communicating Martial News to the Kingdom of England* (London: January 30 to February 6, 1649) sig. Gg r.

⁹ Antonia Fraser, in *The Gunpowder Plot. Terror and Faith in 1605* (London: Phoenix, 2002), justifies her use of this term, concerning the plotters, 124–125.

dreams.¹⁰ Among the efficient means to establish their own dynasty, Machiavelli's aspiring princes were advised to slaughter the whole ruling elite of the conquered city.¹¹ Here, had the powder blown up the Houses of Parliament, it would have been much more momentous: the ruler of the three kingdoms would have been killed with his heirs and with the hereditary and elected leaders of England.

The whole commonweal¹²—or the fabric of relationships weaving society together from the smallest parishes to the head of the kingdom—would have been hurt, and the only reaction to be expected would have been similar to the Elizabethan Bond of Association of 1583, binding the gentry into a quasi-republican covenant.¹³ Survival for individual Catholics as for their underground institutions would have been more than uncertain.

Others beyond the plotters were executed and some were later acknowledged by the Church as having suffered martyrdom: Brother Nicholas Owen, a Jesuit lay brother, was canonised in 1970, whereas the superior of the Society's English province, Father Garnet, was not, but neither were the plotters themselves. The difficulty for the Church, in Rome as within the English mission, was the breach of the doctrine of passive obedience by the plotters and their accomplices. For the Catholic Church, martyrdom must be accepted, not sought, and murder would imply performing evil so that a greater good might ensue: though they were accused of teaching such tenets, the Jesuits on the mission should not have given the impression that they sanctioned such strategies. Other men's lives, unconcerned or even hostile to the plot, were lost in the process, and many other people put in danger of their lives and liberty.

In the battle to maintain a living faith in the community, it was important to promote a national Catholic legacy in the age of protestantisation.

¹⁰ Marshall, *Reformation England*, 145–151.

¹¹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *De Principatibus/Le Prince*, ch. 8, ed. and trans. Jean-Louis Fournel and Jean-Claude Zancarini (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000), 92 (reference to the Italian text).

¹² Mark Knights, and Glenn Burgess, "Commonwealth: the Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword," *The Historical Journal* 54:3 (2011): 663–666.

¹³ Luc Borot, "Are Hobbes and Harrington's Commonwealths the End of the Renaissance Commonwealth?," in *The "Commonwealth" as Political Space in Late Renaissance England*, ed. Raffaella Santi, Samuel Zeitlin Garret, Myriam Isabelle Ducrocq, and Luc Borot (n.p.: Wolters Kluwer Italia, 2014), 57–63.

In his *English Martyrologe* (Douai, 1608), John Wilson dedicates his work to the Catholics of England. As he writes:

And though the thing itself needed none other Patrons then the glorious Saintes themselves ... I thought it most convenient, that YOW, whose hartes and myndes are firmly fixed in the honour and veneration of so glorious and elected wightes, and for the imbracing wherof yow daily suffer so great and many persecutions, should take upon yow this Protection, for whose comfort and consolation principally ... the same is published. I do not heere offer unto you any new thing ... but that which so many ages since, hath by a certaine inheritance, as it were, of your forfathers, descended still, by good right and title, unto yow, and shall heerafter unto your, and all posterity. ... I have heere gathered together, and restored unto yow againe, that which the iniury of tymes had violently taken from yow, and sought to abolish all memory therof: humbly presenting the same, as a duty of my love towards yow, & my dearest Countrey.¹⁴

The English Catholics are the fittest dedicatees of the work, Wilson suggests, because they themselves are martyrs. They are those whose spirits are turned towards these martyrs of yore and suffer for their “imbracing” of the faith of “your forfathers.” The English were deprived of their spiritual “inheritance” by the cultural revolution of the Reformation: Wilson roots the spiritual experience of the clandestine Catholics in a national lineage. The concluding words point to the author’s patriotism, when he and his intended readers were accused of being supporters of foreign powers. Interestingly, at the end of the book, after the usual tables enumerating the saints and his sources, Wilson appends a catalogue of English martyrs for the Catholic faith since Henry VIII up to 1608. This list covers sig. Aa to Aa8v°, and an un-paginated page was added to complete the martyrologe, to keep apace of the repression.¹⁵

In the face of repression, it must have been particularly uplifting to be described as a community of martyrs. The individual and collective

¹⁴John Wilson, *The English Martyrologe Conteyning a Summary of the Lives of the Glorious and Renowned Saintes of the Three Kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland* ([St-Omer], 1608), sig. *2r–v.

¹⁵As Alexandra Walsham explains, the locations of the new martyrs’ sufferings were becoming sites of pilgrimage and devotion, just as their martyrdoms were occasions for apostolic activity towards Catholics and others: *The Reformation of the Landscape. Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 221–231.

experience, so often clandestine, acquired a new meaning by the attribution of this status. The witnessing of the Catholics turned them into martyrs, therefore into saints ... a title that the “Godly sort” were going to take upon themselves in the Interregnum decade. As there had been a blessed remnant in the Israel of old, so the clandestine Catholics of England maintained the faith. As Alexandra Walsham and Peter Marshall both insist, the “nicodemism” or “Church papistry,” for which many were equally blamed by their Protestant neighbours and the Jesuits, can also be read as a message of continuity; they had always been present in the parish churches, and as they were reading their prayers in their Latin missals during Prayer-Book services, they quietly asserted their trust in the perpetuation of their faith.¹⁶

For the lay faithful, clandestine liturgies had been organized all over Scotland and England for decades by now, and special devotionals were printed, hand-copied and circulated in various forms.¹⁷ When places of worship could not be securely provided in private homes, nature could be turned into an alternative sanctuary, as Alexandra Walsham explains in *The Reformation of the Landscape*. She contends that “persecution and proscription compelled them to embrace the natural environment, alongside dismantled shrines and redundant churches, as an arena for individual devotion and collective worship.”¹⁸ Her book looks at the strategies deployed by clergy and laity to restore and maintain former shrines in natural spaces; they could also defy the authorities by organising pilgrimages to such centres as Saint Frideswide’s Holywell in Wales, which seems to have been in continuous use as a shrine in the years of interdiction.¹⁹ Clandestine worship relied on the occasional availability of priests on the mission, who, in turn, relied on continental foundations to be trained to the priesthood and on expert laity to stay alive and escape

¹⁶ Marshall, *Reformation England*, 185–186; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, 175.

¹⁷ The English Catholic community must have been the religious group for which the largest number of books was printed from the reign of Elizabeth to the start of the Long Parliament. Marshall, *Reformation England*, 189–190; A. F. Allison and D. M. Rodgers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640, vol. II: Works in English* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994). Its authors list 932 printed titles, of which 28 only clearly are translations, but of which many others may be unidentified translations.

¹⁸ Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, 155–156, see also 166.

¹⁹ Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, 196–198.

arrest.²⁰ The Easter obligations of yearly confession and communion were difficult to keep. For the rest, private devotion was a powerful means of remaining in the faith, as it was a spiritual substitute for the sacraments, sanctioned by the Church, though insufficient. Religious vocations, on the other hand, were more difficult, and far more dangerous, to realise.

As it involved the Church, religious life would have required a clear episcopal authority to sanction and oversee it—conditions that were not fulfilled. When institutional solutions were proposed, they could arouse crises within the missionary clergy, as during the Arch-priest Controversy.²¹ But as monastic life appeared in Egypt in the fourth century after the end of persecutions and as a substitute for martyrdom,²² martyrdom was never far from some religious vocations and organization attempts in the centuries of English recusancy.

The Welsh Benedictine monk Dom Augustine Baker (1575–1641) is a case in point. After his conversion, he travelled to Italy to be admitted into an Italian branch of the Benedictine order, and on returning to England in 1607, he was granted permission to stay in the same prison as the last surviving Benedictine of the English congregation, the nonagenarian Dom Sigebert Buckley, to receive from him the continuity of the congregation. Baker was thus introduced into the lineage of the congregation revived under Mary I, in the last moment of monastic life in England. He subsequently stayed in France and in the Spanish Flanders, where he was ordained a priest, and worked as chaplain and spiritual director to several feminine congregations of his order, not least that of Dame Gertrude More, the mystic whose works he edited and saw through the press.²³

Involved in several controversies concerning mystical theology in the European Church, but also within the English Benedictine order in exile, he was a major figure in the development of a properly English mystical lineage based on medieval figures such as Richard Rolle, Thomas Hilton, Julian of Norwich or the *Cloud of Unknowing*. One might have thought that he had been mobile enough for a member of an order which had

²⁰The methods and people are well documented. Antonia Fraser describes the operation of the Jesuits' network by the Vaux women (*The Gunpowder Plot*, 40–44).

²¹Sandra Jusdado-Mollmann, "L'Obéissance chez les catholiques anglais: la controverse sur l'Archiprêtre (1598–1603) ou la naissance d'un Catholicisme spécifiquement anglais" (Doctoral Dissertation, Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, 2005), 271–332.

²²Jacques Lacarrière, *Les Hommes ivres de Dieu* (Paris: Fayard, 1975), 21–47.

²³Augustine Baker, O.S.B., *The Life and Death of Dame Gertrude More*, ed. Ben Wekking (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 2002).

(and still has) stability among its vows, but he was sent off as a missionary to England at the age of 63, and died of an epidemic while ministering to Londoners in 1641, after escaping pursuivants for three years.²⁴

Baker's relationship to the continental Church was sometimes tense, as he got involved in the controversy on quietism while helping a female English community on whom Jesuit directors had been imposed, to receive another style of spiritual direction. The followers of Baker's approach to the spiritual life could feel that they were connecting back to a properly English spiritual lineage largely ignored on the Continent and denied by English authorities.

But as Laurence Sterritt's research shows, these exiled women were far from passive in the civil war and Interregnum decades. Like many members of the Catholic gentry, they sided with the royalist party. Several convents in Belgium and France provided safe caches for royalist agents, lent money, circulated correspondences during the Cromwellian years and also financially supported the exiled king Charles II. In all that, they were behaving very much like the spies that they and their fellow English and Scottish Catholics were expected to be, according to the British governments' propaganda north and south of the Borders. They were simply supporting the resistance at home with their prayers, their moneys and the circulation of intelligence. Some of their houses in Belgium, Northern France and Paris were the backyards of English resistance to Godly Rule and of English Catholic resistance to prohibition and repression.²⁵

Though religious life was difficult and dangerous in England itself, some Catholic women attempted to overcome this situation with radical innovation. When attempting to develop female Catholic education in England, they were defeated by both the Catholic hierarchy and the Protestant English establishment. Mary Ward, the foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was typical of the three dimensions of underground English Catholicism: first, she received a secluded recusant Yorkshire education, as her youth in a gentry household was decisive for her vocation. Second, she developed a radical sense of innovation in the face of the Protestant establishment. Third, her innovations met with

²⁴David Daniel Rees, "Baker, David (*name in religion* Augustine)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), article published online September 23, 2004, revised January 9, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1110>.

²⁵Laurence Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile, 1598–1688. Living Spirituality* (Manchester: MUP, 2017).

diffidence and hostility on the part of her own Church, due to the divisions of the English Catholic community between Jesuits and the secular clergy. This, as much as the clash between the principles of her projected Institute and the Tridentine rules of female religious life, led to the eventual prohibition of her order. She is representative of the most daring forms of female Catholic life in England, in that some of her religious and lay collaborators worked in English villages, educating and catechizing, sometimes gaining converts.²⁶

POLITICAL RESISTANCE

Without entering into the particulars of English Catholicism's confessional geopolitics, if one was to draw a map of English religious houses on the Continent, one would end with an illustrated network of their political allies—Spain and the Spanish Flanders, the Holy German Empire, Portugal, Bavaria, France and Italy. But the English Catholic presence in Europe did not necessarily reflect anti-English action on the part of English Catholics: indeed, the ambiguities of the Protestant English State allowed it to send Catholic envoys and ambassadors to Catholic countries. For instance, under the Protectorate, when the Quaker missionaries Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers landed in Malta in 1658, the English consul they dealt with, John Jacob Watts, was himself a Catholic, whose sister was a nun in one of the island's many convents.²⁷ Another case of political ambiguity is that of the convert-revert Sir Kenelm Digby, who worked in Rome with several cardinals, supported his exiled king but also seems to have worked for Oliver Cromwell.²⁸

The part played by the promotion of Catholics in the British kingdoms in the State negotiations between Louis XIV and the sons of Charles I was central. At the end of the century, after the Glorious Revolution and the deposition of James II, joining the Jacobite court and its military force in

²⁶L. Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

²⁷*A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings Undergone by Those Two Faithful Servants of God Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers. La Vicenda di due quacchere prigioniere dell'inquisizione di Malta*, ed. Stefano Villani (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2003), 26–30.

²⁸Anne-Laure Philippon-De Meyer, "Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665). Un Penseur à l'Âge du Baroque" (Doctoral Dissertation, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3, 2017), 64–65.

the army of the French king was a way of resistance which some Catholic residents of the three kingdoms occasionally chose.²⁹

In Rome, some Elizabethan exiles like Fr. Robert Persons had worked for their order, the Society of Jesus, and for their own vision of their country's future in the Faith. Travelling scholars and missionaries like the secular priest Thomas White (a.k.a. Blacklo) could cause embarrassment for other clergy and for their compatriots of the same faith at home and abroad, as they seemed ready to broker compromises with the Godly, regardless of the general attitude towards them in English society and of the orthodoxy of their faith (White was ready to deny papal infallibility and Purgatory, and disputed transubstantiation).³⁰ The papacy definitely had a suspicious and even censorious eye on those embarrassing English clergy—when he was established in Rome as an agent for the English secular clergy, White was in fact endeavouring the overthrow of Jesuit influence over the recusant clergy and laity of England.³¹

Exile, at least of the permanent sort, was not a solution for all, especially among the laity. In the English commonweal, a lord of manor inherited duties towards his freeholders and tenants, and he was connected by marriage to a circle of gentry families of local, regional or national standing. In spite of the repressive legal system against recusants, as Walsham and JUSDADO-MOLLMANN have shown, the financial incentives supposed to induce the betrayal of Catholic masters by their servants or neighbours did not work very well. It was not uncommon for Catholic families to be protected by their conforming neighbours and relatives. The strength of family ties in the production of the commonweal's web of relations partly explains this lack of efficiency (which, of course, was not universal).³² Some of the attempts from certain Catholic circles to obtain an improvement of their legal status in the kingdom were regularly thwarted by the very divisions of their community or by the country in general.

Between the 1580s and 1610, a group of secular priests known as the Appellants tried to dissociate themselves from the Jesuit mission who had powerful support in Rome, not least in the person of Robert Persons. The

²⁹ Glickman, *The English Catholic Community*, 90–113.

³⁰ De Meyer, "Sir Kenelm Digby," 576–577, 472–480.

³¹ Beverley Southgate, "White [*alias* Blacklo], Thomas (1592/3–1676)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), article published online September 23, 2004, revised September 28, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29274>; De Meyer, *op. cit.*, 528–531.

³² JUSDADO-MOLLMANN, "L'Obéissance," 122–130.

Appellants rejected the subordination of the mission to the Jesuits. The tensions described by Sandra Jurdado-Mollmann had to do with the pastoral management of the recusant legal and political status. Could the English Catholics practise equivocation by passively attending Anglican services as they were by law compelled, though attending mass and receiving the Catholic sacraments whenever a priest was available in the neighbourhood (i.e. keep an attitude of “Church Papists”), or should they fully, officially and visibly abstain from attending “schismatic” services, to the risk of losing their goods, liberty and life? The Jesuits on the English mission supported the latter attitude, not so the Appellants. When Rome wanted to reorganise the mission under the Jesuits, some members of the secular clergy appealed from it to Rome.³³

Later, the Appellants also attempted to persuade James I, in spite of the Gunpowder plot, that his Catholic subjects were loyal and that their leadership of the community would benefit his power and rid him (and them) of the Society of Jesus. Though lawyers for the Crown and clergy of the established Church of England discussed some of these matters with the Appellants, both their appeal to Rome and their attempts at conciliation in England were to fail, until the Archpriest system collapsed and vicars apostolic were introduced.³⁴

Later on, during the civil war and Interregnum, the position of Digby’s friend Thomas White went as far as revising the doctrine of the Church on some points, something which the Appellants had never done. But in the same spirit as the latter, Digby tried to rephrase James I’s Oath of Allegiance to make it compatible with their loyal view of the English Catholic community, though he does not seem to have followed White on doctrinal deviation.³⁵

While “Blacklo” and Digby were busy arguing with Rome and the Godly, and even before that, the massively loyalist Catholic gentry had sided with the king in the civil wars of the 1640s. Many failed to take up arms, but those who did massively went over to the king’s side, and let it be known.³⁶ It is clear that Charles II was aware of it and had no objections

³³ Jurdado-Mollmann, “L’Obéissance,” 429–479.

³⁴ Jurdado-Mollmann, “L’Obéissance,” 610–42; Marshall, *Reformation England*, 188.

³⁵ De Meyer, “Sir Kenelm Digby,” 525–537.

³⁶ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 165–166. As De Meyer shows, in 1645 and 1647 Digby was working for Queen Henrietta Maria, trying to negotiate papal subsidies and plead the cause of the English clergy (De Meyer, “Sir Kenelm Digby,” 60–61).

on his return to facilitating the life of his Catholic subjects. As seen previously, Catholic convents on the Continent were nodes of the network of royalist funding and spying, but some were also involved in conspiracies against the Protector. Though much trouble came to them during the Protectorate, some pockets of tacit toleration emerged, that were lost in a few years at the Restoration, in spite of the king's efforts against his own parliamentary supporters.

CULTURAL RESISTANCE

Much of the English Catholic experience of discrimination was based on cultural constructions. Representations of them were all negative, and the development of the Established Church was intended to crush the memory of the religious culture and experience that Catholics were endeavouring to maintain. Though they were suspected of being foreign agents, one rather ought to look on them as cosmopolitan English people turned towards Europe as a source of support and as a place of cultural regeneration.

In the bibliography of Allison and Rodgers covering recusant publications in England and on the Continent, one is struck by the amount of translations produced for the English Catholic community. To cater to their spiritual needs, they were bound to turn to cultures that were foreign by the nationality of their authors, but Catholic in both the confessional and the philosophical senses: universal and, as their enemies put it, "Popish." No less than 22 clandestine Catholic presses were operating in England, and many others on the Continent. False imprints were commonly used in order to conceal the origin of England-printed works.³⁷

While the ideological construct of English insularity was a-building, English and other Briton Catholics had a deeper connection to the cultures of Europe than any others in their nations, excepted for the higher reaches of noble society and the nascent literary profession. From another—yet connected—point of view, the debate on whether there was such a thing as an English baroque could be seen as the debunking of a literary style associated with the Continental Counter-Reformation, perceived in its essence as anti-English.³⁸

³⁷ Allison and Rodgers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature*, 225.

³⁸ De Meyer, "Kenelm Digby," 11–27.

With his *Treatise of the Three Conversions of England*, Father Robert Persons published an overlong attack on John Foxe's project to reform the sanctoral of the English liturgical calendar, while trying to prove that the conversions of England had always (and would again) come from outside, that is, from Rome. He was fighting a culture war against the reforming drive sponsored by the "Jacobethan" establishment.³⁹ Ambiguously, he insists at the same time on the deep English roots of Catholicism and on the external origin of the kingdom's evangelisation.⁴⁰

The importance of education in the religious project of Mary Ward has been mentioned above. Her unfairly satirised female missionaries were expected to teach in private homes, secret schools, and to catechise as they were teaching basic or advanced literacy. Yet before her time, the supporter of Father Henry Garnet, Anne Vaux, maintained a school on her estate of Stanley Grange in Derbyshire, which became a node on the Jesuits' network.⁴¹ Having to travel to the Continent to receive a properly Catholic advanced education was costly and dangerous, whether the men concerned intended or not to become priests. However, for the survival of the faith, it was a major issue in the cultural wars Catholics were waging at home.

When irrationality prevails and collective panics tainted with some kind of conspiracy mentality were raging, as during the lunacy of the so-called Popish Plot, survival required discretion or temporary exile. The dozens of executions on evidence fabricated by Titus Oates and Israel Tongue were an invitation to go into hiding.⁴² Though king Charles II had secretly committed himself to advancing the cause of Catholicism and making his own conversion public in return for French subsidies at the treaty of Dover in 1670, there was no evidence that English society was ready to condone with it.⁴³

Whence the cultural uncertainties of English Protestants? There may be no other explanation to the late seventeenth-century anti-Catholic hysteria but identity panics. Confessional demographics belied the potential of

³⁹This term is borrowed from Peter Marshall, *Reformation England*, 127.

⁴⁰Robert Persons, *A Treatise of the Three Conversions of England* ([Saint-Omer]: François Bellet, 1603–1604).

⁴¹Mark Nicholls, "Vaux, Anne (baptised 1562–1637)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), article published online September 23, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28159>.

⁴²Harris, *Restoration England*, 136–139,

⁴³Harris, *Restoration England*, 71, 407.

Catholic domination in English society, but this piece of “intelligence,” had it been available at the time and had it been publicised, would have failed to convince Protestants that there was safety in their own numbers. By 1687, they could see that the institutional promotion of Catholics through the king’s powers of dispensation put some of the major levers of justice and war in the hands of enemies of their established religion, thereby jeopardising the unbreakable connection between the Crown and the State. Institutional power and some kind of cultural ascendancy derived from it, added to the influence of the superpower of the day across the Channel, constituted a major threat that had to be crushed.

But if we now turn to the motivations of Catholics of old standing or of more recent conversion (sometimes not devoid of opportunistic considerations for serving James II), it may appear that there must have been a strange compound of attitudes justifying their political commitment behind him.⁴⁴ They may have believed that there is safety in high places: when one knows that culture and society are against one for irrational reasons, the closer one gets to power, the safer one may feel. Revenge must have been another potent motive—having their own back, politically and culturally. Restoration of the One True Faith according to the French absolutist Gallican model would have been appealing. In short, joining forces with this new king of their own faith must have seemed a form of active resistance from above, after one century and a half of underground resistance.⁴⁵ The failure of this strategy owes as much to their deluded ambitions as to the utter political inability of their king.

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⁴⁴ Glickman, *The English Catholic Community*, 40–43.

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CHAPTER 3

Anti-Popery in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: A Scottish Catholic Perspective

Clotilde Prunier

Sectarianism is routinely linked to Irish Catholics' settling in the west of Scotland from the late eighteenth century on, conveying the impression that Catholicism in Scotland is ultimately a legacy of Irish immigration. In fact, a native Catholic community subsisted in Scotland after the Reformation. Until the 1970s, however, attempts at writing off native Catholics from the Scottish national narrative were largely successful. Still, there has been in the last forty years a growing body of historical studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish Catholics.¹

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¹See, for instance, Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland 1789–1829* (Edinburgh: John MacDonald, 1983); Daniel Szechi, “Defending the True Faith: Kirk, State and Catholic Missioners in Scotland 1653–1755,” *Catholic Historical*

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It is estimated that the number of Catholics actually decreased from 50,000 at the time of the Glorious Revolution to 30,000 in 1779 when they accounted for roughly 2% of the population. Those figures do not tell the whole story, though. Catholics were few and far between in the Lowlands, except in the North East (mainly in the Enzie), in Aberdeen and in Edinburgh. On the other hand, they evenly shared large tracts of the Highlands with Protestants, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians, and they formed the bulk of the population in the aptly named Popish Bounds in the Western Highlands and in islands such as South Uist and Barra.

On the death of the 2nd Duke of Gordon in 1728, his widow decided that their children should be brought up in her Episcopalian faith so that by the mid-eighteenth century, the Earl of Traquair was the only Scottish Catholic noble. There were very few gentry besides, and the Scottish Catholic community consisted mainly of humble people with very limited access to persons of means and influence. This description also fitted the bulk of the Scottish Catholic clergy, though the hierarchy—that is to say the two Vicars Apostolic and their coadjutors—could rely on their English counterparts and the “foreign ambassadors” in London to plead their cause with the powers that be.

Between 1560 and 1700, institutional anti-Catholicism was embodied in a series of penal laws passed by the Scottish Parliament. In August 1560, not only was the authority of the Pope abolished in Scotland, but also the saying and/or hearing of mass became an offence punishable by the “confiscation of all [the] goods” of the offenders, banishment and eventually death on the third offence.² As a result of the cumulative effect of the successive penal laws passed by the Scottish Parliament, Catholics were debarred not only from holding public office, as may be expected, but also from a number of other occupations—they could not be “employed in the education of youth” in any way, nor could they be servants in Protestant

Review 82 (1996): 397–411, James MacMillan, “Mission accomplished? The Catholic underground,” in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, ed. T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 90–105, and Clotilde Prunier, *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004).

²“The heads of acts made in the pretended parliament in August 1560,” in *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K. M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007–2017), thereafter RPS, <http://www.rps.ac.uk/> (accessed November 25, 2019). In fact, that Act was only ratified by the Parliament of Scotland when it passed legislation “concerning the abolition of the mass and the punishment of all that hears or says the same” in December 1567.

households. The law provided for the removal of Catholic children from their parents and for their upbringing by Protestant relatives or by any other person appointed by the Lord Advocate, the expenses of their upkeep being borne by their parents. Further, the 1700 Act for Preventing the Growth of Popery prohibited Catholics from purchasing, selling or inheriting immovable property. Instead, whatever property they were heir to was to be passed on to the next Protestant heir “who would [have succeeded] if they and all the intervening popish heirs [had been] naturally dead,” which was a strong incentive for Scottish Catholic nobility to convert to Protestantism. Fines were attached to all offences and rewards promised to priest-catchers.³ As a matter of fact, the laws passed by the Scottish Parliament in the seventeenth century against Catholics living in Scotland seemed to contradict an Act of 1581 which banned all Catholics from Scotland unless they subscribed to the 1560 Confession of Faith.⁴ In the aftermath of the Revolution of 1689, and further still after the ’45 Rebellion, their alleged Jacobitism seemed to render Scottish Catholics more obnoxious to the State or, at any rate, to local government.

I would like to suggest that in spite of the British Parliament’s failure to pass a Relief Act for Scotland in 1779, by that time Catholics had secured a place for themselves in Scottish society. My contention is that such social recognition was partly the result of the strategic distinction drawn by Scottish Catholics between fanatical Presbyterians whose anti-Catholicism was but persecution under another name and a supposedly benign State which did not enforce the existing penal laws on mere religious grounds and eventually could no longer condone such persecution. This chapter will elaborate on two separate outbreaks of anti-Catholicism. First, the ten years or so after the battle of Culloden (1746); throughout that period, the Western and Eastern Highlands were under military occupation and a number of priest-catchers took advantage of the existing laws to get rewards for securing the arrest of priests. Second, the debate on the Repeal of the penal laws in 1778–1779, when opposition to the Relief Bill for

³ See, for instance, RPS, Act against Jesuits, seminary priests and their resettlers, June 5, 1592; an act regarding the children of noblemen and others remaining in seminaries of popish religion beyond sea and against Jesuits, mass priests, November 1, 1625; Act against papists and priests etc., February 1, 1661; Act discharging popish persons to prejudice their Protestant heirs in succession, July 11, 1695; Act anent Protestant servants in popish families, October 9, 1696; Act for preventing the Growth of Popery, November 23, 1700.

⁴ RPS, Act against fugitives and other papists practising against the true religion, October 27, 1581.

Scottish Catholics culminated in riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Catholics were physically assaulted and their property, such as Bishop George Hay's new house and chapel in Edinburgh, were burnt down.

This chapter is mostly based on manuscript sources which offer us invaluable insight into the Scottish Catholics' assessment of the treatment meted out to them by their Protestant countrymen.⁵ Unfortunately, there is very little material extant written by eighteenth-century lay Catholics—except for James Gordon of Glastirum, a member of the north-east gentry, and for John Macdonald of Glenaladale, who enabled the South Uist Catholics to emigrate to Saint John (present-day Prince Edward Island), all authors quoted were either priests or bishops and this surely must have a bearing on their writings.

The words “anti-Catholicism” and “anti-Popery” never occur as such in Scottish Catholic correspondence. Rather, authors made extensive use of the word “persecution” when they described the “opposition to Popery” or the “defence of the Protestant interest” they came up against. When in 1754 William Reid's brother was faced with his Protestant father-in-law's demanding to have the responsibility for his grandchildren's upbringing in the Protestant religion, the priest exclaimed:

This is a persecution unprecedented in all former ages, never was there any instance thereof in all the most barbarous nations, unless perhaps the cruel persecution of the Israelites by the Egyptians; and even then the Male Children only suffered, whereas the other Sex here is not spared.⁶

The most powerful weapon to be wielded against Catholics, then, was the legal arsenal enacted by the Scottish parliament. Presbyterians argued that the penal laws emanated from the State and therefore were not of a religious nature as such. Moreover, they contended that the laws were preventive insofar as the State had been compelled to protect itself from the attacks of Catholics, whether potential or real. Presbyterians made the most of the assumption that all Catholics were Jacobites bent on putting

⁵ Some memorials might not have been sent in the end as I have not been able to trace all these documents in other collections (for instance, in the papers of the Lord Advocate).

⁶ Scottish Catholic Archives, Blairs Letters, thereafter SCA, BL, William Reid to Alexander Smith, November 20, 1754. Regrettably, the archives painstakingly gathered by successive Keepers at Columba House (Edinburgh) have been dispersed. The “Blairs Letters” as well as the “Scottish Mission” and “Bishops” collections are now part of the Special Collections of Aberdeen University Library.

a Stuart back on the throne in order to restore the Catholic faith to its previous standing in Scotland. As a result, Catholic clergymen were prime targets in the backlash which ensued the battle of Culloden. The military occupation of the Highlands and of the north-east lasted well into the 1750s, and according to William Duthy, who was stationed at Scalan, priests “live[d] in continual fear” of a search.⁷ Some of them were indeed seized and imprisoned; others, such as Bishop Hugh MacDonald, the Vicar Apostolic for the Highlands, had to go in hiding for over a year.

When at the height of the storm the Duchess of Norfolk attempted in 1754 to plead the cause of Scottish Catholic clergy in London, her application was met with the answer that:

Labourers [i.e. priests] ... were in general much disaffected, and as they were clanish, and related to heads of Clans, they had great influence over the common people, excited them and inspired them with anteconstitutionall notions.

On the Duchess of Norfolk’s insisting these were “wrong notions,” she was given assurances Scottish priests would no longer be molested if they “behav[ed] with prudence & discretion.”⁸

Catholics maintained that those notions were instilled by Presbyterian ministers intent on convincing the government that the penal laws were necessary to avert the “Popish threat” to the Hanoverian dynasty. In the aftermath of the ’45, Catholics time and again challenged the “false accusations” and “calumnies” of their enemies. The Vicar Apostolic for the Highlands, Hugh MacDonald, who had been compelled to leave his station (and the West Highlands altogether) put down his situation to “false information” that had been given to government that “he had been listing men for the french service.”⁹ He further remonstrated against the “malice of Presb: ministers who pretend their [sic] can be no peace where there is any Laborer especially if they be of suspected Clans.”¹⁰

In 1754, in one of his contributions to a Memorial on persecution that was being drafted, William Reid lamented the arrest of a young priest, Alexander MacDonald, who had just returned from the continent:

⁷SCA, BL: William Duthy to Alexander Smith, November 11, 1753.

⁸SCA, BL: Charles Howard to Alexander Smith [1754].

⁹SCA, BL: Hugh MacDonald to Peter Grant, October 30, 1753.

¹⁰SCA, BL: Hugh MacDonald to Peter Grant, May 9, 1755.

Let the world Judge if such a man be very capable to disturb the Government, which is the general and only topick the presbyterian ministers make use of to spirit up those in Authority against our Churchmen in the Highlands and especially against Mr Dianen V: A: whom they then most maliciously represent as fomenting Rebellion, whereas he is certainly a very peaceable man, and averse from all such practises ... all this is nothing else but trick and a mere Stratageme of our Adversarys to render us odious and exasperate the Government against us.¹¹

During the debate over the repeal of the penal laws in 1778–1779, Catholics were still suspected of Jacobitism, to the great annoyance of William Reid, now an elderly priest in Aberdeen. He found fault with the proposed oath, because it implied Catholics might still support the Stuart cause:

as all RC in Scotland born since 46 know nothing about Jacobitism, more than the change of one Indian nabob for another, and consequently have no tincture of it, it seems quite unnecessary to make mention of it in the oath.

At the same time, he acknowledged that a number of Catholics had been active supporters of the Stuarts in the past, reflecting that it was “some-what hard to exact of all R: C: in Scotland a lasting and perpetual Stigma for the faults of their fore-Fathers.”¹² As for John MacDonald of Glenaladale, he contended in 1782 that whatever Catholic opposition there might have existed against the State was the direct result of the penal laws, which proved how counter-productive they had been and still were as the attempt at repeal had failed.

If any of the Plots & Conspiracies with which we have been charged, these two hundred years past, ever really existed, what are they to be attributed to but to the natural exertions to be free of Men disfranchised of the Constitution formed by their Progenitors, & for which they had bled in every age, calumniated & tormented in every feeling, & pointed out by the Laws to be hunted down by every mean wretch, & to be rob'd Of every Right Liberty & Property to which God, Nature & Society intitle Man? This has laid us at all times open to be tampered with by the hopes of priviledges from foreign & domestic Enemies of the Constitution, for what is that

¹¹ SCA, BL: William Reid to Alexander Smith, November 20, 1754. “Mr Dianen” was one of the aliases of Hugh MacDonald, who was titular Bishop of Diana.

¹² SCA, BL: William Reid to George Hay, October 1, 1778.

Constitution to us, who while we see others protected & blest under its Influence, derive no other Advantage from it, but every Species of Scourge.¹³

While they emphasised the political nature of the penal laws, Presbyterians also hinted that these laws were necessary in order to guard against the persecuting spirit of Catholicism. They advanced classic examples such as the Spanish Inquisition, the reign of Bloody Mary or the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1777, John Farquharson who had studied at the Scots College, Douai, wrote to John Geddes, then Rector of the Scots College at Valladolid:

I own indeed I'm not fond of the spirit of persecuting in order to gain Proselytes, & I wish some milder means, of crushing Heresies could be invented, for I'm told that our Protestants at Home make an unmercifull handle of that argument in order to debar us from a toleration in britain.¹⁴

Two years later, in the wake of the Edinburgh and Glasgow riots and the opposition of some Presbyterian ministers to the repeal of the penal laws in Scotland, James Gordon of Glastirum wrote to Geddes, who was still staying in Spain: "I should be sorrie if it had any effect on the Catholick Powers on the Continent as I hate Persecution and all its abettors."¹⁵ In 1789, John Chisholm penned an answer to a letter from a minister who had taken him to task for supposedly converting a Protestant on his deathbed:

You seem to hint, we have a principle of persecution in our Religion I deny the existence of such a principle ... I deny that my Conduct has given the Smallest Grounds to believe that I ever would be guilty of persecution, were *the Tables* as You say *revers'd*.¹⁶

The irony of the situation was not lost on John Chisholm, who stood accused of favouring persecution at a time when the penal laws, which gave Presbyterians the means to do exactly this, subsisted because

¹³SCA, BL: John MacDonald of Glenaladale to John Geddes, July 21, 1782.

¹⁴Royal Scots College, Valladolid (now Salamanca), thereafter RSC: John Farquharson to John Geddes, October 16, 1777.

¹⁵RSC: James Gordon of Glastirum to John Geddes, June 8, 1779.

¹⁶SCA, BL: John Chisholm to Malcolm Nicolson, May 15, 1789.

Protestants had opposed the relief the British parliament had been prepared to grant them.

Long before 1778, Scottish Catholics had asserted in private correspondence, but also in memorials addressed to the powers that be, that the British government was not inclined to persecute anyone for conscience's sake, which is why it was so essential for them to get rid of the imputation that they were tainted with Jacobitism. Once they had cleared themselves of that accusation, Catholics expected government to be lenient. In 1754, Alexander MacDonald, who had been jailed in Edinburgh, petitioned the Lord Advocate to be "admitt[ed] to Bail for his appearance to stand Trial."¹⁷ He was suspected of Jacobitism, but MacDonald insisted that he "resided peaceably amongst his Relations in the Western Isles without giving the least offence to the Government" and therefore had committed "no oy^r Crime or Offence than the bare profession of Religious Principles discountenanced by Law."¹⁸ In an account Smith received of the Duchess of Norfolk's endeavours on behalf of Scottish Catholics, he was informed that Alexander MacDonald would "be brought to no tryall."¹⁹ However, Catholics argued that in spite of the indulgence bestowed on them by the government, they were left at the mercy of their Presbyterian rivals. The penal laws were repeatedly described as a sword in the hands of Presbyterians who wielded it to nullify the tolerance seemingly extended to Catholics by the British State so that ultimately the penal laws pitched Catholics against Presbyterians, rather than the State, insofar as the Catholics did not find fault with the State but rather laid the blame for the penal laws and whatever effect they might have at the door of the Presbyterians. When Catholics pleaded for the penal laws to be repealed in the 1770s, they insisted that relief was indispensable if Catholics were to be protected, not from a benign British State, but from the "fury" or "zeal" of Presbyterians.

There was no love lost, to say the least, between Scottish Catholics and the heirs to Calvin and Knox. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, and most particularly in the context of the debate on repeal in 1778–1779, they were virulent in their attacks on "fanatical"

¹⁷ SCA, Scottish Mission: SM4/11/15, Alexander MacDonald, Scroll petition in favour of Mr. Alexander McDonald to the right honourable Robert Dundas of Arniston Esq. his Majesty's Advocate, November 23, 1754.

¹⁸ SCA, Scottish Mission: SM4/11/15, Alexander MacDonald, Scroll petition in favour of Mr. Alexander McDonald to the right honourable Robert Dundas of Arniston Esq. his Majesty's Advocate, November 23, 1754.

¹⁹ SCA, BL: Charles Howard to Alexander Smith [1754].

Presbyterians, whether they lived in the sixteenth, the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. In March 1779, on hearing of the riots that had taken place in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Thomas Kennedy, a Scottish Benedictine monk living in Munich, wrote to his Abbot at Ratisbon: ‘I never expected better of our mad Scots, who have been, are, and will remain outrageous Fanaticks.’²⁰ About the same time, John Geddes, the Rector of the Scots College at Valladolid, who was soon to return to Scotland to become the coadjutor for the Lowland District, wrote an “Apology for the Catholicks of Scotland.” Geddes had helped William Robertson with Spanish material for his *History of America*, translated entire chapters of the *Wealth of Nations* into Spanish only a matter of months after it was first published and once he returned to Scotland in the early 1780s became a familiar face in Edinburgh Enlightenment circles, authoring articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In his “Apology,” Geddes first called to mind “the Rebellion of Knox” and “the fanatical madness” which “raged among our Ancestors” and then commented that on reading the pamphlets published against the repeal of the penal laws in 1778–1779 one “would have almost been tempted to imagine himself removed back to the memorable Days of John Knox’s Apostleship, or the year 1638.”²¹

It was not overly difficult for Catholics to adduce evidence in support of their claim that persecution was part of the Presbyterians’ DNA so to speak. In the ten years that followed the battle of Culloden, priests consistently condemned Presbyterians for “exasperating” the government against them. In 1784 still, Alexander MacDonald, the Vicar Apostolic for the Highlands, recounted to Geddes the tensions that had erupted in Ardnamurchan between the local priest and the Presbyterian minister, incensed at what he considered an encroachment on his territory. Alexander MacDonald wrote tongue-in-cheek:

[the minister] then makes a display in his letter of his mild & tolerant disposition, by giving us to understand that he has no pleasure in persecution ... And concludes thus: ... You know well Sir tho’ you have never yet experienced it from me that the laws of the nation hang over your heads unrepeal’d as yet.²²

²⁰ Bischöfliche Zentralarchiv Regensburg, Archiv des Schottenklosters St. Jakob: BZR 28, Thomas Kennedy to Benedict Arbuthnot, March 14, 1779.

²¹ SCA, Bishops: John Geddes, B/2/2/9, John Geddes, *An Apology for the Catholicks of Scotland*, 7.

²² SCA, BL: Alexander MacDonald to John Geddes, April 3, 1784.

Catholics were also quick to force Presbyterians to face their apparent contradictions. The 1754 memorial on persecution represented that it was “inconsistent [sic] with Protestant Principles to tyrannize over tender Consciences.”²³ In his “Humble Remonstrance” addressed to Presbyterian ministers in 1778, Bishop Hay, coadjutor to the Lowland District, expressed his disappointment at their attempting to derail the repeal of the Scottish penal laws: “you of the Calvinian System have always testified a particular abhorrence of persecution for the sake of conscience, and often bitterly exclaimed against the intolerantism of prelacy.”²⁴ When in 1777, the Presbytery of Lochcarron made a formal complaint to the Lord Advocate about Protestants being converted to Catholicism in the parish of Kintail, the Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands wrote to Bishop Hay:

What then do these children of the Reformation require of us, those preachers of private judgement in matters of Religion? If any one puts the question, must we not answer? If they ask the reasons of our belief, must we not tell those reasons that convince us? And if these reason [sic] convince them must we dissuade them?²⁵

He went on to lambast the Presbytery for threatening Catholics with the penal laws merely for exercising their right to private judgment:

Is not this persecution, inquisition &c? Are we not to Share in the common benefit of the use of our private judgement and all who come over to us, this being the common right of Mankind?²⁶

Interestingly enough, Bishop Hay also mentioned the Inquisition in his “Humble Remonstrance.” He castigated Presbyterians for allowing everyone “to think, to say, to write, to publish every novelty, every paradox, every impiety that comes in their head while the law [was] only against [Catholics]” and further scolded them for their active opposition to repeal from the pulpit:

²³ SCA, Scottish Mission: SM4/11/16, Memorial on the Persecution of Catholics, 1754.

²⁴ SCA, Scottish Mission: SM4/17/14, George Hay, *The Humble Remonstrance of Roman Catholics* [1778].

²⁵ SCA, BL: John MacDonald to George Hay, September 15, 1777.

²⁶ SCA, BL: John MacDonald to George Hay, September 15, 1777.

preach against us, and persecute us at the same time, is not only cruel, but absurd. One of them is enough, in all conscience: for where is the honour of insulting a prostrated foe? ... The Inquisition, bloody as it be, acts not quite so inconsistently as this. It only burns it's hapless victims!²⁷

While Catholics berated Presbyterians for their “fanaticism” and “zeal,” they also insisted that they were willing to suffer on account of their religion. In the pastoral letter he wrote to his flock in the wake of the riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Bishop Hay put them in mind that

it was by persecutions and trials that the greatest saints arrived at their crown; and who knows what the divine goodness may have in store for us? Let us only imitate the sacred example they have left us amidst their fiery trials; and this persecution, like theirs, shall undoubtedly, through the mercies of our God, turn out to his greater glory and our greater good.²⁸

Persecution “served to rivet Catholics in their (religious) principles”²⁹ and John MacDonald of Glenaladale praised the people in South Uist faced with their landlord’s repeated attempts to convert them to Protestantism for their “noble Invincible [sic] Constancy in Religion, worthy the primitive Ages.”³⁰

Scottish Catholic clergy also hoped persecution would eventually be a means of increasing the number of Catholics. In one of his drafts of the memorial on the persecution of Catholics written in 1754, Bishop Smith unambiguously asserted that:

psecuon for Religin far from answering t. intended designs, rather produced a quite ctrary effect, that as t. Israelites encreasd under t. oppression of Egpt & as t. Blood of t. primitive martyrs became t. Seed of more Xians, so did the Blood that was shed for t. Faith in later ages.³¹

²⁷ SCA, BL: George Hay, *The Humble Remonstrance of Roman Catholics*, 1778.

²⁸ George Hay, *Pastoral letter from the Bishop of Daulis to his flock on occasion of a persecution being raised against them*, February 8, 1779 (Edinburgh, 1779). Reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* 41 (1779): 63.

²⁹ SCA, BL: George Hay to Peter Grant, May 22, 1771.

³⁰ SCA, BL: John MacDonald of Glenaladale to George Hay, November 8, 1771.

³¹ SCA, BL: Alexander Smith, draft of a memorial on persecution, 1754. “Persecution for Religion far from answering the intended designs, rather produced a quite contrary effect, that as the Israelites increased under the oppression of Egypt & as the Blood of the primitive

In June 1779, Robert Grant, the rector of the Scots College, Douai, wrote to Bishop Hay trying to reassure him on the outlook for Catholics in Scotland:

a hunderd years ago the number of Cath in the city of Dublin did not exceed 8000, at present the number amounts to upwards of eighty thousand, and surely no people ever suffered more than they did.³²

That belief in the potential increase of the number of Scottish Catholics was pivotal as it allowed Catholics to contemplate a Scotland in which they would no longer be treated as aliens. Ultimately, anti-Popery was an element in the debate on Scottish national identity.

Presbyterians would have both the Scots and the world believe that Scotland was essentially Protestant. In order to fulfil their aim, they had to make sure the Catholic Church no longer had any footing in Scotland and they seemed to have made great progress by the mid-eighteenth century as there was only a small Catholic remnant left. The penal laws, and the power they gave to Protestants over Catholics, were meant to ensure Catholics had no legal title to live in Scotland. On at least two occasions, faced with persecution, Catholics contemplated emigrating. In 1770, Colin MacDonald of Boisdale, a recent convert to Protestantism, set about forcibly converting all his tenants in South Uist. John MacDonald of Glenaladale organised the emigration of a few hundreds of them to St John in close collaboration with the local priests and bishops. Though they lamented the move, the Catholic hierarchy saw it as the only means to save the souls of Boisdale's tenants. In the aftermath of the failure of the British parliament to grant relief to Scottish Catholics, Bishop Hay floated the idea that Scottish Catholics should emigrate *en masse* to Spain and asked John Geddes in Valladolid to test the water. In a very long answer, Geddes gave his reasons why he thought the scheme "pernicious." His native country should not be reduced "to the deplorable state of a Sweden or Denmark where a Missionary can get no Footing" and it was therefore crucial that "the good Leaven ... remain in the Country; it [would] by Degrees, with God's Blessing, ferment the *whole* Mass."³³ Though Geddes

martyrs became the Seed of more Xians, so did the Blood that was shed for the Faith in later ages."

³² SCA, BL: Robert Grant to George Hay, June 21, 1779.

³³ SCA, BL: John Geddes to George Hay, July 5, 1779.

accepted that he was “at a distance” and did not have to suffer persecution, he could not bring himself to “leave Heresy triumphant” in Scotland:

[Emigrating] would be indeed giving our Adversaries the Victory with a Witness; it would be encouraging them to persecute and harass us still more, as they would certainly conclude that that would be the best Method to get soon free of us; and free of Popery for ever ... It would ... extirpate Religion out of our Country, and shut the Door to its future Conversion.³⁴

Geddes was genuinely confident that Scotland would eventually revert to the Catholic faith—he made references to it on a number of occasions. But he was also aware of the changed circumstances of Scotland, now no longer an independent kingdom, just as Bishop Smith had been twenty-five years earlier. In his 1754 draft memorial on persecution, Smith contended that contrary to England where hundreds of recusants had been put to death, no Catholic had suffered such a fate in Scotland in the past. However, it was now the Scottish Catholics’ turn to be persecuted while English Catholics lived peaceably and he could not come to terms with such a reversal of situation:

Is it not then a sad matter, is it not a shame & disgrace that Scotsmen shd degenerate so much from t. moderate disposons of their forefathers? is this one of t. advtages of t. Union to espouse t. antiquatd vics fashions of t. English, after they themselves have forsaken them?³⁵

When Bishop Hay first let him know of the British government’s scheme to grant relief to Scottish Catholics, John Geddes wrote to the Scots Agent at Rome, Peter Grant: “I always loved Britain; but I feel now a greater liking to it than ever.”³⁶ He was sorely disappointed in his expectations and in his “Apology for the Catholicks of Scotland,” he condemned the riots and more generally the anti-Repeal campaign, which were “a Stain on [Scotland].” He deplored that:

³⁴ SCA, BL: John Geddes to George Hay, July 5, 1779.

³⁵ SCA, BL: Alexander Smith, draft of a memorial on persecution, 1754. “Is it not then a sad matter, is it not a shame & disgrace that Scotsmen should degenerate so much from the moderate dispositions of their forefathers? Is this one of the advantages of the Union to espouse the antiquated vicious fashions of the English, after they themselves have forsaken them?”

³⁶ SCA, BL: John Geddes to Peter Grant, October 3, 1778.

there were still in North Britain considerable Remains of the old Narrowness of Mind and Enthusiasm. Many of a more satirical Disposition did not spare us [i.e. Scots]: but exposed us freely to the most bitter Ridicule and Censure: so that one was often almost ashamed of the very Name of a Scotchman.³⁷

There were two aspects to the events that unfolded throughout 1778–1779. On the one hand, the Relief controversy put to the fore the rift that had opened up between Moderates and Evangelicals within and outwith the Kirk. Indeed, the violent campaign against the official toleration of Catholics in Scotland occurred in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment, that is at a time when, as Geddes highlighted, Scotland was represented

as a Nation, in which a generous, humane, liberal way of thinking was very common: the Writings of our excellent Historians and Philosophers, read and admired wherever true Knowledge is valued, had gained us the esteem of all the learned abroad.³⁸

Though prominent Moderate figures, such as the historian William Robertson, who happened to be the Moderator of the General Assembly in 1778, had supported the repeal of the penal laws, a number of Evangelicals, claiming to defend the “true” Protestant interest, had openly participated in the ferment against Catholics. In the early stages of the dialogue between Scottish Catholics and the British government, William Reid offered his opinion that “tho’ the R: C:s in Scotland have no reason to dread any trouble from our mitigated Presbyterians,” it went otherwise with the Seceders.³⁹ He was proven right insofar as moderate Presbyterians were concerned. John Reid, his nephew, who was then stationed in the Enzie, wrote to Bishop Hay in February 1779: “the Ministers are preaching publickly against Persecution, and lamenting the blind zeal of some of their Bretheren.”⁴⁰ The rise of the Evangelicals within the Kirk was made more conspicuous by the campaign against Relief, with ministers such as

³⁷ SCA, Bishops: John Geddes, B/2/2/9, John Geddes, *An Apology for the Catholics of Scotland*, 8.

³⁸ Geddes, *Apology*, 3–4.

³⁹ SCA, BL: William Reid to George Hay, October 1, 1778.

⁴⁰ SCA, BL: John Reid to George Hay, February 12, 1779.

John Erskine taking on a prominent role.⁴¹ But the Repeal controversy also laid bare the tensions between the British and the Scottish (as opposed to English) “national” identities. There is not the slightest doubt that Scottish Catholics were proud of their Scottish identity. In his “Humble Remonstrance,” Bishop Hay challenged his Protestant countrymen:

[A]re we not your bretheren? Did we not draw our first vital breath in the same air? Were not our progenitors as genuine Caledonians as yours? As men, as fellow citizens, we are your equals; and as a religious Body, we have a very long prescription in our favour.⁴²

However, Catholics were also aware that political power was now exercised in London, whether it be by the British government or the British parliament. When mobs threatened the lives of Catholics and destroyed all Catholic property, they could lay their hands on while the Edinburgh magistrates looked on with indifference, to put it charitably, Bishop Hay decided to try and seek redress from the British parliament. In his *Memorial to the Public in Behalf of the Roman Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow*, Hay gave an account of the riots and contrasted England, where the penal laws were repealed without any commotion, with Scotland:

Poor Scotland! Unhappy fanatical Scotland! ... To you alone is reserved, the infamous character of being sunk in your antient barbarity, and of nourishing in your heart the most viperous sentiments of intolerant bigotry.⁴³

⁴¹ On the eighteenth-century Church of Scotland, see Richard Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), in particular Chap. 7. On the campaign against Relief, see Robert Kent Donovan, *No Popery and Radicalism: Opposition to Roman Catholic Relief in Scotland, 1778–1782* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987).

⁴² SCA, Scottish Mission: SM4/17/14, George Hay, *The Humble Remonstrance of the Catholics* [1778].

⁴³ [George Hay,] *A Memorial to the Public in Behalf of the Roman Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow* (London: J. P. Coghlan, 1779), 39. The *Memorial* is usually attributed to George Hay. However, according to Reginald C. Fuller, *Alexander Geddes 1737–1802. A Pioneer of Biblical Criticism* (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1984), 156, it was authored by Alexander Geddes. While the reference to the Calas affair seems to point to Alexander Geddes, other parts of the *Memorial* are very similar in tone and substance to pieces written by George Hay on the same subject. Both men were in London at the time the *Memorial* was published and the work might have been a joint effort. I wish to thank Dom Geoffrey Scott for sharing with me Fuller’s attribution of the *Memorial*.

He then addressed the vexed question of responsibility. Though England could not reasonably be held accountable for the misdeeds of Scottish people, it would still be tainted by association if the British parliament did not make amends: “Are England and Scotland now a days two separate nations in the eyes of Europe? Are they not united in one body under the same King and the same Parliament?”⁴⁴ In order to drive his point home, Hay chose to draw a striking parallel between the situation of the Catholics of Edinburgh and Glasgow and the Calas affair. Hay reminded the British parliament that in spite of Calas’s condemnation by the (local) parliament of Toulouse, the (national) parliament of Paris had granted redress to the Calas family. Hay’s example was meant to impress the notion that the British Parliament could not possibly fail to offer to British subjects the redress that even a Popish parliament had granted a Huguenot:

And shall the equity and humanity of the British Legislature be less active in doing justice to their own innocent and faithful Subjects than the French were in the case of Calas? Forbid it heavens!⁴⁵

In the end, the British parliament did accede to Bishop Hay’s demands and awarded some compensation for the losses Scottish Catholics had sustained. More than the actual financial reparation for Catholic losses, the real import of that decision was to acknowledge that, even though the penal laws had not been relaxed, Scottish Catholics enjoyed a *de facto* right to live in Scotland without being molested. Considering the fact that, at the turn of the century, the debate had not been so much what place Catholics should have in Scotland, but rather whether they belonged there at all, that was a momentous outcome for Scottish Catholics.

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CHAPTER 4

Everyday Anti-Catholicism in Early Eighteenth-Century England

Carys Brown

It has become a commonplace of studies of Catholic-Protestant coexistence to emphasise the generally peaceful nature of everyday interconfessional relations. Bringing an important local dimension to the study of religious tolerance, numerous scholars have shown that Catholics and Protestants living within religiously mixed communities often had to work out ways of rubbing along together. In places where Catholics were wealthy and numerous, Protestants may have had little choice—parochial life “could not be sustained” without the cooperation of Catholic

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families.¹ In other cases, Protestants chose to adhere to Christian principles of neighbourliness by maintaining “cordial relations” with the “human adherents” of the false religion they despised.² Sympathy for the plight of their neighbours, combined with a level of social and economic pragmatism, even led some Protestants to protect their Catholic neighbours from prosecution under the penal laws.³

This view of everyday interconfessional relations contrasts starkly with the violent rhetoric of anti-Catholic stereotypes circulated in printed polemic throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Anti-Catholicism in this period thus appears to be more a product of polemical inventiveness than a reflection of day-to-day experience.⁴ In anti-Catholic discourse, Catholics were imagined as “effigies to be burned”; abstract imaginings of the Catholic bogeyman served an important purpose in a nation little united over the nature of its Protestantism.⁵ Widespread fear of “papists” “was projected, not on to Catholic neighbours, but on to faceless Catholics, Catholics abroad or at a distance.”⁶ The experiences of everyday life demonstrated the gap between rhetoric and reality.

However, our current picture of everyday interconfessional relations leaves some significant questions unanswered. The core of prejudice against Catholics was undeniably rooted in national stories: Catholic plots against the Protestant State; the development of the penal laws; wars

¹William Sheils, “‘Getting on’ and ‘Getting along’ in Parish and Town: Catholics and their Neighbours in England,” in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop, and Judith Pollman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 73.

²Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 21; Sheils, “‘Getting on’ and ‘Getting along’,” 68.

³Geoff Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: The Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Catholic Gentleman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 57; Carys Brown, “Militant Catholicism, Interconfessional Relations, and the Rookwood Family of Stanningfield, Suffolk, c.1689–1737,” *Historical Journal* 60 (2017): 21–22, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X15000503>.

⁴Peter Lake, “Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 83; Robin Clifton, “Popular Fear of Catholics During the English Revolution,” *Past and Present* 52 (1971): 35, <https://doi.org/10.1093/past/52.1.23>.

⁵Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon. Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 6.

⁶Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80. A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 11.

against Catholic powers. Yet, if contemporaries truly subscribed to stereotypes of Catholics, how was it possible for them to override these deeply held beliefs in their everyday lives?⁷ And if experiences of the everyday ran against the grain of stereotypes, then why did those stereotypes remain so resilient?

This essay suggests that a more pessimistic view of everyday relations between Catholics and Protestants may help to answer these questions. By examining instances of low-level anti-Catholicism, it suggests that far from being suspended in everyday interactions, this stereotype often fed off and into everyday experience. Anti-Catholicism provided a powerful lens through which to interpret the events of daily life, with the result that everyday experiences themselves became “proof” of the veracity of stereotypes against Catholics. Thus, rather than emphasising the contrasts between abstract prejudice and the realities of everyday coexistence, this essay examines what linked them. It first highlights how local application of the law brought individuals into direct contact with officially sanctioned anti-Catholicism. The second section explores cases where pre-existing stereotypes of Catholics circulating in law and print were used to interpret everyday experience. The third section highlights the reverse case, examining instances where everyday experiences were used to justify and reinforce that stereotype. Collectively, the examples given suggest that anti-Catholicism was as much of a product of everyday experience as it was a polemical construct.

Such a study inevitably faces evidential difficulties. The nature of low-level anti-Catholicism—name-calling, empty threats, the creation of minor inconveniences for Catholics—is that it was unlikely to be recorded. Verbal exchanges were rarely written down unless particularly remarkable or genuinely slanderous, and Catholics were unlikely to draw attention to themselves by reporting minor cases of abuse. As a result, the examples presented here are somewhat fragmentary, drawing on the correspondence and family papers of Catholics smattered across England. The sources used relate almost entirely to wealthy Catholics, whose papers have most successfully survived. As a result, the conclusions given here are suggestive, rather than presenting a wholly comprehensive picture. They hint at an alternative approach to understanding the construction and continuation of the

⁷ A. Walsham, “Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration,” *The Seventeenth Century* 28 (2013): 124, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2013.792151>.

tropes of anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, underlining the dialogue between anti-Catholic rhetoric and everyday experience.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE LOCAL APPLICATION OF THE LAW

Evidence of the patchy local enforcement of anti-Catholic laws has been central to accounts of peaceful interconfessional relations. In many instances, local justices chose to turn a blind eye to the practices of Catholics, and Protestant neighbours showed willing to protect those who were at risk of prosecution.⁸ However, the significance of this lenience can be overplayed. Even when local officials were inclined to be lenient, the penal laws still put contemporaries into constant contact with a legal language that condemned Catholics—a “shining proclamation of the State’s Protestantism.”⁹ As the following examples highlight, anti-Catholic stereotypes could be reinforced through everyday contact with the language, if not the actual force, of the law. This created, as the rest of the essay demonstrates, a backdrop against which anti-Catholic stereotypes could develop in and through everyday life.

One of the key ways in which Protestants were exposed to anti-Catholic legal language was through local Justices’ need to demonstrate due process, even where penalties were not always observed. In the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, Lancashire Justices sent out summons forms to individuals required to give evidence about the behaviour of local Catholics. These forms spelled out the status of all Catholics as suspects. A summons sent to Robert Foster of Charnock, tanner, on September 14, 1716, for example, asked him to give evidence of the behaviour of a local Catholic gentleman, John Dalton of Thurnham. Commanding Foster to “appear before us at our Office at Preston on the Nineteenth day of September Instant at Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon,” it cited “the Power to us given by an Act of Parliament (Intituled, *An Act for appointing Commissioners to Enquire of the Estates of Certain Traytors, and of*

⁸ Sheils, “Getting on” and “Getting along,” 69–70; Baker, *Reading and Politics*, 57–61; C. Brown, “Catholic Politics and Creating Trust in Eighteenth-Century England,” *British Catholic History* 33 (2017): 630, <https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2017.28>.

⁹ C. Haydon, “Eighteenth-Century English Anti-Catholicism: Contexts, Continuity, and Diminution,” in *Protestant-Catholic Conflict from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century. The Dynamics of Religious Difference*, ed. John Wolffe (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 56.

Popish Recusants, and of Estate given to Superstitious Uses, in order to raise Money out of them severally for the Use of the Publick).¹⁰ Charnock was evidently not the only recipient of such a summons reminding him of the status of Catholics as potentially “superstitious” “Traytors.” The document was printed, with spaces left for the justices to fill in by hand the names of the witness and the suspect, the date and place at which the former was to attend and the matter about which they were being asked to give evidence. It therefore would have been quick and easy to reproduce and send to numerous people. Summons such as this not only stated the discriminatory language of the law very clearly, but also asked individuals to act against their Catholic neighbours, thereby bringing laws made in Westminster, in response to national events, closer to home. In such a scenario, it did not necessarily matter whether or not the laws were eventually put in to force: the suggestion of Catholic treason had already been made.

John Dalton of Thurnham was in fact undoubtedly a figure worthy of suspicion as far as the Protestant authorities were concerned. Having joined the Jacobite rebels at Lancaster during the 1715 Rebellion, the labels the law applied to him were somewhat supported by his behaviour.¹¹ However, even peaceable Catholics who were accommodated by sympathetic local justices were subject to legal labels of suspicion. The *Act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants* (originally passed in 1606, recited in 1698) meant that Catholics could not travel without carrying a licence from the Justices of the Peace.¹² John Dalton’s grandfather, Robert Dalton, who was not widely regarded as rebellious, sought such a license in April 1703 in order to travel to Fallacre in Flintshire. The granting of a hand-written license “Requiring you and every of you not to molest or trouble him” on his journey demonstrates the willingness of local justices to relieve Catholics from unnecessary legal difficulty. But the wording of the license nevertheless reinforced the idea that Dalton, as a Catholic, was under suspicion. Dalton had been required

¹⁰Summons of Robert Foster of Charnock, Tanner, September 14, 1716, Eng MS 213/302, University of Manchester Special Collections (UofM), Manchester.

¹¹William Oliver Roper, “The Daltons of Thurnham”, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 42 (1890): 111.

¹²“William III, 1698–1699: An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery. [Chapter IV. Rot. Parl. 11 Gul. III. p. 2. n. 2.],” in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 7, 1695–1701*, ed. John Raithby (s.l, 1820), 586–587. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol7/pp586-587> (accessed March 8, 2019).

to swear a “Corporall Oath ... That he hath truly Informed us of the cause of his said Journey and that he will make no causeless stays.” Furthermore, the license quoted the above Act, thereby highlighting that even if Dalton was allowed to travel, other Catholics should naturally be considered suspicious.¹³ It is difficult to know how frequently on their journey Catholics travelling from home would have had to show such licences, but Dalton clearly considered it necessary to get permission before travelling: in April 1691, he had been granted a similar licence to travel to Bath.¹⁴ Through such requirements, Catholics literally and metaphorically carried labels of distinction and suspicion that can only have served to reinforce existing prejudices.

Despite the fact that in most places local officials did not make use of the full persecutory force of the law, the anti-Catholic language of these acts was present on a local level. Of course, this did not necessarily have an immediate influence over the behaviour of Catholics towards their Protestant neighbours. However, it does seem that contemporaries were sufficiently conscious of these laws that they affected their actions. As Colin Haydon has demonstrated, during occasional outbreaks of violent popular anti-Catholicism those involved sometimes justified their action by making (admittedly inaccurate) reference to the law.¹⁵ Whether or not the *force* of the laws was suspended in the localities, a legally sanctioned language of anti-Catholicism remained part of the everyday. Against this context it was hardly surprising that some Protestants made associations between stereotypes of Catholics and events in their daily lives.

ANTI-CATHOLIC LANGUAGE AND EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

Nowhere is this clearer than in contemporaries’ use of anti-Catholic language on a local level. Anti-Catholicism could provide individuals with an interpretative framework for social or economic tensions, even when relations between Protestants and Catholics appeared relatively good. In these following examples, it emerges that anti-Catholicism had never been suspended, but rather was latent in daily life, ready to surface at the smallest

¹³Licence for Robert Dalton to travel to Fallacre, Flintshire, April 21, 1703, Eng MS 213/254, UofM.

¹⁴Licence for Robert Dalton to travel to Bath, April 17, 1691, Eng MS 213/252, UofM.

¹⁵C. Haydon, “Parliament and Popery in England, 1700–1780,” *Parliamentary History* 19 (2000): 60–61, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-0206.2000.tb00444.x>.

provocation. When it did emerge, it was on the language of both law and print that it often relied.

This is particularly apparent in relation to the idea that Catholics were fundamentally seditious, potentially treasonous and inclined to undermine English liberties through violent actions in the name of their religion. This belief was central to the maintenance of anti-Catholicism, because it was used to justify the continuation of the laws in force against Catholics even when Protestant Dissenters from the Established Church were given a measure of toleration in 1689. The 1698 *Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery* described how “Popish Bishops Priests and Jesuits ... very openly and in insolent Manner affront the Laws and daily endeavour to pervert His Majesties naturall borne Subjects,” thereby encouraging “reasonable and execrable Designes and Conspiracies.”¹⁶ After the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 the *Act to oblige Papists to register their Names and real Estates* suggested that “all or the greatest part” of the Catholic population had been involved in the rebellion, describing Catholics as “enemies to His Majesty,” constantly seeking “all opportunities of fomenting and stirring up new Rebellions and Disturbances within the Kingdom.”¹⁷ In a period when ideas about liberty of conscience were gradually shifting, this emphasis on the civil dangers of Catholics was a vital means of justifying continued intolerance. Responding to accusations that a proposed tax against Catholics in 1722 amounted to persecution, Sir William Thompson, MP, reminded parliament that persecution “was only when any one is punished for his particular opinion in religion.” The proposed tax “was not a punishment for their being Roman-Catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred, for being enemies to the civil government, raising rebellions, and contriving plots against the State.”¹⁸

These accusations against Catholics and justifications for their continued persecution were oft repeated in print. William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, made it abundantly clear in his *Papists not excluded from the throne upon the account of religion* (1717) that the continuation of laws against Catholics was crucial for the protection of English “Laws and Liberties and Privileges.” He underlined that “*Popish* Princes are excluded, not

¹⁶ “William III, 1698–1699: An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery.”

¹⁷ *The Statutes at large from the First Year of the Reign of King George the Second*, vol. 5 (London, 1763), 93.

¹⁸ William Cobbett, *Cobbett’s Parliamentary History of England. From the Norman Conquest, in 1066, to the Year 1803*, Vol. 8, 1722–1733 (London: T. C. Hansard, 1811), 52.

because their Religion is erroneous, foolish, superstitious or idolatrous, but because it is a false Religion, and a cruel Religion, and will not permit them to keep the Promises they have made, and the Oaths they have taken to their People.”¹⁹ Along with many of his contemporaries, Fleetwood underlined that laws against Catholics did not amount to arbitrary persecution of tender consciences, but rather were essential to the protection of the State.²⁰

Given its strong relation to plots, foreign affairs and national crises, this aspect of the anti-Catholic stereotype might be presumed to have been of limited relevance to communities where local Catholics were peaceable, showing little sign of plotting to destroy Church and State. However, individual examples suggest that this aspect of the anti-Catholic stereotype was engrained in daily life.

This certainly appears to have been the case in the Warwickshire village of Coughton in 1720. Coughton was the home of Robert Throckmorton, head of the Catholic family by that name who had been long established in the area. Throckmorton was well integrated in his local community. He was a substantial land owner, gave money towards the maintenance of the parish church and also contributed to the foundation of a Free School nearby.²¹ He had support from local Protestant gentry, and by 1720 appears to have been largely free from the consequences of the penal laws.²² Throckmorton and the Catholics he employed in his household and on his estate were not generally the subjects of suspicion, and Throckmorton himself was an advocate of Catholic moves to accept the Oath of Allegiance to the Protestant succession.²³ Coughton’s Catholics, then, were hardly likely to be imagined to be “fomenting and stirring up new Rebellions” in the way suggested by printed stereotypes.²⁴

¹⁹ William Fleetwood, *Papists not Excluded from the Throne upon the Account of Religion. Being a Vindication of the Lord Bishop of Bangor’s Preferative, &c. in that Particular* (London, 1717), 21, 27.

²⁰ John Locke “Letter Concerning Toleration,” in *John Locke: A Letter Concerning Toleration and Other Writings*, ed. Mark Goldie (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2010), 117–118.

²¹ Establishment of a free school in Coughton, April 12, 1709, CR1998/Miss Scrogg’s/17, Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick (Warwick CRO).

²² Throckmorton to Henry Bell, May 8, 1692, CR1998/Tribune(CD)/folder55/7, Warwick CRO.

²³ Michael A. Mullet, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 95.

²⁴ William III, 1698–1699: *An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery*.

This apparently peaceful state of coexistence in early eighteenth-century Coughton did not prevent anti-Catholic prejudice from surfacing. This was evident when tensions grew between Throckmorton's steward, John Grimbalston, the local vicar, William Pearkes, and the local churchwardens. In 1720 Pearkes sent a letter to Throckmorton, complaining on behalf of himself and his churchwardens about the "haughty Behaviour" of Grimbalston:

We can do nothing in our Offices but he pragmatically intermeddles with it on a Pretence of a Zeal for your Interest and Authority among us ... His lordly Carriage gives a general uneasiness, and has raised that Spirit in me *which* I hoped I should never have had Occasion to use ... I am now sufficiently convinc'd of what I once thought an hard saying, viz. That Papists are not excluded from the Throne or from the Privileges of other Subjects on Account of their Religion, but for other Substantial Reasons.²⁵

Despite Pearkes's expressions of deference towards Throckmorton, whom he addressed as his "much Honoured Patron," his underlying hostility to Catholics was plain to see. He did not specify what he meant by "pragmatically intermeddles," and a "general uneasiness" caused by Grimbalston's "lordly Carriage" could hardly be considered a concrete charge. Yet Pearkes had evidently interpreted the irritating behaviour of Grimbalston within the framework of a broader anti-Catholic stereotype. The result was that the individual actions of Grimbalston were read as a demonstration of the general behaviour and principles of Catholics.

Crucially, Pearkes's language made it clear that he was drawing on common stereotypes about Catholics to interpret his local situation. The "hard saying" that Catholics were excluded on account not of their religion "but for other Substantial Reasons" referred to by Pearkes bears striking resemblance to the language used in justifications for laws against Catholics, and in anti-Catholic polemic.²⁶ Furthermore, not only was Pearkes using this stereotype as a lens through which to understand his interactions with this particular Catholic, but he was also using everyday interactions to confirm the stereotype. While he claimed that he had not previously subscribed to such stereotypes of Catholics, he effectively used his interactions with Throckmorton's Catholic steward as evidence of their veracity. Pearkes's

²⁵ William Pearkes to Robert Throckmorton, Coughton, June 8, 1720, CR 1998/Box 66/Folder9/18, Warwick CRO.

²⁶ See especially Fleetwood, *Papists not Excluded*, 21, 26.

latent and even unacknowledged anti-Catholicism was thus reinforced through interactions with the Catholic next door.

Pearkes was not alone in interpreting his daily interactions through the framework of anti-Catholic stereotypes. The prevailing assumption that English Catholics were fundamentally disobedient, secretive and subversive extended to women as well; for at least one set of Protestant parents this stereotype appears to have given them genuine concern about their own daughter's spiritual welfare. The trope of wilful daughters being led astray by Catholics made frequent appearance in anti-Catholic literature. One colourful example of this, *An account of the seducing of Ann, the daughter of Edward Ketelbey, of Ludlow, Gent., to the Popish Religion*, published in 1700, gave a salutary warning to parents to be on their guard against Popish influences over their daughters. Ketelbey and his wife had gone away, leaving only their nineteen-year-old daughter and their servants at home. While they were absent, a Catholic family moved into town, bringing with them a "reputed Popish priest." With the priest's aid, the daughters of the Catholic family "Seduced her [Ann Ketelbey] to the Popish Religion." Upon returning, Ann's mother was horrified to find "her Daughter's Temper and Humour Changed, disowning her Mother's Power and Authority over her."²⁷ Ann was then taken by her parents to London, "to get the Assistance of able Divines." Although she there subscribed to an oath against Catholicism, the damage was clearly already done: she later absconded from her parents, and "as a colour for her pretences to the Protestant Religion, she took with her a Common-Prayer Book, and a Book upon the Sacrament."²⁸ Upon finding her again her parents subjected her to house arrest, the only remedy for her Popishly inspired disobedience.

This tale, and others like it in print, adapted the general stereotype of Catholic secrecy and disobedience to apply specifically to women, by setting the Popish refusal to recognise right authority within the framework of the patriarchal household.²⁹ In doing so, it quite literally brought the possibility of Popery closer to home. The resonance of this stereotype is evident in letters written to the Archbishop of York in 1704–1705

²⁷ *An Account of the Seducing of Ann, the Daughter of Edward Ketelbey, of Ludlow, Gent., to the Popish Religion* (London, 1700), 1–2.

²⁸ *An Account of the Seducing of Ann*, 3, 5, 7.

²⁹ See, for example, *A Full and True Account of the Life: And Also the Manner and Method of Carrying on the Delusions, Blasphemies, and Notorious Cheats of Susan Fowls* (London, 1698).

concerning one Catherine Stanhope of Mansfield, whose parents, Charles and Frances Stanhope, suspected her of Popery. Similar to Ann Ketelbey, Catherine had shown some worrying signs of disobedience. She had departed from her father's house to go to London "expressly against your Fathers command"; when in London she had told others that her "Father had been the death of one of his sons and used the other like a Dog." Furthermore, she had received Edward Claringburn, Established-Church vicar of Conisbrough, into her "Fathers House in a Disguise and without the knowledge of [her] Father and Mother and staying with him in a private room all that night till 6 a Clock in the morning."³⁰ As Charles Stanhope put it, "Her Undutyfullnesse, Ingratitude and Unnaturallnesse wil Scarce admit of any Paralell ... if upon an Impartiall Hearing, she Appeares Innocent, I will Abandon my Senses as Impostors."³¹

Catherine's behaviour was clearly rebellious, but what is significant about Charles and Frances Stanhope's response is that they repeatedly charged their daughter "with being a Papist, or that she is fit for the impression (as they love to stile it)."³² Furthermore, they were not simply suggesting that she was behaving *like* a Papist; they seem to have been genuinely convinced that she *was* one. Catherine pleaded innocence, stating that "I should be loth to lye under the misrepresentation of one who professeth herself a member of the Church of England ... and yet ... [am] a papist in my hart."³³ Nevertheless, George Mompesson, vicar of Barnburgh and somewhat sympathetic to Catherine, felt it necessary to allow the Archbishop of York to see for himself "that her principles in Religion are sound & orthodox."³⁴ Upon examining her, the Archbishop stated in regard to her turning "towards Popery ... that charge I could sufficiently clear you of."³⁵ Catherine's theological stance was sound but

³⁰ Archbishop John of York to Catherine Stanhope, June 30, 1705, D359/6/2/12, fol. 9, Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester (GA).

³¹ C. Stanhope, Mansfield, to Archbishop of York, April 28, 1705, D359/6/2/12, fol. 3, GA.

³² George Mompson, Mansfield, to Archbishop of York, March 5, 1705, D359/6/2/12, fol. 2, GA.

³³ Catherine Stanhope, Mansfield, to Archbishop of York, October 28, 1704, D359/6/2/12, fol. 1, GA.

³⁴ Mompson, Mansfield, to Archbishop of York, March 5, 1705.

³⁵ Catherine Stanhope, Mansfield, to Archbishop of York, October 28, 1704, D359/6/2/12, fol. 1, GA; Archbishop John of York to Catherine Stanhope, June 30, 1705, D359/6/2/12, fol. 9, GA.

her disobedience and lack of duty were, her parents believed, symptomatic of a turn away from the Protestant religion.

There was a striking similarity between Catherine's behaviour and the sorts of behaviour stereotypically exhibited in print by women who had been won over to the Popish cause, such as in *An account of the seducing of Ann*. If Charles and Francis Stanhope had been exposed to such stereotypes, it is unsurprising that they interpreted their daughter's unruly behaviour as Popish. In this case, as in the dispute between Pearkes and Grimbalston, far from anti-Catholic stereotypes being centred on fears of the abstract Catholic bogeyman (or woman), the shadows of popery appeared much closer to home. The gap between rhetoric and reality was, for these individuals, hardly visible.

EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF STEREOTYPES

The connection between local experience and anti-Catholic stereotypes was not limited to this application of a ready-made language of anti-Catholicism to everyday situations. The relationship could also work the other way, with everyday experiences themselves being used as the building blocks of the stereotype. In the preceding examples, the concerns expressed about individual Catholics emerged out of social issues, apparently only tangentially related to the subjects' actual or suspected Catholicism. In contrast, the following demonstrates how in some situations the constraints of the law were such that, paradoxically, Catholics were forced to exhibit the very characteristics that the legislation was supposedly intended to guard against. The result was local incidents that provided the perfect fuel for the anti-Catholic fire.

The clearest cases of this relate to the contemporary fear that Catholics were hoarding the country's wealth in order to bring down the Protestant succession and reinstate the Catholic church. Catholicism was portrayed as arising from self-interest, with Catholic leaders "raising their own authority" and "Wealth and Ease" at the expense of others.³⁶ The result of such concerns about the threat posed by Catholic wealth was that they

³⁶ Gilbert Burnet, "A Sermon Concerning Popery; Preached at the End of King Charles's Reign," in Burnet, *Some Sermons Preach'd on Several Occasions; and an Essay Towards a New Book of Homilies, in Seven Sermons, Prepar'd at the Desire of Archbishop Tillotson, and Some Other Bishops* (London, 1713), 11.

were subject to laws that placed severe limitations on their economic potential. The 1698 Act, for instance, ruled that after April 10, 1700, they would be forbidden from purchasing lands in their own name or that of any other persons. Any profits from land held in Trust were considered void, and Catholics could not inherit land without taking the Oath of Allegiance.³⁷ These measures were in addition to an existing double land tax on all Catholic estates.³⁸ During the aforementioned debates on the proposed £100,000 levy on Catholic estates in 1722, Robert Walpole further underlined this perceived economic threat by pointing out that as “many of the Papists ... had contributed large sums of money” towards the Jacobite cause “it was very reasonable, since they made such ill use of the savings of the incomes of their estates, that the same should go towards the great expence which they ... had put the nation to.”³⁹ The levy gained parliamentary approval, yet again underlining the idea that Catholics could not be trusted to use their wealth openly and for the good of the nation.

These laws were critical, because they not only gave official sanction to a general stereotype, but furthermore effectively turned this stereotype into a self-fulfilling prophecy. By theoretically making it exceedingly difficult for Catholics to sustain their estates from generation to generation, the law forced them into mining legal loopholes for alternative routes to survival. As Catholics were unable to practice as attorneys, many trained in the law became specialist “conveyancers” for gentry estates, making a substantial part of their living from aiding other Catholics in their circumnavigation of the law.⁴⁰ A Catholic lawyer, Nathaniel Pigott, explained one such tactic to Robert Throckmorton, suggesting that the best method of securing his estate, which “some of your freinds have practised,” was “first to convey to a protestant then lett that protestant convey to two others upon Trust to sell and pay the money as yoe direct.”⁴¹ Pigott pointed out

³⁷ William III, 1698–9: *An Act for the Further Preventing the Growth of Popery*.

³⁸ “William and Mary, 1692: An Act for Granting to Their Majesties an Aid of Foure Shillings in the Pound for One Yeare for Carrying on a Vigorous War Against France [Chapter I. Rot. Parl. pt. 1.],” in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 6, 1685–1694*, ed. John Raithby (s.l., 1819), 323–372. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol6/pp323-372>, accessed March 4, 2019.

³⁹ William Cobbett, *Cobbett’s Parliamentary History of England*, 8: 52.

⁴⁰ Robert Robson, *The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 76n.

⁴¹ Nathaniel Pigott to Robert Throckmorton, n.d. [c. 1704], CR1998/Box 65/Folder2 (loose papers), Warwick CRO.

in 1717 to another of his clients, Francis Fortescue of Salden, Buckinghamshire, that this not only meant that Catholic heirs could in practice inherit the benefits of estates, but also ensured that the land was not subject to double taxation. “If the protestant trustees are in possession,” he wrote, “and you have noe present estate or interest in or out of the lands tis plaine you are not obliged to register.”⁴² Faced with the possibility of crippling taxation and inheritance laws, Catholics were forced to use underhand methods to protect their wealth.

However, the unfortunate side-effect of these practices was that they could be used by opponents of Catholics as evidence of the veracity of the anti-Catholic stereotype and the necessity of the penal laws. Semi-legal financial transactions by Catholics fed into fears about the intended purposes of the wealth they were preserving, and this is demonstrated by complaints against them. One contemporary commentator on the legal profession, Read Hodshon, preserved a special wrath for Catholics who acted as “Conveyancers, or Dealers in the Money-Affair” believing that they used their knowledge of people’s affairs to manipulate Catholic funds “so they conceal their own Strength, and know ours.”⁴³ Catholics’ use of underhand methods to work their way around the penal law was essential for their survival, but it also fuelled the stereotype that Catholics were accruing wealth for malevolent purposes.

This self-perpetuating relationship between legal penalty, stereotype and experience of interactions with Catholics is even more clearly apparent in the complaint of John Mawer, rector of Middleton-Tyas in Richmond, Yorkshire, to the Duke of Newcastle in September 1736. Referring to John Mayes of Yarm, Cleveland, as “an insolent Popish lawyer,” Mawer labelled him as the “most dangerous man in the Whole Country by knowing every man’s affairs and presuming money” before complaining that he had been so damaged by the lawyers designs against him that he wished to exchange his benefice for a “Preferment Equivalent in the South.”⁴⁴ His encounter with a Catholic lawyer, who was apparently causing significant inconvenience, was thus interpreted by Mawer through an anti-Catholic lens: he portrayed Mayes as not just troublesome for individuals but

⁴²Nathaniel Pigott to Francis Fortescue, March 28, 1717, 488/C1/FR78, Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Cambridge.

⁴³Read Hodshon, *The Honest Man’s Companion: or, the Family’s Safeguard* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1736), 16–18.

⁴⁴Hanoverian State Papers Domestic, Great Britain, SP36/39/135, September 1736, Microfilm OP 151, Reel 75, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

“dangerous” for the “Whole Country.” Although it is not apparent what actions John Mayes was taking, it is reasonable to suspect they included measures used by Catholics across the land to circumnavigate the laws. Almost a necessity in the context of the penal laws, the legal workarounds used by Catholics were thus interpreted both locally and in print as an indication of the danger of Catholic wealth.

It is worth underlining that Catholics would not necessarily have been in any better position had they not used these measures to maintain their religion in resistance to the penal laws. As I have emphasised elsewhere, Catholic resistance to these laws was a vital means by which they could maintain their trustworthiness as creditors and local figures of authority, and therefore sustain their places within their communities.⁴⁵ Maintaining wealth and authority may therefore have been essential in maintaining a level of generally peaceful coexistence between Catholics and Protestants. The unfortunate side effect was that such actions could simultaneously serve to reinforce prejudice.

The perception that the financial strength of Catholics represented a severe challenge to the Protestant interest was further reinforced by the fact that in addition to protecting their estates, many wealthy Catholics did use their influence locally to promote the Catholic cause. This is reflected in the complaints made by Protestants against them. Writing in 1713 to his fellow enthusiast for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Henry Newman, Lincolnshire moral reformer John Disney stated that

We can do little here with regard to the affair of Popish Priests for want of being able to fix a correspondence with the Country Clergy in those Towns where Popish Gentlemen reside ... that which makes some of those clergymen the more backward to give us Intelligence of the Enemy's motions in their Parishes, is an unhappy Awe they stand in of their Patrons of that Religion, from some unjustifiable contracts between them at their coming in to the Cure.⁴⁶

It seems that in the parishes Disney was referring to, such was the influence of Catholic gentlemen that they still had some patronage over the Protestant Parish Church. This could have hardly helped overcome the

⁴⁵ Brown, “Catholic Politics,” 628.

⁴⁶ John Disney to Henry Newman, Lincoln, February 18, 1713, Stowe MS 748: Vol. VI, 1703–1759, fol. 99, British Library, London.

stereotype that Catholics were using their wealth to serve their own interests.

Even where they did not exercise influence over the Established Church clergy, the power that wealthy Catholics had within their locality could be a source of considerable consternation. The minister of Kirkham, Lancashire, complained to the Archbishop of York in June 1695 that such was the prominence of local Catholic Sir Thomas Clifton that there were held “two visible Conventicles of papists in this parish, & in time of Divine service.”⁴⁷ Where Catholics such as Sir Thomas had sufficient land and wealth, it was common for them to support the endeavours of Catholic priests, causing considerable alarm to local Protestant clergy.⁴⁸ By maintaining their wealth, and then asserting their local influence in aid of the Catholic cause, Catholics protected themselves against the effects of persecution, but simultaneously fuelled the stereotypes that allowed that persecution to remain in place.

In addition to the use of anti-Catholicism as an interpretative framework for daily life, there thus existed a feedback loop between the legal penalties that Catholics faced, the actions they took to avoid them and the stereotypes that persisted against them. The law more or less forced Catholics to seek underhand means of survival. Their actions then bolstered pre-existing anti-Catholic stereotypes held by individuals, which thereby served as justification for continued penalties against Catholics. Far from anti-Catholic stereotypes being suspended and even challenged by local interactions with Catholics, it is apparent that, at least in these instances, everyday actions were a crucial part of the perpetuation of that stereotype.

Despite providing somewhat of a pessimistic view of interconfessional relations, it is by no means the intention of this essay to overturn demonstrations that the realities of coexistence were usually much more peaceful than anti-Catholic rhetoric might suggest. What it has sought to do, however, is to draw attention to some of the subtler and more insidious ways in which low-level anti-Catholicism surfaced and was transmitted in everyday life. Through examining examples of everyday anti-Catholicism and how it related to contemporary stereotypes, it becomes apparent that far

⁴⁷ Richard Clegge, Kirkham, to Archbishop of York, June 7, 1695, D3549/6/1/C27, GA.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Sidney Leslie Ollard and Philip Charles Walker, eds., *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4: 387.

from stereotypes being suspended, they were latent in the everyday. Ingrained prejudices and expectations about Catholics, reinforced by the language of the law, resulted in a tendency to interpret the behaviour of individuals in this light. Furthermore, the common attempts of Catholics to overcome financial disabilities could attract local suspicion and irritation, providing further fuel to existing stereotypes. The result was that in these scenarios the idea of the “abstract papist” and the perceived behaviour of the “Catholic next door” were not in fact a contradiction, but rather mutually reinforcing.

This is an important consideration for building a more cohesive picture of interconfessional relations. Peaceful coexistence between Protestants and Catholics and the complete intolerance represented in sporadic outbreaks of violence and persecution against Catholics in this period were two ends of the same gauge of interconfessional relations. Even with the dial pointing towards coexistence, anti-Popery did not have to be completely suspended. It only had to be sufficiently submerged or masked that, in William Sheils’s terms, Catholics and Protestants could “get on” in order to “get along.”⁴⁹ The result was that there remained the possibility that sweet, peaceful, coexistence could quickly turn sour. The whispers of low-level everyday anti-Popery in the archival record highlight moments when this latent potential was realised, and an underlying prejudice surfaced. They suggest that if we are to understand the strength and resilience of anti-Catholicism in England into the eighteenth century and beyond, we must pay as much attention to the nuances of “reality” as we do to the blunt extremity of “rhetoric.”

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PART II

Hating the Other: The Polemics of
Anti-Catholicism



“The Great Contest Between the Papist
and Protestant”: Anti-Catholicism in Lucy
Hutchinson’s *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel
Hutchinson*

Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille

The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson is the work of the Colonel’s wife, Lucy Hutchinson, a highly educated Protestant woman who wanted to offer her children “a naked, undressed narrative, speaking the simple truth of [their father].”¹ The Colonel of the title was John Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham during the Civil War and a member of the High Court of Justice, who signed King Charles I’s death warrant in 1649. In 1660 his name figured in the Act of Oblivion, but in 1663 he was suspected of plotting against the restored regime and was imprisoned

¹ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N. H. Keeble (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 16. All subsequent references to this edition will appear in parentheses in the main body of the text.

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without trial. He died in captivity at Sandown Castle in Kent in 1664. In her dedication to her children at the beginning of the *Memoirs*, Lucy Hutchinson wrote that the best way for her “to moderate [her] woe” was the “preservation of [her husband’s] memory” (16).

This statement is somewhat misleading for the *Memoirs* are not exclusively a consolatory narrative. Presumably written between 1664 and 1671, they were originally entitled “The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe” and fall within the genre of the *life*, defined by Francis Bacon as a form of perfect history, in which “actions both greater and smaller, publique & private have a commixture.”² Indeed, the *Memoirs* give access to the life of John Hutchinson between 1639 and 1664 as well as to a more general history of the English Revolution. However, the local is privileged over the national, national history being only valuable, Hutchinson claims, as long as it provides a “better understanding” of “the motion of those lesser wheels that moved within the great orb” (104). Thus, “for the better carrying of [her] purpose” (57), she demonstrates how Henry VIII’s imperfect Protestant Reformation and the Popish policies of the first Stuarts left the door open for the return of Roman Catholicism and caused the outbreak of the Civil War. In her subsequent account of the war and Interregnum, Hutchinson’s anti-Catholicism becomes less explanatory and less obtrusive, but Popery continues to excite fears.³ As divisions among Puritans were exacerbated, anti-Catholicism gave way to virulent anti-Puritanism: the responsibility for the military conflict, originally ascribed to Papists, was shifted on to the Puritans, “the more religious zealots” (58), whose conduct eventually appears as reprehensible as that of Catholics and debauched Cavaliers.⁴

In this chapter, I would like to show the scope and limits of Hutchinson’s anti-Catholic reading of history, by looking in turn at her analysis of the

²Francis Bacon, *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane* (London: 1605), *The Second Booke*, 11.

³On the “explanatory power” of anti-Popery, see Peter Lake, “Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 80.

⁴See Peter Lake, “Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 86. On the use of the label “Puritan” in the *Memoirs*, see Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille, “L’Atelier de l’historienne: ‘The Life of John Hutchinson’ de Lucy Hutchinson,” *Études Épistémè* 17 (2010); DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/episteme.663>.

causes of the Civil War, at her exploitation of the spectre of anti-Popery and at her paradoxical application of anti-Puritan rhetoric on the complex reality of mid-seventeenth-century history.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

Before starting her narrative of the Civil War in Nottinghamshire, Hutchinson explores the causes of Civil War in an eighteen-page-long digression.⁵ In order to account for "the great contest between the Papist and Protestant" (61), she deploys a typically anti-Catholic rhetoric. Viewing Catholicism as an anti-religion, she uses the "negative image of Popery" to give a "positive image" of Protestants.⁶ Anti-Catholicism does not merely provide an outlet for irrational fears, but also a constructed ideology, utilized both to criticize the monarchy of the first Stuarts and to explain the outbreak of the Civil War.⁷

Lucy Hutchinson first seeks long-term roots of the Civil War in Henry VIII's Protestant Reformation, by exposing how incomplete and unsatisfactory it was from a political and religious point of view.⁸ She deeply regrets that it did not result in a separation of Church and State: "When the dawn of the Gospel began to break upon this isle, after the dark midnight of Papacy, the morning was more cloudy here than in other places by reason of the state-interest, which was mixing and working itself into

⁵ Many histories of the Civil War written at the Restoration deal with the "origins" and the "causes" of the Civil War. See, for instance, William Lamont, "Richard Baxter, 'Popery' and the Origins of the English Civil War," *History* 87.287 (2002): 336–352. On Hutchinson's account of the causes of the war, see David Norbrook, "The English Revolution and English Historiography," *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 239–240. On the debate about the causes of the English Revolution in the seventeenth century, see R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, 3rd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 11–39.

⁶ See Lake, "Anti-Popery," 73–76; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 3.

⁷ On this "ideology" see Lake, "Anti-Popery," 72, and Clement Fatovic, "The Anti-Catholic Roots of Liberal and Republican Conceptions of Freedom in English Political Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66.1 (2005): 38.

⁸ See Alec Ryrie, "The Slow Death of a Tyrant: Learning to Live without Henry VIII, 1547–1563," in *Henry VIII and his Afterlives. Literature, Politics, and Art*, ed. Mark Rankin, Christopher Highley, and John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 75–93. On the memory of the English Reformation, see Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," *The Historical Journal* 55.4 (2012): 899–938.

the interest of religion, and which in the end quite wrought it out” (57). Pleading here for a clear distinction between spiritual and secular powers, she warns that “spiritual weapons” are given “for spiritual combats, and those who go about to conquer subjects for Christ with swords of steel, shall find the base metal break to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully fly in their own faces” (58). Hutchinson considered that Henry VIII’s break with Rome had positive consequences, but she categorically rejected the way in which royal supremacy combined political and spiritual authority, arguing that this concentration of political and religious authority led to tyranny (6, 61). In her own eyes, the Henrician Reformation was a mere transfer of the vices of the Catholic Church to the Church of England and the maintenance of episcopacy meant the resurgence of a “tyrannical clergy” (58). In accusatory lines, which are crossed out in the manuscript but which were interestingly kept by Julius Hutchinson, the first editor of the *Memoirs*, she denies Henry VIII the title of Protestant reformer:

King Henry the eighth who by his regall authority cast out the Pope did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression but only changed their foreigne yoke for homebred fetters deviding the popes spoyles between himself & his Bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome so long as they enjoyd their patrimony and their honors here under another head: soe that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honor of beginning a reformation all that he made was a little rout.⁹

Hutchinson’s denunciation of Henry VIII’s royal supremacy echoes contemporary criticisms voiced by some Protestants who pleaded for a clear separation between the spiritual and political realms. Unlike those who considered the English king’s ecclesiastical sovereignty as a means of resisting the advances of Popery, the Protestant reformer Martin Bucer, among others, rejected Caesaropapism and accused Henry VIII of corrupting the English Church.¹⁰ In the *unpublished pages of his Memoirs* written after the

⁹“The Life of John Hutchinson of Owthorpe in the County of Nottingham Esquire,” Nottinghamshire Archives DD/HU4, 63. The autobiographical fragment offers a far more positive version of the Henrician Reformation. See Hutchinson, “The Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson,” *Memoirs*, 6–7. On the current debates on the historiography of the English Reformation, see Peter Marshall, “(Re)defining the English Reformation,” *Journal of British Studies*, 48.3 (2009) 564–586.

¹⁰See Francis Oakley, “Christian Obedience and Authority, 1520–1550,” in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, ed. J. H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 181. On the originality of Hutchinson’s narrative

Restoration of Charles II, the republican Edmund Ludlow called Henry VIII "that monster of mankynde," and argued for a complete separation of church and state.¹¹ The originality of Hutchinson's narrative, however, lies in her linking Henry VIII's "Popish" reformation to the outbreak of the Civil War. Such correlation is neither made by Edmund Ludlow nor by Thomas May in their analyses of the origins of the War.¹² Thomas May, the author of *The History of the Parliament of England*—Lucy Hutchinson's main source for the *Memoirs*—does not criticize the Henrician Reformation. From the first chapter of his *History*, he approves of the Henrician settlement, praising his successor, "Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory," as the sovereign who brought the English nation "Religion reformed from Popish superstition."¹³ Admittedly, like May, Hutchinson does not criticize the queen directly; she even calls her "glorious" and celebrates her Protestant policy abroad. Yet, she thinks she was too lenient towards Mary Stuart (61–62), and when dealing with the reign of her successors, she finds fault with the Elizabethan settlement—inherited from Henry VIII—which she considers far too Popish.

Hutchinson's critical treatment of the reigns of James I and Charles I is influenced by May, but she follows a more radical line than him, blaming both kings for their Romanisation of the Church of England.¹⁴ Focusing first on the reign of James I, she begins by deconstructing the myth of the Protestant prince, who had been "educated after the strictest way of the Protestant religion according to Calvin's form" (60). She maintains that after the execution of his mother, on the decision of the "true-hearted Protestants" of Elizabeth's council (62), the then king of Scotland had

among histories of the Civil War, see Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 178–182.

¹¹ Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyage from the Watch Tower (Part Five 1660–1662)*, ed. A. B. Worden, Camden Fourth Series, vol. 21 (London: Historical Society, 1978), 7–8.

¹² Hutchinson thinks "Mr May's history" shows "more indulgence to the king's guilt that can justly be allowed" (75). On the influence of May, see Martyn Bennett, "'Every County had more or lesse the civill warre within it selfe': The Realities of War in Lucy Hutchinson's Midland Shires," *The Seventeenth Century*, 30.2 (2015): 193.

¹³ Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England* (London, 1647), 1.

¹⁴ May, *The History*, 5–15. On Jacobean anti-Catholicism, see Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 27–62. See also Anthony Milton, "The immortal fewde: Anti-Popery, 'Negative Popery' and the Changing Climate of Religious Controversy," *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31–92.

started to facilitate the return of Catholicism in England: he “managed a faction in the court of the declining queen” (62) and “harboured a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations” (64). Despite the Gunpowder Plot, his indulgent treatment of Catholics continued unabated, as “the nonconformists were cast out of doors ... the penalties against Papists relaxed, and many of them taken into favour” (62). With respect to his religious policy, Hutchinson points out that moral standards within the Church of England were lowered during his reign, that ceremonialism returned and that Protestant doctrines were dangerously affected by Arminianism, which she insistently conflates with Catholicism.¹⁵ In this respect, she signals the dangerous moves of the Anglican bishops, whom she calls “prelates,” and rejects their search for accommodation with the Catholics as a form of collusion: “The prelates, in the meantime, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the Popish faction ... and now there was no more endeavour in their public sermons to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation” (66). In addition, in a style reminiscent of Weldon’s *The Court and Character of James I* (London, 1650), she depicts the king’s own court as “a nursery of lust and intemperance,” a court as depraved and decadent as the court of Rome, where swarming Papists “lost not their credit” and “found it the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the Gospel to debauch the professors” (62). With regard to James’s foreign policy, Hutchinson is of opinion that he “deserted and betrayed” “the Protestant interest abroad” (62). She reproaches him with his role in the Spanish Match—the proposed marriage between the Prince of Wales with the Infanta of Spain, a prominent topic in anti-Catholic propaganda (66). James is portrayed as the perfect opposite of Elizabeth whom Hutchinson celebrates as a true defender of the “Protestant interest,” “renowned at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subjects in England and Ireland” and abhorred by the Pope who had “shot all his arrows at her head, and set on many desperate assassinations upon her” (61).

Finally, Hutchinson elaborates on the fatal influence of Catholicism in James I’s England with the practice of mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants. Her idea of a Papist conspiracy to re-catholicise England sounds less rational than her other arguments, but her demonization of

¹⁵See Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 181–255.

Roman Catholics is once again much in keeping with contemporary anti-Catholic propaganda.

Next to which, a great cause of these abominations was the mixed marriages of Papist and Protestant families, which, no question, was a design of the Popish party to compass and procure them and so successful, that I have observed that there was not one house of ten where such a marriage was made but the better party was corrupted, the children's souls were sacrificed to devils, the worship of God was laid aside in that family for fear of distasteful the idolater. (63)

What Hutchinson writes about mixed marriages in private families also applies to the monarchy, and most specifically to the reign of Charles I who married a French Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV and sister of Louis XIII. Although Charles I was first believed to be a less depraved monarch than his father, he proved worse than him when he was corrupted by his Catholic wife, "a Papist, a French lady of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband" (67).¹⁶ Therefore, although at the beginning of his reign Charles "was temperate and chaste and serious," she declares that under his wife's influence he soon became a tyrant, who was "a worse encroacher upon the civil and spiritual liberties of his people by far than his father" (67). From the moment of his marriage to the French princess, she affirms that "the court was replenished with Papists, and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change turned to that religion" (67). During his reign, many Protestants were obsessed with the idea of a "Popish Plot"—allegedly the work of the queen and of "the Jesuits and other engineers and factors for Rome."¹⁷ Hutchinson herself is persuaded that the

¹⁶This was a common interpretation at the time. It is to be found in Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (London: 1649). See *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. 3, ed. Merritt Hughes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 420–422. On the evils of effeminate government during the Civil Wars, see Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille, *La Cuisine et le forum. L'émergence des femmes sur la scène publique pendant la guerre civile anglaise (1640–1660)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005), 366–371.

¹⁷"The Grand Remonstrance, with the Petition accompanying it, Presented to the King, December I, 1641" in *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625–1660*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 206. On the Popish plot, see Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 45–49; Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

queen, joined by the “Archbishop and his prelatical crew” had “the cruel design of rooting out the godly out of the land” (70). She retrospectively associates Henrietta Maria with Mary Stuart,¹⁸ holding both Catholic queens responsible for England’s fall. Suspecting Henrietta Maria of being even more dangerous than Archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, she accuses her of leading “the van of the King’s evil counsellors” (69):

the King had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the Queen ...; and it hath been observed that a French queen never brought any happiness to England. Some kind of fatality, too, the English imagined to be in her name of Marie, which, it is said, the King rather chose to have her called by rather than her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had been more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a great prince, to control destiny. (70)

In this context of collusion between the Stuart kings and the Roman Catholics, Lucy Hutchinson was confident enough that the true Protestants would eventually win the contest against the Catholic Church. Admittedly, much blood had already been shed in this combat against Rome, in the “provinces of the Netherlands ... in a resistance against the King of Spain,” as well as in France where “the King of France, persecuting his subjects, with much inhuman violence, forced them to defend themselves against his unsanctified league” (60). Still Hutchinson trusted God’s providence and like many of her Puritan contemporaries, she stuck to her eschatological vision of the Reformation process.¹⁹ She predicted the fall of Rome, which she prophetically compares to the bloody city of Nineveh: “it pleased God to cause that light to break forth about Luther’s time which hath ever since been increasing, and, notwithstanding all the attempts of Satan and his ministers, will in the end grow up to a glorious flame that will quite devour that bloody city” (58–59).²⁰ At this stage of the narrative, Hutchinson adds her voice to the Puritan activists who wanted to

¹⁸ Anne McLaren, “Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism,” *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002): 739–767; Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Robin Clifton, “The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution,” *Past & Present* 52 (1971): 37.

²⁰ The force of her statement comes from its vehement undertones, possibly borrowed from the Book of Nahum, where the prophet prophesies the fall of Nineveh: “Woe to the bloody city! It is full of lies and robberies” (Nah. 3:1).

lead a crusade against Papists and their allies among Anglicans in order to fight royal and clerical tyranny.²¹ This anti-Catholic discourse—which did not accord with the reality and the complexity of the civil war—was perfectly audible at the Restoration when Charles II in his turn was suspected of collusion with Roman Catholics.

ANTI-CATHOLIC FEARS

If we now turn to the period covering the Civil War and Interregnum, the function of anti-Catholicism changes: it does not serve an explanatory purpose but fuels irrational fears and rumours, pointing to the necessity to annihilate Popery.²² Hutchinson's account of the Irish rebellion, based on Thomas May's *History of Parliament*, is a case in point. It contributes to demonizing Irish Catholics and their Papist allies by uncritically reporting that 200,000 Protestants were "massacred in two months' space, being surprised and many of them most inhumanly butchered and tormented; and besides the slain, abundance of poor families stripped and sent naked away out of all their possessions" (73).²³ Hutchinson's narrative echoes many other relations, either published in pamphlet form at the time of the rebellion or later as for instance in Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth*, in which the Irish Catholics are said to represent a threat to England: "our safety [was] too much threatened ... when thousands were thus suddenly butchered by the Papists in our own Dominions, and those Papists likely to have invaded England."²⁴ Like many anti-Catholic propagandists of her day, Hutchinson does not hesitate to link the Irish rebellion with other barbarous Catholic acts such as the St. Bartholomew massacre:

much blood was shed in those civil wars, till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence, in delivering them from their cruel

²¹ See Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles. Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49–50; John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (London: Longman, 2000), 135–143.

²² Clifton, "The Popular Fear," 23–25.

²³ On anti-Catholic responses to the Irish rebellion, see Ethan Howard Shagan, "Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda, and English Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1641," *Journal of British Studies* 36.1 (1977): 4–34; Marotti, *Religious Ideology*, 147–149; Clifton, "The Popular Fear," 29–30.

²⁴ Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, ed. William Lamont (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 219.

princes, were persuaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawn into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred. (60)

Hutchinson also states with a certain satisfaction that the Popish queen “was by the Parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown jewels in Holland, encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a Papistical army in Ireland, etc.” (160). Finally, she does not fail to mention the episode of the king’s letters which were seized at the battle of Naseby in June 1645 and which confirmed him “to be governed by the Queen in all affairs both of state and religion” (200).²⁵ In other places of her narrative, Hutchinson’s indictment of the queen is still more circumstantial as she gives a rather detailed account of her military movements, for instance, reporting how, in February 1643, she came to the rescue of “the Papists in the North,” when she “landed near Sunderland, coming out Holland with large provisions of arms, ammunition and commanders of note” (105–106).²⁶ She also comments on the martial activities of the “Queen’s regiment” in Nottinghamshire in 1644, when the small royalist garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton were taken and the Papist troops defeated by the army of Parliament (201–203). Once again, Hutchinson notes that although the fight was uncertain, God was clearly on the side of Protestants: “it pleased God to lead them into that path he had ordained for their destruction, who, being all Papists, would not receive quarter, nor were they much offered it, being killed in the heat of the contest, but not a man of them escaped” (204).

Taking all things into account, it must be said that except for the Irish Papists and the character of Henrietta Maria, anti-Catholic observations are few and far between in the rest of Hutchinson’s narrative. She refers to the earl of Newcastle’s army as a “Papistical army led by an atheistical General” (117) and to a certain Mr. Golding whom she connects to the Irish and to the queen: “[a]ll the Popish gentry were wholly for the King, whereof one Mr Golding, next neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson, had been a private collector of the Catholics’ contributions to the Irish Rebellion, and for that was, by the Queen’s procurement, made a knight and baronet.”

²⁵ See *The Kings Cabinet Opened; or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers Written with the Kings Own Hand and Taken in His Cabinet at Nasby-Field* (London: 1645).

²⁶ On the “Popish army” of the north, see Caroline Hibbard “Henrietta Maria,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.univ-paris3.fr/10.1093/ref:odnb/12947>.

(85) The threat of Popery was more fantastical than real during the Civil War. Nevertheless, when she reaches the Restoration period (1660–1664), Hutchinson multiplies disparaging remarks towards Catholics. She wants to demonstrate that local and national fears were founded on proven acts of violence committed by Papists. She refers again to “Golding, the Papist,” presumably Sir Charles Golding, the son of Sir Edward Golding, whom she describes as “a very busy fellow in spying and watching [the Colonel’s] house at Owthorpe” (299).²⁷ Those years seem to have been fresh in the memory of Hutchinson who records Papist activism with much precision, as if an accumulation of details was evidence enough of an impending danger:

This winter, about October and the following months, the Papists began to be very high ...; and one night, in a drunken humour, a Papist fired a hay barn in a wood yard in Nottingham, which, if not discovered and prevented by many providences, might have endangered much of the town ... A great Papist at Eastwold, was known to assemble 200 men in arms in the night, and some of the Lord Carrington’s tenants that went to Arundel House to speak with their landlord, observed very strange suspicious signs of some great business on foot among the Papists. (293)

In particular, she gives us a frightening description of a Catholic man, “a light-headed, debauched young knight that lived in the next town to Owthorpe,” who terrorized the population, forbidding Cotgrove’s minister to “preach on Gunpowder Treason day, threatening to kill him if he did” (294). Colonel Hutchinson himself was directly bullied: he “made strong shutters to all his low windows with iron bars, and that very night they were set up, the house was attempted to be broken in the night, and the glass of one of the great casements broken, and the little iron bars of it crashed in sunder” (294). All these acts of violence attributed to Catholics were meant to conjure up the spectre of an imminent Papist “insurrection” both at local and national levels (294):

The common people, everywhere falling into suspicion of the Papists, began to be highly offended at their insolence and to mutter strange words; whether it were this, or what else we know not, but their design proceeded

²⁷ On Edward Golding, later Sir Edward, Baronet of Colston Basset, see Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, note 163, 356.

no further; yet there is nothing more certain than that at that time they had a design of rising generally all over England in arms. (295)

As Hutchinson observes, however, the rising did not happen: ultimately, Catholics were neither responsible for the chaos of 1660 nor for restoration of the monarchy. Anti-Catholic stories nourished fears and expressed strong anxieties about the power of Popery; they created as it were *a trompe-l'oeil* piece, but they failed to provide an ideological explanation to the defeat of the good old cause. In the course of her narrative, Hutchinson gives other possible factors which may have led to the final rout of the Puritan cause, among which its fragmentation and the moral baseness of many of its supporters.²⁸ Paradoxically Hutchinson's anti-Catholicism is challenged by another explanatory discourse: anti-Puritanism.

FROM ANTI-CATHOLICISM TO ANTI-PURITANISM

In her digression about the causes of the war with which I dealt earlier in this chapter, Hutchinson starts by attacking the anti-Puritan rhetoric wielded by the "children of darkness," in other words by the Papists, as "false logic"; on the other hand, she seems to extol the "children of light," that is to say the Puritans.

Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation; and as such they made them not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a more solemn sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play, belched forth profane scoffs upon them. (65)

At first sight these lines sound like the earlier opposition "between the Papist and Protestant" which Hutchinson used before. Yet, about twenty lines further, Hutchinson, shows that this antithesis is irrelevant by describing negatively both Catholics and Puritans as factions.²⁹ Drawing our attention to the symmetry existing between anti-Puritanism and

²⁸ On the fragmentation of Puritanism, see Coffey, *Persecution* 143–144.

²⁹ "Thus the two factions in those days grew up to great heights and enmities one against the other, while the Papist wanted not industry and subtlety to blow the coals between them" (65).

anti-Popery, she regretfully declares that as far as Puritans were concerned, "the wolf came into the fold in a sheep's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs than he could have done in his own skin" (65). Ironically enough, here, as in other places of the *Memoirs*, Hutchinson launches into a criticism of the Puritans to whom she was yet politically and religiously close (86–87). She goes so far as to take up the voice of the royalist satirist John Cleveland, quoting the first line of *The Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter*, a broadside published in 1649, in order to mock the Presbyterians, that is, those among Puritans who supported a Presbyterian church government.³⁰ To give her case against Puritan formality more weight, she reports how "the godly of those days [that is to say the Puritans] would not allow [Colonel Hutchinson] to be religious because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase" (87). Here as elsewhere, Hutchinson's anti-Puritanism is not gratuitous. It is meant to contrast the Colonel's genuine faith with the hypocrisy of the Puritans:

But as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them [the godly of those days], but the God they served and the truth and righteousness they defended, so did not their weaknesses, censures, ingratitude or discouraging behaviour ... make him forsake them in anything...; but when they apostatized from these, none cast them off with greater indignation. (87)

In view of this, why was Hutchinson so scathing towards Puritans? Was she not a Puritan herself? First it must be said that the Puritans she mostly criticized were generally not the Independents, to whom both Hutchinsons were very close, but the Presbyterians whom she held in the deepest contempt because of their clericalism, rigidity and hypocrisy. In a way reminiscent of Milton,³¹ she calls Presbyterian ministers "priests" (159, 162), characterizing them as persecutors, and insinuating that some among them wanted to "renew a league with the Popish interest, to destroy that godly interest which they had at first so gloriously asserted" (213). What

³⁰On Cleveland's "The Hue and Cry," see Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640–1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 306.

³¹John Milton, "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ Large," *On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament* (1645). In *Areopagetica* he writes: "Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing" (*Complete Prose Works*, vol. 2, ed. Ernest Sirluck [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959], 539).

is more she blames the “[Presbyterian] priests and all their idolaters” for having “ruined” “the whole cause and party,”³² and to a large extent, she holds them responsible for civil war miseries—if not for the Civil War itself.

Another deeper reason for Hutchinson’s virulence against Puritans is that she regarded them to be as corrupt as the Papists and Cavaliers. Indeed “these wretched men fell away ... not only from public spiritedness, but from sobriety and honest, moral conversations; not only conniving at and permitting the wickedness of others, but themselves conversing in taverns and brothels” (184). Hutchinson’s condemnation of Puritan depravity is recurrent, but it is most striking in the portrait she draws of the Presbyterian persecutor Charles White: “all this while he was addicted to many lusts, especially to that of women ... but he could never climb higher than a Presbyterian persecutor, and there in the end, fell quite off to a declared cavalier in Sir George Booth’s business” (93–94).³³ The inconstancy of White corroborates the proximity and symmetry existing in the *Memoirs* between the Papists and the Puritans.³⁴ We actually get the sense that from Hutchinson’s moral stance Popery and Puritanism were two sides of the same coin and revealed an analogous moral baseness. In the economy of the *Memoirs*, such an analogy serves to bring out the virtues of Colonel Hutchinson, who stood without fail above factions and vile passions. In her numerous descriptions of the Nottingham Committee, Hutchinson extolls the Colonel while she demonizes its members:

[they took in] all the malignant and debauched people that would join with them to destroy the Governor, whom they hated for his unmoved fidelity to his trust and his severe restriction of lewdness and vice. But because he protected and favoured godly men that were sober, although they separated from the public assemblies, this opened wide the mouths of all the priests and all their idolaters, and they were willing enough to let the children of Hell cry out with them to make the louder noise. (184)

³²Hutchinson does not spare Independents whose devotion to the public she calls into question (222).

³³See the similar portraits of Captain Palmer (129), James Chadwick (97), Sir John Gell (92).

³⁴See Clifton, “The Popular Fear,” 33–44: after 1643 every dissident was considered as a Papist “in disguise.”

Furthermore, unlike his Presbyterian antagonists, Colonel Hutchinson is portrayed as being unfailingly charitable towards his enemies, including Roman Catholics.³⁵ Hutchinson makes it clear in a self-contained story (241–245), in which we see how he was convinced into “taking off the sequestration” of a land owned by a Catholic lady, Lady Anne Dormer, a distant relative of his, who had not been allowed to compound because of her religion (241). Throughout the four-page-long anecdote, Hutchinson contrasts the generous and tolerant attitude of the Colonel with the intolerance and bigotry of Sir Henry Vane and Major General Harrison, the latter claiming, “that no composition admitted for idolaters” (242–244). Another famous example of charity in the *Memoirs*, which goes beyond the religious divides of the war, is to be found in the episode when Mrs. Hutchinson herself—not the polemicist but the good Puritan wife—dressed her enemies’ wounds at Nottingham: “she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty in humanity to them, as creatures not as enemies” (129). This conduct, which was much to the taste of Victorian readers, did not satisfy the Presbyterian Captain Palmer, whose “soul” “abhorred to see this favour to the enemies of God” (129).

What started as an investigation of Lucy Hutchinson’s anti-Catholicism has led to an assessment of her anti-Puritanism. At the same time, it has appeared that in the *Memoirs* her initial anti-Catholic interpretation of events was soon supplanted by a disillusioned moral reading of history. Although in 1649 the Puritan supporters of the Parliamentary cause, on whose side she stood, were the victors of the Civil Wars, Hutchinson considered they were incapable of implementing a viable parliamentary republic in the 1650s. Cromwell should have been their best ally, but Hutchinson reveals to the readers how his passions—mostly ambition and duplicity—turned him into a tyrant that was no better than a Popish Stuart monarch. Still Cromwell was not the only one to blame: according to Hutchinson, men from all factions were most of the time moved by their low passions and interests, very rarely by their faith and by the desire to serve the common good. From that angle, there is a sense that the English-born

³⁵ On this apparent contradiction between intolerant discourse and cooperation with Roman Catholics, see Walsham, “Cultures of Coexistence in Early Modern England: History, Literature and Religious Toleration,” *The Seventeenth Century* 28.2 (2013): 124–126. See also Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton, eds., *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 12–16.

Protestants, whom Hutchinson celebrates at the beginning of the *Memoirs*, were not up to the task entrusted to them by God and that, in her view, the Restoration of the monarchy was in a way deserved and logical. For Hutchinson, however, all hopes for a republic were not lost. In the final pages which relate the martyrdom of John Hutchinson, there emerges, despite a deep political and moral disillusionment, a strong millenarian belief that defeat was only temporary and that better times would come:

that if they were truly the people of God, all their failings were to be borne; and that if God had a people in the land, as he was confident he had, it was among them, and not among the Cavaliers, and therefore though he should ever be severe against their miscarriages in any person in whomsoever he found it, yet he would adhere to them that owned God, how unkindly soever they dealt with him. (322)

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“Papists Make a Direct Profession of This Shamefull Sin”: Denouncing Catholic Ignorance in Seventeenth-Century England

Sandrine Parageau

In early modern England, it was generally admitted that ignorance was one of the main Papist features, a stereotype that relied on the fact that the Catholic laity were discouraged from reading the Scriptures by themselves. Furthermore, there was no question that the “Popish Doctrine of Ignorance”¹ was enforced by the higher Catholic clergy in order to ensure their power and domination over obedient flocks who were neither able

William Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons concerning 1. The slaverie of sin, 2. The mischief of ignorance, 3. The roote of Apostasie, 4. The benefit of God’s service, 5. The Christians love* (Oxford, 1628), 14.

¹Richard Baxter, *A Treatise of Knowledge and Love Compared* (London, 1689), 191.

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nor allowed to think. Thus, ignorance was not merely a feature of Papism among others (such as tyranny, hypocrisy, superstition and idolatry), but the very foundation of popery, a necessary condition for the Roman Church to exist and to last.² Ignorance was also an instrument and a political tool in the hands of the Pope, or as Church of England clergyman Robert Boreman put it in his sermon *The Triumph of Learning over Ignorance* (1653), “the only prop too of the Pope’s greatness.”³ Yet the anti-Roman polemicists who denounced and mocked the use of ignorance by the Church of Rome were also concerned by the ignorance and subsequent credulity of the Protestant vulgar, which made them an easy prey to the manipulation and conversion attempts of the Jesuits. But the question of ignorance also raised important theological issues, such as the extent and nature of the knowledge expected from a good Christian, or the salvation of ignorant believers, especially the Catholic laity, who were *held* in ignorance. Reflections on these issues required a definition of ignorance in the religious context to determine in particular, first, whether it was a sin or rather the cause of sins and, second, whether it could excuse a sin.

My aim in this chapter is not to assess the accuracy of the allegation of ignorance against Papists, nor will I focus therefore on the levels of literacy of the Catholic laity and clergy. Rather, I am concerned to examine the *discourse* on “Popish ignorance,” as well as some of the larger theological issues raised by the notion of ignorance in this context.⁴ The first part recalls the common charges of ignorance against Catholics, by focusing on a 1625 treatise by Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter and founder of Chelsea College, a (short-lived) institution established in 1609 for the systematic production of anti-Catholic writings. The second part shows how the ignorance of the Protestant vulgar, who also mostly remained unlearned despite the calls for knowledge of the Reformed Church, was used as a conversion tool by Jesuits. Finally, the link between ignorance and the salvation of Catholics according to Church of England clergymen will be addressed.

² See Peter Lake, “Anti-popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Conflict in Early Stuart England. Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 72–106, especially 75–76.

³ [Robert Boreman], *Paideia-thriambos: The Triumph of Learning over Ignorance, and of Truth over Falsehood* (London, 1653), 18.

⁴ To do so, this chapter will focus on a selection of sermons and treatises by religious controversialists who paid particular attention to the notion (and reality) of ignorance.

“[CATHOLICS] WALLOW IN THE BLACK MIRE
OF IGNORANCE”⁵: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EXPRESSIONS
OF A STEREOTYPE

For a systematic review of the ignorance of Catholics as perceived by the Church of England clergy in the early seventeenth century, one might wish to look at a treatise by Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter from 1588 and apologist for the Church of England, entitled *The Happie Estate of Protestants*, in which a whole chapter is devoted to the “ignorance of the clergy and laity in England in the time of Mary I.”⁶ The author gives a list of manifestations and evidence of “Popish ignorance” and, to convince those who would not believe on mere experience, he draws on numerous sources from different periods of time to prove his point. What makes this text significant is that it is not presented as a mere description, but rather as a *demonstration* of “Popish ignorance.”⁷ Indeed, while most anti-Roman polemicists simply *state* Catholic ignorance as an established fact, Sutcliffe actually attempts to *prove* it as well.

Sutcliffe’s first evidence of Catholic ignorance is taken from Archbishop Peckham’s catechetical manual *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, a programme for improving the observance of the sacraments written after Peckham’s visitation of his dioceses in the 1280s. The very title of the manual is evidence enough of Popish ignorance at the time, Sutcliffe argues.⁸ Then, moving to the reign of Mary I, he quotes Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, to demonstrate the ignorance of priests in particular: “In Queene *Maries* dayes it was thought sufficient for priests to reade Latine: not one among twentie understood Latine Their grosse ignorance is yet fresh in memorie.”⁹ Sutcliffe then refers to the sixteenth-century Franciscan

⁵ Henry More, *A Plain and Continued Exposition of the Several Prophecies or Divine Visions of the Prophet Daniel* (London, 1681), xcix.

⁶ Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Blessings on Mount Gerizzim, and the Curses on Mount Ebal, Or, The Happie Estate of Protestants, compared with the miserable estate of Papists under the Popes Tyrannie* (London, 1625).

⁷ Nearly all the references and examples given by Sutcliffe are also found in *The Friars Chronicle: Or, The True Legend of Priests and Monkes Lives*, published in London two years before Sutcliffe’s text and attributed to Thomas Goad, preceptor of St Paul’s Cathedral.

⁸ Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 100. *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* are actually the first words of *De Informatione Simplicium*, drafted by Archbishop Peckham’s provincial Council of Lambeth in 1281.

⁹ Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 101.

Alfonso de Castro to show that not only priests, but popes themselves, are ignorant, especially of Latin grammar:

He [Alfonso de Castro] confesseth *that some Popes are so unlearned, that they are utterly ignorant of grammar.* And that may be exemplified by *Julius* the second, that for *fiat* said *fiatur*, and by other Popes. *Paul* the second, and *Julius* the third and divers others are by their owne friends reported to have bin but simple clerks.¹⁰

The confusion here between *fiat* (or “so be it,” the sign of approval on papal bulls) and *fiatur* (incorrect Latin) clearly echoes Rabelais’s *Third Book* (1546), when Panurge says in a comical passage: “*Amen, amen, fiat, fiatur, ad differentiam papae*” [“I give you my *fiat*, or to be different from the pope, my *fiatur*”¹¹], showing that Sutcliffe mixes explicit references to sermons and treatises by theologians and members of the Catholic clergy with implicit references to fictional texts by authors whose religious affiliations were far from clear.

Sutcliffe focuses on the inadequacy of preaching as a cause of the ignorance of the Catholic laity. He first argues that Papists seldom hear preaching:

The Masse priests in time past used not to studie Scriptures, nor to preach. It was sufficient for them, either by themselves or by others, to expound in English the Creed & Law and some few things more, and that onely at foure times in the yeare, as appeareth by the chapter *Ignorantia sacerdotum* ... in our provinciall constitutions. Now to do this, litle learning was required, and lesse understanding.¹²

Peckham’s *Ignorantia sacerdotum* ordered the clergy to instruct their congregation in doctrine at least four times a year, which was deemed

¹⁰ Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 101.

¹¹ François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. M. A. Screech (New York: Penguin, 2006), lviii–lix. For references to Rabelais in Sutcliffe’s works, see Anne Lake Prescott, “Rabelaisian (Non)Wonders and Renaissance Polemics,” in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Peter G. Platt (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 133–144.

¹² Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 104.

insufficient by Sutcliffe.¹³ Another reason for the inadequacy of Catholic preaching, which stemmed from ignorance and caused even more ignorance in turn, was that it mixed the Word of God with non-religious discourses: “*Cardinall Prat* Archbishop, as he calleth himselfe, of *Sens* in *Fraunce* in his visitation made a law against such preachers, *as like vile buffons rehearsed ridiculous old wives tales to move their auditorie to laughter*: which sheweth that this was wont to be a common fault.”¹⁴

Finally, Catholic ignorance was reinforced by the fact that vernacular tongues were forbidden at mass, which was the very expression of the tyranny of the pope, according to Sutcliffe: “The Papists also that understand not Latine pray with their lippes, but not with their understanding and spirit. For the Popes pleasure is, that the publike Liturgie of the Church shall not be read in vulgar tongues: whereupon the people must needes grow dull and ignorant.”¹⁵ Thus, Catholics become ever more ignorant, and, what is worse, they remain ignorant of their own ignorance.¹⁶

According to Sutcliffe, who mostly rehearses the usual clichés, “Popish ignorance” can be accounted for by, first, the ignorance of the clergy; second, the inadequate preaching of priests, and third, the wish of the pope to prevent people’s direct access to the Scriptures. As a consequence, Catholics are ignorant of Latin, of the meaning of religious symbols and of the Scriptures. Although Sutcliffe resorts to a great number of eclectic sources, his demonstration primarily relies on visitation reports, which are used as inarguable testimony to “Popish ignorance.” Indeed, the particular situations that these reports describe are here generalised to the whole Church of Rome, everywhere and at all times. Although highly questionable, Sutcliffe’s strategy is clear: he uses Catholic sources against Catholics—thus, popes are accused of being ignorant “by their own friends,” as he states above. The assumption is that Papists cannot deny the assertions made in the texts he quotes since they were authored by the Catholic clergy themselves.

¹³The clergy were asked to teach the articles of faith, the ten commandments, the works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues and the sacraments, a collection known as “the Lambeth Constitutions,” which gave the theological knowledge expected from the laity.

¹⁴Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 106.

¹⁵Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 109.

¹⁶Sutcliffe, *The Blessings*, 114.

“THESE FROGS LOVE TO CROAKE IN THE BLACK NIGHT
OF IGNORANCE”¹⁷: THE JESUITS’ USE OF IGNORANCE
AGAINST PROTESTANTS

Ignorance was not the preserve of Catholics in seventeenth-century England, and members of the Church of England expressed concern with the lack of knowledge of Protestants and how it could be used by the Church of Rome. To address this issue, many sermons and commentaries were devoted to Hosea 4.6: “My people are destroyed for lacke of knowl- edge; because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me; seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.” Concern with Protestant ignorance appears, for example, in *The Arraignment of Ignorance* (1659) by William Gearing, minister at Lymington in the 1650s. This treatise is one of the texts that “set forth from Hos. 4.6,” as the title indicates. In the “Epistle dedicatory,” Gearing reviles Catholic ignorance, as expected, and “the closing up of the Scriptures from the people,” but he also confesses that the “English nation” as a whole has justly been accused of religious igno- rance, which is still true of the common people, he says, while the gentry and nobility have become more learned since the reign of Elizabeth I.¹⁸ The persistence of ignorance among common Reformed people prompted Gearing to write this contribution to the debate over the need for a learned ministry, which was particularly vivid in the 1650s.

Earlier in the century, the preoccupation with Protestant ignorance among Church of England clergymen already appeared quite clearly in the sermons of William Pemble, in particular “The mischiefes of ignorance,” published posthumously in 1628, again a commentary on Hosea 4.6. After elucidating the nature and causes of ignorance, Pemble points at two groups of people who “practice” and defend it. The first one is that of “Papists, who make a direct profession of this shamefull sinne” because they know that the Roman Church would collapse if people understood the Word of God, as they would soon realise how corrupted and

¹⁷[Boreman], *Paideia-thriambos*, 12.

¹⁸[William Gearing], *The Arraignment of Ignorance: Or, Ignorance. With the Causes and Kinds of it; the mischiefes and danger of it, together with the Cure of Ignorance: as also, the Excellency, Profit, and Benefit of Heavenly Knowledge, largely set forth from Hos. 4.6* (London, 1659), “Epistle dedicatory,” sig. [A2^v-A3^r].

erroneous their Church is.¹⁹ Pemble then denounces the ignorance of a second group of people, that of "Protestants amongst whom we have a number which are Papists in their practises, what ever they be in their opinions."²⁰ This Protestant ignorance is to him inexcusable in England as even the vulgar now have several means to acquire knowledge, such as "Preaching, Catechizing, Printing," so that if their ignorance had been acceptable sixty years before, it was no longer the case at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

To illustrate the extent of the ignorance of the Protestant vulgar, Pemble gives similar anecdotes to those often used to revile Popish ignorance, such as the example of a man who regularly goes to church his whole life, but says that God and Christ are "a good old man" and "a towardly young youth," while he describes his soul as "a great bone in his bodie."²¹ With this anecdote, Pemble strongly condemns the passivity of churchgoers. His text testifies to the fact that ignorance was seen as one of the most insidious legacies of "popery" in the Church of England, and probably the main feature of "statute protestants."²²

The ignorance of Protestants caused concern in the English Church because it made them vulnerable to Jesuit manipulations. Indeed, it was commonly believed that in the Church of Rome, ignorance was used both to ensure the power of the pope by keeping the laity in check *and* to convert heretics to Catholicism. In his treatise written in defence of learning, Robert Boreman warned Protestants against the strategic use of ignorance by the Jesuits:

Oh then let not the undermining and crafty *Jesuits* (who now swarme amongst us) blow any longer this poyson into your Eares ... Their common Trade and Worke now is to cry downe Learning, and the Fountaines of it, the *Universities*; They know that their cause cannot strive so long as Learning

¹⁹ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 14–15: "In short, the best construction we can make of their practises in this kinde is, that they mistrust Poperie would downe, if people had but knowledge to see their villanies & errors: they see the credite of Priests & Friers would downe, who now be the only admired oracles of knowledge among their ignorant people ... wherefore they sit still, grow lazie and fat, whilst their people is well enough content to be untaught, & so to perish in their Ignorance, Idolatry, and Superstition."

²⁰ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 15–16.

²¹ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 16.

²² See Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists. Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 100 *passim*.

does flourish ... These Frogs love to croake in the black Night of Ignorance,
They ever digge their Mines in darknesse.²³

The Jesuits were “crafty” because they pretended that learning was harmful to religion and therefore encouraged ignorance, while at the same time building their own places of knowledge. As a matter of fact, the Jesuits came to be praised as promoters of learning in seventeenth-century England, despite their Popish superstition, for example, by Francis Bacon, who made no mystery of his admiration for Jesuit education. In the following passage from *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon argues that alongside Protestants, Jesuits have contributed to the “renovation” of knowledge, which in turn led to the “reparation” of the Church of Rome:

And wee see before our eyes, that in the age of our selves, and our Fathers, when it pleased God to call the Church of Rome to account, for their degenerate manners and ceremonies: and sundrie doctrines, obnoxious and framed to uphold the same abuses: At the one and the same time, it was ordained by the divine providence, that there should attend withal a renovation, and new spring of all other knowledges: And on the other side, we see the Jesuites, who partly in themselves, and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, have much quickened and strengthened the state of Learning: we see (I say) what notable service and reparation they have done to the Romane Sea.²⁴

In another passage from this text, Bacon goes as far as to say that he wishes the Jesuits were on the side of the Reformed Church.²⁵ To a certain extent, Jesuit colleges could serve as a model for Bacon’s own conception of Solomon’s House as a place devoted to the promotion of knowledge in *New Atlantis*.

Their being learned themselves made the Jesuits all the more dangerous in a context of religious strife as—it was commonly believed—their intellectual prowess enabled them to elaborate efficient strategies of conversion that precisely relied on the ignorance of the people. These strategies

²³ [Boreman], *Paideia-thriambos*, 11–12.

²⁴ Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 37. On Bacon and the Jesuits, see, for example, Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128–130.

²⁵ Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, 17.

are revealed by the scholar and divine Meric Casaubon in an epistolary treatise of 1668 on the subject of “general learning,” in which he argues that the *modus operandi* of the Jesuits that he describes is also shared by Descartes and by English religious Dissenters:

Wherein the man [Descartes] seems to me to take the same course with disciples, as many Jesuited Puritans doe with theirs; which is, first to cast them downe to the lowest pitt of despaire; and then with such engines of persuasion, they are commonly <well> stored with, to rayse them up againe, to the highest pitche of confidence: but soe that they leave themselves a power still, to caste downe, & to raise againe, when they see cause; which must needs oblige the credulous disciple, as he hath found the horror of the one, & the comfort (whether reall or imaginarie) of the other, to a great dependencie. Soe Descartes, after he hath obliged his disciples, to forgett & forgoe all former præcognitions & progresses of eyther senses or sciences; then he thinks he hath them sure; they must adheare to him tooth & nayle, or acknowledge themselves to have beene fooled, (which of all things in the worlde, though nothing more ordinarie in the world;) with most men, is of hardest digestion.²⁶

Casaubon’s ranting can be read as testimony to the “moral panic”²⁷ caused by the perceived invasion of England by “God’s Soldiers,” who were commonly associated with English religious radicals at the time. In a similar passage from his book *Of Credulity and Incredulity*, Casaubon even claimed that the Puritans got their conversion “methods” from the Jesuits.²⁸ In both texts—his 1668 epistolary treatise and his 1670 book on

²⁶ Meric Casaubon, *Generall Learning. A Seventeenth-Century Treatise on the Formation of the General Scholar by Meric Casaubon*, ed. Richard Serjeantson (Cambridge: RTM Publications, 1999), 153–154.

²⁷ See, for example, Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 335–337.

²⁸ Meric Casaubon, *Of Credulity and Incredulity; In Things divine and spiritual* (London, 1670), 151: “The *Puritans* of England, I remember were wont to teach, that there is no true Conversion, but through the horrors of a sad kind of desparation, as antecedent to it, or always concomitant; and they made very good use of it, (for I will not say, they had all the same aime and end in it:) many of them. For when they had brought their Disciples as low as they thought fitting; then they were to raise them again by their methods (long prayers, and the like:) until they had put them into a seeming possession of heaven ... The Jesuits, some of them (for all, I dare say, are not acquainted with these mysteries), are said to use some such thing, to get to themselves some confidants, whom they may use in time of need. It may be our *Puritans* learned it of them, as they have done many other things.”

credulity—Casaubon attempted to describe how exactly the Jesuits were suspected to use the ignorance of the Protestant vulgar to convert them to Catholicism: they first managed to convince people to give up their knowledge (in accordance with Descartes’ “radical doubt”), which was presented to them as corrupted and wrong thanks to “engins of persuasion,” probably casuistry, mental reservation, equivocation and so on. As a consequence, people found themselves in a state of despair, utter ignorance and therefore vulnerability, and they were made to believe that only those who had plunged them into darkness could get them out of it. In other words, Casaubon argues, “radicals,” whether they be Cartesians, Puritans or Jesuits, use the feeling of loss and weakness, as well as the credulity that accompany ignorance (imagined or real) to convert people to their own beliefs by presenting themselves as the only saviours and consolers.

If Catholic ignorance was often a cause of mockery and laughter, the issue of religious ignorance was also a very serious one in the context of the Reformation. Knowledge was expected from Reformed Christians so that they might be able not only to worship God properly, but also to prevent their falling vulnerable to Jesuit sophistry.

“A FOULE BLEMISH OF MANS NATURE”?²⁹ IGNORANCE, SIN AND SALVATION

The debates on ignorance, which were revived in the context of the Reformation, heavily drew on medieval taxonomies. The nature of ignorance had indeed become an important issue in the twelfth century, when theologians discussed two aspects of the question: whether ignorance was a sin, and whether an act committed out of ignorance was a sin or whether, on the contrary, ignorance made the sin excusable.³⁰ Three different stances were defended: one, held, for example, by Archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton, argued that ignorance in itself was a sin because it is the consequence of the Fall, and therefore, it partakes of original sin. The second stance, defended, for example, by twelfth-century theologian Abelard, held that ignorance in itself was never a sin, as it is not an act, but it could become a sin if the will was involved, that is, if the

²⁹ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 3.

³⁰ See Dom Odon Lottin, “La nature du péché d’ignorance. Enquête chez les théologiens du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle,” *Revue Thomiste: questions du temps présent* 37 (1932): 634–52 and 723–38.

sinner refused or willingly neglected knowledge. The third stance, found in the writings of the Dominican friar Albertus Magnus, was that ignorance can be a sin of omission—ignorance is a sin when it is ignorance of truths that should and could be known. Scholastics also made a number of distinctions that were appropriated by early modern theologians, mostly between invincible and vincible ignorance or between simple and affected ignorance. Aquinas also differentiated between ignorance of the law (*ignorantia iuris*) and ignorance of facts (*ignorantia facti*). Invincible ignorance and ignorance of facts were not sins as long as the ignorant man did try, even though in vain, to acquire knowledge.³¹

Between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, ignorance was progressively no longer defined in relation with the original sin, but this link was revived in the context of the Reformation.³² In Pemble’s sermon on “The mischief of ignorance,” for example, ignorance in matters of religion is presented as “a hatefull and dangerous sinne,”³³ and it is defined as a legacy of the original sin: it is indeed described as “a foule blemish of mans nature; a want of that perfection which should be in us.”³⁴ When he sinned, Adam lost his innocence, his encyclopaedic knowledge and his perfection, resulting in the natural ignorance of man, which is thus the indelible mark of original sin on his soul:

Hence then is that first bond of ignorance which wee may call *naturall and invincible*. *Naturall*, because every sonne of *Adam* brings it with him into the world by the course of his generation and birth: forasmuch as everyone is borne weake-sighted with this infirmity and disabilities in his understanding. Therefore in infants there is more then *ignorantia pura negationis*: for being sinnefull, ignorance is a part of their originall corruption, and so ’tis also, *prava dispositionis*, they not only know not by reason of age, but are ill disposed to know by reason of the disability of their sinfull nature.³⁵

³¹ See Thomas Aquinas, *On Evil*, trans. Richard Regan S. J. and Brian Davies, O. P. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), question III “On the causes of sin,” articles 6, 7 and 8: “Can ignorance cause sin?”, “Is ignorance a sin?” and “Does ignorance excuse or diminish sin?”.

³² On interpretations of the Fall and its link with ignorance in the early modern period, see Peter Harrison, *The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³³ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 3.

³⁴ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 3.

³⁵ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 5.

Thus, ignorance is natural and invincible as it affects all men as a result of the Fall. As a consequence, even children are sinful, their ignorance being not merely a privation of knowledge, but a sin inherited from Adam, or a “disability.”

The second cause of ignorance, according to Pemble, is man’s voluntary rejection of knowledge: this is affected ignorance, “a fouler fault farre then the former: when men know nothing and yet scorne to learne anie thing: they will not heare, nor conferre, nor read, nor pray, nor use any meanes to get knowledge, but are content to sit still in darknes.”³⁶ Men tend to reject knowledge because it might shed light on their own faults and corruptions. In this regard, ignorance is both a sin *and* the cause of sins—as such, it is a “mother sin.”³⁷ Pemble concludes that if simple ignorance does not excuse a sin, it is less serious than a fault committed out of voluntary or affected ignorance, a conception that was shared by many English divines in the early seventeenth century.

In the late 1620s, the “*Old Religion* controversy,” on whether Rome was a “true church,” also debated the issue of the salvation of ignorant Papists.³⁸ Involved in this controversy were Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, Henry Burton, an independent minister and ardent confuter of Arminian tendencies in the English Church, and Hugh Cholmley, Hall’s chaplain: in 1628, Burton published *The Seven Vials*, a commentary on the book of Revelation, in which he strongly condemned Hall’s assertion in *The Old Religion* (1628) that Catholics could be saved. A year later, in *The State of the Now-Romane Church Discussed*, Cholmley vindicated Bishop Hall and insisted that Catholics could indeed be saved.³⁹ Burton’s error, Cholmley argued, was due to his misunderstanding of the notion of ignorance. Cholmley thus borrowed from medieval scholastics to show that there were two kinds of ignorance, one negative, called “simple ignorance,” which is “the ignorance of that which was never revealed” and therefore cannot be known, and one privative, called “affected ignorance,” which can be avoided:

³⁶ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 5.

³⁷ Pemble, *Five Godly and profitable Sermons*, 6.

³⁸ See Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 141–146.

³⁹ Hall received further support from Robert Butterfield, in *Maschil: A Treatise to give Instruction touching the state of the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent* ([London?]: 1629).

Now of these, the Author [Hall] means the former onely [simple ignorance], which is protestant ignorance as well as popish; and the Answerer [Burton] abuseth him in understanding him of the latter [affected ignorance]; which indeed is true popish ignorance, and no other; for then a man is popishly ignorant, when he pleaseth himselfe in his ignorance, and is taught so to doe; and not when hee is willing to know, if hee had the meanes: and who doubteth but there are many millions of such in the Church of Rome, which are those ignorant silly soules of whom the Author [Hall] speaketh.⁴⁰

Cholmley explains that simple ignorance is Protestant as well as Catholic since it is the consequence of Adam’s sin, and therefore affects all men equally. Affected ignorance, on the contrary, is essentially Popish as Catholics are known to take delight in their ignorance. Yet not all Papists are “affected ignorants,” according to Cholmley—some are merely simple or “silly” ignorants, while others are wilful ignorants. Hall and Cholmley argue that the former can be saved, just as simple Protestant ignorants can be saved.

One of Burton’s arguments against the salvation of ignorant Papists was that they were “taught to hate and abhorre preaching of the word,” a common charge against Catholics in anti-Roman polemics, to which Cholmley replied by accusing Burton himself of being ignorant of Catholic practices. Indeed, since the Council of Trent, Catholic preaching had improved, Cholmley argued:

Fie for shame, that a man so well studied in the mystery of iniquitie, should be either so ignorant therein, or so ill affected to affirme so grosse an untruth: Reade the Councell of Trent, *Sess. 5. cap. 2. & 24. cap. 4.* and see whether this bee true which he saith: It seemes hee hath not beene beholden to any of those many Cart-loads of Homilies, Sermons, Postills, Meditations, Hiemals and Æstivalls, which are so diligently preached in the Church of Rome, and farre better, more soundly, and diligently since that Councell, then before.⁴¹

Even though Cholmley made it clear that he defended the Council of Trent only to expose Burton’s errors, his explicit approval of Tridentine

⁴⁰ [Hugh Cholmley], *The State of the Now-Romane Church Discussed. By way of vindication of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Exceter. From the weak cavills of Henry Burton* (London, 1629), 58–60.

⁴¹ [Cholmley], *The State of the Now-Romane Church*, 64–65.

reform might have seemed surprising at the time and can probably be explained by his desire to vindicate Hall against as virulent an opponent as Burton, in a highly polemical context.⁴²

Focusing on the issue of salvation itself, Cholmley argues that if a Papist is saved, it is not *thanks to* his ignorance, as Burton feigns to believe Hall argued, but thanks to his faith and repentance. Thus, ignorance does not excuse sin, but it is not a sufficient condition for damnation either. Faith, on the contrary, is a sufficient and necessary condition for salvation, according to Cholmley, regardless of the knowledge or ignorance of the believer: a man is not saved because he is a Protestant or a Catholic, nor because he is ignorant or learned, but because he is a true believer and has faith in Christ. This implies that a Protestant may be damned, while a Papist may be saved:

Now his [Burton's] folly appeareth in this, that he would have us to hold, that a Papist (which we say, may be saved by a generall faith and repentance) is saved as a Papist by vertue of his Popish ignorance, idolatry, and other trumpery, and not as a true beleever by faith in Christs merits: And that wee would have some Godamercy to be given to Popery, or silly ignorance for his salvation; which ought to be so farre from the conceit of any well disposed Christian, that all of us must acknowledge, that no Protestant, as a Protestant (communicating with the corruptions of severall Churches, Dutch, French, Germane, or the rest; none of which are free from some enormities) No Protestant (I say) as a Protestant, can bee saved, without this generall faith and repentance, so as there can be no Godamercy given to our Protestancy, but onely to faith in Christs merits, by which we come to be saved, not as Protestants, but as true beleevers, renouncing the corruptions of severall Churches: And so a Protestant living and dying a Protestant, may bee damned; and a Papist living and dying a Papist may be saved.⁴³

To Burton, who argues that only Protestants can be saved, Cholmley replies that faith and repentance are what lead to salvation, not knowledge, and not the mere fact of being a Protestant. Similarly, being a Papist does not necessarily lead to damnation.

Cholmley here undermines the stereotype of “Popish ignorance,” which assumed that ignorance and Catholicism were synonymous, by associating ignorance with Catholics and Protestants alike. The idea that

⁴² On Cholmley's defence of Trent, see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 144.

⁴³ [Cholmley], *The State of the Now-Romane Church*, 74–75.

salvation was possible for the invincibly ignorant who were repentant was common among seventeenth-century English Protestants (even though, again, Cholmley's "defence of Catholicism" was probably deemed excessive by some at the time) because arguing in favour of the salvation of holders of an erroneous doctrine made it possible to claim that the Protestants' forefathers before the Reformation might have been saved. It also preserved the possibility of a unification of Protestant Churches.⁴⁴

The aim of this chapter was to analyse one of the most common expressions of anti-Catholicism in early modern England: the denunciation of "Popish ignorance." Ignorance being in the eye of the beholder, judging someone ignorant implies expectations based on the social, religious and epistemological identities of both the accuser and the accused, thus revealing social and intellectual hierarchies, as well as power relations. In this regard, the anatomy of religious ignorance in early modern England contributes to our understanding of crucial aspects of the Reformation, such as the politics of religious identity, the inadequacy of labels such as "Catholic" and "Protestant," as it was perceived even at the time, and the persistence of a Catholic "habitus" well into the seventeenth century, ignorance being seen as a practice of men and women who might have considered themselves "Reformed," but who were mostly passive and ideologically confused, and thus closer to the "old religion" than they might have been aware of.⁴⁵ Finally, focusing on understandings of ignorance in the religious debates of early modern England also shows the extent to which the success of the English Reformation was perceived to rest on a conversion to knowledge.

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CHAPTER 7

Beyond “The General Consent of the Principall Puritans and Jesuits against Kings”: The Rationalist Plea for Resistance in John Milton and Algernon Sidney

Christopher Hamel

In a pamphlet entitled *Vindication of the Parliament and Their Proceedings*, published on 15 October 1642 once the Parliament had already decided to take up arms against Charles I, the revolutionary path was bombastically justified in the name of the “transcendent *archè* of all politicks, or the Law paramount, which gives law to all human laws whatsoever”: “the *salus populi*.”¹ The lawfulness of this war derives from its being necessary, the sense of which is encapsulated in the pseudo choice that the people are

¹ See [Richard Ward], *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, For the Raising of All Power and Force* (London, 1642).

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109

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now said to face, according to Parliament: “whether Popery or Protestantism? ... Whether slavery or liberty?”²

The republic established at the end of the Civil War in 1649 did not last long, but similar arguments were used in the very *Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown* (16 December 1689) in which the Parliament declared William and Mary King and Queen of England. “It is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant Kingdom,” said the Parliament, “to be governed by a Popish Prince [i.e. James II].” Now, if “his highness the Prince of Orange” is a legitimate prince for England, it is because the people and their representatives have consented to it; and they consented to it only because “it hath pleased Almighty God to make [him] the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and arbitrary Power.”³

Neither John Milton nor Algernon Sidney made their names as kings’ devotees. They were not only active in the republican experiment in England but also strongly justified the right of the people to depose any king or magistrate, with armed resistance if necessary. They nevertheless would have broadly concurred with these two anti-Catholic statements contained in the 1642 *Vindication* and in the 1689 Bill of rights: first, *that being submitted to a Popish prince is incompatible with enjoying freedom*; second, *that the struggle for freedom against arbitrary government was indissolubly Protestant*.

For Milton and Sidney, as for many other seventeenth-century assertors of freedom, fears of Popery and more generally mistrust of Catholic political thinking and practice were certainly not feigned: anti-Catholicism is central in Milton’s anti-episcopal pamphlets of 1641–1642, where he interprets the tyrannical Laudian church polity as inspired by Popish impious practices and idolatrous principles.⁴ Milton is also specific in the very

² *The Vindication of the Parliament and Their Proceedings* (London, 1642), sig. D4^v.

³ *An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown*, 1689, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/england.asp (accessed November 23, 2017).

⁴ See, for example, John Milton, *Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline* (1641), in *Complete Prose Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 1: 527 (henceforth CPW); and, later, John Milton, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1651), in *Political Writings*, ed. Martin Dzelzainis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 240; on Milton’s anti-Catholicism, see Andrew Hadfield, “Milton and Catholicism,” in *Milton and Toleration*, ed. Sharon Achinstein and Elizabeth Sauer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 190–191 and, most recently, Ronald Corthell and Thomas N. Corns, eds., *Milton and Catholicism* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2017).

title of the second edition of his *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, written during Charles I’s trial to justify tyrannicide, where he has added “the best and learnedest among Protestant divines asserting the position of this book.”⁵ Likewise, the kind of subversive activities in which Sidney participated during the so-called Exclusion Crisis are hardly understandable if we disregard the depth of the English Protestant nation’s fear of a Catholic succession.⁶ It has even been suggested that, in Sidney’s eyes, the whole point of legitimizing armed resistance was to depict it as the only possible way to win the Reformation war against Counter-Reformation.⁷ Milton and Sidney have thus been read as “godly,”⁸ “biblical,”⁹ “Christian”¹⁰ or “Calvinist”¹¹ republicans.

This chapter aims at questioning the alleged sway of confessional premises and arguments over Milton’s and Sidney’s political thought in general and over their plea for resistance in particular. I shall argue that a rationalist justification of resistance to arbitrary government can be identified in their political works and that the shafts they direct against Catholicism are to be construed as actually targeting principles and practices assumed unacceptable not because they would be specifically Catholic, but because they are politically and morally intolerable for human reason. This does not mean that in elaborating upon a rationalist argument they completely abandon any other more traditional theologically inspired references and arguments; it implies, though, that this rationalist bent deprives religious reasoning of its foundational role and makes it subsidiary to reason-based justification.¹² I will thus reconstruct the reason-based structure of

⁵ J. Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), in *Political Writings*, 1.

⁶ See John Miller, *Papery and Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 154–188.

⁷ Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 268.

⁸ Michael P. Winship, *Godly Republicanism. Puritans, Pilgrims and a City on a Hill* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 239–247.

⁹ Warren Cherniak, “Biblical Republicanism,” *Prose Studies* 23.1 (2000): 147–160; Walter S. H. Lim, *John Milton, Radical Politics and Biblical Republicanism* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006).

¹⁰ Michael Zuckert, *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 77–94.

¹¹ M. P. Winship “Algernon Sidney’s Calvinist Republicanism,” *British Journal Studies* 49 (2010): 753–773; Winship, *Godly Republicanism*, 246.

¹² See by contrast Gaby Mahlberg, “Le républicanisme anglais et le mythe de l’anticatholicisme,” in *La Politisation du religieux en modernité*, ed. Guillaume Marche and

Milton's and Sidney's political thought and comment on some texts which convey their anti-Catholicism while making clear that the criterion of their opposition is not religious or theological. To make sense of this rationalist plea for resistance, however, I will present it as an answer to a challenge issued by some champions of royal authority.

CONSTRUCTING A RATIONALIST ARGUMENT

The challenge is epitomized in the quotation inserted in the title of the present chapter, taken from a 1610 pamphlet by David Owen, chaplain of a favourite of James I. The arguments used by radical Calvinists (e.g. Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Theodore Beza, Lambert Daneau, George Buchanan) to justify the deposing of kings are derived from Catholic thinking (e.g. John of Paris, Jacob Almain, Marsilius of Padua, Juan Mariana).¹³ This was indeed a challenge because, as Sommerville put it, "there was justice in the charge": "Catholics were among the most vigorous assertors of the notion that kings are accountable to their people."¹⁴ For Protestant royalists, Jesuit political thinking had been responsible for the assassinations of two French monarchs (Henry III in 1589 and Henry IV in 1610) and one unsuccessful regicide in England, the Gunpowder plot (1605).

In this text, Owen does not go much further than documenting and endlessly repeating his almost unique claim. For the purpose of my argument, however, it must not go unheeded.¹⁵

Nathalie Caron (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 17–30, who softens the role of anti-Catholicism in seventeenth-century republicanism while emphasizing *pragmatic* or *religious* rather than *rationalist* motives for universal tolerance.

¹³David Owen, *Herod and Pilate Reconciled: Or, The Concord of Papist and Puritan (Against Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and Other Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings* (Cambridge, 1610). The quote in my title is taken from the heading of chap. 9: 46, *passim*. The initial title of the tract was no less clear: *The power of princes and the dutie of subjectes according to the scripture and the judgement of the auncient fathers for an antidote against the poyson of the late and lewde doctrine of papistes & puritanes*. See Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Owen, David (d. 1623)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20989>.

¹⁴J. P. Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots. Politics and Ideology in England 1603–1640*, Second edition (London: Routledge, 2014), respectively, 222 and 250.

¹⁵Miller denies any intellectual consistency to this move (*Popery and Politics in England*, 71).

Owen does not content himself with stating the religious duty of passive obedience, arguing that not only has God “forbidden Christian subjects to resist” their kings even when those “raigne as Tyrants”—he also “commanded them to endure” tyranny “with patience” even when they suffer it as mere “innocents.”¹⁶ Owen links this religious duty to submit to and obey the powers that be with a fierce charge against “natural reason” as a proper guide in matters of obedience and political affairs. He clearly dismisses from the outset any argument based on natural reason alone as a blameworthy “leud learning” drawn by radical Calvinists from “heathen Politicians.” Because they knew not “the true God” and had “but natural reason” to “direct them,” those heathens had elaborated the “pagan principle” that he who “killed tyrants” is no “murtherer but a defender of his country.”¹⁷ Now, what could appear as an intellectual weakness in Owen’s pamphlet—that is, its incapacity or unwillingness to go any further than this genealogical point, by exploring, for example, the possible motivations behind this intellectual filiation—might be seen as its main strength.

The fact that this tract is almost exclusively dedicated to arguing the Catholic pedigree of the Puritans’ subversive arguments suggests that it was obviously not meant to be a mere antiquarian comment: this is in itself an indication of its expected force in the ideological debate. Arguably, Owen deemed it efficient to assault the doctrine of resistance put forward by Calvinist authors from this angle. His view was shared by the royalists who republished his pamphlet against Puritans on several occasions: first, in abridged form in 1642, under the title *A Persuasion to Loyalty, Or the Subjects Dutie*; then in 1643, with the title *Puritano-Jesuitismus, The Puritan Turn’d Jesuite*; then again in 1652, as *The Puritan Turn’d Jesuite*, and finally in 1663 with the 1610 title. Owen’s Latin anti-resistance pamphlet of 1622, *Anti-Paraeus*, dedicated to James I, was also published in the context of a wider reaction of the Crown and the Universities to hold back pro-resistance sentiments voiced in Cambridge and Oxford Universities, in 1619 and 1622.¹⁸ Translated into English at the beginning of the Civil War in 1642, the full title of *Anti-Paraeus* mirrors the same obsession¹⁹: asserting the same claim in a context where royal authority

¹⁶ Owen, *Herod and Pilate*, 43.

¹⁷ Owen, *Herod and Pilate*, 44–45.

¹⁸ Sommerville, *Royalists and Patriots*, 72; George W. Whiting, “Pareus, the Stuarts, Laud and Milton,” *Studies in Philology* 50.2 (1953): 216–220.

¹⁹ D. Owen, *Anti-Paraeus, or a Treatise in the Defense of the Royall Rights of Kings: Against Paraeus and the Rest of the Anti-Monarchians, Whether Presbyterians or Jesuits. Wherein is*

was increasingly contested. Thus, Owen's acumen seems to be confirmed by the fact that it was thought relevant and useful to circulate his claim in order to confute the doctrine of resistance against kings.

Moreover, Owen's point had become a commonplace in the "Restoration histories of political thought"²⁰ and even a "Tory habit of mind"²¹ in monarchical thinking at the time when Algernon Sidney was writing his *Discourses* (1681–1683), as can be seen, for example, from Anglican sermons commemorating the execution of Charles I²² or from Robert Brady's 1684 additions to his *True and Exact History of the Succession* (1681).²³ Milton's revolutionary pamphlets are duly mentioned as a most inspiring work of sedition:

It is manifest that they [e.g., Milton's principles in *The Tenure*] were Jesuitical doctrines which [16]48 did pass in the Pulpits for Divinity, and in Westminster-Hall for Law, and the infamous Court of Justice [that had decided to put Charles to death] did consist of men, who were the Sons of the Jesuit, who was the Son of the Devil.²⁴

At the time, Milton was thus regularly accused, by Titus Oates and Roger L'Estrange among others, of being a "Jesuit in disguise"²⁵ because of his having justified regicide in the name of the sovereignty of the people.²⁶ It has been shown that Milton's figure and principles were seen as sufficiently influential in the pro-exclusion party to prompt their intellectual and political adversaries to document the similarity between the "Popish Principles of Rebellion"²⁷ and Milton's arguments in order to show that

Maintained the Unlawfulness of Opposing and Taking up Arms Against the Prince, either by Any Private Subject, Inferiour Magistrate, the States of the Kingdom, or the Pope of Rome (York, 1642).

²⁰ Jacqueline Rose, "Robert Brady's Intellectual History and Royalist Anti-Popery in Restoration England," *The English Historical Review* 122.499 (2007): 1287.

²¹ G. F. Sensabaugh, "Milton Bejesuited," *Studies of Philology* 47.2 (1950): 229.

²² Sensabaugh, "Milton Bejesuited," *Studies of Philology*, 227–228.

²³ Rose, "Robert Brady's Intellectual History," 1291–1293.

²⁴ Edward Pelling, *The Good Old Way* (London, 1680), 115.

²⁵ Pelling, *The Good Old Way*.

²⁶ See, for example, Titus Oates, *A True Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party Against the Life of His Sacred Majesty, the Government, and The Protestant Religion* (London, 1679), sig. A3; Roger L'Estrange, *A Further Discovery of the Plot: Dedicated to Dr. Titus Oates* (London, 1680), 27.

²⁷ George Hickes, *A Sermon Preached before the Lord Mayor, Alderman, and Citizens of London, at Bow Church, on the 30th of January 1682* (London, 1682), 17–18.

he had been a Roman Catholic.²⁸ In short, as John N. Figgis neatly put it over a century ago: in royalist eyes, “with the Revolution Whigs [among others Locke and Sidney] the connection of Jesuit doctrines is direct and obvious.”²⁹

Owen’s polemical argument nevertheless lacks any suggestion or account of the reason why Protestant writers could have thought it useful to resort to scholastic thinking in order to justify political revolution. Part of the answer lies, as Quentin Skinner has convincingly shown for the so-called Calvinist theory of revolution, in the fact that after the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 1572, Calvinists found in scholastic thinking the radical justification of resistance which they needed and that was lacking in their Protestant tradition. This intellectual move is only apparently paradoxical, however, since it should be seen as an efficient means to legitimize their revolution on a non-sectarian basis, appealing to “the broadest possible spectrum of Catholic moderates and malcontents.”³⁰

But of course, although Milton and Sidney claimed to be under Popish threats and replied to them with a similar set of radical principles that had been articulated in scholastic thinking, the late sixteenth-century Huguenots’ strategy was anything but open to them, since their royalist enemies were vehemently repeating Owen’s point that these revolutionary Puritans were not true Protestants but Catholics in disguise. Accordingly, the challenge was as follows: given the pervasive anti-Catholicism reigning in the English religious and political culture of the time, the piece of elementary intellectual history Owen helped to spread was both impossible to deny and still less easy to take on for the advocates of resistance to tyranny.

One way out of this predicament was to claim that political resistance should be vindicated from the standpoint of a natural reason available to all. The strength of the rationalist justification of resistance against kings then lies in its ability to go *beyond* religious or theological partisanship while at the same time turning the potential damaging effect of the royalist objection into a confirmation of the rationalist case. As Algernon Sidney

²⁸ See Sensabaugh, “Milton Bejesuited,” 238–239.

²⁹ John Neville Figgis, “On Some Political Theories of the Early Jesuits,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (1897): 94; see also Cesare Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653) and the Patriotic Monarch. Patriarchalism in Seventeenth-Century Political Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 191–193.

³⁰ Quentin Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2: 322.

argued, answering Filmer at the beginning of his *Discourses concerning government*, if even school divines—that is, scholastics—had been capable of conceiving of men as naturally born free to choose rationally what they think fit for themselves, it was because they were able to consult the common notions of freedom available to the common sense of all. As a result of setting forth natural reason, partisans of resistance could make appear what was for Owen a nefarious consensus as the most expectable and respectable one: the kind of agreement on such truths that only degenerate men would deny.

THE RATIONALIST STRUCTURE OF MILTON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

This is, for example, obvious in Milton's critique of Popery in the preface of his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1651). Popery cannot be accepted because it denies the basic distinction between the separate domains of political power and of religious faith: if the Church might "eject" the infidel "from the company of the faithful," the "magistrate" has no "right to drive from the state" anyone "provided that they have not sinned against the civil laws."³¹ Such duty of magistrates not to meddle with religion unless civil justice is at stake can be explained, according to Milton, by referring to the difference between political and religious aspirations when men decide to live in society. These aspirations are at the heart of Milton's highly general, abstract and concise account of the independent origins of political and religious societies: men formed society to gain safety and freedom and associated in churches to live religiously. "The former institution has its laws, the latter its teaching, quite separate (*plane diversam*)."³² Now, he continues, the main "seed of war" is sown when the "magistracy and the church confuse each other's duties (*magistrabus & ecclesia inter se officia confundunt*)," which is exactly the problem with "Popery": "it is not so much a religion as a priestly tyranny under the guise of religion, adorned with all the spoils of civil power."³³ Though Popery acts as an easy foil to Milton, the most important implication of his argument is that no religious pretence to political power is spared: Protestantism too is concerned with this general distinction between political societies (aiming at

³¹ Milton, *Defensio* (1651), in *Political Writings*, 63.

³² Milton, *Defensio*, 63.

³³ Milton, *Defensio*, 63.

peace and freedom) and religious societies (which should be deprived of any civil power). Popery is but a paradigmatic illustration of this confusion.

In the oft-quoted passage from *Areopagitica* where Milton excludes Popery from toleration, he argues that “this doubteles is more wholesome, more prudent and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather then all compell’d.”³⁴ The mention of prudence implies that the religious ground for wide tolerance (“more Christian”) instead of systematic intolerance (“all compelled”) is not omitted but seems to be insufficient. Likewise, the justification for not tolerating “Popery and open superstition” is that they are destructive of “all religions and civil supremacies,” ruining as they do the “the bond of peace.” So Milton’s criterion is not theological but political: “no law can possibly permit” something that would “unlaw” the law itself.³⁵ Milton argues along the same lines in his last pamphlet, *Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration* (1673): Popery should not be tolerated because it “claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political.” Now, since “ecclesiastical is ever pretended to be political,” Milton contends that “all magistrates” should consider if it “be fit or *reasonable* to tolerate men thus principled in Religion towards the State.”³⁶

When he endeavours to confute the divine right theory of absolute monarchy in *Eikonoklastes*, Milton displays his most scathing spirited tone to ridicule it. Though he invokes God’s “intent,” the general logic of his argument is to bypass the theological standpoint and to bring back the focus to what he takes as the main issue—the basic human rationality at work in the creation of magistrates:

that we should yield them subjection to our own ruin, hold of them the right of our common safety, and our natural freedom by mere gift (as when the conduit pisses wine at coronations) from the superfluity of their royal grace and beneficence, we may be sure was never the intent of God ...; never the intent of nature ...; never of any people not wholly barbarous, whom *prudence*, or *no more but human sense*, would have better guided when they first created kings.³⁷

³⁴ Milton, *Areopagitica* (1644), in *CPW*, 2: 565.

³⁵ Milton, *Areopagitica*, 565. See Paul M. Dowling, *Polite Wisdom: Heathen Rhetoric in Milton’s Areopagitica* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995), 99–100.

³⁶ Milton, *Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration* (1673), *CPW*, 8: 429–430 (my emphasis); see his *Of Reformation* (1641), *CPW*, 1: 597, for the same concern on the separation of Church and State.

³⁷ Milton, *Eikonoklastes* (1649), *CPW*, 3: 486 (my emphasis).

To learn more about how “human sense” is supposed to guide men in “ordain[ing] some authority,”³⁸ we have to turn to Milton’s short but dense account of the origin of political society in *The Tenure*. True, he begins with a solid theological ground for what he sees as the most pellucid truth: “No man who knows ought can be so stupid to deny that all men were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself ... and that they lived so.”³⁹ However, his endless uses of Greek and Roman sources emphasizing the virtuous struggle to recover freedom against tyrants suggest that this truth is indeed so obvious that being “Heathens” did not prevent them from acknowledging it.⁴⁰ Moreover, Milton opens his pamphlet arguing that the main cause of men’s inability to understand “what is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation” is that they are not “governed by reason.”⁴¹ And when he comes to clarify why it is absurd to claim that men could have wanted to elevate over them “Lords and Masters” and not “Deputies and Commissioners,”⁴² he simply relies on what he considers as the only motive free men can have when submitting to a common power, namely living freely and safely. “Among free persons,” Milton adds, “no other end or reason can be imaginable.”⁴³

In a passage where he deals with the usual issue of the religious duty to resist the tyrant, Milton’s vindication of tyrannicide itself confirms this rationalist approach. In *The Tenure* he holds that killing the tyrant is always legitimate for any private individual. Since he was basically contending with Presbyterians who were reluctant to follow this most radical line adopted by the Army, Milton could not fail to draw on distinguished predecessors, such as John Knox (who had defended the religious duty of resistance) and George Buchanan (who had articulated a more secular justification).⁴⁴ Now, at the key moment when Milton unfolds his thesis, he argues that “where a thing” such as tyrannicide is “grounded so much on natural reason,” then “the *addition* of a command from God” does indeed contribute to “establish the lawfulness of such an act” but without constituting its lawfulness, since it is grounded on reason. And Milton

³⁸ Milton, *Tenure*, 8–9.

³⁹ Milton, *Tenure*, 7.

⁴⁰ Milton, *Tenure*, 17.

⁴¹ Milton, *Tenure*, 1.

⁴² Milton, *Tenure*, 9.

⁴³ Milton, *Tenure*, 9.

⁴⁴ Martin Dzelzainis, “Introduction,” in Milton, *Political Writings*, xii.

drives the point home: in order to conceive the legitimacy of tyrannicide, “no man of clear judgment need go further to be guided than by the very principles of nature in him.”⁴⁵

THE REASON-BASED POLITICAL THINKING OF SIDNEY

I will now turn to Sidney, whose direct adversary in his *Discourses Concerning Government*, Robert Filmer, knew Owen’s work⁴⁶ and similarly denounced the Catholic pedigree of political radicalism.⁴⁷

In a 1648 pamphlet, Filmer argued that the advocates of the people’s natural freedom and power to create and alter governments—the “plebists”—drew their idea from the seditious “Papists,” who placed the sovereignty of the Pope over the power of kings, simply “blotting out the word pope and putting in the word people.”⁴⁸ But in contrast with Owen, Filmer did not content himself with repeating the classic biblical sources favourable to monarchical power and complete obedience; his defence also relied on a strong theoretical apparatus aimed at rebutting the populist case as self-contradictory while claiming hereditary monarchy as unavoidable. Wholly at odds with other religious royalist propagandists, Filmer’s “rational authoritarianism”⁴⁹ made him see the purported right to resist and punish rulers as a “necessary consequence” directly derived from the “supposed natural equity and freedom of mankind and liberty to choose what form of government it please.” The most efficient way to vindicate the power of kings was thus to ruin this “first erroneous principle,” because then, “the whole fabric of this vast engine of popular sedition would drop down of itself.”⁵⁰

Moreover, the importance Filmer attached to reason-based argument certainly helps to understand why figures like John Locke and Algernon Sidney thought it crucial to reply extensively to Filmer’s *Patriarcha* when

⁴⁵ Milton, *Tenure*, 19, 17 (my emphasis).

⁴⁶ Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer*, 204, n44.

⁴⁷ See C. Cuttica “Anti-Jesuit Patriotic Absolutism: Robert Filmer and French Ideas (ca.1580–1630),” *Renaissance Studies* 25.4 (2011): 559, for the formative role of Jesuit ideas in Filmer’s thought.

⁴⁸ Robert Filmer, *The Anarchy of a Limited of Mixed Monarchy* (1648), in *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. J. P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 132–133.

⁴⁹ Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer*, 154, 160n; 153, 190.

⁵⁰ Filmer, *Patriarcha*, 3.

it was published in 1680, and why they did so arming themselves with such a meticulous sense of detailed and argued refutation. However, Filmer also sometimes objected to arguments that were not based on Scriptures, especially as far as political matters were concerned.⁵¹ Most probably, Filmer wanted to get the best of both worlds.

By contrast, Sidney—at least in his *Discourses concerning government* (D)⁵²—has no theological scruple.⁵³ His refutation of *Patriarcha* is carried out from the standpoint of “common sense” and the “principles which from the beginning seem to have been common to all mankind” (D, I, 1, 7), and “the common notions of liberty are not from school divines, but from nature” (D, I, 2, 8). His strategy is to show that Filmer’s methods “overthrow[s] the principle” of the universal freedom of men: “[He] absurdly imputes to the School divines that which was taken up by them as a common notion, written in the heart of every man, denied by none, but such as were degenerated into beasts, from whence they might prove such points as of themselves were less evident” (D, I, 2, 8; see D, II, 2, 88). This is absurd because it amounts to giving priority to theological disputes over what should be seen as more widely acceptable beyond these controversies: common truths available to everyone.

To reinforce his argument and extract it from any theological dispute, Sidney adduces Euclid’s methods, arguably a key rationalist authority in the seventeenth century:

Thus did Euclid lay down certain axioms, which none could deny that did not renounce common sense, from whence he drew the proofs of such propositions as were less obvious to the understanding; and they may with as much reason be accused of paganism, who say that the whole is greater than a part, that two halves make the whole, or that a straight line is the shortest way from point to point, as to say, that they who in politicks lay such foundations, as have been taken up by Schoolmen and others as undeniable truths, do therefore follow them, or have any regard to their authority. (D, I, 2, 8)

⁵¹ Filmer, *Anarchy*, 133.

⁵² Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698), ed. T. West (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1996), henceforth quoted in the body of the text as D, followed by chapter, section and page numbers. The emphasis on religious grounds in Sidney’s *Maxims* is more important; see *Court Maxims*, ed. H. W. Blom, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁵³ C. Cuttica, “Il primato della politica: Algernon Sidney Commonwealthman,” in *Ideali repubblicani in età moderna*, ed. F. de Michelis Pintacuda and G. Franconi (Pisa: EtS, 2002), 152, 145–149.

This passage shows that even if anti-Popery was indeed a well-structured prejudice in seventeenth-century England,⁵⁴ Sidney was among those who consciously endeavoured not to let it get in the way of a rational approach to political thinking.⁵⁵ Beginning with the axiomatic natural freedom, he relied on the less disputable premise because it was the most basic structure of human reasoning in politics.⁵⁶ Furthermore, when some Scholastics drew from this rationally indisputable premise the conclusion that political resistance was legitimate, they articulated a statement that was admittedly “less obvious to the understanding” and thus appeared more contentious. A significant part of Sidney’s efforts was dedicated to showing that this conclusion was nevertheless unavoidable.⁵⁷

The most direct line of argument was that since men were free and “rational” or “reasonable creatures,” they by nature had the power to choose the conditions of their association according to what they thought most conducive to the purposes of political society: assuring justice and promoting freedom. They would, for example, entrust magistrates with some power in order to make life easier in civil society. Because they associated but to enjoy freedom, however, it was impossible that they had relinquished the right not only to assess—and when necessary dismiss—magistrates, but also to abrogate the form of the government if this form should turn out unsatisfying: “those who constitute one form [of government] may abrogate it” (D, I, 6, 20). This is a matter of inalienable and “indisputable right” to grant, regulate and abrogate the instituted power (D, III, 1, 331).

So, the natural right of individuals and nations is necessarily a two-pronged right (to establish and to abrogate), and Sidney maintains it against the usual objection to the effect that this natural right is but a

⁵⁴ Peter Lake, “Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in *Conflict in Early Stuart England, Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, ed. Anne Hughes and Richard Cust (London: Longman, 1989), 72–106.

⁵⁵ It might therefore be considered slightly off-handed to state that Sidney “insouciantly proclaimed” (Rose, “Brady’s Intellectual History,” 1315) to be “not ashamed” (D, I, 2, 11) to share ideas of popular sovereignty with either Buchanan or Bellarmine (i.e. a Jesuit theologian).

⁵⁶ In the late nineteenth century, Figgis (“On Some Political Theories of the Early Jesuits,” 109) excellently though briefly noted this point (explicitly referring to Sidney), which seems to have passed unnoticed with most scholars studying Sydney.

⁵⁷ For a detailed account of Sidney’s theory of resistance, see C. Hamel, *L’Esprit républicain. Droits naturels et vertu civique chez Algernon Sidney* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011), 421–535.

receipt for anarchy. It is on the contrary those who condemn “tumults, seditions or war” as a last resort to remove tyrannical magistrates that “subvert the foundation of law” (D, II, 24, 224). He thus conceives the right to resist tyrannical injustice as the linchpin of political fabric, since “all laws must fall, human societies that subsist by them be dissolved” if men cannot “defend themselves against injustice by their own natural right, when the ways prescribed by publick authority cannot be taken” (D, III, 4, 339–340).

As a result, the natural freedom of men is an element, in the Euclidian sense, of “political science,” and political resistance to tyranny is the less obvious but nonetheless unavoidable truth that should rationally be derived from it. Even some scholastic theologians, who were certainly corrupted in many ways (D, I, 2, 8), had been able to grasp and manipulate those most basic truths. It is important to emphasize this rationalist strategy because it provides the relevant framework within which both Sidney’s repeated attacks on Popish views and his praise of Protestant struggle against Catholic powers should be interpreted. This is not to deny the shared and compelling reasons for fearing Popery; but rather to demonstrate that these reasons were not primarily based on religious grounds.⁵⁸ One very brief illustration is Sidney’s treatment of papal (in)fallibility in his *Court Maxims, Discussed and Refelled*, written in 1664–1665 while in exile in Holland. His argument is that imposing a religious opinion is legitimate only if those who impose it are infallible. But, he asks, “we laugh at the pretence of infallibility in the bishop of Rome, and shall we allow it in him of Canterbury?” To this rhetorical question, he answers that religious opinions are by definition uncertain, and he duly concludes that: “every man ha[s] a rational and natural right of disputing what is uncertain, and of not receiving it till convinced that it’s a certain truth.”⁵⁹

I finally turn to an illustration of the way Sidney criticizes Catholic practices with an ethico-political claim. In the section showing that “Kings cannot be the interpreters of the Oaths they take” (D, III, 17, 408), Sidney denounces Filmer’s notion that a king is never bound by his oaths but “keep[s] them so far only as he should think fit.” He compares this claim to the Jesuits’ conception and use of “mental reservations.” The Jesuits have “overthrown” oaths “by mental reservations” and thus

⁵⁸ See Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis*: Sidney’s cause was “religious” “in its base,” 266. Strangely, Scott also claims that Sidney was a “relativist,” 255.

⁵⁹ Sidney, *Court Maxims*, 90–91.

introduced such “horrible” exercises that “even those of their own order who have the least spark of common honesty condemn the practice.” Likewise, to admit that “no oath is of any obligation” for the king is to introduce “a detestable practice of annihilating the force of oaths and most solemn contracts that can be made by men.” Such a principle would thus “destroy all confidence between king and people” and “overthrow all societies that subsist by them.” “I leave it to all reasonable men,” Sidney concludes, “to judge how fit a work this would be for the supreme magistrate” (D, III, 17, 410, 412).

Striking is the difference with John Locke’s theological ground for “promises, covenants, and oaths,” seen as “the bonds of human society” but which “can have no hold upon an atheist,” says Locke.⁶⁰ Though not an atheist, Sidney for his part mentions but “reasonable men.” When he addresses the issue of the foundations of the people’s confidence in their magistrates, Sidney calls upon the “law of nature” that requires the “necessity of standing to the agreements we make” (D, III, 19, 431). Now he very clearly pinpoints the independence of morality from religion, referring to those who “had virtue, tho without true religion” and would honour the “principle written in the hearts of men *pactis standum*.” (D, III, 19, 431). He can then deride Filmer’s “inclination to Rome which he prefers before Geneva.” Strikingly, though, Sidney chooses not to defend Geneva’s principles—namely *Protestant* principles—but once again he neutralizes the theological debate. He opposes Filmer’s taste for the wrong Rome, with the “morals of that city since they are become more refined by the pious and charitable Jesuits,” and his own preference for the good Rome, the Republican Rome, filled with “honest Romans” driven on by the principles of the “republican spirit”—those principles that “make men honest and generous ... lovers of liberty and constant in the defence of their country” (D, III, 19, 432). Accordingly, pagan sources could be used in order to substantiate a vision of political order sustained by a kind of civic virtue wholly independent of theological disputes and Christian dogmas.

Thus, there is true danger in essentializing or reifying religious or theological references and arguments in debates where natural reason is allowed a role, even in such a religious age as the seventeenth century. For example, it has been suggested that “since Catholicism threatened both types of

⁶⁰ John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, in *Two Treatises of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 246.

freedom [personal rights and collective autonomy], liberals and republicans [like Milton and Sidney] defended both.”⁶¹ This is highly misleading, for it completely inverts the structure of their argument, making their commitments to political values subservient to their religious concerns. The idea that the Catholic threat is the *cause* of Milton’s and Sidney’s defence of freedom has the dubious implication that if Catholicism had been seen as a lesser danger for freedom, Milton and Sidney would not have defended freedom. The truth goes the other way round: because they believed that freedom was the highest human good and servitude the worst of human evils, they made themselves “assertors of freedom”⁶² against the discourses, practices and institutions that were to their eyes inimical to it. Their anti-Catholicism was thus the result, not the cause, of this struggle, which was grounded on a reason-based account of the human motives for living in a civil society.

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⁶² J. Milton, *Defensio Secunda* (1654), in *CPW*, 4: 549; *Defensio*, 51–52; Sidney, *Discourses*, I, 5, 18.

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CHAPTER 8

Through the French Looking Glass: Anti-Semitism, Anti-Protestantism and Anticlericalism. A Study in *Doctrines of Hatred* at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Valentine Zuber

Anti-Catholicism was not exclusively a (British) Protestant affair. In the Catholic countries of Europe, anti-Catholicism could thrive in the form of anticlericalism—and this chapter will examine the case of France, where institutionalized anticlericalism led to the separation of Church and State in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, there were mirror forms of

This chapter was translated from French into English by Andy Hill (Université de Rouen Normandie). It revisits earlier notions developed by the author: Valentine Zuber, “Antisemitism, Antiprotestantism and Anticlericalism. Analysing Forms of Hatred in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair (based on the book by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu),” in *Les Chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rites grecs et latins, approche comparative, actes du colloque organisé les 14–15 juin 1999 à la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme*, ed. Michel Dmitriev, Daniel Tollet, and Élisabeth Teiro (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 247–260.

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127

religious rejection—and in France, anti-Protestantism was also a key movement at the turn of the twentieth century. What were the similarities between these “anti” currents? In 1902, a book titled *Les Doctrines de haine: L’antisémitisme, L’antiprotestantisme, L’anticléricalisme* (*Doctrines of Hatred—Antisemitism, Anti-Protestantism and Anticlericalism*) was published in Paris.¹ Its author, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu (1842–1912), a professed Roman Catholic, originated from a bourgeois liberal background and taught at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris. He was also a member of the prestigious Institut de France. Leroy-Beaulieu was famous for his extensive knowledge of Russia² and for his interest in the growth of anti-Semitism in Europe.³ He regularly contributed to the celebrated *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In his book *Doctrines of Hatred*, he broadened the spectrum of his interests by attempting a structuralist approach to contemporary political violence in France. This he illustrated with the comparative description of the three “antis”: anti-Semitism, anti-Protestantism and anticlericalism.

Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu remains a largely unknown figure to the French intellectual elite, and is difficult to put into any of the broad political and ideological categories of his period. Though politically liberal, he was not a liberal Catholic; though a devout Catholic, he was one of the few French Catholics to come out in support of the accused French army captain Alfred Dreyfus; finally, he cannot be put either in the clerical camp or in the anticlerical camp, if we refer to the scheme of that famous conflict between the “two Frances.”⁴

He was also one of the few non-Protestants to condemn the political anti-Protestantism of his time and to categorize it as a separate

¹ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Doctrines de haine: L’antisémitisme, L’antiprotestantisme, L’anticléricalisme* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1902).

² A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *L’Empire des tsars et les Russes* (Paris: Hachette, 1881).

³ A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Les Juifs et l’antisémitisme. Israël chez les nations* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1893).

⁴ On the conflict of the two Frances, see the contemporary analyses by Paul Seippel: Paul Seippel, *Les deux France et leurs origines historiques* (Lausanne et Paris: Payot et Félix Alcan, 1905), and Émile Poulat’s conceptual reworking of it: Émile Poulat, *Liberté laïcité. La guerre des deux France et le principe de modernité* (Paris: Cerf-Cujas, 1988).

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ideological doctrine similar to anti-Semitism. Indeed, anti-Protestantism was tangible enough in late-nineteenth-century France to be a serious source of concern for French Protestants. It gave rise to a whole swathe of controversial literature whose legal and political ramifications were serious enough to have been condemned by contemporaries.⁵ Historian and sociologist Jean Baubérot uncovered the history of French anti-Protestantism in a seminal article in the early 1970s, and this has been well covered since.⁶ There is no longer any doubt among historians today that this historical doctrine of hatred, which has now more or less disappeared, really existed.⁷

Our focus of analysis in this chapter will be the comparative model posited by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu between the different “antis” that he listed.⁸ Needless to say, he greatly shocked the Republicans of his day and caused misunderstanding by so deliberately including anticlericalism in his typology of “doctrines of hatred.” Moving beyond the debates of the time, it is the equation that he made between “antis,” by comparing anti-Semitism, anti-Protestantism and anticlericalism that must be re-examined. Were these doctrines really of the same nature and did they follow the same structural scheme or were they radically heterogeneous and therefore incomparable?

⁵ See in particular the widely read books of the period specializing in the condemnation of Protestantism by Georges Thiébaud, *Le Parti protestant, les progrès du protestantisme en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*. Conference organized by the Anti-Semite Students Group, in the Gallican church hall in the rue d'Arras (Paris: Albert Savine, 1895); Jules Aper, *Le Trio juif, franc-maçon, protestant* (Paris: Arthus Savaète, 1898); Ernest Renauld, *Le Péril protestant* (Paris: Tolra, 1899) and *La Conquête protestante* (Paris: V. Retaux, 1900); Pierre Froment, *La Trahison protestante* (Paris: A. Pierret, 1899); Gaston Mercier, *L'Esprit protestant* (Paris: Perrin, 1901); *Catéchisme anti-protestant* (Paris: Librairie des Saints-Pères, 1902).

⁶ Jean Baubérot, “L'anti-protestantisme politique à la fin du XIX^e siècle,” *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse* 52.4 (1972): 449–484.

⁷ J. Baubérot and V. Zuber, *Une haine oubliée. L'antiprotestantisme avant le pacte laïque (1870–1905)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000); Michèle Sacquin-Moulin, *Entre Bossuet et Maurras. L'antiprotestantisme en France de 1814 à 1870*, prefaced by André Encrevé, foreword by Philippe Boutry (Paris: Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes, 1997); Bertrand Joly, “Avec Dreyfus, les protestants au pilori,” *Notre Histoire* 46 (1988): 22–28; Steven C. Hause, “Antiprotestant Rhetoric in the Early Third Republic,” *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989): 183–201; Jean-Éric Callon, “L'Antiprotestantisme en France de 1787 à nos jours,” *Diplôme de l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques d'Aix-en-Provence*, 1990, manuscript.

⁸ Pierre Birnbaum, *“La France aux français”: Histoire des haines nationalistes* (Paris: Seuil, 1993).

STRUCTURAL EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN “ANTIS”

Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu was an isolated intellectual figure in the early twentieth century, in particular at the time he was poised to tackle contemporary political violence in France in a series of lectures he gave at the *École des hautes études sociales*. While he summed up that political violence as the expression of three main ideological doctrines—namely anti-Semitism, anti-Protestantism and anticlericalism—all based on race or faith, he did not ignore other forms of contemporary hate, described at length in his introduction. Those were based on politics and class, and included anti-parliamentarianism, antimilitarism and anti-capitalism, which he claimed rival one another in their “blind fury and inept anger ... as if patriotism, ... and religion themselves consisted in cursing and forbidding.” He painted a picture of a disoriented country whose different component parts only sought violently to condemn the others as enemies, driven as they were by the blind panic of having to succumb to their blows in return. He believed that the quest for freedom and its preservation which had guided previous generations had given way to a frenetic race to reduce other people’s freedoms, under the false pretext of protecting each individual’s specific liberty, as if the only—intrinsically flawed—solution to intolerance was intolerance itself. Leroy-Beaulieu saw this tendency to destroy freedoms at work in the extremist doctrines voiced by “confused governments with woolly aspirations” who, as a result of the Dreyfus affair (1894–1906), drowned out the more measured, respectful expressions of democracy coming from the traditional political parties.⁹ He saw voice being given to these ideological currents across the political spectrum, either in parallel or in divergent directions, but all using the same rhetorical trends and techniques.

The call for hatred and the denial of other people’s freedoms formed the basis for their structural identity. Thus, he identified extreme and strangely similar forms of hatred at the two opposite ends of the political spectrum: right-wing anti-Semitism (and anti-Protestantism) and nationalism, and left-wing anticlericalism and socialism. In fact, those ideologies shared the same methods of playing to the basest instincts of the masses, while seeming to defend apparently totally opposed ideological

⁹The Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906) was a major French political scandal which involved the false accusation of treason against a French Jewish army officer, Captain Alfred Dreyfus. The “Affair” as it became known divided politicians and the whole of French society into two camps: the pro-Army, pro-monarchical Catholic “anti-Dreyfusards” and the anticlerical, pro-Republican “Dreyfusards.”

options—condemned altogether by Leroy-Beaulieu. He even went as far as equating those movements with “secular religions” along with their fanatical followers, for whom the salvation of France would justify all types of struggle, even the most brutal ones. For those “secular religions,” there was no room for trying to convince their opponents through democratic debate—their approach was rather to eliminate them by making them scapegoats for all the ills of society.

There were forms of hatred from ancient times which had resurfaced as if in ignorance of the modernized France that had emerged from the French Revolution. The spirit of intolerance, thought to be a thing of the past, had resurfaced and potentially posed a mortal threat for Frenchness, or to put it in a more contemporary way, France’s international image. These three “antis” were sworn enemies, born out of and fuelled by comparable passions and only really differing in the object of their loathing. Leroy-Beaulieu also strove to compare them by using a single approach in order to highlight their obvious similarities. He identified common grievances: firstly, their proponents were motivated by strong religious hatred, and were particularly intolerant of others’ beliefs. The “anti” militants claimed that if their enemies came to power, they would direct the legitimate force of public authorities against those who did not hold similar opinions. Secondly, they all professed to racial antipathy, and were direct voice pieces of all kinds of prejudice holding other faith-based and/or racial groups to be obstacles to the unity of the people and to national identity. In addition to these antipathies came economic or class-based resentments, but also political rivalries which went as far as combining an excessive desire for strong government with the rejection of the legitimacy of liberal-style democratic debate.

All these resentments and rivalries were draped in the virtuous cloak of the “good cause”: guaranteeing that a single truth would triumph, in order to protect the patriotic unity of the nation against an enemy who was always portrayed as a divisive, destructive influence. But the points of comparison between the three antis were not limited to their respective grievances, although they were very similar. Some of the methods they used were also troublingly alike. The language spoken, their ideology, and the way they stigmatized outsiders were also structurally similar. There was “the same bile, with the same venom, the same narratives and the same prejudices, the same discrimination, with the same facile arguments”

in their expression.¹⁰ In fact, the anti-Semites, anti-Protestants and anti-clericals all claimed to be the true defenders of freedom of conscience against the intolerant onslaughts of outsiders (Jews, Protestants and the clergy). Anti-Semites contended that they had nothing against the religion of the Jews, but argued that they were combatting the failings of their “race,” and the way it made them want to lay their hands on the wealth of their host country. Anti-Protestants did not claim to wage war on ministers or to denounce the errors of the Protestant faith, but they found it constructive and legitimate to denounce a so-called Protestant spirit which they claimed made the tenets of that religion want to take over the State from within. Anti-clericals denied challenging the truths advanced by the Catholic religion but claimed that by denouncing the influence of the priests and by eliminating religious orders, they were serving the cause of a Catholic Church purged of impurities and once again faithful to its original message.

The reality is that these three “antis” all effectively tried to undermine their adversaries’ religions, practices and ethics. They did not spare their dogmas, their books or even their history, and used selective or abbreviated quotations and examples of historical intolerance which, they claimed, would repeat themselves in the present. The three “antis” shared the same fear of outsiders, always presented as parasites. Jews were not French, they were Semites, because true French people were necessarily Arians. The true homeland of the Jews was Jerusalem, and as they had been chased out, they were eternal stateless cosmopolitans. Protestants, though they had been expelled from France under the reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715), seemed to be resurfacing and conquering public positions. This was because they had come back from abroad, emboldened by the unrest caused by the French Revolution. However, their homeland was in still in Geneva, and their hearts were in London or Berlin. On the other side of the Channel, anticlerical discourse echoed the anti-Catholic discourse.¹¹ Back in France, Catholics, or pro-clerical *papists*, according to anti-clericals, were French citizens who had divided loyalties, as they also had to submit to the authority of a foreign sovereign, the Pope. Their true homeland was Rome and their hearts belonged first and foremost to the Vatican.

¹⁰ Birnbaum, “*La France aux français*,” 63.

¹¹ Hugh McLeod, “Varieties of Anticlericalism in Later Victorian and Edwardian England,” in *Anticlericalism in Britain c. 1500–1914*, ed. Nigel Aston and Matthew Cragoe (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 208.

In the end, the three antis accused Jews of “Judaizing” French society, Protestants of “Germanizing” it, and Catholics of “Latinizing” it, in other words of wanting to deny and denationalize “true French spirit,” the only worthy descendant of the Celtic or Gallic spirit. Thus the expression of the three “antis” was one of true nationalism. Through their desire to shield the French spirit from any outside cultural influences, from any internationalism, they undermined the very foundations of the French nation, patiently built with interrelations and assimilations through the ages. They actually wanted a return of French culture to that of the cavemen—admittedly crude but at least purified of any outside influence. Finally, with abundant use of medical metaphor, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, were each said to constitute a foreign body in the nation, a State within the State, akin to a form of cancer, threatening the “normal” functioning of the social body. The only cure was a violent surgical removal, in order to preserve its unity and purity.

This paradoxical double fear of the supposed foreignness of the Jews, Protestants and Catholics, and of the worm in the fruit, characterized by the idea that they all simultaneously formed a State within the State, was common to all three antis. This blind fear of difference, and rejection of the possibility of pluralism within the same nation posed a major political threat: that of dictatorship. The purification the antis were demanding would necessarily have led to the recognition of the all-powerfulness of the State over individuals. There would no longer have been any obstacle in the way of the State, removing either gradually or immediately, but always with the same determination, all the personal freedoms allowing the expression of differences that made up the rich tapestry of a complex society. This would start with the questioning of the freedom of instruction, as that was what conditioned the development of a good citizen, but would necessarily lead to the removal of all other public freedoms, laying down obstacles to the guarantee of each individual’s freedom of conscience.

After this unyielding analysis, Leroy-Beaulieu tried to undermine the plausibility of these doctrines of hatred by examining the real content of their arguments. The fact that these three “antis” with such similar grievances applied to such dissimilar categories as Jews, Protestants or Catholics, was concrete proof that the perils they denounced were more fantasy than reality. The real risk lay more in this hateful expression of fear than in the accusations levelled at them. While the fear was perhaps justifiable, Leroy-Beaulieu explained that the means of its expression through these doctrines of hatred must be forcefully denounced because by preaching hate

and division, they were resolutely misguided in their methods and in their ends (one would say now that they could damage community cohesion). The author treated them as immoral and antisocial doctrines because, by radically externalizing the causes of social dysfunctions, the problems of the time, they excluded self-investigation. If France did indeed need moral reform at this time (and a parallel can be drawn with similar moral and social reform injunctions during the Second Boer War in Britain), it had to be undertaken from within the nation. Assigning responsibility for the social breakdown to minority and external scapegoat elements would only serve as an outlet for frustrations and would have a negligible effect when one considered the global challenges facing France. Finally, through their puerile, reactionary focus on just one explanation for modern social malaise, these doctrines were also anti-social, as they diverted public attention from the real problems that remained to be solved, the effective reforms necessary for France to remain one of the great powers of the Western world.

THE REDISCOVERY OF POLITICAL ANTI-PROTESTANTISM IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

While the history of rising anti-Semitism in France in the late nineteenth century is now well documented, the political anti-Protestantism which emerged during the same era remains largely unknown. When historians who study Third Republic France allude to it, they generally consider it as a simple replica of contemporary anti-Semitism. There are various reasons for this lack of acknowledgement. First, anti-Protestantism was significantly less popular than contemporary anti-Semitism and did not last as long. Second, anti-Semitism proved to be durable well into the twentieth century by morphing into racism, which was not the case with anti-Protestantism despite the efforts of some militant anti-Protestants. Third, anti-Protestantism was not used as a singularizing strategy by Protestant writers. It is indeed remarkable that in the noteworthy 1978 annual conference of the Society of the History of French Protestantism, whose main focus was Protestantism under the Third Republic, there were no papers specifically delivered on the issue, even if it was mentioned in several.¹² What were the reasons for this silence? Has anti-Protestantism been forgotten or is it self-censorship on the part of Protestant authors? Fourth,

¹² André Encrevé and Michel Richard, eds., *Les Protestants français dans les débuts de la III^e République* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, 1979).

anti-Protestantism was mainly anchored in ultra-Catholic environments, although some anti-Protestants could be found in other milieus. This was particularly the case in anticlerical circles, exemplified by the Radical mayor of Lyon and prime minister, Edouard Herriot (1872–1927), or by André Lorulot (1885–1963), the leading proponent of Free Thought in the first half of the twentieth century.¹³ There were even some anti-Protestants of Protestant origin like the right-wing Montpellier lawyer Gaston Mercier or the old left-wing ultra-liberal pastor Auguste Dide.

In any case, it is not receivable to argue that the ideology of anti-Protestantism was of no interest because of the small number of people targeted. At the end of the nineteenth century, Protestantism in its Calvinist and Lutheran components was certainly a minority, but it still represented the second largest religious denomination in the country. The Israelite community was, in this respect, even smaller in France and yet it had countless opponents.

For Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, anti-Protestantism was the offspring of anti-Semitism. The themes both “anti” doctrines exploited were the same and appeared successively in time. Besides, these two doctrines of hatred stigmatized two enterprising and original religious minorities which maintained supportive interrelations and were considered threatening for the mythical unity of an all-Catholic France.

Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu listed the various anti-Protestant arguments and proposed to refute them one by one. To the accusation that Protestants were proselytes, he answered that it was one of the components of freedom of conscience to want to share one’s convictions, and that this right was given to Catholic missionaries without restriction. As for the supposed crime of the purchase of Catholic consciences by Protestants, he found it particularly fanciful and improbable as, in his opinion, was the picture of Protestant fanaticism painted by popular author Alphonse Daudet in his 1883 accusatory novel *The Evangelist*.¹⁴ When Protestants were accused of wanting to de-Christianize France by secretly inspiring the “occult” practices of freemasonry, Leroy-Beaulieu easily proved that, on the contrary, freemasonry had held onto its religious inspiration in Protestant countries, whereas it had become atheist in Catholic countries like France.

¹³ Jacqueline Lalouette, *La Libre Pensée en France, 1848–1940* (Paris: Albin Michel), 1997.

¹⁴ Alphonse Daudet, *L’Évangéliste, roman parisien* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1883). See Jacques Poujol, “Réalité et fiction dans l’Évangéliste d’Alphonse Daudet,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français* 130 (1984): 193–229.

To the widely held belief at the time (whether by pro- or anti-Protestants) that the Reformation was the “mother” of the French Revolution, Leroy-Beaulieu expressed surprise that such a revolution could have happened in a country almost entirely devoid of Protestants. He also noted that the individualism advocated by the Protestant doctrine of *liberum examen* (free enquiry) did not mean that large Protestant countries like the United States or England were nations doomed to descend into anarchy.

He then strove to define this famous “Protestant spirit,” which, like the “Jewish spirit,” was generally denounced by anti-Protestants. The Protestant spirit was said to be a foreign spirit, dissolving national unity and damaging Christianity. Leroy-Beaulieu showed that this was a false generalization since there was no religious community more divided in France than the Protestants, by virtue of their principle of freedom of enquiry. For this reason, any joint action on their part against the interests of France seemed unlikely. From a political perspective, while a certain number of ardent Republicans were indeed Protestants (at least nominally, because many of them had turned their backs on the religion of their childhood), there were also staunch Protestant monarchists, like François Guizot. Furthermore, there were many European kingdoms at the time which were ruled by Protestant monarchs. Protestantism seemed in no way to him to be linked to a single political and social system, still because of the principle of free individual choice. The reason he saw an affinity between a “Protestant spirit and a “Jewish spirit” was rather that Protestants and Jews had shared the same common experience of exclusion and suffering throughout history. This had given them common instincts, the spirit shared by all religious minorities in all countries, which made them want to ensure that the persecutions and inequalities of the past could not be repeated.

In reaction to the accusation that Protestants were foreigners destroying the French nationality, Leroy-Beaulieu responded that it would prove difficult to assimilate them with a foreign race, as it was commonly done with Jews. Some anti-Protestant authors had tried to nuance this foreignness by distinguishing the “French” Protestants who had been living in the villages and towns of Southern France for centuries and the Protestant “foreigners” who had returned back to France in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Leroy-Beaulieu also vigorously opposed the popular idea which assimilated religions to people—Judaism being the religion of the Semites, Protestantism the religion of Germanics, Catholicism the religion of the Latins, and Orthodoxy the religion of the Greeks and Slavs.

He observed that all major religions had spread beyond the nations in which they originated and railed against the brand of intellectual protectionism which consisted in closing its borders to any intellectual influence from abroad. Leroy-Beaulieu did however support the theory, in vogue among certain French Calvinists, of a purely French Reformation independent from the Lutheran Reformation. Finally, he refuted the idea that the French spirit could be reduced to a “Gallic” spirit, using several examples to illustrate the importance of the Protestant influence in the development of a common French culture.

THE SPECIFICITY OF ANTI-PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE

The main thrust of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu’s argument against anti-Protestantism was to equate it almost entirely with contemporary anti-Semitism. Now, as current research has demonstrated, it is necessary to moderate this kind of parallel, as it would tend to brand anti-Protestantism as a younger doctrine—because of the time of its development and the lesser virulence of its zealots—than anti-Semitism. In some respects, anti-Protestantism, in its political form, was largely present prior to anti-Semitism as it propagated from Germany to France in the 1880s. Anti-Protestantism was more than just “watered-down anti-Semitism” to borrow ultra-nationalist Edouard Drumont’s expression who considered Protestants as “watered-down Jews.” Indeed, the situation of Protestants in France was somewhat different from that of the Jews, in that it was a Christian denomination and not a different religion. In an 1895 lecture to the anti-Semitic French youth, Georges Thiebaud warned the latter not to focus exclusively on the Jewish issue because it would benefit the Protestants and leave the way clear for their heinous actions. This is how the latter portrayed a historical-racial conception of religions, presenting the particularly troubled history of Europe as a clash of races—namely the Latin Catholic Celts against Protestant Germans and Anglo-Saxons and the Greek Orthodox Slavs. Thiebaud believed those European-scale conflicts could be reproduced on a national scale. Hence he offered a whole re-reading of history which saw the feudal aristocracy as a caste destined to be Protestant because of its eternal seditious spirit. In his eyes, this justified the absolutist measures taken successively by Catholic kings against the aristocrats’ political claims to royal power, because they wanted to set up a State within the State. Similarly, the French Revolution, for those who subscribed to this theory, appeared as a just revolt of the “Gauls” against those same separatist and anti-French claims.

Furthermore, political anti-Protestantism was fundamentally rooted in the writings of post-1789 counter-revolutionary and reactionary thinkers like Joseph de Maistre or Louis de Bonald.¹⁵ From those first anti-Protestant pamphlets emerged the main themes taken up in later writings: the cultural threat that Protestantism posed to France, to personal and family morality—with the introduction of divorce, the invention of a “Godless” school and Malthusian trends in birth control—to intellectual culture—the success of German romanticism over French classicism—to political functioning—the abuses of freedom of inquiry and of liberalism leading inevitably to anarchy, then to tyranny—to social culture—the invention of bad capitalism and the development of socialism. Finally, anti-Protestant accusations were supposed to be based on facts such as the so-called overrepresentation of Protestants in the “anticlerical” civil service, but also on “proven” events such as the supposedly ambivalent attitude of Protestant pastors during the 1870 War, as well as the Anglo-American tropism of Protestants in overseas Evangelistic missions.

Some anti-Protestant circles denied being anti-Semitic, because, according to them, anti-Semitism divided the nation when it should be dealing with the Protestants’ underground pursuits which, as the spearhead of Republican anticlericalism, were bound to create much more serious divisions among the French. Protestants were thus considered the most dangerous of enemies because they were difficult to situate ideologically, as they stood at the crossroads between the two sides in the conflict of the “two Frances”—that is, the France of the monarchist Catholic tradition on the one side, and that of the revolutionary, Republican tradition on the other side.

ANTICLERICALISM, A SEPARATE CASE?

The second issue raised by a reading of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu’s book on the similarity of the three “antis” has been a cause for debate among academics. The French historian Pierre Birnbaum thinks that the argument equating the three “antis” is unacceptable for two essential reasons.¹⁶ First, he denounces an internal contradiction in Beaulieu’s writing by

¹⁵ Joseph de Maistre, *Œuvres choisies*, T. I, *Les soirées de Saint-Petersbourg ou entretiens sur le gouvernement temporel de la providence, entretiens I à VI*; T. II, *entretiens VII–XI*; T. IV, *Considérations sur la France, Opuscules, Pensées* (Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1910).

¹⁶ Birnbaum, “*La France aux français*,” 20–23.

stating that the latter postulates that anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism predated anticlericalism, and that these two hatreds would not have developed without the rise of anticlericalism. Second, anticlericalism never gave rise to as much physical violence than the other two forms of hatred did: “While it is true that near-identical hatreds appeared in anticlerical writings and in those which leaned systematically towards anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism, the use of violence in the two cases, in the guise of concrete action, is in no way historically comparable.”¹⁷ Whereas anticlerical hatred was sometimes expressed physically, and even incurred several fatalities, this was only very exceptional—it did happen when unauthorized congregational schools were closed or, very locally, at the time of the separation of Church and State. On the contrary, anti-Semitic and anti-clerical violence was much more widespread and tangible. It was a serious threat for a relatively long period—that of the Dreyfus affair (1894–1906). Moreover, by targeting Jews and Protestants, the violent outbursts and street demonstrations of the nationalistic anti-Semitic and anti-Protestant leagues represented a serious political hazard to the stability of the French Republic.

However, for historian Patrick Cabanel, anti-clerical violence in France did exist, and has often been overlooked, perhaps because it took the guise of State-sponsored violence.¹⁸ The anti-clerical violence of the 1900s, which erupted under laws passed by the majority of citizens represented in the Parliament, was no less genuine. The violence of the State perhaps explains how the trauma experienced by Catholics during the brutal secularization measures at the turn of the century could have resulted in a certain desire for revenge, assuaged under the Vichy regime. The connection made between these three doctrines of hatred also shows how they fed off each other with successive cycles of political violence—the 1870s–1880s were marked by a wave of anticlericalism, 1886 was a climax of anti-Semitic and anti-Protestant violence, and 1898–1904 represented a period of renewed anticlericalism. Finally, Cabanel’s group study of the exclusion phenomena during the *Belle Époque* shows that they tended to

¹⁷ Birnbaum, “*La France aux français*,” 21.

¹⁸ Patrick Cabanel, “Antisémitisme et anticléricalisme selon Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu: Un essai d’approche structuraliste de l’extrémisme politique (1893–1902),” *Historiographie de l’État républicain. Portraits intellectuels—Autour de Jaurès, Cahiers Jean Jaurès* 142 (1996): 55–75.

resurface each time a monistic conception of French society was officially put forward at the highest level of the State.

Both Birnbaum and Cabanel have tried to pinpoint the adversaries of the “antis.” Pierre Birnbaum rightly remarks that only anticlericalism had a real opponent to face up to, namely clericalism. As regards the other “antis,” nailing down the adversaries was less easy as there were no true “Semitic” or ultra-Protestant movements. On the whole, Patrick Cabanel is right to call for a historiographical revision of French Republican history. This revision has already been in progress for a number of years, but has not really been popularized yet.¹⁹ It is significant, however, that acclaimed historian René Rémond embraced it (in a shift from his first book on the subject)²⁰ when he wrote that anticlericalism continued to thrive even when clericalism had become moribund. Rémond thus established a parallel between the 1900s laws against religious congregations and laws against the Jews enacted in the 1940s by the Vichy regime.²¹

There was also in France a pacific anti-clerical movement. Politicians such as Jules Ferry (minister for Education) and Edgar Quinet were representatives of this soft anticlericalism. They most certainly would have applauded Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu’s denunciation of anticlericalism (akin to pure anti-Catholicism). Effectively, there was anticlericalism without hatred, while the same thing could hardly be said about the anti-Semitism or anti-Protestantism of the time. Pierre Birnbaum correctly points out that the “anti” leagues and the theorists openly attacked the Jewish and Protestant population that they wished “to fight, expel or even annihilate and not only the institutions that represent them,” while claiming to defend the Catholic identity of French society. On the other side and only in certain circumstances, the police, representing the State, clashed with identified Catholic militants in order to “enforce laws passed in the Chamber of Deputies by the representatives of national opinion.”

Accordingly, there is some structural ambivalence with anticlericalism while anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism were self-contained—this point may be enough to differentiate them. But one could also push this criticism further and wonder at other inadequately highlighted Republican

¹⁹ Jean-Pierre Machelon, *La République contre les libertés?* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1976); Odile Rudelle, *La République absolue. Aux origines de l’instabilité constitutionnelle en France, 1870–1889* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne, 1982).

²⁰ René Rémond, *L’Anticléricalisme en France de 1815 à nos jours* (Paris: Fayard, 1976).

²¹ R. Rémond, *Une laïcité pour tous* (Paris: Textuel, 1998).

failings that deserve greater attention from historians. For example, the introduction of full universal suffrage (that is to say, male and female) in France followed a century of male-only suffrage, whereas in most other European countries, this gap was only thirty years long. This French divergence from the norm has often been explained by the Republican mistrust of women who were supposedly subjugated to clerics. Thus, this particular brand of anticlericalism was responsible for a violence that was not so fierce from a verbal or physical point of view, but patently sexist. This was of course in blatant contradiction with the 1789 Declaration of Human Rights, that the anti-clericals nevertheless openly claimed to defend.²²

In conclusion, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu touched a raw nerve of Republican memory, and very pertinently called into question a society which seemed to cover up more or less violent exclusion phenomena, each time that a conception denying the pluralism of society was defended by an influential group or one considered as such. This debate on the imaginary or real pluralism of French society is still relevant today, even if the stakes and participants are not quite the same as at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the past thirty years, the French ongoing debate on the legitimacy of Islam's visibility—with regular headlines on the issue of the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women—in the public arena has once again raised the question of France's difficult relationship with pluralism.²³ For a section of the French population, true citizenship for Muslim women is valid when the latter show signs of “emancipation” from their religious identity. This line of thought thus perpetuates a form of Republican discourse reminiscent of nineteenth-century criticisms of women as objective allies of Catholic clericalism. Using the paternalistic rhetoric of emancipation and claiming to be unequivocal in its interpretation of what individual freedom is, this thinking trend is characterized both by renewed

²²V. Zuber, *Le Culte des droits de l'homme* (Paris: Gallimard, 2014).

²³For a comparison with the British case, see John Wolffe, “Protestant-Catholic Divisions in Europe and the United States: An Historical and Comparative Perspective,” *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 12.3 (2011): 241–256, here 255: “In conclusion it is instructive to revisit the comparison between historic Protestant–Catholic tensions and contemporary Islamophobia. This article has highlighted some of the complexities of historic anti-Catholicism, a diverse phenomenon, which both shows significant continuities across time and adaptations to changing contexts. It therefore, despite obvious ideological differences, had much in common with Islamophobia, as it is characterized by the best recent scholarship. Indeed the typology of anti-Catholicism outlined above could with some adjustments readily be applied to Islamophobia.”

anticlericalism and by antifeminism. Through the stigmatization of a particular religion, it presents features akin to a “doctrine of hatred.” Whether described as anti-Muslim racism or Islamophobia, it was first articulated at the far right of the political spectrum as a corollary to the fight against immigration. Yet in the current anxious climate resulting from the terrorist attacks of a jihadist nature in France (2015), this Islamophobia has been adopted by far-left groups, and has even infused traditional political parties—thus evidencing the darker side of the Republican ideology in France. This “doctrine of hatred” prolongs an anticlericalism inherited from the Enlightenment which stressed that the (French) Republic’s existence depended upon a perpetual struggle against the “enemies of freedom.” It seems to prove somewhat effective in a society which has currently been destabilized both by financial globalization and by socio-religious pluralization.

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PART III

Capitalizing on Anti-Catholicism and
the Rise of Englishness



The Scandalous Nun: Anti-Catholic Representations of English Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century

Laurence Lux-Sterritt

Following the Reformation, Catholicism in England was perceived as a threat to the kingdom's integrity. A number of plots contributed to this perception, seemingly confirming that danger came both from outside (as with the 1588 attempted invasion by Philip II's Spanish Armada) and from inside (as exemplified by the 1605 Gunpowder Plot). By the seventeenth century, underground recusant networks of resistance successfully supported the mission led by Jesuits trained on the Continent, despite the growing legal arsenal meant to suppress the movement.¹ In that context, Catholicism gradually came to be represented as incompatible with

¹Under Elizabeth I, parliament passed several acts, popularly known as the Religion Act (1580), the Jesuits Act (1584), the Popish Recusant Act (1592); her Stuart successor re-edited the Jesuits Act in 1603, the Popish Recusants Act (1605) and drafted a new Oath of Allegiance in 1609, to which Charles I's parliament added a Popery Act in 1627.

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Englishness and loyalty to the Crown; virulent propaganda was deployed to second penal laws in an effort to ostracize Catholic subjects.² During the course of the century, the publication of anti-Catholic pamphlets intensified and further contributed to the alienation of English Catholics.

It has been shown that in that context of persecution, women played a crucial role in the organization and protection of recusant communities.³ Yet for those who envisaged a life of contemplation rather than action, there was no other choice but to emigrate (illegally) to the Continent, to enter one of the foreign convents there. Vocations were numerous enough to justify the foundation, in 1598 in Brussels, of the first English convent in exile. Over the next century, another 21 English convents were founded in Europe and, by the time the French Revolution forced all religious houses to close, over 3500 Englishwomen had crossed the Channel to become nuns. Another monastery was founded further away, in Port Tobacco, Maryland. To these enclosed cloisters must be added the several unenclosed houses founded throughout Europe by Mary Ward (1585–1645) and her so-called Jesuitesses. If we include these institutions, an estimated 4136 Englishwomen entered English convents between 1598 and 1800.⁴

Despite the relative importance of this female religious commitment to the Roman Catholic cause, very few of the anti-Catholic pamphlets printed in England at the time chose to dwell upon the militancy of the convents founded on the Continent. Most of those publications focused upon points of theology or controversy; in times of national crises, they denounced the treachery of English Catholics at large, but very few wrote

²Some studies have shown that at grassroots level, Catholics and Protestants sometimes cohabited quite well; see, for instance, Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton, eds., *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) or W. J. Sheils, “‘Getting On’ and ‘Getting Along’ in Parish and Town: Catholics and Their Neighbours in England,” in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*, ed. Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk Van Nierop and Judith Pollman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 67–83.

³John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1976); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993) and Marie Rowlands, “Recusant Women 1560–1640,” in *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 149–180.

⁴See K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *English Catholic Nuns in Exile, 1600–1800. A Biographical Register*, Prosopographica & Genealogica (Occasional Publications UPR, 2017). For more information, see the “Who Were the Nuns ?” project, especially its notes on convent, <https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/about/convent-notes/> (accessed August 6, 2018).

specifically about women. Amongst those who did take an interest in exiled nuns were pamphleteers John Gee and James Wadsworth. Gee ended his *New Shreds of the Old Snare* with “A Discourse of English Nunnes,” and gave a brief account of English convents in exile and a list of 46 women whom he knew had become nuns in the last three years, with a short list of men involved in their crossing of the Channel.⁵ Wadsworth’s long title for his *English Spanish Pilgrime ... laying open the new Order of Jesuitrices and preaching Nunnes* announced revelations of Mary Ward’s female Society of Jesus. Yet in the body of the book, Wadsworth showed little interest for this group of women, preferring to dwell upon the Jesuits with whom they worked. He dedicated only three pages (out of 95) to Mary Ward’s houses, and only flittingly (in just over one page) evoked other English convents.⁶ Neither Gee nor Wadsworth deemed it worth their while to make nuns the principal focus of their publications. Like the vast majority, their work concentrated predominantly on men, and particularly on the Jesuits. Nuns did not appear to be much of a threat: if they were a danger at all, it was a danger thrice removed. They were “but women,”⁷ they lived far away from England, and they were cloistered behind high walls.

This chapter will look at two of the rare publications which did claim to focus on nuns: Thomas Robinson’s *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall: Dissected and Laid Open by One that was Sometime a Yonger Brother of the Convent* and Thomas Herbert’s *Newes Newly Discovered, in a Pleasant Dialogue betwixt Papa the False Pope, and Benedict an honest Fryer, Showing the Merry Conceits which the Friars have in their*

⁵ John Gee, *New Shreds of the Old Snare* (London, 1624), 113, “A Discourse of English Nunnes of Late” and “A Catalogue of the Names of Such Young Women as to This Authors Knowledge have been Within Two or Three Years Last Past Transported to the Nunneries Beyond the Seas,” 119 and “Factors Employed for the Conveying of the Said Women to the Nunneries,” 121.

⁶ James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime ... Laying Open the New Order of Jesuitrices and Preaching Nunnes* (London, 1629). Mary Ward’s bold Ignatian vocation did not meet with the approval either of the Society of Jesus or of the Pope, who never recognized her houses as religious and suppressed them in his Bull of 1631.

⁷ This expression was used in 1617, when a Jesuit had criticized Mary Ward and her followers on the grounds that “they are but women.” See Laurence Lux-Sterritt, “An Analysis of the Controversy Caused by Mary Ward’s Institute in the 1620s,” *Recusant History* 25.4 (2001): 636–647.

Cloysters amongst Handsome Nuns.⁸ Published 19 years apart, one in 1622 as the Spanish Match crisis was about to reach its climax, the other in 1641 at the time of the Irish Rebellion, both foregrounded nuns as principal objects of interest. They differed in nature: Robinson claimed to provide a true testimony of his own experience when he had converted to Catholicism and lived with the community of English Bridgettines established at Lisbon. Having recanted, he proceeded to denounce the egregious evils of Catholicism through the medium of his micro-study of that particular English convent. Herbert's piece, on the contrary, was openly fictional. The retired and disgruntled sea-captain contributed to the fashion of "merry," or "pleasant" dialogues between antithetical and highly symbolic characters, the better to fustigate the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church. Yet despite such differences, both publications echoed the same stereotypes about the Roman clergy, and both utilized the trope of the nunnery in similar ways, and to serve the same ends. As they claimed to unveil the truth hidden behind high walls and grates, both authors portrayed the convent as the epitome of Catholic corruption; in times of political tension, they warned virtuous English subjects against the Roman enemy, yet simultaneously quelled the alarm they raised by reducing that threat to mere ridicule. Under the quill of these pamphleteers, nuns were of little interest in themselves, but yielded much more value as pawns in the literary war against Roman Catholicism.

UNVEILING THE NUNNERY'S TRUE VISAGE

During the course of the seventeenth century, publications which denounced Catholic recusants flourished, especially in during episodes of tension such as the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, or the crisis of the Spanish match in 1623–1624; in 1641, the Irish rebellion also triggered a rise in anti-Catholic feeling. The 1678 Popish Plot and the 1679 exclusion crisis were followed by an outpouring of anti-Papist pamphlets, as were, of course, the events of the 1688 Glorious Revolution. Recent studies have shown that anti-popery pamphlets reflected the nation's anxiety about an

⁸Thomas Robinson, *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall: Dissected and Laid Open by One that was Sometime a Younger Brother of the Convent* (London, 1622) and Thomas Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered, in a Pleasant Dialogue Betwixt Papa the False Pope, and Benedict an Honest Fryer, Showing the Merry Conceits which the Friars have in Their Cloysters amongst Handsome Nuns and How the Pope Complains for Lack of That Pastime, with the Many Shifts of His Friends in England* (London, 1641).

enemy whose nature was hidden.⁹ At home, Catholicism was practised behind closed doors; it had retreated within the domestic sphere to escape the brunt of penal laws. As a consequence, English Catholics had become the enemy within, feared all the more because they worked unseen. They were perceived as parasites, weakening the structure of the nation, doing damage stealthily.¹⁰ Pamphleteer John Baxter labelled them “household foes” buried within the very fabric of society; he likened them to “two-legged foxes [who] dare not abide the day light, but seeke lurking holes & wander in by-waies.”¹¹ In his comparing missionaries to foxes, he echoed Thomas Bell, who had previously denounced the stealthy predation of so-called Papists: “I have with great watchings, painful studies, and nightly lucubrations found out the secret caves, dens and holes, to which the Romish fox that devours the innocent lambs of Christ ... resorts usually and hides himself therein from time to time covertly.”¹²

When writings about convents, Robinson and Herbert displayed a similar anxiety about the secrecy of Catholic activities. Both relied heavily upon the lexical fields of unveiling or unmasking, revealing, or displaying. Herbert, like many contemporary authors, foregrounded his claim to truthfulness in his title, *Newes Newly Discovered ... Showing the Merry Conceits which the Friars Have in their Cloysters amongst Handsome Nuns* (1641) which announced fresh and verifiable news in bold, oversize type. In 1641, London was abuzz with alarming “news” or “true relations”

⁹ John E. Curran Jr., *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530–1660* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002); Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon. Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Arthur Marotti, ed., *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999) and *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Raymond Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination. Nationalism, Religion and Literature, 1600–1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and The English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Julian Yates, “Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England,” in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 85–115.

¹¹ John Baxter, *A Toile for Two-Legged Foxes* (London, 1600), 169 and 36 respectively.

¹² Thomas Bell, *The Hunting of the Romish Foxe* (London, 1598), sig. A4.

regarding the machinations of Papists.¹³ *Newes Newly Discovered* chose redundancy over subtlety and boasted an early modern scoop, metaphorically lifting the religious veil and “showing” the nunnery’s true visage, thereby revealing the immorality of convents. This rhetoric of actualization turned readers into spectators: Herbert unfolded the scene before them, staging the convent to allow the audience to feel righteous in the face of Catholic hypocrisy. Like a playwright, he constructed a neat boundary between “us” (the appalled and virtuous public) and “them” (the exposed Catholics villains).

Displaying and exposing what was secret had also been a major preoccupation in Robinson’s earlier *Anatomic of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall: Dissected and laid open ...*, which used the lexical field of anatomy, turning the inside out for all to see.¹⁴ As Robinson explained in his preface “To the indifferent reader,” his work was no “profound lecture upon a dissected body,” in a medical sense.¹⁵ But the 1620s provided a scientific context for anatomical discoveries; for the first time, the bodies of eminent men were cut open after death—even that of James I himself. They were believed to hold telling clues to reveal the inner character of the person, their true nature.¹⁶ For instance, James’s brain was found to be quite large, which was interpreted as proof of his extraordinary judgment, whilst his rather small lungs and black gall testified to his melancholy.

By using the vocabulary of this new science, Robinson imbedded his publication within a context of scientific exposition of secret mechanisms and workings, which was popular at the time; he claimed that he “truly anatomized” the dealings of the Lisbon nunnery, and through it, of the Church of Rome, “laying open her principal veines and sinewes” in a manner comparable to the medical process of anatomizing a body. Through this anatomizing, he boasted his ability to reveal the lies hiding under the

¹³ See publications such as *Great News from Derbyshire, Being a Full and True Relation of the Discovery of Above Thirty Priests* (London, 1641), or J. M., *Newes from Hell, Rome and the Inns of Court* (London, 1641); or *Newes from Rome, or A True Relation of the Conference Which the Pope Held with Three of His Chiefe Cardinals, and a Dominican Fryer, in His Palace at Rome, against Bohemia, and These Parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1641).

¹⁴ For works published in London in the early 1620s and using the words “anatomy,” see, for instance, Lelio Capilupi, *The Anatomie of the Romane Clergie: Or, a Discoverie of the Abuses Thereof* (London, 1623); John Mayo, *The Anatomie of Pope Joane Wherein Her Life, Manners and Death is Lively Layed Abroad and Opened* (London, 1624).

¹⁵ Robinson, *Anatomic*, A4r.

¹⁶ Richard Snugg, *Murder after Death. Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 90.

surface, peeling away the layers of outward skin (or pretence) in order to display what lay beneath. He referred to himself as “oculatus testis.” His declarations, he insisted, could not be doubted since they were verified by sight, the most noble of all senses, and by “his owne experience.”¹⁷ As he called upon readers to behold his truth with “the wide-open eyes of their understanding,” he cast himself as chosen by God to speak his truth: like Ananias, he was sent as God’s messenger, causing the scales to fall from his readers’ eyes, as they did from Saul’s. *The Anatomie of the English Nunnery* promised a look inside the life of so-called religious places where, in lieu of spirituality, he had found nothing but the perversion of the innocent (the nuns) by those who were supposed to be their shepherds (the priests).

Robinson depicted religious women as victims. He claimed that far from being fervent zealots, most of them were held captive under duress. They were pressured by the values of an enclosure meant to hold them enslaved, and where depravity hid under the guise of holiness. The author portrayed “silly oppressed women” entrapped within both the physical walls of the convent and the mental strictures of clerical guidance.¹⁸ He referred to the Lisbon Bridgettines as “silly, tender-hearted chambermaids,” “poor silly Novices,” or “kind hearted soules”¹⁹; his prose moved readers to feel pity for those young women whilst, conversely, reproving their confessor, whom he described as a “dissembler” full of “guile.”²⁰ His marginal notes evoked the “horrible abuses” imposed upon those “silly women thus muzzled in blindness” and “very servile obedience”; to him, the vow of obedience ensured the women never dared disobey their confessor’s commands.²¹ The rule of silence further contributed to isolating the women, who could not complain to anyone. He alleged that the nuns slipped under a removable grill to visit their confessor’s house, but implied that they felt coerced by their vow of obedience: “For rather then shee’ll disobedient be, / She under creepes, as you the same may see.”²² He added: “I am verily perswaded that not one amongst them will (for feare of being disobedient) refuse to come to his bed whensoever he commands them.” Robinson’s pamphlet claimed to lift the veil off the Church’s

¹⁷ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, A4r.

¹⁸ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 18.

¹⁹ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 7, 14, 19.

²⁰ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, A1r.

²¹ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 18–19.

²² Robinson, *The Anatomie*, sig. A2.

pretended holiness to reveal its true nature as an organization which allowed every confessor “to play *rex* over [his penitents] at his own pleasure.”²³

Robinson thus denounced the vow of obedience *per se* as a tool used to keep women in their confessor’s “thraldome”; his case study of the Lisbon nunnery was to be understood as a microcosm for the general practices of the Roman Church.²⁴ Moreover, through his own personal example, and that of another young man who had also been conned into conversion by the missionaries, Robinson testified to the fact that nuns were not the only victims of Catholic “pranks.” He recorded how, after a two-and-a-half year stay at the Lisbon Bridgettines, he had “plainly perceived that all their outward holinesse as nothing but dissimulation, hypocrisie and lustful sacrilege;” yet his attempt to leave endangered his very life, since the confessor would stop at nothing to protect his secrets and had threatened to have his throat cut.²⁵ In a context where men found it difficult to escape the conventual snare with their lives, how could weak and simple women even stand a chance? He lamented: “It is pitifull and miserable to behold the condition of these silly seduced women: for they neither dare nor can complaine to any body.”²⁶ And thus the author found in the tropes of gentle femininity the perfect rhetoric to denounce the Roman clerics’ reign of terror and coercion.

NUNNERIES AS PART OF THE CATHOLIC THREAT

Robinson’s insistence upon the priest’s ruthlessness was meant to equate Roman Catholicism with violence and an utter disrespect for the lives of innocents. In a shocking escalation of sin, Robinson then claimed to have discovered a place in the garden wall where the bodies of infants had been hidden. This point he made in a clever manner, linking it with one of the nuns’ relics, which reportedly was “a leg of the *Innocents*.”²⁷ By so doing, he implied that the infants were the innocent victims of most unchristian behaviour. He spoke of “poor innocent bastards,” evoked their legs and arms, decaying within the daubing of the rough walls, exposed to the

²³ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 14.

²⁴ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 15.

²⁵ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 26–29.

²⁶ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 14.

²⁷ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 12.

elements, when traitors' bones were venerated in rich silver reliquaries in the convent's chapels. The evocation of infanticide was meant to shock the audience, and show Catholic communities as places hiding unimaginable horrors.²⁸

Such rhetoric found an echo in the English collective psyche. For instance, *The Quintessence of Cruelty*, published in the context of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, used the memory of the Gunpowder Plot to provoke fear amongst its readers. Its author expounded at length the horror the blast would have caused, had the plot been successful. The fictitious scene depicted the streets of London awash with gore, and dismembered bodies flying through the air; it zoomed in on the distress of widowed mothers pressing their bellowing infants to their breast; it evoked the terror and confusion of the aged, aghast and haggard in the streets. *The Quintessence of Cruelty* concluded that Catholic zeal invariably went hand in hand with an insatiable thirst for the blood of innocents.²⁹ That same year, Herbert's *Newes Newly Discovered* also developed the trope of the inherent violence of Catholics. It portrayed the Pope as the embodiment of unchristian cruelty, "guiltie of mens blood." The main protagonist, repentant Friar Benedict, accused the Catholic Church of turning the values of the Gospels upside down and argued that to a Papist, betrayal was "no dissembling" but rather "true Popish Piety."³⁰ Catholics were no respecters of God's will or of his representatives on earth, not even of their anointed kings: "how many cups of venomous poison hast thou presented unto Kings for morning draughts who not long before thou hast proclaimed to be thy friends?"³¹

Robinson's *Anatomie* voiced the same trope of the Roman assassin sent to murder monarchs, when the author accused the nunnery of conveying a large sum of money to pay a certain "Doctor Lopez," a Portuguese man, "as his reward for poisoning our late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie."³² This was in reference to Roderigo Lopez (1517–1594), who served as Elizabeth I's physician-in-chief from 1581 to 1594, when Robert Devereux—the Earl of Essex, with whom he had a personal

²⁸ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 12.

²⁹ Francis Herring, *November the 5. 1605. The Quintessence of Cruelty, or, Master-Peice of Treachery, the Popish Pouder-Plot, Invented by Hellish-Malice, Prevented by Heavenly-Mercy* (London, 1641).

³⁰ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A5 and A5v.

³¹ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A5 and A5v.

³² Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 9–10.

dispute—accused him of attempting to poison the queen on the order of Philip II, king of Spain. Lopez was found guilty and executed as a traitor, although the queen herself was not convinced by the case made against him.³³ Lopez was also suspected of being a crypto-Jew (a *marrano*). By associating the Lisbon Bridgettines with a man who was both a Jew and a would-be regicide paid by Philip II, Robinson demonstrated that despite their sex, their enclosure, and their geographical remoteness, English Catholic nuns remained part of a tangible danger looming over the kingdom.

Robinson was rather an exception, when he mentioned that the nuns' confessor read all the latest "idle Pamphlets printed in *England*," indicating that cloisters were up to date with the prohibited publications printed secretly in recusant communities.³⁴ Although few contemporary authors worried about convents, recent studies have retrieved information which demonstrates that nunneries were indeed much more actively involved in the mission than previously assumed.³⁵ Robinson was not wrong to point out that the very existence of the nunneries was proof of the efficiency of the English mission as a recruiting network.

Robinson warned his readers that England was a hunting ground for missionaries he depicted as predators. Like many of his peers, he deployed usual images to associate missionaries with "hounds" and "locusts."³⁶ He explained the system by which the Jesuits kept the wealthiest postulants for the Brussels house, which they oversaw; those with very little or no

³³ Dominic Green, *The Double Life of Doctor Lopez: Spies, Shakespeare and the Plot to Poison Elizabeth I* (London: Century, 2003).

³⁴ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 13.

³⁵ Caroline Bowden, "The Abbess and Mrs. Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and Royalist Politics in Flanders in the late 1650s," *Recusant History* 24.3 (1999), 271–287; James Kelly, "Essex Girls Abroad: Family Patronage and the Politicisation of Convent Recruitment in the Seventeenth Century," in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, ed. Bowden and Kelly (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 33–52; Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century. Living Spirituality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Claire Walker, "Prayer, Patronage, and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration," *The Historical Journal* 43.1 (2000): 1–23; *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); "Loyal and Dutiful Subjects: English Nuns and Stuart Politics," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 228–242.

³⁶ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, for instance, "locusts" on 4 and 19; 6 "like a good blood-hound" or 8 "Hungry Hounds."

dowry were sent to become Poor Clares at Gravelines, whilst those with modest but viable means were sent to Lisbon.³⁷ This passage depicted a highly organized network, and it implied that no one was safe, whether rich or poor. Towards the end of the pamphlet, Robinson asked the English people at large, and the nuns' kin in particular, to try "to free them from such horrible and sacrilegious rapine and spoile," and to "sigh to thinke on their misery, and use [their] best indevours to free them."³⁸ He pleaded with his audience not to underestimate the power of their common enemy.

SCORN AND MOCKERY AS TOOLS OF REASSURANCE

Newes Newly Discovered and *The Anatomie of the English Nunnery* were examples of anti-Catholic pamphlets which established a distance between the ethics of the observer and the ethics of the observed, enhancing the gap between the virtuous English readers and the depraved Catholics they read about. In order to reach this goal, they devised their stories both to entertain and to shock, partly through a combination of humour and salaciousness.

In the context of Reformed England, the staging of convents as houses of depravity provided an inversion of good Protestant morals. Both Robinson's and Herbert's publications abounded in sexual innuendoes, showing convents as theatres of debauchery. Through the supposed testimony of one of the Lisbon nuns, Sister Anne, Robinson denounced the manner in which Jesuits corrupted their female harbourers at home, and salaciously compared a religious vocation to a venereal disease: "the ghostly children have ministred to their spiritual fathers in all things. And by such meanes having gotten a clap, divers of them become nuns."³⁹ Similarly, the protagonists of *Newes Newly Discovered* answered to the popular clichés of the perverted Pope, the lusty friar and the handsome nun. In the early pages, Friar Benedict gloated about his tending to "handsome, curious compleat and beautifull Nuns in [his] Cloyster"; when asked by the Pope if his spiritual daughters confessed well, he lewdly replied: "I have the rarest, neatest and compleatest shriving."⁴⁰ The

³⁷ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 8–9.

³⁸ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 30.

³⁹ Robinson, *The Anatomie*, 7.

⁴⁰ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A2–A2v.

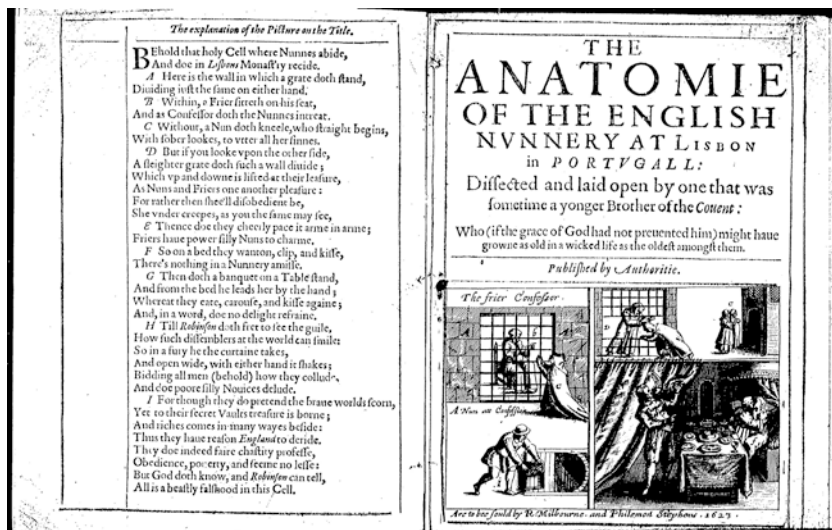
double-entendre implied that priests became aroused during confession, an essential sacrament in Roman Catholic practice. The ongoing dialogue indicated that such misconduct was systemic. Upon hearing the friar's report, the Pope bemoaned the fact that his position as Pontiff now deprived him of a pleasure he enjoyed so much in his youth. Here, the spiritual duties of the confessor were presented as excuses for sexual gratification, the figure of the carer turned into that of the sexual predator. Driven nearly "out of [his] wits" at the mere thought of enjoying the nuns again, the Pope swore: "by Saint *Peters* chair, you have the only time of it now."⁴¹ Such lines, conflating Saint Peter's chair and acts of carnal transgression, conjured up the hypocrisy and the corruption of the entire Church, which Herbert showed to be organized to serve its clerics' appetites.

In his *Anatomie*, Robinson painted a similar picture. At the English Bridgettine house of Lisbon, as in most convents, the confessor's house was indeed adjacent to the nuns' quarters, but separated from the enclosure by a grate. Yet Robinson claimed that the grate could be partly removed, to allow daily commerce between the confessor and his spiritual charges. The second edition of the book, in 1623, provided a print which occupied the lower half of the title page and was repeated on the inside, complete with the key which helped readers better to understand its details (Image 9.1).

From the letter A through the letter I, Robinson unfolded each stage of the confessor's seduction of his spiritual daughters and played with the popular fantasy which surrounded the nuns' enclosure. Salacious innuendoes amused readers with the vignette in which the nun kneeled at her seated confessor's feet. One could even see in the grate's movement ("up and down") an allusion to similar movements, as "Nuns and Friars one another pleasure."⁴² The symbolism of the penetration of hitherto sealed virginal spaces was suggestive of sexual congress, rendered all the more licentious as it took place in a consecrated space. Robinson's explanation was crafted to evoke the depravity of all Catholic institutions, harbouring sin where there should be holiness. Although published nineteen years apart, *The Anatomie* and *Newes Newly Discovered* resorted to similar methods to shock and delight their readers, guaranteeing a frisson which

⁴¹ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A2–A2v.

⁴² Robinson, *The Anatomie*, sig. A2.



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Image 9.1 The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

derived both from the titillation of the audience and from its righteous outrage.

Through the revealing of the sins committed in female religious houses, writers such as Robinson and Herbert aimed at unveiling the wickedness of the Roman Catholic Church. Of course, this went hand in hand with another purpose: for each Roman Catholic vice, they implied a Protestant virtue. *Newes Newly Discovered* denounced the use of pardons, of books and candles, of crosses and holy water, which the newly enlightened friar now dismissed as “base inventions [which have] hitherto cheated the whole earth.”⁴³ When the Pope cursed against the reformed English people, his vain invocation of Popish artefacts sounded preposterous: “I thus curse them with Bell, Booke, and Candle, Candle, Booke and Bell, backwards and forwardes unto Hell.” In this comical passage, the use of objects was shown as hocus-pocus whose mock-verse evoked a magic

⁴³ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A4.

chant. The author demoted Catholic practice to the level of dark rituals for the deluded.⁴⁴

Levelling the common accusations of idolatry and materiality at Roman Catholicism served to reassert the Bible-centeredness of Reformed practice. Moreover, authors provided comfort when they showed that such errors belonged to the past, and that the Catholic enemy had lost much of its power in England. For instance, in *Newes Newly Discovered*, the friar was no longer afraid when the Pope cursed him to everlasting purgatory. Thanks to his conversion, the threat had lost its grip. The friar also joked that pardons were “like to be sold at a very low market now; because no body will buy them.”⁴⁵ Herbert argued that since their false religion had been exposed as a ploy to satisfy their lust and greed, the Pope and his Jesuits would soon “play a part of the broken Citizen, and so shut up shop.”⁴⁶

These publications used nunneries as revealing agents, vindicating the Protestant truth through the humorous debunking of Catholic lies. In the *Anatomic*, Robinson also resorted to comic relief in order to undermine the credibility of the Catholic Church, both as a community of faith and as an adversary of the Protestant State: using familiar tropes, he denounced the crass ignorance of priests who hardly knew enough Latin to say the Mass, and dwelt upon the commerce of relics, which he belittled as “[r]eliques & trinkets.”⁴⁷ He joked at the proliferation at the Lisbon convent of those “rotten relics,” which he likened to a black market of counterfeit goods: “two armes of *Thomas of Canterbury*, notwithstanding all his bones were burned in *England*.” Under his vitriolic pen, Saint Ursula became “a *diva triformis* or a *triceps Hecate*” since he claimed to know of three of her heads. He mocked the Church’s rarest and most prized relics, such as “the milke of our Lady, the blood of Hales,” with marginal notes when he exclaimed “believe it who lists,” as though he pitied the fools who would be duped by such obvious fakes. He also mentioned that the nuns owned “a piece of old Tyborne,” which could be interpreted as a counter-image of pieces of the true cross, implying once more a reversal of true Christian values, dishonouring Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A3–A4.

⁴⁵ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A4–A7.

⁴⁶ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A4–A7.

⁴⁷ Robinson, *The Anatomic*, 12.

⁴⁸ Robinson, *The Anatomic*, 2–3 and 11.

Herbert used the same idea when he highlighted that the Catholic martyrs had been hanged for “high treason” and therefore could only be accounted as “true Martyrs” in a warped Roman system which made treason a holy virtue (“if hanging for high treason be courted Martyrdom”).⁴⁹

Here, Tyburn was a revealing agent. Friar Benedict described “Tyburne” (A3) to the Pope as “a place where many of your former friends ... cryed a pox take the Pope for bringing them thither”; through this anecdote, he showed both the lack of loyalty of the missionaries towards their spiritual Father and the weakness of their commitment. In contrast with the Protestant martyrs, whose edifying deaths could be read in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, Herbert portrayed the deaths of Catholic martyrs as undignified, the better to strip their calling of any aura or respectability. The author sarcastically shattered the image of a dangerous, threatening mission: “your Gun-powder Merchants ... cut capers nine foot high.”⁵⁰ The passage made it clear that their potential for harm was a thing of the past; by showing them as puppets dancing from a rope, the author stripped them of all solemnity, but also voiced a strong undercurrent of vindication for the Protestant targets of those would-be arch-villains. Towards the end of the pamphlet, the reader was meant to feel that danger had passed. The publication conveyed a sense of relief but also of newfound self-assurance, even defiance: England appeared as a land where the Pope no longer wielded his usurped power: it was a safe haven for true Christians, where the pontiff “dare not follow.” “Jesuiticall Plots and ... knavery” had briefly allowed the Pope to get “a finger there,” but the friar confidently boasted that “that finger is like to bee cut off, not without some heads.”⁵¹

With their stories about nuns and convents, authors such as Robinson and Herbert debunked the entire Catholic Church, vindicated Protestant values, and fostered a much-needed sense of confidence and bravado during times of crisis. Written during the negotiations for the Spanish Match and the Irish Rebellion, both works aimed at rousing English courage in the face of a threat they belittled and minimized; through salacious and satirical accounts of priests’ misdemeanours with nuns, they reduced the once awesome threat of the Roman Church to a joking matter.

And this, of course, was the very heart of such pamphlets; although, in their titles, they foregrounded nunneries as their main focus, they never

⁴⁹ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A7.

⁵⁰ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A6v.

⁵¹ Herbert, *Newes Newly Discovered*, sig. A6–A6v.

gave much importance to convents themselves. Rather, they used them to lure in their audience, they instrumentalized their appeal, as one would do a curiosity. Nuns were but a pretext, an entry point into a more substantial story. In the *Anatomie* and *Newes Newly Discovered*, and although they played an important part in the titles, nuns were only ever mentioned as passive objects of their confessors' lust. They never were discussed in themselves. In both works, the promise of a narrative of sexual intercourse between nuns and clerics was a sure way to secure readers, intrigued by their titillating titles or illustrations. But after an initial *mise en bouche* which served to whet the appetite of the public, nuns were barely present; in *Newes Newly Discovered*, they were discussed for a mere page and a half, and the pamphlet offered a further twelve pages which did not mention the nuns again, but focused upon a strong attack of the Pope and his pretended power in England.

The ways in which representations of religious women have been utilized by those who did not adhere to their faith changed little over time. Diderot's anticlerical manifesto used the image of *La Religieuse* (1796) and many writers turned cloisters into brothels in stories blending scandal, entertainment and polemics.⁵² Later still, artist Clovis Trouille (1889–1975) sexualized nuns in deliberately shocking paintings whose blasphemous provocations were a political statement. Today, representations of nuns may be less polemical, but they still hinge on the pleasure the viewing public derives from the transgression of the values religious women are supposed to embody.⁵³ The picture gallery of any search engine will reveal only a few images of real nuns in habit; it will yield, however, many more pictures of women dressed as “sexy” nuns or being naughty. Nuns still do not appear to hold much popular interest in themselves, but have great marketing value when trivialized for entertainment.

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⁵² On this point, see Frances Dolan, “Why Are Nuns Funny?” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70.4 (2007): 509–537.

⁵³ For convents as “spaces of and for fantasy,” see Kate Chedgzoy, “‘For Virgin Buildings Oft Brought Forth’: Fantasies of Convent Sexuality,” in *Female Communities, 1600–1800: Literary Visions and Cultural Realities*, ed. Rebecca D’Monté and Nicole Pohl (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 53–75.

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Joseph Addison, Anti-Catholicism and Politeness

Claire Boulard Jouslin

On the issue of the supposed decline of anti-Catholicism in the early eighteenth century, Nathalie Zimpfer argues that the latter was far from being toned down.¹ Against the opinions of historians Colin Haydon and Patricia Crawford, she denies that anti-Catholicism migrated from the pulpit to coffee houses.² She shows that eighteenth-century divines still fought

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¹ Nathalie Zimpfer, “Ecclesiastic Anti-Catholicism in Britain after the Glorious Revolution,” *Via Panoramica* 2 (2009): 1–22.

² Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714–80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Patricia Crawford, “Anglicans, Catholics, and Non-Conformists after the Reformation, 1660–1720,” in *Women*

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Catholicism on theological ground and often rekindled anti-Catholic feelings in sermons and pamphlets openly hostile to Catholics. While building on Zimpfer's historiographical revisionism and agreeing that anti-Catholicism was still a major feature of the early decades of the eighteenth century, I would like to show that lay and seemingly benign forms of anti-Catholicism coexisted with purely religious discourses. I will argue that politeness which is hardly associated with anti-Catholicism—because it is synonymous with moderation and tolerance—may have been a paradoxical agent of anti-Catholic expression used by some intellectuals to debunk Catholicism and to protect people from its seduction, as well as to reform manners, and to strengthen national identity.³

A case in point is provided by Joseph Addison, one of the great poets of the early decades of the eighteenth century and one who popularized the genre of the essay periodical by turning it into polite prose writing. Addison was born in 1672 and grew up at a time when Catholicism rhymed with anti-Protestant persecution (because of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and because of the policies of James II). He was an early supporter of William III and the Glorious Revolution and was originally to pursue a career as a divine. Yet, his poetical talents and political choices finally led him to become a Whig politician and to put his pen at the service of the nation, which he did until his death in 1719. His major texts were therefore published after the 1701 Act of Settlement, which barred the English throne to any Catholic pretender. Significantly Addison gained a literary reputation for his elegant, balanced prose style and also for his latitudinarianism and religious moderation.⁴ He was seen

and Religion in Old and New Worlds, ed. Susan E. Dinan and Debra Meyers (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 157–186.

³The issue of politeness has been thoroughly researched. Here is a sample of the most significant studies produced on this topic: Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45.4 (2002): 869–898; Paul Langford, "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 311–331; R. H. Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 355–374; Markku Peltonen, "Politeness and Whiggism," *The Historical Journal* 48.2 (2005): 391–414.

⁴The last unfinished work Addison embarked on was his *Evidences of the Christian Religion* (posthumously published in 1722), a book that focuses on apologetics, in the tradition of Boyle and Newton, rather than on controversies. It is significant, that once translated into French, this book was reportedly well received by both Protestants and Catholics. See Joseph Addison, *De la Religion chrétienne*, trans. Gabriel Seigneur de Correvon, 1771, translator's

as one of the main proponents of politeness, defined as manners, taste and natural theology guided by moderation and a condemnation of all sorts of excesses.⁵ Addison is therefore not to be listed among the fiercely anti-Catholic writers who rekindled anti-Catholic hatred. Yet I would like to re-examine Addison's moderation by first highlighting that his anti-Catholicism—which is perceptible in most of his work—could turn from mild to scathing criticism in times of crisis. I will show that Addison's works criticized Catholicism for being a looming political threat to the British nation and to Anglicanism. I will next argue that even his milder anti-Catholic criticisms were part of a political project of reformation of manners, which aimed at strengthening British identity. Accordingly, I hope to show that his method to reform the social mores of his contemporaries and to reconcile the political and religious factions were to make English politeness *inherently* anti-Catholic.

AN OVERVIEW OF ADDISON'S POLITICAL ANTI-CATHOLICISM

Even if Addison's writings did not have the stringency of some of his most vocal contemporary writers such as Jonathan Swift, nor the dangerousness of some newspapers which encouraged popular persecution by describing the Catholics as blood-thirsty monsters,⁶ anti-Catholic criticisms were present through most of his prose works. Direct anti-Catholic criticisms are scattered through his *Remarks on Italy* (published in 1705) and in his last essay periodical the *Freeholder* (1714–1715). Milder remarks are present in his contributions to periodicals such as the *Tatler* (1709–1710),⁷ *The Spectator* (1711–1712) and the *Guardian* (1713). Even his *Essay upon Medals* (published posthumously) contains occasional comments on the

preface, 23. For Addison's moderation, see also Madeleine Descargues, *Prédicateurs et journalistes, petits récits de la persuasion en Grande-Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle Swift, Addison, Fielding et Sterne* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2004), 148–170.

⁵Nicholas Philipson, "Politeness and Politics in the Reigns of Anne and the Early Hanoverians," in *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500–1800*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock, G. J. Schochet and L. G. Schwoerer (1993; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 211–228.

⁶Colin Haydon shows how truly Whig papers such as the *Original Weekly Journal* or the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* also exploited anti-Catholic propaganda to the full. See Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 91.

⁷See *The Tatler*, 257, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

Pope.⁸ His anti-Catholic feelings and his criticisms were part and parcel of a life-long message he wished to pass on to his contemporaries. This message was that Catholicism was at heart a foreign religion whose principles were a threat to the Protestant English nation and way of life. To contain it and to fight its principles was a matter of political safety for England.

Such ideas are openly vindicated in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, a travel book whose anti-Catholicism is rarely commented upon.⁹ Instead, researchers prefer to highlight the literary originality of the work—a landmark in the history of travel guides—because it compares the actual Italian sites with their literary descriptions quoted from classical authors. However, its contents prove that anti-Catholicism was one important feature of the *Remarks* and that the anti-Catholic message was both political and programmatic. The book mainly describes the Italian and Swiss part of the Grand Tour Addison undertook between 1699 and 1701 while Jacobitism was rampant at home, and when the Spanish Succession crisis was looming. When Addison published his book in 1705, the war between England and France had broken out and Pope Innocent XI came out in support of the Bourbons.¹⁰ Moreover, when the exiled James II died in 1701, the Pope recognized his son, James Edward, as the next legitimate King of England and thus supported Jacobite efforts to restore the Stuarts on the English throne. Though Addison had resided in France for a year, he preferred to concentrate on Italy obviously because it enabled him to use its classical past for his own cultural purposes but also because, as he explained, unlike France, Italy and its Papal States had never been enlightened by Protestantism.¹¹

⁸ J. Addison, *Dialogue upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals in Relation to the Latin and Greek Poets* (London, 1726), 163.

⁹ See Joseph Addison, *Remarks Upon Several Parts of Italy in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London, 1705). Exceptions are Tony Claydon's *Europe and the Making of England 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 26–28 and Morgan Strawn, “Pagans, Papists, and Joseph Addison’s Use of Classical Quotations in the *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75.4 (2012): 566.

¹⁰ England was beleaguered with Scotland, Austria, and the Low Countries against France allied to Spain. War broke out on May 4, 1702.

¹¹ Addison wrote: “I must confess, tho’ I had liv’d above a Year in a Roman Catholick Country, I was surpriz’d to see many Ceremonies and Superstitions at Naples, that are not so much thought of in France. But as it is certain there has been a kind of Secret Reformation made, tho’ not publicly own’d, in the Roman Catholick Church, since the spreading of the Protestant Religion, so we find the several Nations are recover’d out of their Ignorance, in proportion as they converse more or less with those of the Reform’d Churches. For this

Italy embodied religious error. Addison indeed set his travelogue in the tradition of those published in the seventeenth century by Richard Lassells or Gilbert Burnet.¹² He repeatedly laughed at the ignorance of monks, at the irrationality of miracles and at the gullibility of Italian people. Yet Addison added political remarks that prove that it was definitely the power of the Catholic religion and the potential threat it had long represented to the British state that he wished to highlight.

On two occasions, Addison related his visit to the local Jesuit colleges of Loretto and Lausanne. The choice of such institutions enabled him to justify the popular anti-Jesuit views that prevailed in England, namely that Jesuits sought to overthrow the English monarchy in order to seek revenge for their being outlawed by the 1558 Act of Supremacy.¹³ During both visits to the colleges, Addison stressed how the Jesuits still glorified men who were involved in the famous 1605 Gunpowder plot:

They have a collection of Pictures representing most of the Fathers of their Order, that have been prominent for their Piety or Learning. Among the rest many English Men we name Rebels, and they Martyrs. Henry Garnet's inscription says, that when the hereticks could not prevail with him, either by Force or Promises, to change his Religion, they Hang'd and Quarter'd him.¹⁴

Addison particularly highlighted the misleading rhetoric of the Jesuits and pointed out the making up of a political truth into a religious lie. For Addison, the religious martyrs celebrated by the Jesuits were nothing else than rebels—that is, traitors—to the nation.

Addison also warned that in the early eighteenth century, Catholicism was still a threat to England and Anglicanism. In Genoa, Milan, Loretto, and in Rome, he kept pointing out the wealth of the monasteries, the

Reason the French are much more enlighten'd than the Spaniards or Italians, on occasion of their frequent Controversies with the huguenots." In *Remarks*, "Naples," 197–198.

¹²Addison mentions Richard Lassells's opus *The Voyage of Italy* (1670) and Gilbert Burnet's *Letters containing an Account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, France & Germany* (1686). For an analysis of anti-Catholic remarks of those authors, see Claydon, *Europe*, 13–66.

¹³Sabina Pavone, "The History of Anti-Jesuitism. National and Global Dimensions," in *The Jesuits and Globalisation: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and Jose Casanova (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 11–130.

¹⁴Addison, *Remarks*, 473. See also the description of the Jesuits' lodgings in Loretto, *Remarks*, 144.

cathedrals and churches, a wealth, he suggested, which might well be turned against the Protestants in the event of war. In Loretto, he wrote:

The Riches in the Holy House and Treasury are surprizingly great, ... The last Offering was made by the Queen Dowager of England, and cost her 180 000 Crowns ... There is no question however, but the Pope would make use of these Treasures in case of any great Calamity that should endanger the Holy See; as an unfortunate War with the Turk, or a powerful League among the Protestants. For I can't but look on those vast Heaps of Wealth, that are amass'd together in so many Religious Places of Italy, as the hidden Reserves and secret Magazines of the Church, that she would open on any pressing Occasion for her last Defence and Preservation.¹⁵

Readers would easily identify the queen Dowager who made such liberal gifts as Mary of Modena, the Italian-born widow of the former Catholic king James II. Thus Addison explicitly drew a connection between the contemporary Jacobite party and Italian Catholic wealth, confirming the English rumour that by nature and by its funding, Roman Catholicism was not only foreign—outlandish—but constituted a genuine military, religious and political threat to England. He also alluded to the War of the Spanish succession (1701–1714) during which France was supported by the papacy against the English coalition. When read in context, this quote justifies the Whig war policies in Europe by presenting them as a defensive national religious policy and not, as the Tories argued, as interference in continental affairs.

Finally, Addison also used his trip to Rome to highlight the disastrous economic consequences of Roman and papal absolutism. Indeed, he described Catholicism as a failing economic system originating in absurd and tyrannical religious rules. He implicitly attributed English prosperity to Anglicanism:

there is not a more miserable People in Europe than the Pope's Subjects.... These ill Effects may arise in a great measure, out of the Arbitrariness of the Government, but I think they are chiefly to be ascrib'd to the very Genius of the Roman Catholick Religion, which here shows it self in its Perfection. Is it not strange to find a Country half unpeopled, where so great a proportion of the Inhabitants of both Sexes is tyd under Vows of Chastity, and where at the same time an Inquisition forbids all Recruits of any other

¹⁵ Addison, *Remarks*, 146–147.

Religion. For is it less easie to account for the great Poverty and Want that are to be met with in a Country that invites into it such Swarms of Vagabonds.... The many Hospitals, that are every where erected, serve rather to encourage Idleness in the People than to set 'em at Work.¹⁶

That such remarks answered the broader purpose of demeaning Catholicism through his travel book is made plain by the following suggestion that rang like a clear anti-Catholic programme. Indeed, by comparing Catholicism with paganism, Addison suggested to the connoisseurs to *systematically* study Catholic inscriptions with the aim of discrediting Catholicism once and for all:

I have often wish'd that some Traveller would take the Pains to gather together all the Modern inscriptions that are to be met with in Roman Catholick Countries, as Gruter and others have copy'd out the ancient Heathens Monuments. Had we Two or Three Volumes of this Nature, without any of the Collector's own Reflections, I am sure there is nothing in the World that could give a truer Idea of the Roman Catholick Religion, nor more the Pride, Vanity and Self-Interest of Convents, the Abuse of Indulgencies, the Folly and Impertinence of Votaries, and in short the Superstition and Credulity, and Childishness of the Roman Catholick Religion.¹⁷

Addison's arguments were not highly original. Yet, their purpose was to remind his educated readers that Catholicism was still a "three-headed monster,"¹⁸ whose heads were Popery, foreign influence and tyrannical power. His text served as a warning to English travellers who should always be aware of this when they were subjected to the seductions of Italy.

Addison's anti-Catholic criticisms became even more stringent in *The Freeholder*, a Whig propaganda periodical he launched to counter the 1715 Jacobite rebellion.¹⁹ *The Freeholder*, as its title indicates, targeted a

¹⁶ Addison, *Remarks*, 183–184. Protestant charges against the poverty of Catholic countries were fairly common in travel books. Claydon, *Europe*, 32.

¹⁷ Addison, *Remarks*, 494.

¹⁸ Robert Blackey, "A War of Words: The Significance of the Propaganda Conflict between English Catholics and Protestants, 1715–1745," *The Catholic Historical Review* 58.4 (1973): 536.

¹⁹ *The Freeholder* was a twice-weekly periodical, published between December 23, 1715 and June 20, 1716. See James Leheny's introduction to his edition of the journal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

readership of small landowners, who, Addison feared, might be seduced by the Jacobite and Tory rhetoric. Addison linked up the rising in the north of England (a part of the country where Catholic recusants were still in higher numbers than elsewhere in the kingdom) with the Catholic gentry, which was indeed deeply involved in the rebellion.²⁰ In essay 3, which is a fierce anti-Jacobite and satirical parody transcribing “the Memoirs of a Preston rebel,” the rebellious hero explains that his battalion—a crew of drunken, empty-headed rowdy men—was “joined by a considerable reinforcement of Roman Catholics, whom we could rely upon, as knowing them to be the best Tories in the nation, and avow’d enemies to Presbyterianism.”²¹ And he reported that: “A popish Priest ... gave great Offence to a Northumberland Squire, whom he threatned to Excommunicate, if he did not give up to him the Church-lands, which his Family had usurped ever since the Reformation.”²² Addison thus played with the fear—activated during the Glorious Revolution in Ireland—that a Catholic restoration in England would incite the Catholic minority to push through a new land Act which would deprive the Protestants of their properties.

In essay 43, devoted to “the inconsistency of a Popish Prince and Protestant Subjects,” Addison also endeavoured to show the incompatibility of a Catholic leadership and a Protestant people, claiming that as Protestants would not accept a Catholic ruler, the latter would have to impose his rule by force, and civil war would follow. He also used the standard argument that since the Catholics were naturally guided by a tyrannical Pope, the Protestant nation would therefore not be safe in the hands of a Catholic ruler. He thus concluded:

If there by any political Maxim, which may be depended upon as sure and infallible, this is one; that it is impossible for a Nation to be happy, where a People of the Reformed Religion are govern’d by a king that is a Papist. Were he indeed only a nominal Roman Catholick, there might be a possibility of Peace and Quiet under such a Reign, but if he is sincere in the Principles of his Church, he must treat Heretical Subjects as that Church directs him, and knows very well, that he ceases to be Religious, when he ceases to be a Persecutor.²³

²⁰ Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 81–82.

²¹ *The Freeholder* 3 (London: J. Tonson, 1716), 14.

²² *The Freeholder* 3: 14.

²³ *The Freeholder* 43: 252.

In *The Freeholder*, Addison also appealed to the nationalist feelings of women to fight Catholicism and Jacobitism.²⁴ In essay 4, he argued that Catholicism was particularly oppressive to women. He caricatured the mores of Catholic countries so as to prove that Catholicism destroyed the very nature of femininity defined as modesty, beauty, and motherhood. He thus listed the drawbacks of being a Catholic for women:

Women ought in reason to be no less averse to popery than to arbitrary power ... the Roman Catholic religion could never spread in a Nation, where Women would have more Modesty than to expose their innocent Liberties to a Confessor; others that the Fine British Complexion, which is so peculiar to our Ladies, would suffer very much from a Fish Diet: And that a whole Lent would give such a Sallowness to the celebrated Beauties of this Island, as would scarce make them distinguishable from those of France ... I shall only leave to the serious Consideration of my Country Women the Danger any of them might have been in, (had Popery been our National religion) of being forced by their Relations to a State of perpetual Virginité. The most blooming Toast in the Island might have been a Nun, condemned to a Condition of Life, disagreeable to herself and unprofitable to the World.²⁵

By contrast, in his other major writings such as *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*, Addison's anti-Catholicism was often less directly political and therefore did not seem as aggressive and pungent. Yet, while the anti-Catholic message was mostly covert, it remained as patriotic and pervasive as his direct political and religious attacks. In reality, debunking Catholicism was inherent in his overall project of promoting a new consensual form of politeness based on moral reform, good humour and culture, and defined as distinctively British.

²⁴For a further analysis of Addison's attitude to women and female readers of *The Freeholder*, see Claire Boulard Jouslin, "The Paradise of Fools': *The Freeholder* (1715–1716) et l'utopie de l'opinion publique féminine en Angleterre," *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 43 (2011): 469–485.

²⁵*The Freeholder* 4: 19–20.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND POLITENESS

One flaw Addison was particularly eager to eradicate was “this unaccountable Humour in Woman-kind, of being smitten with everything that is showy and superficial.”²⁶ According to him, women’s faculty of seeing was defective because they did not see through appearances and could be dazzled by show. Conversely, to be admired and to attract the gaze of men was often depicted by Addison as a form of female vanity and folly that he, like many a Protestant divines before him, wished to cure.²⁷

This is what he did in *The Spectator*, in which he depicted young women whose ambition was “to appear in all public Places and Assemblies, in order to seduce Men to their Worship.” Significantly, Addison called this group of ladies “Idols” and he compared their tactics to the pageantry of Catholic rituals: “Several of them are carried in Procession every Evening about the Ring, and several of them set up their Worship even in Churches. They are to be accosted in the Language proper to the Deity.” Indeed, Clarinda, “one of the greatest Idols among the Moderns” is “worshipped once a Week by Candle-Light in the midst of a large Congregation generally called an Assembly. Some of the gayest Youths in the Nation endeavour to plant themselves in her Eye, while she sits in form with Multitudes of Tapers burning about her.”²⁸

As the worship of saints was not allowed in the Church of England and as going public for a woman was akin to prostitution, the implicit conclusion was that such women were not only immoral creatures governed by vanity, but they were also bad Anglicans flirting with Catholic rituals. They thus became “whores of Babylon.” Moreover they did not only proselytize, making their lovers idolaters in their turn, but they became crypto-Jacobites because they relied on the same methods as the Pretender who capitalized on his glamorous good looks and on a visual propaganda, summed up in his motto “look, love and follow,” to raise new followers.²⁹

²⁶ *The Spectator* (1711–1712, 1714) ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 15, 66.

²⁷ See, for instance, Francis Hawkins’s *New Additions unto Youths Behaviour ... A Discourse upon Some Innovations of Habits and Dressings; Against Powdering of Hair, Naked-Breasts, Black Spots and Other Unseemly Customes* (London, 1652); *England’s Vanity or the Voice of God against the Monstrous Sin of Pride* (London, 1683).

²⁸ *The Spectator*, 73, 373–374.

²⁹ Paul Klébert Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 70–78.

Thus, what appeared to be gentle mockery of manners was in fact loaded with politico-religious meaning. Indeed Addison assumed that to tax a group of women with idolatrous and crypto-Catholic manners would ridicule them to the extent that it would prompt women into reforming their behaviour.³⁰ As this essay was the first of several³¹ associating the character of the idol to vanity as well as to false religion, to conquest and to arbitrary power, one must consider this social criticism as “a religious act”³² and as militant anti-Catholic propaganda.

Moreover, to drive his point home, Addison conversely condemned the Catholic love of rituals and the importance of visual elements in the Catholic Church as feminine idolatry. He ridiculed the Pope himself, comparing him to a coquette who relied on clothing to dazzle his audience, and making him the embodiment of error and frailty. In essay 201, after condemning the Pope who, “officiate[s] at Saint Peters, where for two Hours together, he was busied in putting on or off his different Accoutrements, according to the different Parts he was to act in them,” Addison declared that “Nothing is so glorious in the Eyes of Mankind, and ornamental to Human Nature, ... as a strong steady masculine Piety.”³³ He thus opposed an internalized Protestant and well-poised masculine faith to an excessive Catholic feminine and foreign outward show, concluding: “Idolatry may be looked upon as another Error arising from mistaken devotion.”³⁴

Addison therefore killed two birds with one stone. He extended anti-Catholic propaganda to the realms of fashion and manners: his irony was meant to teach his readers how to avoid the traps of lay and religious false appearances and to show that to be truly agreeable, one could not adopt Catholic manners and religion. At the same time, he attempted to eradicate all sorts of Catholic leanings by entertaining the readers through

³⁰This implicit equation between Catholic women and prostitutes was to become explicit in *The Freeholder* 4: 18.

³¹See, for instance, *The Spectators*, 79, 87, and 302, with the character of Honoria.

³²The expression is in E. A. & L. Bloom, *Joseph Addison's Sociable Animal. In the Market Place, on the Hustings, in the Pulpit* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971), 7.

³³*The Spectator*, 201, 2: 290. This essay recalls essay 257 from *The Tatler* in which Addison described a procession of wax-work figures that was an allegory of the three main English religions. Predictably, while a cheerful matron featured Anglicanism, “Popery” was portrayed as a heavily made-up harlot, and as a “tawdry composition of ribbons, silks, and jewels,” covered with crosses in gold and silver.

³⁴*The Spectator*, 201, 2: 290.

humour and politeness. As Lawrence Klein explains, a light tone was essential to achieve moral reform and a reformation in manners: “by being agreeable, social actors establish a trust that allows them to tell the truth, to criticize, without offending them.”³⁵ Addison’s anti-Catholic remarks were therefore polite because they made for both useful and pleasant reading.

However, Addison goes a step further by stating that anti-Catholic remarks were a hallmark of English politeness *because* anti-Catholicism stemmed from the same principles as English politeness. In *The Spectator* 119, Addison explains how politeness became distinctively English:

a very great Revolution ... has happenend in this Article of Good Breeding. Conversation, like the *Romish* Religion, was so encumbered with Show and Ceremony, that it stood in need of a Reformation to retrench its superfluities and restore it to its natural good sense and Beauty. At present therefore an unconstrained Carriage, and a certain Openness of Behaviour are the Height of Good Breeding. The Fashionable World is grown free and easie ... In a word, Good Breeding shows it self most, where to an ordinary Eye it appears the least.³⁶

It is striking that Addison should describe the birth of English politeness in the same terms as that of Protestantism: a rejection of ceremonies and artificiality of the “Romish Religion” through a “reformation,” a rejection of a foreign influence (the essay targets French politesse as old fashioned and excessive), a discarding of gaudy show and a return to reason and to natural Protestant piety, which is to be felt and not seen. He thus presented this new form of natural politeness as inherently moderate, anti-Catholic, anti-French and therefore Protestant and English.

To weave together English politeness and a rejection of Catholicism was astute not only because it turned politeness and anti-Catholicism into a patriotic tool—polite English people being naturally Anglican and well-mannered—but also because it paradoxically distinguished moderation from toleration: the English nature was naturally Anglican and politely anti-Catholic. This idea was expressed at a time when toleration was at the heart of religious bickering between High Church men, Low Church men and Dissenters, and at a time when politeness and moderation were also denounced as a Whig form of hypocrisy, naiveté and flirting with

³⁵ Klein, “Politeness and the Interpretation,” 875.

³⁶ *The Spectator*, 119, 1: 486–487.

Catholicism.³⁷ So to suggest that a mild form of anti-Catholicism was inherently part of the British character, was a way of reconciling all religious factions over the Protestant principles of the Glorious Revolution (which incidentally excluded the Catholics from the Act of Toleration) at the expense of Catholics. Yet promoting a moderate anti-Catholic quintessential British politeness also dispelled the spectre of anti-Catholic fanaticism which levelled Protestantism down to a persecuting faith.³⁸ Provided it was guided by reason and transcribed with elegance, intolerance against Catholicism could also be polite and tolerable. Thus politeness served the welfare and protection of the country.

This explains why Addison rarely embarked into aggressive forms of anti-Catholic writings in most of his works. Already in his *Remarks*, Addison promoted anti-Catholicism through politeness. He combined a light ironical tone to deflate the anti-British attacks he met in the Catholic institutions he visited with the flat statement of facts which, if correctly understood by the reader, pointed to the treachery of the Catholics: “I saw the Ambrosian Library where, to show the Italian Genius, they have spent more Money on Pictures than on Books. Among the Heads of several learned Men, I met with no Englishman, except Bishop Fisher, whom Henry the Eighth put to Death for not owning his Supremacy.”³⁹ It is also significant that in his travelogue, Addison always depicted the Catholics in a neutral way, using the word “Catholics” rather than the derogatory term “Popish.” At the same time, as was noted by historian Morgan Strawn,

³⁷In the years 1709–1712, the trial of Dr Sacheverell increased the tensions between High/Low Churches and Dissenters. Nicholas Phillipson quotes Leslie blaming politeness for being hypocritical. See Nicholas Phillipson, “Politeness and Politics in the Reigns of Anne and the Early Hanoverians,” in *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500–1800*, ed. Pocock et al., 224: “But encouraging moderation in the use of political and religious language was, as Leslie pointed out, tantamount to advocating hypocrisy: ‘It’s a Catholicon and Cures all Diseases! Take but a little Dose of this, and thou may’s’t Drink Poison, and Break all the Ten Commandments, without any Offence! It reconciles Churches and No Churches, Christ and Belial! Light and Darkness! It can transform a Revel into a Saint and Satan to an Angel of Light! It can make a Schismatick, a true Friend of the Church; and a Whore an Honest Woman!’ (Leslie, *Rehearsal*, 13–20 January, 1704–1705).”

³⁸This was a concern that plagued the relationship between England and its allies in the war against France in the 1690s. William III had to soften the anti-Catholic penal laws in Ireland under the pressure of the Austrian Catholic Emperor Leopold who supported him against France. See Jonathan Israel, “*The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution*,” in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment, Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact*, ed. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 159.

³⁹Addison, *Remarks*, “Milan,” 34–35.

Addison's use of classical poetry was also a means to hammer in the idea that the Catholic religion was as outdated as ancient poetry.⁴⁰ Morgan Strawn indeed rightly observes that Addison often compared Catholic with pagan rituals and that 20% of the classical quotations used by Addison "redound to the Ancients' discredit."⁴¹ Thus Addison promoted politeness in both meanings of good manners and culture, making it already inherently anti-Catholic and patriotic.

This stress on the necessity to stick to a moderate anti-Catholic language in order to entertain and therefore to promote reform is best exemplified by essay 116 of *The Guardian*, in which Addison remonstrates against the female fashion of showing their naked bosoms. To reform women, Addison published a letter supposedly written by a Quaker who urged the editor of *The Guardian* to entreat ladies "not to expose their fleshly Temptations," arguing that even the Pope forbade such a fashion.

Nestor Ironside,

OUR FRIENDS like thee ... Thy Lion ... is heard a great way, even unto the Sink of Babylon; for the Scarlet Whore is governed by the Voice of thy Lion. Look on his Order Rome, July 8, 1713, "*A Placard is published here, forbidding Women, of whatsoever quality to go with naked Breasts; and the Priests are ordered not to admit the Transgressors of this Law to Confession, nor to Communion; neither are they to enter the Cathedrals under severe Penalties.*" These Lines are faithfully copied from the nightly Paper, with this Title written over it, *The Evening Post*.⁴²

This essay illustrates well the subtlety of Addison's method. Addison seemed to take position on lay matters—here women's fashion—rather than on religious ones. Yet, he reintroduced a religious discourse that sounded moderate because it seemed to reconcile Anglicans, Dissenters and Catholics on the same detestation of female misdemeanours. However, one notices that parodying the plain Quaker style of writing, the essay both mocked the Dissenters' extremist and abusive anti-Catholic language ("the Scarlet Whore") as well as the excessive reaction of the Catholic

⁴⁰ "There are in Rome Two Sets of Antiquities, the Christian and the Heathen. The former, tho' of a fresher Date are embroil'd with Fable and Legend, that one receives but little Satisfaction from searching into 'em." Addison, *Remarks*, 301.

⁴¹ Strawn, "Pagans, Papists," 566.

⁴² *The Guardian*, ed. John Calhoun Stephens (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 116, 393.

Church to women's indecency (excluding transgressors from the sacraments). By contrast, Addison made it plain in the introduction to this *Guardian* essay, that the periodical was coming to the rescue of the Anglican Church because, unlike parsons who lost their dignity by railing against female fashions, it could reform the audience through humorous and lay papers.

Moreover, Nestor Ironside, the journal's editor, concluded his essay humorously by finally targeting the excessive anti-Catholic and hypocritical reaction some zealous Anglican women could adopt: "I am only afraid that our Ladies will take an Occasion from hence to show their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and pretend to expose their naked Bosoms only in Opposition to Popery."⁴³ What he worried about was not that his female readers might be anti-Catholic. It was rather that they might be zealously and therefore excessively anti-Catholic, a mistake that in the end would bring them back to their original sin—attracting the gaze of men and seducing in the same manner as Catholic idols did, and therefore becoming "Scarlet whores." Reforming women's manners, namely teaching English ladies how to be polite, was not therefore a way of teaching toleration, it was a way of teaching moderation as an anti-Catholic preservative and way of life. Consequently, Addison conceived politeness as both the means and the ends of anti-Catholicism. By being polite, Englishmen and women were being truly English.

Addison's opinion of an anti-Catholic politeness was certainly progressive when compared to some of the travelogues, sermons, or satires thundering against the Catholics. Yet one should not ignore the fact that it was also highly pervasive *because* it was moderate. Anti-Catholic moderation became at once the hallmark of politeness and of Englishness. And as propaganda is more efficient when it appears subdued, such distinctively English mild anti-Catholic intolerance was seductive. The success of the periodicals and of *The Remarks*⁴⁴ as well as the many comments made by British grand tourists on Addison's book leave no doubt about the extent to which his anti-Catholic remarks strengthened their opinion that

⁴³ *The Guardian*, 116, 113.

⁴⁴ *The Remarks* ran through thirteen editions in the eighteenth century according to Charles Batten in his opus *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 10.

England was the land of freedom and religious toleration.⁴⁵ Conyers Middleton, an Anglican divine who was in Italy in 1723–1724, even took up Addison’s programme and dissected the pagan elements in the Catholic practice in *A Letter from Rome*, which he published in 1729 in order to show the vacuity of the Catholic religion.⁴⁶

Addison’s successful propaganda also partly explains why his ideas and methods were resented in Catholic countries. While *Le Journal des Scavans* favourably reviewed the *Remarks* praising the book for being an attractive literary and learned exercise appealing to the polite reader, it attempted to tone down the religious bias of the book: “Mr Addison is *merely*⁴⁷ carried away by his satyrisms, and does not manifest the full-blown hatred ordinarily shown by non-Catholics travelling across Italy.”⁴⁸ By contrast, the Vatican censored and banned the book and its French translation in 1729.⁴⁹

Similarly, in 1726, the reviewer of the French translation of the *Freeholder* in *La Bibliothèque française* was sarcastic about Addison’s view that English ladies should reject Catholicism because it tyrannically sent women to convents and prevented them from marrying. The reviewer showed the absurdity of such caricatural reasoning, concluding “When standing against Papism and arbitrary power (as they go hand in hand), nothing should seem more abject to English ladies than the sacrifice of thousands fine ladies being sent into convents. There those unfortunate girls, destined to *perpetual virginity, become useless to the outside world.*”⁵⁰

Addison’s anti-Catholic point of view and methods were to affect his reputation on the continent for a long time. In 1777, even after Addison’s apologetics was translated into French,⁵¹ the abbé François Xavier de Feller, a famously learned Jesuit hostile to Protestants and Encyclopaedists, still vindicated his resentment by revengefully portraying Addison in his *Dictionnaire* as a man “whose preventions against the Catholics marred his judgment and his philosophy.”⁵²

⁴⁵ Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 12, 167–168. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction*, 11–12.

⁴⁶ For details about the book, see Robert Blackey, “A War of Words,” 550.

⁴⁷ My emphasis.

⁴⁸ *Journal des Scavans*, 1709: 43, 88.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Green and Nicholas J. Karolides, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Censorship* (New York: Facts and File, 2005), 269.

⁵⁰ *Bibliothèque française, ou Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1726, 9, 164–168.

⁵¹ Addison, *De la Religion chrétienne*.

⁵² *Dictionnaire Historique ou Histoire abrégée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait un nom par le génie, les talens, les vertus, les erreurs* (new ed.: 1781–1783), 1, 36.

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Papal Tyranny on the Stage: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the London Theatres

Marc Martinez

In the introduction to his study on anti-Catholicism in the eighteenth century, Colin Haydon argues that Georgian anti-Catholic feelings whose strength scholars have tended to play down manifested themselves under three different heads: political distrust since the Roman Catholics were “held to be, first and foremost, subjects of the Pope,”¹ theological disagreement since Popery was seen as “the antithesis and perversion of true Christianity”² and popular fear since cruelty and intolerance were considered the principal characteristics of Popery. The overt attack against the government was one possible threat, but even more disquieting was the possibility of some “*clandestine subversion*,” which often bordered on

¹ Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 3.

² Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 4.

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paranoia.³ The first type is illustrated by the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 to restore the exiled Stuarts to the throne, in which the Catholics joined with foreign powers and fought with foreign troops. In the people's minds, a victory of Popery conjured up the re-establishment of Catholicism by force even though this anxiety was overstated because of the little interest shown by southern Catholics in active Jacobitism. The hatred of Catholics, however, did persist between the two Jacobite rebellions with occasional rumours of Papist plots.

During the 1745 rising, the theatres contributed to fuelling the popular hostility against Jacobitism, which was often portrayed as the bugbear likely to undermine the religious and political integrity of the nation. Anti-Catholicism, as it was staged in the London theatres, was predicated on the rejection of the external Other and the uniting of the British Protestant audience in the face of the Popish threat. In the 1730s, the theatre never ceased to reflect the audience's interest in national and patriotic matters as it became increasingly politicized: the plays performed in minor playhouses provided a mirror for contemporary politics and influenced public opinion. The London stage became a tribune for the opposition, provided a means of information and offered an instrument of propaganda to the government until the clampdown in 1737 with the passing of the Licensing Act. In October 1745, when the threat of a Jacobite invasion was taken more seriously, the theatres regained their prominent place in the political arena.

The two patent houses, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, took an active part in opposing the uprising. As early as 28 September, the *Daily Advertiser* announced that James Lacy, the manager of Drury Lane, intended to raise troops including the whole company of players against the Pretender.⁴ In the general mood of suspicion, however, the playhouses were not immune from accusations of Jacobitism as is illustrated by a rumour about the managers of Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre supposedly hiding arms and ammunition for the Pretender's followers.⁵ The actors too could be the victims of anti-Catholic prejudice. In November, Mrs

³ Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 7.

⁴ All newspaper articles and playbill information are taken from the production calendars in *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments, and Afterpieces, Part 3, 1729–1747*, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1961).

⁵ It was announced in the *General Advertiser*, October 7, 1745. The reason for this measure as given in the *Penny London Post* of 7–9 October: "a great quantity of ammunition & arms were secreted there for the use of the Pretender and his adherents; but whether they

Cibber's offer to play the part of Polly in *The Beggar's Opera* was objected to in a letter signed by a "Veteran Protestant," dated 8 December and published on 9 December in the *General Advertiser* on the ground that she was a Catholic.⁶ The audience, however, was satisfied with her reply that she was a loyal subject of the king and she appeared for the first time in this part on 14 December.⁷ In order to prove her allegiance, the actress suggested that the three nights' receipts for the play should be paid to the Guildhall Veteran scheme, a proposal which was occasionally renewed by the managers and the actors during the rebellion.

As professional entrepreneurs at the head of a new rising leisure industry, James Lacy at Drury Lane and John Rich at Covent Garden shaped the repertory with a view to whipping up loyalist sentiments and, in effect, to increasing their receipts. In a letter to David Garrick, dated 24 October, Mrs Cibber wrote, somewhat cynically, that the "Rebellion is so far from being a disadvantage to the playhouses that, I assure you, it brings them very good houses."⁸ The rising created a market for anti-Papist goods not only in dramatic entertainments but also in almost any package since the mid-eighteenth-century playgoer enjoyed a wide variety of theatrical offerings in the course of the evening. In the two patent houses, the full-length play, the main piece, was accompanied by a shorter play, the after-piece, by an occasional prologue or a special epilogue. Besides other venues offered the kind of theatrical fare that appealed to the popular excitement over Popery.⁹ Apart from Goodman's Fields, a minor playhouse, the theatrical booths of the London fairs provided their share of dramatic propaganda in the summer following the rebellion.

The advertisements for the plays published in the newspapers convey in their condensed form the gist of the anti-Catholic message. The plays on the programme reiterated the old anti-Papist stereotypes perpetuated by

were found we know not." On 8 October, the *General Advertiser* disproved the rumour "which seem'd calculated only to Prejudice the Proprietor of that House."

⁶ *General Advertiser*, December 9, 1745: "her Proposal to act for the Benefit of the Veteran Scheme hath more Vanity than Loyalty in it; or rather it is a Jesuitical Stroke of a Papist Actress in Pursuit of Protestant Popularity."

⁷ John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath: H.E. Carrington, 1832), 4: 190.

⁸ James Boaden, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 1: 36–37.

⁹ New Wells at Goodman's Fields was often referred to as Goodman's Fields at the time. It had opened in 1739 for entertainments under the management of William Hallam.

anti-Jacobite propaganda and provided a dramatic enactment of the slogans, “No Pretender. No Popery. No slavery ... No wooden shoes! No arbitrary powers!” which were printed in bold type in the London newspapers.¹⁰ The interest of the theatre managers in the Jacobite rising is reflected both in the revivals of older plays and in the couple of new pieces written to exploit the popular concern over the events in the north. A survey of the theatrical repertory and the performance records in the light of the progress of the Jacobite army is a good indicator of the popular sentiments against the foreign encroachments of papal influence, of the tastes of the eighteenth-century London playgoer and of the managerial policy of theatrical entrepreneurs.¹¹ The dramatic and theatrical representation of Catholics as the execrated Other on the London stage had commercial as well as generic implications: not only did it fill the coffers of the playhouses but it also produced a different response depending on whether the play was a tragedy or a comedy. In his analysis of political drama not at the time of the 1745 rebellion but in the much-politicized 1730s, Robert Hume helpfully distinguishes between two types of drama: the topical “allusion play,” which refers openly to current events, and the “application play,” which encourages the audience to draw parallels and see connections between the historical past of the drama and the current events. The topical play tends to be comic and satirical whereas the application play is serious and often tragic.¹²

In the early months of 1745, the threat of a possible invasion was palpable in the theatres: the choice of plays in January and February suggests some deliberate attempt by the managers of the two patent houses to capitalize on the current situation. Of particular interest is Colley Cibber’s tragedy *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John*, performed for the first time at Covent Garden on 15 February 1745 for 11 nights.¹³ The profit

¹⁰The *General Advertiser* and the *Penny London Post* printed the slogans in the margins of their front pages.

¹¹All the statistical information on performances is derived from *The London Stage, 1660–1800*.

¹²Robert D. Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre 1728–1737* (Oxford: OUP, 1988), 78.

¹³The eighteenth-century repertory theatre presented a fair amount of old plays in alternation or rotation, which implied that they had short runs. In this system, a run of eight nights was considered good.

resulting to the author reached the substantial sum of £400.¹⁴ In his dedication to the Earl of Chesterfield and his prologue to the play, Cibber justifies this free reworking of Shakespeare's *Life and Death of King John*, whose new title unambiguously advertises the anti-Catholic bias: he argues that Shakespeare's original history play presented the first instance of an English monarch resisting the authority of the Pope but, at the same time, failed to depict this crucial moment with enough Protestant enthusiasm. In the dedication, Cibber states that the play lacks "Fire" in its attack against Popery and in order to rectify this fault, he sets out "to paint the intoxicated tyranny of Rome in its proper Colours." In this tragedy, he repeatedly asserts the identity of Popery and tyranny which functioned as a nationalistic *topos* in the discourse of anti-Catholicism. The author himself performed the part of Pandulph, the Pope's Legate and the villain of the piece, who indulges in wild, bombastic rantings against King John:

Hear, then, High Heaven and Earth! Ye Saints above,
And Men below! Christians and Angels, hear!
Hear the tremendous Doom, our holy Church
On this accurst, apostate Head denounces!

... O sweep him forth,

Like the first bloody Cain, detestable!
This sacrilegious parricide! Whose arm,
Against the sacred Bosom of our Mother
Has drawn the impious sword of disobedience!¹⁵

In this exemplary application play, the stream of anti-Papist speeches is couched in the same fustian. King John delivers a long tirade directed against King Philip of France:

Though you and all the kings of *Christendom*
Should bow your necks, for this proud Pope to tread on,
Crawl to his Throne and like a God adore him ...
Though you like all the World like columns stand,
To form triumphal Arches to his Pride:
Yet *England* shall alone himself oppose
This subdulous, this priestly Usurpation!¹⁶

¹⁴Victor Benjamin, *The History of the Theatres of London and Dublin* (London: T. Davies, 1761), 1: 49.

¹⁵*Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John* (London: J. Watts, 1745), 22–23.

¹⁶*Papal Tyranny*, 22.

Drury Lane, the rival playhouse, responded by putting on for the first time in the eighteenth-century Shakespeare's original version for eight nights. The success of the plays in both theatres reveals the audience's concern for a possible invasion and the degree of patriotic fervour already mounting. This dramatic initiative also announces a pattern of competition which will be followed throughout the rising.

The involvement of the London theatres was greatly intensified in the next theatrical season, starting in October 1745 and closing in the summer of 1746. With the landing of Charles Edward in Scotland, who launched the rebellion on 19 August, reached Perth on the 4 September and Edinburgh on 17 September, the threat was taken more seriously especially when the Duke of Cumberland was recalled from Flanders with troops. This is when the rebellion started to have a crucial influence on the shaping of the repertory and to induce a persistent pattern of production generated by the fierce rivalry between the two houses.

On 17 October 1745, *The Debauchees or the Jesuit Caught*, was revived at Drury Lane. This comedy by Henry Fielding premiered on 1 June 1732, under the original title *The Old Debauchees*. The play alludes to the story of the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Girard's trial for sexual abuse of his penitent Marie-Catherine Cadière at Toulon in 1731. This scandal served to convince that Roman Catholic priests were no better than lecherous seducers and the London theatres exploited this sensational case which gave rise to numerous pamphlets, poems and plays. A pantomime, "Father Girard the Sorcerer; or the Amours of Harlequin and Miss Cadiere" premiered on 2 February 1732 at Goodman's Fields with some success and was advertised as a "tragi-comi-farcical opera."¹⁷ A ballad opera, *The Wanton Jesuit or Innocence Seduced*, was mounted at the Haymarket on 17 March, and on 1 June Henry Fielding brought to the stage his satirical comedy *The Old Debauchees*. The play managed only six performances at the time and was dropped from the repertory. In 1745, the play which was shortened from three-act comedy to a two-act afterpiece was given a new lease of life: in the context of the rebellion, the hostile references to Catholicism allowed it to achieve a startling total of 25 performances over two months.¹⁸ The story, which is quite remote from the case of Father Girard suppress, unlike most other publications on the subject, was given a significant twist. The 19-year-old penitent was generally portrayed as the

¹⁷It had a run of 11 nights.

¹⁸The last performance was on December 26, 1745.

young innocent heroine of drama fallen a victim to a 48-year-old Catholic predator who employed the dark arts to reach his goal. In Fielding's comedy, Jourdain, a guilt-ridden sinner, is dominated by his confessor Father Martin who tries to seduce his daughter. Although the female protagonist is a virtuous victim, she is also cast as the madcap heroine of eighteenth-century comedy: she manages to outwit the priest, who is not a threatening villain but an easily trapped plotter. In this punitive satire, Fielding exposes Catholic hysteria and superstition in farcical scenes of devil possession and debases the Jesuit doctor who embodies priestly corruption and lewdness as is shown in the cynical tag at the end of Act II:

How happy is a Priest,
Who can the blushing Maid's Resistance smother
With Sin in one hand, Pardon in the other.¹⁹

At the end, in a humorous cathartic scene, the priest is ducked in a horse pond and tossed dry in a blanket. Although Fielding's play targeted priests in general, the revival of the play in the particular context of the rebellion brought the anti-Catholic flavour into sharper focus.

Covent Garden was prompt to respond the next day, on 18 October, with the revival of *The Non-Juror*, a topical comedy by Colley Cibber, which had a run of eight nights until 15 January. The play, which was originally produced on 16 December 1717 at Drury Lane for 16 consecutive performances, had met with immediate success in the wake of the 1715 rebellion and reached the phenomenal number of 25 performances in one year.²⁰ The manager of Covent Garden must have seen it as a serious contender to Fielding's comedy because they both aimed at the same target, Catholic duplicity. The title refers to those members of the clergy who refused to take the oath of allegiance required of all the members of the Church of England on the accession of William and Mary. Just as in Fielding's afterpiece, much of the plot turns on priest-baiting, a well-established motif in English comedy. In Cibber's play, based on Molière's *Tartuffe*,²¹ the political satire requires that the villain, Dr Wolf, should be

¹⁹Henry Fielding, *Plays, Volume II, 1731-1734*, ed. Thomas Lockwood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 2.328.

²⁰The author who had two benefit nights cleared at the time the staggering sum of £1000 according to Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*, December 21, 1717.

²¹The play was not directly inspired by Molière's comedy but by the actor Matthew Medbourne's translation which appeared shortly after Molière's production in February

made a traitor and a much more transparent hypocrite. Molière's *Tartuffe* becomes a Jesuit priest and Orgon a likeable dupe. In the course of the English play, Dr Wolf's alliance with Catholicism is brought forward in his own declarations as well as in the revelations concerning his past. His seditious activities in the rebellion of 1715 are hinted at from the beginning, developed in the second act and for them he is taken into custody at the end of the play. This comedy of duplicity and treason is a dramatic representation of the paranoid suspicion fuelled by the threat of Jacobite conspiracy, an anxiety which was rekindled in 1745. Dr Wolf embodies one of the deepest fears of the audience, the clandestine presence of Papists within the Church of England. Colonel Woodvil declares at the end of the play: "Here are Affidavits in my Hand, that prove him under his Disguise a lurking Emissary of Rome, that he is actually a Priest in Popish Orders, and has several times been seen, as such, to Officiate Publick Mass in the Church of Nostre Dame at Antwerp." Sir Woodvil, the dupe, immediately exclaims: "I start with Horror even at the Danger I'm freed from."²² Sir Woodvil's dismay and revulsion is meant to spark the same reaction and generate empathy in the audience. In his autobiography, Cibber had clearly stated his intention: "Upon the Hypocrisy of the *French* Character I ingrafted a stronger Wickedness, that of an *English* Popish Priest lurking under the Doctrine of our own Church to raise his Fortune upon the Ruin of a worthy Gentleman, whom his dissembled Sanctity had seduc'd into the treasonable Cause of a *Roman Catholick* Out-law."²³

In 1745, Drury Lane made an immediate riposte by staging Cibber's satirical comedy simultaneously for 13 nights.²⁴ Not to be outdone by the rival house, it even offered a double bill of Cibber's *Non-juror* as a main piece and *The Debauchees* as an afterpiece for eight nights. This winning combination intensified the patriotic and commercial game of one-upmanship at a particularly critical time of threat since Fielding's and Cibber's satirical comedies of unmasking clearly underlined the fraudulent, covert dealings of English Papists sapping the moral, religious and political foundation of the nation. It was put on at Goodman's Fields too

1669. *Tartuffe or the French Puritan* was performed at Drury Lane some time after May 1670. For a comparison between the two plays, see Dudley H. Miles, "The Original of *The Non-Juror*," *MLA* 30.2 (1915): 195–214.

²² *The Non-Juror* (London: B. Lintot, 1718), 75.

²³ *Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber* (1740), ed. Robert William Lowe (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), 2.186.

²⁴ It ran between October 22, 1745 and January, 22, 1746.

on 2 December 1745 and ran for 13 nights until 11 March 1746. In total, the play was performed on 34 nights in the season, which proves that this satirical comedy had considerable audience appeal.

On 28 October, Goodman's Fields, the minor playhouse, revived Nathaniel Lee's *Massacre at Paris*, an anti-Papist application tragedy, which premièred in 1689, the year of the first Jacobite threat, when James II landed in Ireland. The play had not been acted for the last 30 years according to the playbill and held the stage for five nights. Three days later, on 31 October, Covent Garden replaced *The Non-Juror* with Lee's tragedy and competed again, with Goodman's Fields this time, for two nights. This play provided an echo of the Popish threat, as is made clear in the advertisement:

the unparalleled Dissimulations, Imprecations, and Perjuries of Charles the 9th of France, the Queen Mother, and Cardinal Lorraine, to draw the Hugonot [sic] party into their snares, by which means the Death of the Queen of Navarre was effected by poison, and most of the Protestant Princes of the Blood destroyed.

It then turns to the execution of the famous "Admiral Chastillon" (Gaspard de Coligny) and his family by "the cruel and revengeful Duke of Guise" and the massacre of 100,000 Protestants "in the most barbarous and inhuman manner." After the satire on priestcraft, the manager of Covent Garden must have assumed that an application play which reiterated the scares of Catholic cruelty and intolerance was a sure-fire recipe for fuelling the animosity against Catholics and consequently drawing crowds to the playhouse.

In November, with the Jacobite army crossing the border on 8, reaching Carlisle on 15, Preston on 26 and Manchester on 28, popular anxiety was increased and the theatres unearthed old plays which could provide even the slightest parallel to current events. Nicolas Rowe's *Lady Jane Gray*, a 1715 tragedy, was performed on two consecutive nights at Drury Lane, along with Fielding's *The Debauchees*. The main play was announced in the newspapers as

containing a Relation of the Death of Edward VI, Founder of the Reformation. His appointing Lady Jane his Successor ... The Intrigues of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, for her destruction, and that of the Protestant Religion. The Cruelties exercised by Queen Mary during her

short but bloody reign, beginning with the execution of Lord Guilford Dudley and his wife the Lady Jane, who suffered in defence of the ever memorable Reformation.²⁵

At the height of anti-Jacobite hysteria, the wording of the playbills attempted to stir up anti-Catholic prejudice, to assert the superiority of the Church of England and therefore to inflame nationalistic ardour. Any play excoriating Popery and extolling Protestantism was likely to be staged: Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* was given three performances and was announced as "containing the Death of the Duke of Buckingham; the Tryal and Divorce of Queen Katherine; the Death of Cardinal Wolsey; the Christening of Queen Elizabeth."²⁶

In addition to the production of these application plays in the patent houses, the minor theatre, Goodman's Fields, revived for three nights between 18 and 20 November *The Humours of Purgatory*, a 1716 rollicking farce by Benjamin Griffin, which provided the same blend of causticity and buffoonery as *The Debauchees*. The plot of this comedy of humours, which is not unlike Fielding's satire, mocks the importance of confession in the Catholic church. Don Lopez, a Catholic hypochondriac, who wants to disinherit his family and leave all his fortune to the Church, is persuaded he is dying and starts to atone for his sins. In a farcical denouement, he is put in his coffin, has a funeral and raises thinking he is in Purgatory. Like *The Non-Juror* and *Lady Jane Gray*, this satire premièred after the 1715 rebellion and restated the usual anti-Catholic prejudice, which made it worth reviving in 1745 under similar circumstances.

In December, the Pretender who had reached Derby on 4, was retreating a few days later. On 19 December, *Perkin Warbeck* by John Ford was revived for one single night at Goodman's Fields and was double billed with *The Debauchees*. This history play, published in 1634, about the pretender to the English throne who was declared an impostor by Henry VII did not hold the stage although the advertisement insisted on the parallel between the historical event of the fifteenth century and the Jacobite rebellion. It contained:

²⁵ *The London Stage, 1660–1800*.

²⁶ It was performed for three nights between November 22, 1745 and January 1, 1746 and occasionally featured with *the Debauchees*.

an account of that notorious Pretender in the Reign of Henry VII. With a short account of Lambert Simnel, a Pretender to the Crown, fostered in like manner by Richard Simon, a Priest of Oxfordshire, with other Historical Passages, similar to the present times.²⁷

This almost forgotten play provided the groundwork for the only new full-length play composed during the rising. *Henry VII or the Popish Impostor* by Charles Macklin, an odd piece of propaganda, was brought to the stage of Drury Lane on the 18 January, for only three nights. In this slapdash piece of drama, the author forges an anachronistic alliance between Perkin Warbeck and the Pope to overthrow Henry VII.²⁸ This unexpected coalition leads the dramatist to introduce the fictional Savez, a vicious Papal Legate and a stock stage villain, who manipulates the Pretender. As in all other application plays, the whole purpose of the tragedy is to encourage the audience to apply the lessons of the past to the current situation. The greatest embroidery of history is the characterization of the fictional Earl of Huntley, who stands as a paragon of morality and virtue, the chief opponent to the Warbeck plot, and the leader of the Scottish opposition to James IV's sell-out of his kingdom to the powers of France, Spain and the Pope. This patriotic moralizer had become, by the middle of the eighteenth century, a necessary and expected character in all new tragedies. The following passage provides a good example of the anti-Catholic long-winded claptrap characteristic of the play:

O *Scotland, Scotland*, how is thy Spirit broke!
When that a *Kern*-bred, upstart, *Rome*-taught Priest
Dares hold a Rod of menaced Chastisement
Over the Minds of free-born Peers.²⁹

Though Macklin may have borrowed a number of incidents from Ford's tragedy, his play bears little likeness to the Stuart drama. Unlike Ford whose work focused on the subtle changes in the impostor's character,

²⁷ *The London Stage, 1660–1800*.

²⁸ In his apologetic preface, Macklin confesses that the play was “begun and finish'd in less Time than is necessary for the forming the Fable of only a correct Play” and was “the six Weeks Labour of an Actor, who, even in that short Space, was often call'd from it by his Profession.” *King Henry VII or the Popish Impostor* (London: R. Franklin, R. Dodsley, J. Brotherton, 1746).

²⁹ *King Henry VII*, 16.

Macklin offered a play which reads like a long-drawn-out harangue. In 1799, in a review of Macklin's biography by James Thomas Kirkman, a journalist remembers: "No one chose to hiss a loyal attempt during a rebellion; but on the second night the playhouse was abandoned and the piece was represented to empty benches."³⁰

This statement testifies to the predominance of patriotic sensibility over critical judgement in an audience which would have readily damned the play in any other context. All the application plays performed at the time struck a strongly nationalistic note but, unlike the satirical comedies revived for the occasion, they were short-lived. Aware of the supremacy of the *vis comica* over the tragic vein, the managers staged any comedy which had an anti-Catholic bias especially if it developed against a military background. *The Recruiting Officer* by the Anglo-Irish dramatist George Farquhar, which featured Peg Woffington, the famous Irish actress, in military garb, had a total run of 12 nights and *The Female Officer* by Charles Shadwell, starring the same actress, held the stage for three nights.³¹

However, as the rebels were losing ground in February,³² the theatre managers started to implement a new policy in their shaping of the dramatic repertory. The craze for anti-Catholic plays seems to have subsided as the Jacobite threat receded and the rebellion was eventually put down. Although John Dennis's *Liberty Asserted or French Perfidy Displayed*, along with his *A Plot or no Plot or Jacobite Credulity*, were revived at Covent Garden on 16 April after the battle of Culloden, they lasted only a couple of nights.³³ The managers altered the theatrical diet in the second half of the season: the serious fare of topical satire and application plays, rehashing the old stereotypes of Papist lewdness, clandestinity, duplicity, cruelty, irrationality and disloyalty to the nation, gave way to a bill of light spectacular entertainment, unspoken drama and fairground shows praising the victory of the army over the rebels. They included such items as "The Battle of Culloden and the defeat of the Rebels," a spectacular show

³⁰ *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal* (London: A. Straban 1799), 30: 313.

³¹ On Woffington's effort to portray herself as a loyalist see Felicity Nussbaum, *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance and the British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 204–225.

³² In February the Jacobites retreated to Inverness and Cumberland entered Aberdeen on February 27, 1746.

³³ *Liberty Asserted* premièred on February 24, 1704 at Lincoln's Inn Fields and ran for 11 nights at the time. *A Plot or no Plot* was first produced in 1697.

presented on the stage of Goodman's Fields with the addition of a musical interlude "Strephon's return, or the British Hero".³⁴ After the trial of prominent rebels started on 28 July 1746,³⁵ Drury Lane brought to the stage an afterpiece, "The Conspiracy Discover'd or French Policy Defeated" which was a reworking of the traitors' trial scene in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Act II, scene 2.³⁶ Bartholomew Fair staged on 25 August "The Happy Hero" and *Harlequin Incendiary* in Lee and Yates' Booth and in Warner and Fawkes'. In September Southwark Fair featured, for four consecutive days, a motley farce, "The Heroic General or Briton's Darling with the Comical Humours of Awl the Cobbler, Sneak the Taylor, Trim the Barber, and Kate Inlist the Sergeant's Wife."³⁷

Among these light, patriotic entertainments, produced at a time when the threat was abating and the fears were finally dispelled, one afterpiece stands as an exception. On 3 March 1746, an anti-Catholic pantomime, *Harlequin Incendiary or Colombine Cameron*, premièred at Drury Lane and enjoyed a long run of ten performances until 5 April. Like *King Henry VII or the Popish Impostor*, which, however, fell into instant oblivion, it was created specifically for the rebellion. It is also the only pantomime carrying anti-Jacobite implications and one of the few plays with *The Debauchees* and *The Non-Juror* to have met with some success. As the last attempt at capitalizing on the uprising, it epitomizes the brand of anti-Catholicism flaunted in the London theatres throughout the rebellion and it also encapsulates all the dramatic and theatrical modes exploited on the stage in one single hybrid form. The pantomime, neither tragedy nor comedy, was extremely popular. Its standard generic framework consisted of a double plot—an operatic piece and a silent harlequinade—and relied on the exuberant and incongruous juxtaposition of opera singing, machinery, dancing, music, miming, slapstick comedy and *commedia dell'arte* characters. The musical part focused on the vocal feats of the performers, the other part was a dumb farcical *commedia dell'arte* scenario enhancing the corporality of the actor's practice through miming and acrobatics.³⁸

³⁴ According to the *General Advertiser* of 29 April, it was so popular that some of the people who crowded there could not get tickets.

³⁵ The rebels were Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Cromarty and Lord Balmerino.

³⁶ According to the *General Advertiser*, the entertainment did not spare expenses. It featured "Characters dress'd in the Habits of the times, with proper Scenes and Decorations."

³⁷ It started on September 8, 1746 at Yeats Junior's Booth.

³⁸ For a general presentation of pantomimes, see John O'Brien, *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

The musical opening scene of *Harlequin Incendiary* presents a Council Chamber in Rome with the Pope, the cardinals and the priests. With its formidable setting, its incantation and apparition, it melds the high style of opera and the low tricks of fairground magic. The scene in Hell was the standard opening ever since the prototypical pantomime, *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, premièred at Drury Lane on 26 November 1723. In *Harlequin Incendiary*, the unexpected Roman Catholic setting suggests the basic analogy between the Pope and the Devil underlying the whole entertainment: the parallel is clearly established when the Devil, who rises in the middle of the scene, kisses the Pope's feet. He then conjures up an elf in the form of Harlequin: this burlesque Papal legate is sent to Scotland along with the Pretender who will "spread contagious Evil" in order to defeat the King of England.³⁹ At the end of the first scene, Harlequin's magic power, an ingredient common to all pantomimes, is conferred by the devil and repeats farcically the accusation of witchcraft levelled at Catholics. The second scene, set in a Palace in England, is the antithetic counterpart of the first. It presents an allegorical tableau of Britannia surrounded with Arts and Sciences and also includes an apparition: the devil is replaced by the Genius of England, who praises Britannia, "Nurse of Heroes, Queen of Isles."⁴⁰ The operatic overture of the afterpiece is a spectacular dramatization of the anti-Papist and patriotic clichés and tropes deployed in the high-flown tirades of the serious full-length plays. The second scene, however, was left out in performance because of the length of the entertainment. This deletion shows that the entertainment was primarily meant to expose satirically and exploit theatrically the wickedness of Popery and not so much to praise the virtues of patriotism.

The *commedia* portion in dumb show follows the formulaic scenario associated with this form of entertainment. Harlequin falls in love with Columbine modelled, as the subtitle indicates, on Jenny Cameron, a Jacobite rebel notorious for her promiscuous sexual behaviour. He manages to scare away her numerous suitors by resorting to magical transformations, making hairbreadth escapes and using his acrobatic skills. This part appealed to the audience's taste for buffoonery and theatrical sleights

2004). For an analysis of this type of entertainment promoted by John Rich, see Marc Martinez, "The Tricks of Lun: Mimesis and Mimicry in John Rich's Performance and Conception of Pantomimes," *Theatre History Studies* 29 (2009): 148–170.

³⁹ *Harlequin Incendiary or Colombine Cameron* (London: M. Cooper, 1746), 8.

⁴⁰ *Harlequin Incendiary*, 9.

of hand, with little reference to the initial satirical purpose of the after-piece. Halfway through the play, however, the Pretender and his followers meet Columbine, who behaves “with all the affection of Jenny Cameron,” and joins, along with her rejected suitors, the Jacobite cause. English soldiers are then shown plundering a wagon belonging to Glenbucket’s Regiment, to the sound of a battle.⁴¹ The rebels, swords in hand, enter an English palace, which Harlequin transforms into a prison. In the conclusion of the harlequinade, the grand finale presents another allegorical tableau set in a beautiful garden with Britannia, Fame and Victory. The action which started in Rome closes as a pastoral in a purely British *locus amoenus* and ends with a song in praise of the Duke of Cumberland, “Earth’s great Deliv’rer, the Delight of Heav’n.”⁴²

This pantomime is the perfect illustration of the policy implemented by the theatres at the time of the rebellion. It both perpetuates the traditional scares over Popery and tyranny and boosts the patriotic spirit of the audience. Besides, the shift between higher drama and lower forms of theatre within the pantomime mirrors the alternation of tragedy and comedy, satire and farce, serious and light entertainment in the evening’s programmes of the London theatres. This motley type of performance combines the spectacular appeal of a popular form and the emotional excitement of patriotic sentiment, the exhilarating thrill of theatre and the terrible scares of Papism. It epitomizes the ambivalent attitude of the eighteenth-century playgoer towards anti-Catholicism: it turned what was a political and historical event into a spectacle which must have at the same time heightened the anxieties of the audience and mitigated their patriotic fervour by the sheer exhilaration of the comedy and the mere enjoyment of the show.

During the rebellion, Catholicism was stigmatized on the London stage as an external threat mostly in serious application plays which displayed the alliance of Jacobites and foreign powers intent on jeopardizing British integrity. At the same time, it was viewed as a possible domestic danger chiefly in satirical comedies portraying double-dealing Catholics lurking within the Church of England. The theatre managers shifted the focus from aggressive anti-Catholicism in the first half of the season when tension was mounting to an appeal to patriotic zeal when the danger receded in the second half. The performance records show, however, that

⁴¹ *Harlequin Incendiary*, 19. John Gordon, Laird of Glenbucket, was one of the Scottish rebels.

⁴² *Harlequin Incendiary*, 23.

despite the upsurge of nationalism at the time, the anti-Catholic propaganda rarely met with lasting success in serious drama. In the 1743 revised version of Alexander Pope's *Dunciad*, Cibber's tragedy *Papal Tyranny* is entombed in one single ironic line: "King John in silence modestly expires."⁴³ The nationalist bombast and the high-flown feelings of anti-Catholic drama were anything but silent and modest and could only be short-lived. In the mid-eighteenth-century theatre, the stage-worthiness of the plays along with the expertise of the actors overruled, in the eye of the public, the political content of its drama despite the momentary patriotic thrill it could give. The few plays that managed to hold the stage for some time were essentially satirical: instead of delivering long-winded moralizing lectures, they castigated Catholic hypocrisy by exposing it comically and theatrically. The other alternative was the pantomime or the shows which suited the audience's taste for spectacle. By the middle of the eighteenth century, anti-Catholicism, which, as Haydon argues, could still be stirred up, had become primarily a source of profit for the theatre managers who contributed greatly to the commercialization of leisure. Fully aware of the limitations of nationalist drama, they tried to accommodate their patriotic duties to their business acumen. In order to gain the sympathetic adherence of the public, they pandered to the audience's loyalty to their nation and religion by arousing the conflicting moods of awe, pathos, laughter and wonder in the variegated fare they served to their patrons. At the same time, they catered for the theatrical tastes of the time by complementing the nationalistic message of the main play with the more effective ridicule heaped on Papists in the satirical afterpieces.

LIST OF PLAYS

(Title, date and number of performances)

Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John, Colley Cibber (February 18, 1745, Covent Garden, 11 performances)

The Life and Death of King John, William Shakespeare (February 20, 1745, Drury Lane, 8 performances)

The Debauchees or the Jesuit Caught (The Old Debauchees, 1732), Henry Fielding (October 17, 1745, Drury Lane, 25 performances)

⁴³Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (London: Pearson Longman, 2009), 130.

- The Non-Juror* (Drury Lane, December 16, 1717), Colley Cibber (October 18, 1745, Covent Garden, 8 performances; October 22, 1745, Drury Lane, 13 performances)
- Massacre at Paris* (1689), Nathaniel Lee (October 28, 1745, Goodman's Fields, 5 performances; October 31, 1745, Covent Garden, 2 performances)
- Lady Jane Gray* (1715), Nicolas Rowe (November 11, 1745, Drury Lane, 2 performances)
- The Humours of Purgatory* (1716), Benjamin Griffin (November 18, 1745, Goodman's Fields, 3 performances)
- Perkin Warbeck* (1634), John Ford (December 19, 1745, Goodman's Fields, 1 performance)
- Henry VII or the Popish Impostor*, Charles Macklin (January 18, 1746, Drury Lane, 3 performances)
- Harlequin Incendiary or Columbine Cameron* (March 3, 1746, Drury Lane, 10 performances)
- Liberty Asserted or French Perfidy Displayed* (1704) John Dennis (April 23, 1746, Covent Garden, 2 performances)
- A Plot or no Plot or Jacobite Credulity* (1697) John Dennis (April 23, 1746, Covent Garden, 1 performance)

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Anti-Catholicism and the Rhetoric of Slavery in Irish Writing, *c.* 1690–1730

James Ward

Anti-Catholic rhetoric is typically rooted in a fundamental opposition between freedom and slavery. To trace this connection in Irish writing, my chapter discusses two literary writers, George Farquhar (1677–1707) and Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), alongside two civic figures, Viscount Robert Molesworth (1656–1725) and Archbishop William King (1650–1729). Representing an Anglophone Protestant elite united in opposition to “slavery” and disdain for “slaves,” their writing variously reflects and challenges the habitual linkage of Catholicism to “slavery,” a pairing which had become totemic of Protestant identity in Ireland and beyond. Catholicism, as Clement Fatovic has shown, was in the wider Anglophone Protestant world repeatedly and “closely identified with various forms of despotism both foreign and domestic.” In this context, the “rhetoric of anti-popery served as a common language” which made “Catholicism in religion and government virtually synonymous with “servility,” “slavery”

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and “subjection.”¹ To discuss these entwined oppositions, the current chapter focuses on texts produced between two key moments: the defeat of Catholicism as a political and military power in 1690 and the publication of the Irish House of Lords’ “Report on the State of Popery” in 1731.

James II, the last Catholic monarch to command the three kingdoms of England-Wales, Scotland and Ireland, was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Subsequently, Ireland remained exceptional as the only kingdom within the composite, confessional state to have a majority Catholic population. Estimates of the imbalance varied widely, often reflecting a tendency to perceive the Catholic population as a blank surface for the projection of paranoid fears, traumatised memories and triumphalist fantasies alike.² Anti-Catholic legislation, popularly known as Popery or, less often, penal laws, applied across the three kingdoms. Debate around the efficacy of these laws in Ireland continued throughout the period, reaching an important point with the publication in 1731–1732 of a series of reports commissioned by the Irish House of Lords. As Archbishop Boulter noted in introducing them, the reports had been commissioned “the better to ... judge of the Danger that may arise to the *Protestant* Religion, to his Majesty’s Government, or to the publick Peace from the Number and Influence of these their Inveterate Enemies among us.” He added that the reports would confirm “the most just and reasonable Apprehensions of the Continuance and Increase of the *Popish* Interest in *Ireland*.”³

Such concern was expressed in statements like the one found in an anonymous pamphlet of 1731, stating that “the penal Laws and Statutes now in being against Catholics, have been found ineffectual.”⁴ Forty years after Ireland’s consolidation as a Protestant state, its Catholic majority remained an object of unease. To conceptualize this object, the word “slave,” its cognates and contiguous phrases were repeatedly invoked, whether with sympathy, or contempt, or (perhaps most commonly) in

¹ Clement Fatovic, “The Anti-Catholic Roots of Liberal and Republican Conceptions of Freedom in English Political Thought,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 39–40.

² See S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 149–158, 228; David Hayton and Adam Rounce, “Introduction,” *Irish Political Writings after 1725, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, 17 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008–), XIV (2018), lix.

³ *Journals of the House of Lords [Ireland]*, 8 vols (Dublin: William Sleater, 1779–1800), III, 199–200; see also Anon., *Scheme of the Proportions Which the Protestants of Ireland May Probably Bear to the Papists* (Dublin, n. pub, 1732).

⁴ Anon., *A Proposal Humbly Offer’d to the P[arliament] for the More Effectual Preventing the Further Growth of Popery* (Dublin, [S. Powell]; repr. London: J. Roberts, 1731), 4.

paternalistic but withering combination. Archbishop Edward Synge spoke out in 1719 against those “who had rather keep the Papists as they are, in an almost slavish subjection, than have them made Protestants, and thereby entitled to the same liberties and privileges with the rest of their fellow subjects.”⁵ Describing a journey to Derry in 1718, Bishop William Nicolson described the people he met with on the road as “sorry slaves,” commenting that he had “never beheld (even in Picardy, Westphalia or Scotland) such dismal marks of hunger and want.” “To complete their misery,” he continued, “these animals are bigotted papists; and we frequently met them trudging to some ruined church or chapel ... with a priest in the same habit with themselves.”⁶

Similar motifs of self-inflicted slavery are found when Anglican writers argue against the repeal of the 1704 Sacramental Test Act, which imposed on Dissenting Protestants civil disqualifications comparable to those applying to Catholics. A commonly proposed reason for repeal was to strengthen a united Protestant interest against a future Catholic uprising. Anglican opponents countered with assertions that such a prospect had vanished following the reduction, post-1690, of Catholics to the condition of slaves. Richard Cox wrote of advocates for repeal that “they really know that ... five in six of the Irish are poor, insignificant slaves fit for nothing but to hew wood and draw water.”⁷ Similar arguments and phrasing can be found in Jonathan Swift’s 1709 *Letter Concerning the Sacramental Test*, which assesses Irish Catholics to be “without Leaders, without Discipline, or Natural Courage being little better than *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*.”⁸ In other uses, the phrase did not always impart the tacit approval implied by Swift: Archbishop King condemned new anti-Popery legislation in 1715 with the comment that “all the case

⁵ Edward Synge to William Wake, 19 November 1719, quoted in Paddy McNally, “William King, Patriotism and the “National Question,” in *Archbishop William King and the Anglican Irish Context 1688–1729*, ed. Christopher J. Fauske (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 55.

⁶ William Nicolson to William Wake, 24 June 1718, quoted in Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962–1983), III, 117.

⁷ Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, 251, quoting Richard Cox to Edward Southwell, 24 October 1706.

⁸ *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis et al., 14 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1939–1968), II, 120.

has been to get [Catholics'] lands and make them hewers of wood and drawers of water."⁹

“SLAVERY”: ITS SYNONYMS AND SUBTEXTS

An especially prevalent synonym for “slaves,” “hewers of wood and drawers of water” refers to slavery imposed as punishment for military defeat compounded by treachery. The source for this meaning and for the phrase itself is an episode from the Book of Joshua. The Gibeonites made terms with the Israelites under the false pretence that they were from “a very far country” when in fact they lived only three days’ journey away. To this end, they took mouldy bread with them on their short trek; they wore old clothes and carried torn wineskins. Convinced by these tokens, the Israelites made a pact not to overrun the Gibeonites. When their deception was uncovered, the Gibeonites were punished with permanent enslavement: “Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondsmen, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water” (Joshua 9:21, 23). Use of this phrase in anti-Catholic contexts draws out several subtexts from the biblical source. As well as political subjection, the phrase invokes material immiseration as a visible sign of “slavery.” Also common is the implication that such destitution is self-imposed through political treachery. In parallel with the biblical source, Irish Catholics are called “hewers of wood and drawers of water” because they are neighbours who cannot be acknowledged as such. Having abased themselves beyond recognition, they deserve instead the name of slave. All of this suggests a neat identification between discourses of otherness and “slavery,” which invoked attributes associated with Catholicism ranging from physical dishevelment and material poverty to ethnic difference and dogmatism in religion. Such assumptions are, however, challenged by the way Protestant writers employed the language of slavery in the second half of the period discussed here.

In the years following the Williamite settlement, Catholics were tagged “hewers of wood and drawers of water” as a way to denote physical

⁹ King to the Bishop of Lincoln, 19 July 1715, quoted in D. George Boyce, “The Road to Wood’s Halfpence and Beyond: William King, Jonathan Swift and the Defence of the National Church, 1689–1724,” in *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. D. G. Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 89.

propinquity, ethnic estrangement and political abjection. But this phrase was not reserved for Catholics throughout the period under discussion. Jonathan Swift's sermon "On the Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland," a text addressed by definition to an Anglican audience, itemizes the reasons for the economic hardship increasingly felt across all classes in Ireland in the early eighteenth century. Topping his list are "the intolerable Hardships we lie under in every Branch of our Trade, by which we are become as *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*, to our rigorous Neighbours."¹⁰ Swift reconceptualises a relationship of subordination and domination previously said to obtain between Catholics and Anglicans in Ireland, applying it instead to the relationship between all of Ireland and its English neighbours. Swift and his peers came increasingly to use this language when conceiving themselves as political subjects. "[T]he question is," he wrote in April 1720, "whether People ought to be Slaves or no."¹¹ Archbishop King had complained in February of the same year that the "title of Slaves" had just been conferred on him and his fellow countrymen. His political colleague, Viscount Molesworth, concurred, likening his situation to "being chained like a galley slave to the oar and being actually drubbed at will and pleasure."¹²

These examples reflect a notable turnaround whereby Protestant writers went from calling Catholics slaves to using similar language of themselves. Its immediate cause was the Declaratory Act of 1719, which asserted that the Kingdom of Ireland "is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain."¹³ The act, which King referred to as "our Enslaving Bill,"¹⁴ solidified in law an anomaly which Irish writers had been concerned with for more than two decades. William Molyneux's much-reprinted *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated* (1698) promoted an influential aphorism which would be picked up to define the kind of

¹⁰ *The Essential Writings of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (New York: Norton, 2010), 242.

¹¹ Swift to Charles Ford, 4 April 1720, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963–1965), II, 342.

¹² Quoted in Oliver Ferguson, *Jonathan Swift and Ireland* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 53.

¹³ "An act for better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain," accessed online at "The Statutes Project," 31 July 2019, <http://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/eighteenth-century/1719-6-george-1-5-irish-dependency-act/>.

¹⁴ King to Francis Annesley, 28 October 1721, TCD MS 750/7, 20.

slavery that Swift and co. thought themselves to be enduring after 1719. “I have no other Notion of *Slavery*,” Molyneux writes, “*but being Bound by a Law to which I do not Consent.*”¹⁵ Reflecting the phenomenon identified by Nini Rodgers whereby any “overwhelming human experience could be compared to slavery,”¹⁶ Molyneux’s refusal of any “other Notion of slavery” is evidently problematic. Quite apart from African slavery which grew steadily throughout the period,¹⁷ another notion existed and was routinely applied in the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Protestant elite to which Molyneux belonged. Ian McBride addresses this omission. “Government without consent was slavery,” he writes, unless “the governed were Catholics,” adding the caveat that to identify such thinking as logically flawed would be to apply “modern secular and democratic assumptions” which its authors “would have found incomprehensible.”¹⁸ In the face of such apparent incomprehension, it is important to assess the differing meanings and contrasting varieties of slavery ascribed by Irish Protestants to themselves and to their Catholic neighbours.

As well as denoting enforced captivity or servitude, the language of slavery has a moral and psychological aspect which reflects the linguistic history of the opposition between states of freedom and captivity. The word “caitiff,” for example, was historically used in English to mean not a captive per se but rather a despicable or villainous person. “Villain” is another term where a state of bondage implies moral degeneracy; other terms used to denote feudal tenure such as “churl” have a similar function.¹⁹ In his discussion of fundamental semantic categories common to the Indo-European languages, Émile Benveniste points out that “slave” derives from the ethnonym “slav” and is one of many terms used to designate neighbouring peoples as strangers, subjects or captives.²⁰ When Irish

¹⁵ William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland’s Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated* (Dublin: Joseph Ray, 1698), 109.

¹⁶ Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1625–1865* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 25.

¹⁷ See Rodgers’s discussion of Irish slave ownership in Barbados and Montserrat in the seventeenth century (*Ireland, Slavery* chap. 2, 24–54).

¹⁸ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), 275.

¹⁹ *OED*, “villain,” “villein,” “churl.” In Old English, the last of these words denoted a member of the “lowest rank of freemen” but came after the Norman conquest to denote “a tenant in pure villeinage, a serf, a bondman.”

²⁰ Émile Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*, book 3, chap. 3 and 5. Accessed online at http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_Benveniste.Indo-European_

Protestants called Catholics slaves, then, the charge carried an imputation of ethnic difference as well as moral degeneracy. When they used the term of themselves, it expressed indignation at being regarded as foreigners by English neighbours. Swift's writing from the 1720s evidences this outrage at being folded into equivalence with Irish Catholics. He and his peers became unwilling targets of anti-Catholic invective to which they themselves subscribed, "stigmatized in a Lump, under the Name of *Papists*" by English neighbours who had begun, without differentiation, to "look upon us as a Sort of *Savage Irish*."²¹ This was unfair from the perspective of Swift and his peers because the political "slavery" implied by the 1719 act was qualitatively different from that applied to Catholics in penal laws which were seen as the flawed, if necessary, outworkings of a just war. The 1719 act, by contrast, potentiated a return to the pre-war state of political absolutism under the Stuart monarchy. Indeed, Molesworth's self-description as "being chained like a galley slave to the oar" invokes a specific practice of such regimes, the penal servitude inflicted on Protestants under Louis XIV in France. Galley slavery would go on to be influentially recounted in Jean Marteilhe's *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion* and translated into English by another Irish Protestant, Oliver Goldsmith, in 1758. Such persecution typified the notion that Popery and slavery were indissolubly linked in the "arbitrary power" wielded by the French monarchy and identified with the model of government that James II had attempted to introduce in Britain and Ireland. These connections were, respectively, confirmed and challenged in two books which emerged in the 1690s: William King's critique of James II's rule in Ireland and Robert Molesworth's account of absolutism in the Protestant Kingdom of Denmark.

WILLIAM KING, *THE STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS
OF IRELAND*

King's book presents an account of James II's rule in Ireland from March 1689 to July 1690 focusing on the efforts of the monarch and his Lord Deputy, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, to dissolve the country's Protestant establishment. King's account reflects first-hand experience: he

[Language_and_Society.1973](#) (accessed July 16, 2019).

²¹ Swift, *Essential Writings*, 278, 286.

was imprisoned under Tyrconnell in 1689 and again in 1690.²² *The State of the Protestants* therefore grounds Protestant antipathy to slavery in recent historical trauma. James II, in King's words, sought to "make his people slaves"; "to enslave or destroy them."²³ The monarch's designs are facilitated in that servitude is shown to have deep political roots in native Irish culture. King presents Ireland as a territory which historically combined feudal and absolutist practices of political subjection. He characterizes Irish political rule prior to the Anglo-Norman conquest as "meerly arbitrary and despotick." Such practice was largely adopted by English colonists, who "by their Conversation with the *Irish*, learn'd much of their Manners: They made their Tenants Vassals and Slaves, as much as the *Irish* had been to their Chiefs" (35). According to this reading, the reign of James II presented an opportunity to re-establish an engrained but dormant culture of political and economic slavery. In describing its return, King uses familiar watchwords, recording that "the Papists of *Ireland* ... would make us *bewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*" (19–20). King's anti-Catholicism, as Joseph Richardson argues, should not be "understood as merely a product of the Irish experience" but rather as part of "a wider Protestant fear of world hegemony."²⁴ Nonetheless, his use of the rhetoric of slavery emphasizes the particular political culture of Irish Catholicism: he asserts that although "English Papists are as zealous in their religion," they were not "so ready to give up the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom ... as the Irish" (41).

Ethnic and class difference also underpin King's rhetoric: he writes that many of those appointed to political office by Tyrconnel "were poor and mean, and such whose very names spake Barbarities." Referring to names of Gaelic origin, this last remark implies that as well as the opposition between slavery and freedom, a related distinction between "civility" and "barbarism" informs King's depiction of Irish Catholics. This binary is also seen in contemporaries such as Swift.²⁵ King notes, for example, that

²² William King, "Quædam Vitæ Meæ Insigniora," in *A Great Archbishop of Dublin*, ed. Charles Simeon King (London: Longmans, Green, 1906), 25, 28.

²³ William King, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government*, fourth edition (London: Samuel Roycroft, 1691), 14, 5. Subsequent references in main text.

²⁴ Joseph Richardson, "Archbishop William King (1650–1729): 'Church Tory and State Whig?'" *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 15 (2000): 69.

²⁵ "On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland," *Cambridge Works of Jonathan Swift*, II, ed. Valerie Rumbold (2013), 243–255.

a Catholic lawyer named Thomas Nugent was assigned as a chief justice despite having no notable distinction other than “a more than ordinary brogue on his tongue” (68). An inversion of King’s perspective is found in an Irish-language poem written by Dáibhí O Bruadair (1625–1698) which celebrates the promotion of Catholic lawyers: “there are Dalys and Rices on the benches, with a learned Nagle urging them to hear the plea of the man who doesn’t speak simpering dry-mouthed English.”²⁶ Other Irish-language sources invert the rhetoric of slavery employed by King so that the fall of James II represents a return to, rather than a release from, slavery. A poem by Tadhg Ó Neachtain from 1721 describes the Catholic community as “enslaved after losing their worldly goods.”²⁷ For King and his fellow Protestants, by contrast, the fall of James II represented deliverance from a monarch who “would have had them lend their Hands to tye the Chains of Slavery for them and their Posterity” (54). King’s portrayal also features the trope whereby the enslaver is himself a willing slave: James “cared not if he enslaved himself” (51) and was “content to be a *Vassal* to France” (50). King does not assert a necessary connection between Catholicism and slavery, but does observe a strong cultural affinity. Differences in language and manners between Irish Catholics and Protestants are superficial reflections of this more fundamental divergence. This cultural determinism contrasts with the relativism of Robert Molesworth’s *Account of the State of Denmark* (1694).

ROBERT MOLESWORTH, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF DENMARK*

Molesworth’s book, the result of a period spent as ambassador to the Danish court, starts from the premise that political liberty is a feature of Germanic (or “Gothic”) societies. English political culture provides a particularly strong and long-lived version of this historical narrative, which it owes to earlier colonization by Danes. But even in such societies, liberty is more often subject to decline and abandonment than continuity. Denmark provides as an interesting case study because its turn to absolutism can be pinpointed to a specific moment in recent memory: its institution by Frederick III in 1660–1661 in legislation known as the absolute

²⁶ Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), 38.

²⁷ Morley, *The Popular Mind*, 80.

inheritable government act, subsequently formalized as the Royal Law of 1665.²⁸ The devastating effects of this *coup d'état* are manifest throughout the country. “Yeomanry,” Molesworth writes, “which is the strength of England, is a state not known or heard of in Denmark.”²⁹ This remark places Denmark in direct comparison with other “slavish” countries such as Ireland, where similar complaints continued to be made throughout the period. As Clíona Ó Gallchoir notes, the lack of “a yeomanry, a settled and improving class of freehold farmers” was an ongoing concern in Arthur Dobbs’s *Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland* (1729–1731).³⁰ In the absence of such a class, Denmark, like Ireland, is peopled by peasants, vassals and slaves. Other features of Molesworth’s account chime with the observations of his peers on the Irish poor, notably the replication of absolutist practice at a local economic level and the attempt to circumvent this through a parallel economy which substitutes barter and other forms of exchange for currency. Molesworth observes that “they live but from Hand to Mouth” and that the “Peasant or Boor, as soon as he gets a Rix Dollar, lays it out in Brandy with all haste, elst his Landlord, whose Slave he is, should hear of it, and take it from him” (69). In the absence of money, tax collectors are also known to exact payment in kind, confiscating “(in lieu of Money) old Feather Beds, Brass, Pewter, Wooden Chairs, etc. which they violently took from the Poor People, who were unable to pay, leaving them destitute of all manner of Necessaries for the use of Living” (70). The same economics govern Swift’s *Modest Proposal*, which holds out the prospect of poor tenants producing “something valuable of their own ... which by Law may ... help to pay their Landlord’s Rent, their Corn and Cattle being already seized, and *Money a thing unknown*.”³¹

Molesworth’s frequent use of the term “slavery” to refer to such conditions is part of a polemical effort to impress on readers that no necessary connection exists between Catholicism and the political subjection and

²⁸ Knud J. V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 53–55; Jens Chr. V. Johansen, “Absolutism and the ‘rule of law’ in Denmark, 1660–c. 1750,” *The Journal of Legal History* 27 (2006): 158–159.

²⁹ Robert Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark* (Carmel, IN: Liberty Fund, 2011), 70. Subsequent references in main text.

³⁰ Clíona Ó Gallchoir, “‘Whole Swarms of Bastards’: *A Modest Proposal*, the Discourse of Economic Improvement and Protestant Masculinity in Ireland, 1720–38,” in *Ireland and Masculinities in History*, ed. Rebeca Anne Barr, Sean Brady and Jane McGaughey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 55.

³¹ Swift, *Cambridge Works* XIV, 154.

material poverty imposed by absolutism. That Molesworth was aware of African slavery in the Caribbean is reflected in his comment that the peasants of Zealand “are all as absolute Slaves as the Negroes are in Barbadoes, but with this difference, that their Fare is not so good” (70). Despite this passing reference, it is clear that Molesworth’s idea of “slavery” focuses on political absolutism and its economic outfall. The reflexive nature of much anti-Catholic discourse can obscure the broader range of contexts in which such political slavery can come into force. His conclusion highlights that it has been “a great Mistake” to assume that “the Popish Religion is the only one, of all the Christian Sects, proper to introduce and establish Slavery in a Nation, insomuch that Popery and Slavery have been thought inseparable” (156). As the preceding analysis has suggested, Molesworth’s writing on Denmark accords closely with that of his contemporaries on Ireland, whether the comparator is pre-1690 political absolutism or economic underdevelopment after this date and particularly during the economic downturn of the 1720s. The crucial difference, however, is that any causal connection between such “slavery” and Catholicism is explicitly denied. Molesworth’s dismantling of this assumption contrasts with its enforcement in the populist drama of George Farquhar.

GEORGE FARQUHAR: *THE BEAUX’ STRATAGEM*

While Farquhar’s plays continue to be widely performed and adapted, they are also noted for their “anti-Catholic prejudice.”³² His last play, like the majority of his dramatic works, features a character whom the audience are meant to identify, and mock, as an Irish Catholic. Foigard, actually named MacShane, is an Irishman pretending to be French and therefore a doubly archetypal “slave” according to the rhetoric outlined in this chapter as well to the popular sentiment voiced in the play by the everyman servant, Scrub. In response to a polite greeting from Foigard, Scrub retorts: “I hate a priest, I abhor the French, and I defy the devil.—Sir, I’m a bold Briton, and will spill the last drop of my blood to keep out popery and slavery.”³³ Foigard’s speech, rendered phonetically in the text, is the distinguishing mark of his character and object of the play’s humour. He

³² David Clare, “Why did Farquhar’s Work Turn Sectarian after *The Constant Couple*?” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103 (2014): 164.

³³ George Farquhar, *The Beaux’ Stratagem*, ed. Ann Blake (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 83, IV.i.193–195. Subsequent references in main text.

nonetheless, according to Scrub, “speaks English as if he had lived here all his life” (58, III.iii.71). Combining familiarity with strangeness, such tokens align Foigard with a metaphorical “slavery” identified with engrained habits and ways of life. Custom and civility cannot alter their essential lineaments: although he attended the prestigious Protestant grammar school at Kilkenny, Foigard clings (as his name suggests) to his old faith. He remains, as David Roberts remarks, an inveterate “papist” on whom “the best Protestant education had no influence.”³⁴ The play’s climax brings Foigard’s slave-like atavism in habit, thought and speech into conformity with a new status as a slave in the literal sense employed by John Locke to mean one whose life is forfeit to others whose command he must therefore obey.³⁵ As part of their own stratagem of romantic intrigue, the play’s two heroes, Archer and Aimwell, confront Foigard with the knowledge that he is Irish rather than French. As “a subject of England” he has committed treason by serving in the French army. Archer affects an Irish accent and Foigard is caught out when he responds in kind with the admission that he went to school in Kilkenny. Archer now has the power of life and death over Foigard, who is forced to fall in with their plan.

In the play, this represents one of two thematic expositions of slavery. A further subplot concerns Mrs Sullen whose marriage to a drunken, morose and detached husband is figured as a form of slavery. In conversation with the French prisoner, Count Bellair, she says “I am like you, a prisoner of war”; he concurs with the sentiment that she is a “slave madam to the worst of Turks, a husband.” Mrs Sullen goes on to lament that she lies “groaning under a yoke” (390), and has been “enslaved, nay cheated into slavery” (68, III.iii.302–308, 390; 74, IV.i.4–5). The resolution of this subplot is a mirror image of Foigard’s surrender to Aimwell and Archer. Mrs Sullen and her husband agree to divorce and the couple part amicably with the closing maxim “Consent is law enough to set you free” (133, V.iv.275). The contrast with Foigard’s fate reveals a schematic opposition between Irish Catholic and English Protestant political subjectivities. While slavery can impact on both, it is for Mrs Sullen an unnatural, alien state against which she chafes and from which she must extricate herself as of right; for Foigard, by contrast, it is a default condition. Although the

³⁴David Roberts, *George Farquhar: A Migrant Life Reversed* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 114.

³⁵John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 284.

play subverts the convention that comedy should end in marriage, it reinforces the expectation that Protestants should be represented as free by nature and inclination and through contrast with Irish Catholics as craven slaves. *The Beaux' Stratagem* is a jovial comedy far removed from the weighty polemics of King and Molesworth. Nonetheless, Farquhar's play is informed by the basic polarity between freedom and slavery discussed in this chapter and which takes an equally humorous but much darker turn in the satire of Jonathan Swift.

JONATHAN SWIFT

Swift's opposition to slavery is often seen through his generalized indictment of Ireland as a "land of slaves." Such universal slavery does, however, break down according to the dichotomy outlined in this chapter whereby Catholics are abject, deserving slaves by contrast with an elite politically enslaved against their will and fitness to rule. Swift further echoes other writers in condemning Ireland's rentier class for compounding the misery of the Catholic majority, while also seeing this condition ultimately as a culturally engrained trait of Irishness which Catholic practice and allegiance to absolutists like James II tends to enhance rather than produce. His sermon "On the Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland" provides a concise example of this thinking, setting out "the Laziness, Ignorance, Thoughtlessness, squandering Temper, slavish Nature, and uncleanly Manner of living in the poor Popish Natives, together with the cruel Oppressions of their Landlords, who delight to see their Vassals in the Dust."³⁶ The thematic recurrence of slavery in Swift's work is further complicated in that he, of all the writers discussed in this chapter, had the most demonstrable connection with African slavery. As a propagandist for the British Tory government which negotiated the Peace of Utrecht between 1711 and 1713, Swift helped to win political support for a settlement which included the British acquisition of monopoly rights to the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish Americas. As part of the plan, the South Sea company was formed to take on the British national debt. It was, as John Richardson notes, "largely the exploitation of this [slave] trade that promised to make the company profitable enough" to do so.³⁷

³⁶ Swift, *Essential Writings*, 248.

³⁷ John Richardson, *Slavery and Augustan Literature: Swift, Pope, Gay* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 42.

In Swift's writing from this time, the co-existence of slavery as rhetorical abstraction and historical reality can be clearly seen. In the epistolary diary which he addressed to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, Swift states that he is "resolved to buy five hundred pounds South-Sea stock." In the same entry, he remarks of the town in County Meath which had been home both to himself and Johnson, "I suppose Trim is now reduced to slavery again. I am glad of it."³⁸ Swift's intended purchase came at a time when, according to Richardson, he would have been cognisant of the policy to achieve postwar economic growth through increased trade in slaves, and aware that the South Sea company would be the major beneficiary of this policy. This was not public knowledge, but by the time of writing Swift been "admitted to the full confidence of the ministry."³⁹ Swift appears, then, to have invested financially as well as ideologically in the effort to make the British state a major slave trading power. Even so, his major concerns about "slavery" focused not on this fact but rather on the politics and institutional machinery of anti-Catholicism in Ireland. His speculation about the town of Trim being "reduced to slavery" reflects this latter concern. It centres on the appointment of a magistrate there by Lord Lieutenant Thomas Wharton. Wharton's stated intention was "to reconcile the Church of England and the Dissenting Protestants as the surest means to weaken the Popish Interest." Writers of Swift's class and political persuasion interpreted such moves as part of a twin policy of unnecessarily deepening the "enslavement" of Irish Catholics while contributing to the political disenfranchisement of Anglo-Irish Protestants by making political appointments over their heads—reinstating, in effect, a version of the political subjection they suffered under James II, or, in Swift's words, "Finishing the Slavery of that People."⁴⁰

The poem "Ireland," which is the source of Swift's famous description of "this land of slaves," epitomizes such thinking. In the poem, a Lord Lieutenant garners support from an Irish MP through flattery and a promise to "pass another popery bill."⁴¹ The poem's readers are meant to discern the irony that by allowing himself to be bought and sold by his

³⁸ Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Abigail Williams, *Cambridge Works of Jonathan Swift*, IX (2013), 322, 319.

³⁹ Richardson, 45.

⁴⁰ Swift, *Prose Works*, III, 240, xviii, 177.

⁴¹ Swift, *Essential Writings*, 588–589.

English master, the MP is as much “enslaved” as the Catholic targets of the bill. Swift’s take on the Catholicism-slavery nexus is therefore nuanced: like his fellow clergyman William King, he supported the necessity and basic premise of penal legislation while recognising that it had, along with economic mismanagement, produced a culture of poverty and destitution which went far beyond the containment of a political threat. Even while abhorring such “slavery,” he echoed the general sentiment that it was politically self-inflicted and culturally determined by the secular customs of the “native” Irish. Though he agreed with its basic sentiment, and exploited its emotional appeal, he was concerned about anti-Catholicism being used to divert power from the Irish political establishment. Acquiescence in this power drain meant that Swift saw many of his peers among the Anglo-Irish ruling class as complicit in the extension of a culture of “slavery” beyond the lower orders. Finally, Swift’s opposition to political slavery contrasts with his apparent support for British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. All of these currents converge in *A Modest Proposal* (1729).

Swift’s most famous pamphlet appears on the surface to be also his most virulently anti-Catholic work. But this cannot be taken at face value: rather, its speaker is a caricature whose zealous anti-Catholicism blinds him to his complicity in a culture of slavery. As is well known, the text satirically proposes to alleviate economic distress through the sale of poor children as food for rich diners. One of the major arguments in favour of the scheme is that it will not only reduce poverty but also “greatly lessen the *Number of Papists*, with whom we are Yearly over-run, being the principal Breeders of the Nation, as well as our most dangerous Enemies.”⁴² This topical remark plays to heightened concerns about the efficacy of the penal laws. Its satire against the legal framework of anti-Catholicism is matched by the guying of Catholic ritual. Frank Lestringant highlights the *Proposal*’s “blasphemous intention,” which transforms the eucharistic sacrifice into “a cannibalistic meal.”⁴³ In addition to such theological content, the Proposer engages in some straightforward baiting of Irish Catholics. He observes that markets will be glutted at certain times of year because “*Fish being a prolifick Dyet* there are more Children born in *Roman*

⁴² Swift, *Cambridge Works* XIV, 154. Subsequent reference in main text.

⁴³ Frank Lestringant, “Travels in Eucharistia: Formosa and Ireland from George Psalmanazaar to Jonathan Swift,” *Yale French Studies* 86 (1994): 123, 135.

Catholic Countries about nine months after Lent than at any other season” (151). This point asserts a now-stereotypical association between Irish Catholics and hyperfertility, reflected in the description of Catholics as “our principal Breeders.” If allowed to grow up, their ever-proliferating offspring will go on to abandon their “*dear native Country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes*” (146).

While the last phrase refers to indentured servitude rather than slavery, it is part of a network of allusion through which the Proposer’s scheme formally parallels the mechanics of African slavery. As Richardson notes, this makes the *Proposal*, of all Swift’s texts, the one in which ideas about “slavery are more important ... than in any other.”⁴⁴ It extrapolates dark fantasy from the underlying premise of the Atlantic slave trade which, as Joseph Roach notes, was an economy grounded in the “public sale of human flesh.”⁴⁵ *A Modest Proposal* therefore follows Molesworth in going beyond the conventional linkage between slavery and Catholicism seen in much of this chapter. Instead, it confronts readers with a thought experiment outlining what happens when such casual, rhetorical equivalences are pursued to their logical, literal limits. The disturbing impact of Swift’s satire is heightened by his own demonstrable, if indirect, connection to the business of African slavery.

Anti-Catholicism and slavery were dominant themes in Anglo-Irish political writing of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Despite their ubiquity and overlap, there was no necessary connection between Catholicism and political subjection. Writers of the time were able to articulate the disconnect and to exploit it—in Molesworth’s case as a serious point within a larger political argument or, as in Swift’s work, through satiric inflation of the “anti-Popery” agenda. While seeming to accept rather than challenge the connection, Farquhar’s drama similarly plays for laughs by exaggerating the rhetoric of populist anti-Catholicism, channelling it through a further opposition between native English traditions of liberty and the servile mentality of Irish Catholics. A near-anthropological insistence on this cultural divergence can be found in William King’s account of life under James II. From a modern viewpoint, the routine invocation of “slavery” in such contexts seems like a

⁴⁴ Richardson, *Slavery*, 129–134, 129.

⁴⁵ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 89.

regrettable, if familiar, hyperbole to employ at a time when British and Irish involvement in the Atlantic slave trade was growing significantly. The low priority accorded to the historical fact of slavery, in comparison with its importance as a political and sectarian metaphor, seems misjudged. But the writers I have discussed were by no means the last to privilege metaphors of slavery over the reality of enslavement.

One recent example is the tendency of British politicians to denounce EU membership as slavery. Jacob Rees Mogg, a Conservative MP, referred to the United Kingdom as a “slave state.” Ann Widdecombe, a former Conservative minister and UKIP MEP, identified the result of the 2016 referendum with “a pattern consistent throughout history of oppressed people turning on their oppressors, slaves against their owners, the peasantry against the feudal barons, colonies against empires.”⁴⁶ Both politicians are, as it happens, Catholics, and their election to the British parliament was enabled ultimately by the repeal in 1829 of the entire body of anti-Catholic legislation extant in Britain and Ireland. This event is known, in another appropriation of the language of slavery, as Catholic Emancipation. A second survival is the false historical narrative that Irish people were enslaved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on a scale and with a comparable level of suffering to that of African people during the same period.⁴⁷ The “Irish slaves” myth has been propagated by white nationalists, but also through some mainstream channels. It reflects a deterministic logic which asserts, in mockery of their genuine suffering as well as that of people who were actually enslaved, that oppression undergone historically by Irish Catholics must, whatever the facts, be presented as slavery. The anti-Catholic rhetoric discussed in this chapter is now a historical artefact. But its foundational myths and metaphors of slavery continue to be employed in new and egregious ways.

⁴⁶ “Jacob Rees-Mogg Says UK Will Turn Into a ‘slave state,’” <https://metro.co.uk/2018/11/13/jacob-rees-mogg-says-uk-will-turn-into-a-slave-state-with-the-brex-it-agreement-8136610/?ito=cbshare>; “Conclusions of the European Council Meeting of 20 and 21 June 2019 (debate),” http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CRE-9-2019-07-04-ITM-005_EN.html (both accessed August 23, 2019).

⁴⁷ Bryan Fanning, “Slaves to a Myth,” *Dublin Review of Books* 94, November 2017, <https://www.dr.b.ie/essays/slaves-to-a-myth>, Liam Hogan, “All of My Work on the ‘Irish slaves’ meme, (2015–19),” <https://medium.com/@Limerick1914/all-of-my-work-on-the-irish-slaves-meme-2015-16-4965e445802a> (both accessed August 23, 2019).

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PART IV

The Demise of Anti-Catholicism in
the Secularized World?



Anti-Catholicism and the Scottish Middle Class 1800–1914

Martin J. Mitchell

Scotland in the eighteenth century was an overwhelmingly Protestant nation. The Church of Scotland was Presbyterian, and as the chapter by Clotilde Prunier has shown there was considerable hostility to Catholicism throughout the country. By the 1790s, however, there were only 30,000 Catholics in Scotland, accounting for 2% of a population of around 1.5 million. The two main areas of Catholic settlement were the north-east of the country and parts of the Western Islands and Islands. Small groups of Catholics resided in the cities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Elsewhere in Scotland Catholicism was all but extinct.

Irish immigration from the 1790s onwards fundamentally altered this pattern of Catholicism in Scotland. By 1841 there were 126,000 people of Irish birth living in the country, who made up 4.8% of the population. Ten years later the number of Irish immigrants was 207,000 (7.2%) and in 1901, 205,000 (4.6%). Given that by the latter year Irish immigration had been constant for over a hundred years, there were many more people in

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Scotland at that time who were of Irish descent. Most of the Irish who came over did so for economic reasons and the vast majority settled in the west of Scotland: in Glasgow, Scotland's largest city; in the county of Lanarkshire, in towns such as Hamilton, Coatbridge, Airdrie and Motherwell; in Renfrewshire, in Greenock and Paisley in particular; in Ayr and Kilmarnock in Ayrshire; and in Dumbarton in Dunbartonshire. This region was the main focal point of the country's industrial economy, and Irish immigrants settled not only in the industrial and manufacturing towns listed (and other towns in the area) but also in the mining districts of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. In 1841, 75% of Irish immigrants in Scotland lived in the west of Scotland; in 1911 80% did so. Elsewhere in the country the main areas of Irish settlement were in the east, in the mining districts of the Lothians and in the cities of Edinburgh and Dundee. Around two-thirds of Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic, and by 1911 Catholics in Scotland numbered around 520,000, or over 10% of the population: the vast bulk were Irish or of Irish descent. Since most settled in the west of the country it was here that, in religious terms, their impact was greatest—this immigration re-established the Catholic faith in a region from which it had been absent for over two hundred years. In 1850 there were around 100,000 Catholics in the region, and fifty years later 330,000. Any study of anti-Catholicism in nineteenth-century Scotland therefore has to be seen in the context of this Irish immigration.¹

This chapter will focus on anti-Catholicism in Scotland between 1800 and 1914. In regional terms, the focus will be on anti-Catholic activity and behaviour in lowland Scotland, the part of the country where the overwhelming majority of Irish immigrants settled. In particular, the western lowlands will be scrutinised given the impact Irish immigration had on the religious make-up of the region; moreover, most of the secondary literature on the theme relates to this area of Scotland.

In 1943 James Handley, the historian of the Irish in Scotland, argued that the Catholic Irish immigrants were despised by the bulk of the native population for several reasons, but most of all they 'were disliked because

¹James Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798–1845* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1943); J. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947); Martin J. Mitchell, ed., *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 2008); David McRoberts, ed., *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878–1978* (Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Historical Association, 1978); Bernard Aspinwall, 'A Long Journey: The Irish in Scotland,' in *The Irish World Wide Volume 5*, ed. Patrick O'Sullivan (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

the religion of ...them was execrated by the native. In antipathy on this ground almost all heartily joined, though naturally the fires of resentment were stoked chiefly by the official ministers of religion.² Until recently, the prevailing view among historians about the Catholic Irish in Scotland was that they were indeed despised by most Scots on account of their religion and for other reasons. For example, it was argued that Scottish workers also disliked the immigrant presence for economic reasons because the new arrivals, according to such scholars, worked mostly as strike-breakers or as low-wage labour. As a result of this hostility, it was argued, the Catholic Irish formed separate and self-contained communities in areas in which they settled in significant numbers and did not or could not interact to any great extent with the Scottish working class.³

Recent research, however, has shown that the Catholic Irish in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were not as isolated and despised as was previously claimed. While most working-class Protestant Scots no doubt disliked Catholicism as a faith and the Catholic Church as an institution, it is now clear that many did not let their personal religious beliefs prevent them from interacting positively with the Catholic Irish community. Members of the Scottish working class, particularly those who lived and worked alongside the Catholic Irish, enjoyed amicable relations with them and mixed and associated with the immigrants to a considerable extent in the towns and cities of lowland Scotland. Furthermore, such good relations enabled Scottish and Catholic Irish workers to participate together in political campaigns and in the trade union and labour movement throughout the period and in the temperance campaign of the 1830s and 1840s.⁴

Given that such new work has focused on the relationship between the Irish Catholics and the Scottish Protestant working class, this chapter will not deal with this issue. Nor will it look at all at the attitudes of the Protestant Irish in Scotland towards their fellow immigrants; these too

² Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, 267.

³ For a summary of such views, see M.J. Mitchell, *The Irish in the West of Scotland, 1797–1848: Trade Unions, Strikes and Political Movements* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 1998), 5–9.

⁴ M.J. Mitchell, “The Catholic Irish in the West of Scotland: ‘A Separate and Despised Community?’” in *Celebrating Columba: Irish-Scottish Connections, 597–1997*, ed. T.M. Devine and J.F. McMillan (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 1999); M.J. Mitchell, “Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland in the Nineteenth Century: Despised by Scottish Workers and Controlled by the Church?” in *New Perspectives*, 1–19.

have been looked at in depth, in studies of the Orange Order in Scotland and ‘Orange and Green’ disputes between the two Irish immigrant groups.⁵ Instead this chapter will focus on anti-Catholic behaviour and activity exhibited by the Protestant middle class, which includes the Protestant clergy. It will do so because this is an area which has not been looked at in detail for some time, despite it being an important aspect of anti-Catholicism in modern Scotland as the clergy and the middle class were dominant and influential in local urban society. Moreover, this study will show that the scale and impact and of their anti-Catholicism was not as significant as James Handley and others have suggested.

Widespread anti-Catholic activity in nineteenth-century Scotland first occurred in early 1829 over the Bill for Catholic Emancipation. Numerous public meetings opposing the removal of civil disabilities against Catholic in the United Kingdom were held throughout Scotland and many petitions against the measure were raised. In a detailed study of this opposition, Ian Muirhead argued that a majority of the Protestant clergy were hostile to the Bill, as were probably a majority of the Scottish people. Muirhead’s examination of many of the anti-emancipation petitions concluded that the principal argument contained in them was that if Catholics were able to enter Parliament and hold high office, this would be a ‘subversion of the Revolution Settlement, the Treaty of Union and the Protestant Establishment.’ However, he noted that in the west of Scotland the opposition to emancipation was greater and more committed than elsewhere in the country and that this was probably in part because of the strong Irish immigrant presence in the region and the hostility of Protestant ministers to it.⁶

However, there was some significant Protestant support for Catholic Emancipation. The Rev. Dr Thomas Chalmers, arguably the most prominent figure in the Church of Scotland at the time, spoke in favour of the measure at a public meeting in Edinburgh on 14 March. He was supported at this event by several leading figures in the Scottish legal

⁵ Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First; Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); Eric Kaufmann, “The Orange Order in Scotland since 1860: A Social Analysis,” in *New Perspectives*, 159–190; Graham Walker “The Orange Order in Scotland Between the Wars,” *International Review of Social History* 37.2 (1992): 177–206.

⁶ Ian Muirhead, “Catholic Emancipation: Scottish Reactions in 1829,” *Innes Review* 24 (1973): 26–42, and “Catholic Emancipation in Scotland: The Debate and Aftermath,” *Innes Review* 24 (1973): 103–120.

establishment. The pro-emancipation petition resulting from the meeting attracted 8000 signatures, including that of Sir Walter Scott (the petition from the city against the measure was 18,000 strong). In Glasgow, Kirkman Finlay, a prominent businessman and former Lord Provost and Member of Parliament for the city, was the driving force behind a petition which sought support for emancipation from among the middle class. He believed that this petition ‘should only have the signatures of those who, from education, subsequent reflection, and habits, had acquired such knowledge as gave them the means of forming an opinion worthy to be attended to....’⁷ The petition received around 300 signatures, mainly those of clergymen, university professors, bankers, merchants and traders. Finlay’s opponents claimed that more men of distinction and culture in the city signed the general petition against emancipation.⁸

The Catholic Emancipation Bill received Royal assent on 13 April 1829. Six years later it was announced that Daniel O’Connell, the leader of the campaign for emancipation and one of the most prominent reformers of the time, would undertake a political tour of Scotland. This infuriated those in Scotland who had opposed emancipation. For example, the Tory *Glasgow Courier* thundered: ‘We make no surmise as to how Edinburgh may receive him; but we give him this timely warning, that in this Protestant and Covenanting City, it may be dangerous for any blood-thirsty Papist and political agitator, like him, to approach it nearer than Camlachie or Tollcross.’⁹ Attempts were made to rouse ‘Protestant and Covenanting Glasgow.’ A short time before O’Connell’s visit, two preachers appeared in the city and gave lectures against Catholicism and the Catholic Church. Those who favoured political reform believed that these men had been hired by O’Connell’s opponents to stir up hostility both to the visit and to the Catholic population of Glasgow. Claims were also made that in the fortnight before O’Connell’s arrival, all the Church of Scotland ministers in the city had attacked him from their pulpits. However, despite such hostility, O’Connell’s visit to Glasgow in September 1835 was a tremendous success and was not marred by any disturbances. At Glasgow Green he addressed a crowd estimated by some at around 100,000 strong.¹⁰

⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, February 27, 1829.

⁸ Muirhead, “Catholic Emancipation,” 30–39. See also Mitchell, “Catholic Irish,” 64–65.

⁹ *Glasgow Courier*, September 12, 1835.

¹⁰ This and the subsequent paragraph are based on Mitchell, “Catholic Irish,” 66–67.

The lack of opposition to O'Connell's presence in Scotland appears to have greatly alarmed his opponents. Shortly after his visit to Glasgow, a number of Church of Scotland ministers and laymen in the city established a Protestant Association 'for the purpose, by public meetings and the press, of exposing the errors and pernicious tendency of the Popish system—extensively diffusing information respecting the character and history of the Church of Rome, and arousing Protestants to the duties to which they are specially called.' One of the reasons given for the founding of the society was the 'dangers of Popery arising from the accession of Roman Catholics to power in the Legislature of the country'; another was 'the magnitude of the Roman Catholic population in Glasgow...'.¹¹ The Association organised courses of anti-Popery lectures in the city, imported anti-Catholic speakers from England and Ireland and published pamphlets, tracts and the texts of lectures. During the latter half of the 1830s, branches of the Association were also established in several towns and cities in lowland Scotland. After this initial burst of activity such open Protestant hostility soon declined and was virtually dormant by the early 1840s.

Significant anti-Catholic activity in Scotland re-emerged in spectacular fashion in the following decade.¹² In 1850, the Pope's decision to restore the Catholic hierarchy in England caused much outrage throughout Protestant Britain. Over the following year, numerous meetings against this so-called Papal Aggression were held throughout Scotland; anti-Catholic petitions were raised and pamphlets published and two anti-Catholic periodicals, *The Scottish Protestant* and the *Bulwark*, were launched. In Glasgow a Protestant Layman's Association was established to expose the errors of Catholicism and the ambitions of the Catholic Church. In December 1850, the Scottish Reformation Society was founded in Edinburgh 'to resist the aggressions of Popery, to watch over the designs and movements of its promoters and abettors, and to diffuse sound and Scriptural information on the distinctive tenets of Protestantism and Popery.'¹³ The Society, which had strong ties with leading figures in the Free Church of Scotland such as James Begg, held weekly lectures on

¹¹ *New Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, Lanark (Edinburgh, 1845), 901.

¹² This paragraph is based on Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 93–101. See also John Wolfe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 145–197.

¹³ Quoted in Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 94.

Catholicism and the Catholic Church and by the end of 1852 had 38 branches in the country; in February 1855, it was reported that the number was 64. In 1854, John Hope, an Edinburgh solicitor and a member of the Church of Scotland, formed the Scottish Protestant Association, which likewise held public meetings on Catholicism and which also ran evening classes on the subject. Furthermore, two itinerant Anti-Catholic preachers were active in this decade: Alessandro Gavazzi, an Italian former monk, gave sell-out lectures throughout lowland Scotland; and John Sayers Orr, the self-styled ‘Angel Gabriel,’ gained notoriety for delivering anti-Catholic speeches and for rousing the mob in Greenock into attacking Catholic property, including the chapel, in both 1851 and 1855.

The No Popery agitation of the early 1850s was the high point of anti-Catholicism in nineteenth-century Scotland. From the mid-1850s onwards there was a marked decline in such open Presbyterian hostility to the Church and Faith.¹⁴ Steve Bruce has shown that the Church of Scotland in particular lost interest in maintaining a high level of anti-Catholic activity. For example, in 1859 the Church’s Committee on Popery, established in 1851 in response to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England, was merged with its Home Mission Board: ‘Now the fight against Rome was to be treated only as part of the general fight against the erosion of the position of the Church.’ Bruce has also demonstrated that public anti-Catholicism was kept alive mainly by activists such as John Hope, and by one of his former students Jacob Primmer who was a Church of Scotland minister and a member of the Scottish Reformation Society. Hope maintained his belief that education was the best way of combating Catholicism and continued to run his evening classes despite a distinct lack of support from the Church of Scotland and its ministers. Primmer was the more controversial of the two men; in 1888, he embarked on a series of lecture tours of the county in which he railed against Catholicism and the Catholic Church, and also the Irish in Scotland and their priests. This campaign lasted for fourteen years. His openly populist and vulgar approach did not find favour with the Kirk at large, and even his own Presbytery in Dunfermline complained about him on numerous occasions. Primmer was also attacked by sections of the press for stirring up division. In 1898, the liberal *Coatbridge Express* commented that: ‘hardly anybody now takes

¹⁴This paragraph is based on Steve Bruce, *No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985), 31–41, and S. Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 15–20.

Jacob altogether seriously ... to deliberately menace the peace of the community and exasperate the religious feelings of any section of it is not calculated to gain the approbation of intelligent people.’¹⁵

That 1850s-style No Popery was no longer a significant force in Scottish society by the late nineteenth century can be illustrated by the fact that in 1878 the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in Scotland did not spark anywhere near the same fury as the restoration in England over a quarter of a century before. Only a few meetings of protest took place and there was no upsurge in anti-Catholic activity and sentiment. James Handley noted that by the 1870s mainstream newspapers in Scotland were no longer making derogatory comments about Catholicism.¹⁶ Furthermore, he argued that by the turn of the twentieth century open bigotry was no longer a major issue in society: ‘The benign rays of the prosperous Edwardian era warmed native Scot and descendant of immigrant alike, and the old racial and religious differences slumbered in its genial glow.’¹⁷

Handley, however, acknowledged that despite this greatly improved situation in the late Victorian and Edwardian era regarding anti-Catholic sentiment and activity, lectures and meetings on Catholicism (such as those undertaken by Primmer) continued to attract audiences. On occasion these resulted in communal tensions. For example, in the first half of 1909, John Caplain, a lecturer from the Protestant Alliance, spoke in Hamilton on three occasions against Catholicism. After each event he required a police escort from the town to protect him from a hostile crowd.¹⁸ In the neighbouring town of Motherwell, in June of the same year, rioting occurred after rival Catholic and Protestant outdoor meetings. Caplain was one of the main speakers at the Protestant event, having been invited by the recently established local branch of the Protestant Association. He was arrested after this and such outdoor public meetings were banned by the Chief Constable. During the remainder of the month, meetings on religion were held indoors in the town.¹⁹ The communal

¹⁵ Quoted in Geraldine Vaughan, *The ‘Local’ Irish in the West of Scotland, 1851–1921* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 43–44.

¹⁶ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 120–121.

¹⁷ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 302.

¹⁸ M.J. Mitchell, ‘The Catholic Community in Hamilton, c1820–1914,’ in *St Mary’s Hamilton: A Social History, 1846–1996*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1995), 57–58.

¹⁹ Robert Duncan, *Steelopolis: The Making of Motherwell, c1750–1939* (Motherwell: Motherwell District Council, 1991), 152–155.

trouble after the Motherwell meetings appears to be an isolated example of minor sectarian conflict. The existing literature provides no other examples of unrest occurring as a result of such anti-Catholic meetings in late Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, and Geraldine Vaughan's recent study of the Irish in Greenock, Airdrie and Coatbridge states that no major disturbances occurred in these towns as a result of the activities of these and similar anti-Catholic organisations.²⁰

Anti-Catholic sentiment and bigotry occasionally occurred in local politics in Scotland. School boards are a case in point. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which made schooling compulsory from the age of five to thirteen years, placed schools in every parish and burgh under the supervision of boards elected by ratepayers every three years. Most schools in Scotland elected to become part of this new system. However, the Catholic Church chose to keep its schools out of it mainly for fear that the religious rights of Catholics would be undermined since religious observance and instruction would be under the control of the school boards. Part of the funding for the erection and maintenance of the board schools came from rates levied locally, and this meant that under this new system Catholics were obliged to pay rates for the upkeep of board schools, while at the same time providing for their own schools.²¹ In order to protect their interests, particularly with regard to spending on schools, Catholic communities took an active part in elections to the school boards, the first of which occurred in 1873. Priests and leading figures in the laity, such as teachers and businessmen, stood as their candidates and the effective organisation of the Catholic vote ensured some Catholic representation on school boards. However, this involvement in public life was not welcomed by all, and clashes could occur at board meetings over religious matters. Some regarded Catholic board members as obstacles to Protestants running the schools effectively in the interests of Protestants and their children, and this led to resentment in some quarters.²² The desire of Catholics to keep a check on excessive expenditure could cause irritation. Commenting on the Old Monkland School Board in 1900, a contributor to the *Airdrie and Coatbridge Advertiser* complained about 'four Roman

²⁰ Vaughan, *Local Irish*, 43–44.

²¹ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 218–222.

²² Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 224–225; Duncan, *Steelopolis*, 152, 155; J.M. Roxburgh, *The School Board of Glasgow, 1873–1919* (London: University of London Press, 1971), 24, 218, 220.

Catholics elected, whose prime object in being on the Board is keeping down taxation, and when it comes to touching the local purse, not to further education but to prevent it.²³ Where such hostility existed, elections to the boards were on occasion bitterly contested. Some candidates blatantly played the sectarian card to obtain votes. For example, Harry A. Long was elected to the first Glasgow School Board in 1873 and remained on it, apart from one triennial break, until 1901, and ‘it was from the Orange element in Glasgow that his chief support was derived.’²⁴

It is clear that there was anti-Catholic sentiment and activity in relation to school boards. Anti-Catholicism and sectarian bigotry also occurred in other local public bodies such as town councils and parochial boards (parish councils after 1894), and in elections to them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Vaughan has provided examples of this for Greenock Parish Council in 1901 and 1902, Old Monkland Parish Council in 1910 and Coatbridge Town Council between 1911 and 1914. However, it is not clear how representative such examples of anti-Catholicism in local politics are, as very little work has been done on the topic of Catholic involvement in local affairs in Scotland. Moreover, the available evidence shows that on occasion, even in places where religious differences and problems occurred, good relations existed between Catholic and Protestants in local political life. For example, Vaughan shows that the *Glasgow Observer*, the newspaper for the Catholic Irish in the west of Scotland, commented on the existing ‘friendship of the two sects’ during the 1895 election to the New Monkland Parish Council (parish councils oversaw the running of the Poor Law) and noted that one of the Catholic candidates had ten Scottish Protestants on his election committee. She also argues that despite disputes occurring on school boards, ‘there was an overall collaboration of all members,’ and shows that Catholic priests on both the Greenock and the Old Monkland School Boards were appointed to committees of their respective bodies. In his history of the Glasgow School Board from 1873 to 1919, J.M. Roxburgh likewise notes that while sectarian clashes between Catholic and Protestant members could occasionally occur at board meetings, ‘generally relations were amicable

²³ Quoted in G. Vaughan, ‘The Distinctiveness of Catholic Schooling in the West of Scotland Before the Education (Scotland) Act 1918,’ in *A History of Catholic Education and Schooling in Scotland: New Perspectives*, ed. Stephen J. McKinney and Raymond McCluskey (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 54.

²⁴ Roxburgh, *School Board*, 23. See also Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 224, and Duncan, *Steelepolis*, 152.

and Catholic members often gave considerable active service on the Board.’ In Hamilton James Carragher, a Catholic businessman, was chairman of the parish council for over three years until his death in 1914.²⁵

Furthermore, there is evidence which shows that despite deeply held religious beliefs on both sides, good relations and mutual respect existed between members of the Protestant and Catholic urban elite, certainly by the late nineteenth century. Examples from Hamilton clearly demonstrate this.²⁶ At the funeral service for James Danaher, priest in charge of St. Mary’s in the town from 1859 until his death in 1886, ‘Several Protestant clergymen, the Provost and the Sheriff, most of the magistrates and Town Councillors, and many of the leading people of the town and district’ were among the congregation.²⁷ The town bells were tolled and the flag above the Town Hall flew at half-mast. The *Glasgow Observer* reported that ‘the goodwill and esteem in which the Canon was held by every section of the population were abundantly testified by the large numbers of ladies and gentlemen, of high social position, who thronged the Church during the celebration of the services for the dead, and the thousands who filled the streets and lined the route to Dalbeth [a Catholic cemetery] for many miles.’²⁸ Leading members of the town’s civic society likewise attended the funeral in 1902 of Danaher’s successor at St Mary’s, Peter Donnelly. In 1913, William McAvoy, who had taken charge of St Mary’s after Donnelly’s death, celebrated his silver jubilee as a priest. At the celebration of this milestone, Bailie Cassels, the chairman of the school board, remarked that ‘There had always been in his time the most cordial relations between the Town Council and the School Board on the one hand and the Catholic community on the other.’²⁹ The following year, George V visited the town. McAvoy and Robert Slorach, a Catholic solicitor in the town and a Justice of the Peace for the county of Lanarkshire, were among the guests on the reception platform for the King and afterwards attended the celebrations for him at Hamilton Palace, the residence of the Duke of

²⁵ Vaughan, *Local Irish*, 94, 101–102; Vaughan, “Distinctiveness of Catholic Schooling,” 54; Roxburgh, *School Board*, 218; Mitchell, “Catholic Community in Hamilton,” 55; G. Vaughan, “Shaping the Scottish Past: Irish migrants and local Politics in the Monklands in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *New Perspectives*, 106–107, 110–112.

²⁶ The following discussion of Hamilton is from Mitchell, “Catholic Community in Hamilton,” 61–62.

²⁷ *Scottish Catholic Directory*, 1888, 191.

²⁸ Quoted in *Scottish Catholic Directory*, 1888, 192.

²⁹ *The Glasgow Observer*, July 5, 1913.

Hamilton. Other leading figures in the Catholic community were present at the civic reception which marked the occasion. Further detailed studies of Catholic communities elsewhere in Scotland will no doubt show similar interaction at elite level. Indeed, Vaughan has noted that in the Edwardian era in Greenock and Coatbridge, local Protestant dignitaries attended Catholic funerals and anniversaries.³⁰

The discussion thus far has looked at middle-class Protestant Scots and their anti-Catholic sentiment and activities. There was hostility from among this section of society to Catholicism as a religious belief and to the Catholic Church as an institution. There were also those who disliked the role of the Church and its members in public life. However, this does not give a full picture of anti-Catholicism in nineteenth-century Scotland. What also must be considered is how the Catholics in the country were viewed and treated and the impact that Scottish anti-Catholicism had on them. The discussion now will focus on middle-class Scotland and its attitudes and behaviour towards Irish Catholics, since it was Irish immigration that was the cause of the considerable growth of Catholicism and the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Scotland.

In general, middle-class Scotland disliked the presence of the Catholic Irish. Irish Catholics were seen as a burden on the poor rates and the cause of most of the problems that afflicted urban society, such as drunkenness, disease, prostitution and criminality. Furthermore, the middle class were aware that many working-class Scottish Protestants associated with the Catholic Irish in the course of their everyday lives, in some places to a considerable extent, and many believed that this was a cause—and indeed for some the main cause—of the perceived decline in the moral condition of the native population. Moreover, by the 1850s racist thought had emerged in middle-class Scotland, and the Catholic Irish and their Scots-born descendants came to be viewed as an inferior race.³¹

However, the main reason for the hostility of the middle class towards the Catholic Irish was of course, as Handley stated, to do with religion. The movement of hundreds of thousands of Irish across the North

³⁰ Vaughan, *Local Irish*, 50.

³¹ For attitudes to the Irish and to the Catholic Community, 1800–1914, see Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, 131–203, 267–301; Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 93–121, 240–260; Mitchell, “Irish Catholics,” 7–10; T.M. Devine, “The Great Irish Famine and Scottish History,” in *New Perspectives*, 29; Bernard Aspinwall, “Popery in Scotland: Image and Reality, 1820–1920,” in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 22 (1986), 236–257.

Channel to Scotland resulted in the re-establishment of the old faith in parts of the country which had not had a Catholic presence since the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. In the western lowlands, the virtual monopoly which Presbyterianism had enjoyed over religion in the region was quickly broken and this was the cause of much angst, particularly within the Protestant ministry. For example, in 1834 the Rev John Muir of St James's Parish Glasgow informed a Parliamentary investigation into the Irish poor in Britain that, 'It would be advantageous were such immigration stopped, because it would prevent the growth of popery in the West of Scotland, which is the fruitful mother of all the evils that at present afflict Ireland; inasmuch as the Word of God asserts, that idolatry brings a curse with it wherever it goes.'³²

It is evident that there was considerable middle-class hostility to the Catholic Irish presence in urban Scotland. However, there was little active support from the middle class for organisations or activities which explicitly targeted and attacked the Catholic Irish community. For example, membership of the Orange Order in Scotland throughout the century was drawn overwhelmingly from the ranks of the Protestant Irish in the country. Orangeism was regarded as an alien and unwelcome presence in Scottish Society and most Scots simply could not relate to it. The middle class looked down on its plebeian rank-and-file and its rough culture, and were alarmed by the 'Orange and Green' disturbances and faction fighting which disrupted the peace and which posed a threat to order and stability in society.³³

In the nineteenth century, the principal manner in which the Scottish Protestant middle class and their Churches tried to deal with the Catholic Irish problem in their midst was through religious activity. Scottish Protestants believed that Catholicism was an anti-scriptural and false faith, a superstition, and that therefore it was their Christian duty to show Catholics the errors of their ways. This was the rationale behind Protestant proselytism. This was done mainly through missionary activity in the areas where the Irish lived. Ministers from the Church of Scotland and from dissenting denominations established home missions to the urban poor in

³² Parliamentary Papers, 1836 (40), XXXIV, *Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain*, 123.

³³ Elaine McFarland, "'A Mere Irish Faction': The Orange Institution in Nineteenth Century Scotland," in *Scotland and Ulster*, ed. Ian S. Wood (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1994), 71–87.

the first half of the century. However, their purpose was to target mostly Protestants who had stopped attending service, or who had been lost to their Church, in order to bring them back into the religious fold. From the late 1840s onwards, as result of the increased Irish presence in urban areas resulting from the Famine immigration, the Presbyterian Churches shifted their focus to the Catholic poor with the aim of conversion. The Church of Scotland and the Free Church were at the forefront of this movement, particularly in Edinburgh but also in Glasgow and Paisley. Between May 1857 and April 1858, the Church of Scotland's Anti-Popery Mission made 7961 visits to Catholic homes and 2598 to those of Protestants, the majority of these probably being in Edinburgh. In their attempts to convert, missionaries would hand out religious tracts—in its first year an 'Anti-Popish Mission' in Glasgow was reported to have distributed 170,000 of such publications. However, such exertions did not have the desired effect as there is no evidence that conversions on a significant scale occurred, and Home Mission activity declined in the 1890s.³⁴

Another form of Protestant proselytism centred on Catholic children. In Greenock in particular, this was an issue which achieved some notoriety. In 1850, the Greenock Parochial Board refused one of the town's priests access to the poorhouse to minister to Catholic orphans, despite Protestant clergymen having free access to the institution. The Parochial Board, notwithstanding the objections of its Catholic members, then introduced the policy whereby all children in its care would be brought up according to the religion of the majority of town's ratepayers. The Scottish Board of Supervision in Edinburgh ruled that the Greenock authorities rescind the offending order, which was eventually done. However, the parochial board then adopted another tactic to achieve its desired aim, this time by boarding Catholic children with Protestant families in rural areas where the Catholic Church had no facilities for the teaching of the faith. This practice continued for a number of years as did a policy of not allowing inmates of the poorhouse to attend Sunday Mass in the local chapel. The practice of parochial boards boarding Catholic children out to Protestant families with the aim of raising them as Protestants, and other attempts to convert children, occurred elsewhere in lowland Scotland, for example in

³⁴ Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 102–106, 124–132, 191–192; Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 180–197; Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 102–104.

Glasgow and Edinburgh, and was a major issue of contention for the Catholic community throughout the 1860s.³⁵

However, there is also evidence which shows that elements within middle-class society could also express sympathy and understanding for the plight and condition of the Catholic Irish in the country, and consequently engage in acts of kindness and charity towards them. In the early nineteenth century, the Catholic Church struggled in many ways to cope with Irish emigration to the western lowlands. The poverty of the Church in the region meant that the education of Catholic children suffered—for example, by 1817 there was no Catholic school in Glasgow. In October of that year a Catholic Schools' Society was founded in the city to provide the means of education for Catholic children. Its committee consisted of members of the Catholic congregation and members of the Protestant community and its chairman and driving force was Kirkman Finlay, then the Member of Parliament for the city. By August of the following year the Society had established two schools, and by 1831 it was supporting five in total. These establishments were chiefly financed by the contributions of Protestant subscribers. Funds were also raised through charity events such as the preaching of sermons, including one by Thomas Chalmers. The support of benevolent Protestants, however, came at a price. Although the schools' teachers were Catholic, they were not permitted to give their pupils instruction in the Catholic religion. In addition, the Protestant version of the Bible was used in classes. A similar situation had occurred in Paisley in 1816 when some of wealthy townspeople helped to fund its Catholic school, with the proviso that the King James Bible be used.³⁶

The Irish who fled to Glasgow to escape the Great Famine received support from the authorities in the city. This was despite the fact that this new immigrant presence was viewed with horror and alarm, so much so that between 1845 and 1854 47,000 poverty-stricken refugees were shipped back to Ireland so that Glasgow did not have to bear the social and economic cost of providing for such a vast number of paupers for any longer than was necessary. In 1847 alone around 50,000 destitute Irish landed in the city. In the early part of the year a soup kitchen was set up in

³⁵ Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland*, 251–256.

³⁶ Martha Skinnider, "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow, 1818–1918," in *Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872–1939*, ed. T.R. Bone (London: University of London Press, 1967), 14–15; Christine Johnson, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789–1829* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1983), 222–223.

the city centre which in a very short period of time served 4000–5000 destitute Irish a week. Temporary fever hospitals were erected to treat the sick and diseased, and temporary poor relief was given to the Irish by the Parochial Board. Tom Devine has shown that two factors were at play in the initial response of the authorities. First, in order to prevent the spread of disease among the citizenry the Irish had to be given medical treatment and relief. Secondly, the Glasgow middle class was ‘deeply religious and therefore also felt the duties and responsibilities of benevolence and charity called for by Christian conscience.’³⁷ Peter Mackenzie, a journalist and publisher who had been active in Reform circles in the city in the 1830s, was so moved by the plight of distressed Irish on the streets of Glasgow that he helped to establish a Sunday soup kitchen for them and encouraged others to support such ventures. It must be noted, however, that the Famine emigration to Scotland—80,000 people are estimated to have settled in the country between 1846 and 1851—did contribute to some of the anti-Catholic and No Popery sentiment of the early 1850s.³⁸

Irish emigration to Scotland throughout the nineteenth century added a new dimension to Scottish anti-Catholicism. The Catholic Church was re-established in parts of the country from which it had been absent for over two centuries and this caused fear and alarm within middle-class circles. The clergy and members of the middle class engaged in a number of activities to try and deal with what they regarded as a threat to Presbyterian Scotland. However, this anti-Catholicism could not stop the Catholic Church from becoming an important and permanent presence in lowland Scotland and did not prevent many members of the Scottish working class from associating with Irish Catholics. Moreover this chapter has also shown that, in some places, members of the Protestant elite enjoyed amicable relations on a personal level with the Catholic clergy and the Catholic middle class, despite their pronounced religious differences. Therefore, in order to understand the full impact and significance of anti-Catholicism in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Scotland, detailed studies of communal relations at the local level are essential.

³⁷ Devine, “Great Irish Famine,” 27.

³⁸ Devine, “Great Irish Famine,” 20–29.

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Fishing for Controversy: W.S. Kerr and the Demise of Church of Ireland Anti- Catholicism

Alan Ford

William Shaw Kerr (1873–1960), Church of Ireland Bishop of Down and Dromore from 1944 to 1955, gave his recreations in *Who's Who* as “Fishing, controversy.”¹ Whilst we know little about his skill as a fisherman, we have ample evidence of his zeal for controversy in numerous books, sermons, pamphlets and letters to newspapers. As early as 1911 he was described as “one of the most brilliant and outspoken controversialists in the Church”; in all that he wrote, a fellow cleric claimed, there was “a

¹“William Shaw Kerr,” *Who's Who 2018 & Who Was Who* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), accessed October 25, 2018, <http://www.ukwhoswho.com>. His name was pronounced “Karr.” I would like to thank Ian d’Alton, David Fitzpatrick, John McDowell and Miriam Moffitt for their comments on this chapter. I am also very grateful to Robert Gallagher, Susan Hood, Jennifer Murphy, and Bryan Whelan at the RCB Library for their helpfulness in facilitating access to Kerr’s papers.

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note of definiteness”; or, as another put it more bluntly, he “loved an acrimonious debate in press or on platform.”² Born in Co. Wicklow, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, after two curacies in Lurgan and Belfast, Kerr was incumbent, successively, of Ballywalter in Down in 1901, St Paul’s Belfast in 1910 and Seapatrick Banbridge in 1915. In 1932 he became Dean of Belfast, before finally serving as bishop of the new diocese of Down and Dromore in 1944, retiring in 1955 at the age 81.³

From the historian’s point of view, Kerr is interesting for two reasons: he represented the quintessence of Irish anti-Catholic theology and history, 300 years of controversy summarised in the work of one man; and he marked the end of this tradition in the Church of Ireland—he was the last bishop to publish a major work in this time-honoured *genre*. The purpose of this chapter is, first, to examine at the main thrust of his argument in two areas, in history and in theology, using him synecdochically as a representative part of the three-hundred-year whole, and, second, to look at the reasons behind the end of this tradition, an end which in Ireland came markedly later than elsewhere.

Kerr’s outlook was decisively shaped by his early intellectual and political formation. After disestablishment had set the reluctant Church of Ireland free from its ties to the Church of England and to the State, Trinity’s Divinity School had reacted imaginatively to the challenge of independence by producing two key texts which shaped the outlook of generations of Irish clergy. In 1886 George Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, published *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, already in its third edition by the time Kerr was a student.⁴ This traced the development of an independently minded Irish “Celtic” Church, showing how it had differed from Rome in matters such as the tonsure and the date of Easter, and appointed bishops without reference to the papacy. What Stokes was doing was translating into modern parlance the idea first outlined by Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh in the 1620s, that the early Irish Church had been independent of Rome, and that it was not till the twelfth century that it finally came under papal control. This, of course,

² *The Irish Churchman*, February 10, 1911, 8; *Church of Ireland Gazette* [hereafter, *Gazette*], January 21, 1949, 9; M.W. Dewar, “Bishop William Shaw Kerr,” *Gazette*, January 20, 1995, 12.

³ “William Shaw Kerr,” *Who’s Who 2018*; Representative Church Body Library, Dublin [hereafter RCB], Catalogue of Kerr Papers, 1.

⁴ George T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church* (3rd ed., London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1892).

provided the ideal ancestry for a post-disestablishment Church anxious to rebut Catholic taunts that it was an English institution—they were the successors of this pure, anti-Roman early Church, “the most Irish thing there is in Ireland,” as one later archbishop of Armagh put it. It was, therefore, Roman Catholics who were the foreign twelfth-century interlopers.⁵

Just two years after Stokes’ book, George Salmon, the mathematician-theologian who went on to become Provost of Trinity, published *The Infallibility of the Church*. This was the classic modern text of Irish Protestant anti-Catholicism, originally delivered as a series of lectures to divinity students in the year of disestablishment. Salmon identified the confrontation with Rome as “the controversy which in this country is most pressing.”⁶ His relentless historical and theological critique of the papacy’s claim to primacy concluded with an attack upon the 1870 declaration of infallibility. Again, it was a direct descendant of the much earlier work of Ussher, whose 1624 *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite* had laid down the template of comparing post-Tridentine Catholic beliefs to those of scripture and the early Church and condemning deviations as corrupt later additions.⁷

Politically, Kerr’s outlook was shaped by choosing to pursue his career in the dioceses of Down, Connor and Dromore in the early twentieth century. This was the heartland of the Church of Ireland—the one area where it was growing.⁸ Kerr served as rector to urban “bible-belt” parishes: working-class St Paul’s in Belfast, where his anti-Catholic sermons attracted up to 800 hearers, and Seapatrick, in Banbridge, where on 9 July 1916, he preached to 700 people.⁹ Moving to the north was often a shock

⁵ Alan Ford, “Shaping History: James Ussher and the Church of Ireland,” in *The Church of Ireland and its Past*, ed. Mark Empey, A. Ford, and Miriam Moffitt (Dublin: Four Courts, 2017), 19–35.

⁶ George Salmon, *The Infallibility of the Church* (London: John Murray, 1888), 1.

⁷ James Ussher, *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite* (Dublin: Society of Stationers, 1624); A. Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 68–70.

⁸ J. Frederick MacNeice, *The Church of Ireland in Belfast, 1778–1931* (Belfast: William Mullan, 1931); Patrick Buckland, *Irish Unionism 2: Ulster* (London: Gill & Macmillan, 1965), xxvii; David Fitzpatrick, *Solitary and Wild: Frederick MacNeice and the Salvation of Ireland* (Dublin: Lilliput, 2012), 195–196, 250–251.

⁹ Public Record Office of Northern Ireland [hereafter PRONI], Seapatrick Preachers’ Book CR/1/95/E/5, unpaginated; *The Irish Churchman*, February 10, 1911, 8; for a description of the industries in his parish see *The Times*, September 21, 1912, 8.

for southern unionists, but the timing accentuated the challenge, since of course it was during the 1910s that the political establishment of the south and north began to go their separate ways. Kerr, as a result, was faced with some stark choices about where his political loyalties lay.

His first test came when the Home Rule bill was introduced in 1912. The prospect of being ruled by a Catholic-dominated Dublin government galvanised opinion in Protestant Ulster and they united in opposition, culminating in the mass-signing of the Covenant on Saturday 28 September, 1912. This, of course, placed southern unionists, and the Church of Ireland, in a difficult position: should their opposition to Home Rule be framed in an all-Ireland context, or should they think more narrowly in terms of preserving Protestant rule in the north where it was in the majority. As events unfolded, and the north opted for partition, tensions grew between unionists and churchmen, north and south.

Kerr, like many southern unionists, firmly identified himself as Irish: Protestants were, he insisted “patriotic Irishmen who love our native land.”¹⁰ As late as 1953 he stated: “We Irishmen are proud of our national traditions, and we are far from looking on our country as an off-shoot of England.”¹¹ But this did not prevent him from throwing in his lot enthusiastically with northern loyalism and its support for partition. The test came on the weekend of 28–29 September, with the signing of the Covenant on the Saturday and the call for intercessory services on “Ulster Sunday.” Southern dioceses refused to join in the latter, and one northern rector, Frederick MacNeice, the father of the poet Louis, famously rejected the Covenant.¹² Kerr, had no such qualms: he signed the Covenant at Belfast City Hall on the Saturday and then preached in St Paul’s the following day, taking as his text 2 Chronicles 15:12—“And they entered into a covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers with all their heart and with all their soul.”¹³ If the Covenant provided southern unionists living in the north with a test of how far they had “embraced the values and loyalties of an initially alien culture,” it was a test which Kerr passed with

¹⁰ *Northern Whig*, March 19, 1934, 9.

¹¹ *Cork Examiner*, November 10, 1953, 4.

¹² Andrew Scholes, *The Church of Ireland and the Third Home Rule Crisis* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), 43, 60; Fitzpatrick, *Frederick MacNeice*, Chap. 7.

¹³ Kerr signed the Covenant on 28 September, 1912 in City Hall: <https://apps.proni.gov.uk/ulstercovenant/> accessed 1 November, 2018; Kerr’s sermon register, 1907-c.1946, unpaginated, RCB, 813/1/2.

flying colours.¹⁴ Indeed, he went further than just preaching in support of it—he made political speeches and wrote letters to newspapers, not just in Ireland, but in Scotland and England, opposing home rule and adopting with enthusiasm the stereotypes of southern fecklessness and northern industry, Popish enslavement and Protestant freedom.¹⁵ Thus, speaking at a rally in Glasgow in October 1912, Kerr explained that home rule meant handing over “diligent, prosperous Ulster” to the agitators and “windbag politicians” of the south “who had never managed anything bigger than a public house.”¹⁶ As the *Daily Mail* summarised his views on the impact of home rule in September 1912:

Anarchy, bloodshed, break-up of industries in Ulster; deep-rooted hatred toward England among betrayed Irish Protestants; supreme sway in all secular matters of Roman ecclesiastics; ruinous taxation; exodus of independent Protestants and country abandoned to the priest, the demagogue, the inefficient.¹⁷

Kerr, in short, fitted in to northern Protestant loyalist culture—politically, socially, religiously—with remarkable rapidity. He was, as a nationalist opponent put it, “an uncompromising anti-Home Ruler.”¹⁸ He happily addressed his local Unionist Club and called on them to redouble their efforts to unseat the nationalist MP.¹⁹ He joined the Freemasons, becoming Provincial Grand Chaplain, and was a prominent member of the Orange Order, taking part in Orange Day marches, addressing rallies, defending the Order against accusations of sectarianism, and rising to become Grand Chaplain of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland.²⁰ And he played a significant role in educational politics, using the power of the Orange Order to pressure the Stormont government to make major

¹⁴ D. Fitzpatrick, *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories since 1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 115.

¹⁵ *The Globe*, September 21, 1912, 7; *Gazette*, October 11, 1912, 860.

¹⁶ *Belfast Weekly News*, October 31, 1912, 7.

¹⁷ *Daily Mail*, September 28, 1912, 6.

¹⁸ *Derry Journal*, November 8, 1912, 7.

¹⁹ *Northern Whig*, April 25 1913, 9.

²⁰ *Belfast News-Letter*, September 23, 1935, 5; *Larne Times*, July 18, 1908, 9; *Belfast News-Letter*, July 11 1932, 10; *Derry Journal*, June 22, 1936, 4; *The Times*, July 11, 1932, 7; his sash is preserved in the RCB, MS 813/11/1.

concessions to the Protestant Churches over religious instruction in schools and the training of teachers.²¹

During the lead-up to partition, Kerr took on an increasingly prominent role within the Church of Ireland. He resigned his position as columnist on the Church's newspaper, the *Gazette*, in protest at the paper's calls for Protestant and Catholic to rally behind a common sense of Irishness in a single Irish state, and its criticism of the identification of the Church in Ulster with "party politics."²² Instead he became editor of a rival Belfast-based journal *The Irish Churchman*, which strongly supported partition. His openly political stance greatly antagonised his metropolitan, John Baptist Crozier, who wrote to him in 1917 angrily denouncing his stance: "It makes me almost despair. God help us and keep us from what would wreck our Church as no outward attack could. I could say much more but my heart is very sore."²³

Adept at irritating his own side, Kerr had no problem provoking others. His controversial career began early. The first public spat came in 1911, soon after his appointment to St Paul's in Belfast when he preached a series of Sunday anti-Catholic sermons which attracted large congregations. One, "The profits of purgatory," was standard Reformation stuff: purgatory was a later non-biblical invention, designed to raise money by threatening people with barbarous torture in the afterlife—a "gigantic sham," built on a concept of God "fit only for a savage." It brought a lengthy, 210-page, rebuttal from a local parish priest, John Nolan, who pointed to the usual Protestant failure to distinguish between Catholic doctrine and the excesses of Catholic practice.²⁴ Another sermon, about Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary, brought a similarly detailed printed response.²⁵

But Kerr's most important service in defence of Protestantism was his work as an historian of the early Irish Church. As the 1500th anniversary of the arrival of St Patrick in Ireland loomed in 1932, the rival Protestant

²¹ Stephen Timpany, "The Church of Ireland and education policy in Northern Ireland 1900–1962" (DEd diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2009), 61–66, 86f., 103, 110–112, 126–129, 139, 161–167.

²² Warre B. Wells to Kerr, December 8, 1916, RCB: MS 813/2/1/8; Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War One and Partition* (London: Routledge, 1998), 194f.

²³ Crozier to Kerr, January 16, 1917, RCB 813/2/1/9.

²⁴ John Nolan, *The Rector and Purgatory* (Belfast: Catholic Book Co., 1911), 6–7.

²⁵ *Belfast News-Letter*, January 2, 1911, 7; John Nolan, *The Rector and the Fathers* (Belfast: Catholic Book Co., 1911).

and Catholic camps each set about the task of commemorating *their* founder. Catholic historians recounted how Patrick, trained in Gaul and sent from Rome, brought the Irish people into communion with the papacy, the beginning of 1500 years of continual faith and loyalty. Protestants, on the other hand, had a rival story: since the time of Ussher they had claimed that Patrick had created an essentially Protestant Church, independent of Rome.²⁶

Archbishop MacRory of Armagh led the way for Catholics in 1929. Speaking in Rome after he had been created a cardinal, he derided the idea that the early Irish Church was independent of Rome and emphasised the close ties of Patrick, and the whole Irish people, to the papacy:

There are some simple people in Ireland at present who are foolish enough to maintain that St. Patrick and the early Irish Churches were independent of Rome. No assertion could be more groundless or more opposed to the testimony of history... Before St. Patrick set out for Ireland he visited the Pope St. Celestine, approved by whose judgment... he went on his way to Ireland. Nor did our National Apostle merely come to us from Rome, he taught our forefathers to be loyal and obedient to Rome, and ordained that whatever difficult questions might arise should be referred to the Holy See. Ever since then, thank God, Ireland has harkened to the voice of her Apostle.²⁷

In 1931 Kerr responded with a re-statement of the Protestant case for descent from St Patrick in his book, *The Independence of the Celtic Church in Ireland*. It is an interesting, even impressive work. He is a good historian, identifying sources, sorting out fact from later legend, for example, showing that the evidence for Patrick being sent by Celestine is late and unreliable. But, of course, the historical rigour is harnessed to a clear hermeneutical agenda—Kerr did not *want* Patrick to have any links with the papacy—and the facts are sometimes marshalled, indeed selected, to fit his thesis. All evidence of deviation from Roman norms was seized upon to show that the early Irish Church was independent. Any of its beliefs that approximated to those of the Reformation were claimed as evidence that it was “pure” and Protestant. Thus, to take but one example, Patrick’s frequent quotation from the bible in his Confession was evidence of his

²⁶The *Urtext* for this approach is James Ussher, *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and British* (London: R.Y., 1631).

²⁷*Belfast News-Letter*, December 17, 1929, 14.

commitment to *sola scriptura* Protestantism. Kerr, in short, was like a good barrister constructing a case to justify the claims of his client.²⁸

Later in 1931, MacRory, with, as one newspaper put it, “the Tyrone man’s gift of direct speech,” again spelt out the Catholic position for Protestants²⁹:

They have been asking for plain speaking, and they shall have it. When they are not content to plod along quietly in the comfortable enjoyment of the livings and other property of which the Catholic Church was robbed, but go on to pose as the rightful heirs of our ancient and glorious Church and the true representatives of Christ’s Church in this island it becomes the clear, if painful duty, of one in my position as head of the Church here, to speak out plainly.

I shall be sincerely sorry if I give any pain to any of our separated brethren ... but when the truth is openly challenged and the salvation of souls is at stake ... I feel bound to proclaim the truth without any mincing of words. The Protestant Church here, or anywhere else, is no part of the Church that Christ founded.

For ten centuries—from 600 to 1500 A.D. there was not even the semblance of the Protestant Church to be found in Ireland, or anywhere else. Would anyone show them how a church which had absolutely no existence for 1,000 years, more than half the entire period of the Christian era, could possibly be the Church founded by the Lord, which in the Lord’s words was to exist all days.³⁰

To our eyes, of course, freed from the determination to read back into the fifth and sixth centuries the divisions of the sixteenth, the early Irish Church appears as a typical member of western Christendom, with, it is true, the idiosyncrasies you would expect in a remote non-Roman province, but still clearly part of the papal Church.³¹ And St Patrick, shorn of his Reformed and Counter-Reformation clothes and later hagiographical invention, is neither a Roman missionary obeying an ultramontane papacy,

²⁸ William S. Kerr, *The Independence of the Celtic Church in Ireland* (London: S.P.C.K., 1931).

²⁹ *Derry Journal*, December 30, 1929, 3; MacRory knew Kerr’s work: Cardinal Ó Fiaich Library, Armagh, Cardinal Joseph MacRory MSS, Controversy on Protestantism, Arch. 11/5/13.

³⁰ *Belfast News-Letter*, December 18, 1931, 9.

³¹ Thomas O’Loughlin, *Journeys on the Edges: The Celtic Tradition* (London: Darton Longman Todd, 2000); Donald Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Edinburgh: Handel, 2000).

nor a proto-Protestant, but a humble British bishop dedicated to the conversion of Ireland.³²

But for the Church of Ireland in the early 1930s, Kerr's book provided the perfect historical justification for it to call itself the Church of Ireland, and his colleagues showed their gratitude. His close friend, the Rector of Bessbrook, Henry Todd, told him that it "can honestly be described as a masterpiece"; a fellow northern cleric said that it was "splendid that such a book should be available at this time when Rome is vaunting."³³ A Scottish correspondent congratulated him on having "compelled the Romanists to face the problem of truth in history."³⁴ His bishop, Charles Grierson, called it a "splendid" book, that "really reminded me of Salmon's lectures, which I was reared on."³⁵

In Kerr's final work, *A Handbook on the Papacy*, published in 1950, he set out to summarise Protestant objections to Rome. Beginning with the immortal words "Controversy is often foolishly decried," he proceeded, over the next 320 pages, not to decry it.³⁶ The main focus of the work was papal claims to supremacy and infallibility, but he also covered many of the standard Reformation objections to Catholicism: transubstantiation, purgatory, indulgences, "worship of the Virgin Mary," and the "traffic in masses." He traced the history of the Papacy, focusing in particular on what he called "the unscrupulous misrepresentation of history and falsification of documents by Roman Catholic writers"—the false decretals, the donation of Constantine.³⁷ And he dealt at length with particular historical episodes, all familiar topics of Protestant attack, the imperial claims of Gregory VII, the excesses of the Borgias, and the torture perpetrated by the Inquisition.

Thus in chapter 46, "Papal Personalities," he paid tribute to the many saintly men who had been bishops of Rome, but felt that he had, as an "unpleasant duty," to "call attention to the flagrantly evil lives of so many occupants of the Papal See ... It cannot be shirked in examining the

³²Ford, "Shaping History," 32–33; Daniel A. Binchy, "Patrick and his Biographers: Ancient and Modern," *Studia Hibernica* 2 (1962): 7–173.

³³Henry Todd to Kerr, September 25, 1931, RCB, MS 813/5/2/1.5; Letter from Otway Woodward to Kerr, September 28, 1931, RCB MS 813/5/2/1.6.

³⁴Malcolm MacColl to Kerr, January 26, 1932, RCB, MS 813/5/2/1.13.

³⁵Charles Grierson to Kerr, September 23, 1931, RCB, MS 813/5/2/1.3.

³⁶W. S. Kerr, *A Handbook on the Papacy* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1950), 5.

³⁷Kerr, *Handbook*, 9.

fantastic pretensions of the Papacy.”³⁸ And he went on to list the excesses and dubious characters of selected medieval and renaissance popes, concluding: “The fact that the unworthiness of priests does not invalidate the truth of religion will not avail as an excuse for the moral turpitude of the Vicars of Christ.”³⁹

His treatment of the Inquisition in chapter 48 is again a classic example of one-eyed Protestant history, unfettered by any attempt to explore its historical contexts or national nuances. The Inquisition’s methods were denounced as an outrage, arbitrary and absolute, with “the most ghastly abomination of all” being the system of torture.⁴⁰ He concluded that “no human organization was ever responsible for such appalling cruelty and misery, and for such injury to the development of the free inquiring spirit of man.”⁴¹

Of course Kerr could not be expected to have anticipated later twentieth-century revisionist accounts of the Inquisition.⁴² But again, he was more prosecuting barrister than balanced historian. Kerr’s *Handbook* was thus typical of the genre of Irish anti-papal controversy which had been inaugurated by Ussher over three-hundred years previously and enthusiastically popularised by Victorian evangelicals, which treated Church history as a repository of Roman Catholic abuses and corruptions.

In September 1945, just after the end of the Second World War, Kerr’s manuscript of the *Handbook* was considered by the solidly Anglican SPCK, and, on 23 October, approved for publication.⁴³ The editor, Noel Davey, himself an accomplished theologian, informing Kerr of the decision, noted the book’s aggressive tone, but sought to reassure him:

We know that hard-hitting of papists is *de regle* in Ireland, and you need not be afraid that I shall try to water it down. But if, as we hope, you are to be the Salmon of this generation, we must prepare it carefully for press.⁴⁴

³⁸ Kerr, *Handbook*, 221.

³⁹ Kerr, *Handbook*, 231.

⁴⁰ Kerr, *Handbook*, 239.

⁴¹ Kerr, *Handbook*, 235.

⁴² Rodney Stark, *Bearing False Witness: Debunking Centuries of Anti-Catholic History* (London: S.P.C.K., 2017), Chap. 6.

⁴³ Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [hereafter SPCK], *Religious Literature Committee Minutes, 1937–1955*, Cambridge University Library [hereafter CUL], SPCK MS A22/3 pp 144f.

⁴⁴ Noel Davey to Kerr, October 24, 1945, RCB, MS 813/5/6.1; on Davey, see G.S. Wakefield, *Francis Noel Davey: A Memoir* (London: S.P.C.K., 1981), and C.G. Hopkins, “Francis Noel Davey,” *Theology* 76 (1973): 225–227.

However, unusually, the Committee returned to the book in December 1946, and this time rejected it.⁴⁵ Davey wrote again to Kerr:

We are frankly alarmed at such a chapter as chapter 48. It is not simply that no statements such as you make ought to be put forward without full reference to primary authorities—it is also true that the political events of the last two years have made the leaders of the Church in this country anxious not to cause unnecessary friction between Roman Catholics and ourselves. Christianity has too many common enemies to justify the exhumation of skeletons just now. S.P.C.K. has to recognize that, in the eyes of the general public, its publications are at least semi-officially “inspired.” This means in fact that I have become persuaded that the manuscript needs just what I promised you in my letter of 24th October, 1945, *not* to suggest—watering down.⁴⁶

Kerr complained to Davey, but when the matter was brought back to the Committee in February 1947, they simply confirmed their decision.⁴⁷ Rather than rewrite, Kerr sent the manuscript to another publisher, the more fundamentalist Lutterworth Press, but they rejected it.⁴⁸ Finally he moved on to the Baptist publishing house of Marshall, Morgan & Scott, who printed the *Handbook* in 1950. It sold reasonably well in both England and America, and went into two further impressions.⁴⁹ It was well received within the Church of Ireland, especially by Kerr’s fellow evangelicals, and obtained largely positive reviews from Protestant-minded academics in scholarly journals.⁵⁰

Why, then, did the SPCK refuse to publish it? It is tempting to say that it was a clash between traditional anti-Catholicism and ecumenism. But that would be to anticipate the impact of full-blown ecumenism.⁵¹ The

⁴⁵ SPCK, *Religious Literature Committee Minutes*, 1937–1955, CUL, SPCK MS A22/3, 159.

⁴⁶ Noel Davey to Kerr, January 18, 1945, RCB, MS 813/5/6.1.

⁴⁷ Davey to Kerr, 161.

⁴⁸ G.H.G. Hewitt to Kerr, December 3, 1948, RCB, MS 813/5/6.1.

⁴⁹ Letters from publisher to Kerr, RCB, MS 813/2/7; reviews of *Handbook*, RCB, MS 813/5/6/1.

⁵⁰ Further reviews of *Handbook*, RCB, MS 813/5/6/2; T.D. Price, *Review and Expositor* 49 (1952): 338–339; R.H. Nichols, *Interpretation* 6 (1952): 246–248; T.V. Smith, *Ethics* 53 (1953): 152; R.H. Fischer, *Church History* 21 (1952): 18.

⁵¹ Dianne Kirby, “Christian Co-operation and the Ecumenical Ideal in the 1930s and 1940s,” *European Review of History* 8 (2001): 37–60.

movement, though active in this period, did not really begin to transform the relationship between the Catholic and Protestant churches until after the breakthrough of the second Vatican Council and its 1964 decree *Unitatis redintegratio*. And, of course, in Ireland, especially in the north, its impact was slow and partial.⁵² Rather, Kerr ran in to three obstacles. First there was the differing perspectives on Roman Catholicism between the Church of England and the Church of Ireland. The former had always had a far greater range of churchmanship than the latter, which saw itself as locked in an existential struggle with superior Catholic forces. As Alfred Fawkes, the English cleric who had converted to, and back from, Catholicism, remarked in 1923: when “the Irish bishops speak of Romanism they speak of what they know; hence, a clea[r]er and more vigorous note than that to which we in England are accustomed.”⁵³ Davey, himself a high-churchman, alluded to this when he suggested, “since we all know that an entirely different situation exists in Ireland,” Kerr should get the book published with the Church of Ireland’s in-house press, the APCK, the Association for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.⁵⁴

Second, there was a problem with the tone and methodology of the book, which was increasingly out of touch with more measured and balanced contemporary scholarly approaches to theology and history: in short, Stokes and Salmon no longer passed muster as respectable academic authorities.⁵⁵ This gap between Protestant propaganda and scholarship was alluded to by one critical reviewer, the Anglican Canon Charles Smith, writing in the *Church of England Newspaper*:

[R]esearch is one thing, and the collection of controversial proof-texts is another thing: and Dr Kerr’s forensic methods are not distinguished by a conspicuously judicial temper. He has read widely, industriously, and accurately. What is lacking ... is a sense of balance and proportion. Some of his pages are embarrassingly reminiscent of a certain kind of Catholic Truth

⁵² I. M. Ellis, *Vision and Reality: A Survey of Twentieth Century Irish Inter-Church Relations* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1992); M.C. Power, *From Ecumenism to Community Relations: Interchurch Relationships in Northern Ireland 1980–1999* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2004).

⁵³ *Gazette*, July 11, 1924, 410.

⁵⁴ Noel Davey to Kerr, January 18, 1947, RCB, MS 813/5/6.1.

⁵⁵ Ruairi Cullen, “George T. Stokes and the Oriental Origins of Irish Christianity in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in Empey, Ford, and Moffitt, *Church of Ireland and its Past*, 172.

Society pamphlet. No trained historian could read without acute discomfort the chapter on “Papal personalities.”⁵⁶

There was, though, another, essentially political problem with Kerr’s work. His anti-Catholicism was all-embracing, extending well beyond theology and Church history, seeing not only Ireland, but the wider secular world, through the lens of Catholic/Protestant conflict. In an address to Orangemen in 1939, he examined the “verdict of history” on Catholic and Protestant nations. England, he explained, was a small nation at the time of the Reformation:

The mighty empire of Spain, fanatically Romanist, undertook to overthrow the heretic island, but now the Spanish Empire had sunk in miserable decay, and Britain had become the greatest empire that ever the world had seen. The monarchies that were vassals of Rome had faded from the earth ...

Where the Roman Catholic Church had remained dominant, the result had been a revolt from religion itself:

In country after country they saw that complete prolonged Roman domination had resulted in wholesale frenzied atheism. The bankruptcy of the Roman system stood exposed. Superstition had its inevitable nemesis of scepticism.

Protestantism, on the other hand, stood for freedom and toleration:

In Britain and North America where, owing to the Reformation and the knowledge of the Bible, there was reverence of God and freedom for all religions. Roman refugees from Roman lands found shelter under the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. The religious freedom that Rome had denied and denounced down the ages, even in the twentieth century, was now availed of in protection from her own misguided infuriated children.⁵⁷

Politically, it is clear that by the middle of the twentieth century the world, or at least the world outside Ireland, had moved on from this stark dichotomy between Protestant and Catholic nations. Davey’s reference to

⁵⁶ Charles Smith, Review of Kerr, *Handbook, Church of England Newspaper*, December 1, 1950.

⁵⁷ *Belfast News-Letter*, July 10, 1939, 9.

“the events of the past two years” pointed to a remarkably rapid *reverse-ment*, as the Russian ally became, soon after the war’s end, the communist enemy. As the Cold War developed, the Papacy was increasingly seen by American leaders as an important ally against “atheistic communism,” the “common enemy to all faiths and to all Americans.”⁵⁸ In England, the government sought to forge a joint Christian front against the atheist threat from Russia.⁵⁹ Davey explained to Kerr in 1947 the diplomatic *Realpolitik*:

I am as anxious now as I was in 1945 to see the case against Rome maintained. At the same time, we have received information to the effect that the Kremlin’s encouragement of co-operation between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Protestant Churches of the west must be interpreted as a political move to split Western Europe by hardening the breach between Rome and Protestantism. For its part, Rome is going out of its way to be friendly to the Church of England.⁶⁰

Or, to put it more melodramatically, the papal antichrist was being replaced by a Russian one.⁶¹

The importance of communism, and the implications for its attitude to Catholicism, was not something new to the Church of Ireland. As early as 1935 the recently appointed bishop of Down, Frederick MacNeice had firmly rebuffed an evangelical layman’s complaint about the influence of “Romanism” within the Church of Ireland: “The issues which divide mankind today are far removed from those which seem to have the most interest to you”: instead MacNeice pointed to secularism, communism and paganism.⁶² The point was brought home to the Church during the

⁵⁸I.D.S. Winsboro and Michael Epple, “Religion, Culture, and the Cold War: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and America’s Anti-Communist Crusade of the 1950s,” *The Historian* 71 (2009): 212, 221.

⁵⁹D. Kirby, “Divinely Sanctioned: The Anglo-American Cold War Alliance and the Defence of Western Civilization and Christianity, 1945–1948,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, (2000): 388; D. Kirby, “Anglo-American Relations and the Religious Cold War,” *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 10 (2012): 175.

⁶⁰Noel Davey to Kerr, January 18, 1947, RCB, MS 813/5/6.1.

⁶¹D. Kirby, “Ecclesiastical McCarthyism: Cold War Repression in the Church of England,” *Contemporary British History* 19 (2005): 190.

⁶²Fitzpatrick, *Frederick MacNeice*, 223.

late 1940s and early 1950 by a series of outside interventions.⁶³ In 1948 Kerr heard the Ulster-born bishop of Ottawa, Robert Jefferson, warn an audience in Belfast that “that the Communist menace is a far greater menace than you realise.”⁶⁴ In 1950, Stephen Neill, assistant to the archbishop of Canterbury, explained to his audience in St Anne’s Cathedral in Belfast (again including Kerr) that communism was a menace “which called for greater unity among Christians.”⁶⁵ Amongst the more liberal members of the Church of Ireland such calls received a ready hearing. In 1958 the Irish Protestant journal, *Focus*, reviewed a work by an English Catholic ecumenist and concluded:

[T]he old battlefield has changed in the last fifty years. Instead of churches opposing each other with rival claims, as was the case before World War I, there is today a realignment of forces. Materialism now threatens a divided Christian front.⁶⁶

But Kerr’s dogged determination to publish his *Handbook* unchanged showed that he was not willing to trade his anti-Catholicism for anti-communist unity. Nor were his more traditionally minded readers. As an anonymous evangelical reviewer of the *Handbook* put it:

[B]ecause of the determined effort the Vatican is making to win support from non-Roman Catholic people for its crusade against communism, it behoves Protestants to subject the specific claims and beliefs of the Romish system to careful and patient examination.

Kerr’s “monumental book,” the reviewer went on, will be particularly welcome within the Anglican Church where “a minority of the clergy ... have pledged themselves to undo the work of the Reformation.”⁶⁷ That faithful printer of Kerr’s letters since 1911, the strongly Protestant *Belfast*

⁶³For the impact of the anti-communist crusade on the Catholic Church, see Gerard Madden, “‘We Here in Ireland Are Not Outside This Struggle’: The Irish Catholic Church, Anti-communism and the Cold War, 1945–1965” (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Galway, 2018).

⁶⁴*Belfast News-Letter*, June 26, 1948, 5.

⁶⁵*Belfast News-Letter*, October 5, 1950, 4.

⁶⁶T.A.B. Smith, review of *Essays in Christian Unity*, by H.F. St John, *Focus* 1 (June 1958): 7.

⁶⁷*The Christian*, September 8, 1950, 9–10.

News-Letter, similarly warned of the danger posed by modish calls for Christian unity:

[T]ruth is truth, and in these days, when Romanism is being offered to the world as the only spiritual defence against, and refuge from, atheistic Marxism, it is as well we know where we are. We need to be warned against the fatuity of submitting to the embraces of one kind of untruth in our anxiety to avoid the embraces of another kind.⁶⁸

Kerr's *Handbook* was a watershed—the last book written by a Church of Ireland bishop taking as a given the tradition of anti-Catholic theology dating back to Ussher.⁶⁹ In the European and American context, Kerr had simply got left behind. Scholarly judgements were no longer made on the basis of Reformation and Counter-Reformation allegiance; divinity departments placed modern systematics, not controversial theology, at the heart of their teaching; history was no longer a preserve of rival clerics, but a modern academic discipline practised by scholars of all faiths and none; and, of course, the world was not divided into Catholic and Protestant camps.

In Ireland things were also changing. This can be seen in the publications of the APCK. In the early twentieth century they produced a series of Penny Pamphlets which sought to popularise the Protestant view of Irish history and attack the errors of Catholicism.⁷⁰ By the 1960s these were seen as remnants of a past age.⁷¹ But the change was slow and halting, especially in Kerr's adopted homeland of Ulster. It was not till 1964 that Salmon was removed from the reading list for divinity students at Trinity; and still in 2001 a respected northern columnist for the *Gazette*

⁶⁸ *Belfast News-Letter*, October 16, 1950, 3.

⁶⁹ Anti-Catholicism persisted in the writings of some older churchmen: W.G. Wilson, *Church Teaching: A Handbook for Members of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1954); W.G. Wilson, *The Faith of an Anglican* (London: Collins, A.P.C.K., 1980); W.C.G. Proctor, *Roman Catholics and Protestants: Essays Critical and Conciliatory* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing, 1985).

⁷⁰ G. A. Chamberlain, *The Church of Ireland: What Is It?* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1928); Richard Babington, *Mixed Marriages* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1928); G.V. Jourdan, *The Reformation in Ireland in the XVIIth Century* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1932); B.C. Waller, *Patrick—The Man* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1932); Dudley Fletcher, *Rome and Marriage: A Warning* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1936); C.M. Stack, *The Heritage of St Patrick* (Dublin: A.P.C.K., 1938).

⁷¹ Michael Viney, *The Five Percent: A Survey of Protestants in the Republic* (Dublin: Irish Times, 1965), 16.

could speak of his *Infallibility* as “an indispensable *vade mecum*, for thinking members of the Church of Ireland, both cleric and lay.”⁷² And it should be remembered that in 1973 the Church of Ireland bishop of Clogher, Richard Hanson, could be hounded out of his diocese by his flock for denouncing the Orange Order and espousing ecumenism.⁷³

What Kerr represented, and represented with trenchant mordancy, was the long, and remarkably unchanging tradition of Irish anti-Catholicism which saw theology—indeed, the world—in binary terms. Controversial divinity, both Protestant and Catholic, was constructed as a zero-sum game: if we are right then you are wrong. Truth was a single, indivisible possession of one’s own side. Compromise and middle ground, and therefore ecumenism, could not exist in the battle between, from Kerr’s viewpoint, Protestant truth and Catholic error, or, from MacRory’s perspective, the one true Church and “our separated brethren.” For Kerr, countries were divided between prosperous Protestant nations, supporting freedom and justice, and oppressive, failing Catholic ones. His experience with the SPCK showed that by the 1950s, attitudes were changing and the old certainties, the old truths, could no longer be relied upon to explain the world and underpin the beliefs of the Church of Ireland. As it slowly adjusted to this reality, and as ecumenism grew gradually in Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s, it became apparent that the Church’s four-century-long official episcopal endorsement of anti-Catholicism had come to an end.

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⁷² *Gazette*, March 23, 2001, 11.

⁷³ Daithí Ó Corráin, *Rendering to God and Caesar: The Irish Churches and the Two States in Ireland, 1949–1973* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 31–32; *Dublin University Calendar 1963–1964* (Dublin: University of Dublin, 1965), 251; A. Ford, “‘Calling a spade a spade’: Richard Hanson as Bishop of Clogher, 1970–1973,” *Search* 42 (2019): 27–33.

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A New Order in Post-conflict Northern Ireland—The Museum of Orange Heritage

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Historian and former member of the Orange Order Clifford Smyth once declared: “The Orange isn’t well understood, it is an inarticulate organisation which doesn’t explain itself well to the world.”¹ To the non-initiated, whether from Northern Ireland or further afield, the Orange Order offers the rather opaque image of a conservative institution staunchly upholding Protestant values and the Union. It was founded in the late eighteenth century, at a time of intense, mostly economically motivated, religious strife, to commemorate the victory of Protestant King William III, Prince of Orange, over Catholic King James II, at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. Seeping in anti-Catholic sectarianism, the Order has had a notorious reputation ever since. It was banned several times in the nineteenth century, before being revived through opposition to Home Rule at the

¹ *The Newsletter*, “Twelfth Historian ‘Sad’ after Axing by BBC,” July 14, 2011 (accessed November 22, 2019).

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turn of the century. Following the subsequent partition of Ireland in 1921, it exerted major political clout during the first decades of existence of Northern Ireland, when the domination of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), most members of which were Orangemen, meant that the State was dubbed “the Orange State.”² Again the notorious element was present, since anti-Catholic discrimination, which was commonplace in the province and largely condoned by the predominantly Protestant local institutions, eventually led to the beginning of the euphemistically named Troubles in the late 1960s. By the end of the conflict, in the late 1990s, international attention was captivated by the infamous Drumcree dispute in Portadown, about the return leg of an Orange march through a Catholic area of the town, along the Garvagh Road. The standoff was a show of force by the Order for several years, fuelling the controversial reputation of the institution, especially when it sparked off loyalist paramilitary violence despite the official ceasefire of 1994. It was sadly ill-fated, leaving six Catholic civilians dead, including a police officer and three children whose home was petrol-bombed in 1998, the year when the march along the disputed route was effectively banned for the first time.

In the prevailing post-conflict rhetoric of “shared spaces” and “parity of esteem” for the different traditions in Northern Ireland, expressing naked sectarianism, including anti-Catholicism, became more difficult. Despite the new conciliatory mood, even if incidents such as similar deadlock about a parade route in North Belfast between 2012 and 2016, or a band playing the Famine song outside a Catholic church in Belfast during the 2012 Twelfth of July parade,³ have marred Orange marches in recent years. Such events have contributed to blurring the Order’s public image, especially given its simultaneous and seemingly constant effort to stress its respectability, its high moral grounds and the legitimacy of its tradition. If anything, they hinted at internal divisions within Orangeism. The Order’s response to accusations of sectarianism or anti-Catholicism has traditionally been to stress its pro-Protestant stance. Since the early 2000s, it has

²Jonathan Tonge, *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change*, 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 19–34.

³The band members were later convicted for provocative act likely to cause public disorder or a breach of the peace. Alan Erwin, “Loyalist Famine Song bandsmen convicted ‘outrageous’ sectarian behaviour outside Catholic church,” *Belfast Telegraph*, April 20, 2015, <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/loyalist-famine-song-bandsmen-convicted-outrageous-sectarian-behaviour-outside-catholic-church-31183254.html> (accessed November 22, 2019).

proactively tried to change its public image, through a series of collaborations and projects,⁴ in order to better articulate itself to a wider audience. One of the most recent initiatives has been the opening of the Order's museum.

This chapter explores the role of the Museum of Orange Heritage in explaining the Order to the world. The museum consists of two branches, located respectively in Belfast and in Loughgall, county Armagh—where the Order was founded in 1795. They opened in 2015 with a very clear mission, in the words of the Belfast branch curator on inauguration day: “We’d like to demystify what the Orange Order is all about, where we’re coming from, our place in history and the modern world.”⁵ Before presenting the contents of their exhibitions, this chapter will assess the nature of anti-Catholicism within the Order and present its recent attempts at changing its public image. The two branches of the museum draw a multi-faceted portrait of the Institution in its local and global environments, which is part of the ongoing repositioning (or rebranding) of the Order. The analysis of the two branches of the museums will focus on what image the Order gives of itself and of Catholics, as well as of some events from the conflicted past and post-conflict present on the island of Ireland.

THE ORANGE ORDER AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN POST-CONFLICT NORTHERN IRELAND

In order to assess the link between the Orange Order and anti-Catholicism in post-conflict Northern Ireland, one has to remember that the Order is the largest non-Church organisation in Protestant civil society in the province, that it is cross-denominational—including both Church of Ireland and Presbyterians—and committed to defending the Protestant faith, supporting the Union with Britain and being loyal to the monarch. The defence of Protestantism implies both embracing and propagating the faith, but also rejecting any other, in particular the Catholic faith. These are two sides of the same coin that are expressed in the “Qualifications of an Orangeman”:

⁴Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order. A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 300–305.

⁵Fionola Meredith, “Why ‘Opening Up’ Orange Culture Isn’t as Easy as It Sounds,” *The Irish Times*, June 27, 2015, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/why-opening-up-orange-culture-isn-t-as-easy-as-it-sounds-1.2264262> (accessed November 22, 2019).

He should love, uphold, and defend the Protestant religion, and sincerely desire and endeavour to propagate its doctrines and precepts.

He should strenuously oppose the fatal errors and doctrines of the Church of Rome, and scrupulously avoid countenancing (by his presence or otherwise) any act or ceremony of Popish Worship.⁶

The second qualification is often quoted to signal the intrinsic anti-Catholicism of the Order. It is based on a primary, theological and political form of the doctrine, echoing back to the Reformation, denouncing the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. In practice however, the ban imposed by the qualification is not always respected. For instance, Orangemen who choose to attend Catholic funerals are not always reprimanded for it. In 2011, the then leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and a Stormont minister of the same party, both members of the Order, decided to attend the funeral of a Catholic police officer who had been murdered by dissident Republicans. Following a formal complaint from one local lodge, they were heard by disciplinary committees, and eventually cleared. This qualification is not consensual, including within the Order. Reminders that a ban is in place happen on a regular basis, just as discussions that it should be lifted.

Another, less-quoted, qualification stipulates that an Orangeman “should, by all lawful means, resist the ascendancy of that Church, its encroachments, and the extension of its power, ever abstaining from all uncharitable words, actions, or sentiments towards his Roman Catholic brethren.”⁷ It allows for a finer definition of the anti-Catholicism at play within the Order, as the distinction is clearly made between the Catholic Church, which Orangemen have to oppose, and its followers, whom Orangemen should not be unkind to.

This fine doctrinal line has been confirmed in recent research about change in political attitudes among Orange Order members following the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in 1998. Over 1300 Orange members from across Northern Ireland were interviewed about their positions on religious issues in 2007–2008. As shown in Table 15.1, 72% of the panel disagreed or strongly disagreed that the Order was hostile to Catholic believers but 57% of the panel agreed or strongly agreed it was hostile to

⁶ Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition and Control* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 105.

⁷ Bryan, *Orange Parades*.

Table 15.1 Order positions on religious issues, 2007–2008 (%). Jonathan Tonge et al., “New Order: Political Change and the Protestant Orange Tradition in Northern Ireland,” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13 (2011): 404

| | <i>Strongly agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly disagree</i> |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Orange Order is anti-Roman Catholic | 10.3 | 9.5 | 8.1 | 34.2 | 37.9 |
| Orange Order is anti-Roman Catholic Church | 26.8 | 30.5 | 6.8 | 17.6 | 17.6 |
| There is no harm in ecumenical projects | 4.0 | 17.4 | 13.4 | 28.3 | 35.3 |
| Happy for child to marry Roman Catholic | 2.3 | 3.4 | 6.8 | 22.2 | 58.9 |
| Religion is more important than politics | 32.1 | 33.7 | 23.7 | 8.7 | 1.8 |

Table 15.2 Attitudes to republican violence, 2007–2008 (%). Tonge et al., “New Order,” 409

| | <i>Strongly agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly disagree</i> |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Most Roman Catholics are IRA sympathisers | 27.2 | 36.1 | 8.9 | 21.6 | 4.8 |
| IRA’s armed campaign is over | 1.7 | 13.6 | 16.0 | 37.2 | 23.0 |

the institution of the Roman Catholic Church. About 65% of the interviewees placed religion above politics and roughly the same proportion did not particularly favour ecumenical *rapprochements* between religions. The reservations are even more blatant on a personal level, with 81% declaring they would not be happy to see their child marry a Roman Catholic, which suggests a layer of ethno-social anti-Catholicism over its theological core.

This second dimension, based on members’ cultural suspicion and misconceptions about Catholics as individuals, is blatantly revealed in Table 15.2, with nearly two-thirds of the panel considering most Catholics are Irish Republican Army (IRA) sympathisers and 60% thinking the IRA is still at war.

Arguably, the survey was carried out nearly ten years ago and might not give the same results today. It is, however, the most recent of this scale. Research across various disciplines has pointed to significant changes within the Order in post-conflict Northern Ireland. The overall trend has been one of decline since the heyday of the “Orange State”—membership, according to figures given by the institution, peaked in the late 1960s, as the Troubles were starting, with over 93,000 members, but was just over 35,000 in 2006.⁸ Clearly, the Orange Order no longer has the political clout it once had. Social scientist Eric Kaufmann attributes its decline to the overall modernisation of Northern Irish society. With a striking graph in his book, he compares how Orange membership declined as the road network expanded across the province, a factor he uses as “a proxy for a certain kind of modernization and the decline of close-knit social contacts.”⁹ Where the Orange hall used to be the main socialisation meeting place for generations of young Protestant men, it now has to compete with increased geographical mobility and varied cultural and leisure practices, in a more secular environment.

This new environment has strongly impacted the Order. Following the escalation of violence around Orange marches in the 1990s, some members left the Order because radical elements were not being disciplined.¹⁰ But others also left it because it was not militant enough. Despite its carefully crafted image, the Orange Order is indeed a broad Church, religiously, socially, geographically and politically speaking. A majority of its members are now from a Presbyterian denomination, with still a substantial presence of Church of Ireland members, while only a minority are from a Methodist or Free Presbyterian background. Most members now belong to the working-class, which is a change from the time when the Order was a synonym for Protestant Establishment in the province. More lodges are now located in urban areas East of the Bann than in the rural counties of the West of the province. Working-class and urban Orangeism is usually politically more radical—it led to a change in the Order’s political support from the Ulster Unionist Party to the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in the mid-2000s.¹¹ With internal rifts and power games, the

⁸ Tonge et al., “New Order,” 403.

⁹ Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 283.

¹⁰ Brian Kennaway, “The Re-invention of the Orange Order: Triumphalism or Orangefest?” in *The Contested Identities of Ulster Protestants*, ed. Thomas Paul Burgess and Gareth Mulvenna (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 70–82.

¹¹ Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 267–282.

defence of Protestant values serves as a unifying, sometimes superficial, factor in an otherwise rather fragmented organisation whose members choose to join, or leave, for a variety of reasons.¹²

The peace process and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, to which it was opposed, sent shockwaves through the Order. The early years after the Agreement saw an increase in the sense of insecurity among its members, leading to its repositioning on the political spectrum. In 2005, it withdrew its traditional support to the UUP, the more moderate of the two Unionist parties who had championed the Agreement, because it felt too many concessions were being made to Republicans, in particular the early release of prisoners and the reform of police forces.¹³ Instead, under the influence of its more radical members, the Order sided with Ian Paisley's DUP, which had not taken part in the peace negotiations and, at the time, still considered the Agreement was a sell-out. However, two years later, Ian Paisley accepted to share power with Sinn Féin. This increased the internal tensions between the radical and the more traditionalist elements of the Order. Significantly, Edward Stevenson, who was elected in 2011 as the new Grand Master, hails from County Tyrone, the county where Orange support to the GFA was the strongest. This suggests the balance of power within the Order seems to have swung back to the traditionalists, who are more ready to engage with and adapt to the new post-conflict reality.

REVISITING THE ORDER'S PUBLIC IMAGE

The prevailing rhetoric of the post-conflict era combines parity of esteem and community relations. The aim of the 2005 policy and strategic framework set out by the local executive was to create “a shared future,” notably by “supporting good relations through diversity and cultural diversity.”¹⁴ The political context was favourable for any single-identity group to revisit their public image, as the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure, was to

¹² John Bell, *For God, Ulster or Ireland? Religion, Identity and Security in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Institute for Conflict Research, 2013), 79–80, <http://conflictresearch.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/OU-For-God-Ulster-or-Ireland-Final-Report-March-2013.pdf> (accessed November 22, 2019).

¹³ Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 234–235.

¹⁴ Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, *A Shared Future. Policy and Strategic Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland*, 2005, 31, <https://www.niacro.co.uk/sites/default/files/publications/A%20Shared%20Future-%20OFMDFM-Mar%202005.pdf> (accessed November 22, 2019).

“encourage understanding of the complexity of our history, through museums, libraries and archives” and “support cultural projects which highlight the complexity and overlapping nature of identities and their wider global connections.”¹⁵ Yet in order to make the most of the available funding, including Lottery and European Peace funding, cultural groups and communities had to embrace the underlying culture of tolerance. Following the Drumcree controversy, the Order actively sought to reposition (or rebrand) itself in order to “develop a reputation as a respected and responsible organisation.”¹⁶ That involved hiring media consultants to upgrade its public relations, donating to charities and looking for friends abroad, notably in the Ulster-Scots diaspora. Closer to home, it involved engaging with the Northern Ireland Tourist Board to promote certain “flagship” parades as tourist attractions, and applying for funding earmarked for cultural and heritage projects.¹⁷ The focus shifted from the religious tradition of the Order to its cultural dimension, in an attempt to be attractive to non-religious members and to open up to non-members.

The rebranding process, which implied opening up to outsiders and clarifying a somewhat opaque image, took on different aspects. For instance, in the spring of 2017, posters appeared on billboards in Belfast to announce the summer marching season. Designed like blockbuster posters, they portrayed two wigged actors in the roles of Kings William III and James II, under the slogan “Summer is coming.”¹⁸ This was an obvious nod to the popular *Game of Thrones* series, filmed on location in Northern Ireland and therefore a popular local tourist attraction. Another example is the website of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland (GOLI), with its “Frequently Asked Questions” page, in itself a sign of a new open and more engaging attitude. To the question “Are you anti Roman Catholic?” the website answers with a reformulation of the abovementioned qualifications:

Orangeism is a positive rather than a negative force. It wishes to promote the Reformed Faith based on the Infallible Word of God—the Bible.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, March 2002*, quoted in Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 301.

¹⁷ Kaufmann, *The Orange Order*, 300–305; Kennaway, “The Re-invention of the Orange Order,” 71–72.

¹⁸ Museum of Orange Heritage, Web site, <http://www.orangeheritage.co.uk/museum-promotes-clash-throne-summer/> (accessed November 22, 2019).

Orangeism does not foster resentment or intolerance. Condemnation of religious ideology is directed against church doctrine and not against individual adherents or members.¹⁹

The phrasing seeks to convey self-confidence, yet a degree of theological sectarianism is palpable. Another example, more closely linked to the Museum of Orange Heritage, has been the focus laid on education since the mid-2000s, with a Community Education Officer being appointed in 2004. A Community Education Programme was set up with the following mission:

Often referred to as a myth busting exercise, the main aim of the education programme is to demystify the communities' perception of the Orange Order and to help them understand the main reason why the organisation exists and the role Orangeism plays in a modern society.²⁰

Since its inception, the programme has carried out outreach work with community and ethnic minority groups, as well as with schools, both State-controlled, largely Protestant ones, and grant-maintained, largely Catholic ones. It provides education leaflets online, and was active in the creation of the Museum of Orange Heritage.

THE MUSEUM OF ORANGE HERITAGE

The museum project was part of a project called REACH—Reaching out through Education and Cultural Heritage—which received funding from the Northern Ireland executive as well as from the Department for Social Development and the Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government, in the Republic of Ireland. The bulk of the funding (£3.6m) came from the EU through its PEACE III programme.²¹ Given the apparent consensus that people's perception of the Order had to be

¹⁹ Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, Web site, "Frequently Asked Questions," <http://www.grandorangelodge.co.uk/faq#.WTXgYR0IG2y> (accessed November 22, 2019).

²⁰ Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, Web site, "Community Education Programme," <http://www.grandorangelodge.co.uk/educational-outreach#.WTXhTR0IG2w> (accessed November 22, 2019).

²¹ Museum of Orange Heritage, Web site, "New Museums to Promote Orange Heritage," <http://www.orangeheritage.co.uk/new-museums-promote-orange-heritage/> (accessed November 22, 2019).

better informed, the museum team decided to consult members of the nationalist community about what should be displayed and how. A few months before the opening, the director of services for GOLI, Dr David Hume, declared:

We've had a number of people we call our critical friends from the nationalist community on our sub-committee during the design of the museum. They've told us the sort of things they want to know about the Orange Order including basic things like why do people join it, what does it actually do, what happens when a lodge meets and so forth.²²

The Grand Master, Edward Stevenson, made a similar comment when the museum was inaugurated:

The primary purpose of the new museums is to inform and educate the wider community and our own community about the traditions and ongoing relevance of Orangeism. We are very grateful to our 'critical friends' within nationalism who offered very constructive input in the planning stages of the project.²³

In itself, this outreach exercise in the planning stages, the willingness to relinquish some of the curatorial control to outsiders, especially the nationalist community, is as surprising as it is commendable, given the history of the Order.

Both branches of the Museum of Orange Heritage opened in June 2015. The main branch is in Schomberg House in East Belfast, named after the Commander-in-Chief of the Williamite expedition in Ireland in 1690, which also houses the headquarters of GOLI. The other location is Sloan's House in Loughgall, County Armagh, where the Orange Order was founded in 1795. The two branches do not focus on the same aspects of Orangeism and indeed offer rather different portraits of the Order. I shall examine the two exhibitions successively, focusing on salient differences and common points.

²²Mervyn Jess, "Orange Order Museums 'Will Not be Propaganda'," *BBC News*, February 11, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-31373779> (accessed November 22, 2019).

²³Alex Kane, "Their Master's Voice: Orange Order's Edward Stevenson," *Belfast Telegraph*, July 22, 2015, <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/life/features/their-masters-voice-orange-orders-edward-stevenson-31367983.html> (accessed November 22, 2019).

THE BELFAST BRANCH: SCHOMBERG HOUSE

The exhibition in Belfast opens with a rather large section on the Battle of the Boyne, in the context of the Glorious Revolution. Gloves worn by King Billy are on display, just in front of a horse-riding mannequin wearing a Jacobite uniform. A small section then follows, about the creation of the Order, and Orangeism in the nineteenth century. The next main section focuses on the loyalty of the Order to crown and country, as evidenced by its rejection of Home Rule, as well as its involvement in the Battle of the Somme and in the local security forces. Displays include uniforms from the First World War, from the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), an all-Protestant regiment which was active during the Troubles. World Orangeism then occupies the central section, with interactive displays showing the “spread of the Orange Flame” across the world. Throughout the museum, panels are dedicated to famous Orangemen, whether from Northern Ireland or from abroad—the impression is one of variety, with politicians, industrialists and sportsmen being represented. The panels also play on surprise by focusing on “unlikely” Orangemen, such as Dr Oronhyatekha, a Mohawk from Canada and Oxford scholar, thus conveying the idea that the Order is inclusive, embracing members from all backgrounds and walks of life.

The educational effort to explain how the Order is organised is visible in panels on fraternities and lodges. One of the *pièces de résistance* is the replica of the interior of an Orange Hall. The intended effect is one of transparency, lifting the veil of secrecy that often surrounds the Order, thereby demystifying the place and its proceedings for non-members, that is, the vast majority of the local population, as well as tourists. The hall serves as a memorial place to the Orange victims during the Troubles, with a stained-glass window, a book and an interactive display in memory of the 332 Orange Members who died—many of them members of the RUC or UDR.

The museum also has a temporary exhibition room that doubles up as an education room. At the time of my first visit to the museum in August 2015, an exhibition called “Orangeism on Parade” was on display, with drums, banners and general parades-related regalia. Activities for children—drawing Orange symbols, dressing up or testing musical instruments—added a playful dimension. At the time of my second visit in July 2017, a smaller version of that exhibition was still on display in the

education room, while another room hosted a bigger temporary exhibition celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's theses.

Overall, the portrait of the Order in the Belfast museum is that of a benign, respectable institution. Its respectability is based on its size and international presence, its loyalty to its country, the diversity of its membership and its association with charities—Barnardo for instance. The narrative of the exhibition acknowledges the Order may have reacted with fear and alarm when it felt what it stood for was being threatened—for instance in the nineteenth century. It also stresses the high human cost paid by the Order and suggests that given its commitment and sense of sacrifice, it should be allowed to parade to celebrate its own culture, which should not be seen as a threat.

The representation of Catholics in the exhibition is not particularly hostile when it comes to distant historical events. For instance, the accounts of the events leading to the Battle of the Boyne are based on historical facts and contemporary perceptions. Dissent is stated but the Catholic side is not demonised. Accordingly, a panel about King James II reads: "he wanted to be able to curtail Protestants and control the army ... his actions were viewed with suspicion by his Protestant subjects." In the Boyne section, a life-size horse and soldier mannequin actually portray a Jacobite soldier rather than the more expected Williamite soldier. It is a way to balance out the display of a saddlecloth and riding gauntlets that had belonged to William III. In the accompanying text, Jacobite soldiers are commended for their bravery and experience: "The Irish and French cavalry present that day were some of the best in the world ... Jacobite soldiers who left Ireland after the Treaty of Limerick gained fame within the armies of Europe, many served with distinction." This description reflects positively on the Williamite forces who defeated the Jacobites, but it is worth noticing that the most remarkable artefact of that section in terms of size is not representative of the cause that is the Order's *raison d'être*. When it comes to the more recent conflict, such historical distance is no longer visible, in particular in the way the IRA is referred to. Nowhere is it specifically described as Catholic, but in the book about the Orange members who were killed—the book read "were murdered"—during the Troubles, the IRA is described as undemocratic, violent, illegitimate/irregular and "aiding the Nazi war effort" during the Second World War.

As is to be expected in any single-identity museum, the exhibition displays a subjective account of history. Some elements which fit uneasily in a benevolent narrative are left out: for instance, anti-Catholic discrimination

during the Penal Laws or the early decades of Northern Ireland, the fact that William of Orange was supported by the Pope against Kings James II and Louis XIV, or the widespread collusion that existed between the UDR and loyalist paramilitaries during the recent conflict. A more vocal controversy took place when the museum opened and flags representing all the countries where Orange lodges existed were flown on flagpoles outside the building. Noticeably, the Irish tricolour was absent. GOLI explained the omission by saying that its headquarters were located in that very building in Belfast, and that Orangemen in the Republic felt culturally British and were happy to be represented by the Union Jack. Other comments referred to potential hostility from local residents, had the Tricolour been flown.²⁴

THE LOUGHGALL BRANCH: SLOAN'S HOUSE

In County Armagh, the exhibition in Loughgall focuses less on the Battle of the Boyne and more on the creation of the Order at the end of the eighteenth century. It shares some of the textual and visual contents of the Belfast exhibition, either by using the same panels or via interactives and recap panels. Common material can be spotted about the Battle of the Diamond in 1795, World Orangeism and the internal organisation of the institution. The exhibition is displayed over two floors in the house where the Order was founded in 1795 and is logically more focused on local history, making the most of the museum being *in situ*. A replica of Sloan's parlour is presented on the first floor, with mannequins representing the founding fathers of the Order, and an audio version of their "conversation" of the time. On the second floor, another room deals with the history of County Armagh and of the house itself. The main exhibition area presents a chronological overview of Ulster's history since the Plantation in the early seventeenth century, whereas history in the Belfast exhibition starts in 1690. There is no replica of an Orange Hall in Loughgall, but a panel listing the "Qualifications of an Orangeman," which is not included in the exhibition in Belfast, serves the purpose of demystifying what the

²⁴David Young, "Order: Tricolour 'Snub' Nothing to #," *Belfast Telegraph*, June 25, 2015, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/order-tricolour-snub-nothing-to-get-hung-up-about-31327954.html> (accessed November 22, 2019); Sam McBride, "Tricolour at Orange Museum 'May Have Offended Residents'," *The Newsletter*, June 25, 2015, <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/tricolour-at-orange-museum-may-have-offended-residents-1-6818691> (accessed November 22, 2019).

Order is about. At the time of my visit in November 2016, there was a temporary exhibition about the Battle of the Somme, which made up for the absence of panels on the subject in the museum. As in Belfast, the grounds of the museum also serve as a memorial, with a Garden of Remembrance to the Orangemen who were killed—again, the written material reads “murdered”—during the Troubles, over 20% of whom lived in co. Armagh. The two memorials were conceived to complement one another, as underlined by the Grand Master in September 2015:

The Loughgall garden greatly compliments the stain glass window unveiled earlier this year at the Museum of Orange Heritage in Belfast, paying tribute to all 332 of our murdered brethren. Both memorials serve as a permanent reminder of the painful legacy which terrorism inflicted on Orangeism during the Troubles. It is important that the innocent victims and their families are never forgotten.²⁵

Like in Belfast, the critical distance observed to narrate historical events differs from that used for more contemporary events. For instance, the interactive display about the 1641 Catholic rising, which left thousands of Protestant settlers dead and sent tens of thousands away from the province, is rather balanced:

As with so many tragic events in Irish history, the Rebellion quickly descended into sectarian conflict ... Many atrocities occurred against the Protestant population. Many Roman Catholics also suffered if they showed any support for Protestants ... Most experts now believe that a more accurate figure is 12,000 to 17,000 deaths rather than the 100,000 previously claimed ... Just as the memory of the initial massacres in Ulster would be sealed on the psyche of Ulster and Irish Protestants, so the ruthless suppression of the rebellion by Oliver Cromwell, in 1649, would profoundly impact the Irish Roman Catholic community.

The rising is given much space and depth: it is presented both on panels and in an interactive display. The latter includes a graphic caution about some of the violent scenes depicted, and is based on historical sources, namely the depositions of Protestants kept in Trinity College Dublin and

²⁵ Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, “Memorial Garden Tribute to Murdered Orangemen. Sunday, September 2015,” [http://grandorangelodge.co.uk/news.aspx?id=101753#](http://grandorangelodge.co.uk/news.aspx?id=101753#.WTfOwx0IG2w). WTfOwx0IG2w (accessed November 22, 2019).

recent historiography. The focus on the rising, how distant it may seem, is not surprising, as some of the atrocities were particularly violent in County Armagh.²⁶ Some have become iconic in local Protestant memory, like the drowning of dozens of Protestants in the river Bann in Portadown, which is still commemorated on a banner during Orange marches in the town.²⁷

The portrait of the Order as it is depicted in Loughgall is of a locally rooted institution representing a community that had to endure numerous occurrences of conflict. It conveys a sense of insecurity of a community feeling, rightly or wrongly, it was under attack, with the Order being part of a strategy of self-defence and preservation. In this vein, a most interesting inclusion is a series of panels, on the second floor of the museum, reflecting on the recent conflict and post-conflict period.²⁸ They come under the following headings: “Orangeism and political Unionism”; “Home Rule and Formal Unionism”; “Opposing viewpoints”; “Solving the Issue”; “Parades, Protests and Flashpoints.” This series of panels demonstrates the reflexive criticism the Order is now able and/or willing to display, by moving away from a simple, linear narrative. The first panel, for instance, explains that some Orangemen opposed the Act of Union in 1800, therefore complexifying the assumed connection between Orangeism and Unionism. The last three panels address the contentious issue of parades. While the initial version of the Belfast exhibition had a temporary display about the key features of parades and downplayed the controversies surrounding them, the Loughgall branch insists on their political dimension. It plays the cultural diversity card by saying tensions surrounding parades are due to their politicisation and “a result of the failure to resolve competing ‘community rights’,” pointing the finger at what the Order considers the flawed Parades Commission and at Sinn Féin for stirring up tensions.

The panels serve several purposes. First, they acknowledge the multiple viewpoints that exist on the issue:

²⁶ Hilary Simms, “Violence in County Armagh, 1641,” in *Ulster 1641, Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta (Belfast: The Institute for Irish Studies, Queen’s University Belfast, 1997 (1993)), 123–138.

²⁷ 1641 Depositions, Web site, “Memory of 1641,” <http://1641.tcd.ie/historical-memory.php> (accessed November 22, 2019).

²⁸ The panels were absent from the Belfast exhibition at the time of my first visit in August 2015, but have since been included in the display.

Most unionists oppose the Parades Commission and believe it should be removed and replaced with a more equal and equitable method for resolving disputes. Most nationalists hold a counter view and believe that the Parades Commission should remain in place until a suitable long-term solution is firmly in place. (Panel 3 “Opposing viewpoints”)

Second, they provide the context in which the Order formed its own viewpoint:

The “Troubles” had a profound impact on the Orange Institution. Over 300 Orangemen and Women have been murdered; over 500 attacks have taken place on Orange halls and community facilities; Orange Parades and celebrations have faced opposition. All of this has made it difficult for the Orange Institution to engage with the republican community. The Loyal Orange Institution is committed to achieving a peaceful and equitable society for all. (Panel 4 “Solving the issue”)

Finally, they reassert the Order’s willingness to engage in finding a suitable compromise, thereby depicting it as determined and open-minded, rather than dogmatic and stubborn:

Despite these differing views and attitudes there have been repeated attempts by politicians and community leaders, including the Orange Institution, to find a lasting a positive resolution to this difficult issue. The Loyal Orange Institution is committed to playing a full and constructive part in finding a practical solution; one which is equal and equitable to all. (Panel 3 “Opposing viewpoints”)

In an article published in 2000, Lee Smithey explained how unionist and loyalist organisations were changing tactics, from coercion to persuasion politics, as they realised “the success of their causes increasingly lies in their ability to compromise and win public favour.”²⁹ His approach is relevant to describe the shift in attitude that also occurred in the Orange Order. At the time of the Drumcree standoff, the Order’s tactics was coercion, which is designed to intimidate an adversary, with the common result of deepening or prolonging conflict. Persuasion politics, on the contrary, is designed to coax the opponent into conflict resolution and

²⁹ Lee Smithey, “Anti-Catholicism and the Politics of Persuasion in Northern Ireland,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 89, no. 355 (2000): 215.

persuade them to redefine the nature of conflict. The dynamics at play in the Museum of Orange Heritage closely matches the following description:

The use of persuasion as a political method implies willingness at some level to communicate and interact with Catholics over conflict issues. It also suggests a willingness to suspend temporarily fundamental beliefs in order to perpetuate dialogue and thus project a positive image to one's opponent and third parties.³⁰

This is not to say that nationalists may not deem the Order's new discourse offensive, or that they will embrace the Order's new agenda. Given the difficult past in Northern Ireland, usual discourses of mistrust will continue. For instance, the panels on parades, now present in both branches of the museum and revealing some degree of critical reflection, do not try to downplay the Order's ongoing mistrust of republican communities. The conversation is a difficult one, but it is taking place, one of the main obstacles being that in a divided society, persuasion politics may still be interpreted as coercive.³¹

Single-identity museums or exhibitions giving a Protestant viewpoint are less common in Northern Ireland than their Catholic counterparts. They include the Somme Heritage Centre in Newtownards, Co. Down, as well as the Andy Tyrie Interpretive Centre and the ACT-Initiative exhibition, both in Belfast.³² The Catholic/Nationalist/Republican communities were pioneers in using persuasion politics and putting together a narrative that would generate empathy to their cause. The Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist exhibitions are slowly following suit. The Museum of Orange Heritage shows how exhibitions can be tools to boost both self- and mutual understanding. In fact, looking for sectarianism in museum displays in post-conflict Northern Ireland may not be a very fruitful exercise for reconciliation. Instead, more than the representation of the Other, it is the degree of reflexive criticism a group is able to display about its past and own practices that shows its responsibility as a stakeholder in the post-conflict period. The Museum of Orange Heritage shows the Order's willingness, and sometimes difficulty, in embracing post-conflict reality.

³⁰ Smithey, "Anti-Catholicism," 219–220.

³¹ Smithey, "Anti-Catholicism," 222.

³² Karine Bigand, "Representing Loyalist Paramilitary Heritage in Non-museum Exhibitions—Aims, Practices and Challenges," in *Heritage after Conflict: Northern Ireland*, ed. Elizabeth Crooke and Tom Maguire (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 66–83.

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The Rise and Fall of Anti-Catholicism in Scotland

Sir T. M. Devine and Michael Rosie

Recent reports in Scotland's national press have conveyed the impression that anti-Catholicism has reached new and virulent levels of hostility. The headlines were designed to shock: "Bishops of Scotland: Anti-Catholicism Rife" (*Catholic Truth*); "Catholics are the biggest target of hate crime in Scotland" (*Sunday Times*, repeated in *Catholic Herald*); "MSPs say sectarianism in Scotland is primarily an anti-Catholic problem" (*Scottish Catholic Observer*).¹ Then, in July 2018 a priest in Glasgow was spat upon and verbally abused outside his church by a bystander at an Orange parade. A media storm ensued. Canon Tom White in a press interview recalled:

At that point they (the crowd) were chanting sectarian lyrics from the Billy Boys saying "we're up to our knees in Fenian (derogatory term for Catholics) blood." I turned my back and felt I had been spat upon. At that point the

¹ *Catholic Truth*, September 29, 2017; *Sunday Times*, March 18, 2018; *Catholic Herald*, March 20, 2018; *Scottish Catholic Observer*, March 23, 2018.

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abuse was horrendous. It was “Fenian scum, Fenian b.....d, beast, paedophile.”²

Media coverage of the incident was extensive and the attack was universally condemned throughout the country. A 24-year old man was convicted and subsequent Loyal Order parades were rerouted away from Canon White’s church.³ Elaine Smith MSP, the Scottish Labour party’s inequality spokesperson, asked for more protection for the Catholic minority in Scotland in order to combat the apparent rise in hate crime.⁴ She echoed similar comments made in the recent past by the Director of the Scottish Catholic Media Office, and the Director of the Catholic Parliamentary Office at Holyrood made in submissions to Lord Bracadale’s Review of Hate Crime legislation in Scotland which was published in May 2018.⁵

Several voices have, therefore, spoken out on this controversial subject so far, including journalists, church spokespersons and politicians. One perspective largely missing, however, is that of academic researchers who have studied these complex issues over the years. This chapter is written by an historian and a sociologist who both have long experience of examining the evidence for sectarianism and anti-Catholicism, particularly in the period from the First World War to the present day. We present our findings here in the hope that reasoned analysis of the evidential base can help to qualify alarmist claims, flawed conclusions and exaggerated rhetoric. This is a topic where both an historical and a sociological approach to the subject under discussion matters. It is essential to survey the past in order to place the present in context and so allow determination of how far things have changed, if at all, for good or ill over time.

A definition of sectarianism is also vital if the evaluation is not to degenerate into woolly, confused, or partisan thinking. What does the often used but rarely explained term “sectarianism” actually mean? We favour a definition presented by some Scottish social scientists a few years ago. It is short, simple and to the point: “Sectarianism is a widespread and

² *Daily Record*, July 8, 2018; see also *Catholic Herald*, July 9, 2018.

³ *The Herald*, July 14, 2018. See also BBC News, “Orange Walk banned from passing ‘priest attack’ church,” August 23, 2018.

⁴ *The Times*, March 14, 2018.

⁵ *The Scotsman*, May 21, 2018.

entrenched culture of treating people improperly because of their real or presumed religious identities and beliefs.”⁶

Anti-Catholicism has had a long and deeply ingrained history in Scotland. It was originally born out of popular hostility against the old faith which helped to fuel the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. That religious revolution was so complete that only tiny enclaves of adherents to Catholicism survived in the western Highlands and Islands and a few localities in the north east. This minority eventually suffered intolerance on a systematic basis through the imposition of penal legislation which attempted, among other constraints, to eliminate the practices of the faith. Scottish Catholics became marginalised within the nation, not least as Presbyterianism and Episcopacy struggled for domination of the Kirk. Indeed, Scottish Protestantism came to define much of its identity by being overtly anti-Catholic. The 1643 Westminster Confession of Faith was the cornerstone of the new religious order. It proclaimed the Pope to be the “anti-Christ, that man of sin, and son of perdition.” Until as late as 1861, teachers in Scotland were legally compelled to swear a solemn oath that they would uphold the Westminster confession.⁷

The series of Jacobite Risings between 1689 and 1746, which attempted to restore the Catholic Stuart monarchy expelled in the revolution of 1688, further deepened the cult of anti-Popery. All four Risings were supported by the tiny Catholic community in Scotland. Prince Charles Edward Stuart—Bonnie Prince Charlie—the leader of the final revolt in 1745, was vilified in Hanoverian propaganda: “From Rome, A Limb of Antichrist has come.” The extensive secular authority of the reformed Church of Scotland over nearly three centuries also has to be recognised. Until the later Victorian era, through its local courts, the Church controlled parish schools, supervised poor relief, and shaped the moral ethos of Scottish society. After the signing of the Treaty of Union with England in 1707, when the independent Scottish Parliament was abolished, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland came to be seen as a kind of surrogate national assembly with the right to pronounce authoritative

⁶Steve Bruce et al., *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 4. See also, in general, T.M. Devine, ed., *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishers, 2000).

⁷Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 5.

judgement not only on religious matters but also on political and social issues.⁸

The mass immigration of the Irish into Scotland in the nineteenth century then gave a much sharper edge to old prejudices. By 1901 there were 207,000 first-generation Irish in Scotland in a total national population of 4.5 million. Since their immigration extended back to the 1790s, to that figure should be added considerable numbers of second- and third-generation Irish, many of whom had preserved an inherited sense of ethnic and religious identity. Even the first generation made up a higher proportion of the Scottish population (7.2 per cent) than did their counterparts in England and Wales (2.9 per cent). The immigrants were highly concentrated regionally, with the vast majority settling in Glasgow and the surrounding counties of the west with additional clusters in Dundee, Edinburgh and the mining districts of West Lothian. This degree of concentration gave the impression to the host society that numbers were even greater than they actually were. Those who came were overwhelmingly Catholic but with a substantial minority of Protestant Irish among the incomers. Thus, through migration the bitter tribal hatreds of Ireland transferred to urban Scotland.⁹

The Catholic Irish were stereotyped in the strongest possible terms. Alien in religion, speech, culture and politics, they were massed at the bottom of the labour market, consisting mainly of impoverished families who were seen to have burdened the Poor Law with hordes of shiftless paupers; they were made the scapegoats for every conceivable social evil from drunkenness and criminality at one extreme to the importation of lethal diseases into the sprawling slums of the Scottish cities at the other.¹⁰ Eventually, in the 1920s and 1930s the immigrant community began to attract even more virulent hostility from some quarters, not only for reasons of religious and social difference, but also because the Catholic Irish came to be judged as inferior in race to native-born Scots. The old

⁸T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London: Penguin Press, 2012), 84–102.

⁹Graham Walker, “The Protestant Irish in Scotland,” in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 44–66. Elaine McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).

¹⁰Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, 498–499.

antagonisms now metamorphosed in some quarters into ethno-religious hatreds.¹¹

These entered the public domain in 1923 when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland published the notorious pamphlet *The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality*. In it a clear distinction was made between the racially inferior Catholic Irish, Catholic Scots of Scottish heritage, and the “Orange” (or Protestant) Irish who were “of the Scottish race” and hence acceptable citizens to be treated in the same way as other Scots. The Catholic Irish on the other hand were roundly condemned for taking employment from native Scots and being in the vanguard of a papist conspiracy to subvert Protestant values. Thus began the Church’s campaign, which endured into the 1930s, to convince the British government not only to halt immigration from the Irish Free State but also to deport back to Ireland natives of that country who were in Scottish prisons or in receipt of poor relief.¹²

The intervention by the Church of Scotland helped to legitimise a resurgence of popular anti-Catholicism which now became a noxious mix of racism and bigotry. For a time two anti-Catholic parties in Edinburgh and Glasgow attracted substantial votes in local elections. Other factors fanned the flames. The Easter Rising in Dublin of 1916 had prompted deep anger in Scotland. At a time when Scots were dying in their many thousands on the Western Front, the British army had been betrayed by Irish Catholic rebels in Dublin who had risen with German support. The mass unemployment and economic crises of the inter-war period also provided fruitful soil for the spread of demagoguery and xenophobia.¹³

The Church’s campaign did not succeed, but when it failed its leadership changed tack by approaching Scottish employers and encouraging them, at a time of deep economic depression, to hire and promote only workers “of the Scottish race.”¹⁴ Thus was consolidated the experience for many Catholics seeking a job to be challenged at interview with the familiar question: “What school did you go to?” (most Catholics attended

¹¹ Stewart J. Brown, “‘Outside the Covenant’: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigrants 1922–1938,” *Innes Review* 42.1 (1991): 19–45; Michael Rosie, *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 100–106.

¹² Brown, “Outside the Covenant.”

¹³ Gallagher, *Glasgow*, 134–182.

¹⁴ T.M. Devine, “The End of Disadvantage? The Descendants of Irish Catholic Immigrants in Modern Scotland since 1945,” *New Perspectives on the Irish in Modern Scotland*, ed. Martin Mitchell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), 193–194.

denominational schools). Labour market discrimination persisted after World War II until the later 1960s and 1970s and was apparently especially rife in banking, the legal profession, the press and in the industries of engineering and shipbuilding.¹⁵ The Catholic academic and commentator, Patrick Reilly, writing in 2000, observed: “there is a Himalayas of anecdotal evidence from almost every Catholic family in the west of Scotland as to alleged injustices suffered.”¹⁶

By such social exclusion, a deep wound was opened up within Scottish Catholicism which even to this day has not entirely healed. The memory of those times, handed down across the generations in bitter recollection through family lore and tradition, helps to explain the sense of victimhood that can still be found among some sections of the Scottish Catholic community in 2018.¹⁷ In comparative terms it was distinctively disadvantaged. The American cousins of Scotland’s Irish Catholic population achieved occupational parity with other Americans as early as 1900. During the 1920s and 1930s their counterparts in Australia and New Zealand did the same. As late as the 1960s, however, the “Scoto-Irish” remained disadvantaged in terms of occupation, income, health and education.¹⁸ Even though the reasons for this condition were many and complex it was always easy to blame it on discriminatory practices.

Within a few decades, however, the Catholic position in Scottish society was transformed. The key drivers of this social revolution included the decline of some of the old heavy industries where sectarian employment practices had been endemic, the impact of secularisation on rigid religious boundaries, as the Christian churches came together in an ecumenical spirit against the common enemy of secularism, and a huge expansion in educational opportunities for Catholics. Key moments in this expansion was the taking over, on highly favourable terms, of Catholic schools by the state in 1918, and the coming of comprehensive schooling and university expansion from the 1960s. Erosion of the old ways of patronage, sectarian networks and nepotism led to a more meritocratic labour market based

¹⁵ Devine, “The End of Disadvantage,” 193.

¹⁶ Patrick Reilly, “Kicking with the Left Foot: Being Catholic in Scotland,” in Devine, *Scotland’s Shame?* 31.

¹⁷ T.M. Devine, ed., *St Mary’s Hamilton: A Social History 1846–1996* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), 91–93.

¹⁸ Devine, “The End of Disadvantage,” 194.

emphatically on qualifications, credentials and proven achievement.¹⁹ Analysing the transformation through scholarly research also became easier. Political and public concern over sectarianism in Scotland led to the production of much new, accessible and robust evidence on the subject in social surveys, the census, which from 2001 contained information on religious affiliation, and government-funded enquiries. These data confirm that a social and economic emancipation of Catholic people has taken place in Scotland over the last several decades. If, as some assert, anti-Catholicism remains a potent feature in modern Scottish society, it has manifestly failed to constrain this historic development.

We do not have sufficient space here to summarise all the data which would lead us to a conclusion that Scotland's anti-Catholicism has lost its potency. Instead we present a selection of evidence that we think creates a compelling foundation for this conclusion. As noted above, Scottish Catholicism was transformed over the middle of the nineteenth century by the arrival, in large numbers, of the Irish. Many of these migrants were unskilled and rooted at the bottom of the labour market. Where do Catholics sit in Scotland today? Since religion was included in the Scottish Household Survey of 2001 and in the Census of the same year, we now have very robust evidence of labour market data and religious affiliation over almost two decades. None of these sources suggest systematic Catholic disadvantage: indeed, any differences are small, and often run against the logic of "discrimination" at any significant level. These data are so extensive it is impossible to comprehensively report here, so we offer merely a snapshot. Tables 16.1 and 16.2 are drawn from the Safeguarded Microdata Files, which offer a random 5 per cent sample of anonymised individuals from the 2011 Census of Scotland.²⁰ They show the occupational breakdowns of the three main religious groups in Scotland—Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic, and "no religion." Since both age and gender are profoundly interlinked with occupational status we present data taking both into account—we consider men aged 15–34 and women aged 35–54. This allows us to see both those establishing themselves in work,

¹⁹Lindsay Paterson, "The social class of Catholics in Scotland," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 163.2 (2000): 363–379; David McCrone, *The New Sociology of Scotland* (London: Sage, 2017), 336, 361–363.

²⁰For full details see "Safeguarded Microdata Files." Accessed November 26, 2019. <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/safeguarded-microdata-files>.

Table 16.1 Religion and occupational class National Statistics - Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), 2011: men aged 15–34

| <i>Men, aged 15–34—% by column</i> | <i>No religion</i> | <i>Church of Scotland</i> | <i>Roman Catholic</i> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Higher managerial & professional | 9 | 7 | 7 |
| Lower managerial & higher supervisory | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Intermediate | 11 | 11 | 10 |
| Small employer/own account worker | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Lower supervisory & technical | 15 | 14 | 15 |
| Semi-routine occupations | 15 | 16 | 18 |
| Routine occupations | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| Never worked/long-term unemployed | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| <i>Base (n =)</i> | <i>12,331</i> | <i>4,996</i> | <i>3,985</i> |

Source: Census of Scotland, 2011. Safeguarded microdata (authors' own analysis)

Table 16.2 Religion and occupational class (NS-SEC), 2011: women aged 35–54

| <i>Women, aged 35–54—% by column</i> | <i>No religion</i> | <i>Church of Scotland</i> | <i>Roman Catholic</i> |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Higher managerial & professional | 12 | 10 | 9 |
| Lower managerial & higher supervisory | 24 | 25 | 25 |
| Intermediate | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| Small employer/own account worker | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Lower supervisory & technical | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Semi-routine occupations | 15 | 15 | 17 |
| Routine occupations | 13 | 12 | 14 |
| Never worked/long-term unemployed | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| <i>Base (n =)</i> | <i>28,218</i> | <i>23,505</i> | <i>12,552</i> |

Source: Census of Scotland, 2011. Safeguarded microdata (authors' own analysis)

and those more settled in their occupations. These two tables are representative of broader patterns in the data.

Readers need not labour over these tables—the patterns are clear: what differences we find are very small and the Catholic profile is exceptionally similar to that of Scotland's largest Protestant group, the Church of Scotland. We find similar results in other sources of robust data such as the Scottish Household Survey. Taken together these sources demonstrate unequivocally that there is little or no difference in the occupations of

Catholics, Presbyterians and those of “no religion.”²¹ Indeed these sources suggest that for Catholics entering employment from the second half of the twentieth century onwards there was no evidence of widespread disadvantage. Similarly, a wide body of research into other key areas of inequality in education, health and deprivation suggests that any religious differences that remain are modest and in decline.²²

Without evidence of disadvantage it is impossible to sustain claims of widespread discrimination. It is clear that whatever the extent of systematic labour market discrimination in the past, it has now (and perhaps long) disappeared. Employment legislation and the system of tribunals which supports it ensure that cases of people claiming to have been treated improperly because of their religion are very rare.

There is, however, another underlying sociological issue over discrimination that needs to be attentive to recent historical trends. That is, to put it simply, if we wish to be a religious bigot how can we *know* who to discriminate against? Whatever “clues” we may seek out—school attended, football team supported, name or spelling of name—these are becoming increasingly fallible, not least because the integration of Catholics in contemporary Scotland has not merely occurred in the labour market, it has progressed also in the most intimate of spheres: friendship, love and sex.²³ Evidence on intermarriage and personal friendships hardly confirms the popular image of a Catholic-Protestant divide in Scotland. The 2001 Census allowed an unparalleled opportunity to measure the extent of mixed religious marriage in Scotland and demonstrated that boundaries between religious traditions at the intimate level are highly permeable. As Table 16.3 shows, the 2001 Census recorded almost 400,000 Scottish Catholics living with a spouse or partner. In almost half these cases (47 per cent) that spouse/partner was not Catholic. More than one quarter of Catholics (27 per cent) were married to, or cohabiting with, a Protestant. These data indicate that Catholics are very likely to find their life-partner outside the faith, and the fact that this is even more marked amongst those who are cohabiting suggests that exogamy amongst younger Catholics is remarkably high.

²¹ For a lengthier discussion see Michael Rosie, “The Sectarian Iceberg?” *Scottish Affairs* 24.3 (2015): 328–350.

²² See Paterson, “The social Class of Catholics”; Lindsay Paterson, Catherine Calvin, and Ian Deary, “Education, Employment and School Religious Denomination in Scotland in the 1950s,” *Oxford Review of Education* 41.1 (2015): 26–46.

²³ Rosie, “The Sectarian Iceberg?”

Table 16.3 Catholics and mixed marriages/relationships, 2001

| <i>Catholics</i> | <i>Married (%)</i> | <i>Cohabiting (%)</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| <i>Religion of partner</i> | | | |
| No religion | 13.4 | 28.9 | 17.1 |
| Church of Scotland | 22.0 | 29.2 | 23.7 |
| Roman Catholic | 59.4 | 33.9 | 53.3 |
| Other Christian | 3.4 | 4.7 | 3.7 |
| Another religion | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.3 |
| Not answered | 1.4 | 2.5 | 1.7 |
| <i>Base (n =)</i> | <i>299,190</i> | <i>93,488</i> | <i>392,678</i> |

Source: Census of Scotland, 2001

It is likely that religious intermarriage has long been a feature of Scottish life, and certainly calls into question any simplistic “sectarian” reading of the past. The late Catholic historian Bernard Aspinwall found

surprising numbers of mixed marriages from the nineteenth century to the present. Even if a number of these were between marginal or lukewarm Catholics and nominal Protestants, such evidence undermines hitherto unquestioned assumptions about a prevalent feverish bigotry until recent times. My discussions with elderly [Catholic] faithful invariably reveal surprising numbers of mixed marriages and Protestant relations in their forefathers’ backgrounds. A curious, selective amnesia prevails in our interpretation of our past.²⁴

Nor are marriages the only evidence of the personal mixing of religious communities at the personal and intimate level. The Scottish Social Attitudes survey of 2014 demonstrated that inter-religious friendships were perfectly commonplace: 81 per cent of those who identified themselves as Catholic reported as having one or more Protestant friends. Equally, 76 per cent of self-identified Protestants said the same of Catholic friends.²⁵

These examples of widespread religious mixing within personal spaces are mirrored at more institutional levels. An unprecedented level of

²⁴ Bernard Aspinwall, “Baptisms, Marriages and Lithuanians; or, ‘Ghetto? What Ghetto?’ Some Reflections on Modern Catholic Historical Assumptions,” *Innes Review* 5.1 (2000): 55–67, 56.

²⁵ See Rachel Ormston et al., “A Subtle but Intractable Problem? Public Attitudes to Sectarianism in 2014,” *Scottish Affairs* 24.3 (2015): 266–287.

ecumenical harmony has been achieved between the Catholic and Protestant Churches at both national and parish levels. Indeed, in 2002, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland formally apologised for its crusade against Irish Catholics in the 1920s and 1930s.²⁶ Likewise the Scottish Executive under the Labour-Liberal coalition governments (1999–2007) and the SNP Scottish government (2007–present) have both taken a firm stance on addressing and tackling sectarianism. Substantial funding was provided for community-focused projects to investigate and tackle the issue, and an independent Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism reported to the Scottish government between 2012 and 2015.²⁷ The Group rejected any “quick fix” for sectarianism in Scotland, not least simplistic claims of its root causes. For example, its interim report noted:

We do not believe that sectarianism stems from, or is the responsibility of, denominational schooling, or, specifically, Catholic schools, nor that sectarianism would be eradicated by closing such institutions.²⁸

In its final report the Group argued that only the “remnants” of sectarian attitudes and behaviour remained in contemporary Scotland. Perceptions of, and anxiety about, sectarianism remained a significant issue, however, and the Group called for more balanced reporting and debate, noting that “sensationalism will always be harmful to society as a whole.”²⁹

Finally, then, we come to the issue of the annual “hate crime” figures published by the Scottish government. These seem to have been the trigger for recent claims about the continuing existence of widespread anti-Catholicism in Scotland. Concerns of attacks on Catholics, or Catholics being “targeted” on Scotland’s streets are alarming; in fact, unhelpfully alarmist. The focus of this alarm appears to be the fact that most offences aggravated by religious prejudice are anti-Catholic in nature despite Catholics being a relatively small minority in Scotland. Thus, the figures

²⁶ “Kirk ‘regret’ over bigotry,” *BBC News*, May 29, 2002.

²⁷ Michael Rosie served on that Group.

²⁸ Advisory Group On Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland (2013), *Independent Advice to Scottish Ministers and Report on Activity, 9 August 2012–15 November 2013*, 10.

²⁹ Advisory Group On Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland (2015), *Tackling Sectarianism and its Consequences in Scotland: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland—April 2015*, 8.

published in 2018 show that of 642 charges with a religious aggravation reported in the previous year, 319 (or 50 per cent) had Catholicism as “the subject of abuse.”³⁰ Since Catholics make up only around 15 per cent of the population this is seen as clearly disproportionate—and so some clerics, church officials and politicians are insisting something must be done to stop the “violence” and “attacks” against Scotland’s Catholics.

Yet the available statistics have consistently—since the introduction of religious aggravations in 2003—painted a somewhat different picture of the extent and character of religious hate crime in Scotland. Indeed (and ironically) the perception of widespread sectarianism has led to the annual publication of statistics relating to *religious* aggravations, but not to the others (race, sexual orientation, transgender identity and disability). We thus know substantially more about religious hate crime than its other forms, and what we know suggests a rather less sinister interpretation of the apparent “imbalance” in offending. Firstly, it should be noted that despite the attention they garner, religious aggravations are by no means the most common form of hate crime in Scotland. Racial aggravations remain, by far, the most common, and aggravations based on sexual orientation have been, over the last several years, the second most common. One other point should be noted to place this evidence in a broader context. In 2016–2017 almost 59,000 incidents of domestic abuse were recorded in Scotland, leading to over 35,000 criminal charges, 13,000 of which were physical assaults—with women overwhelmingly the victims.³¹ Those sensationalising sectarianism (in its general or specifically anti-Catholic forms) pay scant attention to these figures which outnumber so-called hate crimes against Catholics by something to the order of 110 to 1.

This, then, is what we know about religiously aggravated crime. Most such offences occur in Glasgow and the west of Scotland and the offenders are relatively young and overwhelmingly male. Many involve alcohol and/or drugs, and more than half of victims are police officers or someone else doing their job. In less than a third of cases is a member of the public the target of the offence—as frequently misbehaviour is directed towards the world at large. Most perpetrators do not know the religion of their victim,

³⁰ Scottish Government Justice Analytical Services (2018), *Religiously Aggravated Offending in Scotland, 2017–2018* (Scottish Government Publications).

³¹ Scottish Government (2017), *Domestic Abuse Recorded by the Police in Scotland, 2016–2017* (Edinburgh: Official Statistics Publication for Scotland).

and in many cases there is no identifiable victim. Tellingly, there are significant spikes in offending during the evening, particularly at weekends.

Claims of a recent increase in religious aggravations is entirely dubious—600–700 offences seem to have been the common range in recent years. The peak figure (900) came in 2011. Media attention on sectarian hate crime tends to headline “victims,” “targeting,” “violence,” “attacks.” However, relatively few such offences are physical assaults (5 per cent of the total in 2017–2018), with the overwhelming majority relating to threatening or abusive behaviour (78 per cent). In other words, the bulk of Scotland’s recorded religious offending crime is conducted on Friday and Saturday nights by young men, often drunk, in the urban west of Scotland. Offences are overwhelmingly anti-social, abusive and threatening, with the most common victims being police, bus drivers, bar staff, and the like. We have, then, a vivid picture of urban incivility, a reminder that rather too many Scots—and particularly young men—drink too much, fail to behave themselves and, when rebuked, respond aggressively with foul-mouthed abuse. Depressing certainly, but disproportionately anti-Catholic?

Most religious offending *is* “anti-Catholic” in nature. Yet the seeming disparity in the figures has a simple, alternative explanation which fits well with the broader picture of Scotland illustrated earlier in this chapter. Given the broad religious demography of the west of Scotland (where most reported offences occur) it would need only a roughly equal (and small) proportion of Catholics and Protestants to commit sectarian offences to produce a notable “imbalance” in offences.

To put this in simple terms: imagine a town where there are twice as many Protestants as Catholics. In this town each community has a tiny 0.01 per cent minority who indulge in religiously bigoted antisocial behaviour on an alcohol-fuelled Saturday night. In that town two-thirds of sectarian offences would inevitably be “anti-Catholic” in nature. This is not to say that in the real world Catholics and Protestants are indulging equally in sectarian hatred—we simply do not have the data to know—only that the underlying disparity in the numbers of Catholics and Protestants points towards a rather less sinister explanation than media coverage suggests.

Much changed in Scotland over the latter half of the twentieth century. Within this was a significant decline in the proportion of Scots willing (or able) to treat “the other side” improperly. Indeed, given the widespread incidence of intermarriage, the commonplace fact of mixed religions in

families and friendships, and rising numbers of Scots having *no* religious identity, the very idea of “the other side” is increasingly problematic. Knowing our history allows us to see how far we have come. Yet sectarianism is not simply about experiences—it is also about perceptions, anxieties, and family stories. And anxieties are being fuelled by the current siren calls around Catholic victimhood.

We have not tried in any way to suggest that anti-Catholicism is dead and gone in Scotland. The Scottish Reformation grew out of strident opposition to the old faith and for well over 300 years thereafter “anti-Popery” became one of the Kirk’s defining markers of identity. Such historic prejudices take a considerable time to fade. The old feelings can still resurface at Old Firm and other football matches, along the routes of Orange parades and elsewhere, as the incidents described in the introduction to this chapter have shown. These, though, are exceptional and unusual moments, not the stuff of daily routine. Such incidents are, however, overblown in lurid headlines by some Scottish newspapers. “Sectarianism,” it seems, sells. Perhaps that is inevitable in a competitive media market.

What, however, is neither inevitable nor acceptable is the spreading of alarm among the Catholic community on the basis of flawed understandings, or ignorance, of empirical evidence which has been the public domain for some years. Indeed, Scottish Catholics should perhaps be rejoicing in their recent achievements and secure place in the mainstream of Scottish society. The beast of anti-Catholicism may not be quite dead, but it is no longer as red in tooth and claw as it has been in past generations.

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Conclusion: Taking the Long View of Anti-Catholicism

John Wolffe

In 1826 Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington and soon to be Bishop of Calcutta, published an extended introduction to a new edition of William Wilberforce's *Practical View of the Religious Systems of Professed Christians*, that had originally appeared in 1797. In a few sentences Wilson summed up his anti-Catholic vision of past, present and future history:

At the era of the emperor Constantine, Christians looked up to see the empire first acknowledging the doctrine of Christ, and then taking possession of the nations. Again, at the period of the blessed Reformation, hope kindled at the threatened overthrow of Popery, and anticipated the conversion of mankind. But the time was not then come—centuries of darkness and conflict had to intervene ... “the Man of Sin” had not yet developed all his hideous deformity ... Now hope plumes her wings with more humble distrust of herself indeed, and yet with more confidence and joy, because the word of prophecy seems to correspond with the leadings and openings of

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Providence without to pronounce THAT THE TIME IS AT HAND. Every thing augurs the coming of our Lord.¹

Anti-Catholicism was particularly closely linked to eschatological expectation in the early nineteenth century. In the aftermath of the French Revolution and the initial growth of Protestant missions it indeed seemed possible to believe that “Popery” was collapsing and that the conversion of the world was imminent. Almost simultaneously, however, those of a more pessimistic temperament perceived signs of Catholic resurgence and of missionary discouragement as indicative of impending conflict and the premillennial advent of Christ.

The eschatological dimension of anti-Catholicism has ebbed and flowed in different periods and contexts, but it provides an appropriate starting point for this concluding chapter as a reminder that many anti-Catholics themselves viewed their struggle with Rome in the perspective of long-term history, indeed of eternity. Historical reference back to the Reformation was widespread in the nineteenth century, as were imagined futures, whether of utopian Protestant triumph or of dystopian Roman domination. From the perspective of the twenty-first-century historian, however, neither of these prospects were to become reality: rather the future was to lie in a complex mixture of sectarian persistence, uneasy ecumenism and a secularity that supplanted historic anti-Catholicism.

The earlier chapters in this book collectively provide a richly nuanced analysis of the complexities of anti-Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Taken together the authors demonstrate how misleading it can be retrospectively to impose a simplistic polarity between persecution and prejudice on the one hand and toleration and acceptance on the other. Hence they substantiate and elaborate the paradox identified by Alexandra Walsham in 2006 in the very title of her book, *Charitable Hatred*.² Carys Brown shows how in the seventeenth century hostility to the abstract “Papist” could quickly intrude on acceptance of the flesh and blood Catholic neighbour when specific incidents and tensions placed relationships under strain. Indeed, as Luc Borot shows, the very steps

¹William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians contrasted with Real Christianity with an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Daniel Wilson* (Glasgow: Collins, 1826), lxvii.

²Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

taken by Catholics to mitigate the consequences of religious discrimination and political marginalisation were perceived by Protestants as provocative and grounds for further repression. In the eighteenth century anti-Catholicism became something of a subterranean presence, pervasive but not conspicuous in the “polite” discourse of Joseph Addison analysed by Claire Boulard Jouslin, but as Marc Martinez and Clotilde Prunier both demonstrate, coming to sudden prominence in the crisis of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.

Factors stimulating anti-Catholicism were very diverse. For Lucy Hutchinson, as described by Claire Gheeraert-Graffeulle, the religious policies of the early Stuarts were key, but Christopher Hamel argues that at a slightly later period John Milton and Algernon Sidney adopted anti-Catholic positions for essentially political rather than religious reasons. Sandrine Parageau highlights perceptions of Catholic ignorance, while James Ward explores how in early-eighteenth-century Ireland anti-Catholicism was intertwined with discourse about slavery. Laurence Sterritt dwells on the titillating appeal of insinuations regarding illicit sexual liaisons between priests and nuns as a means of engaging readers’ interest in a more generalised anti-Catholic polemic.

Anti-Catholicism also exposed divisions and diversities within Protestantism. When writing about the Civil War and Interregnum Lucy Hutchinson transferred her hostility from Catholics to Puritans, perceiving similar characteristics of intransigence and dogmatism. Protestant clergy not only denounced Catholic ignorance but were also concerned about the religious ignorance of their own flocks which exposed the imperfect assimilation of Reformation teachings and made them easy prey to Catholic proselytism. In her discussion of eighteenth-century Scotland, Prunier makes a careful distinction between the entrenched anti-Catholicism of evangelical Presbyterians and the more tolerant attitudes of their more liberal co-religionists and of the British State.

In contrast to the pervasiveness of anti-Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chapters by Alan Ford, Karine Bigand, T.M. Devine and Michael Rosie convey an impression of a movement in the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries that was much narrower in scope and less assured of its own legitimacy, even in its heartlands of central Scotland and the north of Ireland. In his case study of William Shaw Kerr, Ford shows how this episcopal anti-Catholic polemicist became something of an anachronism in his own lifetime, even in the relatively hospitable religious environment of the Church of Ireland. Bigand

explores how the present-day Orange Order is seeking through its museums to present a public image that plays down its anti-Catholic character in favour of emphasising its historical and cultural significance. Devine and Rosie argue that in Scotland anti-Catholicism has now become marginal, despite sectarian resurgence in the interwar period and present-day anxieties about its residual persistence.

What then had happened since the eighteenth century? For an initial insight into long term trajectories we can turn to a splendidly ironic passage written in 1907 by the English literary critic Edmund Gosse, who judged anti-Catholicism to be in decline in the Edwardian period, but highlighted its intensity in his childhood in the 1850s:

In later years, I have met with stout Protestants, gallant “Down-with-the-Pope” men from County Antrim, and ladies who see the hand of the Jesuits in every public and private misfortune. It is the habit of a loose and indifferent age to consider this dwindling band of enthusiasts with suspicion, and to regard their attitude towards Rome as illiberal. But my own feeling is that their denunciations err on the side of the anodyne. I have no longer the slightest wish myself to denounce the Roman communion, but, if it is to be done, I have an idea that the latter-day Protestants do not know how to do it ... Not thus did we approach the Scarlet Woman in the fifties. We palliated nothing, we believed in no good intentions, we used ... language of the seventeenth century such as is now no longer introduced into any species of controversy.³

Gosse’s experience was extreme insofar as his father held particularly hard-line views but it was nevertheless indicative of a notable upsurge of anti-Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century. If we are properly to appreciate the transition of anti-Catholicism from its early-eighteenth-century cultural currency to its late-twentieth-century relative marginality, this intervening era needs to be explored. An implicit narrative that sees anti-Catholicism in linear decline due to the rationalising and liberalising impact of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment does not account for the reality of the nineteenth-century resurgence.⁴

³Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970; first published 1907), 66.

⁴For my own previous thinking on the *longue durée* of anti-Catholicism, see my publications cited previously, Chap. 1, footnotes 1 and 5; also John Wolffe, “Change and Continuity in British Anti-Catholicism, 1829–1982,” in *Catholicism in Britain and France since 1789*, ed. Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin (London: Hambledon, 1996), 67–83.

Martin Mitchell's chapter on nineteenth-century Scotland highlights the impact of Irish migration, which was also a major factor stimulating anti-Catholicism south of the Border. However, a rounded understanding of the period requires investigation of other cultural, political and religious factors. An extensive secondary literature documents the persistence of many of the dimensions of anti-Catholicism present in the early modern era.⁵ While, on the face of it, fears of Catholics as potential political subversives were less plausible in the nineteenth than in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they gained credibility from perceived linkages to Irish nationalist unrest. Catholics lacked a Henrietta Maria or a James II to advance their cause but their increasing numbers on the ground engendered a sense that Protestantism was being challenged to an extent not seen since the seventeenth century. Catholics, especially Irish ones, were widely characterised as ignorant, in thrall to the obscurantism and manipulation of their priests. Anti-Catholicism also continued to give a cloak of Protestant virtue to a semi-pornographic interest in the supposed activities of promiscuous nuns and lecherous priests. Thus in the nineteenth century, as in earlier periods, anti-Catholicism was a highly diverse and complex phenomenon, with a spectrum ranging from the polite rational distaste of liberal elites, through the intense theologically driven antipathy of evangelical clergy and their flocks, to the riotous antagonisms of crowds provoked by local communal rivalries or by itinerant Protestant agitators, for example, William Murphy in the 1860s.

⁵ Nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism began to receive substantial scholarly attention in the 1960s. G.F.A. Best, "Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain," in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain*, ed. R. Robson (London: Bell, 1967), 115–142 and E.R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968) are accessible introductions. W.L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1982) concentrates particularly on the campaign against convents and the Murphy Riots of the 1860s. John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) and D.G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992) focus respectively on the political and organisational, and popular dimensions. Significant local studies include Frank Neal, *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience, 1819–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), Jonathan Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845–1870* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013) and Mark Doyle, *Fighting Like the Devil for the Sake of God: Protestants, Catholics and the Origins of Violence in Victorian Belfast* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). For Scotland see the references in Chap. 13.

Nevertheless, despite significant continuities, the half-century following the Gordon Riots in 1780 saw noteworthy changes in the nature of British anti-Catholicism. The Gordon Riots themselves were a factor here, as alarmed disgust at their extreme violence appears to have alienated more moderate sympathisers with anti-Catholicism.⁶ Then in 1789 the French Revolution broke out. Its consequence for anti-Catholicism was to modify an image of an all-powerful Catholic Church and papacy to one of a vulnerable and even failing institution: Pius VI's pathetic death in 1799 as a prisoner of the French was a far cry from Pius V's excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth I in 1570. French refugee priests in England were welcomed as victims of persecution.⁷ Although the Catholic Church's fortunes revived in France after 1815 under the Bourbon restoration, its alliance with absolutism was now weakened and presented much less of a credible political threat to Britain than it had in the days of Louis XIV.

A second major change in the half-century after 1780 was a consequence of the rapid growth of Protestant Nonconformity during that period. With the Church of England's numerical dominance under challenge, especially in the north, pressure for disestablishment or at least for significant curtailment of its privileged status grew. In this context, to a much greater extent than in the early modern era, anti-Catholicism became intertwined with divisions between Protestants. At one and the same time the establishment of the Church of England was defended as the essential bastion of national Protestantism and attacked as a residue of "Popery." This polemic gained greater credibility from the 1830s onwards in the light of the pro-Catholic tendencies of the Oxford Movement.

In order further to understand the nature of nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism in the longer-term context of this book, it is useful to focus on the implications of three pivotal events, the Union of the British and Irish Parliaments (1800), Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales (1850). As we shall see, all three of these events gave increased prominence and influence to Roman Catholicism, but in so doing gave rise to significant anti-Catholic reaction.

The increased prominence of the Irish dimension in nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism was a consequence of constitutional change as well as of migration. The Union of 1800 established direct political connection

⁶Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 13–14.

⁷Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 15–16.

between Britain and Ireland, with Ireland's Catholic majority and increasingly embattled Protestant minority shaping new dynamics in anti-Catholicism across the United Kingdom as a whole. The Act of Union not only merged the two parliaments but also merged the two Anglican churches as "the United Church of England and Ireland." Hence Irish issues, with their frequent anti-Catholic connotations, became part of the staple of debate at Westminster, while English members of the "United Church" became more concerned about the vulnerability of their Irish co-religionists and supportive of endeavours to challenge Catholic numerical dominance in much of Ireland.

Herein lay the origins of the movement termed the "Second Reformation" in which Irish Anglicans with active support from England sought to proselytise among the Catholic population.⁸ It was also stimulated by the wider missionary zeal arising from the advance of Anglican evangelicalism since the mid-eighteenth century. In its initial stages the movement promoted education and the circulation of the Bible as indirect means to secure conversions, but with the formation of the Irish Society (1818), the Scripture Readers' Society (1822) and the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation (1827) evangelistic agendas became more explicit. This was also the thrust of an 1822 Charge by William Magee, the Archbishop of Dublin, who directly confronted the Catholic Church, describing its adherents as "blindly enslaved to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority."⁹ The campaign only had very limited successes, notably on the County Cavan estates of Lord Farnham, and at the settlement on Achill Island in County Mayo established by Edward Nangle in the mid-1830s. Such efforts were nevertheless continued by the Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics, which began operations in 1849.

The significance of such activities for our purposes lies, however, not in the small number of actual conversions to Protestantism, but in their polarising impact on Catholic-Protestant relations in Ireland and hence on perceptions of Irish Catholicism in Britain. The Roman Catholic Church responded with unexpected vigour, denouncing Protestant endeavours,

⁸ See Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800–1870* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1978) and Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: The "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Catholic-Protestant Relations 1800–1840* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005).

⁹ Quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade in Ireland*, 89.

and alleging that conversions were secured by coercive landlords or by “souperism,” provision of material assistance especially in the aftermath of the Great Famine of the 1840s.¹⁰ From an anti-Catholic perspective, however, such charges were merely confirmatory evidence of the mendacity of the Roman hierarchy, while the fundraising literature generated by the “Second Reformation” campaign highlighted portrayals of the ignorance of the Catholic poor and of the oppressive control of the priests.

In the 1820s, Catholic religious resistance to the “Second Reformation” became intertwined with their campaign for political equality. This culminated with the passing of Emancipation in 1829, which by admitting Catholics to Parliament further significantly changed the dynamics of anti-Catholicism. For its advocates Catholic Emancipation was an overdue advance in toleration, removing an outdated barrier to political participation for a religious group no longer perceived as dangerous subversives; for its opponents it was a constitutional disaster, because it undermined a fundamental aspect of the 1688–1689 settlement. Consequently, Emancipation was followed by an anti-Catholic backlash, as those whose concerns had previously been met by the perceived security of the “Protestant constitution” now felt that they had to become more assertive. Their concerns were reinforced by the political influence of the Irish Catholic MPs, led by Daniel O’Connell, on the Whig governments of the 1830s. Evangelical theological concerns were also influential, both hostility to Catholicism as spiritually corrupting in the present and an expectation that it would fall under divine judgement in the future.

The outcome of these anxieties was the formation during the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s of a succession of anti-Catholic societies, which collectively promoted extensive propaganda and activity at both local and national levels. The extent of such organised anti-Catholicism was a novel feature of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Arguably it was a symptom of long-term decline, insofar as organisation of this kind would have seemed unnecessary in earlier periods when anti-Catholicism was a cultural and political consensus, but it nevertheless ensured the widespread currency of anti-Catholic attitudes of the kind Edmund Gosse was to recall in 1907.

¹⁰ Miriam Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara 1848–1937* (Dublin: Nonsuch, 2008).

¹¹ For further details of the and other mid-nineteenth-century developments summarised in this chapter, see Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*.

Then in 1850 Pius IX restored a Roman Catholic territorial episcopal hierarchy in England and Wales, replacing the previous system of missionary vicars apostolic. Like Emancipation twenty years before, this development had a double-edged significance. The perception in Rome that the appointment of the new Catholic bishops was both timely and acceptable to the British government was indicative of a climate of growing toleration. On the other hand, as in 1829, a strong anti-Catholic backlash strikingly demonstrated the limits of this toleration. The reaction against the new hierarchy was initially led by the prime minister, Lord John Russell. In the famous Durham Letter he denounced:

an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome; a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times.¹²

Russell's indignation had an obvious political edge, in that he needed to pre-empt attacks from the Tory opposition, which had good grounds for arguing that Russell's own attempts in the late 1840s to establish diplomatic relations with the Papacy had encouraged Pius to think there would be little or no objection to the new bishops. Hence the Durham Letter should be read not as an expression of engrained prejudice, but rather as the passing frustration of an outraged liberal, who realised he had been wrong-footed by the Pope.¹³

Nevertheless, Russell's words encapsulated the wider mood of the nation, and initiated a wave of public meetings and addresses to parliament, urging action against the new bishops. The central objections were that the Pope's action was an unacceptable infringement of British sovereignty, and the rival hierarchy a direct challenge to the national status of the Church of England. The protests pressured parliament into passing the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851, which made the new titles illegal. However, it was never enforced, a telling indication of the transient nature of nineteenth-century anti-Catholic outbursts.

These events need to be understood in the context of their time, but they also resonate across the centuries, for example, back to the papal

¹² Quoted in Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 159–160.

¹³ Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 243–244.

deposition of Elizabeth I in 1570 and forward to the travails of British (and especially Ulster Protestant) relations with the European Union. The rhetoric was infused with frequent reference to the Reformation but understanding and articulation of its actual teachings and historical context was limited.

Two further relatively novel aspects of anti-Catholicism came increasingly to the fore in the late nineteenth century. First as the influence of the Oxford Movement spread within the Church of England and gave rise to ritual expressions of Anglo-Catholic theology, there was staunch resistance to this perceived Romeward trend. This opposition was spearheaded by the Church Association, formed in 1865, and pursued through attempts to enforce the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1875, which established a process for the prosecution of ritualist clergy.¹⁴ In 1889 John Kensit founded the Protestant Truth Society, which brought renewed impetus and militancy to the anti-ritualist campaign, as well as promoting wider anti-Catholicism.

Second, the growth of imperial consciousness in the late Victorian period had a noticeable anti-Catholic dimension. Anti-Catholicism was already well established in the settler colonies, especially in the Canadian Maritimes, Ontario, New South Wales and Victoria, where it had developed in parallel with the growing presence of the Roman Catholic Church itself. In the late 1890s, the anti-Catholic organiser, Walter Walsh, established the Imperial Protestant Federation as an umbrella to link together these geographically widely dispersed networks. It had a short but influential history, notably following the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 in initially successful resistance to revision of the anti-Catholic language of the sovereign's Accession Declaration.¹⁵

In a long-term perspective the superficial vigour of late nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism obscures how much had changed since the

¹⁴For the Anglo-Catholic movement see John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Anglo-Catholicism* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996) and for reaction to it James Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Attempt to Legislate for Belief* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) and Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals Embattled: The Responses of Evangelicals in the Church of England to Ritualism, Darwinism and Theological Liberalism 1890–1930* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003).

¹⁵John Wolffe, "Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815–1914," in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 43–63. The imperial dimension of anti-Catholicism is also the subject of a forthcoming book by Geraldine Vaughan.

mid-eighteenth century. Whereas in the Hanoverian era anti-Catholicism had been close to a cultural and political consensus, by the time Queen Victoria died it was, except in the sectarian communities of north-west England, Scotland and Ulster, largely the preserve of vociferous pressure groups and their supporters. This trend should not be overstated: popular November 5 celebrations with anti-Catholic overtones long persisted especially in south-east England, while at a more elite level in the 1920s an Anglican clergyman was relieved that his daughter was marrying an atheist rather than a Roman Catholic.¹⁶ On the other hand, the manifest loyalty and patriotism of English Roman Catholics in the First World War contributed to a further weakening of residual prejudices, while the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, imperfect though it was, removed Ireland and its religious divisions from the regular business of the Westminster parliament.

The most significant manifestations of anti-Catholicism in the twentieth century were indeed of a localised kind, on Merseyside and in Scotland and Northern Ireland, for example, in the interwar activities of the Protestant Action and the Scottish Protestant League, and in Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church and Democratic Unionist Party during the Troubles of 1969 to 1998. Elsewhere from the 1960s onwards the advance of secularisation was a general solvent of historic religious antagonisms. Meanwhile, although the changes initiated by the Second Vatican Council hardly constituted the millennial overthrow of "Popery" that Daniel Wilson had anticipated back in 1826, they mitigated suspicion of Roman Catholicism even among previously robustly Protestant evangelicals. Hence when Pope John Paul II visited Britain in 1982, an event that would have been unimaginable a century earlier, there was very little objection or protest of any kind.

Still, it would be premature to write the obituary of anti-Catholicism. Although traditional kinds of Protestant hostility to Rome were marginalised by the late twentieth century, they did not wholly disappear. At time of writing organisations such as the Scottish Reformation Society (founded 1850), the Protestant Alliance (founded 1851) and the Protestant Truth Society (founded 1889) continue in existence with an active web presence. Their operations are, however, small in scale and the historical continuity they offer extends to the Victorian era but not to earlier periods. In recent

¹⁶ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920–1985* (London: Collins, 1987), 226. The bridegroom in question was the classical scholar E.R. Dodds, who was marrying Annie Edwards Powell, daughter of Canon Astell Drayner Powell.

years the more conspicuous manifestations of anti-Catholicism have been secular rather than Protestant in inspiration, motivated by disgust at revelations of clerical sex abuse, and opposition to the Vatican's stance on issues such as contraception, abortion and gay rights. When Benedict XVI visited Britain in 2010 there was a substantial "Protest the Pope" rally in central London, attended by many thousands of people and addressed by speakers including the prominent atheist scientist Richard Dawkins, the human rights lawyer Geoffrey Robertson and the gay activist Peter Tatchell.¹⁷

The threads of association between Lucy Hutchinson, Joseph Addison, Jonathan Swift, Lord John Russell, William Shaw Kerr and Richard Dawkins, to name just a few of those whose anti-Catholic sentiments have featured in this book, may sometimes seem tenuous. However, in tracing them across the space of four centuries we have explored something of the complexity and chameleon-like subtleties of British and Irish anti-Catholicism. Like Islamophobia in contemporary Britain, it was an attitude that could sometimes pass "the dinner table test,"¹⁸ but could also prompt raw violence and what would nowadays be called "hate crime." Its very diversity and fluidity render it an important indicator of wider processes of cultural, political and religious change and of national and communal identity formation.

¹⁷"Papal visit: Thousands protest against Pope in London," <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11355258> (accessed January 31, 2020).

¹⁸David Batty, "Lady Warsi Claims Islamophobia is Now Socially Acceptable in Britain," <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/jan/20/lady-warsi-islamophobia-muslims-prejudice> (accessed January 31, 2020).

NAME INDEX¹

A

Abelard, Peter, 102
Addison, Joseph, 13, 163–178,
291, 300
Albert the Great, Albertus
Magnus, 103
Almain, Jacob, 112
Aquinas, Thomas, 103

B

Bacon, Francis, 76, 100
Baker, Dom Augustine, 28, 29
Baxter, John, 149
Begg, James, 224
Bell, Thomas, 149
Benedict XVI, Pope (Ratzinger,
Joseph), 14, 300
Beza, Theodore, 112
Boreman, Robert, 94, 99

Buchanan, George, 112, 118, 121n55
Buckley, Dom Sigebert, 28
Burnet, Gilbert, 167, 167n12
Burton, Henry, 104–106

C

Calvin, John, 44, 79
Calvinism (Calvinist/Geneva),
111–113, 115, 123, 132,
135, 137
Caplain, John, 226
Casaubon, Meric, 101, 102
Chalmers, Thomas (Rev.),
222, 233
Charles I, 9, 24, 30, 75, 79, 81, 109,
111, 114, 145n1
Cholmley, Hugh, 104–107
Cibber, Colley, 183–185, 187,
188, 196

¹ Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to notes.

Cromwell, Oliver (The Protector),
30, 89, 268
Crozier, John Baptist, 242

D

Daneau, Lambert, 112
Daudet, Alphonse, 135
Davey, Noel, 246–250
Dawkins, Richard, 300
Dennis, John, 192
Descartes, René, 101, 102
Diderot, Denis, 160
Digby, Kenelm, 30, 32, 32n36

E

Elizabeth I, 4, 98, 145n1, 153, 294
 papal deposition of Elizabeth
 (1570), 17, 298

F

Farquhar, George, 192, 199,
 209–211, 214
Fawkes, Guy, 193, 248
Feller, François-Xavier de, 178
Fielding, Henry, 186–190
Filmer, Robert, 116, 119, 119n47,
 120, 122, 123
Finlay, Kirkman, 223, 233
Fleetwood, William (bishop), 61, 62
Ford, John, 190, 191
Foxye, John, 9, 34, 159
 Acts and Monuments, 9, 159

G

Garnet, Henry (Father), 25, 34, 167
Garrick, David, 183
Gavazzi, Alessandro, 225
Gearing, William, 98

Geddes, John, 43, 45, 48–50
George V, 229
Goodman, Christopher, 112, 183,
 183n9, 186, 188–190, 193
Gordon of Glastirum, James, 40, 43
Gosse, Edmund, 292, 296
Grant, Robert, 48
Griffin, Benjamin, 190
Guizot, François, 136

H

Hall, Joseph, 104–106
Hanson, Richard (bishop), 253
Hay, George (bishop), 40,
 46–52, 51n43
Henrietta Maria, 81, 82, 84, 293
Henry III (France), 112
Henry IV (France), 81, 112
Henry VIII (England), 10, 26, 76–79
 Henrician Reformation, 9, 78,
 78n9, 79
Herbert, Thomas, 147–150, 147n6,
 153, 155–159
Herriot, Edouard, 135
Hilton, Thomas, 28
Hobbes, Thomas, 21–23
Hope, John, 225
Hutchinson, Lucy, 10, 75–90,
 291, 300

J

James VI of Scotland; James I of
 England, 32, 79, 80, 112,
 113, 150
James VII of Scotland; James II of
 England, 9, 24, 30, 35, 110, 164,
 166, 168, 189, 200, 205–207,
 211, 212, 214, 255, 262, 266,
 267, 293
John Paul II, Pope, 299

K

- Kensit, John, 298
 Kerr, William S. (Bishop), 16,
 237–253, 291, 300
 King, William (Archbishop/Archbishop
 King), 199, 201, 203, 205–207,
 213, 214
 Knox, John, 44, 45, 112, 118

L

- L'Estrange, Roger, 114
 Langton, Stephen (Archbishop), 102
 Lassells, Richard, 167, 167n12
 Laud, William (Laudian), 8, 82, 110
 Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, 11,
 128–131, 133, 135–138,
 140, 141
 Locke, John, 115, 119, 123, 210
 Lorulot, André, 135
 Louis XIV (France), 30, 132, 205,
 267, 294
 Luther, Martin, 82, 266

M

- MacDonald of Boisdale, Colin, 48
 MacDonald of Glenaladale, John, 40,
 42, 47, 48
 MacDonald, Hugh (Bishop), 41
 Machiavelli, 25
 Macklin, Charles, 191, 191n28, 192
 MacNeice, Frederick, 240, 250
 MacRory, Joseph (Archbishop), 243,
 244, 253
 Magee, William, 295
 Mariana, Juan, 112
 Mary I (Mary Tudor/Bloody Mary),
 5, 8, 28, 43, 95, 189
 Mary of Modena, 168
 Mary Stuart, 79, 82
 Middleton, Conyers, 178

- Milton, John, 10, 87,
 109–124, 291
 Molesworth, Viscount
 Robert, 199, 203, 205, 207–209,
 211, 214
 Molière, 187, 187n21, 188
 Molyneux, William, 203, 204
 More, Dame Gertrude, 28
 Muir, John, 231
 Murphy, William, 293

N

- Newman, Henry (Cardinal
 Newman), 69
 Norwich, Julian of, 28

O

- O'Connell, Daniel, 223,
 224, 296
 Oates, Titus, 34, 114
 Orr, John Sayers, 225
 Owen, David, 112–116, 119
 Owen, Nicholas (Brother), 25

P

- Padua, Marsilius of, 112
 Paisley, Ian (Rev), 14, 220, 232, 233,
 261, 299
 Paris, John of, 112
 Patrick, Saint, 242–244
 Peckham, John (Archbishop), 95, 96
 Pemble, William, 98, 99, 99n19,
 103, 104
 Persons, Robert (Fr.), 31, 34
 Pius IX, Pope, 297
 Pius V, Pope, 294
 Pius VI, 294
 Pope, Alexander, 196
 Primmer, Jacob, 225, 226

R

Rabelais, François, 96
 Reid, William, 40–42, 40n6, 50
 Rémond, René, 140
 Rich, Barnabe, 22, 23
 Robertson, William, 45, 50
 Robinson, Thomas, 147–159
 Rolle, Richard, 28
 Rowe, Nicolas, 189
 Russell, John (Lord), 297, 300

S

Salmon, George, 239, 245, 246,
 248, 252
 Scott, Walter, 223
 Shakespeare, William, 185, 186,
 190, 193
 Sidney, Algernon, 10, 109–124, 291
 Smith, Alexander (Bishop), 40n6, 44,
 47, 47n31, 49, 49n35
 Smith, Elaine (MSP), 274
 Stevenson, Edward, 261, 264
 Stokes, George, 238, 239, 248
 Stuart, Charles Edward (Bonnie Prince
 Charlie/the Pretender), 172, 182,
 182n5, 190, 191, 194, 195,
 214, 275
 Sutcliffe, Matthew, 94–97
 Swift, Jonathan, 165, 199, 201,
 203–206, 208, 211–215, 300

T

Thiebaud, Georges, 137

U

Ussher, James (Bishop),
 238, 239, 243,
 246, 252

V

Vaux, Anne, 28n20, 34

W

Wadsworth, James, 147
 Walsh, Walter, 298
 Ward, Mary, 29, 34, 146, 147,
 147n7
 Watts, John Jacob, 30
 White, Thomas, 31, 32
 Wilberforce, William, 289
 William and Mary
 (William III and Mary II),
 110, 187
 William III, 164, 175n38, 255,
 262, 266
 Wilson, Daniel (Bishop
 of Calcutta),
 289, 299
 Wilson, John, 26

SUBJECT INDEX¹

A

- Absolute monarchy, 8, 117
Absolutism (absolutist/absolute), 11, 35, 137, 168, 205–209, 211, 246, 294
Abuses (clerical), 300
Act of Settlement (1701, Settlement Act), 164
Act of Supremacy (1558), 167
Act of Toleration (1689, Toleration Act), 175
Allegiance (Oath of), 32, 62, 67, 145n1, 187
Anti-Catholicism (anti-Catholic/anti-Popery/anti-Popish/anti-Papist), 2, 11–17, 21–35, 38, 55–71, 75–90, 94, 110, 127, 145–160, 163–178, 181, 199–215, 219–234, 255, 257–261, 273–286, 289
Anti-Catholic societies
 Church Association, 298
 Imperial Protestant Federation, 298
 Protestant Truth Society, 298, 299
Anticlericalism
 (anticlerical), 4, 11, 127–142, 160
Anti-Protestantism (anti-Protestant), 5, 11, 127–142, 164
Anti-Puritanism (anti-Puritan), 10, 76, 77, 86–90
Antisemitism (antisemitic), 128
Appellants (The), 31, 32
Armada (Spanish Armada), 9, 145
Arminianism (Arminian), 80, 104
Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge (APCK/A.P.C.K.), 248, 252

¹Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to notes.

B

- Barbarism (barbarity), 51, 206
 Benedictine order
 (Benedictines), 28, 45
 Boyne (Battle of the), 200,
 255, 265–267

C

- Calas affair, 51n43, 52
 Calvinism (Calvinist/Geneva),
 111–113, 115, 123, 132,
 135, 137
 Capitalism (capitalist), 138
 Catholic Emancipation, 3, 5,
 222–223, 296–297
 Charitable hatred, 6
 Church of England (Established
 Church/Anglican Church/
 Anglican), 6, 16, 32, 33, 61, 65,
 70, 78–80, 83, 94, 95, 98, 99,
 107n45, 114, 172, 174,
 176–178, 187, 188, 190, 195,
 201, 203, 212, 246, 248, 250,
 251, 294, 295, 297–299
 Anglicanism (Anglican), 32, 80, 83,
 114, 165, 167, 168, 172,
 173n33, 174, 176–178, 201,
 203, 246, 248, 295, 299
 Church of Ireland (Irish Church/
 Episcopal Church/Episcopalian),
 16, 38, 237–253, 257, 260, 291
 Church of Rome (Roman Catholic
 Church/Rome/Vatican/Papal
 States), 13, 16, 17, 25, 30–32,
 34, 49, 78, 80–82, 94, 97–100,
 104, 105, 122, 123, 132, 150,
 167, 168, 176, 185, 188, 194,
 195, 224, 225, 238, 239, 243,
 245, 249, 250, 258, 290, 292,
 297, 299
 Church of Scotland (Kirk/
 Presbyterian), 7, 38–48, 50,

- 87–89, 118, 219, 223–225, 231,
 232, 234, 257, 260, 275, 277,
 279–281, 283, 286, 291
 Church Papists (Church Papistry),
 6, 27, 32
 Civil War (English), 8, 10, 23, 29, 32,
 75–83, 85, 88, 89, 110, 113,
 170, 291
 Clandestine (clandestinity/
 underground), 7, 21, 23, 26, 27,
 33, 188, 192
 Clericalism (clerical guidance), 87,
 140, 141, 151
 Coexistence (interconfessional
 relations/interreligious
 cohabitation), 6, 7, 55–58,
 63, 69–71
 Confession of Faith (1560
 Scotland), 39
 Confessor (confession/
 confessional), 10, 22, 28,
 30, 33, 34, 111, 151, 152, 154,
 156, 160, 187, 190, 200,
 243, 275
 Conspiracy (conspiracies), 33, 34, 80,
 188, 277
 Convents (monasteries/religious
 houses/nunneries/nuns), 12, 13,
 15, 24, 29, 30, 33, 145–160,
 167, 178, 291, 293
 Council of Trent (Trent), 105
 Credulity (credulous), 94, 101, 102
 Culloden (battle of, 1746), 7, 39,
 41, 45, 192

D

- Declaratory Act of 1719, Ireland (the
 1719 act), 203, 205
 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP),
 260, 261, 299
 Despotic (despotick/despotism),
 199, 206

Dissenters (Dissenting Protestants/
Dissent), 61, 101, 174, 175n37,
176, 201, 212, 266
Divine right theory, 117

E

Easter Rising (1916), 277
Ecumenism (ecumenical), 16, 247,
253, 259, 278, 283, 290
Edict of Nantes, 43, 164
Education (schools\educational
opportunities), 3, 21, 22, 29, 34,
38, 100, 116, 120, 138, 139,
210, 223, 225, 227, 228, 233,
242, 263, 265, 266, 275, 277,
278, 281, 283, 295
school boards, 227–229
Emigration, Scottish, 48, 234
Eschatology (eschatological),
17, 82, 290
Evangelicalism (evangelical), 50, 246,
247, 250, 251, 291, 293, 295,
296, 299
Exclusion crisis (1679), 148

F

Free Church of Scotland (Free
Kirk), 224
French Revolution (The), 131, 132,
136, 137, 146, 290, 294

G

Glorious Revolution (The), 9,
13, 30, 37, 38, 148, 164, 170,
175, 265
Good Friday Agreement (GFA),
258, 261
Gordon Riots (1780), 7, 14, 294
Gunpowder Plot (1605), 9, 22, 32,
80, 112, 145, 148, 153, 167

H

Hate crimes, 273, 274, 283–285, 300
Home Rule, 240, 241, 255, 265
Huguenots, 52, 115, 167n11

I

Idolatry, 22, 94, 99n19, 106, 158,
173, 231
Ignorance, 5, 10, 93–107, 131, 158,
167, 286, 291, 296
Immigration, 14, 142, 220, 231, 232,
276, 277
Irish immigration (Irish
immigrants/Irish immigrant
presence), 14, 37, 219, 220,
222, 230
Indulgences, 44, 245
Inquisition, 43, 46, 47, 168, 245, 246
Intermarriage (mixed marriages), 80,
81, 281, 282, 285
Interregnum (1649–1660), 27, 29,
32, 76, 83
Intolerance
discrimination, 33, 131, 256, 266,
278, 279, 281, 291
Irish emigration, 233, 234
Irish Rebellion, 1641 (Irish rising/Irish
Catholic rising), 148, 153
Irish Republican Army (IRA), 259, 266
Islamophobia, 17, 141n23, 142, 300

J

Jacobitism (Jacobites)
Jacobite risings (Jacobite Rebellion),
58, 61, 169, 181–196, 291
Jesuits (Society of Jesus), 10, 23, 25,
27, 28n20, 29–32, 34, 39n3, 61,
81, 94, 98–102, 109–124, 145,
147, 147n6, 147n7, 154, 155,
158, 167, 178, 186–188, 292
Jesuit political thinking, 112

Jews (Judaism/Semites), 132, 133,
136, 137, 139, 140, 154
crypto-Jews, 154

L

Laity (Catholic), 27, 31, 93–96,
97n13, 99, 227

Latitudinarianism
(Latitudinarian), 164
Liturgy (liturgies), 27, 97

M

Memory studies, 13
Millenarianism (millenarian), 90
Miracles, 167
Mission
Catholic (missionaries/
missionary), 135
Protestant (missionaries/missionary/
Anti-Popery Mission), 232, 290
Moderation (Moderates), 13, 49,
49n35, 50, 76, 115, 137, 164,
165, 174–177, 175n37, 261, 294

N

Natural rights (natural law/law of
nature), 121–123
Nicodemism, 27
Northern Ireland (Ulster), 17,
240–242, 252, 255–271,
298, 299

O

Oath of Allegiance, 32, 62, 67,
145n1, 187
Obedience, 25, 113, 119, 151, 152
Orange Order (Orangemen)
Orangeism, 16, 222, 228, 231, 253,
256, 260, 262–265,
267–269, 292

Orange lodges (lodges), 241, 249,
258, 260, 264, 265, 267
Orange marches (Orange parades),
256, 260, 269, 270, 273, 286
Oxford movement (Ritualism/
Ritualist), 294, 298

P

Papal infallibility, 31
Parliament (Scottish), 38–40, 275
Peace process (Northern
Ireland), 16, 261
Penal laws (Anti-Catholic laws)
England, 51
Ireland, 3n6, 175n38
repeal, 7, 39, 42–45, 50
Scotland, 38–40, 43, 46
Pilgrimage, 26n15, 27
Politeness, 13, 163–178
Poor Clares (Gravelines), 155
Poor relief (Poor Law), 228,
234, 275–277
Pope (the) (Anti-Christ/Beast of
Babylon), 3, 13, 22, 38, 78, 80,
94, 96, 97, 99, 119, 132, 153,
155–160, 166, 168, 173, 176,
181, 185, 191, 194, 224, 267,
275, 297, 299
Popish Plot (1678), 9, 22, 23,
34, 81, 148
Purgatory, 31, 158, 190, 242, 245
Puritanism, 88

Q

Quietism, 29

R

Race, 130, 132, 136, 137, 230,
276, 284
racial prejudice (ethnic/racism/
racist), 3

Recusancy (recusants), 6, 28, 29,
31–33, 49, 146, 148, 154, 170
recusant networks, 145
Reformation of manners, 165
Relics (reliquaries), 152, 153, 158
Relief Act, Scotland (Relief Bill for
Scottish Catholics, 1779), 39, 50
Restoration of Catholic hierarchy, 14,
17, 225, 226, 294

S

Sacramental Test Act (1704)
(Ireland), 201
St. Bartholomew massacre (St.
Bartholomew's Day
Massacres), 83, 115
Saints (Catholic), 26, 27, 47, 172, 185
Cult of Saints (saints), 26, 27, 47,
172, 185
Virgin Mary, 29, 242, 245
Salvation, 94, 102–107, 131, 244
Scholasticism (scholastic), 10, 103,
104, 115, 116, 121, 122
Scottish Enlightenment, 50
Second Reformation, 295, 296
Second Vatican Council, 248, 299
Sectarianism (bigotry/sectarian), 7,
16, 16n43, 17, 37, 51, 89, 215,
226–228, 241, 255, 256, 263,
268, 271, 273, 274, 277–279,
282–286, 290, 292, 299
Secularization (secular/secularism), 3,
10, 14, 15, 17, 30–32, 78, 118,
139, 204, 213, 241, 249, 260,
275, 278, 299, 300
secularist societies, 14
Slavery (slaves/servitude/
enslavement/servile), 110, 124,
151, 184, 199–215, 241, 291
Slave trade (trade in slaves), 211–215
Society for the Propagation of
Christian Knowledge
(SPCK/S.P.C.K.), 246, 247, 253

Spanish Match (The), 13, 80,
148, 159
Spies, Catholic (spying), 29, 33, 85
Superstition, 5, 22, 79, 94, 99n19,
100, 117, 187, 231, 249

T

Toleration (tolerate,
tolerance), 13, 23, 33, 43, 44, 50,
55, 61, 112n12, 117, 164, 174,
177, 178, 249, 262, 290,
296, 297
Transsubstantiation
(transubstantiation), 31, 245
Treason (Treachery/treasonous/
treacherous/betrayal), 8,
22, 24, 31, 59, 61, 84, 130n9,
146, 153, 159, 175, 188,
202, 210
Troubles, the (Northern Irish
Conflict/Northern Irish Civil
Wars), 260, 265, 266, 268,
270, 299
Tyrannicide (regicide), 111, 112, 114,
118, 119, 154
Tyranny (tyrants/tyrannical), 3, 5,
8–10, 78, 81, 83, 89, 94, 97,
110, 113, 115, 116, 118, 122,
138, 168–170, 181–196

U

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), 256,
258, 260, 261
Union of the British and Irish
Parliament (1800), 17, 294
Unitatis redintegratio (1964), 248

W

Westminster Confession of Faith
(1643) (Westminster
confession), 275