“Protestant Principles, Roman Adversaries:” Debates on Roman Catholicism in Print, 1685-1700

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Abstract

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This thesis considers the nature of the debate surrounding toleration for Roman Catholics in England and Ireland as it was carried out in print in the later seventeenth century. It aims to prove that religious argumentation was central to the discourse of toleration in the period immediately preceding and succeeding the Glorious Revolution (1685-1700) and that concerns for the health and welfare of the Church-State were grounded in interpretations of religious and secular authority as they were encountered in the Roman Catholic tradition. More specifically, arguments against toleration of Roman Catholicism were founded on the perceived dual corruptions of the Roman Catholic faith, which were corrupt theological authority (spiritual corruption) and ecclesiastical or episcopal fraud or artifice (secular corruption). These purported failings and their implications for toleration as a religious as well as a civil measure are traced through the conceptual categories of cults, codes, and religious culture, which feature as major themes in contention within contemporary pamphlet literature. Ultimately, this discourse found Roman Catholicism illegitimate in its theology and its leadership and as such recommended the complete excision of Roman Catholicism from the English state.

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Introduction

One can be tolerant with a bore
and suffer fools, though not gladly
why should a man pretend to be glad about his sufferings?
-D.H. Lawrence, "Tolerance"[1]

Speaking in Jerusalem to a congregation of Pharisees and Herodians**,** Jesus Christ responded to their question of the lawfulness of tributes to Caesar by declaring "Render, therefore, to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Matthew 22:21). To this the Pharisees, chastened, put away their coins; yet, despite this seemingly definitive answer, the problem of reconciliation between the religious and civil allegiances of Christians persisted. In the context of late seventeenth-century England, this problem became one of toleration, and was especially germane as it related to the nation's Roman Catholics—how, in an Anglican Church-State, could a dissentient minority characterized by Protestant contemporaries as possessing a faulty theology and extra-territorial loyalties be integrated into the nation? More fundamentally, how could such a minority be permitted to persist in Protestant Britain?

The concept of toleration, or tolerance, is defined by its complexity and subject to a variety of definitions and interpretations, many of which emphasize the exigencies of politics and governance for its implementation. Charles H. Parker defines toleration as conceptually dependent on an "ideal of religious unity," a method undertaken by the governing bodies of diverse societies to minimize and manage conflicts arising from religious pluralism; in this way, the official or dominant religion controlled and ordered public space while minority confessions, such as Roman Catholicism in Protestant England or the Netherlands, were restricted and relegated to a "cultural periphery."[2] For Wendy Brown, too, toleration is a result of the power dynamics of modernity, those between governor and governed, majority and minority. An extension of toleration is not the action of a neutral party but rather involves a near-paradoxical process of conciliation and aversion: the subject of toleration

[1] Titular quotations drawn from William Sherlock, *A Preservative Against Popery Being Some Plain Directions to Unlearned Protestants, How to* Dispute *with Romish Priests, the First Part*. London: William Rogers, 1688), 2, 3; poem by D.H. Lawrence, "Tolerance," in *The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence* (Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 2002).

[2] Charles H. Parker, "Paying for the Privilege: The Management of Public Order and Religious Pluralism in Two Early Modern Societies." *Journal of World History* 17 (2006): 268-270, 294, 295.

asserts its own dominance and magnanimity in its power to offer reprieve from persecution while simultaneously defining the object of toleration as repugnant, dangerous, and distinct from an idealized norm.[3] Toleration, in Brown's view, is a translation of Foucauldian bipower into civil policy, effectuating subjugation and control of the dangerous outsider through regulation; as a result, the discourse of toleration is characterized by "norms" and "antagonists" representing, respectively, that which is valued and idealized and that which threatens the norm, and in real human terms, toleration as government policy results in a governing body self-defined as civil or progressive and a tolerated 'alien' body made into "liminal civil subjects."[4] That toleration was, by definition, also a rejection is highlighted by John Coffey, who argues that the importance of religion to the early modern English mindset carried with it disapproval of unorthodox religious expressions as well as a form of "mental pain" in restraining from their suppression.[5] Sylvana Tomaselli, too, emphasizes the moral or religious repugnance of objects of toleration to governing bodies in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Europe, and the importance of marginalization as part of the process of toleration: toleration was not a virtue in itself but a practical strategy determined by local contexts and the aim of improving social life.[6] In this sense, limited forms of toleration could be offered not out of ambivalence but out of concern for the ill effects of persecution on social harmony, or the epistemological uncertainty fostered by the rise of fallibilism and scepticism in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] In line with this view of the practical flexibility of toleration (and its inverse, persecution) is Ole Peter Grell's description of early modern toleration as a principle or policy lacking "clear and distinct metaphysics" or a singular motivating factor; like the Enlightenment itself, toleration was not simply the product of atheism or unbelief, instead being undertaken to reform, rather than renounce, religion.[8] Grell, like Parker, Brown, and Tomaselli, considers toleration a "loser's creed," a policy requested by a minority, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, that nonetheless

[3] Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 26-28.

[4] Brown, *Regulating Aversion,* 26, 28.

[5] John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2000), 10.

[6] Sylvana Tomaselli, "Intolerance, the Virtue of Princes and Radicals," in *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe,* ed. Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87, 86.

[7] Tomaselli, "Intolerance," 89-90, 88-89.

[8] Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, "Toleration in Enlightenment Europe," in *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe,* ed. Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-2.

valued an ideal true Church rather than religious freedom.[9] For Perez Zagorin, however, toleration is conceptually inseparable from the principle of freedom of religion, although the former implies dependence on the will of the governing body and latter is an irrevocable right; Zagorin's definition of modern toleration as "complete freedom of religious belief and expression" free of state-imposed tests and obligations developed from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries alongside concepts of freedom of thought and speech.[10] The intellectual processes central to the development of religious toleration relied on a "theoretical rationale" comprising philosophical, theological, scriptural and political arguments, all of which were required for the acceptance and promulgation of toleration as an institutional and social ideal.[11] This rationale was necessary because of the "general intolerance" amongst Protestant and Catholic denominations in the early modern period, both of which continued to link social harmony with religious conformity and, where toleration was considered at all at this time, considered the relaxation of religious restrictions as yet another measure of protection for true religion; it was not until the Enlightenment and philosophers such as John Locke and Pierre Bayle that toleration began to be stripped of religious connotations and defined in relation to intellectual freedom.[12] In this way Zagorin and Grell are in agreement as to the importance of Locke's concepts of freedom of conscience and universal law as well as the roles of scepticism, Bible criticism, epistemology, and contractarian views of authority in the growth of toleration as a political and social ideal.[13]

As for toleration in practice, Anthony Milton makes an important distinction between "*de facto* tolerance" and "*de jure* toleration:" James I, for example, supported the Oath of Allegiance as a means of tolerating or incorporating (in a limited fashion) 'moderate' Roman Catholics and 'Puritans' into the state while separating them from their radical counterparts who posed a legitimate threat to the state.[14] In this interpretation, the monarch might not seek

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[9] Grell and Porter, "Toleration," 3.

[10] Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 5-6, xii-xiii, 7.

[11] Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 12-13.

[12] Ibid., 83, 289-293.

[13] Grell and Porter, "Toleration," 3-4, Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 289-293.

[14] Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 56. Tolerance 'in fact' refers to unofficial abstention from persecution or alienation of a religious minority, usually effectuated on the local

to extend full legal toleration to a nonconforming minority but might, in an expression of what Edward Vallance defines as "mutual obligations" of duty and allegiance, allow loyal but religiously heterodox subjects a form of reprieve from persecution.[15] From this body of conceptions of toleration there arises a distilled notion of toleration as flexible and versatile, pragmatic as well as profoundly ideological; as much as the political decision to extend or refuse toleration was based on the exigencies of local contexts and the potential for danger or harmony within the state, this decision also had theoretical moorings in the dominant religious and social values of a pluralistic society. In this way, the position of Roman Catholics in later seventeenth-century England can be seen not only as the result of their subversive potential but of Protestant interpretations of the veracity of Roman Catholic beliefs and the suitability of those beliefs for cohabitation within the Church-State.[16]

Much like toleration, the Roman Catholic population of England is notable for the ambiguity of its boundaries. The conceptual distinctions between 'Popery' and Roman Catholicism in contemporary writings are often blurred, and as a result, the target of polemical derision—whether a system of tyrannical politico-religious authority or the beliefs and practices of Roman Catholicism itself—is not always clear. It is useful to think of Roman Catholicism or the Roman Catholic Church as a system of beliefs, a collectivity of individual believers, and also perhaps a community, united not only by their shared belief in Christ and the salvific mission of the Church but by a network of shared customs, cults, and attitudes. The Church of Rome, in this sense, is "spiritual and intellectual, [...] social and historical," characterized, as must be expected of organized religion in any period, by divine as well as human attributes.[17] John Bossy defines the Roman Catholic community in England in the post-Reformation period as beginning anew after the establishment of the seminary in Douai, a point from which Roman Catholics—recusants, as they were known to the

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level, whereas toleration 'in law' refers to legal or official relief from restrictions on dissenting religion(s) established as a matter of governance.

[15] Edward Vallance, "'From the Hearts of the People:' Loyalty, Addresses and the Public Sphere in the Exclusion Crisis," in *Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s*, ed. Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 143-145.

[16] See, for example, John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1603-1714* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2006), and Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Society* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2009).

[17] Laszlo Kerekes, "Ecclesiastical Law and Ethnic Minorities with Particular Reference to Hungarian Minorities in East-Central Europe*"* (PhD Diss., University of Ottawa, 2003), vii.

established Church—became not part of the majority faith, or even of a Protestant-Catholic binary, but one non-conforming religious community among many in the mosaic of religious difference in early modern England.[18] In this way, the English recusant community must be understood in itself and its own historical logic, a "branch" of nonconformity that was distinct even from the Irish and Welsh Catholic communities.[19] John Spurr, too, emphasizes the importance of Roman Catholicism as a form of nonconformity, arguing that religious activity in the post-Reformation was defined according to its relation to the national church: forms of conformity worked with and towards the same goal of strengthening the established Church, whereas nonconformist communities worked outside of, against, or as alternatives to the established Church.[20] Bossy's assertion of English Catholic simultaneous separation and communion within the bounds of nonconformity is somewhat at odds with Gabriel Glickman's analysis in *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745,* in which Glickman identifies early modern Catholic identity as tightly fusing the temporal and the spiritual, based on an "affinity, solidarity and authority" that was transnational; it was the stigma of this transcendence of the state that encouraged many Roman Catholics in England to seek refuge in Catholic-friendly Europe and thus fostered a broader European perspective for the community that remained both in England and self-identifying as English.[21] For the Roman Catholic recusant community, then, their identity was defined by a tension between the "universalist outlook" of their faith—as well as the continental Catholic-English recusant alliances this entailed—and the exigencies of membership in a minority community within one's nominally hostile homeland; for these reasons, questions of Church and State, religious affiliation and civil allegiance were not merely theoretical exercises but practical experiences fostering divisions and discord in the Roman Catholic community in England and abroad.[22]

While it seems clear that recusants in England constituted a community, albeit an amorphous one, the members of that community are not always easily discerned. Spurr

[18] John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975), 4-7.
[19] Bossy, *English Catholic,* 4-7.
[20] Spurr, *Post-Reformation,* 305.
[21] Glickman, *Community*, 158.
[22] Glickman, *Community*, 187-188. The importance of Protestantism in forming similar confessional communities has been discussed by Linda Colley in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), Colin Kidd in *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and Patrick Collinson in *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Palgrave, 1988).

claims that Roman Catholic recusants in seventeenth-century England formed about 2 per cent of the total population, stipulating, however, that while the community was more prolific in terms of proselytizing and converting than historians have previously acknowledged (through the Society of Jesus as well as polemical materials), it is difficult to distinguish fully between recusants and 'church Papists,' as numbers of each could have fluctuated according to the socio-political context—namely, persecution or *de facto* toleration.[23] The composition of this community is also difficult to fully delineate, though Judith J. Hurwich and John Bossy both emphasize the *seigneurial* character of post-Reformation Catholicism in England, which survived as a result of the resources and social obligations of gentry families—in the North and Midlands especially—who preserved the social institutions of the old Church by employing household priests to administer sacraments and say Mass for local Catholic families; maintaining such worship reinforced in positive as well as negative terms the separate experience and communal affiliation of recusants.[24] In keeping with a conception of the Roman Catholic community as social and religious in identity, Bossy identifies the gentry's drive to maintain Roman Catholicism as partially a manifestation of their desire to enforce order and stability amongst the lower orders as well as their ability to distinguish between their own private conscience or worship and that worship which was required of them by their allegiance to the monarch.[25] This complexity of combining opposing civil and religious affiliations, in which private nonconformity and public conformist worship were maintained without significant moral or spiritual strife, is addressed by Anthony Milton as well as Alexandra Walsham in terms of 'negative Popery' and 'church Papistry.'[26] According to Milton, the fluidity of "confessional boundaries" and opacity of distinction between Anglican Protestants and crypto-Catholics under Archbishop Laud can be traced to Laud's promotion of negative Popery, which labelled anti-Popery as counter-productive to the established Church, and his re-orientation of the Church of England to comprise elaborate ceremonies and liturgies that appropriated some of the draw of Counter-Reformation Catholicism.[27] For Walsham, too, terms such as

[23] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 314-315.

[24] Judith J. Hurwich, "Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720," *Journal of British Studies* 16.1 (Autumn 1976): 32; Bossy, *English Catholic*, 124-128.

[25] Hurwich, "Dissent and Catholicism," 32; Bossy, *English Catholic*, 124-128.

[26] See, additionally, Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England.*

[27] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 76-77, 82.

Papist or church Papist were "protean and pliable," denoting a spectrum of religious affiliations including recusants who maintained the bare minimum of church attendance required by law as well as Protestants who failed to live up to the inward spirituality and intellectual dedication required by the Reformation.[28] The final issue of religious terminology is more purely semantic. Milton points out that terms such as Catholic and the Catholic Church could refer to the Church of Rome in its own writings or, in Protestant writings, to the variety of pure, orthodox Christian institutions, which might exclude the Church of Rome; similarly, polemicists sometimes made conceptual distinctions between the Church of Rome and the Court of Rome, the latter of which referred to political jurisdiction of the Church and was associated with sedition.[29] Such a distinction did not, however, imply that reconciliation with the Church of Rome was possible or advisable, given the Church's doctrinal errors.[30] Similarly, John Spurr and Conal Condren argue that 'Popery' was a term flexible enough to be used to deride any system of belief that subordinated the ecclesiastical authority of the magistrate or monarchy to an autonomous church, or expanded traditional realms of clerical authority.[31] This usurpation could include outwardly religious interests such as definitions of heresy, which Condren identifies as having associations of priestcraft and clerical interference due to its utility for assuming influence in the temporal sphere and justifying oppression.[32] Despite the variety of interpretations of who and what constituted Roman Catholicism, for the purposes of this analysis, the actual or literal denotation is less important than that which was implied by Anglo-Protestant writers and polemicists. Roman Catholics and Papists were largely interchangeable; Roman Catholic belief was untrustworthy not only in its secular permutations and subversive potential—namely, its seeming devolution into arbitrary government and the implications thereof for a nation of freeborn Englishmen—but in a closely interrelated sense of erroneous religious belief, superstition, and confessional identity. In a context of aggressive Counter-Reformation

[28] Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1999), 103-118.

[29] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 150-151, 264, 266.

[30] Ibid., 264.

[31] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 160; Conal Condren, "Curtailing the Office of the Priest: Two Seventeenth-Century Views of the Causes and Functions of Heresy," in *Heresy In Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 116-117.

[32] Condren, "Priest," 116-117.

polemic and the threat of an absolutist universal Catholic monarchy from the Continent, Roman Catholicism in Britain had a real, 'present,' and seemingly founded potential to disrupt the closely guarded boundaries of religion and politics in the Protestant Church-State.[33] To be Roman Catholic was to be a Papist, a heathen, an idolater, a Jew; to profess and practice Roman Catholic custom was to blindly obey a Pope, ignorantly misinterpret Scripture, fabricate tradition, and renounce Jesus Christ. In this way, Roman Catholicism, anti-Catholicism, and toleration were conceptually dependent on temporal as well as religious concerns, and it is a discussion of the latter that will follow.

In associating the importance of religious or doctrinal concerns to perceptions of Roman Catholicism and toleration for the same in late seventeenth-century England, this analysis does not seek to refute claims that the political and social subversion of Popery was a central concern for contemporaries; rather, this analysis seeks to elucidate the ways in which concerns for the order and stability of the Church-State were reflected in doctrinal discussions of Roman Catholicism circulating in this period and in perceptions of the authority on which Roman Catholic beliefs and practices were founded. While the historiographical context for this discussion will be discussed at some length in the next section, it can be stated simply that this analysis responds to historians such as John Spurr who have stressed the importance of distinctly religious motivations for religious minorities in the post-Reformation period, as well as the real significance of "meaningful religious expression" or communal identity and the perceived intractability of minor religious differences, despite all the nominal similarities between competing Christian sects.[34] Furthermore, this analysis will utilize Wendy Brown's theory that toleration defined and organized its subjects as well as spatial and moral boundaries that determined the limits or conditions of toleration, often stipulating that recipients of toleration express their difference in "depoliticized or private" ways that do not infringe on public life.[35] More specifically, the concept of toleration that will be elucidated here is one founded on a similar assertion of the importance of religious and doctrinal boundaries, which, while indirectly articulated, left Roman Catholicism beyond the pale of acceptable religion.

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[33] Jonathan Scott, "England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot," in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 119-120.

[34] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 323-324.

[35] Brown, *Regulating Aversion*, 29, 46.

The boundaries to be considered were drawn across the landscape of religious authority, reflecting a period in which authority, civil and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual, legitimate and illegitimate, was in a state of uncertainty and flux.[36] In the decades preceding the Glorious Revolution, printed references to the role or place of Roman Catholicism in (Protestant) society rejected the 'Roman' confession by alleging that the manifestations of authority associated with or underpinning the practices and doctrines of the Church of Rome were corrupt in their interpretation and implementation. For the purposes of this analysis, the religious concerns expressed by contemporaries can be divided into the interrelated conceptual categories of cult(s), code(s), and, within each, culture. Anthony Milton has emphasized the accusations of "essential deceit and guile," religious subversion, and "antichristian heresy" that Protestant polemicists aimed at the Church of Rome in the early-mid-seventeenth century, and these kinds of critiques persist into the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[37] Milton's observations as well as Spurr's assertion of the importance of "religious beliefs and fears" and the constant re-definitions of terms such as orthodoxy and heterodoxy in post-Reformation conflicts can be applied specifically, in this case, to the issue of toleration for Roman Catholics in the tumultuous period of roughly 1685-1700.[38]

Roman Catholicism was unacceptable—intolerable—because it was erroneous, and this error stemmed from its flawed foundations: its interpretations of Scripture and the ecclesiastical structures that organized and enforced those interpretations. The first of the conceptual categories that exemplify these critiques is that of Roman Catholic cults, comprising, in its religious form, the worship of saints; the worship of the Virgin Mary (Marianism); prayers or requests for miracles and intercession from angels and spirits; and the culture that arose from this, including the use and legitimacy of images related to these cults, as well as corresponding festivals, holy days, and processions. Roman Catholic cults could also be secular, and in this case refer to the role of priests, nuns, and religious orders such as the Society of Jesus; and the related secular culture that prescribed the use of

[36] See, for example, Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[37] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 139, 132.

[38] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 223. For a discussion of the parameters of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in this period see J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

scapularies, rosaries, and *Agnus Dei*s and the proffering of alms, all of which carried associations of deception and financial props for corrupt authorities. As a whole, these cults embodied the moral and spiritual bankruptcy, the licentiousness, the laziness, and the multifaceted corruptions of the Church of Rome. The second category, Roman Catholic codes, corresponds to related 'false' and idolatrous doctrines such as purgatory; indulgences, including Masses for the dead; the mystery of faith; Roman Catholic interpretations of the Eucharist, namely literal transubstantiation; auricular confession; and cultural manifestations of these beliefs, such as fasting during Lent and ceremonies including the baptism and use of bells.[39] These codes, or beliefs, and the cultural practices that accompanied them were founded on deliberate misinterpretations of Scripture, or, in some cases, a complete lack of scriptural basis; aside from their religious failings and the implications of the same for salvation, these codes also had secular connotations, as Roman Catholic religious error was blamed on deliberate and calculated power-mongering by Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities (especially the Pope), as reflected in the theories upholding papal authority, namely infallibility and the dispensing power. Finally, Roman Catholic culture, as stated, will be traced throughout this analysis in the form of the specific practices and values emanating from the aforementioned cults and codes as well as their broader implications for the religious and social status of the community, particularly in terms of their reliance on and belief in superstitious doctrines, their wilful subordination to false authority, and by extension, the rejection of the sacred and secular authorities prescribed by the state. Roman Catholic cults, codes, and culture could, in many cases, be used to justify perpetuating their suppression in the English Church and State.

The historical context of the mid-late seventeenth century sheds much light on printed debates on toleration and religion. The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 ended the brief period of *de facto* religious freedom for Protestant nonconformists that had risen out of the social and "religious chaos" of the Civil War; under Cromwell, the 1650s saw a period of expanding religious pluralism following a relaxation of controls over Protestant denominations and *de facto* toleration for Roman Catholics.[40] From the mid-1660s to the end of the seventeenth century, Roman Catholicism returned to the forefront of public discourse

[39] Covered in its English Protestant context by David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1980).

[40] Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 194-195, 196, 238-239.

as a threat as well as a critique of royal policy, spanning the full gamut of Protestant grievances from Charles II's Catholic wife and bastards to the betrayal of Protestant fraternity in the second Anglo-Dutch War and the revival of Roman Catholic treachery and foreign loyalties in the wake of the Great Fire of London; in this context, fears of Roman Catholic 'outlandishness' and difference seemed to eclipse doctrinal disagreements between Protestants and promote unity in the face of a common enemy.[41] Accusations of popish inclinations within the nation and the government rose in England with corresponding fears of tyranny and the establishment of arbitrary government; in Ireland, the Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant from 1662-1668 and 1677-1684, oversaw a crackdown on Protestant nonconformity under the 1666 Irish Act of Uniformity as well as the exclusion and land expropriation of Irish Catholics, whose subversive and rebellious tendencies had already been proven in the bloodshed of the 1641 uprising.[42] Both the English and the Irish Acts of Uniformity—1662 and 1666, respectively—occurred in a time of dispute over the appropriate response to the increasing religious pluralism of the realm; while many members of the Church of England's hierarchy preferred enforcing penal laws over courting nonconformity, others sought to incorporate moderate Protestant nonconformists through comprehension and a revised Act of Uniformity that would provide more latitude in matters such as ceremony, liturgy, and ordination.[43] Nonconformists offered a variety of responses to these official efforts to come to terms with their existence, from continued rejections of the Book of Common Prayer to seeking Protestant unity in the face of the more overt religious threat of Popery, but Roman Catholics had few such possibilities until the reign of James II.[44] Despite his promises to preserve the Church of England and existing laws, the accession of

[41] Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns, "Introduction—Living with Masquerade: The Recent Scholarship of the 1670s in the Stuart Realms," in *Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s*, ed. Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 4-5. See also Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

[42] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 144, 156. The social, political and religious complexities of the Irish uprising and its aftermath have been described by S.J. Connolly in chapters 2 and 3 of *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[43] John Spurr, "The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689," *The English Historical review* 104 (1989): 941-942, 928-929. See also John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor, ed., *The Church of England c. 1689-1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[44] Spurr, "Church of England," 930-931, 943, 944.

James II and, in June of 1688, the birth of his heir James Francis Edward spurred a period of religious as well as political renaissance for the Roman Catholic community in England, which enjoyed the prospect of continued Roman Catholic rule, the suspension of penal laws and open—though necessarily humble—worship under the Declaration of Indulgence (1687, reissued 1688); this relaxation of oppression was coupled with the recusant community's attempts to boost popular approval by portraying their religion as moderate and tolerant, despite the ill example of absolutist Roman Catholic government under Louis XIV.[45] In Ireland, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in January, 1687, and soon began the "catholicisation" of the Irish army, judiciary, Privy Council, and local governments, as well as the redistribution of resources from the Church of Ireland to Roman Catholic priests and the return of lands to Irish Catholic landowners.[46] The reissue of the Declaration of Indulgence in April, 1688, with the requirement that the established clergy read it from their pulpits resulted in a petition by Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops claiming that the dispensing and suspending power assumed by the king was illegal; following their trial and acquittal, the hierarchy of the Church of England undertook greater attempts to catechize and win over nonconformists in order to form a united Protestant front against the political and religious encroachments of Roman Catholicism.[47] The invasion occurring shortly thereafter was met with few attempts to preserve the king against William of Orange, whose propaganda presented him as a defender of "liberty, law and Protestantism" and who appealed to a wider audience with his promises to secure the Test Acts and the Protestant state.[48] The revolution ended with the treaty of Limerick in October, 1691, after battles between Orange forces and French-backed Jacobites at the Boyne and Aughrim in July, 1691.[49] The accession of William III renewed optimism for a more moderate Church of England that could include Protestant nonconformists, and the Toleration Bill of 1689 responded to this impulse by exempting from penalties and allowing limited free worship to those nonconformists who took an Oath of Allegiance and

[45] Glickman, *Community*, 33-39; Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 173, 175-176.
[46] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 176.
[47] Ibid., 178-179. See also W. A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and J.P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party, 1689-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[48] Ibid., 179-181.
[49] Ibid., 184-185.

made the 1678 Test Act declarations.[50] This, however, did not extend as far as civil rights or include Roman Catholics and non-Christians.[51] In the midst of the revolution(s), in 1695 the Licensing Act expired and allowed for an immense outpouring of Enlightenment ideas about science, biblical criticism, and philosophy through the press that included arguments about revealed and natural religion and the role of human reason in spiritual affairs.[52] The Blasphemy Act of 1698 attempted to control such heterodox expressions but forms of atheism and deism remained less concerning than Roman Catholicism to the religious establishment well into the early eighteenth century.[53] The Act of Settlement, which followed in 1701, set new limitations on governance and officially fused the Church of England and the monarchy, and despite the seeming inevitability of the Protestant ascendancy at this time, fears of Popery and the perpetuation of the Stuart line continued to plague Britain.[54] Popular manifestations against Roman Catholicism, including bonfires and the destruction of recusant homes, had begun immediately after the arrival of William of Orange and were pursued in official form by penal legislation restricting travel, requiring oaths against Roman Catholic doctrine, and forbidding the priesthood; despite their best efforts to seek political concessions and integration, the recusant community was divided post-Revolution by an exodus of gentry leadership to the continent and constant suspicions of Jacobite activity.[55] The events of the later seventeenth century demonstrate the permanence of the Protestant Reformation as well as the inexorable bond of religion and politics in the archipelago,[56] but it is not clear that these events were the sole motivating force for the arguments pertaining to Roman Catholicism in this period. For Protestant writers, Roman Catholicism seems to have presented the same concerns—religious, political, social—as it had since the Reformation; however, in a period in which the established Church and its teachings were embroiled in a protracted dispute over governance and leadership alongside nominally secular manifestations of the same, the Church of Rome

[50] Ibid., 186-187, 188-189.
[51] Ibid., 188-189.
[52] Ibid., 207; Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 240.
[53] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 208.
[54] Ibid., 202, 203.
[55] Glickman, *Community*, 22-25, 27-32.
[56] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, 189-190. The complexities of the long seventeenth century and particularly prolonged adaptation to the English Reformation have been described at length by Nicholas Tyacke in *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (Abingdon, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2004).

became a renewed emblem of these fears. Roman Catholicism was a spectre to be banished, or exorcised, not only for its conspiring recusant members but for its embodiment of flawed and corrupt authority.

This study seeks to respond to many trends in the recent historiography of early modern England, including emphases on the importance of interdisciplinarity; intellectual and religious currents in political and social history; the role of literature and the press for histories of the same; and the construction of national and confessional identities. The nature of this analysis and its focus on the literary output of the press as well as the religious argumentation expressed therein responds to and attempts to embody J.G.A. Pocock's concept of the history of discourse, which affirms the role of text and language as both expressive and active, creating practice as well as challenge and argument; in this way, this analysis will engage in a form of "second-order language or theory," examining the ways in which language is used to practice and discuss religion and toleration.[57] This kind of historical exercise, according to Quentin Skinner, is reliant on determining the "fields of meaning" or "social and political" verbal frameworks in which such discussions were held, as historical concepts must be understood according to their meanings as well as the intentions and concerns of their writers.[58] In this case, the discourse surrounding the potential of toleration or integration for Roman Catholicism will be gauged by reference to the verbal religious frameworks expressed in pamphlet literature, and as such, this analysis will be reliant in part on literary analysis, tracing the links between literary expression and history, as well as on an intersection of intellectual and religious history. Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns have identified the rise of this impulse towards interdisciplinarity in recent historiography as well as its coincidence with a re-assertion of religious belief as central to culture, society, and politics, which runs against a popular emphasis on the growth of "secularizing scepticism" in the post-Civil War period.[59] A discussion of the historiographical currents inspiring this analysis will provide some insight into the potential contributions this type of intellectual history can offer to the field.

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[57] J.G.A. Pocock in Stefan Collini et al., "What Is Intellectual History?", *History Today* 35 (1985): 52-53.

[58] Quentin Skinner in Collini et al., "Intellectual History," 51. See also James Tully, *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[59] Claydon and Corns, "Introduction," 1-2.

While the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the advent of the Enlightenment and the direction of intellectual attention toward the primacy of concepts such as reason and scepticism, historians of the period have recently begun to re-evaluate the subordination of religious ideals to such 'progressive' movements and assert the continued importance of religion to the early modern public. To this end, Coffey argues that from 1558 to 1689 England remained a "persecuting state" seeking religious uniformity, a consensus that was only disrupted in the 1640s by radical Puritanism's "sustained attack" on conscientious coercion and related calls for civil tolerance for religious pluralism.[60] This runs counter to a number of interpretations of toleration as predominantly or solely a pragmatic political decision; much like J.C.D. Clark's interpretation of Catholic Emancipation, seventeenth-century toleration is often described as a largely conservative attempt to preserve the English Church-State through limited concessions to nonconforming sects.[61] In this vein, Ethan Shagan's *The Rule of Moderation* traces the pursuit of a virtuous middle ground in English governance based on a definition of moderation as both an internal state of "equipoise" and an external act of restraint or control; as a moral principle, claims of moderation could legitimize social, religious, and political power or policy and justify governmental restraint in areas such as religious nonconformity.[62] Toleration, in this system, was a technique employed to suppress "intolerant excesses" dangerous to the order of the Church and the civil state as well as an exercise in moderation avoiding the polar extremes of persecution and toleration of vice.[63] For all its philosophical foundations, the role of toleration as an extension of moderation was a civil and governmental issue used to preserve the fused English Church and State by reinforcing the regime's authority in the spiritual and temporal spheres and to restrict threatening sects while allowing less threatening sects a degree of latitude. Similarly, Alexandra Walsham's *Charitable Hatred* defines toleration and persecution as interrelated governmental policies intended to preserve the social stability and religious wellbeing of the state; in this context, toleration was less a desirable middle-path than a temporary abstention from persecution intended to preserve the peace of the

[60] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, 11, 17.

[61] For example, Clark, *English Society 1660-1832*, 21, 33.

[62] Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 3, 4.

[63] Shagan, *Moderation*, 296-297; Toleration and political stability also discussed in Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

community in times of upheaval.[64] Conceptual associations made between Roman Catholic heresy and treachery resulted in patterns of persecution or toleration dependent largely on contemporary political connotations of dissidence and inspired by political events related to nonconformity, most notably the Irish uprising and the unsettling reign of James II.[65] Ultimately, however, measures such as the Act of Toleration that extended a certain degree of freedom of worship to Trinitarian Protestant nonconformists[66]affirm that there were theological boundaries to institutional toleration that must be included as part of the context of complex, cyclical interactions between toleration and persecution. Scott Sowerby explores the potential political danger of toleration in *Making Toleration*, which argues that the Glorious Revolution was made possible not by oppression but by the relaxation of measures suppressing religious nonconformists, namely Roman Catholics, under James II.[67] For Sowerby, the king's attempts to reform ecclesiastical and political policy and challenge anti-Catholicism resulted in the rejection of his authority as monarch; by extension, Sowerby illustrates that toleration was closely related to political stability and even, in some cases, a force of destruction.[68] In any case, James II's relaxation of restrictions on recusants may not have been interpreted by contemporaries as such, and perhaps might have been perceived as an assault on the Anglican hegemony in matters of Church and State as well as a direct threat to the survival of true religion.

In defence of the role of religion in forming policy and opinion, Raymond D. Tumbleson has argued that polemic targeting Roman Catholicism in the later Stuart period could and did merge arguments to reason and Scripture, positing these as the "naturally complementary" foundations of Protestantism and their inverse—namely, implicit faith and superstition—as the false foundations of Roman Catholicism.[69] Anglican polemic thus harnessed modern and pre-modern "intellectual structures" and re-established authoritative order by locating authority in a 'rational republic' wise to the dangers and artifices of Popery; tolerance, too, was argued not in a traditional Augustinian sense but in reference to

[64] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 2-4.

[65] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 66.

[66] Ibid., 267-268.

[67] Sowerby, *Toleration*, 2-4.

[68] Sowerby, *Toleration*, 9, 22.

[69] Raymond D. Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion: The Science of Anglicanism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57 (1996): 131-132.

the rational capacity of religious groups.[70] Tumbleson argues that this turn towards assertions of the "superior rationality" of the Church of England was a response to the uncertainty of the reign of James II and an attempt to argue against allegations of crypto-Catholicism by appropriating some Protestant nonconformist thought, namely individual interpretation of Scripture, while maintaining the integrity and hierarchy of the Church of England.[71] Peter Lake also argues that anti-Popery (in Caroline England) functioned as a release valve for social and political anxiety and that religious arguments were central to this type of discourse, suggesting that critiques of Roman Catholic values or doctrine served to define in a negative fashion Protestant "cultural, political or religious" self-image as well as threats to the same.[72] Where Protestant religious values stemmed from the dictates of God and Scripture, Roman Catholic values were derived from the needs and desires of man, and thus constituted a particularly dangerous inversion of true Christianity.[73] Religious arguments such as these allowed English Protestants to "label, externalize" and thus control the anxiety of the post-Reformation process as well as navigate the fluctuating religious, moral, and cultural currents of the period by uniting fears into a single entity—Popery, false Christianity—with a single solution—Protestantism.[74] Walsham urges caution in placing too much emphasis on such theories of religious drive, as, pace Keith Thomas, it was likely that most early modern people were ignorant or indifferent to the complexities of Christianity, or, as with Laudianism, had mixed responses that defy strict definitions of 'for' or 'against'.[75] With respect to such distinctions, it is possible to apply Lake's argument not to the population at large, but rather to the body of writers and polemicists who seemingly did understand, in varying degrees, the complexities of religious argument and used these to articulate their views on (or prejudice against) a religious minority with presumed socio-political connotations. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, and Cary Nederman articulate the role of religious terminology in expressing religious as well as social concerns in their

[70] Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion," 133.

[71] Ibid., 139, 153, 143.

[72] 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), 73-74.

[73] Lake, "Anti-Popery," 74-75, 73-74.

[74] Ibid., 80-81, 82-83.

[75] Alexandra Walsham, "The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1998): 624, 625. Keith Thomas described the 'debris' of intellectual structures that coloured religious systems in the early modern period in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

introduction to *Heresy in Transition,* which states that accusations of heresy varied due to the plurality of religious sects in the early modern period and could be used to denote "religious derision" as well as analogies to other forms of infidelity or rational incapacity such as "treason and madness."[76] These types of flexible religious arguments persisted, Colin Haydon argues, well into the eighteenth century, although the anti-Catholicism of the Augustan period is often understudied in comparison to its Stuart and Victorian permutations.[77] Despite assumptions that the eighteenth century's political practicality and "cool" religiosity precluded any serious manifestations of anti-Catholicism, Haydon argues that the Catholic Pretender, Popery scares, and the Gordon Riots betrayed the re-emergence of pre-existing animosities and the persistence of political, theological, and social misgivings pertaining to Roman Catholicism.[78] Fears of Roman Catholic subversion and Jacobitism continued to be related to papal allegiance and blind obedience, while Roman Catholic doctrines such as works-righteousness justification and the veneration of saints and the Virgin were accused of perverting true Christianity and relying on the suppression of its adherents' innate capacities for rational belief.[79] Haydon's work is particularly interesting for this present analysis as it does not seek to provide a history of Roman Catholicism in England but rather a history of "Protestant hostility" to English Roman Catholics and their faith, asserting that, regardless of the Catholic Relief Act (1778), anti-Catholicism remained a "chief ideological commitment" in eighteenth-century England.[80]

The specifically religious motivations of anti-Catholicism and persecution are explored in their Dutch context by Charles H. Parker, who argues that the *de jure* suppression and *de facto* provisions for private worship for Roman Catholics were undertaken to eliminate the social tensions precipitated by religious pluralism as well as to enforce religious unity under a Calvinist mantle, but, importantly, motivated by the religious concerns of idolatry, corrupt doctrine, and "clerical bondage" deemed unique to Roman

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[76] Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman, "Introduction," in *Heresy In Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 5-6, 8.

[77] Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 1-2. See also Glickman, *Community.*

[78] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism,* 2.

[79] Ibid., 3-4, 4-6.

[80] Ibid., 2-3, 16-17, 18. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003) and her critics, namely J.C.D. Clark, "Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832," *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000).

Catholicism.[81] Roman Catholic practices and gatherings were outlawed because they were at odds with a Calvinist "moral universe" and, in a societal sense, were interpreted as encroachments on "public Protestant space" that were incompatible with the requisite political and social subordination of an inferior faith.[82] Religion, in the Dutch Republic as in England, was as much of a motivating force for toleration or persecution as the "pragmatic security concerns" of Roman Catholic extra-territorial allegiance.[83] Even this allegiance, however, was grounded in religion, as elucidated in discussions of the Oath of Allegiance. The inverse side of anti-Catholicism and the importance of religion to Roman Catholics themselves is approached by Johann P. Sommerville with reference to the controversy surrounding the Oath of Allegiance (1606). Sommerville argues against historians such as Michael C. Questier who claim that the clause denouncing the papal deposing power was less of a concern for swearers than the clause referring to that power as impious and heretical, as this clause and the doctrine it targeted were firmly entrenched beliefs and significant motivating factors for those who refused to take the Oath.[84] Sommerville suggests that the Oath was, as claimed by James I/VI and his defenders, designed to root out subversive Roman Catholics, and that far from being the persecuted victims of a "bigoted government," English recusants were also the victims of the "intransigence" and poor guidance of their Pope and the religious leaders asserting the primacy of loyalties above and beyond the civil state.[85] Anthony Milton's work on the theology of the Church of England in the early seventeenth century is a particularly cogent analysis of the established Church's relationships with other Christian sects, namely Roman Catholicism and Protestant nonconformity. Milton explores the religious self-definition of the Church of England around the time of the Civil War as a process of manipulation in which orthodoxy was determined in relation to polarities of heterodoxy, and that the confines of Church orthodoxy and its portrayal of its opponents can help historians assess contemporary understandings of the

[81] Parker, "Privilege," 288. See also Benjamin J. Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop and Judith Pollmann, ed. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c.1570-1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

[82] Ibid., 288-289, 296, 292.

[83] Ibid., 296.

[84] Johann P. Sommerville, "Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance," in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850,* ed. Tim Harris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 173-174, 174-178.

[85] Sommerville, "Papalist,"174-178.

nature of the Roman Catholic Church and its believers.[86] In this context, anti-Catholicism served a variety of purposes, including proving to 'Puritans' that the Church of England was not crypto-Catholic in its theology and responding to popular fears of Roman Catholic powers on the continent, and was subject to fluctuation along with the Church of England itself.[87] Under Archbishop Laud, for example, Milton suggests that perceptions of Roman Catholic religious errors changed by degrees and began to emphasize "error[s] of excess" rather than fault and the imposition of such flawed doctrines as "fundamental" to the faith.[88] Alexandra Walsham has responded this argument by asserting that the political exigencies that influenced religious leaders' choices in this period must be acknowledged in tandem with sincere beliefs on their part, and that Laud's agenda likely also sought to carry out the Church's duty to bring sinners and the godly under its mantle.[89] From these works it becomes clear that in the later seventeenth century, religion was not yet replaced by purely secular concerns; rather, religion remained a central concern in its own right, and one which—combined with the pragmatic concerns of the state—helped determine the inclusion or exclusion of opposing Christian sects within the polity.

The merger of such political and religious concerns, especially toleration, is also described by Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, who claim that arguments for toleration were grounded in a "practical political agenda" seeking to reform the bonds between the religious and the political.[90] J.C.D. Clark most famously described this "nexus" of beliefs in *English Society 1660-1832*, which elucidates the "inner coherence" of the English *ancien regime* in terms of its shared beliefs in monarchy, the confessional state, and clientage.[91] Toleration in this context presumed the maintenance of the established Church and its privilege while permitting a limited tolerance for nonconformist worship; in this sense, toleration and uniformity alike were implemented to preserve the authority, structures, and values of the established Church and a general consensus concerning the operations of society.[92] The

[86] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 4, 5.
[87] Ibid., 35, 43.
[88] Ibid., 187, 215-216.
[89] Walsham, "Parochial Roots," 639-640. See also Michael C. Questier, "Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance," *The Historical Journal* 40 (1997).
[90] Grell and Porter, "Toleration," 12.
[91] J.C.D Clark, *English Society 1660-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16, 20.
[92] Clark, *English Society*, 23, 30, 34.

maintenance of such stability was particularly compelling in a polity that had seen first-hand and within the last century the potential division and destruction of religious strife. The reality of the confessional state required that toleration be extended to nonconforming groups only insomuch as they had ceased to become social and political threats or relinquished their claims to "political power;" under James II, the confessional state came under attack from within due to the king's politicking for the Catholic cause, and the result of James II's failed attempts to restore English Catholicism was the Glorious Revolution and the exclusion of Roman Catholics from toleration as well as civil society.[93] Clark, however, seems to subsume any genuine religious motivations for toleration under the impetus of political expediency; in this analysis, attempts to reconcile the Church of England and Trinitarian nonconformists, for example, were a response to the political threat of more radical forms of Protestant nonconformity.[94] Regardless, Clark's work remains a vital component of discussions of the close connections between religious affiliation and politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes attribute this conceptual combination to early Stuart political culture, which interpreted events such as the Irish uprising of 1641 through "political and religious frameworks" compatible with its emphasis on harmony as well as a conception of constructive conflict influenced by Calvinist theology and good-evil binaries that was conducive to the achievement of said harmony.[95] In support of this theory, Thomas Cogswell has argued that in the early, pre-Reformation sixteenth century, well before the disruption of the mid-seventeenth century Civil Wars, English contemporaries were "intellectually unable" to isolate political from religious concepts, as demonstrated by the polarized "ideological politics" aroused by the prospective Spanish match.[96] John Spurr, especially, has explained the importance of viewing religious terms and concepts in the post-Reformation not simply as "vehicle[s]" for secular concepts or phenomena but as closely intertwined with social behaviours and beliefs and having real significance in terms of the present life as well as the afterlife.[97] According to Spurr, the

[93] Ibid.,32, 36-38, 73, 84.
[94] Ibid., 247.
[95] Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, "Introduction: After Revision,"in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 39, 17.
[96] Thomas Cogswell, "England and the Spanish Match,"in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 109, 110.
[97] Spurr, *Post-Reformation*, xii.

negotiation of religious and political ideas was one of the hallmarks of the post-Reformation period, in which contemporaries attempted to come to terms with the new realities of life after the Reformation; questions of particular import in this period included toleration, religious orthodoxy, and monarchical authority in religious matters, all of which had political as well as religious connotations and were couched in religious terminology.[98] Religion could, in this way, serve a political and social purpose by uniting subjects under a set of common values and goals as well as by reinforcing and legitimating authority.[99] Haydon's description of eighteenth-century anti-Catholicism has a place in this discussion, too, as he explains how the religious as well as the socio-political propaganda of anti-Popery could serve as a negative definition of Anglicanism where its specific tenets were difficult to determine, thus uniting members of the established Church who might not understand complex theological distinctions.[100] Likewise, Justin Champion has identified the lack of "conceptual separation" between issues of church and state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as underlying confrontations between the established Church and Protestant nonconformity, namely 'Freethought,' as the former sought to maintain its official Church status and socio-political primacies in the face of attempts to dismantle it and the "Christian confessional state."[101] Even seemingly radical dissentients such as Freethinkers did not seek to destroy the links between Church and State but rather to revamp that relationship by challenging, through historical claims, the "false authority" of the Church of England and its corrupting influence on society and reforming the establishment to follow more closely the dictates of Scripture and early Christianity.[102] Champion effectively argues that the secular agenda often attributed to Freethinkers was, in fact, deeply devoted to a fusion of religion and politics because the former remained of real importance to a seventeenth-century mindset.[103] Similarly, Charles W.A. Prior explores the fusion of religion and politics early Stuart England in terms of a conceptual link between religion and authority that was harnessed to justify the "coterminous nature" of the Church of England and the realm by

[98] Ibid., 1-2, 4.
[99] Ibid., 4-5.
[100] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 254, 258.
[101] J.A.I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 7.
[102] Champion, *Pillars*, 9, 25-26, 117, 173-174.
[103] Ibid., 221, 224-225.

using history and Scripture to prove the Church's Apostolic forebears and its "historical entitlements" to secular authority and discipline.[104] In this context, the issue of toleration can be seen as part of the association made between participation in "public worship" and its relationship to "public loyalty:" if religious nonconformity was by its nature not only heterodox but treasonous or subversive, ecclesiastical authority could be justified as a means of promoting civil order by quashing the dangerous factionalism of nonconformity.[105] Aside from pure pragmatism, order and harmony in the state had specific religious connotations for providence and sin as well as a foundation in divine will that could be used to undermine arguments for reform as undermining the Church as well as the state.[106] Roman Catholics, according to Prior, constituted a faction that rejected not only the status of the Church of England as a true Church but the *imperium* and s*acerdotium* of the English constitution and monarchy by pledging their allegiance to a foreign spiritual authority antagonistic to the "ecclesiastical sovereignty" of the king.[107] Religious belief could colour the "political vision" of contemporaries based on their interpretation of the locus of religious sovereignty, and as such, issues such as toleration must be seen as political and societal concerns determined by religious thought as much as pragmatism.[108] Michael C. Questier's work on the Oath of Allegiance (1606) further explores the commingling of religious belief and political thought, arguing that the Oath was calculated to sow discord in the recusant community over the distinctions between religious and political authority by forcing swearers to declare that the papal deposing power was heretical and thereby deny papal primacy.[109] Despite claims from the king and establishment that the Oath was a moderate measure intended to distinguish loyal recusants from potentially regicide radicals, the Oath forced the Roman Catholic clergy and its lay swearers to take a stand on the "origins of state" and the link between grace and nature: opponents of the Oath found it incompatible with a definition of the Church as a "visible commonwealth" with a single temporal and spiritual hierarchy combining grace (the foundation of the Church) and nature (the

[104] Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23.
[105] Prior, *Jacobean Church*, 25, 24.
[106] Ibid., 27-30.
[107] Ibid., 34, 39.
[108] Ibid., 253.
[109] Questier, "Loyalty," 318-320.

foundation of the State) with deposing and excommunicating powers to be used for its protection; supporters of the Oath, however, placed grace and nature in equal positions with separate jurisdictions and thus did not, as its opponents did, see the Oath as affirming the supremacy of the king over spiritual as well as temporal spheres.[110] The Oath, then, sought to undermine allegiance to Rome by conflating spiritual and political loyalties and thus pushing recusants closer to conformity with the established Church.[111] Peter Lake and Michael Questier's work on public executions of Roman Catholics for treason considers a similar attempt by the establishment to manipulate the boundaries of religion and politics. Public executions became a theatre for the "ideological struggle" between Roman Catholic subjects and the Protestant state as the state sought to exert its authority and perpetuate the notion of its moderation by executing Roman Catholics not for their religious beliefs but for treason.[112] The executed and their coreligionists could subvert this narrative by claiming martyrdom, but for the Protestant regime the importance of the execution was in the identification of the victim with treason and the punishment with "justice and mercy."[113] The complexity of this "symbolic system of power" lay in its capacity to be reshaped by the agency of the victim and for manifestations of state power to become contested, debated, and re-interpreted along with definitions of what it meant to be Protestant or Roman Catholic.[114] Political and religious motivations for a policy of toleration or persecution can thus be seen as closely mingled due to the confessional nature of the state without asserting that one or the other was the sole motivating force.

The value of the pamphlet as a source of information for contemporaries as well as modern scholars has been stressed by a number of historians, who link its significance to its role in the growth of a public sphere and participatory politics.[115] Prior argues that in the Jacobean era and with the proliferation of the printed press issues of "doctrine and

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[110] Ibid. 318-320, 313-316, 320-322.

[111] Ibid., 320-322.

[112] Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric Under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England," *Past & Present* 153 (1996): 64-65, 70-71. Such printed and performed propaganda is also discussed in Peter Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[113] Lake and Questier, "Agency," 71, 72-73.

[114] Ibid., 72, 106-107.

[115] Most notably Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

discipline" in the Church were increasingly carried on by lesser-known authorities and in less formal formats such as the pamphlet.[116] Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson identify this fusion of cheap literature and popular piety in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as responding to the needs of its market, which retained an interest in the supernatural but required a basic or "facile" discussion of doctrine.[117] Pamphlets dealing with religious themes could respond to the public's desire to learn about their faith as well as an inclination to participate in the "political process" and, through pamphlets and other printed materials, learn and form opinions about policies whose consequences might not be immediately consequential to their lives.[118] Haydon also asserts the role of the press—namely pamphlets, broadsides, printed sermons, and their ilk—in advancing anti-Catholic propaganda in the eighteenth century, which was popular and especially plentiful during times of tension with continental Catholic powers or fears of encroaching Popery within the nation; foreign news, reprints of Roman Catholic crimes, and rigged "theological debates" were popular genres of anti-Catholic literature that expounded on the providential history of English Protestantism and commemorated anniversaries such as the Gunpowder Plot, the Irish uprising, and the Glorious Revolution.[119] As such, pamphlets can be an invaluable source for tracing discourses that pertain to religion as well as to contemporary events and which were intended for a literate layman. Mark Knights offers a detailed analysis of the growth of printed press as part of the shift in the later Stuart period towards a more representative society and a "partisan political culture" inclusive of the public.[120] This political culture and its public discourse became a key component of the exercise of "authority and allegiance" as well as a danger to that authority because of its subversive potential; in this context, religious debates began to engage the laity and increasingly were articulated in tandem with debates concerning the state and governance, constituting a new emphasis on "public practice" and the role of religion in civic life.[121] For Knights, religious concerns did not take precedence

[116] Prior, *Jacobean Church,* 1-3.

[117] Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, "Introduction," in *Order & Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 9.

[118] Tim Harris, "Introduction," in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1800,* ed. Tim Harris (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 1, 8-9.

[119] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism,* 38-40, 28-34.

[120] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

[121] Knights, *Representation,* 8, 18-21.

over politics but instead became a device within partisan debates.[122] Knights identifies the increasing interest in historical materials such as pamphlets as part of the 'linguistic turn,' which emphasizes the implicit and explicit actions of language and their power to "shape and order" socio-political contexts; similarly, the New Historicism exercised by scholars such as Quentin Skinner seeks to contextualize literature in history while also looking to the literary components of history, asserting that texts contained specific "languages" with their own vocabularies and political connotations.[123] The pamphlet, then, was a medium as well as an agent, capable of expressing and shaping experiences, identities, allegiances, and social coherence.[124] As the above scholars have noted, pamphlets and other mundane media can provide a unique insight into the ideas and intellectual environments of an increasingly involved public, particularly as it encountered new manifestations of longstanding religious and political disputes.

The engagement of the public in politics and their participatory role in religious and political debates is also addressed in discussions of the growth of confessional and national identities and the concept of the 'nation.' Tony Claydon and Ian McBride have situated the recent historiographical interest in faith-based national identity within a revisionist impulse toward re-evaluations of the as-yet-unexplored origins of national identities and the history of religion, which together can illustrate the role of faith and theological positions in shaping worldviews.[125] To this end, Claydon and Corns address the growth of national identity and expressions of nationhood in the later seventeenth century as the populace became increasingly engaged in politics, as well as the questions of loyalty, belonging, community, and allegiance that frequently arose in early modern discussions of Roman Catholicism.[126] Ethan Shagan, too, has emphasized the importance of analyses of the confluence of religion, politics, and community as it related specifically to Roman Catholics, whose identities and political views—much like those of Protestants—were formed in part by relation to their opponents; for Roman Catholics as much as any other religious community, belief and

[122] Ibid., 21-22.
[123] Ibid., 42-44.
[124] Ibid., 44-45.
[125] 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: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850*, ed.Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 5.
[126] Claydon and Corns, "Introduction," 1-2, 7, 8.

practice were as important to identity and experience as the discourse which expressed them.[127] In general, there appears to be—as Shagan has noted—a divide between histories of Protestant and Roman Catholic or recusant national identities and their corresponding views of membership in a (confessional) community. J.C.D. Clark defines national identity as the perception or image of the polity according to its members as well as the related individual implications as it is accepted as part of personal identity, individual concepts of society, and personal obligations to the political regime.[128] Clark asserts the religious connotations of national identity by claiming that the collective consciousness of the early modern period was defined not by nationalism but by "powerful collective self-images" determined by law and religion.[129] Clark argues against a simple Protestant-Roman Catholic dichotomy, instead claiming that the post-1670 bugbear of the polity was Popery, with its implications of "power, luxury, [...] universal monarchy, and pride," and that Protestantism itself was an ambiguous basis for identity, still subject to debate and implemented, along with Roman Catholicism, as one of many "political labels."[130] Still, however, it seems that Protestantism did inspire its own unique identity, although, as Clark explains, it had to be combined with a "matrix" of legal and constitutional ideals to form a national identity; for Clark, Anglicanism, rather than simply Protestantism, was the key to this identity, as the Church of England possessed its own institutional and legal framework, as well as a providential vision of the nation that created said matrix in which "normative ethical identity" and the polity became fused.[131] Owen Stanwood, too, seeks to move beyond simple paradigms of the religious identity and the nation-state by exploring conflicting concepts of empire and confessional alliance during the Revolution in New England in 1689. In this case, Stanwood argues, the common enemy of the tyrannical French-Roman Catholic empire, itself conceived of as a political as well as religious threat, arose in the British colonies and precipitated the desire for a transnational Protestant confessional alliance closely linked to

[127] Ethan Shagan, "Introduction: English Catholic History in Context," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation:' Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England,* ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 1-2, 13-14.
[128] Clark, "Protestantism, 250.
[129] Clark, "Protestantism," 251.
[130] Ibid., 262, 272.
[131] Ibid., 274.

the political community.[132] Although Clark has identified the patriotic impulse as having been devised in the early-mid eighteenth century as a Whig ideology combining "public virtue" and militant Protestantism, Stanwood argues that the revolutionary ideology at play in New England in 1689 combined "patriotism and religious zeal" in a similar measure, with the intention of establishing a Protestant empire that would oppose the French empire by preserving the rights and liberties of its subjects as well as local control to preserve Protestant religious values.[133] The foreignness of Roman Catholicism arises again in Haydon's chapter in *Protestantism and National Identity,* which identifies an eighteenth-century impulse towards state-consolidation and Protestant identity-formation through the reconstruction of the continent and Roman Catholics in England as 'alien' entities: Roman Catholicism was differentiated from Englishness and its practitioners excluded from English identity by their political and social dependence on Popery and, by extension, their allegiance to foreign power.[134] Jeremy Black, however, offers an alternative view of anti-Catholicism as a prime constituting factor of national identity by highlighting the divisions within Protestantism itself that precluded a single "unifying Protestantism;" for Black, events such as the Glorious Revolution that are seen as exemplifying that Protestant national identity required for their eventual success a vigorous campaign of pro-Williamite propaganda that associated Jacobitism with Catholic tyranny and English Protestantism as tolerant.[135]

Meanwhile, in Ireland, according to Ian McBride, national identity and patriotism were founded in religion and the polity and thus became Anglo-centric, Anglican, and anti-Catholic, based on the providential survival of Protestants in Ireland and their uniqueness as English by descent; from this perspective, Irish Catholics were excluded in cultural terms as well as due to their belief in the papal deposing power and their inherent threat to Protestant

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[132] Owen Stanwood, "The Protestant Moment: Antipopery, the Revolution of 1688-1689, and the Making of an Anglo-American Empire," *The Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 483, 484.

[133] Clark, "Protestantism," 251; Stanwood, "Protestant Moment," 507, 502. In this way Clark directly challenges Linda Colley's thesis in *Britons,* arguing that Protestantism failed to form a gel cohering Britain and, in fact, often precipitated divisions therein. See J.C.D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[134] Colin 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: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850,* ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 34-38.

[135] Jeremy Black, "Confessional State or Elect Nation? Religion and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850,* ed. by Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 59, 61, 56-58.

civil government.[136] John Gibney also explores the implications of faith-based identities in Ireland through the memory of the Irish uprising of 1641, which was used to justify a variety of English policies detrimental to the Irish Catholic community.[137] While portrayals of 1641 could borrow from broader anti-Catholic tropes, those in Ireland took on a more particularly Irish dimension founded in the reality of Protestants' minority position and the importance of confessional allegiance and identity in Ireland after the sixteenth century; for Protestants, 1641 became a "touchstone" for united Irish Protestant identity formed by the reality of religious motivation in the uprising itself and their status as a threatened population.[138] Accounts of the uprising had polemical value based in their ability to provoke response rather than in their veracity, and were used to prove both the divine providence of Protestant survival and the unnatural, disloyal tendencies of the Irish Catholic community that supported the retention of most Cromwellian land confiscations.[139] Brendan Bradshaw argues that the Protestant ascendancy also had a different reaction in Ireland: the growth of an inclusive Irish Catholic community united by their rejection of the state religion.[140] Roman Catholicism was not only a religion in practice but also a confessional or "socio-political identity" formed through practice and transformed into a Catholic counter-culture comprising repudiation of the royal supremacy and the beliefs and practices of the established Church.[141] S.J. Connolly emphasizes the complexity of both Protestant and Catholic national and confessional identities in Ireland, arguing that despite their specific divisions and socio-political grievances grounded in confession, identities and alliances were by necessity fluid and subject to change: the reality of life in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Ireland required a certain amount of concession to the Roman Catholic majority as

[136] Ian McBride, "'The Common Name of Irishman:' Protestantism and Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 237-238, 240, 245-247.

[137] John Gibney, "The Memory of 1641 and Protestant Identity in Restoration and Jacobite Ireland," in *Irish Protestant Identities*, ed. Mervyn Busteed, Frank Neal and Jonathan Tonge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 13.

[138] Gibney, "Memory of 1641," 14-15.

[139] Ibid., 15-17, 18.

[140] Brendan Bradshaw, "The English Reformation and Identity Formation in Ireland and Wales," in *British Consciousness and Identity*, edited by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 47.

[141] Bradshaw, "English Reformation," 51-53.

well as the maintenance of social and kinship ties across the confessional divide.[142] The position of those attempting to straddle this divide of religious and political identity in the post-Reformation period in England is elucidated by Alexandra Walsham in *Church Papists*, which seeks to recover the history of those recusants who, in their attempts to reconcile their Roman Catholic proclivities with the demands of the Protestant state, became a "diffuse and amorphous" community of religious non-conformists.[143] Walsham argues that in reference to early modern England it is not helpful to use stark dichotomies of Roman Catholic or Protestant, given its state of theological and confessional flux, and that 'church Papists,' who blurred the boundaries of confessional identity, were a manifestation of this dynamic context.[144] In religious terms, church Papists were quasi-conformist, quasi-non-conformist, implying "partial [...] alienation from the ecclesiastical establishment" as well as a conscientious failing associated with superficial religious expression; in a political sense, church Papists' "political theology" of partial conformity carried implications of civil subversion, deception of the monarch, and potential treachery.[145] In this way, church Papists eluded any sense of singular national or confessional identity, as they were guilty of schism from a Roman Catholic perspective and guilty of Roman Catholicism and subversion from an Anglican standpoint.[146] Those recusants who chose full nonconformity faced a different sense of simultaneous belonging and alienation. John Bossy's work on the Roman Catholic community in England emphasizes the community's separation through their choice of membership and practice within a nonconforming sect and their corresponding rejection of the "bonds of collective behaviour" and religious practice that would otherwise have united them with fellow Englishmen.[147] English Catholic identity was defined by its ritual aspects of separation—namely fasting, abstinence, the celebration of the Mass—which distinguished the community socially as well as spiritually from its Protestant and church Papist contemporaries.[148] Lisa McClain, too, argues that the Reformation transformed the Roman Catholic community into a new entity with new religious experiences drawn from its

[142] S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 498, 220, 250, 254.
[143] Walsham, *Church Papists*, xi-xii.
[144] Ibid., 3, 8.
[145] Ibid., 8-10, 41-42, 39-40.
[146] Walsham, *Church Papists*, 44.
[147] Bossy, *English Catholic*, 108.
[148] Ibid., 108-109, 122-123.

medieval and post-Tridentine traditions and a new sense of identity and community defined by its refusal to integrate into the Anglican community.[149] Gabriel Glickman, however, provides a revitalized perspective on the Roman Catholic community in England which claims that recusants, far from being "silent spectators" in the politics of the seventeenth century, survived polemical and legal assaults on the social, moral, and spiritual implications of their faith and participated in the wider political debates of the period, including the questions of legitimacy, identity, political theology, and nationhood experienced by their contemporaries of all faiths in England and in Europe.[150] Recusants, in fact, were not merely a separate entity at peace with their exile within the nation; rather, the community experienced a form of "English Catholic Enlightenment" spurred by its experience and relationship with exile and its desire to engage with the Protestant regime.[151] Glickman argues that the dominant intellectual position of recusants in England was an "irenic patriotism" seeking toleration as well as loosened bonds of Church and state that engaged with English national identity after 1688 and employed patriotic and irenic themes in its discourse; in this way, recusants sought to be English as well as Roman Catholic, inspired in part by Gallican ideas from France and the Low Countries that, in a limited fashion, detached religious affinities, the civil state, and the Court of Rome.[152] The actual extent, or rather limitation, of religious toleration in the Low Countries has been addressed, but the importance of Glickman's argument is in its assertion that Roman Catholics could maintain their sense of uniqueness within the nation—or, perhaps, their sense of elect status beyond the polity—as well as a sense of fundamental belonging to and participation in the same. This problematizes strict distinctions of national and confessional identity and suggests that more research needs to be done into the ways in which such distinctions were articulated or dismantled by Protestant and Roman Catholic contemporaries in this period.

Central to this analysis is the proliferation of pamphlet materials concerning Roman Catholicism published in the reign of James II and immediately preceding the Glorious Revolution (c. 1685) up to and including the Act of Settlement in 1701 (c. 1700). These pamphlets, representative of a broad spectrum of genres of printed texts, shed light on

[149] Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 7, 8-9.
[150] Glickman, *Community*, 1-6, 10.
[151] Ibid., 17-18.
[152] Ibid., 17, 255-257.

popular representations of a dissentient religion in a Protestant state, proposals for approaching the same, as well as the language in which those representations were written. The majority of the pamphlets used in this thesis were retrieved from Early English Books Online (EEBO), which offered a wealth of materials published in the seventeenth century and subsequently digitized as images and transcriptions. Other primary sources, such as John Nalson's *Foxes and Firebrands*, were accessed in hardcopy at the British Library and in the Early Printed Books collection at Trinity College Dublin. Given the predominance in this thesis of primary sources accessed online, it is useful to describe some of the means by which these materials were recovered from the staggering quantity of texts available to scholars in a collection such as EEBO. Search terms, for example, draw certain texts from the database while omitting others, and in this way the terms used in the initial phases of primary source research laid the foundations for this thesis. More specifically, while 'tolerance' and 'toleration' brought relatively few results within the given period of 1680 to 1705, terms such as 'indulgence' and 'dispensation,' when coupled with 'Catholic,' were more successful; most productive, however, were terms such as 'Popery,' 'Papist,' or 'Rome,' which drew a wider collection of sources but also provided a diffusion of conversations about the role and influence of Roman Catholicism in society. This offered a glimpse at the ubiquity of the discourse of toleration and especially of the ways in which this discussion could take place outside of strictly political commentaries.

As primary sources, these pamphlets can help answer the following questions: How did Protestant writers conceive of Roman Catholicism in this period? How did these conceptions pertain to the status of Roman Catholics within the state? Due to the availability of primary sources, these questions will be pursued largely in reference to Roman Catholicism as it existed in England, with a discussion of Ireland taking a minority position. The value of these pamphlet lies partially in their polemical purposes, as they were used by Protestants and Roman Catholics alike to defend their views of true religion and nationhood; in pursuing these ends, writers blurred the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction, employing literary devices and historical arguments, and raising questions about fact, evidence, and truth.[153] Joad Raymond has shown that the propagandistic purposes of the

[153] Lake and Questier, "Agency," 94-95; Elliott Visconsi, "King Philip's War and the Edges of Civil Religion in 1670s London," in *Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s*, ed. Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011),152.

printed press were harnessed in the time of the Henrician Reformation, and by 1688 it had become an important form of literary expression as well as a tool for politics, rallying public support, and facilitating communication and debate across a broad cross-section of society.[154] In more practical terms, the pamphlet has an inherent value for historical purposes given its capacity to circulate widely within its time: pamphlets could run from 250 to 1,500 copies per edition, were lightweight and highly accessible, sold by permanent as well as itinerant booksellers, and could be recycled through second-hand sales and availability at coffee-and ale-houses.[155] The lapse of the 1662 Printing Act and the subsequent lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 encouraged the publication of pamphlets, making these an important aspect of public life for their capacity to help shape the memory and experience of events such as the Popish Plot through rhetoric and calculated reprinting, as well as their ability to combine entertainment and education by appealing to the "fears and jealousies" of their audience.[156] As Knights has argued, minor works such as pamphlets had as much influence as major polemical works in this period, with the power to create change, forge or divide loyalties, bolster or undermine authority, and create or destroy communities; moreover, the foibles of print could be rectified by print, often creating elaborate exchanges reclaiming challenged authority and re-establishing subverted truths.[157] The nature and accessibility of the pamphlet as a medium meant that it could involve many types of 'languages' and interpretations depending on its writer and audience, and as such was a result of a long process of meaning-creation.[158] The stereotypes of Roman Catholicism to be considered in this analysis were a fixture of the press that combined fact with exaggerated or imagined elements and shaped public discourse by spurring responses from allies and opponents alike.[159] In this case, however, the veracity of stereotypes or accounts of Roman Catholicism is of less interest than the ways in which those were articulated and related to the social and political realities of the state. Even where toleration is not an explicit concern of the document, it is often an unarticulated implication of the language and content of the work, elucidating the ubiquity

[154] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12-13, 25-26.
[155] Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 80, 83-85, 88.
[156] Ibid., 331, 355-357, 365-368, 381.
[157] Knights, *Representation*, 45-46, 269.
[158] Ibid., 46-37.
[159] Ibid., 310. See also Peacey, *Public Politics*.

and versatility of the discourse of toleration. Travel literature, for example, need not concern England or toleration in order to make observations to an English audience about the general tenets of Roman Catholicism and their (often destructive) influence on the social, political, and spiritual health of the realms in which they are supported. As such, a selection of sources from a variety of genres—from the explicitly religious to the more generally informative or even strictly entertaining—is an important means of gauging the aims and expressions of tolerationist discourse. The precise religious affiliations of writers participating in this discourse are not always easy to determine, although their appraisals of Roman Catholicism generally betray Calvinist Protestant leanings, and most likely engaged membership of some sort in the established Church.

Without undermining the real and relevant practical, political motivations for arguments that disparaged Roman Catholicism and, by extension, banished it to the domain of the intolerable, it is clear that religious arguments, too, played a valuable role in this discourse. As Bradshaw has noted, ideologies stemming from religious belief encompassed values and judgments pertaining to the spheres of politics and society and resulted in a holistic, though nominally confessional, identity.[160] The controversy surrounding the Oath of Allegiance, for example, proves the importance of such secular concerns as subversion and regicide, but as Questier and Sommerville have shown, those concerns, too, were founded in issues of doctrine. While the danger of the doctrine of papal deposing power has been the focus of much scholarship in this field, the fundamental unacceptability of Roman Catholicism can be seen as grounded in a constellation of beliefs and practices that had profound implications for the spiritual and political life of the state. In arguing this, this study seeks to avoid the 'traps' of the recent historiography of toleration: neglect of the religious motivations influencing the governance of society, and an exclusive focus on religion in cultural and socio-political developments.[161] This study also contributes to recent historiographical attempts to re-integrate Roman Catholics into broader narratives of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; while it will not consider the participation of Roman Catholics in public life, formally limited as it was, it can shed some light on the ways in

[160] Bradshaw, "English Reformation," 51.
[161] McBride, "Trials," 9.

which such participation was viewed from outside the Roman Catholic fold.[162] Furthermore, as this analysis is concerned with religious interpretations of "actions or beliefs," it is a form of religious and intellectual history, as defined by Peter Lake, concerned with beliefs, attitudes, and values; in keeping with Lake's definition, this study will not seek to attribute latent meanings or conflicts to its subject matter—such as that of the religious society versus the Enlightenment—and will focus instead on the "cognitive structures," articulated and unarticulated, used to describe a 'foreign' religion.[163] As such, the actual practiced intolerance faced by Roman Catholics—or the lack thereof—will not be considered; as Milton argues, kinship ties and social interactions at a micro-level necessitated distinctions between "good and bad papists" that eluded the strict confessional barriers expressed in print.[164] Whether James I/VI intended to use the Oath of Allegiance to distinguish moderate from radical Roman Catholics is subject to debate, but regardless, it remains that there was a measure of *de facto* or pragmatic toleration—however disputed by contemporaries—on which the regime could expand.[165] Throughout this analysis it will become clear that the discourse of toleration was carried out in print across a wide variety of genres, and in some ways these materials do not address the issue of toleration (as a state policy) directly at all. Rather, the question of acceptable, or tolerable, Roman Catholic belief or practice could be expressed in terms of their religious errors, and the perversities thereof, as much as Roman Catholics' capacity for subversion within the state. In this sense, it was left to the reader to draw conclusions about the suitability of Roman Catholicism as a confessional identity in the kingdom(s), and to determine whether the many and multifarious errors of the Church of Rome could be allowed to persist alongside the established Church(es).[166] A preoccupation with the forms of authority underlying Roman Catholic belief and practice unites the disparate critiques levelled at the Church and its believers, and this fixation with true and reliable foundations of belief is reflective of the contemporary concerns identified by

[162] Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley and Arthur F. Marotti, "Introduction," in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2007), 2.

[163] Christopher Brooke et al., "What Is Religious History?" *History Today* 35 (1985): 47, 48.

[164] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 255-257.

[165] Ibid., 257-258.

[166] For a discussion of the complexities of the social, political, and religious bonds of the united kingdoms, see Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, ed., *The British Problem c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).

Champion in the form of claims to historicism; while these claims were ideologically motivated and rarely as objective as they claimed to be, they are part of a movement towards scepticism and empiricism that also incorporated religious postulations.[167] This study, then, can also have an additional value as a contribution to historiographical discourse on the advance of the Enlightenment and its influence on religion and society.

[167] Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 240.

CHAPTER 1: Extracting the "Baits that Catch Fools:" Perspectives on Authority in Roman Catholic Worship and Devotion

In 1691 the Church of Rome stood trial before a Protestant jury and found itself condemned. For its crimes, temporal and spiritual, it was sentenced to death; in this intrigue, however, the only punishment meted out was a subjection to scorn facilitated by hyperbole. Its offences were diverse in name but alike in meaning: beneath its superstitious traditions, heretical practices, "Jewish ceremonies" and pagan idolatries lay a corruption of authority responsible for damnation as well as treason.[168] *The Tryal and Condemnation of Popery* was not alone in pursuing this line of assault on the Roman Catholic Church. Like Robert Persons's *Memorial for the Reformation in England*, which was republished in 1690 to alert Protestants of the fate they escaped through the Glorious Revolution, many printed works were designed to remind the English of the fragile, albeit providential, status of the Reformation.[169] A plethora of pamphlets and other short publications shared the *Tryal*'s concerns with the authority of the Church of Rome, which were twofold: corrupt theological authority, which legitimized idolatry in practice (spiritual corruption) and corrupt pastoral authority, which used fraud and artifice to perpetuate idolatry and pursue its worldly interests (secular corruption). In articulating these concerns, authors frequently juxtaposed the corrupt, carnal, or fabricated principles of Roman Catholicism with claims to reason, either in personal terms or in terms of Protestantism as a whole. How, they wondered, could an innately rational man choose the illogical tenets of Roman Catholicism over an option far more favourable to reason—namely, the established Church of England? The implications for toleration of Roman Catholics were many, although not always explicitly stated. The Church of Rome, while operating in England, Ireland, or the Continent, suppressed reason, made ignorance a virtue and deference to corruption an obligation; its followers, trapped within this paradigm, became capable of any number of aberrant and alarming behaviours dangerous to the spiritual and political welfare of the realm. The result of this discourse is a

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[168] *The Tryal and Condemnation of Popery. On Rome's Pardons. Epitaph upon a Popish Priest* (London,re-printed at Edinburgh: S.N., 1691), 2, 3. Titular quotation from Theophilus Dorrington, *Observations Concerning the Present State of Religion in the Romish Church: With Some Reflections Upon Them; Made In a Journey Through Some Provinces of Germany, in the Year 1689* (London: J. Wyat, 1699), 104.

[169] The *Memorial* concerned the possible return of the Roman Catholic Church to England; Alexandra Walsham, "Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation," *Historical Research* 78. 201 (2005): 290.

scepticism concerning the role that Roman Catholics can and should play within society and the implication that toleration is beyond the bounds of acceptability.

For Protestant writers, religious corruption was especially evident in the various cults of Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholics were, as John Coffey has argued, perceived as comparable to the idolaters and schismatics of the Old Testament and, in some cases, deserving of commensurate punishments.[170] The cults of the Church of Rome are perhaps the most visible evidence of this error, and refer to the devotion paid to holy entities apart from God, including forms of worship such as prayers, applications for intercession, and requests for miracles in both spiritual and temporal affairs. The most common objects of these cults described in Protestant literature are the Virgin Mary, the saints, and other supernatural beings such as angels and spirits. In Roman Catholic terms, the saints and other holy creatures were embodiments of the sacred as well as models for human behaviour; they provided access to the divine and influence over the natural world and its order and proved this special role through miracles and prophecy.[171] Anne Jacobson Schutte argues that a saint is defined socially or externally, in the sense that their sainthood is determined by behaviour deemed laudable and imitable based on contemporary "religious and social value[s]" and needs.[172] From this definition the cults of the saints can potentially encompass both spiritual and social subversion when viewed from a Protestant perspective: the saint is not only viewed as physical proof of a contradictory interpretation of divine will but also as a paradigm of likely disagreeable religious mores and of potentially divisive behaviours or associations. These cults and the religious culture that surrounded them were justified in Roman Catholic parlance by the distinction between *latria* and *dulia*—or, the worship due to God alone and the reverence paid to "lesser creatures"—but, in the works to be considered, roundly condemned.[173] Here culture is to be understood in Bob Scribner's definition of a "system of shared attitudes and values"—the cults which inspire behaviour—and the

[170] John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2000), 29.

[171] David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 165-169.

[172] Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice, 1618-1750* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 73-74.

[173] Joad Raymond, "Milton's Angels," *History Today* 60.12 (2010): 18. See also the monograph by Raymond, *Milton's Angels: The Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) and the edited volume by Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham, *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

"performances or artefacts" in which they are carried out across different levels of society.[174] Given the homogeneity of the Roman Catholic community, and in spite of its stated universality, this culture included a medley of different and occasionally "contradictory fragments," which might even transgress against the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church itself.[175] This culture formed part of a broader definition of religion which, as Watt explains, involved beliefs, practices, and regulations as well as "images, emotions and fears" which informed both the individual's religious experience and their understanding of their own placement within the universe.[176] The cults and all of their related activities including processions and dramatic re-enactments were employed to give physical credence to the truths articulated by the Roman Catholic Church, embodying "sacred mystery" in a way that words or sermons could not and providing, in the case of miracles, visible proof of the "righteousness" and "religious truth" of the Church.[177] Similarly, elements of the cults such as the veneration of relics implied divine recognition of the legitimacy of the Church as they represented "God's mercy" in allowing the "*praesentia* of the holy dead" to be found and accessed by congregations well after the extinction of the earthly presence of the saint.[178] The importance of the "human and the material" and of sensory approaches to the divine was not only central to the cults of the saints and Virgin, in their cultural manifestations of veneration of relics and pilgrimages and in the visceral and "bodily relationship" of Mary and Christ, but also central to critiques of the carnality and superficiality of Roman Catholic devotion.[179] This accusation of carnality intersects with critiques of Roman Catholicism as resembling the religion of Old Testament Judaism: in the same way as Martin Luther had claimed Judaism to be a carnal rather than a spiritual religion, Roman Catholicism is frequently derided as similarly 'Jewish' and idolatrous rather than cerebral.[180] Donna Spivey

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[174] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 2.

[175] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 3.

[176] Ibid., 327-328.

[177] Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 94-95, 98.

[178] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 91-92.

[179] Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 4, 36-38.

[180] Brooks Schramm, "Introduction," in *Martin Luther, the Bible and the Jewish People: A Reader*, ed. Brooks Schramm and Kirsti I. Stjerna (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 5-8.

Ellington traced this trend to the "sacrality of the material" in the later medieval period, which saw the saints and their physical traces as "channels of communication with the spiritual world."[181] To Protestant onlookers, these cultural manifestations of Roman Catholic cults constituted idolatry in practice and superstition in belief: the use of images in worship; the elaborate decoration of churches; and the many festivals, holy days, and processions organized in honour of the Virgin and the saints exploited the arbitrary beliefs of Roman Catholics and, in theological terms, lacked Scripture-proofs, misinterpreted the Councils and early Fathers, and employed contrived doctrines for their explication and justification. These concerns can be connected to the growth of positive theology, which seeks to substantiate doctrines with scriptural or traditional bases and as a result associates novelty with change and error; in Protestant parlance especially, the early Church and antiquity were 'pure sources' from which doctrine ought to be derived and not only asserted the superiority of the primitive Church but could be used to prove the paganism and corruption of the contemporary Church of Rome.[182] While the explanations of Roman Catholic doctrines and practices put forth by their own theologians are not of particular interest to this analysis, it is useful to consider that Roman Catholic *traditiones* referred to "traditional observances in the Church, upheld by custom or law" and not exclusively to oral traditions not found in Scripture; rather, *traditiones* might not be recorded in Scripture but could be traced through instructions to apostles, to apostolic tradition, or to customs that otherwise carried the weight of law.[183] These "material and visual" fixtures of what Mary Laven calls 'baroque Catholicism' might be perceived as gaudy and "aggressive" to Protestant witnesses or later historians but served a purpose in promoting Counter-Reformation Catholic doctrines concerning sainthood and good works and, as such, can also be seen as dangerous beyond their merely aesthetic pitfalls.[184] Many of these practices, such as the veneration of images, had formed the basis of the iconoclasm of the early Reformation in England and were revived in the 'puritan' purges of the 1640s, demonstrating both the tension and agreement within Protestantism as it was concerned with the Church of Rome: the righteous could

[181] Ellington, *Sacred Body*, 140-141.

[182] Bruno Neveu, "L'érudition ecclésiastique du dix-septième siècle et la nostalgie de l'antiquité christienne," in *Religion and Humanism. Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 197-203.

[183] Maurice Benevot, "*Traditiones* in the Council of Trent," *The Heythrop Journal* 4.4 (1963): 334-336.

[184] Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation, " *Renaissance Quarterly* 59. 3 (Fall 2006): 707.

either discard only the 'faulty' elements of Roman Catholic theology or rid themselves of its "worldliness" entirely, but either option entailed rejection of the religion and denigration of its practitioners.[185] By the later sixteenth century the iconoclasm had progressed to an iconophobia that no longer allowed for some forms of images to be used for pedagogical purposes and increasingly denounced all images as 'popish' with an emphasis on learning through text; images as well as theatre became associated with critiques of the theatricality and perceived superficiality of Roman Catholic worship as well as the "conjuring and necromancy" of the idolatrous Mass.[186] The iconoclasm of the sixteenth century was not only a public "didactic exercise" but a pious one intended to "embarrass" and strip images and statues of the power imbued to them by their worshipers which was deemed to be derived from "false, magical" sources akin to the Old Testament idolatry of the golden calf or even Satan; in this attempt to affirm the superior power of true faith over idolatry the iconoclasm can also be seen as demonstrating the continued importance of interpretations and manifestations of spiritually legitimate authority, such as Scripture.[187] These cults and their corresponding expressions were not necessarily uniform across Roman Catholic communities and were subject, as Craig Harline explains, to "cultural negotiation" between popular religion, often described as superstition, and official religion; missionaries such as Jesuits, for example, were likely to adapt their methods of catechization to incorporate pre-existing "belief structures" and meet the "material and physical demands" of their charges.[188] This compromise was especially important in areas where the apparatus of the Church was impaired or unsupported by state structures.[189] Regardless of the Reformation, elements of Roman Catholic religious culture remained a concern to the established Church of England, particularly as 'popish' images and woodcuts of the saints and Christ or devotional objects such as rosaries continued to circulate in England through the mid-seventeenth century and beyond, having been either secreted away during the early Reformation or imported by missionaries along with other religious materials from the Spanish Netherlands and

[185] Raymond, "Milton's Angels," 18.

[186] Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*, (Reading, UK: University of Reading, 1986), 11, 22-23, 27.

[187] Soergel, *Wondrous,* 65-68.

[188] Laven, "Counter-Reformation," 710, 711.

[189] Ibid., 713-714.

France.[190] In this way even travel literature describing these cults outside of the archipelago can provide valuable insight into their implications for civil society, if not specifically for an English context. The following pamphlets provide insight into the ways in which forms of religious authority—whether textual, institutional, or human—were integral to the discourse surrounding toleration for Roman Catholics in England and, to a lesser extent, Ireland.

John Nalson's study (1682) of the strange relationship between Protestant nonconformity and Roman Catholicism emphasized the machinations of Roman Catholic priests and religious orders who sought both openly and secretly to re-introduce Popery into Protestant nations.[191] Along with the outright plotting of upheaval and assassination, Nalson accused the leaders of the Roman Catholic cause in Ireland of extorting the Lord Deputy and his Council with threats of withholding support of the king in the face of French invasion unless full toleration—including open practice and freedom to build churches and religious houses—was extended to Roman Catholics.[192] This was, in itself, a judgment against the allegiance of Roman Catholics to their sovereign, but Nalson included a protestation signed by the Protestant clergy in Ireland that was particularly pertinent to issues of Roman Catholic devotion and toleration: to grant toleration to a religion that was "Superstitious and Idolatrous," with a doctrine "Enormous and Heretical" was a "grievous sin," not only because it made Protestants complicit in the "abominations of Popery" and the damnation of believers' souls but because it "set Religion to sale" in exchange for monetary or political gain[193]. In a matter of such "dangerous consequence" it was thus important for leaders to be "zealous of God's Glory" and "zealous, resolute and couragious [sic] against all Popery and Idolatry."[194] To safeguard the religious and political welfare of the Protestant nation, then, it was necessary to withdraw from all compromise with Roman Catholicism, not only because the religion subverted rightful deference to civil authority but because it was spiritually repugnant. In this Nalson drew a clear conceptual link between official or *de jure* toleration

[190] Watt, *Cheap Print,* 171-181.

[191] John Nalson, *Foxes and Firebrands: or, A specimen of the danger and harmony of popery and separation. Wherein is proved from undeniable matter of fact and reason, that separation from the Church of England is, in the judgment of papists, and by sad experience, found the most compendious way to introduce popery, and to ruine the Protestant religion* (Dublin : printed by Joseph Ray for a Society of Stationers, and are to be sold by the booksellers of Dublin, 1682).

[192]Nalson, *Foxes and Firebrands (Part II),* 66-67.

[193] Ibid., 67-68.

[194] Ibid.

and the religious rightfulness of its object, suggesting that the latter was a prerequisite of the former and its inverse a justification for exclusion. This link will be fleshed out in its details by his vocal co-religionists

Section I: "Pious Frauds:" Religious Cults and Authority in the Protestant Imagination

In 1685 John Gother's *A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented* made a studied—and, later, contested—appeal in favour of the Roman Catholics of England.[195] Gother (or Goter) was a convert from Protestantism, a priest, and a prolific participant in the pamphlet discourse of the 1680s whose missives were frequently re-printed and contested.[196] This particular tract, which synthesized and then opposed the arguments put forth in a number of contemporary anti-Catholic tracts, spanned the full spectrum of critiques of the Church of Rome and addressed the controversies surrounding the cults of the saints and Mary; within these cults, Gother responded to charges of idolatry and, in cultural terms, fakery in the form of relics and miracles. The idolatry of the Church of Rome was central enough to Gother's rebuttal to warrant a subtitle—"Of Praying to Images"—and these images, the "Stocks and Stones" worshiped "for Gods" in Roman Catholic devotion, were the first target of Gother's vindication[197]. The accusation that images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were the object of Roman Catholics' prayers and, more seriously, "Trust & Confidence"—as evidenced by the "stately Monuments," adornments, offerings, and "prostrate" adorations made in their honour—highlighted the question of authority; like the ancient heathens, whose "Wooden Gods, [eg.] Jupiter, Mars, Venus" formed the focus of religious devotion, 'Papists' promised their allegiance to unworthy and unqualified beneficiaries.[198] Gother's defense centred on the issue of the correct interpretation of the second commandment. Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians disagreed over the content of the divine injunction against the use of graven images, primarily disputing the criteria of a graven image and the structure of the commandment itself, which Protestant theologians claimed was part of a second, separate

[195] See William Sherlock, below; John Gother, *A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented: Or, a Two-fold Character of Popery* (London: N.P., 1685). Titular quotation drawn from *A Seasonable Discourse Shewing the Necessity of Maintaining the Established Religion, In opposition to Popery. The Third Edition Corrected (LONDON: Printed for Henry Brome,at the Gun in S. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1673), 4.

[196] Stuart Handley, "Goter, John (d.1704," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, last modified January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/11127.

[197] Gother, *A Papist*, 5.

[198] Ibid.

commandment as opposed to included within the first.[199] If separate, Protestants could argue that God had condemned both worshipping other 'gods' *and* the creation of graven images as part of that worship. Far from ignoring the prohibition of image-worship, Gother argued, Roman Catholics used images as meditative and didactic aids that facilitated the direction of "Meditation, Love, Thanksgiving, Imitation" to their true objects—Christ and the saints, for example—while, in terms of efficiency, providing almost immediately the information otherwise contained in lengthy volumes.[200] In this argument, Gother echoed Pope Gregory I, who wrote that images assisted in conveying information to the illiterate about the lives of holy persons, biblical events, and the correct means of adoring God; these images built upon a foundation of oral narratives and sermons and their use in teaching was not synonymous with adoration.[201] Holy images, then, did not undermine divine authority because they were not venerated as holy in themselves but as conduits to the holy whose representation, much like a loyal subject's image of the monarch, merely brought to mind the "honour and esteem" held for the person.[202] As such, cultural expressions such as "kneeling, praying, lifting up the Eyes, burning Candles, Incense" were done in honour of their true object, God, to whom was granted "Sovereign Honour."[203] The concepts of sovereignty and fealty recurred in terms of the cults of the saints, the "Gods [made] of Dead Men" for whom Roman Catholics purportedly eschewed "their only and infinite Mediator Jesus Christ" and thereby "[robbed] God of his Honour."[204] The merits of the saints, or the lack thereof, formed the primary subversion of divine authority of which Roman Catholics were accused; Gother, for his part, articulated this point in his distinction between the "Mediator of Redemption" (Christ) and the "Mediators of Intercession" (saints) who, like Moses, merely amplified the prayers of the faithful, which remained directed at God alone and dependent on the merits of Jesus Christ.[205] The mechanics of the intercession, though questioned by Protestant critics, were of little interest to lay members of the Roman Catholic faith; in fact, Gother argued, Scripture itself provided evidence of means by which God might acquaint chosen mortals—such as

[199] Watt, *Cheap Print*, 132.
[200] Gother, *A Papist*, 5.
[201] Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & Image* 6.2 (April-June 1990): 141-142.
[202] Gother, *A Papist*, 6.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid, 7.
[205] Ibid.

Abraham or Elijah—with knowledge of petitions or future events, thereby undermining charges that the cult of the saints bore no marks of Scripture-proof.[206]

In this discussion, Gother addressed two underlying critiques of authority as manifested in the Church of Rome: divine authority wrongly attributed to mortal beings or 'creatures,' and an absence of legitimate theological or Scriptural authority supporting the former's cults. The cult of Mary was a particularly cogent example of the centrality of misappropriated divine authority to critiques of the Church of Rome. In Gother's analysis, the cult of Mary was perceived by Protestant writers as asserting that Mary was "more powerful in Heaven than Christ" and thus able to force her will and the requests of her petitioners.[207] The rosary featured as the evidence of this point, being that there were ten times as many prayers 'to' Mary as *pater nosters* in a full meditation; recalling his remarks on the cults of the saints, Gother argued that prayers to Mary were intermediary prayers ultimately intended to reach God that recognized her status as a creature while also acknowledging Mary's special status as mother of Christ.[208] The veneration of relics was a cultural extension of these cults, one often accompanied by "kissing them, and going in Pilgrimage to their Shrines & Sepulchres," and as such it was judged by Protestant writers as a further corruption of divine authority.[209] The 'Papist,' in this critique, saw "a kind of Divinity" or "Divine Honour" in the "Rotten Bones, [...] corrupted flesh, [and] old Rags" of the saints, and on the basis of this false belief in the power of "senseless Remains" believed in their power to work miracles greater even than those of Christ.[210] Again Gother appealed to Scripture, in this case to biblical Judaism, and the precedent of "Religious honour and respect" given to the Ark of the Covenant and the tablets containing the Ten Commandments; these, and more contemporary religious items such as Bibles, received an "*inferiour* honour" due to their relation to the divine and the quasi-divine.[211] Relics had an additional prestige given their role as "Instruments of many evident Miracles," and, in Gother's estimation, had proved the validity of that prestige in the miracles worked by

[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid, 8.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.

Christ's mantle and St. Peter's shadow and recorded in Scripture.[212] Gother's Scripture-proofs also responded to contemporary critiques of miracle stories as "idle Stories and ridiculous Inventions" comprised of "absurd, foolish, and almost impossible" events fabricated to play on 'Papistic' gullibility and to promote individual saints.[213] The offense here, based on Gother's rebuttal, was not the gullibility or ignorance itself but rather the willingness to interpret traditions or 'fables' as evidentially on par with Scripture and thus carrying the same theological authority.[214] To this end Gother argued that miracles were not believed implicitly but only according to the number and quality of evidence proving their veracity, and adopted the language of reason so prevalent among his Protestant compatriots by describing the due process of eye-witnesses, "examin'd by Authority" and recorded for posterity, whose evidence testified to the authenticity of non-biblical miracles.[215] Nevertheless, biblical miracles were afforded a higher authority—a "Divine Faith"—than non-biblical miracles, which were accepted only with an "*inferiour* kind of assent" similar to that associated with "Prophane History."[216] While he asserted the importance of faith as a supplement to "Humane Wisdom" —or, an acknowledgment of the inscrutability and omnipotence of divine will—Gother's arguments underlined the centrality of the narrative strain of authority in describing and, in this case, vindicating Roman Catholic beliefs in an Anglo-Protestant context. Gother's use of the analogy of honour due to God and due to the monarch highlighted his understanding of the many implications of the rejection of Roman Catholicism within the state: in charging Roman Catholics with failing to acknowledge and esteem legitimate authority—whether in a physical or a textual sense—Protestant polemicists also implied a failure to properly revere other—namely, civil—manifestations of authority. Gother's attempts at refutation were thus not only geared towards clearing the Church of Rome of charges of idolatry but also towards clearing its practitioners of religious as well as civil insubordination in a period in which the real civil threat of Popery had been realized in the form of James II.

William Sherlock's *Preservative* (1688) was an exercise in self-defense designed to arm the unlearned lay Protestant against the intellectual assaults of their "Roman

[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid, 33.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid, 34.

Adversaries"; in doing so, Sherlock drew a close link between the religious principles of Roman Catholics and their status as an internal threat to harmony within the polity.[217] High on Sherlock's list of concerns was the accusation that Protestant polemicists dealt in "Mis-representations of Popery," and as such his defense manual touched on the work of John Gother, whom Sherlock accused of seeking to "joyn a Protestant Faith with Popish Practices."[218] For Sherlock, Gother's arguments not only avowed and proved the abhorrence of Roman Catholic doctrines, but also sought to twist them to fit within Protestant religious standards implicitly acknowledged to be correct: refusing to worship images, the saints, and the Virgin was "good Protestant Doctrine," but not, to Sherlock's mind, an accurate representation of Roman Catholic devotion.[219] In effect, praying to the saints, requesting their intercession or redemption, and linking them to salvation worshipped them, and thus made them 'gods,' in the same way as praying more often to the Virgin than to Christ was an unavoidable effect of placing her status in Heaven as above that of Christ.[220] Gother's attempts to justify the cults of the saints and Mary and the use of images in their worship as merely *dulia* were met by Sherlock's assertion that both the first and second commandments expressly forbade the worship of "any other Being" and the use of graven images in that worship; in this way, the "express Laws" of Scripture overrode any traditions or interpretations that might conflict with them.[221] More specifically, arguments such as Gother's that Roman Catholic practices continued to acknowledge the "Supream [sic] God" even while offering intercessory prayers to the saints and the Virgin could not be reconciled with the first commandment.[222] For Sherlock, that which was particularly intolerable in Roman Catholic devotion was that which undermined or misappropriated the authority of the divine or the divine will as laid out in Scripture; similarly, Sherlock defended the integrity of Protestant polemic against Roman Catholic attempts to discredit its message through false equivalencies, simultaneously suggesting that Roman Catholic arguments lacked that same integrity. The Protestant polity was thus not only at risk from the seditious machinations of

[217] Sherlock, *A Preservative Against Popery*, 1-2.
[218] Ibid., 2, 51.
[219] Ibid., 51.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., 24.
[222] Ibid., 24-25.

the Roman Catholic missionaries invading its shores but from the false and contrived practices of their religion, and it was these that Sherlock aimed to counter.

The threat of "Romish emissaries" to the unprepared Protestant was further elucidated in Thomas Comber's *Plausible Arguments* (1688), which used a mock conversation between a priest and a Protestant to expose and provide rebuttals to the "most usual Fallacies" used to lure Protestants into error.[223] Comber was an Anglican cleric who had been educated at Cambridge between 1659 and 1663 and embarked on his polemical career in the 1670s, including the anonymous original publication of this pamphlet in 1674.[224] In this exercise, the representative of Protestants (henceforth 'Protestant') successfully refuted each of the priest's identifiably flawed advances, and in particular, challenged both the scriptural authority of the cult of the saints in the Roman Catholic tradition and the direction in which divine authority was assigned. In this conversation, the 'Protestant' described the cults of the saints and the Virgin as among many "gross Errors and Corruptions believed and practised in the Roman Church," ones, like the related practice of image-worship, expressly condemned in Scripture, namely Exodus 20: 4-5.[225] To the 'priest's' assertions that the images did not constitute idolatry, being that they did not "take the Image for [their] God, as Heathens did" or represent images of false gods, the 'Protestant' argued that the heathens, too, used images as representations (as opposed to manifestations) of their gods, and that regardless, their acts of kneeling, praying, and making offerings to the images were roundly condemned by Christians and forcefully forbidden in Scripture.[226] Here Comber compared the cults of the saints and the Virgin to the ancient pagan cults of heroes in Hellenistic and Roman cultures, although the Roman Catholic tradition assigned further quasi-divinity in the intercessory powers of the saints.[227] Like the heathens and the "real Idolaters" who worshipped the golden calf—the Israelites—Roman

[223] Thomas Comber, *The Plausible Arguments of a Romish Priest Answered from Scripture* (London: N.P. for R. Clavell, Comber, *The Plausible Arguments* 1688), [Preface] 1.

[224] Andrew M. Coleby, "Comber, Thomas (1645-1699),' *Oxford Dictionary of National* Biography, Oxford University Press, last updated 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/11127.

[225] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 7.

[226] Ibid., 8.

[227] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 5, 7.

Catholics broke at least the second commandment, if not the first.[228] In this reference, Comber articulated a connection made between biblical Judaism and Roman Catholicism that was also picked up by other polemicists and in some ways articulated by Martin Luther, who employed accusations of carnality in worship and "jugglery and trickery" in their interpretations of the Commandments that linked the errors of Judaism and Roman Catholicism.[229] In this sense both scriptural idolaters and Roman Catholics used the appearance of "outward commandments and sanctity" to hide "idolatry and wickedness."[230] To the argument that images were merely representations of the vessels through which prayers and requests flowed to God—namely, the saints and the Virgin—the 'Protestant' argued that idolatry persisted when a creature was nominally assigned the power to give "any thing [...] which is in God's power to give," and the Church of Rome, in prescribing methods of devotion, held no authority to allow "any Mode of Worship" clearly disallowed by Scripture, particularly one which Christ and the Apostles never suggested, and which likely distracts more than assists practitioners.[231] In all of these cases, the implications were clear: Roman Catholic worship was founded on either arbitrary or faulty authority that led believers into heretical, idolatrous manifestations of piety. Where Protestant methods could be articulated in terms of the authoritative evidence of Scripture and precedent, Roman Catholic ones misinterpreted or deliberately defied Scripture, and in so doing they erroneously assigned divine assent and authority to practices and beings that could, by Protestant standards, never attain them.

This critique recurred in the 'priest's' attempt to convince his interlocutor of the value of the cults of the saints and angels, which the latter called "a Deceit and plainly forbid by the Apostles" in Colossians 2:18. According to Joad Raymond, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of paradox in which Protestant scepticism and "antipathy" directed against angels were matched by an "imaginative appetite" through which even Protestant writers sought to learn more about them.[232] As such the era was one in

[228] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 8.
[229] Martin Luther, *The Jews and their Lies*, translator unknown (Los Angeles: Christian Nationaist Crusade, 1948), 18-20.
[230] Luther, *The Jews*, 20.
[231] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 8.
[232] Joad Raymond, "Milton's Angels," *History Today* 60.12 (2010): 18-20.

which attempts to discredit Roman Catholic cults as unfounded were undermined by Protestants who sought to go beyond the confines of Scripture to explore the subject but, regardless, carried through a prevailing concern with spiritual authority by providing theological or philosophical proofs for their musings.[233] The 'created' angels in particular, according to the 'Protestant,' must be distinguished from the pre-corporal incarnations of Jesus Christ which appeared as 'angels' in the Old Testament and, given their status as creatures, were affirmed in Revelations 19:10 as having no real spiritual authority.[234] In fact, the scriptural evidence cited by the 'priest' as proving some evidentiary basis for the mediation of the angels or saints only applied to the generality of their prayers for the "speedy coming of the Day of Judgment" and not for "Health, Wealth, Peace, Protection" or "Pardon, Grace, and Glory," as these were the sole purview of God.[235] Any requests for mediation or intercession had no "Command, Direction or Promise" from God and effectively rejected the methods of devotion prescribed by God—such as the *pater noster*—and reassigned both the authority to devise methods of devotion and the honour due to Christ to creatures.[236] Worse still, they implied that the intercession of Christ and his power in Heaven were not sufficient to result in answered prayers, while the intercession and authority of creatures such as the saints were sufficient.[237] Protestant traditions, however, were founded in passages such as John 1:14 that recommend requesting prayers from "holy Men on Earth," and these were not accompanied by problematic practices such as kneeling to them, composing litanies of their names, or assigning to them merits of their own.[238] In effect, the 'Protestant' argues that while Roman Catholic practices compromised or undermined the authority of Jesus Christ, Protestant practices of a similar kind adhered strictly to forms prescribed by the Apostles and thus maintained the integrity of divine authority or jurisdiction in human-divine relations. That Roman Catholics were willing to believe in the validity of such forms of intercession against the dictates of both Scripture and

[233] Raymond, "Milton's Angels," 21-22.
[234] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 9.
[235] Ibid., 10.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid., 10-11.

reason and thus participate in "Absurdities" spoke to the power of their Church and the arbitrariness of their faith.[239]

The cult of the Virgin, too, was on the receiving end of scriptural and logical critiques. For the 'Protestant,' the issue was not the 'blessedness' of the Virgin—which he conceded—but the legitimacy of the worship which assigned to her specific offerings and prayers, or *Ave Maries*, and these in greater numbers than those offered to God.[240] Indeed, this cult was "an Invention [...] and meer [sic] Superstition," one which the 'priest' admitted was designed to increase devotion, and which the 'Protestant' claimed was "Superstition and Idolatry" that resulted in the neglect of the worship of God and the transferral of divine honour and authority to creatures who rightfully have none.[241] The 'priest's' attempt at evidence in the form of miracles wrought by relics of the saints was shot down by the 'Protestant's' claims that relics were often falsified by "cunning Priests for Gain" and, where they truly exist, could only offer miracles according to the will of God.[242] The 'Protestant' effectively questioned not only the authority of the spiritual leadership of the Church of Rome, but the authority assigned to holy beings such as saints through equally questionable authority in terms of Scripture and tradition, while reaffirming, to Protestant standards, the authority rightfully belonging to God and Jesus Christ. In comparing Roman Catholics to biblical heretics such as the Israelites and highlighting the arbitrariness of their faith and devotions, Comber established both their fundamental difference and the reason for that difference: Roman Catholics eschewed the dictates of God and the salvation offered by Christ in favour of creatures, and in their willingness to partake in the rejection of the supreme authority of God they became figures to be rejected.

A response to bishop of Oxford Samuel Parker's pamphlet arguing against the validity of the Test Acts requiring communion and abjuration of the doctrine of transubstantiation in order to hold office or sit in Parliament, *The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test* (1688) proclaimed not only the importance of maintaining the doctrinal purity and separation of the Church of England but also the value of insulating the established Church from "False Doctrine, Heresie and Schism" in the form of Roman

[239] Ibid., 11.
[240] Ibid., 12.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.

Catholic sympathies.[243] That a person willing to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation was unfit to take on any "publick Charge" was, to the author, an indisputable fact affirmed by the authority of both England's reformed Church and its Parliament; while the doctrine itself was not germane to the present discussion of cults, the author nonetheless verified the importance of specific doctrinal concerns to the suitability of membership and participation within the apparatus of the state.[244] In pursuing this discussion of legitimate membership within English Protestant society, the author spoke to the issue of idolatry in terms of the cults of the saints, angels, and Mary, as well as the image-and creature-worship attendant to the devotion of these cults. To the question of whether it was accurate to denote the cults of the Church of Rome as idolatrous, the author proposed a variety of answers from bishops of the Church of England. Bishop Whitgift, for example, described 'Popish' heresy as the "worst" kind of idolatry, in which believers "Worship[ped] False God's [sic], either in Heart, Mind, or in external Creatures, Living or Dead; and altogether [forgot] the Worship of the True God;" although Roman Catholics also "Worship[ped] God, otherwise than his Will is," the most heinous aspect of their worship was in attributing to creatures forms of worship due only to God and breaking the first commandment in the process.[245] Archbishop Laud, too, criticized the "Subtilties" used by Roman Catholic writers to justify the idolatrous practices—"like to Paganism"—of the Church of Rome, which its followers, unable to refute, believe to the endangerment of their souls.[246] All of these critiques relied on the premise that the authority assumed by the Church of Rome either in its practices or in its teaching was misapplied or misused: Roman Catholics offered the worship due to God to a lesser vessel and thus attributed to creatures the authority held only by God; in a similar fashion Roman Catholics were led astray by clergymen who used their prestige to mislead believers and foster idolatry.

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[243] *The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test and Justness of her Reformation Asserted in Answer to the Bishop of Oxon's Fallacious Reasons and Precarious Assertions Against It: Also the Worship of Images, Adoration of the Host, and Innovation of Saints, &c. Proved Idolatry by the Catholick Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, the Ancient Fathers, and All Reformed Churches: By Which the Writings of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Moore &c. are Cleared from the Charge of Anticatholick, Antichristian, Fanatical, &c* (London: S.N., 1688), 1.

[244] *The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test*, 2; For perceptions of the doctrine of transubstantiation, see section II.

[245] *The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test*, 11.

[246] Ibid. Here the bishop echoes the 'juggling' analogy of Martin Luther in *On the Jews and their Lies*.

The preoccupation with misplaced authority continued in the form of arguments that the use of images and adoration of saints in the Church of Rome manipulated interpretations of the Ten Commandments in order to obscure their true meaning; writers such as Parker, in this analysis, deliberately ignored the dual meanings of the commandment "Thou shalt have no other God's [sic] before me"—which were both giving due worship to God and abstaining from giving the worship due to God to any creature or image—and thus employed the unassailable authority of Scripture to promote false teachings.[247] The corruption of the meaning of this commandment and the ensuing assault on divine authority was echoed in the Bishop's representation of the second commandment, which left out the prohibition of making graven images and thus allowed for the use of images in practice; this false interpretation of the commandments resulted in the defilement and "Confusion" of souls, "horrid Abominations" in worship contrary to divine orders, and the "dishonour" of God.[248] The invocation of the saints was another aspect of idolatry vindicated by the Bishop, who argued that biblical Jews, too, invoked the non-divine in their worship of cherubim; the author, however, argued that even Jewish worship was directed not to the creatures but to God as present in and around the cherubim.[249] According to Thomas Aquinas, material elements of Jewish worship such as the Ark, the *sanctum sanctorum* and the cherubim were not intended to represent God himself or to receive worship on His behalf, but rather to represent aspects of "Mystery" such as Heaven or a host of angels.[250] The early Church Fathers, too, forbade the use of images in worship, allowing only the representation of Christ instituted by Christ Himself, which is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; this was intended to be in keeping with the status of Christianity as a golden mean between Judaism and Paganism, avoiding the sacrifices and idolatries of each.[251] Here the author provided another sense in which religious authority was mistreated by the Church of Rome: the Church was either unable to provide sufficient textual authority for its practices or, in an attempt to do so, misinterpreted or falsified that which was present in the text. In this vein the author argued that Roman Catholics' justification for the cults of the saints and their worship through images in the distinction between *latria* and *doulia* neither provided any Scripture-proof for a

[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid, 12-13.
[249] Ibid, 16.
[250] Ibid, 17.
[251] Ibid.

difference between both forms of adoration nor distinguished between the worship directed at creatures and that which was directed at God, attributing to the former the "highest Perfections" and "highest Knowledge" of divinity in order to hear and answer prayers and by extension accusing the latter of "unmindful[ness]."[252] The cult of the Virgin involved the same misunderstanding of divine authority by attributing to her the destruction of heresies, the title of "Gate of Heaven," and the "Authority of a Mother [to] Command the Redeemer."[253] The Virgin's special intercessory status was established in medieval devotion as dependent both on the presumption of her particularly close relationship with God and the "filial affection" owed to her by Christ and on her physical presence in Heaven, as described in the doctrine of Assumption.[254] As a result of both her grace and her humanity, the Virgin became revered as link between humans and salvation through whom believers could access "heavenly grace."[255] For the author, all of these presumed wrongfully that the social bonds of the world remain intact in Heaven, a mistake criticized by Christ himself when He asked, "Who is my Mother? [...] Who are my Brethren?"[256] Likewise these errors had been repudiated by early Fathers such as Epiphanius and Augustine, who stated, respectively, that the Virgin was "Holy indeed, but not yet God" and that the holy dead were to be "honoured for Imitation, not worshipped for Religion sake."[257] Again the author charged the Church of Rome with a misuse of the authority of sacred Christian texts and with attributing worldly and divine authority to an entity, the Virgin, which rightfully and in clear Scriptural terms had been denied both. All of these forms of idolatry had been warned against by the foremost religious authority in England, King James I/VI, who railed against the "Damnable Idolatry" of images in worship as product of the "Suggestion of Satan."[258] In concluding his pamphlet on a reference to an English monarch renowned for his theological writings, the author drew the reader back to the central issue of the piece: the interests of the kingdom were best served by a refusal of toleration for a communion that fails in all of its religious tenets to acknowledge rightful leadership and guidance.

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[252] Ibid, 18-19.
[253] Ibid, 21.
[254] Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 102-103, 110.
[255] Ellington, *Sacred Body*, 223.
[256] *The Reasonableness of the Church of England's Test*, 22.
[257] Ibid, 19.
[258] Ibid, 22.

Bishop of St. Asaph (later Worcester) and signatory of the seven bishops' petition against toleration in 1688, William Lloyd's *Reasonable Defence* (1689) and *The Seasonable Discourse* (1673) worked in tandem, attempting to defend the status and authority of the established Church of England while also, in the latter case, responding to the rebuttal of the same published by a Roman Catholic.[259] The *Seasonable Discourse* had initially spoken against the Indulgence declared by Charles II in 1672 which would, to the author's mind, result in a renewed effort to "seduce Protestants" and thus require a full campaign to combat an open and emboldened Roman Catholic threat.[260] Both the original and the defense of this tract were written amidst the uncertainty and sectarian violence of the 1670s-80s and addressed doctrinal issues pertaining to divine authority in the form of the cults of the saints and the practices that accompanied these cults; additionally, both texts pursued the real social and economic implications of Roman Catholic worship, describing the potential societal disaster that might accompany legitimizing the Roman Catholic power base in England. In arming his Protestant compatriots against the wiles of priests and proselytizers, the author elucidated the prevailing religious errors of the Church of Rome, including its perpetuation of the "Idolatrous practice of the heathen world" in "praying[ing] unto our fellow Creatures canonized," "worship[ing] Images," and "fall[ing] down to the stock of a Tree."[261] Conversion to the Church of Rome required participation in "Errors and Guilts" related to these cults and their manifestations, including "burthensom [sic] and heathenish Ceremonies," "Conjurations," "Blasphemies and forged Miracles," "Cheats and pious frauds," and "Lies and Stories stupid and impossible."[262] Far from promoting piety, the holy days associated with the cults of the saints and the Virgin created a proliferation of "idle hands," a diminution of work and trade, and widespread poverty.[263] The *Reasonable Defence* picked up on this point, arguing that the multitude of holy days—in the form of Sundays, saints' days, holy days specific to cities, and festivals devoted to the Virgin, to name a few—

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[259] William Lloyd, *A Reasonable Defence of the Seasonable Discourse, Shewing the Necessity of Maintaining the Established Religion in Opposition to Popery, or, A Reply to a Treatise Called, A Full Answer and Confutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet, &c*. (London: Charles Brome, 1689); Michael Mullett, "Lloyd, William (1627-1717)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, last updated 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/16860.

[260] Lloyd, *Seasonable Discourse*, 1-2.

[261] Ibid., 4.

[262] Ibid., 5.

[263] Ibid., 23.

were so detrimental to trade in Roman Catholic-dominant regions as to diminish quality of life and encourage Roman Catholics living near Protestant states to defect and convert in order to survive.[264] While Lloyd likely exaggerated the prevalence of half-starved Roman Catholics crawling into Protestant territories for sustenance, the critique of Roman Catholic religious culture remained pertinent to a discussion of toleration and authority. With reference to Ireland, Raymond Gillespie described the close "interlinking of transcendence and immanence" of Roman Catholic devotion, in which the boundaries between secular and religious rituals and motives became blurred.[265] The 34 official feast or festival days—not to mention unofficial, local days honouring local patron saints—celebrated by the end of the seventeenth century required attendance at Mass as well as abstention from work and not only recreated holiness in daily life but facilitated ritual separation from other religious groups.[266] Perhaps the most cogent manifestation of this celebration of difference was the use of ritual fasting in preparation for the uprising of 1641; in this way, the insurgents brought the rebellion in line with the sacred time of "preparatory fast," which precedes a feast day.[267] In this sense, the variety of festivals and rest days in Roman Catholic religious culture not only embodied the carnality or materialism of the faith and their unfounded veneration of saints but the ways in which their rejection of cerebral and scripturally authorized Protestantism could impose real hardships on wider society. While still divisive and detrimental to the social order, the loss of trade and rise of unemployment and perhaps delinquency were only marginal effects of openly professed Roman Catholicism when the prosperity and stability of the civil state itself were also considered. It was with the real and material impact of toleration in mind that Lloyd sought to expose Roman Catholic religious error.

Robert Midgley's ambitiously titled *Popery Banished* (1689) set out to illuminate the scriptural abuses of the Church of Rome in terms of doctrine and worship.[268] According to Midgley, the natural result of the suppression of the Scripture by Roman Catholic leaders

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[264] Lloyd, *A Reasonable Defence,* 16-17.

[265] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 84-85.

[266] Gillespie, *Devoted People,* 85-87.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Robert Midgley, *Popery Banished with an Account of their Base Cheats, Especially, Making the Word of God No Effect. And that Their Worship, Although Contrary to the Holy Scripture, They Call Best. January 17 1688/9* (Edinburgh (re-printed): N.P., 1689).

seeking to "Vitiate, Suppress or Interpret to their own profit these Records" was an ability to promote cults and practices incompatible with reason, morality, and the written Word itself.[269] The idolatry of the cults of the saints and angels, including prayers and supplications made to the same; the "liturgy and worship" of the Virgin and the image- and relic-worship as well as the miracles, "palpable Fables," and pilgrimages used to encourage these cults were, in Midgley's analysis, all founded on the "new and Antiscriptural Belief" propagated by the Church of Rome.[270] The contrast made between the "*Antichristian* Pomp and Vanity, and Cheats of Romish Superstition" and the established, Protestant Church of England underscored the importance of the concept of authority in religious matters and, especially, rightful authority.[271] The superstitious and idolatrous cults and religious culture of the Church of Rome were a "ruinous" state of religion from which the Protestants of England had been delivered; to return to it, through conversion or acceptance, was to regress like a "Dog [...] constrained to return to [its] former Vomit," namely, to "Defect of Devotion, [...] redundance [sic] of Superstition," an absence of due "Gravity," and "Clownish Behaviour to the Sovereign of Heaven" contrary to the "Rules of Sacred Institution."[272] Where the Church of Rome assumed a "Sanctity above others" for its traditions, the Church of England boasted the essential building blocks of "true Religion:" a propensity for "piety and Charity grounded upon and warranted by Scripture."[273] Roman Catholic beliefs and practices failed to conform to reason or revelation in Scripture: it was neither the rational, albeit ceremony-laden religion given to Moses, nor the rational, simplistic religion dictated to the Apostles by Jesus Christ, which Midgley associated with English Protestantism.[274] Roman Catholicism was, in his view, a perversion of the "untainted Doctrine of a most perfect Deity" in its subversion of both the rationality and divinity of both forms of acceptable religious expression; its authority, then, was based not on logical precepts or divine will but on the profoundly fallible and often wilfully corrupt machinations of priests.[275] Midgley effectively summarized the

[269] Midgley, *Popery Banished*, 2.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid., 1.
[272] Ibid., 1-2.
[273] Ibid., 1.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid., 1-2.

ways in which Roman Catholic cults and practices failed to pass the litmus test of legitimate religious as well as secular authority.

The mock trial is a particularly compelling genre in tracts pertaining to Roman Catholicism in this period, both because of its representation of due process and its essential 'reclaiming' of an environment used by Roman Catholics to argue their own cases. Trials, examinations, and executions were locations in which Roman Catholics could re-assert their communal identity through ritual separation and identification that transformed a "public, Protestant-controlled space" into a sacred space with its own spiritual meaning.[276] Roman Catholic attendees at public trials and executions were both imaginatively separate from their Protestant peers and connected with their co-religionists as they listened to rebuttals or received blessings from Roman Catholic priests on trial and potentially witnessed a martyrdom.[277] Pamphlets continued and immortalized the "ideological and emotional struggles" between factions at trials or execution sites and harnessed these "social and ideological energies" for polemical purposes on both sides of the confessional divide.[278] In that sense, pamphlets in the mock trial genre could employ the devices used by Roman Catholics to subvert the trial process and invert them to serve pro-establishment ends.[279] Aside from its potential to restore the intended purpose of a trial and its likely appeal as a form of entertainment, the mock trial's courtroom setting carried clear implications for issues surrounding forms of religious and secular authority. The trial was a context in which reason, evidence, and testimony were highly valued, and when a religion was put on trial, these benchmarks were applied to forms of prayer and worship. That which was not based on reason and evidence, or was not agreeable to accepted reason and evidence, was condemned; the rationality of this process was the basis of the trial's legitimacy and offered legitimacy to its outcome. Roman Catholicism, in this model, was rejected for its false foundations, its assumed authority, and its irrational, often fabricated cults and practices. This rejection was especially poignant because it was expressed as fair and honest, a form of due process not offered by, in this case, the illogical and tyrannical Church of Rome. As a result, this implication of honesty and impartiality was extended to the established Church, which was

[276] Lisa McClain, "Without Church, Cathedral or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33.2 (2002): 392-393.
[277] McClain, "Without Church," 392-393.
[278] Lake and Questier, "Agency," 95-97.
[279] Ibid.

enhanced in its prestige by a negative comparison to its Roman counterpart. The earlier of two examples of pamphlets in the trial genre, *News from the Sessions House* focused specifically on issues of authority in terms of the subversive potential of Roman Catholicism, drawing close links between the political subversion of abandoning allegiance to the sovereign and the religious subversion of rejecting the dictates of Scripture.[280] The heresies of the Church of Rome stemmed from its preference of its own "Carnal Traditions" and self-made principles over those commanded by God in the Ten Commandments and in Scripture, as well as the biased interpretation of Scripture in ways incongruent with its true meaning but conducive to the ends of the Church.[281] Two examples offered of this were "profane swearing by God, and the Saints," or, invoking the authority of God and saints in illegitimate circumstances, and prioritizing the holy days of the saints, an "Intuition" credited solely to the Church of Rome, over the Sabbath as instituted in Scripture.[282] The abuses of authority, according to this author, were manifold: in solely religious terms, the Church of Rome both rejected and corrupted the divine authority of Scripture, proffering in its stead its own ascriptural and thus illegitimate practices; within these practices the authority of God Himself was undermined, allocated to creatures such as saints and neglected in the practices prescribed by Scripture. Moreover, the secular authority of the priesthood and Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authority was denoted as corrupt because it defrauded believers through false interpretations of Scripture designed to give credence to their heterodox teachings.

A later interpretation in the vein of *News from the Sessions House*, the anonymously published pamphlet *The Tryal and Condemnation of Popery* (1691) provided its reader with a rundown of the most egregious religious and political crimes of Roman Catholicism in a more theatrical, hyperbolic permutation of the mock trial. Its preoccupation with the charge of idolatry was laid out on the title page with a passage from Deuteronomy 27:15: "Cursed be the man that maketh any Graven or Molten Image, an abomination unto the Lord."[283] When the witness 'Christianity' took the stand against Popery, it clarified a theme prevalent

[280] *News from the Sessions House. The Tryal, Conviction, Condemnation, and Execution of Popery, for High-Treason; in Betraying the Kingdom, and Conspiring the Ruin, Subversion, and Death of the Protestant Religion. With Her Last Speech and Confession at Tyburn* (London: William Beale for J. Gibbs, 1689).
[281] *News from the Sessions House*, 2.
[282] Ibid.
[283] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 2.

in critiques of Roman Catholicism, in which the latter was accused of perpetuating heathenism and Judaism. Christianity promised to prove from Scripture—the bane of Popery—the latter's resemblance to the "Heathenish Idolaters in Judah and Israel" who, firstly, "set forth God like a man" in a manner akin to the materialism of Roman Catholic worship and, in the case of the Israelites, worshiped a "Queen of Heaven" similar to the cult of the Virgin.[284] In the practice of these cults, the pagans and Israelites, like contemporary 'Papists,' made images, "some Molten, some carved and Graven," and statues in both male and female forms; to these images heathens and 'Papists' alike made offerings and carried out favours, adorning them with clothes and approaching them with "great devotional Solemnity, with musick and melody."[285] Behind all these outward manifestations was an insinuation of divine worship: the images were not merely kept but "worshiped [...] bowed unto," offered vows, pilgrimages, holy days, and lobbied for miracles.[286] More specifically, the cults of the saints recalled the "several Gods" representing different localities worshiped by biblical heathens and, like the "Church Papists," Israelites prone to forms of "Heathenish Idolatry" also entered "Gods House to hear his Prophets" while worshiping idols at home; when challenged on the idolatry of their practices, they, like 'Papists' challenged with Scripture, would claim righteousness and persecution, citing false approval from God.[287] Martin Luther made similar accusations against Judaism, suggesting that its doctrines were "smear[ed]" into Scripture to give "blasphemies and lies" false textual authority, and that its believers accept this with "wilfulness" as they "knowingly want to err."[288] Despite their claims to knowledge, both biblical 'idolaters' and the 'Papists' were derided as "stupid and without understanding in their Idol-making" and, in real and frightening terms, responsible for, respectively, the "Heathen" plague in Judah and Israel and the threat of the "Turks" in Christendom.[289] Having supported each of its points with references from Scripture, 'Christianity' was lauded for providing evidence "so clear," a reference both to the trial setting and the importance of rational authority underlying claims pertaining to worship; additionally, this praise highlighted the absence of evidence with which the Church of Rome

[284] Ibid., 6.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid., 7.
[288] Luther, *The Jews*, 25.
[289] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 7.

was charged.[290] In both *News from the Sessions House* and the *Tryal and Condemnation of Popery* the illegitimacy of Roman Catholic cults was key to its condemnation. Its cults not only replicated the ancient and reviled practices of polytheism, which stole from God His rightful supremacy; they also lacked the critical textual authority of Scripture, itself an extension of the sovereign will of God, and relied instead on traditions which, being human and carnal, could have no authority in their own right. The rejection of Roman Catholicism was thus reliant on concepts of spiritual and textual sovereignty that, when lacking, extinguished all options for toleration

Antonio Gabin's *Observations* (1691) of his travels through Italy sought not only to recount the various peculiarities of a foreign landscape to his likely untraveled reader but to prove to the incredulous laymen that the claims made by Protestants about life in Roman Catholic lands were, in fact, true portrayals. Gabin, or Gavin, spoke as a former secular priest and a convert to the Church of England who hoped to vindicate the established Church from accusations of misrepresentation and illuminate the "Open Practice and Profession" of Roman Catholicism without any of the mitigating gloss of Roman Catholic apologists.[291] Like William Lloyd, Gabin blamed the cults of the saints for some of the social ills prevalent in Roman Catholic-majority regions like Italy, particularly the ill education of its youth; specifically, the holy days celebrated in honour of the saints occured with such frequency that they left but a "small proportion of time" for learning.[292] As a result, "ignorant [the youths] come to the Jesuits, and ignorant they leave them," resulting in a society comprised of men nominally educated yet utterly bereft of any valuable instruction.[293] Gabin's critique of the education offered to missionaries and priests was, perhaps, not entirely unfounded, as the implementation of Tridentine reforms for theological and pastoral education in seminaries was compromised in many locations by local disputes.[294] The worldly implications of other Roman Catholic cultural manifestations also faced harsh criticism,

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[290] Ibid.

[291] Gordon Goodwin and Colin Haydon, "Gavin, Antonio (fl.1716-1726), Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, last updated 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/10464; Antonio Gabin, *Observations on a Journey to Naples Wherein the Frauds of Romish Monks and Priests are Farther Discover'd* (London: Samuel Roycroft for Robert Clavell, 1691), 1-3.

[292] Gabin, *Observations*, 8.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 75-76.

particularly in terms of the corrupt authority associated with their implementation. Reformation polemicists including Luther were stalwart in their criticism of the "crude materialism" of Roman Catholicism and its manifestation in pilgrimages to shrines and relics; while Roman Catholics themselves sought God's intervention in their lives through these forms, Protestant writers often associated this belief with the ploys of corrupt clerics.[295] Pilgrimages made to relics and important sites pertaining to saints were, in Gabin's analysis, motivated more by a desire to drink and feast than to experience the divine, as evidenced by Gabin's recollection of a pilgrimage he ran across on his journey. The pilgrims' initial professions of membership in "Heart and Mouth" of the "Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Faith" were followed by their Capucin leaders' warm welcome of those pilgrims bearing wine from "the place where the very best Rhenish Wine grows;" in their drinking and dining during their recreation hour, a drunken monk profaned Scripture with the benediction "Grant, that these two Bottles may sit the one on the Right hand, and the other on the Left."[296] This pathetic "Image of Devotion" was concluded with the end of the pilgrims' recreation hour, at which point the monk was too drunk to give his lecture and, along with some of his companions, falls asleep soon thereafter.[297] With this for their example, the pilgrims themselves were portrayed as prone more to sleeping, drinking, and merrymaking than spiritual exercise; nevertheless, upon arrival at their destination they were absolved of all "Faults and Excesses committed during their Journy [sic]" and thus guided to their visitation of a relic, calling into question the "good Fruit [of] the Miracle of the spilling of the Blood of Jesus Christ."[298] Apart from their tenuous foundation in Scripture, Roman Catholic cults were doubly tainted with the corruption of their leadership and of their purpose. Where religious authority was duty-bound to uphold the authenticity and purity of divinely instituted practices, or to educate and enlighten its laymen, the religious orders and priests of the Church of Rome prioritized the worldly pursuits of drink and relaxation; in this way they failed to enforce Christian principles and, worse, jeopardized the salvation of their charges through poor example and false absolution. Their believers were pitiable but not exempt from harsh judgment: they were ignorant, uneducated, but pursued the material and the

[295] Alexandra Walsham, "Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England," *The Historical Journal* 46.4 (2003): 784.
[296] Gabin, *Observations,* 59-61.
[297] Ibid., 62.
[298] Ibid., 62-63.

profane with the same vigour as their leaders, and thus brought onto themselves social and spiritual ills. The spiritual failings of the Church of Rome were founded in their lack of Scriptural and clerical integrity, and the examples of the ramifications of this absence were meant to warn Protestant readers of the dangers of allowing these practices to return to England.

Theophilus Dorrington's *Observations* (1699) were another example of travel literature that delved into issues beyond the natural and cultural attractions of exotic locations. Dorrington, while raised with Presbyterian sympathies, took Anglican orders in the early 1680s and dedicated his polemical career to arguing against the schism and error of Protestant nonconformity and Roman Catholicism.[299] In his dedication, Dorrington proclaimed himself a reformed nonconformist dedicated to furthering the cause of the English Reformation; in pursuing this end Dorrington gathered evidence through travels in Germany, providing his reader with an almost scientific dissection of the heresies and hypocrisies of Roman Catholicism. In this endeavour Dorrington sought to fulfill the evidentiary requirements of proving the Church of Rome false as well as perform his duty as a Christian to preserve souls from erroneous belief; for Dorrington, the cause of true religion was not to be pursued through protecting the conscience but by mending the schisms that threatened to bring down the wrath of God.[300] The Rotterdam to Antwerp leg of Dorrington's trip provided fodder for his critique of the cult of the Virgin, the "Patroness or Protectress" of Antwerp.[301] The worship of the Virgin on the basis of her own merits—specifically, the merits of her "Chastity and Vertue [sic]"—was made clear to Dorrington in the verse inscribed under her image on St. George's Gate: "All honest and sincere Catholicks, Honour ye Mary the Mother of our Lord: show to her great Love; that ye may be preserved both in going out, and coming in; From all Pain and sudden Death."[302] In litanies said to her, too, the Virgin was asked to "Have mercy upon us," to "deliver us" from "Evil and Danger, and from all Sin," and to foster "Chastity, and Purity, and Piety;" in this way it was made clear to Dorrington that the Council of Trent's claims that the cults of the saints and other quasi-

[299] Jim Spivey, "Dorrington, Theophilus (1654-1715), Church of England clergyman," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, last updated 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/7843.

[300] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration,* 34-36.

[301] Dorrington, *Observations,* 26.

[302] Ibid., 26-27, 120.

deities were solely intercessory in nature are false, and that the Virgin Mary herself was frequently credited with salvation and with blessings only bestowed by the divine.[303] Images of the Virgin placed in public places and private homes reflected this role: she was often crowned, sceptred, and portrayed surrounded by prostrate angels; faced with these images, local Roman Catholics addressed them as "Good Mother," presented them with harvests, and petitioned them for healing.[304] That Roman Catholics were willing to address God "without any Epithet of Honour," but referred to the Virgin Mary as "most Holy" was evidence of their ill teaching regarding the Scripture and the misinformation on divinity spread by Roman Catholic religious authorities.[305] In this way the "Evil Men and Seducers" of the Church of Rome placed the Virgin on an equal with her Son, with festivals and processions in the Virgin's honour mirroring those dedicated to Christ's conception, Nativity, presentation in the Temple, suffering (as well as the merits or satisfaction that stemmed from said suffering), and resurrection (Assumption, in the cult of Mary).[306] The Assumption in particular, though a "Fable of Romish Invention," was celebrated with "Ceremony and Superstition," such as processions with images and miraculous relics of the Virgin, benedictions, and plenary indulgences.[307] As a result of this misdirection, which "any just or impartial Person" might discover as "undoubtedly false," Dorrington insisted that the "wretched People in the Church of Rome" ought to be called Marians rather than Christians, as they "serve[d] and honor[ed] their Fellow-creatures" and thereby gave "God's incommunicable Glory to others than himself."[308] The cult of the angels was also problematic as Dorrington experienced it. Dorrington encountered a brass image of St. Michael in Brussels, the patron saint of that city, which prompted his discussion of the validity of the cult in terms of Scripture.[309] Scripture did not only omit any instructions for choosing protective mediators for cities or people, it expressly forbade applications to angels, particularly in Colossians 2:18, which called the worship of angels or other "Inferiour Intercessours" in order to pray to God a "feign'd Humility."[310] St. John, too, was instructed

[303] Ibid., 27, 70.
[304] Ibid., 27, 28.
[305] Ibid., 42.
[306] Ibid., 55, 43-44, 122.
[307] Ibid., 74.
[308] Ibid., 44, 55, 70, 71.
[309] Ibid., 85-86.
[310] Ibid., 86.

by an angel not to give worship to him, a "Fellow-Servant," but to direct all worship to God alone.[311] Regardless, and against the "most perfect Rule and Guide to Happiness, the Holy Scripture," Dorrington asserted, the Church of Rome taught that each nation, city, and person had a guardian angel who advocated for its charge at the time of his or her death, having kept track of all "Alms, Fastings, Confessions, Communions, Austerities, [and] Penances.[312] Contemporary Roman Catholics were encouraged to safeguard their salvation by "avoiding all Wickedness" and offering prayers, alms, and other offerings not to the "Glory of God" but to the "Honour of the Angels;" similarly, the Church of Rome taught that the good works and enjoyment of the merits of Christ were dependent on the "Blessed Spirits," and on "bloody Discipline [...] extravagant Rites of Religion" characterized by "unreasonable Severity," such as self-flagellation, which were contrary to the "Character of true Religion."[313] As an example of the idolatrous devotion to the angels Dorrington described the routine of one Roman Catholic, who used the rosary to meditate on the benefits of his angel: his *Gloria Patri* thanked God for his angel, and on the beads designated for *Ave Maries* he recited an *Angele Dei*, a prayer which requested guidance from an angel.[314] This not only perverted the already contentious nature of the rosary by deviating from its prescribed meditative uses but, from this perspective, amplified its associations with superstition by dedicating its use to an angel.[315] These forms of devotion proved to Dorrington that Roman Catholic cults were derived from the heathen tradition, which purported that images of deities contained the "Virtue and Power of that Deity;" this assumption was proved from the instructions of Pope Clement VIII pertaining to the consecration of an image of the Virgin, which involved the words "free us from all Danger."[316] In evidence of the heathenish perspective held by Roman Catholics in relation to their images, Dorrington described the Catholic King of Spain (Charles II), who in 1696 requested a specific image of the Virgin Mary to be placed in his chamber to help cure his distemper and thereby proved his belief in the inherent power of the image itself.[317]

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[311] Ibid., 87.
[312] Ibid., 87-88.
[313] Ibid., 88-90.
[314] Ibid., 91.
[315] David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 97-99.
[316] Dorrington, *Observations*, 28-29.
[317] Ibid., 30.

Churches dedicated to saints also bore clear connotations of heathenism, most starkly in the case of St. Walburg's Church, which was alleged to be a converted Temple of Mars.[318] Like St. George's patron status over England, or Our Lady of Loretto, which recalled the association of the goddess Diana with Ephesus, the heathen "Gods of Nations and Cities" were as un-Christian as they are unfounded in Scripture or history.[319] That Roman Catholics—contrary to the Council of Trent—associated the real presence of the saint with their image was made clear in these types of associations with places, as well as in their revival of the "Pomps and Vanities" of the Roman procession, in which images (of Jupiter, in the Roman tradition, or the Holy Sacrament, in the Roman Catholic) were carried and venerated through the streets to thank deities for their favours or avoid their wrath.[320] Small brick altars decorated with images of the Virgin Mary that were often placed in fields near a copse of trees recalled the "corrupted" heathen tradition of "honouring a Sacred place with [sacred] Trees," in which deities were believed to reside; in line with other writers' connections between Roman Catholicism and biblical Judaism, this was a practice known in antiquity and forbidden for the Israelites.[321] Like the Samaritans who "worship[ed] they kn[ew] not what," Roman Catholics invoked and gave "Divine Honour" to saints who, like St. George, may never have existed and are credited with impossible feats.[322] The story of St. Christopher, for example, who carried a disguised Christ across a river, was "not fit to build upon" and, aware of this, Roman Catholics reinterpreted the story as symbolic of St. Christopher "carrying" Christ through preaching the Gospel; regardless of the veracity of the legend, St. Christopher maintained his saint's day and veneration.[323] The "lying Wonders" of the "feign'd Stories of Saints, and Miracles" served not God but the Devil himself, and in fabricating these tales Roman Catholics had discredited true saints and miracles, resulting in the growth of atheism.[324] In a similar vein, exaggerated accounts of the early Christian martyrs which, in some cases, included the vengeance of the martyrs on their persecutors not only discredited the truth of historical accounts of their suffering but also perverted the

[318] Ibid., 31.
[319] Ibid., 31, 173.
[320] Ibid., 175-176.
[321] Ibid., 127.
[322] Ibid., 31, 33.
[323] Ibid., 39.
[324] Ibid., 108-109.

"Spirit of Christianity" into the "Spirit of Popery," which was ill suited to truly Christian behaviour.[325] Relics were closely linked with the 'fables' told of the saints, as they were accused of being fabricated and exaggerated as well as a form of idolatry. The relics (skulls) of the three Kings found at Colen, for example, for whom the Church had 'invented' names (in this case, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar), were also claimed by another church, which called into question the authenticity of both sets of relics; however, it was the "Show" of devotion to the relics at the church's altar that was more worrying for Dorrington, in which the priest took items from his parishioners and touched them to the relics in order to imbue them with supernatural powers.[326] The Church of St. James, too, was lambasted as representative of heathenish idolatry, as its door inscription expressed a dedication to the saint and failed to reference God at all; this, to Dorrington, was a "true Representation of [Roman Catholic] Practice," evidence of a total misrepresentation of divine authority and its worthy bearers.[327] Akin to the multitude of festivals and devotions offered to the Virgin Mary, the applications made to the saint for protection from diseases were also done "in Honour of this Saint" as opposed to God, a presumption of the necessity of a "Divine Person" as mediator requiring "Divine Honours" which was not in itself false (given the role of Jesus Christ) but tainted by tradition in the manner of heathen theology, which presupposed the need for a variety of mediators as opposed to one.[328] The litanies, altars, chapels, alms, and communions offered to the saints were, effectively, manifestations of religious culture which misplaced the honour and devotion due only to God.[329]

Apart from the idolatry of the God-neglecting inscription, St. James's Church also featured an "impious and idolatrous" image of the Holy Trinity as an old man in triple crown, a young man, and a dove, an attempt to depict the "Glory of the Divine Nature" expressly prohibited in the second commandment.[330] To do so was to liken divinity to "corruptible Man" and nature, a subversion approved of by the Church of Rome as it encouraged the use of images in its parish churches.[331] As the Church of Rome evaded the

[325] Ibid., 165.
[326] Ibid., 182.
[327] Ibid., 33-34.
[328] Ibid., 35.
[329] Ibid., 94.
[330] Ibid., 35-36.
[331] Ibid., 36.

dictates of Scripture, the legends of the saints were symptomatic of a drive for novelty—in "new Saints, new Altars, new Indulgences"—justified by a "pretence of Antiquity:" like the reproduction of Mount Calvary erected at St. George's Church, which was designed to draw devotees as well as their money, the Church of Rome was criticized as founded on innovations in faith that had no legitimate basis in Scripture or fact.[332] Aside from their association with heathenism, the concept of illogic or ignorance was an important element of critiques of the cults of saints and Mary, a point Dorrington emphasized in his reference to the "foolish and idle people called Pilgrims" who, in pursuit of relics and saints, often preferred to socialize in their groups rather than seek authentic piety.[333] Illogic was inversely related to the logic which Dorrington claimed in the form of his quasi-scientific method, which sought to "represent all those matters [...] from the Romanists themselves," or, in terms of evidence gathered by observation and corroborated by other sources, such as Scripture.[334] The juxtaposition of Roman Catholic ignorance and Protestant reason highlighted the prevailing critique of the carnality of Roman Catholic devotion as opposed to Protestant worship, which was described as cerebral and profoundly rational. This distinction underlay the concepts of authority and illegitimacy carried through this and the above works pertaining to Roman Catholicism. The carnal traditions of the Church of Rome were both empty and misdirected; while they manipulated or lacked the authoritative certainty of scriptural foundation and presumed to prescribe tradition instead, they also took for their objects of devotion creatures without the status or power required for their salvation. The deliberate misdirection meted out by clergymen was responsible not only for these egregious religious errors but for the social realities of Roman Catholics in general, who remained uneducated and unable to determine for themselves the correct recipients of their loyalty. The result of this combination of authoritative failings was the total and, for these writers, warranted rejection of Roman Catholicism by Protestants and the Protestant state. A further discussion of the secular cults responsible for the misguided piety of Roman Catholic laypeople can provide greater insights into the religious reasons for their persecution.

[332] Ibid., 32.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid., 93.

Section II: Vanity and Corruption in the Clergy, or, "Monstrous Vocations"

In the years before Theophilus Dorrington's travels, another Roman Catholic-turned-Protestant embarked on a journey of spiritual discovery. Michael Loefs, a Capucin monk and a talented preacher, left Maestricht for France, Italy, and Spain hoping to find confirmation of his faith; instead he returned disappointed, disillusioned, and acutely aware of the "monstrous corruption of the Church of Rome."[335] Loefs turned to the Reformation and dedicated himself to exposing the foibles and falsehoods of his former vocation and faith, a calling to be pursued by a number of Protestant writers equally inspired by their perceptions of religious and secular malfeasance.[336] Accompanying these writers' critiques of Roman Catholic religious cults was an equally strident critique of secular cults, or, the devotion paid to Roman Catholic priests, nuns, and religious orders (including the Society of Jesus) who, it was argued, secured for themselves lives of material comfort and moral bankruptcy by capitalizing on the ignorance and misguided loyalty of their lay followers,. Perhaps because of their relative scarcity in England, Roman Catholic clergymen, especially Jesuits, were frequently venerated as a "sacred caste" with access to miracles and "sacramental grace" and it is this form of 'worship' that irked contemporary Protestant writers.[337] These cults were not secular in the sense of exclusively concerning the civil state but in the ways in which they became derailed from solely spiritual pursuits and turned instead into what was disparaged as a decidedly unspiritual *mentalité*. Elements of the religious culture surrounding the spiritual leadership of the Church of Rome include sacramentals such as scapularies, rosaries, *Agnus Deis*, alms, and charitable devotions related to practices such as pilgrimages and the veneration of relics, all of which were derided as providing financial props to corrupt authorities. Martin Luther had been a vocal opponent of these forms of devotion, which he criticized as a blatant power-grab by clerics who sought to debase religion into an economic transaction of paying for interaction with the divine; in this view, these forms of material devotion were not only "lavish excesses" but fallacies founded on falsified miracles that were ultimately bereft of any religious legitimacy.[338] As means through which the saints could be reached, these sacramentals embodied the purported carnality of the Roman

[335] Ibid., 129. Titular quotation drawn from Gabin, *Observations,* 78.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Walsham, "Miracles," 811.
[338] Soergel, *Wondrous,* 62-64.

communion and its placement of "the holy" in time and space; as the agents through which rituals representing or recreating the holy were done, this holiness was often transmitted to the clergy and manifested in their ability to perform sacraments and consecrate sacramentals.[339] Sacramentals harnessed both the traditions of the medieval Church and the miraculous potential of tangible conduits to the divine in a re-assertion of the Church of Rome's power and authority as exercised through its clergy; as these sacred items became a part of post-Reformation Catholic identity they also posed a clear threat to the *status quo*, not only because they promoted superstition but also because they suggested that the clergymen and religious of the Church of Rome might have connections to the deity unmatched by their Protestant peers.[340] To many Protestant writers, sacramentals also represented the superstition of Roman Catholic worship in their use for healing and warding off evil; while they were intended to be used within a specific "liturgical context" and were dependent on divine will for their efficacy, their usage in actuality often exceeded prescribed limits and this misuse was not always discouraged by priests who sought to maintain their influence over the laity or encourage belief in miracles in order to gain Protestant converts.[341] In Ireland, for example, the implementation of new Tridentine standards was often inhibited by pre-existing local traditions and, in the absence of papal and collaborative civil authority, curtailed in favour of a "melange" of lay and clerical religious forms that accommodated Tridentine reforms as much as possible while also acknowledging the implacability of older traditions.[342] The "fragments and strands" of ideas comprising popular lay belief were often contradictory and gleaned from a multitude of sources but no less intractable for their variety; while they might have been denigrated by outsiders as superstitions, they also governed individuals' assumptions about the world and from a missionary standpoint were better dealt with through compromise.[343] This not only captivated the "devotional energies" of their communities but constructed symbiotic relationships between laity and clergy based on their shared access to miracles and fostered the creation of a Counter-Reformation

[339] Gillespie, *Devoted People*, 66-73.
[340] Walsham, "Miracles," 812-815.
[341] Laven, "Counter-Reformation," 711, 712-713.
[342] Gillespie, *Devoted People*, 8-14.
[343] Ibid., 14.

Catholic identity and culture shared by all levels of the communion.[344] In this sense, sacramentals represented both the worldly corruption of the Roman Catholic clergy and their spiritual corruption as they attempted to control and redefine superstition for their own purposes; additionally, sacramentals held the potential to forge extra-establishment communities within the nation that were founded on spiritual independence in both belief and leadership. The same can be said for other forms of devotion encouraged by clergymen and religious orders: pilgrimages to shrines, exorcisms, miracles, confraternities, and rosaries all formed a "religious culture" encouraged and maintained by the clergy that sought to sustain belief in Counter-Reformation doctrines as well as foster a sense of community.[345] Counter-Reformation missionaries to England reformulated the rosary, for example, to meet the new demands of the religious landscape, remodeling existing (and officially banned) expressions of the rosary into the confraternities that retained the continuity of the true Church but also provided a communal aspect to devotion that extended spiritual and pastoral care to recusants at risk of converting to the established Church.[346] Given the nature of the penal laws and the scarcity of Roman Catholic clergymen, recusant households tended to be "inward-looking and devotional" in their practice and emphasized spiritual exercises that could be carried out within the household over rituals such as the Mass that required a priestly presence and a congregation.[347] As such, confraternities responded both to the devotional impulse of English recusancy and to a desire for membership within and support from a broader confessional community. Once established, confraternities required only a discrete *ersatz*-chapel in the form of a recusant's home and required little or no supervision from a priest; as a result the confraternities became nuclei of local recusant communities who participated in a rival sense of concern for the spiritual welfare of the nation and in a "subtle and subversive" rebuff of Protestant structures and authority that assigned special status to (Jesuit) missionaries.[348] In England especially, elements of devotion involving miracles had the potential of drawing Protestants back into the fold of the Roman Church through

[344] Laven, "Counter-Reformation," 712-713, 719-720.

[345] Walsham, "Translating Trent," 305-306.

[346] Anne Dillon, "Praying by Number: The Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community, c. 1580-1700," *History* 88.291 (2003):456-457.

[347] Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past and Present* 168.1 (2000): 121-122.

[348] Dillon, "Praying," 463-471.

demonstrations of its power and authority or, conversely, reinforcing the legitimacy of confessional difference and "antagonism."[349] Again, these manifestations of Roman Catholic culture not only supported and were supported by the clergy but represented a potential peril to the Reformation by providing oppositional structures of worship and leadership. The implications of these critiques for Roman Catholics as believers and rational beings were often unpleasant. While some writers framed their scorn in acknowledgments of both the shared national identity and rational potential of conforming Englishmen, others questioned how men and women willing to support a visibly corrupt priesthood could be trusted to exercise reason in their other loyalties. The unspoken question amongst all of these writers ran thus: can the irrational be trusted, or integrated? More often than not the answer seemed to be negative.

As he sought to sway his fellow Protestants from their non-conforming faith(s) and draw them back within the fold of the established Church, John Nalson used a tactic designed for maximum spiritual and intellectual impact: linking the principles and practices of Protestant nonconformity with Roman Catholicism. Nalson was particularly concerned with the "Ravening Wolves in Sheeps Clothing," the Roman Catholic priests or friars who entered England and, disguised as nonconforming preachers, used their wiles to draw believers out of the Church of England and into Popery.[350] Aside from their deliberate promotion of religious error, these "holy Cheat[s]" were characterized by their desire for money or worldly comforts, as evidenced in the case of a Dominican friar who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, masqueraded as a 'puritan' preacher and accused the Church of England of Popery; following a lengthy interrogation on his missionary activities, the "Faithful Commin" fled the country, but not before having bilked well over £30 from the ladies of his congregation, not to mention that which he had extracted during the course of his false ministry.[351] The "Religious Jugler" had not only exploited the unlicensed nature of nonconforming ministry but also the "deluded people" whom he encountered, harnessing both to pad his own pockets.[352] In Nalson's estimation, the 'Quakers' in particular formed a target for enterprising Roman Catholic priests who, in their fraudulent preaching, encouraged

[349] Walsham, "Translating Trent," 305.
[350] Nalson, *Foxes and Firebrands*, 26.
[351] Ibid., 37-38.
[352] Ibid., 38.

their charges to abandon their work and pursue an "idle, monkish, lasy [sic] life" through itinerant preaching and "pretended Visions, Revelations, Prophecies, Messages, and New Lights" in the style of the Franciscans.[353] Disguised friars also encouraged improper dress in their proselytes as well as impertinence and insubordination to magistrates and other secular officials in contradiction to Scripture, as well as encouraging false pride in holy men and saints, who were lauded as "holy, just, good and free from sin" like Jesus Christ.[354] Along with encouraging displays of "sudden extravagant Agonies, Trances, Quakings, Shaking, Raptures," railing against the Church of England, and *glossolalia* reminiscent of those recorded by Roman Catholic religious orders, the concealed priests also peddled potions, talismans and other forms of material culture traditionally used in the Church of Rome and which drew laypeople into an exchange of fealty for props.[355] The effect of this exposition was a stark distinction in religious leadership in which the clergymen of the established Church of England were extolled through the censure of both Roman Catholic and nominally nonconforming Protestant clerics. The dishonesty and greed of these divines, who lied and stole from gullible laypeople for a living, highlighted the inherent danger of the sacerdotal apparatus of the Church of Rome when left unchecked. In this way, Nalson's defense of the authority of the Church of England not only recommended a total rejection of the Roman Catholic Church as it operated in the kingdom but also the rejection of other forms of Protestant nonconformity which might secretly be harbingers of Popery.

Gother's vindication of the religious orders of the Church of Rome highlighted the centrality of the accusation of worldliness in critiques of Roman Catholic authority as well as its implication for Roman Catholics and toleration. From Gother's observations, Roman Catholics were accused by Protestant writers of being encouraged to "high[ly] esteem" a cabal of cloistered "Religious Cheat[s]" who, "under the cloak of Piety, and pretence to Devotion," pretended to "Chastity, Poverty, and Obedience" while living lives of "Wickedness," "Luxury, Pride, Covetousness, [and] Irreligion."[356] Gother, however, argued that friars, nuns, and other religious men and women were merely living out a lifestyle prescribed by Christ: in light of the "danger of Riches," the orders lived in "voluntary

[353] Ibid. (Part II), 147.
[354] Ibid. (Part II), 148-149.
[355] Ibid. (Part II), 151-152.
[356] Gother, *A Papist*, 28.

Poverty;" as St. Paul recommended celibacy as the best means to "be holy, both in body and spirit," the orders accepted a "single state," being thus better able to dedicate their lives to God; in order to fulfill the Gospel's order to serve Christ by "deny[ing] themselves" and the temptations the world, the orders lived a life of obedience in seclusion, allowing the full focus of their energies on prayer, the "Service of God," and the "Salvation of Souls."[357] In this way Gother subverted arguments claiming that Roman Catholic religious traditions lacked scriptural authority and claimed instead the legitimacy of both Scripture and the early Church Fathers who promoted the lifestyle (if not the vocations specifically). That some might stray from the rigours of this life and disgrace themselves was merely the result of the fallibility of man, for whom no provisions for a "Holy Life" could ever ensure perfection; regardless, the descent of some members of religious orders into a life of vice did not invalidate the orders themselves, and a "just and reasonable Man" could see that these failings could not be extended to the institution in its entirety, but only to the "wicked and malicious Men" who dishonoured God and endangered their own salvation by their actions.[358] If the Apostles were not condemned for Judas's betrayal, then the nuns, monks, and friars of the Church could not be punished for the sins of their fallen brethren.[359] Again Gother adopted the language of Protestant rhetoric and its appeals to reason or the reason of its reader in order to establish the rational authority of his position: Gother drew the reader into agreement with his exoneration of the religious orders by suggesting that it was unreasonable—or a condemnation of the Apostles—to disagree. In this way Gother defended both the authority of the Church of Rome in its human form—the men and women responsible for enforcing its doctrines—and the rational potential of the lay Roman Catholics who followed them.

Comber's *Friendly and Seasonable Advice* (1685-6) aimed to convince English Catholics of the error of their ways and steer them back into the embrace of the Church of England. Comber argued for the acceptance of Roman Catholics as Englishmen and -women, "Natives of the same Country, Subjects of the same Government," and Christians, with a variety of "bonds" to their Protestant neighbours who therefore deserved another chance at

[357] Ibid., 28.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid.

salvation.[360] The redemptive potential of individual Roman Catholics was reliant on an inherent capacity for rational thought and behaviour that had been suppressed by the clergymen of the Church of Rome and on an assumption that religious error must be corrected rather than tolerated. Comber's stated sympathy for the plight of his benighted countrymen permeated the text and frequently prefaced his assault on Roman Catholicism, as it did in the case of his discussion of the bishops, which he claimed to undertake not "out of malice" but "out of pity the souls of those who without reason dote upon [them]."[361] Comber attributed the "first decay" of the Church of Rome to the first bishops, who—according to contemporary sources such as St. Jerome, St. Basil, and Baronius—became "fuller of riches, and emptier of virtues" as they increased their "Dominion."[362] Along with their "wealth and power" came a propensity for feasting, rich clothing, and "lewd and potent Curtezans [sic]," preferences which persisted long after the era of the early Fathers.[363] The cults of the saints and their images provided the sustenance for this lifestyle, as the relics, miracles and canonizations associated with specific locations brought pilgrims and their offerings, making these "gainful Commodities" in filling the coffers of pilgrimage sites.[364] Miracles were the only evidence offered in support of the cults of saints and the validity of the use of images, relics, pilgrimages, and the like, and were particularly of use in the "Superstitious and ignorant credulity of the former Ages," when they were more likely to be believed; as a result of this foundation the leaders of the Church of Rome gained "many fair Houses and Lands, vast sums of Money and Innumerable costly Oblations."[365] Comber's reference to a less scrupulous period suggested that the present age was one more favourable to reason and in this sense drew a connection between the Reformation and intellectual integrity. In exposing these "unpleasing Truths" Comber sought to "rescue" Roman Catholics from the wiles of the priests and monks who exploited their foolish devotion to "serve the ends of their Ambition and Covetousness" and live in the "highest Plenty and Luxury" under guise

[360] Comber, Thomas. *Friendly and Seasonable Advice to the Roman Catholicks of England. By Thomas Comber, D.D. Prebendary of York*. London: Printed for Charles Brome at the Gun at the West-end of St. Paul's, 1685 and re-printed at Edinburgh**,** 1686, 1-3.
[361] Comber, *Friendly and Seasonable*, 16.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., 19.
[365] Ibid., 23-24.

of religion.[366] In fact, the practices rejected by Protestants were those "Novel Policies and Devices" that advanced the "Pride and insatiable Avarice of the Roman Church," and which are expressly condemned by St. Paul; by contrast, the Church of England taught nothing but that which was necessary to salvation, and none of which involved "unChristian Artifices" to bring its clergy "extraordinary gains."[367] Comber thus recommended conversion to the Church of England, and for Roman Catholics to become "Proselytes of Righteousness" by placing their trust in the "men that have no designs upon [them]," the clergy of the established Church.[368] The conclusion of Comber's arguments on the material and spiritual corruption of the Roman Catholic clergy was not toleration of the differences in interpretation or implementation of Christian principles but a large-scale conversion of Roman Catholics that could only occur once they abandoned the carnality and mindlessness prompted by their priests.

Comber's defense against the guile of a Roman Catholic priest touched on the "Sanctity of Religious Orders" and, in particular, the source and status of their finances.[369] Whereas the 'priest' argued that the money given to priests and religious orders was well-spent, given the enhanced efficacy of the prayers of those living in chastity and poverty, the 'Protestant' called their pretended vows a "snare and an aggravation" of the sins committed by the Roman Catholic religious, who used "Artifices" to extract money from their followers and satisfy their "unnatural and scandalous Lust."[370] The 'Protestant's' rebuttal against claims that Roman Catholic clergymen had enhanced religious authority due to their lifestyle was in part founded on Protestant concerns with the corruption of clerical celibacy. Celibacy was a tradition not found in Scripture but attributed to the precedents of the post-apostolic era of the Church and imposed in the Tridentine reforms against clerical concubinage.[371] The Tridentine reforms targeted the worldliness of the clergy and sought higher standards of piety and morality for clerics and laymen alike but in spite of these attempts accusations of lechery

[366] Ibid., 21.
[367] Ibid; St. Paul said "The love of money is the root of all evil" (1 Timothy 6:10).
[368] Ibid., 53.
[369] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments,* 26.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Benevot, "*Traditiones*," 337-339; Soergel, *Wondrous,* 78.

in the nominally chaste secular and religious clergy persisted.[372] Far from being an inducement to piety, clerical celibacy was, per the 'Protestant,' an attempt to secure for the Church the inheritances of their recruits and isolate them from loyalties to their families and governance, irrespective of the fornication that ensues from the recruitment of young people.[373] Clerical celibacy, in the eyes of Protestant critics, was aimed not at enhancing the attention and honour paid to God but at filling the coffers of the Church and its monasteries. Comber's 'Protestant' argued that St. Paul's recommendation of celibacy as a means of serving God "without distraction" was based on the severity of persecution at the time of Paul's writing, not a general prescrption.[374] In this way the 'Protestant' charges the 'priest' with corrupting and misinterpreting its intent to give false authority to questionable principles. Given the "Perjury, burning Desires and Fornication" characteristic of the lifestyle of priests and the religious, it was clear to the 'Protestant' that their prayers could be no more efficacious than those of Protestant clergymen; moreover, the argument that the purity of the Roman Catholic clergy could be gleaned from their authority to cast out spirits was baseless as, according to the 'Protestant,' these miracles were merely an attempt by the priests to deceive their superstitious charges.[375] The status of the Roman Catholic clergy was thus founded on corrupt principles and motives and supported by the authoritative but shrewdly manipulated dictates of Scripture; the result of this was the reverence paid by misled Roman Catholics to men who used their confusion to their material advantage. Comber's indictment of this corruption not only undermined the secular authority of the Church of Rome but offered a clear indication of the possible fruits of toleration of their presence in the kingdom.

The *Reasonable Defence* also tackled the "Roman cause" in terms of the status and integrity of its religious orders.[376] The laziness of the monastic life was of particular concern to the author, who claimed that, like excessive holy days, religious orders drew valuable manpower from "Work & Trade" and into a "refuge for all the lazie [sic] People in a Nation"

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[372] Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500-1789* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 81-83.
[373] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 26.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid., 27.
[376] Lloyd, *A Reasonable Defence*, 1.

that had no value to the public.[377] In fact, the author claimed, the only complaints about the suppression of the religious orders in the Henrician Reformation must have come from those who were thereby "forced to work and take pains for their living," as opposed to living off of the labour of others.[378] Apart from being work-shy, those who did remain within the orders tended to be "of the vilest extraction," a result of the "Whores and Thieves" who first populated Rome and in subsequent generations came to seek "Asylum" in its Church; indeed, any critiques of the "humble Fortune or mean Birth" of the clergy of the established Church merely highlighted the parallel between these men and the "Fishermen and Tent-makers" chosen as the Apostles of Christ.[379] Here Lloyd formed a connection between the leadership of the Church of Rome and their early foundations while drawing a parallel between morality and ancestry that is reminiscent of critiques linking religious legitimacy and Scripture: from corrupt soil, whether in the form of licentious forefathers or pretended Scripture, flourished rotten fruit. Aside from their tendency to house the dregs of society, the religious orders were accused of draining the population of Roman Catholic countries with their vows of celibacy and subsequently draining the people of their estates through immoderate tithes; the population woes of England, too, were blamed on the Church of Rome, whose Irish incarnation warranted the "re-planting of Ireland" and thus a transfusion of Englishmen.[380] In this sense, the corruption of Roman Catholic religious leadership was responsible for very real social ills, both in the form of pretended vows that imbued them with false sanctity and drained the lifeblood of the nation and in greed that leeched from the earnings of others in order to support a luxurious lifestyle. In terms of toleration, the mere presence of this corruption in neighbouring Ireland was enough to result in the loss of population by osmosis, with or without Ireland's consent. Of all the potential damage to be wrought by a return to Roman Catholicism, the prospect of financially supporting its ecclesiastical and clerical structures was most worrying: the Pope's "old patient Beast"—his lay co-religionists—would feel the full weight of the "intolerable oppressions" meted out and "incredible sums of money" extorted by the Church, which offered in return spiritual *tchotchkes* in the form of "Parchments full of Benedictions and Indulgences [...] Leaden

[377] Ibid., 14.
[378] Ibid., 15; for more on the phases of English Reformation see Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Wortley, UK: Clarendon Press, 1993).
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid., 16.

Seals, Beads and Tickets, Medals, Agnus Deis, Rosaries, [...] and Wax Candles."[381] That Roman Catholics were compared to a beast of burden and, worse still, one that was likely to bring that burden to others highlighted Lloyd's message of intolerance: for Lloyd, this wealth of holy treasures was "[in]sufficient Barter" for the freedom and prosperity promised by the word of God and secured in the Reformation, and to choose the corruption of the former over the certainty and salvation of the latter was not only irrational but dangerous to the health of the Protestant nation.[382]

An anonymous pamphlet promising to expose the plots and manoeuvres of the proponents of the Roman Catholic cause in Ireland, *A Full and Impartial Account* took to task the Jesuits and priests operating in Ireland who, in pursuit of their missions, relied on dishonesty, theft, and superstition.[383] Jesuits in particular were accused of entering the kingdom of Ireland under false pretences and assumed names and, in their management and detection of secret plots, were likened to "setting a Thief to catch a Thief."[384] While the Society of Jesus pursued "concrete, apostolic endeavor" and missions intending to provide "meaningful service" through dissemination of doctrines and reinforcement of obedience to the church and its practices—including the much-contested religious orders and their relics, pilgrimages, chastity, and indulgences—their efforts were often viewed with suspicion of plotting.[385] One such plot was partially organized around the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, which was associated with the potential "Deliverance of the Irish Nation;" while the failure of the plot seemed to prove the inefficacy of the observance, the organization of a seditious plot to coincide with a Roman Catholic holy day seemed to prove the untrustworthiness of the religious order as well as their manipulation of religion to suit their worldly interests, not to mention their willingness to draw their believers into their disorderly activities.[386] The Jesuits were, in this sense, responsible for dissolving social bonds and encouraging the persecution of Protestant neighbours. Secular and religious aims were often fused and

[381] Ibid., 18.
[382] Ibid..
[383] *A Full and Impartial Account of all the Secret Consults, Negotiations, Stratagems & Intriegues of the Romish Party in Ireland, from 1660, to This Present Year 1689 for the Settlement of Popery in That Kingdom* (London: N.P. for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1689).
[384] Ibid., 7, 52.
[385] Robert E. McNally, "The Council of Trent, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and the Catholic Reform," *Church History* 34.1 (1965): 40, 42, 43.
[386] *A Full and Impartial Account,* 58.

simultaneously pursued through feasts and holy days, which could be "amplified" or promoted by civil authorities in order to counter threats to the establishment; in Bavaria, for example, celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi became an emblem of the regime's dedication to the Counter-Reformation cause against the encroachment of Lutheran Protestantism.[387] In Ireland, where the regime was Protestant and the population largely Roman Catholic, this synthesis of motives had to be pursued by Roman Catholic religious leaders and their lay charges who, by definition, were sowing sedition and thus posing a serious threat to the established order. That the Jesuits were seemingly willing to orchestrate deception and further corrupt already suspect manifestations of religion in order to pursue rebellion exponentially amplified their own illegitimacy as religious authorities and proved the destructive potential of Roman Catholicism when allowed to operate within one of the three kingdoms.

The trial of 'Popery' also included an indictment of its religious leadership, who are accused of corruption, greed, and moral recklessness. The testimony of 'Master Verity' bore witness to the avarice of the Church, which promoted the neglect of one's parents in order to ensure the Church's own profits, as evidenced by Matthew 15:5 and Mark 7:11; engendered "Carnal Liberty" and debauchery through its celibate and cloistered religious orders, proven by 2 Peter 2:19 and Revelations 2:15 and 20; and taught for "filthy Lucre," or its own profit, as criticized in Titus 2:11[388]. In the eyes of seventeenth-century Protestant writers, the Church of Rome was like unto "false Teachers" and heretics described in the New Testament, who also held in their arsenal of misdirection "Miracle Workers, Casters out of Devils, and Dreamers of Dreams."[389] This was an attack on the Counter-Reformation staple for reclaiming Protestant converts, the exorcism, a highly publicized and potent means of showing the power of the clergy of the Church of Rome while also offering a metaphor for the expulsion of heresy from the Christian 'body.'[390] As Protestant ministers would not perform exorcisms, Roman Catholic clergymen and especially missionaries cornered a niche market in terms of spiritual needs and were able to provide service and support unavailable

[387] Soergel, *Wondrous,* 80.
[388] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 5.
[389] Ibid.
[390] Walsham, "Miracles," 801-804.

elsewhere.[391] An association of this ritual with scriptural charlatans undermined not only its validity in a Christian context but the authority of the men charged with its performance, as the ritual itself was dependent on the approval of the divine for its performer. The author furthered the association of Roman Catholic clerics with the heretical religious leaders of old, claiming that like the Israelites, pagans, and heathens of Scripture, the Church of Rome had "sacrificing Priests" (like the priests of Zeus in Acts 14:13) and self-flagellating priests, all of whom were often qualified only by their ability to pay for their priesthood and seeking good payment in return for their investment.[392] Here the author recalled Luther's excoriation of rabbinical schools as cultivating "self-praise, vanity, lies, blasphemy" and "disgracing God and man" in their corruption and thereby associated Roman Catholic clergymen with both past and present examples of purportedly corrupt and un-Christian behaviour.[393] The "holy Women" of the Church of Rome, who might refer to nuns or queasils, were likened to those who attended the heathen "Idol-service" of Tammuz in Ezekiel 8:14 and were known for "prophesying Lies."[394] The author's arguments worked together to catalogue rituals and spiritual 'privileges' associated with Roman Catholic religious leaders and formed close associations between these and established or easily accepted examples of corruption and heresy in order to degrade their perceived authority. In a broader sense, these critiques of Roman Catholic religious leaders also highlighted the civil implications of religious errors when unchecked: social and moral bonds dissolved when men and women were encouraged to lead licentious lives or neglect familial responsibilities in favour of clergymen, and the rituals used to foster loyalty to the Church also encouraged them to eschew allegiance to legitimate authorities including the civil state. Toleration within the state was made objectionable when it entailed not only acceptance of religious corruption but civil corruption as well.

Gabin's observations of the Roman Catholic religious and secular clergy in Italy offered a close analysis of the perceived worldly concerns of the leadership of the Church of Rome, both in their own organizations and in their interactions with the laity. Gabin wrote of the education for monks provided in the convents and abbeys he encountered as centred

[391] Ibid., 801.
[392] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 6.
[393] Luther, *The Jews*, 22.
[394] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 7.

more on the arts of entertainment than serious or theological learning; in fact, many of the monks he met preferred to learn to dance, sing, or write poetry or, in the case of the Abbey of St. Michael in Bononia, the sport of fencing, and of the many pastimes of the monks, the balls, "Farces and Comedies" shared with local convents were the most highly treasured.[395] Gabin's horror at the plays and skits carried out in the church proper—some including "horrible Profanations" in the form of building sets upon a high altar—was met only by the abbot's assertion that the church was the only location in which the nuns were free to enter, and that "vain exercises" such as dancing and horse-riding were the best means of ensuring monks used their pensions on activities other than concubines.[396] In this way the religious of the Church of Rome were accused of pursuing luxurious rather than pious vocations and of corrupting religion itself in the process. While this corruption was begun in the abbeys and convents, it was made manifest to the external world through religious items and practices. At a Bernardine abbey Gabin encountered the purported relics of St. Thomas Aquinas—although the Dominicans of Toulouse also claimed them—which resulted in a long discussion of the authenticity of the remains touted as those of holy men and women.[397] The monks told Gabin of a German Capucin who, having visited the abbey, demanded a relic of St. Thomas to take with him; having no access to the relics, which were presumed to be buried under the altar, the Bernardines allowed the visitor to pluck a relic from a "great heap of Dead-men's Bones" located in the chapel.[398] These bones were often plundered for relics as they were thought to potentially contain actual relics of St. Thomas, as the ground of the abbey had been disturbed more than once, or to have some secondary holiness from proximity to a relic; according to Gabin, this same line of reasoning was also used by Popes and cardinals to justify sending the unidentified remains of the catacombs—labelled as relics—to various churches of their communion.[399] This called into question both the integrity of the religious leadership of the Church of Rome, who were willing to fabricate relics for worship, and the integrity of existing forms of devotion within the Church, which seemed, from Gabin's perspective, likely to be devoid of any real spiritual purpose or function. Worse still, these relics were concocted due to their high value for the Church, and

[395] Gabin, *Observations*, 32-33.
[396] Ibid., 33.
[397] Ibid., 45.
[398] Ibid., 46.
[399] Ibid.

once retrieved from the catacombs or even sewers, were "metamorphos'd [...] *dictum factum*, into Saints" and re-baptized by the Pope, who claimed the power of God to do so; as a result of this practice, Gabin thought that the remains of "malefactors" and heathens were as likely to be worshiped on Roman Catholic altars as true saints or martyrs, not to mention those which were duplicated and thus contested as a result of indiscriminate re-baptism.[400] That relics became associated with particular forms of healing enhanced their religious and subsequently their monetary value to their keepers, such as the Benedictines of Vandôme, France, who claimed to have a tear wept by Christ over the corpse of Lazarus and which, once famous for its healing properties over "Maladies of the Eyes," brought great revenue to the abbey.[401] Gabin attributed the continued popularity of relics to a "great Stock of Simplicity and good Intention" necessary for belief in anything so "uncertain and doubtful," and further asserted that the irrationality of this belief was so strong that even if the relics themselves could speak to prove their inauthenticity, Roman Catholics would prefer to believe the admissions to be "Illusions and Artifices of the Devil" and continue to follow the dictates of the "Infallible Church."[402] In this way Gabin made perhaps the most explicit argument against toleration for Roman Catholics on the basis of their religious beliefs alone: in a fundamental and irreversible way, Roman Catholics lacked the ability to exercise reason and, as a result, would always pledge themselves to illegitimate forms of authority and rebel against legitimate forms. On the Church of Rome's part, relics were simply a means of grasping power and money, and should relics surface that had no utility or value to the Church of Rome, they would be soundly rejected as illicit.[403] The relics were not only valuable to the churches and abbeys that housed them but to the monks themselves, who carried them (along with *agnus deis* and other blessed items) as currency to exchange for services or secure finer treatment as they travel.[404] Gabin recounted an exchange with some Capucins at an inn in the Alps, who paid for their chamber and meal in "Devotional Present[s]," namely the tooth from a comb allegedly used by St. Martha, which they would not, when probed, prove was authentic.[405] In this way the monks proved themselves not only

[400] Ibid., 46-47.
[401] Ibid., 48-49.
[402] Ibid., 49.
[403] Ibid., 50.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid., 50-51.

willing to exploit superstitious devotion for their own gain but also, in line with the working juxtaposition between Protestant reason and Roman Catholic nescience, unwilling to provide 'proofs' for their practices.

To the English Roman Catholics he suspected would refuse to believe his testimony, Gabin recommended a tour of countries in which "Popery [was] rampant" to view all of the items and "Excrements" purported to be of the saints, or the *agnus deis* (circles of wax stamped with an image of a lamb bearing a cross that were blessed during Holy Week), which were attributed to St. John's appellation of Christ, "Behold the Lamb of God which takes away the Sins of the World."[406] These were not only touted as capable of forgiving sins but venerated in the same fashion as the Host, receiving prayers and special status in processions; like the Girdle of St. Martha, which was said to have tamed a dragon and pieces of which were given to women during childbirth, these items and ceremonies were used by priests and monks to gain favours, food, and other advantages from superstitious laypeople.[407] That these practices were disavowed by some Roman Catholics was a testament only to their ignorance and being "little vers'd in their [own] Ceremonies" and the *Roman Ritual*, although Gabin did not seem to consider whether these practices were more narrowly cultural or geographically specific.[408]

Beyond the corruption of the men and women who accepted vocations, Gabin judged the religious orders themselves to be corrupt in their organization, which was "contrary to Natural Liberty" and comprised of so many "endless Restraints" that those who had second thoughts of their choice were forced to either flee into danger or remain and live in misery.[409] Convents, for example, were a novelty attributed to a period in which "Weeds of Superstition" overtook the Church and, specifically, the Italian convents were criticized for being used as boarding schools from which the nuns extracted revenue and novices forced either by their families or attracted by their lack of "Discretion and Knowledge" to become nuns.[410] The implication that Roman Catholics struggled to exercise reason was made clear in Gabin's suggestion that young women would not rationally choose a lifestyle in which they were kept from marriage and society; instead they must have chosen it either out of

[406] Ibid., 52.
[407] Ibid.
[408] Ibid.
[409] Ibid., 67.
[410] Ibid.

coercion or ignorance. For Gabin it was not only unnatural that these women should be kept from their liberty (although it is unlikely that he was recommending liberty apart from marriage) but also perverse to recruit novices through false "advantages of a Religious Life," which included the attractiveness of the habit and veil; the luxuries of a "pleasant recreative Life;" the guaranteed "respect of being called Mothers" as they advanced in age; their ability to provide family with "good Dinners, and splendid Collations" when they visited; the promise of "dignified [...] religious Charges and Employments" as they became "Lady Abbesses;" and the certainty of the heavenly reward of salvation and "Eternal Life."[411] In all cases, Gabin reflected, the recruits were likely to regret their decisions within a few years, and it was partially for this reason that convents required parents to provide a pension for their daughters, so that they might "palliate her Restraint" with luxuries and pay for the "Delicious Lives" of the convent as a whole.[412] Through this emphasis on money the vocation itself was corrupted to the point of being made suitable only to the rich, whose parents did not require their daughters to marry into wealth, and as a result of this the "Call of God" could not be heard by those without material means.[413] Those who were fortunate enough to fund their calling were hardly engaged in a spiritual lifestyle: the "Handy-works" of the nuns were laces, embroideries, "Pretty knacks and curiosities," "Pastry-works, and White-Meats," all of which endeavoured to encourage, rather than evade, the vanities of the world and were often bestowed upon visiting priests and bishops when they performed Masses.[414] Gabin attributed this "Spirit of Impudence, Effrontery, and Impiety" to the nuns' "secret Rage" at having lost their liberty, which had also resulted in the abandonment of their vows of chastity.[415] Gabin gave the example of the gates in the convents used to bring in sacraments such as extreme unction and the Host, which were often perverted from their sacred purpose and used to conduct illicit affairs.[416] Those nuns who did perform their devotions did so in the idolatrous fashion of the Church of Rome, with prayers to wooden statues of saints, repetitions of rosaries, and pretended "Extasie[s]," all of which were calculated to fulfil their "Worldly Ambition" of attaining a holy "Reputation in the Church"

[411] Ibid., 68.
[412] Ibid., 70-71.
[413] Ibid., 71.
[414] Ibid., 72.
[415] Ibid., 72-74.
[416] Ibid., 83.

and becoming the object of worship after their deaths.[417] Through Gabin's description of the vanity, immorality, and sacrilege of Roman Catholic nuns the entirety of the institution of religious vocations for women was reduced to a superficiality and false pretence of holiness that rendered it barren of any religious legitimacy or authority. Once again addressing the English audience with reference to the potential of toleration for Roman Catholics, Gabin reminded women in particular to be grateful for the suppression of the "Barbarous Tyranny" of monasteries and convents, which would certainly be revived if Popery were permitted in the kingdom.[418] Besides the corruption of their individual members, the concept of religious orders in itself was a corruption of early Church traditions, which allowed for "Communities of Religious Persons" who, like the Apostles, lived together in order to learn the "Faith and Duties of Christianity" and more easily provide for the poor.[419] Religious communities in the contemporary Roman Catholic tradition were, by contrast, "the Scandal of Christianity" and administered not for the "Publick Good" and "Christian Charity" but for their own benefit; in this event, those with power were "obliged in Conscience" to abolish the practice, and the actions of the Church of England in suppressing the religious orders were vindicated.[420]

For Gabin, religious orders of men were equally worthy of suppression. Hermits, for example, were no longer "Men of Learning and Piety" but "miserable Wretches" living "disorderly and scandalous [Lives]," whose hermitages had largely been taken over by abbeys and who, when living in remote locations, were known to be murderers and thieves.[421] The hermits were infamous for preferring luxuries and concubines over meditation and wore "Antick Habits" laden with beads and crosses in order to encourage "esteem and veneration" from laymen, the latter of whom were accused of valuing the garb itself as if it were "most Holy in his Religion."[422] In Gabin's approximation, this corruption was symptomatic of the "pitch of Pomp and Pride" reached in the contemporary Church of Rome, which sought to make itself a "magnificent and luxurious Court" by maximizing the presence of monks with "well-lin'd Purses" and abandoning the hermits whose vows of

[417] Ibid., 94.
[418] Ibid., 81.
[419] Ibid., 93.
[420] Ibid., 93, 95.
[421] Ibid., 104.
[422] Ibid., 110.

poverty had not been broken.[423] While Roman Catholics boasted of the hermits of their confession and considered it a point of pride over Protestants, Gabin suggested that the corruption of the hermetic order was more deserving of abolition than pride, given its association with "Idleness, the Mother of all Vices" and a general lack of "Vertues [sic], whether Civil, Moral, or Christian."[424] Monks, too, were known for their corruption and for their "pityless [sic] and inhuman Hearts" in administering charities, which Gabin attributed to a "Curse which God pours forth" for their promotion of "Idolatrous Practices and Profanations;" in a hermetic fashion, monks preached the "Sacredness of their Habits" and expected both earthly rewards and an express route to Heaven on the basis of their clothing.[425] Like nuns, who were charged with fixating on the material expressions of their vocation over the interior ones, Gabin accused monks and hermits of prioritizing their appearance, both in garb and in false overtures, over the ascetic piety and faith intended for their orders. The religious orders personified the carnality of Roman Catholic devotion, both in their fixation on the material and in their perpetuation of the idolatrous and superstitious practices that stemmed from tradition rather than Scripture. In this way their authority was spurious in moral and in theological terms and, when permitted free exercise, responsible for preserving religious errors as well as licentious lifestyles. As Gabin argued succinctly, the orders and their supporters were not worthy of toleration but of suppression and expulsion.

In its quest to protect the integrity of the Reformation and the English from the plight of Roman Catholics on the continent, Dorrington's *Observations* targeted with clear evidence the "Evil Men, and Seducers" who had magnified the Church of Rome's corruptions and preached "plain and perfect Contradiction[s]" of Scripture and of Roman Catholic apologists' claims to the contrary.[426] Of particular concern to Dorrington was the preservation of the young English gentry who, as they encountered Roman Catholic communities on their trips abroad, were at risk of being "charm'd with the Pomp and Finery, and Pleasantness of the Roman Worship," the "great Appearances of devotion among the pretended Religious Orders," or the "Caresses and Wheedles of the Romish Priests" into

[423] Ibid., 112.
[424] Ibid., 113.
[425] Ibid., 141, 132-133.
[426] Dorrington, *Observations,* 7.

joining the Roman communion.[427] In order to prevent this, Dorrington sought to counteract the "Indifferency" plaguing the youth of the established Church, who had yet to attain the appropriate amount of prejudice against the Church of Rome; perhaps more urgently, Dorrington must protect religion itself from the atheism potentially inspired by an encounter with Roman Catholic priests, who might leave the young with the impression that "all revealed Religion is but such a Cheat as the Popish Priests have made" and a "meer Invention" to advance their own positions.[428] In exposing the true nature of the rank-and-file of the Church of Rome, Dorrington intended to prove that their "Priest-craft, and worldly Artifice" was wholly at odds with "true Christianity" as revealed by Scripture, and as such entirely apart from the "happy Reformation" of the Church of England.[429] In Antwerp Dorrington noted a ban on all worship that was not "conform'd and subject to the Practice and Authority of the Church of Rome" and attributes this to the influence of Johannes Ferdinandus de Berghem, Bishop of Antwerp, and the Archbishop of Mechlin, who also led the charge in the persecution of local Jansenists; in conjunction with this, Dorrington lamented that the "pious and good People"—who were "regular and strict" in their "Observance of all the Forms, Methods, and times of Devotion" required by the Church—wasted that piety on "Corruptions and Errors."[430] In this way Dorrington separated the intolerable acts or expressions of religion from the practitioners themselves while shifting responsibility for religious errors onto Roman Catholic ecclesiastics who, like their counterparts in France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, promoted heresy and suppressed true religion. These corruptions were encouraged by Roman Catholic priests who, for example, told laymen that images of the Virgin Mary could be seen to have wet petticoats from venturing out to sea at night to save imperilled ships; in that sense they taught that the image itself contained the presence of the Virgin, which explained and promoted the pilgrimages to different shrines, as laymen believed a saint or the Virgin was more likely to be present there than elsewhere.[431] More alarming still were the pretended visions claimed by monks who sought to expand the cults of the saints by claiming that saints had appeared to

[427] Ibid., 13.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid., 26.
[431] Ibid., 30.

them and ordered the establishment or re-instatement of a "Method of Devotion."[432] Building on these cults, the religious orders were great supporters of queasils, lay women who devoted themselves to a particular saint and were often associated with specific religious orders and fraternities; known for their exaggerated devotions—including "creeping round the Cross upon their Knees"—the queasils wore habits associated with their orders but, unlike nuns, were not required to take vows of celibacy.[433] Like confraternities and parish charities, lay devotion to a saint offered a new outlet for women to partake in Counter-Reformation piety and worship, but more important to the purposes of Dorrington's analysis was the queasils' generosity: the women "[made] frequent Presents" to their orders and were especially generous in death, for the purpose of which the orders—especially the Jesuits, who received a lovely "Countrey-house" in this fashion—targeted the richest queasils for special "wheedle[s]" and attentions.[434] In their promotion of the cults of the saints and in their perceived exploitation of the laypeople who served them, Dorrington portrayed Roman Catholic religious orders as concerned primarily with the prestige and attractiveness of their holy sites or orders and with the profits to be derived from them. The religious orders were not the only form of Roman Catholic leadership with which the author concerned himself but they were, to his mind, the most corrupt and the most base. Dorrington explained the difference between secular (or parish) clergymen and regular (or religious) clergymen with reference to their authority: while secular clergymen were denigrated as "Men of the common World" in comparison to the regular clergy, it was the former who had in their institution the "Intuition of Jesus Christ," while the latter were of "meerly humane Invention."[435] That the monks and friars of the Church of Rome claimed more authority than was due to them given the source of their vocation was clarified in terms of their own religious orders, which operated according to "Rule[s] of humane Invention" such as that of St. Francis or St. Ignatius Loyola; in the interest of truth, Dorrington argued, the orders ought to take the name secular and leave the religious nomenclature to the uniform, erstwhile secular clergymen of the parishes.[436] While he did not seek to prove the legitimacy of the secular clergy, Dorrington's arguments re-asserted the distinction between the materialism or

[432] Ibid., 31.
[433] Ibid., 33.
[434] Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 145; Dorrington, *Observations*, 33.
[435] Ibid., 30.
[436] Ibid., 30-31.

carnality of the Church of Rome and the traditions that formed its spiritual authority and the cerebral, scriptural foundations that authorized Protestant and early Christian institutions.

The worldliness of the minor leadership of the Church of Rome and the corruption of the religion itself was also present in their churches and services, which prioritized the "Pomps and Pleasures of the World" over the mental and spiritual aims of "Christian Worship".[437] Dorrington offered as an example Our Lady's Church in Antwerp, which he described as "fine and rich within," with paintings, "Works of Silver" adorning the altar for high Mass, candles, real and artificial flowers, and "excellent Musick," all of which combined to make some of the "most beautiful Scenes in the World."[438] The aesthetic beauty of the church, however, was at odds with the necessary solemnity of worship, which was intended to "refine and purifie the mind of Man, and to elevate it to God and Divine Things," not appeal to his senses.[439] The chapels of the church were "furnish[ed] and adorn[ed]" by confraternities, including the Fraternity of the Circumcision, which maintained its own chapel and claimed to display therein a relic of the foreskin of Christ.[440] Dorrington identified Antwerp as a haven for religious orders, due to its wealth and its promise of "pleasant living," and the most prolific among these were the Minor Franciscans, the Carmelites or Brothers of Our Lady, the Norbertines and the Society of Jesus.[441] The Minor Brothers were famous for their processions, in which they were richly clad in gold and silver as they carried torches before a Host in a remonstranter and canopy; to this image Dorrington added that they were "groping at Noon-day, as the Blind grope in Darkness," a clear allusion to both their superficiality and their perceived ignorance.[442] As proof of their greed as well as their intellectual dishonesty Dorrington described the Feast of Portiuncula, one of the "base Tricks, and palpable Cheats" which brought with it indulgences for its celebrants and brought to the order, like the "Goods of a Tradesman's Shop," pilgrims and their money.[443] As a result of this influx the "idle, useless, supernumerary Priests" of the order were able to "live upon the Sweat and Labour of the meaner people, and grow rich" on the donations of

[437] Ibid., 36-37.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid., 37.
[440] Ibid., 37.
[441] Ibid., 44.
[442] Ibid..
[443] Ibid., 45.

the wealthy.[444] The rites and festivals of the Church of Rome, then, were problematic not only because they lacked legitimacy in a religious sense but because they were financial props for illegitimate religious authority. In terms of evidence, the story justifying the feast was one of many histories of the saints and their accomplishments that was designed to have no outside or "impartial" witnesses, and thus to give credence to "Lyes" and "feign'd Miracles" that supported the Church's "Fopperies, and Superstitions, and Idolatries."[445] In this scenario St. Francis was visited by an angel, who instructed the saint to go into the chapel and find there the Virgin Mary and Christ; seizing this opportunity, St. Francis asked of a Christ an indulgence for those who would visit his chapel, which Pope Honorius III reluctantly granted without alms, the usual "merit" of the indulgence.[446] Two years later St. Francis was tempted by Satan and, having mortified himself in order to escape the devil's wiles, received another vision from the angel; taking time to gather a dozen each of the red and white roses that had appeared following his successful repudiation of Satan, St. Francis encountered Christ and the Virgin, and afterwards secured a time for the indulgence, which was to last from Vespers on August 1st to Vespers the following day and entailed full remission of sins committed from baptism to the hour of their visit in exchange for receiving absolution from the priest.[447] Eventually the indulgence was extended to all of the order's chapels, and this accordingly increased the presence, privileges, and wealth of the order across Europe.[448] The myths surrounding St. Francis and his miracles were crucial for the support of the "idle, useless Drones, call'd Religious" responsible for the corruption of Christianity, both in themselves and in the "Works" they promoted.[449] Likewise, the relic of the cord worn by St. Francis was a means of encouraging superstitious and idolatrous devotion to the saint, who was credited with stigmata intended to remind the world of the "Sufferings of Christ," and whose cord was, in fact, the result of his misinterpretation and misapplication of the Scripture verse "Provide neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Brass in your Purses, nor Scrip for your Journey, neither Shoes," from which he decided to replace his

[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid., 46, 47.
[447] Ibid., 47-48.
[448] Ibid., 48.
[449] Ibid., 49.

girdle with a cord.[450] The cord was credited with a variety of miracles on "trifling Occasions" and on the basis of these miracles—which, if authentic, would make God a "paultry Jugler" doing "Tricks for the sake of showing them"—the brothers were offered "daily Sustenance and Food" and gained "real Benefits" from an "easie and abus'd Devotion" that offered in return only false rewards.[451] The "Air of Falshood [sic] and Folly" surrounding the "Lying Wonders" attributed to the cord of St. Francis engendered not only superstitious forms of veneration for the item but also attributed the merits and mediation of Christ to the saint, as expressed in a prayer to be said over deceased brothers which claimed the cord was worn to safeguard the "forgiveness of [their] Sins, through the Merit of the Cords and Sufferings of Our Lord Jesus Christ."[452] The transgressions of the orders were not only in the secular sense of corruption and greed but in a spiritual sense of "preferr[ing] these Saints" before Jesus Christ, although Dorrington claimed to refrain from "imput[ing] this [corruption] to them."[453] As he claimed for himself the moral superiority of not implicating the orders in heresy, Dorrington also made clear his charge that the orders capitalized both financially and socially on practices that falsely attributed the authority of the divine to creatures such as saints, and in perpetuating this corruption they claimed a similar form of authority for themselves.

The rosary was another idolatrous corruption of the religious orders which, like false relics and the scapulary, had enriched and "fatted [the order of St. Dominic] up as Hogs for the Slaughter."[454] The confraternities associated with the rosary were frequently denounced for their alms and banquets by even Roman Catholic bishops as a degenerate and garish form of participating in devotion but, even so, confraternities remained popular for their indulgences and their promise of special access to the Virgin and were not necessarily discouraged by local religious orders.[455] According to Dorrington, the monks of the order of St. Dominic were responsible for administering fraternities and dispensing indulgences granted to the rosary, and as a result of the immense popularity of the meditation and their monopoly on establishing fraternities and chapels related to the rosary, they had become

[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid., 50.
[452] Ibid., 52-53.
[453] Ibid., 54.
[454] Ibid., 96.
[455] Hoffman, *Church and Community*, 106, 118-119.

"more jolly, [and] fat" than any other religious order.[456] In addition to this presumption of authority, the promises made to those who joined the fraternity of the rosary placed them spiritually above all spiritual or secular leaders: the sum total of the "good Works, Fasts, Vigils, Prayers, Alms-deeds, Martyrdoms, Disciplines, Sermons, [and] Masses" performed by the order and to be enjoyed by the fraternity was a religious fortune in freedom from purgatory and a "fine easie [sic] way to Heaven" not to be enjoyed by even a king or a pope.[457] As for the evidence supporting this promise of salvation, the means of transmission of these prayers and alms from one brother, living or dead, to another was "*per modum Suffragii*" or, as Dorrington translates, "no one knows how."[458] The rosary itself was a "dull and tedious trifling under the Name and Pretence of Devotion" which contained at its core "impious Idolatry in the Worship of a Creature" and the "Christian Religion turn'd Marian;" as evidence of this Dorrington explained that there are ten times as many *Ave Maries* said in a rosary as *pater nosters*, making the exercise "erroneously partial to the Virgin" and alike in its origins to the religion of Numa Pompilius who, like St. Dominic, claimed to receive his instructions from "a Goddess."[459] The primacy of the Virgin as expressed in the rosary, while contentious, served a doctrinal purpose in helping to explain the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption, and the role of the Virgin in redemption but, perhaps more importantly to Dorrington's concerns, also helped provide a strong maternal 'Queen' figure akin to the cult of Gloriana to whom Roman Catholics could direct their loyalties.[460] The rosary and its confraternities were not only affronts to divine authority and honour but potentially subversive of civil authority as well. The fraternity of the Guardian Angels was similarly corrupt, as it taught that salvation was partially dependent on the intercession of one's guardian angel and of sufficient prayers to ensure a good death; in order to obtain these prayers, men were convinced to join the fraternity and "unite their Prayers and Vows."[461] Dorrington pointed out that this association was not only idolatrous and contrary to Scripture by performing "Acts of Divine Worship" to the "honour of Creatures" but also heavily

[456] Dorrington, *Observations*, 96-97, 102.
[457] Ibid., 105.
[458] Ibid., 106.
[459] Ibid., 97.
[460] Dillon, "Praying," 465.
[461] Dorrington, *Observations*, 92.

promoted by the prelates and ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of Rome.[462] That these believers considered their entrance into the fraternity a sign of "Predestination to Eternal Glory" only highlighted their confusion and the deliberate misdirection they received from their religious leaders.[463] All things considered, Dorrington charged the order with promising a short-cut to Heaven that satisfied their material desires but did not, in fact, promise results; rather, these ends were better served leading a "truly good and virtuous Life," although this was a more difficult endeavour than the "Tasks of Devotion" prescribed.[464] Similarly, the Carmelites' "Wheedles" to gain "Trade and Custom" were the fraternities of the scapulary, which they attributed to the Virgin Mary through Simon Stock, one of their saints; the scapulary was a garment made of two pieces of cloth which cover the shoulders, made only from brown sheeps' wool to emulate the garments worn by the Virgin.[465] The fruits gleaned from these devotions were the Carmelites' ceremonial garments, "rich Copes" in "Cloth of Silver" embroidered with a cross.[466] Dorrington juxtaposed this cross with the cross borne by Christ, the former of which was heaviest in "hot weather," and a burden not at all alike to that of Christ in either substance or spiritual value.[467] To Dorrington this was another example of the true nature of the orders, as they claimed to renounce the world and yet lived in the "best Enjoyment" of it; like La Fountain's "Religious Rat," they made their home most comfortably in the equivalent of a "choice Holland Cheese."[468] The quantity of priests and brothers in the employ of the Church of Rome was another contributing factor to avarice of the Church, which "wheedle[d]" its followers with a high volume of "needless and impious Devotions" or—"for a good Pay"—Masses in order to maintain the livelihoods of its priests.[469] It was to this end that the Church had instituted its multitude of festivals dedicated to saints, "Gaudy Days" during which the Church, trading on its confirmation of the religious "Errors" of its laymen, made great revenue from its sale of indulgences and thereby supported its "idle, useless Priests."[470] Amongst the lures used by the clergy were the

[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid.
[464] Ibid., 105.
[465] Ibid., 55, 147.
[466] Ibid., 55, 56.
[467] Ibid., 56.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid., 65, 73, 91.
[470] Ibid., 69, 71-72.

processions dedicated to miraculous events or relics, such as that of the Miraculous Sacrament in Brussels, which commemorated the miraculous bleeding of a consecrated host stolen and desecrated by a Jewish man in 1369.[471] Aside from the dubious veracity of the story, which might have been a "Juggle" intended to prove the "Absurdity of Transubstantiation," Dorrington reminded his reader that the procession, which became quite a tourist attraction, brought "Money both to Priests and People."[472] As for the morality of the religious orders, Dorrington suggested that the saints and martyrs of the orders—namely, the Jesuits—were not lost in the name of Christ or the "Catholick Faith" but in the commission of myriad crimes.[473] An image in a Jesuit house at Aix-la-Chappelle showed a purported martyr, Thomas Harcourt, stabbed through the breast with a "Butcher's Knife" in his execution at Tyburn, England, for his faith; instead, Dorrington asserted, Harcourt was executed after a "fair and legal Tryal" for high treason.[474] Dorrington's scathing critique of the religious orders was problematized by his encounter with the Jesuits, who "civilly, and easily admitted" Dorrington and his companion to their quarters knowing only that they were Englishmen interested in viewing the country; once there they conversed about the Jesuits' gardens and sun-dials, almost as if there was nothing at all to divide them.[475] In many ways the author, while hyper-critical of the religious errors of the Church of Rome, remained open to the human potential of its members, particularly if they might be converted. Still, however, in a reported conversation with a Roman Catholic who disparaged the English laws restricting the profession of Roman Catholicism, Dorrington replied that the few Roman Catholics who remained in England could live quietly as they pleased, provided they did not fraternize with the "Enemies of their Country," as some of their orders did.[476] In this Dorrington seemed to refer to the 'Toleration Act,' which in its inception had the potential to relieve Roman Catholic recusants of some of their burdens but in response to disputes from within the Church of England had become largely inapplicable to Roman Catholics and, regardless, retained the Test and Corporation Acts as well as the Oath of Allegiance and

[471] Ibid., 95.
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid., 117.
[474] Ibid., 154.
[475] Ibid., 137-138.
[476] Ibid., 139.

acceptance of most of the 39 Articles.[477] Dorrington conceded that a law from that year in Ireland banished the religious orders, but promised that secular priests were permitted, and argued that all "sensible People" considered the orders "useless Drones, and a Burden to the rest of the World," and on this basis they were not missed.[478] In both cases the hegemony of the Church of England was maintained and its authority in matters spiritual and temporal re-affirmed. Throughout his discussion, Dorrington argued that the authority of the Church of Rome as embodied in its religious leadership—secular and regular—was corrupt, built on false pretences and pursuing pseudo-religious, material aims. In their promotion of the cults of the saints and the relics, pilgrimages, and devotions that accompany them, the priests and monks of the Church of Rome also promoted themselves, their own prestige, and the luxurious lifestyle they claimed to forswear. The result of their efforts was the ignorance, idolatry, and misguided allegiance that characterized the Roman Catholics Dorrington had encountered and constituted the attributes of the Roman Catholic faith that made toleration impossible. While Dorrington continued to acknowledge an intrinsic capacity for reason or righteousness within Roman Catholics, the carnality taught and upheld by their religious leadership made their presence within a polity unpalatable. Dorrington hoped to expose the realities of life in a Roman Catholic-friendly region in the interests of protecting the *status quo* as it pertained to them in England and in Ireland.

In the various contributions to the discourse on Roman Catholicism and toleration in the later seventeenth century, the prevailing concern with authority was manifested in part through discussions of the cults of the Church of Rome. In both their religious and secular permutations, these cults were accused of a lack of rightful authority: in their corrupted, carnal traditions they lacked the authority of reason and Scripture and, worse still, attributed divine authority to undeserving creatures; in their clergy they honoured and obey ed men and women who debauched their vows and exploited their prestige for their own gain. The result of these cults was not only the idolatry and religious error of the Church of Rome itself but the deserved exclusion of its members from Protestant polities who sought to protect true faith and avoid the inevitable upheaval of Roman Catholic intransigence.

[477] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration,* 198-199.
[478] Dorrington, *Observations,* 140.

CHAPTER 2: "Unchristian and Unnatural:" Perspectives on Roman Catholic Doctrine and Belief

To the polemicists pursuing the Protestant cause in print, a shrewdly collated congregation of codes lurked beneath the superstitious practices of the Church of Rome. These beliefs and their proofs were embodied in rituals and fused together by corrupt ecclesiastics into a religious culture that defined the absurdity of the Roman Catholic confession. The complex nature of the post-Reformation for Roman Catholics was, from this perspective, unimportant; for many Protestant writers, the compromise between orthodox prescriptions and pragmatism that characterized the profession of Roman Catholicism—and made many of their fears unfounded—went unexplored.[479] Roman Catholic doctrines were perhaps more insidious than their practices because they were only visible when enacted and in many cases were capable of being held in secret.[480] For this reason even familiar Roman Catholics and recusants were dangerous because they were intellectually unknown, foreign, yet fundamentally "woven" into the fabric of their communities and as such difficult to identify and extricate; in the uncertain transitional period of the reign of James II especially, the fear of the crypto-Catholic, in religion as well as in politics, and a general "institutional anxiety" resulted in a hysterical outpouring of polemic aimed at Roman Catholics and their religious beliefs.[481] The most significant critiques of Roman Catholic belief centred around the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of the Virgin; the nexus of doctrines surrounding purgatory and indulgences that also included theories of righteousness, merit, and satisfaction for sins; and transubstantiation, all of which, like the practices previously described, were derided for their absence of spiritual authority—namely, a paucity of Scripture-proofs and a reliance on human traditions and Councils in its stead. Roman Catholic religious culture made these doctrines real and experiential in the form of rituals and sacraments like the Mass, extreme unction, the baptism of bells, Lenten fasts, and exorcisms, all of which failed in one or all elements to find legitimacy through Scripture and often were condemned for their perceived carnality. Rituals were crucial and, from a Protestant perspective, malignant because they provided "ontological power" to nebulous

[479] McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 4-5. Titular quotation drawn from *A Full and Impartial Account*, 9.
[480] See, for example, Walsham, *Church Papists*.
[481] Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 2, 5; Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion," 153.

Roman Catholic doctrines and helped form a space through which intangible concepts such as God, identity, or 'community' became tangible through experience.[482] This corruption of true religion was orchestrated and aggravated by the corrupt secular leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, which encouraged belief in these doctrines as well as those of auricular confession, papal infallibility, and the papal dispensing power while also extolling the virtues of ignorance and blind faith, all of which worked toward advancing the secular—and often seditious—ends of the Church of Rome.

The religious codes of Roman Catholicism were condemned for their absence of scriptural and rational authority, both of which, for Protestant writers, were the bulwarks against false religion. This concern with expressions of reason and evidence in Roman Catholic devotion is symptomatic of the intellectual culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which saw the advent of a revitalized intellectual current founded on scientific reasoning and embraced by many Christian intellectuals.[483] In its English context the Enlightenment questioned truth, reason, and knowledge with a scepticism that Mark Knights argues defined an "age of uncertainty" and anxiety in politics.[484] Its conservative form, which Jonathan Israel calls the moderate Enlightenment, was amenable to Christian intellectuals Europe-wide who acknowledged problematic areas within the faith but still hoped to preserve its fundamental intellectual structures.[485] This moderate, Christian Enlightenment straddled many locations and forms of discourse but generally sought to reconcile faith with the "new sciences" and standards of reason, "reform and progress" in order to find a moderate path between superstition, irreligion, and fanaticism.[486] In its English Protestant permutation, this Enlightenment was embraced by clerics and theologians who hoped to unite Protestants through a rational approach to religion that reconciled reason and revelation by finding the "moral essentials" of faith; while this rational impulse is often

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[482] McClain, "'My Lord,'" 13.

[483] Louis Chatellier, "Christianity and the Rise of Science, 1660-1815," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume II: Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 251.

[484] Knights, *Representation*, 9-10.

[485] Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11; Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 11.

[486] Helena Rosenblatt, "The Christian Enlightenment," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume II: Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 283-284.

lauded by historians as the forerunner of toleration (as Rosenblatt notes), for many Protestant writers the imposition of new standards of reason justified rather than discouraged continued assaults on the Church of Rome.[487] If reason could be used to 'prove' Christianity—distinguishing between doctrines that are above reason but easily incorporated within a rational system and those that violate reason—it could also be used to *dis*prove or justify the rejection of other forms of Christian expression.[488] Critiques of Roman Catholic doctrine were frequently founded on a need for "measurable" or testimonial evidence, particularly for doctrines such as transubstantiation that could not be proved by sight or substance and that thereby became self-defeating.[489] Whereas the Church of England proclaimed itself to be amenable to God, nature, and the "inward guidance" of reason, Roman Catholic doctrines were perceived as both flawed and dangerous because they required that believers eschew their rational impulses and the fundamentals of Christian religion.[490] Appeals to Man's natural capacity for reason were accompanied by an emphasis on textual evidence in the form of Scripture and patristic writings, both of which were foundational to early modern intellectual culture; moreover, reason and Scripture were frequently fused, as they were in the case of ethnic theology, which used "scientific methods" such as mathematics combined with Noachic traditions to make sense of human history, providence, and even other world religions.[491] In the post-Restoration period especially, theologians and polemicists with interest in natural philosophy used "rational proofs," "credible witnesses and impartial judgment" to support their interpretations of the New Testament, a current that Barbara Shapiro argues helped deeply engrain 'fact' as a category in English intellectual culture.[492]

On the other side of the debate, Roman Catholic writers also made appeals to Enlightenment ideals through "historical proofs, logical demonstrations and reasonable arguments" that refuted Protestant accusations of arbitrary faith and illogic.[493] These scholars attempted to answer Protestant critiques as well as reclaim Protestant converts with proofs of

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[487] Rosenblatt, "Christian Enlightenment," 285.
[488] Israel, *Enlightenment Contested,* 68-69.
[489] Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion," 148.
[490] Ibid., 148-152.
[491] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 11-14, 35, 45.
[492] Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 168, 188.
[493] Rosenblatt, "Christian Enlightenment," 291.

the legitimacy of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church through its link to the early, apostolic Church and its ensuing hold on legitimate, uninterrupted truth; like their Protestant contemporaries, Roman Catholic theologians portrayed their interpretation of Christianity as "chimiquement pur" and stripped of superstitions accumulated over time.[494] Despite claims from Protestant polemicists that the Roman Catholic Church prioritized false testaments, oral narratives, censorship, and superstition over the written word, the press proved a vital medium for religious argument, and both Roman Catholic and Protestant writers made use of drama, image, and manipulated histories to advance their own causes[495] The invocation of reason and of stereotypes, for example, were as much partisan tactics as critiques, as they both served to identify the conforming Protestant negatively as well as positively against an oppositional group or figure: the Irish barbarian or the faith-blind Catholic was not only a construct that embodied the most hideous characteristics of Man—ungodliness or perhaps irrationality—but one against which, accurately or not, Protestant readers could become godly and rational by contrast.[496] Likewise, the proclaimed 'purity' of contemporary doctrines in both Protestant and Roman Catholic circles was a statement of religious authority that was claimed for the Roman Catholic Church in the Council of Trent, which reaffirmed its "teaching and law-giving" authority as well as its right to dictate the interpretation of Scripture, and reclaimed by Protestants who cited the corruption of Roman Catholic doctrine as its cession of a leadership role in Christendom.[497] These errors incited cataclysmic failures of what John Coffey defines as "polemical toleration," or abstention from engagement in theological debate against dissent; rather, intellectuals and clergymen frequently engaged in spirited refutations of Roman Catholic doctrine as part of a broader discussion of the place of Roman Catholicism within the Protestant nation.[498] This commitment to religious truth highlights both the real importance of "shared beliefs" as a

[494] Bruno Neveu, "L'érudition ecclésiastique du dix-septième siècle et la nostalgie de l'antiquité christienne," in *Religion and Humanism. Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 202.

[495] Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past and Present* 168.1 (2000): 74-76, 99-100. For more on the relationship between drama and religion in the 17th century see Daniel Swift, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-63.

[496] Knights, *Representation,* 348, 291-293; Elliott Visconsi, "King Philip's War and the Edges of Civil Religion in 1670s London," in *Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s,* ed. Tony Claydon and Thomas N. Corns (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 149, 152.

[497] Benevot, "*Traditiones*," 342.

[498] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration,* 13.

cohering factor in English society and the role of orthodoxy and heterodoxy on integration within the same.[499]

The doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary were points of contention for many Protestant writers because of their assignment of divine sanctity to the Virgin as mother of Christ, which from their perspective was a violation of the spiritual authority possessed only by the divine. The doctrine and feast of the Immaculate Conception were pet causes of the Franciscan orders in particular, who adopted Duns Scotus's theory that the Virgin was born free of original sin in anticipation of her role as future mother of Christ; moreover, the Immaculate Conception emphasized the "sanctity" of the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist by extending the same sanctity and "sinlessness" to Christ's mother and thereby alienating the Virgin from the banality of the human condition.[500] The Assumption, which had already been celebrated as a solemnity since the Middle Ages, was made a dogma by Pope Pius XII in the 1950 apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus*, which attributed to the Virgin the "entirely unique privilege" of "completely [overcoming] sin" and enjoying the physical "redemption of her body" at the hour of her death.[501] In this way, too, the Assumption—although not an official dogma in the seventeenth century—represented a doctrine through which the Church of Rome transformed a creature into a figure possessing the divinity of Christ, in this case through her defeat of mortality. Throughout the early centuries of the Church and into the early modern period there remained significant debate over the circumstances of the Virgin's death and whether her body, in addition to her soul, was called to Heaven by Christ at the end of her life; in the same way as the Immaculate Conception was problematic for Protestants because its repudiation of original sin might question the Virgin's need for salvation through Christ, and thus the potency of Christ's sacrifice itself, the doctrine of the

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[499] Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tension in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 3.

[500] Thomas M. Izbicki, "The Immaculate Conception and Ecclesiastical Politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and their Foes," *Archive for Reformation History* 96.1 (2005): 147-151.

[501] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), 201-206; Pius XII, "Munificentissimus Deus: Defining the Dogma of the Assumption (Apostolic Constitution)," Libreria Editrice Vaticana, November 1st, 1950, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-xii_apc_19501101_munificentissimus-deus.html, par. 5.

Assumption suggested a likeness to Christ that, while advancing the status of the Virgin, threatened the special status of her son.[502]

A similar concern with the erosion of divine authority underlay critiques of post-Tridentine views of justification, the mitigating role of good works in salvation, and purgatory.[503] The doctrine of purgatory, first expounded at the Council of Lyons (1274) and clarified at Trent (1545-1563), stated that satisfaction for sin might still be due even after absolution through confession and would need to be undertaken after death in a "holding-tank" for otherwise heaven-bound believers.[504] Purgatory did not forgive sins, or *culpae,* but provided an outlet in the afterlife for the satisfaction of temporal punishments still owing on sins, *penae.*[505] Despite its perceived vagueness in terms of Scripture-proof and defined doctrine, belief in purgatory was widespread by the fifteenth century and engendered a steady trade in chantries (Masses performed for the dead), obits (funerary rites recreated on death anniversaries), and indulgences, which offered remission of the temporal punishment owing on sins that had already been forgiven through confession.[506] Belief in purgatory was supported by late medieval Roman Catholic views of the Christian communion as comprising both the living and dead with continued reciprocal relationships between the two states; rather than ending a bond with the Church, death changed but maintained existing linkages and resulted in requirements for prayers and supplications made by the living on behalf of the dead.[507] Purgatory had been a target of the Henrician Reformation for its subversion of justification by faith alone and the complete satisfaction for sins offered by Christ's sacrifice on the cross but it remained a latent presence in recusant life through rituals

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[502] Stephen T. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-3; Izbicki, "The Immaculate Conception," 148.

[503] Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500-1789* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984), 95-96.

[504] John Casey, *After Lives: A Guide to Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 226; R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 14.

[505] Nicholas Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 27.

[506] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 7-30.

[507] Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, "Introduction: Placing the Dead in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3-4; Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 18-21.

such as lighting candles and ringing bells to comfort the dead, which presumed the continued necessity of intercession by the living on behalf of the dead.[508] From both Lutheran and Calvinist perspectives, the perpetual foundations established for the dead in anticipation of reducing their atonement period amounted not only to a fear-and money-mongering scheme by clerics, but to an interruption of the direct relationship between God and man and a rejection of justification by faith alone that held no scriptural basis.[509] Justification by faith rejected any act, practise done, or exercise of will by inherently sinful Man as sufficient to appease God or justify salvation and argued instead that God's grace alone is responsible for salvation; in this way, all sacraments and forms of mediation become superfluous to the relationship between God and Man and even presumptuous in their suggestion that Man has any say in his own spiritual destiny.[510] While performing good works such as prayers for the dead might demonstrate faith, the notion that Man's own works or merit might assist in his salvation or the salvation of others could not be reconciled with justification by faith or with the redemption of Man by Christ.[511] Combined with this concern with purgatory's implications for justification was an increasing rejection, from the Henrician Reformation onward, of the validity of a "locali[z]ed afterlife," which also problematized areas such as the *limbus infantium* (of unbaptized babies) and the *limbus patrum* (to which the patriarchs had been relegated before Christ's harrowing of hell), none of which could be supported by direct proofs from Scripture.[512] Purgatory thus came to represent not only the "absurdity" of Roman Catholic beliefs including the "geography of the afterlife" but also the "hubris of medieval Catholicism" in its promotion of ascriptural, non-patristic doctrines.[513] In the same way that Roman Catholic practices were accused by Protestant writers of corruption reminiscent of the biblical Jews, the Church of Rome's emphasis on 'self-justification' and

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[508] Marshall, *Beliefs*, 52-64, 127-134.

[509] Elizabeth C. Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany, 1480-1720* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 468-473.

[510] Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*, 59-60.

[511] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 211-215; Clive Burgess, "'Longing to be Prayed for:' Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 49.

[512] Peter Marshall, "'The Map of God's Word: Geographies of the Afterlife in Tudor and Early Stuart England'" in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 111-113.

[513] Marshall, "'Map of God's Word,'" 113-114; Casey, *After Lives*, 227.

good works were attributed by these same writers to the perceived "legalistic piety" of Judaism, which was criticized as reliant not on true expressions of love or devotion to God but to the almost mercantile expectation that fulfilling legal prescriptions would result in God's favour.[514] For Roman Catholics, the rites and sacraments of the Church were central not only to religious experience but to the fusion of social and spiritual life (religious culture) through their demarcation of important life events including birth (baptism), young adulthood (confirmation), adulthood (marriage), and death (extreme unction); to many reformers, however, many of these rites had become encumbered with specialized equipment and formulae—including specific fonts, altars, censers, chalices, and the like—and had lost their spiritual potency amongst the trappings of human vanity and agency.[515] This critique was often articulated as a critique of Roman Catholic carnality, or corporality of worship, which for Protestant critics denoted an un-intellectual, even arbitrary spirituality. Similarly, bargaining prayer, prayer made in expectation of "reciprocal service" from God and often 'sealed' with candles or fasting, as well as other blessing ceremonies for bells, images, houses, and beds recorded in official liturgical books like the *Roman Ritual* also seemed to presume a "mechanical efficacy" that prioritized correct ritual observance over the actual will of God.[516] The Church's claim to *opus operatum*—or, a share in the "instrumental power" of the divine as evidenced in its capacity to work miracles—had been the object of scorn for reformers since the Lollards in the fourteenth century and was picked up during the Tudor Reformation in critiques of Roman Catholic consecration and exorcism rituals as undermining the importance of the divine will.[517] Miracles, especially those done through human or institutional intercession, contradicted the unmediated relationship between the human and the divine promoted by Protestant reformers and contemporary instances were denied in the doctrine of the cessation of miracles, which argued that miracles had ceased because they were no longer necessary; for both Luther and Calvin, the only necessary confirmation of religious truth was given in Scripture, and for Calvinists especially, miracles

[514] Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology,* trans. Edward Quinn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 39-40, 48-50.

[515] Whiting, *Blind Devotion,* 17-21.

[516] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 41, 43; David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 95.

[517] Thomas, *Decline of Magic,* 51-53.

became unnecessary because 'miraculous' occurrences could be attributed to God's will and judgment embodied in providence.[518] Purgatory and justification by works exemplified the spiritual illegitimacy of Roman Catholic doctrine in terms of its textual arbitrariness and its annexation of the prerogative of the divine.

Indulgences, while never a central doctrine in medieval Catholicism, were another bane of the Protestant polemicist's existence that became tied into debates about purgatory, merits, and concerns about spiritual authority articulated in terms of traditions versus Scripture-proofs and evidence.[519] Indulgences were based on the early practice of canonical penance, through which sinners publicly confessed and repented for their sins and received absolution; in more contemporary forms, confessors could allow penitents to eschew longer penances—such as periods of fasting—in favour of "sharper" and more temporary acts, and in a like fashion, the Church on an institutional level allowed for temporal punishments to be remitted in exchange for acts of "charity or devotion."[520] Penance itself was intended to restore Man's relationship with God once it had been damaged by sin and usually involved satisfaction in the form of days or 'Lents' of fasting; to this end, indulgences often required sincere confession in order to achieve remission, which encouraged auricular confession and enhanced relationships between penitents and confessors.[521] Early forms of indulgences were offered in exchange for military service on behalf of the Church in the Crusades and grew in popularity throughout the thirteenth century, often being peddled by 'pardoners,' itinerant salesmen who offered indulgences and relics of dubious authenticity.[522] Indulgences were not explicitly extended to the dead in purgatory until 1476, although they had already been taken to be valid for the latter on a *de facto* basis by many Roman Catholics; in general, indulgences referred to the enjoined penance or temporal punishment owing on sins and drew on the treasury of merits—a doctrine referring to the combined merits of Christ, the saints, and martyrs which was inspired by Alexander of Hales and Thomas Aquinas and solidified by Pope Clement VI in 1343—which were administered by the Church.[523]

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[518] Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006), 21-31.

[519] Swanson, *Indulgences*, 278-279.

[520] Casey, *After Lives*, 225; Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 28; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 10-11.

[521] Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 49-50.

[522] Ibid., 26.

[523] Ibid., 50, 51; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 16, 21.

Protestant reformers such as Luther denounced indulgences as one of the Church's great abuses, not only because they placed more power in the hands of the Pope and bishops but because they drew devotees to ceremonies, dedications, pilgrimages that also resulted in alms; in this way, they were corrupt in both their assumption of human power and their mercenary motives.[524]

The Mass, too, was the subject of significant criticism for both the theological and supernatural foibles of the act of transubstantiation. The Mass had been a fixture of English devotion prior to the Reformation and its link to Christ and salvation was in large part attributed to the sacrifice enacted by the priest resulting in transubstantiation; while the Eucharist remained in both Protestant and Roman Catholic communions after the Reformation, highlighting the incarnation of Christ as well as the relationship between God and Man, the Mass itself was outlawed in the Act of Uniformity (1549) and replaced by less literal interpretations of the presence of Christ at communion.[525] While many recusants mourned the lost sensory experience of Christ—an element of carnality derided by reformed writers—and the inaccessibility of the sacraments newly emphasized in importance by the Council of Trent, the Mass became a symbol of the recusant community's separation from both the "collective behaviour" and "religious and sacramental acts" of their conforming neighbours as well as of its self-perception of enhanced spiritual purity; in this way, attendance at the Mass was a manifestation of conscious religious and social difference that undermined the proclaimed uniformity of the Protestant establishment.[526] For Protestant polemics, the transformation of bread and wine purported to occur in the Mass was not simply a doctrine but an event that should be "experimentally verifiable" with substantial, natural attributes that were demonstrable; where these attributes were not demonstrable—how, they asked, could the body of a grown man also be a wafer?—the doctrine itself

[524] Swanson, *Indulgences,* 2; Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 38; Rob Lutton, "Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth-and Early Sixteenth-Century England," *History* 98.329 (2013): 65-66.

[525] Lisa McClain, "'They Have Taken Away My Lord:' Mary Magdalene, Christ's Missing Body, and the Mass in Reformation England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38.1 (2007): 81; Lee Palmer Wandel, "Envisioning God: Image and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24.1 (1993): 28, 29. The abolition of the 6 Articles (1547) under Edward VI further cemented the rejection of traditional Roman Catholic doctrine.

[526] McClain, "'My Lord,'" 84, 86; Bossy, *English Catholic,* 108-109.

became absurd and its believers ridiculous.[527] For reformers concerned with the arbitrariness of Roman Catholic rituals and their implications for divine versus human will, the Mass was a kind of witchcraft or conjuration, in part as a result of the later medieval emphasis on "formal consecration" carried out by the priest and his "special powers;" in this way, to Protestant writers such as Thomas Hobbes, the Mass and its central act of transubstantiation became dependent on a "formula of consecration" that was unknown to the layman but considered to have material benefits such as healing the sick or protecting against bad weather.[528] The result of the rejection of the Mass as 'magical' was the transformation of the communion into a simple "commemorative rite" without any temporal reward, a simplification also extended to other sacraments including baptism and marriage.[529] Christ's presence in the Eucharist became spiritual, as opposed to physical, and this shift in perception was reflected in images of the communion that emphasized the mundane nature of the bread and in the reduction of "ritualized gestures" that mentally signalled the Mass.[530] The Eucharist as a purely spiritual, cerebral experience based on the scriptural template laid out by Christ at the Last Supper highlights the rational, testimonial impulse that propelled polemical attacks on Roman Catholic belief and its manifestations in ritual and which also resulted in a relegation of Roman Catholics to the realm of the carnal and absurd that made toleration unachievable.

Section I: Debunking "Roman Opinions:" Views on Doctrinal Legitimacy

Gother's *A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented* (1685) was introduced with the reminder that from the beginning of time, Satan's "chief stratagem" in seducing good men and women has been the misrepresentation of God's true commands as the hallmarks of evil.[531] As a result of Satan's tricks, Christians from the early Church onwards had become the subject of persecution, "reviled and hated" as "Idiots, Seducers, and [...] a scandal to all Nations" for their doctrines, called "hellish Principles" or "meer toys," which made them "an enemy to Gods, to Princes, to the Laws, to Good Manners, and to Nature."[532] Likewise,

[527] Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion," 154.
[528] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, 33-34.
[529] Ibid., 53-55.
[530] Wandel, "Envisioning God," 33-39.
[531] Gother, *A Papist* (Introduction), 1-2. Titular quotation drawn from Comber, *Friendly and Seasonable*, 5.
[532] Ibid., 2.

according to Gother, contemporary Roman Catholics faced the evil intent of the "Mouth of Malice," which "endeavour[ed] to make [the Roman Catholic Church] Infamous" and sought to "blacken her" with accusations of "Hellish Artifices," "unsound and prophane Doctrine, wicked Principles, and humane [sic] Interventions" that justified the schism of the Reformation.[533] Gother thus sought to prove that the "Absurdities, Follies, [and] Impieties" charged upon the Church of Rome and Roman Catholics were, in fact, the inventions of the Church's enemies promoted through "byas'd [sic] Education," and that the Roman Catholic faith remained the true, apostolic faith spearheaded by St. Peter and perpetuated in his name.[534] Cognizant of the rational currents within anti-Catholic polemic, Gother appealed to his reader with promises of integrity and reason: not only was he aware of corrupt Popery, which he claimed all true Roman Catholics reviled, he also intended to prove "with Sincerity and Truth, and without Passion" the veracity of Roman Catholicism from the textual evidence of sermons, catechisms, books, and discourse.[535] Gother drew his reader's attention first to the Eucharist, which polemicists called a "Breaden God" believed by Roman Catholics to be a "Redeemer & Saviour" credited for absolution from sins as well as justification and grace; in that analysis, transubstantiation, which Roman Catholics claimed transformed the bread into Jesus Christ (thereby directing all worship to Christ as opposed to Host) contradicted reason by suggesting that there were as many bodies of Christ as celebrations of the Eucharist as well as contradicting Scripture by ignoring the explicit statement that Christ returned bodily to Heaven.[536] Gother explained that while the bread and wine transformed in the Eucharist became, according to Christ's own words, his own body and blood, the "Species or Accidents" of their initial forms remained as before, and while this process was not visible, it was amenable to a "Faith superiour to all Sense or Reason" that allowed for belief in "every Mystery" including the existence of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of Christ.[537] In this way, Gother argued that reason was not the benchmark of righteous faith but a human "hearkning [sic] to [the] Senses" that had to be overcome; in fact, Gother continued, knowledge of the biblical miracles of resurrection, exorcism, and healing ought to encourage believers that Christ could achieve a "supernatural manner of

[533] Ibid., 3.
[534] Ibid., 4.
[535] Ibid., 5.
[536] Gother, *A Papist*, 9.
[537] Ibid., 8.

Existence" in the Eucharist that was not "obnoxious" to matter or nature.[538] Reason, then, was valid evidence in some but not all religious matters, and the doctrine of transubstantiation retained legitimacy based on an authoritative faith above reason. This full yet undetectable presence of Christ in the Eucharist was also Gother's rebuttal to Protestant claims that denying the communion cup to the laity was a violation of Christ's instructions at the Last Supper that bereaved them of the full "benefit" of the communion: according to Gother, communion in both kinds was a matter of *adiaphora* or indifference, given early Church precedents in which communion was offered in bread alone, as well as a non-issue in light of Christ's complete presence through transubstantiation, which did not require consumption of both elements for its efficacy.[539] The concept of the Mass itself was the subject of continued claims by Protestant writers of an usurpation of divine authority, as the perpetuation of Christ's sacrifice seemingly undermined the original, earthly suffering of Christ by suggesting that it had to be repeated *ad infinitum* by priests.[540] Instead, Gother argued, the Mass was yet another good work through which Man offered satisfaction for his sins, in this case by repeating the sacrifice as a commemoration of the original and a means of purification in which believers enacted their obligation to God and hoped to make themselves worthy of Christ's merit.[541] In this way the Mass did not reduce divine authority but embraced and embodied it and received additional religious legitimacy from its acceptance by the early Church Fathers, councils, and the majority of the Christian communion until the Reformation.[542] Gother appealed both to the textual evidence lauded by his Protestant peers and to a form of argument that sought to rationalize that which was above reason through examples of God's capacity to transcend the borders of human understanding. Elements of Roman Catholic religious culture like fasting days or "Kneeling, [...] Singing, Impositions of Hands, [and] Benedictions," faced similar censure by Protestant critics for their "vain Pomp and empty shew," which prioritized "Humane Inventions" over "Divine Law" and revived the "heavy yoke of Jewish Rites" at the expense of "Spirit and Truth."[543] From Gother's perspective, however, accepting ceremonies that lacked Scripture-

[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid., 21.
[540] Ibid., 22.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid., 41.

proofs but boasted the approval of Church leaders was another means of obeying Scripture, which stated in Hebrews 13:7 that believers must "submit" to the guardians of their souls, namely, Church leaders; this "General Command" superseded any arguments against obeying "Higher Powers" within the Church and avoided the potential instability and disunity caused by excessive argument over the dictates of Scripture.[544] Moreover, any holdover of Old Testament or 'Jewish' custom was acceptable when used in concordance with the new covenant, which likewise did not invalidate the use of psalms or prayer.[545] Essentially, where scriptural authority was lacking, additional, compensatory legitimacy could be gleaned from other sources, which held different but equal weight in spiritual matters.

Gother also tackled the issue of works-righteousness and merit by examining Protestants' claims that Roman Catholics believed Christ's sacrifice to have been "ineffectual, and insignificant" and God's will unimportant in their salvation as they based their fate on their own merit through good works and "Mortifications" such as fasting.[546] Fasting, to a Protestant critic, was not a sincere manifestation of devotion but a "shadow" of "Mortification" concerned more with the "Appearance of Devotion" and satisfaction for other, greater sins than an actual dedication to God.[547] In Gother's explanation, however, fasting days were opportunities to overcome "vicious Appetites" and necessarily had to be accompanied by sincerity and dedication to the fast in order to have value; while some "Christians by halves" might use fasting days in the way Protestants claimed, this was not a reflection of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church but a "wilful blindness, and most unchristian negligence" on the part of the individual.[548] In a similar vein, Protestant critics argued that penances given in satisfaction for sins confessed implied that the "Penitential Works" performed by humans were effective in a way that Christ's suffering was not.[549] Cultural items such as holy water and oil, blessed candles, and other consecrated objects came under fire for their superstitious nature and absence of Scripture-proofs for their validity, as well as their presumption that "senseless Mediators" could be engines of

[544] Ibid., 42, 43.
[545] Ibid., 43.
[546] Ibid., 9.
[547] Ibid., 26.
[548] Ibid., 27.
[549] Ibid., 10.

forgiveness for "Venial or lighter sins;" for Gother, however, these items operated on the scriptural promise that "every Creature is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer" and the precedent of early Church leaders like St. Alexander, who approved of blessing water.[550] In this way Gother argued that blessed objects operated on the authority and will of Christ as well as finding legitimacy through reason, Scripture, and antiquity. Contrary to Protestant propaganda, Gother argued, Roman Catholics were aware that their salvation was purely dependent on the merits of Christ and the grace of God but believed, based on Scripture's prophecies of the Last Judgment, that their dedication to and faith in Christ had to be demonstrated by their own good works, and that their works would influence their "Vocation and Election" in the next life.[551] While the eternal punishment owing on sins was absolved by Christ, the temporal punishments relating to individuals' sins could be expunged through penitential acts such as fasting or alms, examples of which are given in Scripture in the punishments meted out to Moses and David and in contemporary life through plagues, rebellions, and famines.[552] In a similar way, Gother argued against Protestant claims that purgatory was an unscriptural "Pope's Prison" designed to allow Roman Catholics to "skip" Hell in exchange for a "short Penalty" or a "few Hail Maries" by appealing to the writings of the Maccabees and of St. Peter, which established a tradition of prayers for the dead as well as the need for "Temporal Chastisement" for sins and were also cited by the early Fathers such as St. Augustine.[553] The existence of a third location in the afterlife was also implied in Scripture (Matthew 12:32), from which Gother deduced that a location apart from Heaven and Hell must exist for the forgiveness of sins that, by definition, would not be allowed in heaven and could not be redeemed through Hell.[554] Purgatory thus retained its legitimacy as the authority of antiquity as well as the wisdom of the early Fathers and theologians gave it credence. Purgatory was also a valid conclusion based on Gother's logic, which stated that all humans are guilty of "Light and Venial" sins that resulted in temporal penalties owed to God and often remained unsatisfied at the time of their deaths; by extension, Gother claimed, there must be a "Place or State" in which souls already "pardon'd as to [their] Eternal Guilt"

[550] Ibid., 36.
[551] Ibid., 9.
[552] Ibid., 10-11.
[553] Ibid., 22.
[554] Matthew said, "Whosoever speaks against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, neither in the World to come."

became "Purg'd or Purify'd" of lesser penalties in preparation for Heaven.[555] Rather than ignoring the dictates of Scripture and denying the divine authority of Christ, Gother suggested that Roman Catholics were uniquely in tune with both their debt to Christ and the surest methods of proving their gratitude. The concern with subversion of divine authority recurred in Gother's discussion of indulgences, which Protestant critics described as passes to commit sin without repentance and commissions from the Pope that Christ Himself was deemed obligated to honour.[556] Far from infringing on the divine authority held by Christ, Gother argued that indulgences were manifestations of the "judiciary Power" invested in the Church by Christ to set up a "Court of Conscience" and assign or remit penalties; in a similar vein, any money given for an indulgence did not fill the "Pope's Coffers" but served the purpose of charity.[557]

More problematic was the claim that the Roman Catholic Church rejected the authority of Scripture and considered it "obscure, [...] ambiguous," contradictory, and unsuitable for vulgar consumption, and as a result deprived believers of the "Divine Food" and "Heavenly Light" laid out by Christ and the Apostles.[558] Worse still were the additions of apocryphal books that served the Church's ends but contradicted or distracted from the canonical books chosen by the Apostles and early Christians and, more insidious, the purported circulation of 'vulgar translations' of the Bible that were, in fact, filled with "Corruptions, Falsifications, and intolerable Abuses."[559] For reformers touting the unique spiritual authority of Scripture as a conduit to the divine, the suggestion that the Roman Catholic Church hid or perhaps even abused the testaments was an effective means of undermining the validity of the Roman Catholic Church and the teachings founded on the basis of evidentiary fraud. In rebuttal Gother once again adopted the rhetoric of his rivals with appeals to evidence from Scripture itself in the writings of Peter and of Paul to the Ephesians, which suggested that Scripture was best left to the interpretation of the learned for fear of it being misread by the "unlearned and unstable," and appeals to reason, which Gother again characterized as fallible in terms of religion and a "Sense and Phansie" in many

[555] Ibid., 23.
[556] Ibid., 10.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid., 11.
[559] Ibid., 12.

cases unsuitable to "deep Questions of Divinity, and high Mysteries of Faith."[560] In a thinly veiled jab at the Reformation itself, Gother argued that the result of unrestricted interpretation of Scripture by 'natural light' was the proliferation of "Teachers, Controllors [sic] and Judges of Doctors, Church, Scripture and all" who expounded upon mysteries like predestination, reprobation and election and thereby sowed "Prophaneness, Irreligion and Atheism" with their misguided readings.[561] In the same way, vernacular translations of Scripture were often fraught with errors and additions made for the translators' own purposes, and for that reason the Church of Rome encouraged its believers to accept only the Vulgate Bible as authoritative, as it had been approved since the early Church and acknowledged as such even by reformed theologians such as Theodore Beza.[562] It was in light of the complexity of Scripture, its capacity to be interpreted a multitude of ways, and the fallibility of the human intellect that the Church of Rome guided interpretation for its faithful and insisted that the Scripture be combined with this guidance as a "Rule of Faith."[563] This was not, as Protestant critics argue, a blind faith in the Church of Rome that eschewed individual, conscientious consideration of Scripture but faith in the Church's appointed role as judge or interpreter of the rule of law and its ability to use patristic texts, apostolic tradition, and other contextual elements to resolve issues beyond the capabilities of "Reason and Scripture" alone.[564] The limitations of lay understanding also justified services in Latin, as laymen were not required to understand the ministrations of the priests but rather expected to partake in the sacrifice with "Heart and Intention" through the guidance of prayer-books and sermons that were offered in vernacular languages.[565] The Latin Mass thus provided spiritual benefit to believers who participated through contemplation as well as unity in form and content by restricting the service from unauthorized translations.[566]

Furthermore, the traditions decried by Protestant reformers as "Humane Ordinations" given "equal Authority" and "Divine Faith" above and beyond Scripture were, Gother argued, ones passed down from Christ and the Apostles through the ages of the Church that

[560] Ibid.,11.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Ibid., 12-13.
[563] Ibid., 13.
[564] Ibid., 14.
[565] Ibid., 23-24.
[566] Ibid., 24.

provided a complimentary foundation for doctrine and practice that enhanced but did not supersede Scripture.[567] General councils, too, were not engines of "Alterations, Additions, [and] Diminutions" of the faith but a means through which the Church had, since the time of the early Fathers, found consensus on doctrines in contention in the interest of promoting harmony and avoiding delusion; as evidence Gother offered the debate over the necessity of circumcision, which was decided by a meeting of the Apostles and Church elders.[568] Gother summed up his argument with the reminder that it was the Church of Rome itself that held the unbroken authority of Christ's first institution and His promise that it would never err, whether in its canonical texts, its so-called apocrypha, or its interpretations of the same.[569] Beneath many of the accusations of fraud levelled against the Church of Rome was the suggestion that the Church's stock-in-trade was not Scripture or antiquity but novelty. In that case the Church would not be the vessel through which Christ's teachings passed "inviolable and entire" but an "Ecclesiastical Mint" in which new doctrines falsely attributed to Christ were peddled to "credulous and undiscerning retainers."[570] To this suggestion that the Church was a "Garden now, but quite overgrown with Weeds," Gother argued that in all ages the elders of the Church were accused of inventing novelties in their consultations on doctrines and anathemas, but that the logical interpretation of a "new Proposal of a Tenet" was not that it was newly invented but that recent controversy made a long-accepted doctrine in need of further exploration.[571] The Council of Trent was thus not concerned with the invention of transubstantiation, the saints, or purgatory but with defending these established beliefs against Luther and Calvin's recent rejection of these as "Antichristian and Diabolical."[572] How, Gother echoed his Protestant peers, could a rational man believe that no theologians, scholars, or other Christians would have noticed the encroachment of such "Fooleries [and] idle Superstitions" across the first centuries of the Church—was it not more reasonable, he wondered, that these were not heresies at all, but rather the right and ancient faith of Christianity itself?[573] Instead, Gother claimed, the charge of novelty was a thinly

[567] Ibid., 15.
[568] Ibid., 16.
[569] Ibid., 12.
[570] Ibid., 43.
[571] Ibid., 44.
[572] Ibid.
[573] Ibid., 44-45.

veiled attempt to perpetuate novelties cleverly disguised as reforms, and one as likely, once accepted, to result in the abandonment of "Bible, Preaching, Catechising, Christ's Incarnation" as much as transubstantiation.[574] From his own arguments Gother concluded for the reader that Roman Catholicism was not the "Absurd and Monstrous" confession it was made out to be, nor Roman Catholics the "Superstitious, Idolatrous, Atheistical, Cruel, Bloody-minded, Barbarous, Treacherous, and [...] Inhumane" creatures they were painted; instead, he claimed, the original and perfect faith entrusted to the Apostles, its spiritual legitimacy, and its believers, too, were the victims of erroneous interpretation and malicious slander, and the "Deform'd Antichristian-Monster" of Popery a spectre of Protestant invention.[575]

The *Friendly and Seasonable Advice* offered to the "English Romanists" was a study in error designed to remind Comber's misguided contemporaries that they were "Natives of the same Country, Subjects of the same Government, [...] called by the same general name of Christians" and thus drawn together in a series of mutual bonds and obligations in civil as well as spiritual matters.[576] Significant in this effort was Comber's admission that Roman Catholics could be "persons of great reason" and "good inclinations" when not led astray by the "evil liberties which their Principles [did] allow" and as such it remained the duty of good Protestants to remove them from their ignorant state and "make their delusions [...] the means to convert the Souls of those that are linked to us in so many bonds."[577] In this way, Comber echoed the prevailing concern with spiritual authority in the form of reason but considered it not from the perspective of a simple absence but rather in the sense of Roman Catholics' unfulfilled potential to access religious truth through their rational faculties. For Comber, this potential for spiritual redemption was embodied in the Reformation and, despite the "rooted prejudice" and corrupt leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, such "Pious endeavours" as mass conversions were attainable because Roman Catholics were potentially rational but unfortunately "deceived Friends" who needed to be incorporated into the fold of the "true Catholick Religion of the English Church."[578] In "pure charity" Comber hoped to succeed in convincing recusants not to continue "resist[ing] apparent truth and

[574] Ibid., 45.
[575] Ibid., 47.
[576] Comber, *Friendly and Seasonable*, 3.
[577] Ibid.
[578] Ibid., 3-4.

reason" but to take the initiative to "impartially [...] enquire into the truth" of their beliefs, and to see themselves as "persons of excellent reason" currently stifled by the "absolute dominion" of their religious leaders.[579] In a thinly veiled jab at the Church of Rome and a clear appeal to his own moderation and rationality, Comber expressed his certainty that Roman Catholic leaders would never forbid "Adherents from all converse" with Protestants, nor adopt the "Muscovian policy" of keeping citizens trapped in their "former bondage" by restricting their access to the "freedom of other Nations."[580] On the contrary, Comber intended to provide evidence drawn from the "most convincing Instances and Authorities" whose "Evidence [was] unquestionable" to Roman Catholics as "Proofs of [his] assertions" for those who would otherwise be inclined to disbelieve him.[581] In light of this body of proof, Comber expected all who read his work in a "rational and just" manner to convert to a "right faith"—the Church of England; however, those who read and still chose Roman Catholicism and its tyranny over the conscience had to be of a "humor differing from the rest of man kind" as they "[chose] a known delusion."[582] Here Comber not only reasserted the importance of rational foundations in faith but also articulated the practical application of his ideas for toleration: Roman Catholics who did not convert were not only irrational but lacking a crucial element of humanity. Further on the issue of toleration, Comber argued that conversion was the only certain way of removing the civil "pressures" placed upon Roman Catholics on the basis of their religious beliefs, and that this had to be done by "wiser and more sober Romanists" in the form of "suspicious and inquisitive" probes into both Roman Catholic doctrine and its leadership.[583] The first of Comber's doctrinal concerns centred on their basis in Scripture and their relation to the Roman Catholic Church's claim to be the "Ancient and Universal Church," which the author argued was invalidated by the supplementary use of traditions in articulating articles of faith; in this way, the Church of Rome lost its claim to antiquity and became a "New Religion," while the Church of England, which based all of its doctrines on Scripture, could rightly claim to be the "Old Religion."[584] More specifically, indulgences and transubstantiation were nowhere to be found in either

[579] Ibid., 5.
[580] Ibid.
[581] Ibid., 6.
[582] Ibid., 6-7.
[583] Ibid., 8.
[584] Ibid., 9.

Scripture or the writings of the early Church Fathers, and communion in one kind was, moreover, contrary to Scripture, which referred to partaking of the bread as well as the cup; likewise, prayer in an "unknown tongue"—Latin—was condemned by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 14.[585] Purgatory, for example, could be traced to the writings of Gregory I roughly seven centuries after Christ, and both indulgences and prayers for the dead arose as article of faiths only between the years 1000 and 1200; it was not until the Council of Trent that apocryphal books and traditions were given 'equal' status with Scripture or that justification by good works was fully articulated.[586] According to Comber, these novelties were devised to advance the material lot of corrupt Roman Catholic religious leaders, who used purgatory and indulgences to trade in prayers, set "rates and sums to be paid for Absolution," and accrue vast "Houses and Lands, Plate, Vestments, Jewels, Images, and Ready money."[587] Without these additions, the Church of Rome preached the same faith as the Church of England, and it was only by appealing to supposedly ancient, "Unknown Traditions" from the early Church that the Church of Rome could justify its novelties.[588]

That the Church of Rome no longer held the title of 'ancient' was now, for Comber, quite clear, and it also lost its claim to universality in the "Primary and Grammatical sense" because only a quarter of Christians professed its faith; in both a spiritual and a nationalist sense, then, Roman Catholics had a duty to "[embrace] the Religion of [their] own Country" and forsake that which was both geographically foreign and spiritually illegitimate.[589] The means of convincing believers that the Church of Rome maintained its old status was through ignorance, a "great decay of Learning" and maximizing on an "Obscure Age" that taught Christians to believe "absurd and monstrous Doctrines" and abandon true devotion on the basis of forged evidence and "feigned Books;" where records need not be forged outright they were hidden or altered, like the canons approving the Pope's right to receive appeals, which were falsely presented at the Council of Carthage (419) as having been accepted in the Nicene Council, or the excision of the story of Pope Joan from various records.[590] Where the Church of Rome erred in its individual doctrines and their proofs, it also erred in a more

[585] Ibid., 10.
[586] Ibid., 11.
[587] Ibid., 19.
[588] Ibid, 12.
[589] Ibid., 14.
[590] Ibid., 21-26.

general sense as a legitimate religion, which necessitated "advanc[ing] the honour of God," "assist[ing] us in the Devout worshipping of him," and "teach[ing] us to imitate him by a holy life."[591] The carnality of the Church of Rome was part of this failure, as its emphasis on cultural manifestations such as ceremonies featuring outward rites of "frequent bowing, crossing, prostration, sprinkling with Holy Water, beating the breast, [and] smoaking [sic] with Incense" distracted the mind from the "steady Intention" of "sensible and intellectual things;" instead, "steady, rational and spiritual desires" were supplanted by a "fantastical and false fire" of the senses that paled in comparison to the "Pray[er] with the Spirit" employed in the Church of England.[592] Like the "Old Pharisees who Tithed Mint and Annise" and neglected "real Holiness" by "plac[ing] Religion in Ceremonies," Roman Catholics focused their devotions on the outward and material, like Lenten fasts, as opposed to living truly pious Christian lives.[593] This preoccupation with the carnal, sensual aspect of life was also reflected in the interpretation of works-righteousness and its embodiment in the belief that participation in the sacraments guaranteed salvation and that purgatory and indulgences offered redemption in the afterlife; these manifested in the present life as excuses to make death-bed confessions and arrangements for prayers that justified all manner of ill behaviour and encouraged believers to postpone their repentance.[594] As a result, the Church of Rome was populated with "Thieves and Murtherers [sic], debauched and prophane [sic] persons" who believed that "wickedness and salvation" could be reconciled.[595] From his detailed exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine Comber argued that Roman Catholics needed to add nothing to their faith to convert to the Church of England, and had only to renounce those beliefs that had "no good foundation in Scripture, nor Genuine Antiquity," nor reason to become a "Primitive Roman Catholick:" a Protestant, with all the rights and privileges entailed therein. [596]

Samuel Johnson—prolific pamphleteer, member of the established clergy, and notorious prisoner of the Crown for seditious libel—took a scientific approach with this "strict Demonstration" of the errors of Roman Catholic doctrine, arguing that

[591] Ibid., 28.
[592] Ibid., 31-32.
[593] Ibid., 36.
[594] Ibid., 35.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Ibid., 51-52.

transubstantiation was an impossibility because of its material contradictions that defied reason as well as true religion.[597] For Johnson transubstantiation was a matter properly dealt with in terms of demonstrability or the "Essential Properties and Affectations" of objects, such as "Quantity, Figure," and place, because it was not a matter of revealed religion, through which Man was given to understand unobservable matters such as the Creation, the Holy Trinity, the workings of providence throughout history, Man's duty to God, and details of ceremony and sacrament.[598] All of these, however, were compatible with "the plain Principles of Reason," and revelation could never contradict the "Common Sense and Reason of Mankind," which was given to Man as the basis of human certainty in religion.[599] Johnson explained that was only the Church of Rome and its philosopher Descartes who reversed this truth and made "Axiomes and self-evident Principles" of the abandonment of the dictates of reason in favour of that which was received as revealed religion or defined as a mystery of faith; on the contrary, this kind of arbitrary belief was a danger not only to revealed religion but to belief in God itself.[600] Revelation in the Roman Catholic tradition was especially problematic for Johnson because it had been corrupted to prove transubstantiation and idolatry: the adoption of transubstantiation through a literal interpretation of '*hoc est corpus meum*' at the second Council of Nicaea was done in order to prove that the sacrament was not an image of Christ but the body itself, which would allow the Church to continue with the use of images in worship; later, it became an article of faith at the Lateran Council because it served an additional purpose in empowering the priesthood and affording it new prestige.[601] Based on the axiom that divine revelation was certain and infallible and thus eclipsed human reason, the Church of Rome was an "absurd Religion" based on the "tottering and ruinous foundation" of "absurd Logic" that, taken to its extreme, allowed for no reason or knowledge at all.[602] The argument that reason failed to perceive the body of Christ where the senses perceived bread and therefore must be superseded by faith

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[597] Samuel Johnson, *The Absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation Demonstrated* (London: Printed for William Rogers at The Sun, Fleetstreet, 1688), 1; Melinda Zook, "Johnson, Samuel (1649–1703)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, last updated 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/14916.

[598] Johnson, *Transubstantiation Demonstrated*, 1-2.

[599] Ibid., 2.

[600] Johnson, *Transubstantiation Demonstrated*, 3.

[601] Ibid., 16-17.

[602] Ibid., 4.

was not compatible with the axiom that reason is immaterial to faith and rather suggested that reason and revelation are always compatible and, simultaneously, that there are boundaries of faith and reason.[603] These principles as avowed by Roman Catholic theologians could not accord with reason because the Host remained as such in all sensory evidence even as Roman Catholic doctrine argued otherwise; in this case the doctrine must not have been the result of divine revelation, which was, as they claimed, never contrary to reason.[604] For Johnson "no supernatural case or condition can make a Contradiction [...] true" —for example, the body of Christ being present in many Hosts at once—and thus even the argument that finite human minds were incapable of understanding the breadth of divine will and power failed in logic as well as undermined the perfection of the divine by accusing it of "Repugnanc[ies]."[605] In this way even God operated within the bounds of the rational.

The reader, too, was expected to exercise reason in his reading of this and opposing tracts by being an "indifferent Reader" and "weigh[ing] and consider[ing]" Johnson's arguments against the ideological "Strongholds" erected to "cover and shelter the absurd Doctrines of the Church of Rome;" unlike Descartes, a "Man of clear Sense" coerced into false philosophies, the (Protestant) reader must never forget that the "Sum of Religion" was tallied by reason.[606] If, Johnson asked, a 'Papist' said that a Bible in a Protestant's hand was not a Bible but the Pope and bishops in Council—itself a clever turn of phrase—or pretended to transform the former into the latter through incantations, which maintained the appearance of a book and also existed simultaneously in a thousand places, the Protestant would be compelled by reason and duty to God to object to the "Romish cheat" and avoid the wiles of "Romish delusion," the "higher nature" of delusion which allowed for belief in all kinds of "Impossibilities."[607] According to Johnson, Roman Catholics were conditioned from birth to believe in "Pious Frauds" and contradictions, based largely on the omnipotence of God and Luke's words in 1:37 that "with God nothing shall be Impossible," wilfully blind to the reality that God could not perform impossibilities; like the Jewish woman who, having eaten pork, asked the rabbi to find laws to allow it, Johnson argued, the Church of Rome used

[603] Ibid., 5.
[604] Ibid.
[605] Ibid., 6.
[606] Ibid., 7.
[607] Ibid., 10.

Scripture to hide its own failures.[608] A failure in this regard had quite clear implications for toleration: to abandon the exercise of reason was to regress from the "Humane" and the "Principle of Man" to the "destruction of all that [was] Man or Christian" and the state of a "brute."[609] In a nation of rational Protestants, such degeneration could not be accepted within the fold.

Scripture colluded with reason in a rejection of transubstantiation by proving, quite literally, that Christ had hands and feet (Luke 24:39), which could not be visible in the Host, and that Christ's words at the Last Supper referred to a symbolic remembrance, not a transformation; reason also asked how, given the rule of concomitancy, the body of Christ could be in Heaven and on Earth, or have simultaneous temporal existence as a day-old bread and the body of a 1, 688-year-old man.[610] Aside from Scripture, the rightful authority of the divine was subverted by transubstantiation and Host-worship, which Johnson likened to honouring a "Bundle of Rags" as the king.[611] As such the basic elements of humanity were united in their repudiation of transubstantiation, with reason, basic "Common Sense," and Christianity itself "ris[ing] up in opposition" to the "monstrous and mischievous" doctrine and all of its idolatry.[612] Johnson implored the reader to appreciate his access to Scripture and true religion, to maintain his "evenness of mind" and to ultimately reject transubstantiation and Roman Catholicism more broadly for the "Honour of God" and the truth, remembering the Protestant martyrs who died in its name.[613] Johnson made reason and rejection of the corrupt doctrine of Roman Catholicism not only a necessity or a religious duty but an innate human impulse, one which Roman Catholics lacked and which justified their exclusion from the English state.

As Thomas Comber attempted to arm his Protestant peers with the necessary means of self-defense against the theological overtures of Roman Catholic priests, he also clearly elucidated the points of difference that proved the Church of England to be the truest manifestation of Christ's legacy on Earth. Most fundamentally, Comber explained, Scripture was the "Touchstone" from which Protestants could prove the righteousness of their beliefs

[608] Ibid., 18-19, 28.
[609] Ibid., 8.
[610] Ibid., 8, 15, 13, 29.
[611] Ibid., 33.
[612] Ibid., 8.
[613] Ibid., 34-35.

and the "Corruptions" of Roman Catholic ones, which clearly and without any "Skill or Art" could be shown to differ completely from the Word of God.[614] Comber implored a "plain and honest Enquirer," to use the "Universally received, and Infallible" Scripture to counter the "Learning and Artifice" of Roman Catholic priests and learn that, where the Church of Rome deviated in "False and Erroneous" additions," Scripture as well as early Church writings agreed on the validity of Protestant doctrines and ceremonies.[615] This capacity to determine the truth even in the face of Jesuitical or other wiles was based only in Man's natural capacity for reason, as Comber reminded his reader never to embark on an argument that was based on, for example, the writings of the early Church Fathers, which were the better purview of educated established clergymen; the reader, presumed to be uneducated, was recommended to search only the "plain words of Holy Scripture" to prove his faith.[616] Roman Catholic traditions offered in debate as evidence had to be understood as untrustworthy "Evidence [...] of their own Making, and in their own Keeping" that frequently was used to contradict the "Word and Will of God" recorded in Scripture; for Comber, the distinction between Scripture and tradition was that between "a certain, plain and evident Religion" and an "uncertain, obscure and Ill-proved Religion" of Man's rather than God's invention.[617] Comber effectively eschewed a close doctrine-for-doctrine analysis in favour of a brief reminder that Englishmen were innately attuned to the primary criteria of religious truth—Scripture and reason—a quality which their Roman Catholic peers lacked; in this way, Comber encouraged readers to embrace not only his proofs against the spiritual legitimacy of the Church of Rome but also a view of recusants as irrational and defective.

Much like Comber, William Sherlock hoped to instruct his readers in strategic debate with Roman Catholic priests, with particular emphasis on the important topics such as "Reason, Scripture, and the Authority of the Ancient Fathers of the Church" and other questions of credibility including the purported "Uncertainty" of Protestantism and its "Mis-representations of Popery."[618] Sherlock prefaced his instructions with the warning that Protestants must exercise "great prudence and caution" when discussing matters of faith with

[614] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments* Preface, 2.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Ibid. For more on the role of Scripture in Protestant thought, see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[617] Ibid., 3.
[618] Sherlock, *A Preservative Against Popery*, 2.

Roman Catholics, as they were liable to fall victim to the "perverse Disputers" warned of in Scripture who, ignoring the words of Christ, sought out "envy, strife, [and] railings" or to the "cunning Sophisters" who preyed on easily deceived "Men of weak Judgments," "Faith and Knowledge."[619] For Sherlock, it was partially for this reason that the Church of Rome restricted its believers' access to Scripture and theological dispute, preferring to manipulate the "liberty of Judging and Inquiring" afforded to Protestants for their own purposes.[620] Protestants embarking on this exercise were, therefore, required to be "honest and prudent" in their inquiries and consult their "Spiritual Guides" when necessary, not to have their opinions dictated in the fashion of Roman Catholic priests but to receive the specialized knowledge of their ministers on important questions.[621] In this way, spiritual authority could be accessed through human, preferably official as well as textual or rational channels as long as it did not bear resemblance to the allegedly arbitrary beliefs encouraged in the Church of Rome; this not only undermined the legitimacy of the Roman Catholic Church but attempted to extol the validity of the English Church by contrast. As for Roman Catholics, Sherlock hoped the reader would remind his Roman Catholic opponents that, regardless of its claims to foundations in the "bare Authority of [...] Scriptures and Fathers," their faith was founded on the definitions and arguments made by the Church of Rome itself, and as a result their doctrines of transubstantiation, purgatory, and Masses for the dead could not be part of a "Divine Faith" because they were not found in the divine authority of Scripture or the early Fathers.[622] This reliance on "Church-Authority" over reason and argumentation accounted for the frustration of disputing with Roman Catholics, who "[resolved] [their] Faith wholly unto the Authority of the Church" and abandoned their own judgment; in this way all conversions from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism must have been the result of "fallible Judgment, and very uncertain and inauthentick Reason," as the reasons for their conversion must have then been renounced as without merit compared to the "Infallible Guide" of the "Infallible Church."[623] The Church's supposed infallibility also invalidated any arguments made by Roman Catholic theologians, as the guidance of the Church in and of itself must be sufficient proof, if infallible, of its own doctrines: evidence, from this perspective, could

[619] Ibid.
[620] Ibid., 2-3.
[621] Ibid., 3.
[622] Ibid., 4, 6.
[623] Ibid., 5.

never support Roman Catholic beliefs because evidence and appeals to reason had already been abandoned in favour of infallibility.[624]

The Church's infallibility was also the basis of the Church of Rome's claims that Protestantism was uncertain, incapable of guaranteeing salvation, and a "Humane Faith," although it was the latter that was "built upon the firmest Reasons, the best Authority, and the most express Scripture" without any need for an appeal to infallibility.[625] For Sherlock this was a clear example of the absurdity of the Roman Catholic faith, which "[left] no room for the exercise of Reason and private Judgment," precluded any real theological discussion, and denounced any attempt at either as "Protestant Heresie."[626] The definition of a Roman Catholic, then, was not simply a person who believed in absurdities like transubstantiation but one who, in order to achieve that belief, gladly suborned their natural capacities for critical thinking to the pretended authority of the Church; in this sense, any real Protestant was safe from conversion, and those who did convert were as "ridiculous and absurd" as if they had been born Roman Catholic.[627] Protestantism, on the contrary, made use of "Natural Reason" in religious terms as a gauge of the veracity of revelation and a means of understanding dictates that were unknowable through reason in itself; it was not the "Rule or the Measure of [their] Faith" but an empirical—rather than infallible—guide.[628] While Sherlock acknowledged that God was capable of "command[ing] such things, as we see no Natural Reason for," Scripture would never contradict the "universal Reason of Mankind," and in that way reason could be a tool for interpreting Scripture where its meaning was uncertain; in issues dependent on divine will, or on "unknown and invisible State[s]," reason was insufficient to determine God's motivations and only revelation could shed light the "Spirit of God."[629] Purgatory, for example, was a state unknowable by reason, and its existence could never be proven by experience or natural light; as such, it could rely on revelation for proof, which it also lacked.[630] In Sherlock's view, where the Church of Rome provided Scripture-proofs it was done only for the "shew and appearance" of evidence, and

[624] Ibid., 6.
[625] Ibid., 7.
[626] Ibid.
[627] Ibid., 9-12.
[628] Ibid., 23.
[629] Ibid., 23-24, 29.
[630] Ibid., 30.

Scripture itself was kept at arms' length of Roman Catholics by "wild fences" and fanciful interpretations that amounted to religious tyranny; Scripture was so odious, in fact, that the Church of Rome admitted its "peculiar Doctrines and Practices" were irretrievable in Scripture and must instead be supported by the "equal Authority" of "unwritten Traditions" and arbitrary faith.[631] The Roman Catholic Church's position on traditions was vocalized in the Council of Trent and proved that its reliance on traditions was based in its inability to provide "plain Scripture-evidence" for its teachings and its need to provide some basis (however spurious) for "Novel Doctrines."[632] Purgatory, for example, was 'proven' by Roman Catholic theologians from the passage in 1 Corinthians 3: 13-15, which spoke of fire but not of purgatory; despite this uncertainty, Sherlock argued, purgatory remained a central Roman Catholic doctrine because of its support of the Church's "Sacerdotal Absolution," its interpretation of merits and the treasury of merits, and its trade of Masses and indulgences.[633] The sacrament of extreme unction, too, was based only on the example of the Apostles who anointed the sick (Mark 6: 13) and said nothing to the effect of absolution of sins claimed by the Church of Rome; for Sherlock, this interpretation was clear evidence of the "fine and artificial Schemes" employed in Roman Catholic expositions of Scripture and the importance of "Fancy and Imagination" in proving their doctrine.[634] Likewise, appeals to the early Church Fathers could not be deemed infallible proof of Roman Catholic doctrine because the Fathers themselves could not be proven to have been privy to infallibility and, in fact, only used their own "Reason and Judgment" in their Councils; on the other hand, while the Church of England found "confirmation of [its] Faith" and spiritual legitimacy in its agreements with the doctrines and scriptural interpretations of the early Church Fathers, it did not consider those agreements the sole foundation of the faith or an excuse to "forsake" or corrupt Scripture.[635] The argument that the early Church Fathers all agreed on the interpretation of Christ's words it the Last Supper as referring to literal flesh and blood leading to the doctrine of transubstantiation could, Sherlock advises, be rebutted with reference to countless—but unnamed—"other Expositions" provided by established Church

[631] Ibid., 33.
[632] Ibid., 34, 37.
[633] Ibid., 37, 41.
[634] Ibid., 38.
[635] Ibid., 36.

of England clergymen.[636] Accounts of the early Fathers as well as interpretations of Scripture were particularly contentious between Roman Catholic and Protestant divines because of the accusations of flawed translations, misinterpretations, mis-quotations, and appeals to "spurious Authors" that accompanied them.[637] Both sides understood the polemical value of appropriating 'clear' evidence for themselves while undermining the authority of the other through claims of corruption. For Sherlock, transubstantiation, perhaps the most controversial Roman Catholic doctrine, was "so very harsh, so contrary" to sensory evidence and experience as to be discountable in a material sense, but received additional impetus for rejection in its total absence of reflection in Scripture, either in the "natural Flesh and Blood of Christ" in the Host and wine or in the disappearance of the "substance of Bread and Wine" after the consecration.[638] While the Church of Rome's interpretation of the Eucharist might be acceptable against reason if reflected clearly in Scripture, it was proven only by the opinions of the Church and its theologians, and as such—like the rest of Roman Catholic doctrine—had no religious credibility.[639]

Robert Midgley's *Popery Banished* dealt clearly but concisely with Roman Catholic doctrines and their cultural interpretations. From Midgley's perspective there had been two legitimate forms of religion on Earth: the Mosaic form, with all its "peculiar Rites, Oblations and Ceremonies," which accorded with reason by assigning these rites only to the remembrance of significant divine favours or to the expectation of the Messiah; and the Christian form, established by the "coequal Son of God" as a "plain and simple" but sincere path to Heaven paved by the "untainted Doctrine of a most perfect Deity."[640] According to these definitions Roman Catholicism was not a legitimate religion at all: it had all the "extravagant Belief" and "erroneous Profession" of Judaism or paganism but, damningly, combined the worst traits of these faiths under the guise of Christianity.[641] As Sherlock had also articulated, the Church of Rome's doctrine was an "Attempt Upon the credulity of Mankind" that claimed to accept the unique authority of Scripture while simultaneously restricting its use and translation, a blatant disregard of Christ's desire for His message to be

[636] Ibid., 37.
[637] Ibid., 45.
[638] Ibid., 43; transubstantiation and the sacraments had been a point of contention in the creation of the Book of Common Prayer, c.1552—for more, see Swift, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers*.
[639] Ibid., 44.
[640] Midgley, *Popery Banished*, 1.
[641] Ibid., 2.

available in all tongues, as evidenced in Pentecost; its services, encumbered with "Vestments, Consecrations, Exorcisms, Whisperings, Sprinklings, Censings and Phantastical Rites [...] unbeseeming a Christian Office," excluded the laity in both language and in the communion cup while proclaiming priests to be the workers of incredible miracles.[642] The most obvious fraud, according to Midgley, was transubstantiation, an almost mundane miracle performed by priests daily that regardless of its "Terrours to the Phansie [sic], Contradictions to Sense, and Impositions on the Understanding" had made an "Omnipotent Priesthood" and disenfranchised laymen from all "Duty to God or Man."[643] While pagans and Jews were "tolerable" in their ignorance, Roman Catholics were intolerable as "Traytors [sic]" to their faith and to God who renounced Christian principles even as they avowed them and wilfully abandoned reason in their arbitrary faith; for Midgley, these horrors of Popery were so unendurable that not only the Church of England but the "Gates of Heaven" were likely to rail against them.[644]

William Lloyd's *Reasonable Defence* contained within its introductory pages a dispute over authoritative descriptions of both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism that shed some light on broader arguments about reason and evidence in religion that were being carried out in print. Lloyd argued that his evidence for the teachings of the Church of England was the "most authentick evidence" for the established faith, namely, the 39 Articles, the catechism, and the liturgy; likewise, Lloyd's descriptions of the doctrines of the Church of Rome stemmed not from the "Judgment or Opinion" of "private men" but the published decrees of the Council of Trent and the Church's theologians on doctrines like transubstantiation and purgatory, making his account not a "tricking out of Popery" but the truest exposition of the same.[645] Specific to the religious culture of the Church of Rome, Lloyd spoke to its corruption of fasts, which were performed in "great Devotion to the Laws of the Church" with various tricks and cheats to avoid abstention; in one case, he claimed, a priest 'transubstantiated' pork into fish.[646] This religious culture was not only corrupt but expensive, bringing "a vast expense in Masses, Dirges, &c." when tolerated, and it was the responsibility of the state to ensure that its citizens did not fall into the "weakness and

[642] Ibid.
[643] Ibid.
[644] Ibid., 3-4.
[645] Lloyd, *A Reasonable Defence*, 1-2.
[646] Ibid., 17.

prodigality" of finance engendered by Roman Catholic culture.[647] To this end, Lloyd was especially concerned with indulgences, which not only extorted funds from believers but provided "Licenses and impunities" for "horrible crimes" dispensed by the "Treasurers of the Church of Rome."[648]

The earlier *Seasonable Discourse* had tackled other issues pertaining to the authority of the Church of Rome, particularly that of the role of Scripture, which was defined as the sole "Rule of Faith and Practice" in Christianity and in itself sufficient for guidance to salvation.[649] Unlike the Church of Rome, which "obtrude[d] her particular Dictates" and "notorious Innovations for the Fundamentals of the Catholic Faith," Protestantism was based on the example of the universally accepted, traditional canonical books of Scripture and on the contents of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, which were supported by the Scripture and by the first councils of Church Fathers.[650] Likewise the Church of England administered only those sacraments which were instituted by Christ Himself, in the vernacular language of the people, directed to God alone, and in rites "agreeable to the Word of God;" moreover, these sacraments were given not out of a misguided sense of necessity but as an expression of the autonomy of the Church over its members by ministers "consecrated and ordained according to the Scriptures, and Canons."[651] In this way the Church of England counted itself as a member of the "holy Catholic Apostolic Church," rejected as heretical only by the Church of Rome for defending true religion and exercising its rightful liberty away from the "Anti-Christian Yoke" of Roman Catholicism.[652] The current position of the Church of England was the result of the rightful rejection of the false authority and "Usurpations of Rome" in the English Reformation, which allowed the established Church to throw off the cladding of "errors and corruptions" promoted by the Roman Catholic Church for its own gain and happily "restore[d] the primitive purity of the Christian Faith and Worship;" that the previous Church had been corrupted was merely the necessary effect of years of papal interference and ecclesiastical suppression of Scripture, which left most Christians ignorant to its actual

[647] Ibid., 17-18.
[648] Ibid., 19-20.
[649] Lloyd, *Seasonable Discourse*, 2.
[650] Ibid.
[651] Ibid.
[652] Ibid., 3.

contents.[653] It was because of the illegitimacy of the doctrine that the Church of England had rejected transubstantiation as "stupid Idolatry," contrary both to Scripture and to "the testimony of our reason and senses" and likely to result in unnamed "absurd and monstrous consequences;" the ministration of the sacrament itself—in 'one kind'—was also "contrary to the express words" of Christ and a form of theft akin to the use of Latin for public worship, both of which lost their spiritual benefits and moved Christians closer to apostasy.[654] Indulgences were equally apostatical, rejecting the sacrifice and prescription of "Faith and Repentance" made by Christ in favour of the "vile Market" which offered "remission of sins upon terms" and the "gift of God" for pay.[655] To be a Roman Catholic, then, was no different than being a "Schismatic," and in light of this the "tempting charms of Charity and Love" could not outweigh the Christian duty to truth; for Lloyd, the state must not offer toleration to Roman Catholics but, on the contrary, preserve religious truth at any cost to their liberties.[656]

Addressed to the Lord Bishop of London, Robert Ware's account of the historiography of Pope Joan was perhaps the most overt expression of concerns with Roman Catholic authority as it was expressed in textual form as well as in religious terms. Ware hoped to prove from the testimony of Roman Catholic writers that Pope Joan was not, as contemporary Roman Catholics claimed, a myth devised by Protestants to discredit the Church of Rome but a real woman who occupied the See.[657] The specifics of Ware's arguments about texts and the theologians as well as historians who wrote them are less important than their implication that Roman Catholic writers were possessed of a deceptive streak that did not balk at falsifying evidence and denying patent truths. Marianus Scotus, for example, wrote of Pope Joan in roughly 1074, stating that she succeeded Pope Leo IV in 854 and sat as Pope for over two years; Roman Catholic writers, however, claimed that their copies of Marianus's book mentioned no such person, and Ware appealed to the contents of an "Ancient Manuscript"—sure to be sought out by all of his readers—found in the College

[653] Ibid.
[654] Ibid., 4.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid., 5.
[657] Robert Ware, *Pope Joan, or, an Account Collected Out of the Romish Authors Proved to be of the Clergy and Members of That Church, Before Luther Left Her Doctrine, and Also of Romish Authors, Since Luther Departed from Rome: Testifying, That There Was a She-Pope, Who Sate in That See, and Ruled the Same* Preface (London: N.P. for William Miller, 1689), 3.

of St. Bartholomew, Frankfurt, to prove his account to be authoritative.[658] In c. 1100, for example, Sigibert, Abbot of Gemblans, wrote that Pope Joan had been stricken from the annals of the Pope after she was discovered to be a woman through her pregnancy, and in order to further bury this embarrassment Roman Catholic writers had labelled Sigibert a schismatic and "Gelded" or censored his accounts.[659] The monk Martinus Minor gave an account of Pope Joan in which her attempts to exorcise Satan from a possessed man were met with the devil's request to be told when she would be "delivered of a Child," an anecdote that not only questioned the authority of the female Pope but provided evidence from an obviously Roman Catholic source; similarly, the claim that processions in Rome avoided the street on which Pope Joan fell in her labour suggested the veracity of the claim from a contemporary perspective as well as providing a jab at Roman Catholic religious culture.[660] Alonso Venero, too, wrote of the "She-Pope" that her "subtilty [sic] and worldly learning" allowed her to disguise her true form and "Usurp the Pontifical Seat of Christ," which Ware considered proof not only of her existence but of the horror of her deceit.[661] For Ware, this record of Roman Catholic admissions of Pope Joan's existence proved that the myth was not concocted by Martin Luther, as some of his opponents had argued, and was, in fact, preserved in the universities of Oxford, Paris, and Prague as well as in the testimonies of 38 scholars prior to Luther's renunciation of the Roman Catholic Church.[662] The sum total of Ware's exposition was a body of proof which Ware believed sufficient to convince any "Man of Reason" of the veracity of Pope Joan's existence as well as of the impulse to concoct or suppress evidence that also proved the illegitimacy of the Roman Catholic Church.[663]

The first *Tryal* of 'Popery' indicted the defendant for its doctrines as much as for its sedition, counting among its crimes its invention of "damnable Principles, and Diabolical Practices" not only "contrary to the Word of God" but "repugnant to human Society" and its usurpation of divine power by "exalt[ing]" itself as "equal with God" in its capacity to

[658] Ware, *Pope Joan*, 4.
[659] Ibid.
[660] Ibid., 6.
[661] Ibid., 13.
[662] Ibid., 11.
[663] Ibid.

forgive sins.[664] The first witness called against 'Popery' was 'Holy Scriptures,' whom 'Popery' attempted to reject in favour of "a sufficient Gentleman," Good-Works; Scriptures, allowed to testify, decried the defendant for spreading "damnable Heresies," accusing the witness of being a "Nose of Wax" to be manipulated, and deifying and worshiping the Host as a "God of [...] Bread."[665] 'Light of Nature,' too, testified against the defendant for his blatant conspiring with Satan and his use of "Conjurations" and witchcraft, and with this witness the trial drew to a close and banished 'Popery' to Tophet to be "burnt with fire" for all eternity.[666] The concept of rightful spiritual authority was present in this trial in several ways: the purest manifestation of spiritual authority, Scripture, spoke out against 'Popery' for the latter's crimes against true religion—namely, transubstantiation, works-righteousness, and rejection of Scripture as fallible; Scripture and 'Light of Nature' were both given titles of authority, the former as a "Peer of this Realm" and the latter as a knight, a fusion of religious and secular authority that added credence to the witness testimony as well as a reflection of the Church of England's marriage with the state; and the verdict itself was couched in terms of authority, as founded upon the "clear" evidence of both the witnesses and reason.[667] Scripture, reason, and the State worked together in this tract in order to prove the fraudulence of the Church of Rome on the basis of its flawed evidentiary and rational foundations.

The second trial of 'Popery' proceeded from the defendant's plea of 'not guilty' to charges of heresy and treason and set him before a jury composed, in part, of the *pater noster*, Scripture, apocrypha, councils, the early Church Fathers, martyrs, contradictions, and "Absurdity of Opinion."[668] Faced with the full spectrum of religious authority in the Christian tradition, 'Popery' attempted to assert his own by requesting that the Scripture sitting on his jury be of his "own Translation," which the court, in the interests of a "just Proceeding," allowed.[669] Another juror, 'Master Verity,' counted as one of the crimes committed against him the defendant's doctrine of works-righteousness, itself decried in Galatians 3:2 and 3:18.[670] Like the false preachers warned of in Scripture, Verity claims, the

[664] *News from the Sessions House*, 1.
[665] Ibid., 2.
[666] Ibid., 4.
[667] Ibid.
[668] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 3.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Ibid., 4.

defendant "[made] way for his Doctrine, worship and Advancement" through feigned "outward Humility, in long prayers and forms of Devotion" backed up by contrived appeals to "Fore-fathers;" the theft of the "Key of Knowledge," revelation, and other "sleights and cunning craftiness" like "pretended Revelations, Apostolic Traditions, and alledged [sic] counterfeit Writings" were the defendant's tactics for undermining the "Doctrine of Faithful Teachers" and "slander[ing] [their] Persons."[671] In one of many attempts to steal away the unique purview of the divine, 'Popery,' a "Rebel and an Abetter of Rebels against Christ," named "Mediators of interception besides Christ" and went further by "exalt[ing] Man's merit, and [making] him a party Saviour of himself" through penances and purgatory; indulgences, another manifestation of works-righteousness, were compared to a "Custom-house for Sin" unknown to Christ but devised by a "Subtil [sic] Devil" to "gull [Roman Catholics] of their Souls and money too."[672] Scripture, Christ's own "Law," was corrupted by 'Popery,' called fallible, expanded with apocrypha, replaced with traditions, secreted in Latin, translated with deliberate errors, and viewed only with the "Pope's spectacles;" all of this, Verity concluded, amounted to "high treason against our Sovereign," Christ.[673] The court's verdict of guilt caused 'Popery' to request a re-trial by general council, which the judge attributed to the defendant's refusal to acknowledge "cleare [sic] evidence" and preference for the false testimonies given by his own theologians; as for a council, the judge says, 'Popery' refused to call a "free General Council" and gathered the "Conventicle of Trent" instead, and therefore deserves no such favours.[674] The trial was concluded with an aside: at the time of the defendant's arrest, he was found with a "great number of Pardons for Murder, and Perjury" priced at "Ten Shillings and six pence" apiece and intended for those of his followers who had pledged allegiance to William III.[675] In this way the trial drew attention to the issue of toleration as well as dispensations, accusing recusants of swearing false oaths to the new monarch and suggesting that Roman Catholics remained a dangerous force for subversion of civil as well as spiritual authority.

Antonio Gabin's travels in Italy also inspired a detailed discussion of the "true Principles and Genius" of Roman Catholic beliefs and religious culture as they were

[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid., 5, 7.
[673] Ibid., 6.
[674] Ibid.
[675] Ibid., 7.

expressed "frequently and ordinarily," without constraint and "without Disguise," in a country in which 'Popery' reigned in "full liberty" of practice; importantly, this almost scientific methodology was undertaken in order to maintain the "strongest Bulwark against Popery"—the Church of England.[676] Gabin promised the "strictest Examination" of his observations as a reassurance to those who might have been inclined to believe his writings were biased or exaggerated accounts of Roman Catholicism, asserting that he had not "exceeded the Bounds of Charity" but rather exposed the truth with "great exactness."[677] Gabin was particularly concerned with the ignorance of the Roman Catholics he encountered in Italy, who were ill-educated where they were educated at all; Jesuit schools, he claimed, were taught by inexperienced young men who promoted "idleness" and "Folly" in their students instead of teaching them, resulting in a "Spirit of Libertinism and Debauchery" that persisted in those who entered universities and precluded any "serious Study or true Science" on their parts.[678] Ignorance and irrationality were, for Gabin, traits of Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic sympathizers outside of Italy as well, as he offered the story of an English gentlewoman who converted to Roman Catholicism because the established Church's bishops would not guarantee her salvation in the infallible and certain terms offered to her by Jesuits; rather, the "modest and rational" answer that salvation was dependent on the grace of God was insufficient either for her "Wit" or, perhaps, to counter the boon of a conversion for her husband's position in James II's court.[679] To Gabin's mind, this widespread ignorance, supported as it was by official channels in the Roman Catholic Church, facilitated the imposition of improbable and unsubstantiated articles of faith.

In Veletre, Gabin encountered one of the main elements of his critique of Roman Catholic religious culture: the baptism of bells, a custom held in other Roman Catholic countries like France but served with a "double proportion of Superstition" in Italy.[680] The baptism was accompanied by elaborate decorations as well as a "white Satin Robe" and a "Garland of choice Flowers" for adorning the bell, which was first cleansed with holy water, anointed with holy oil, and subjected to an "abundance of Prayers" and "Heavenly Blessings" to "Purifie, Sanctifie, and Consecrate the Bell," although no psalms or gospels

[676] Gabin, *Observations* Dedication, 2, 3, 5.
[677] Ibid., 3-4.
[678] Ibid., 7-12.
[679] Ibid., 26.
[680] Ibid., 36.

ever spoke of the practice.[681] The purchasers of the bell were called its godparents, and aside from being asked of their belief in the "Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Church" and its teachings on the "Holiness and Virtue of Bells"—namely, that they had merit, prayed for the living and dead with their tolls, inspired devotion in believers, and warded off bad weather and demons—the godparents were also demanded whether the bell has been paid for in full, a pragmatic concern for the repossession of the bell by artisans as well as Gabin's illumination of the absurdity of the ceremony.[682] The supposed merits and devotional benefits of bells were particularly problematic for Gabin, not only because he did not believe an "insensible and material thing" could be credited with either merit or prayer, but because in order to partake of this merit—for example, "Refreshment and Ventilation" for a soul in purgatory—believers had to pay for the privilege, giving the rich a special advantage that was the "height of Shame and Infamy."[683] The purported impact of bells on weather was equally corrupt, the result of priests making miracles of the scientific phenomenon of the bell's tolls breaking clouds as they reached them, and Roman Catholics in Gabin's experience had become extremely superstitious about the importance of ringing bells regularly.[684] While Gabin admitted that bells could have devotional value in calling believers to religious services and marking events such as funerals, the Church of England was right to have abandoned the superstition that attributed to bells the "precious Aids and Helps" and the "Graces" given by God on Christ's merit.[685] The impulse to venerate inanimate objects was repeated in the blessing of eggs at Easter, which was also accompanied by invented blessings and prayers, as well as blessing ceremonies carried out for houses, beds, ships, harvests, and sick animals, all of which were laid out in the *Roman Ritual;* however, more ridiculous to Gabin was the exorcism of animals and insects, a paid service provided by priests who beseeched caterpillars, locusts, and the like to leave farmers' fields as if they were "Reasonable Creatures" and in this guise found themselves being invited to the homes of the gentry.[686] The success of these kinds of cultural practices was reliant on the "Blessed Ignorance and Simplicity" cultivated in Roman Catholics and which, Gabin reminded the

[681] Ibid., 37.
[682] Ibid., 37-38.
[683] Ibid., 39-40.
[684] Ibid., 40.
[685] Ibid., 41.
[686] Ibid., 42-45.

reader, the Church of Rome hoped to spread across the entire world.[687] For Gabin, this was not only a blasphemous use of prayer and the invocation of the divine but also a wasted exercise, as insects did not respond to the ceremony at all.[688]

As for the miracle of transubstantiation, Gabin asked why God, having "glorified" the body of Christ by taking it up into Heaven, would then send it back to Earth to be dropped, spilled, and trod upon as it often was in the sacrament, even if those spills were the cause of other miracles like that of the miraculous tablecloth in Maladurne, Germany, where the spilled chalice created a pattern of human heads on the linen.[689] Gabin was also concerned with communion in one kind, which he considered a corruption of the "True and Perfect Pattern and Model of the Church," in which communicants ate from one loaf of bread as well as drinking the wine; given these deviations, Gabin argues, Roman Catholics could not claim to be privy to the original and uninterrupted tradition instituted by Christ, who likewise bid his disciples to eat *and* drink at the Last Supper and did not interrupt the communion with individual wafers.[690] The fasts that accompanied Lent and Advent and were touted as proof of the "Purity and Holiness of the [Roman Catholic] Communion" were enforced under pain of spiritual or temporal punishment that, Gabin says, put money in the coffers of church and priest as the rich paid hefty penances or, in the worst case, the insufficiently pious were sent to the Inquisition.[691] As in the case of bells, Gabin did not deny the utility of fasts for "subjecting [...] Bodies to the Spirit" and "Mortifying [...] Brutal Passions" but rather feared for the consequences of an "Extravagant Zeal for Superstitious Observances" that removed all "Civility" and reason and resulted in persecution and murder.[692] For Gabin the sum total of absurdity embodied in the Church of Rome was especially visible in the people who left it: while they, once converted to Protestantism, were able to find dozens of errors, omissions, and tyrannies in the faith they once held, Protestants who converted to Roman Catholicism were unable to say anything against the established Church's use of Scripture, its "Exemplary Devotion," and its absence of superstition, denoting the latter as holding

[687] Ibid., 125.
[688] Ibid., 43.
[689] Ibid., 57-58.
[690] Ibid., 122-125.
[691] Ibid., 134-135, 138.
[692] Ibid., 140.

religious truth.[693] The Roman Catholic Church's doctrinal errors and penchant for abuse of Protestants when in the majority position led to Gabin's conclusion on the "free Exercise of their Religion:" "Protestants [must] become Wise by their Example," and restrict Roman Catholics in their dominions, in worship and in public life, in the same way.[694]

Theophilus Dorrington's exposition of the proper administration of the Eucharist was dedicated to Mary II and her attempts to "revive the Decay'd Piety and Vertue [sic] of the Age," which Dorrington believed could be facilitated by the "Blessed Sacrament," the "Renewal and Confirmation" of the covenant made between a Christian and God at baptism.[695] The Eucharist was an emblem of the bond that united the human and the divine as well as the communion of Christians more broadly, and its abandonment or corruption had resulted in a "deplorable Wickedness among Professours [sic] of Christianity;" in light of this, Dorrington hoped to remind Christians of their "Engagements to God" and the proper "Way of Salvation" through the Eucharist.[696] For Dorrington, Man's nature was designed with "Faculties capable of knowing, loving and obeying God" according to God's own dictates, a nature first corrupted in the Garden of Eden when the "First Parents" took for themselves that which was reserved for God alone and thereby usurped and profaned a "Hallow'd or Holy Thing" as well as breaking their duty of obedience.[697] Christ's sacrifice, commemorated in the Eucharist, formed a new covenant sealed by Christ's perfect service to God and his suffering in the stead of humanity that required from humanity only the renunciation of the "Pomp and Vanities of this wicked World" and the sins of "Pride, Anger, Envy, Treachery, Lying, Malice, and Cruelty."[698] Central among these was the carnality of the world and its "Sensual Sins," its "slothfull Ease and Idleness, [...] Intemperance and Lasciviousness," which had to be abandoned in favour of the "Infinite Wisdom" of God manifested in His "Holy Will and Commandments."[699] Part and parcel of this covenant were

[693] Ibid., 148.
[694] Ibid., 160.
[695] The concern regarding the proper administration of sacraments, especially the Eucharist, was as old as the Reformation itself. Theophilus Dorrington, *A Familiar Guide to the Right and Profitable Receiving of the Lord's Supper Wherein Also the Way and Method of our Salvation is Briefly and Plainly Declar'd. Suitably Applied, and Fit to be Annexed to the Christian Monitor*. *By Theophilus Dorrington* (London: Printed by J.H. for Brab.Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons, Over-Against the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1695), 2-3.
[696] Dorrington, *Familiar Guide,* 4.
[697] Ibid., 10, 13-14.
[698] Ibid., 16-17.
[699] Ibid., 18-20.

the sacraments—baptism and the Eucharist, the initiation and renewal of the covenant—which proved Man's rational "Consent" and engagement within the covenant and bolstered Man's hope for the "Blessings and Favors" of the covenant, namely salvation.[700] The renewing role of the Eucharist was proven by Scripture and the Last Supper, in which Christ referred to the cup as the "New Covenant in [His] Blood" (Luke 22:20) and implied the "Conveyance" of "Divine Blessings" or grace through symbolic sacrifice.[701] The importance of the Eucharist necessarily implied the ramifications of improper or insufficient celebration of the Eucharist—the "Snare and Temptation of the Devil"—which nullified all other attempts at worship, subverted the covenant, and endangered salvation; for this reason, Christians had to seek out the Eucharist frequently and only in the manner laid out in Scripture.[702] The abandonment of this covenant through a lack or corruption of its maintenance was akin to the betrayal of Christ by the "Unbelieving Jews" and "Heathenish Roman Souldiers [sic]," who put Christ to death by the most painful and humiliating manner imaginable; here Jews, heathens, and later, Roman Catholics operated as human embodiments of the "vile Sinner" who ignored or abandoned Christ.[703] More specifically, this betrayal of Christ occurred when Man claimed that Christ's sacrifice was insufficient to merit salvation, subjected himself to "Creature[s]" and the "abject Devil," prized his own will over God's, or chose the carnality of the world over the promises of Heaven.[704] Instead it was Man's duty to love and obey God's will, reject all "Rivals of the Loving Jesus," eschew "Sensuality" and "Pride," and exercise his reason and the "perfect Freedom" that was God's reward.[705] Failures of these duties were reflected in civil terms as "rebellious Lusts" that had to be subdued by God as "King;" likewise, duties to God were reflected in parallel duties of "Reverence, and Honour" of the magistrate in order to maintain "Publick [sic] Peace and Welfare" as well as duties to deter others from sin for fear of "Everlasting Perdition."[706] The practical constraints of this obligation to assist others in their salvation resulted in the need to ask God to "Purge" the Church (of England) of "false Doctrines and

[700] Ibid., 24-26.
[701] Ibid., 27.
[702] Ibid., 33-34.
[703] Ibid., 44-47.
[704] Ibid., 49-50.
[705] Ibid., 54-56.
[706] Ibid., 64-69.

Heresies," "Superstition and Cruelty," and "Prophaneness and Persecution;" it is clear, however, that this text not only referred to the corruption of the Eucharist in Roman Catholic devotion through transubstantiation and communion in one kind, which subverted divine as well as textual spiritual authority, but that these were corruptions better suppressed than tolerated, given their dire consequences for human relations with God.[707]

Dorrington's *Observations* hoped to defend "the Reformation, and Conviction of the Roman Church" by cataloguing through careful observation the many doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome.[708] The success of the Reformation in England had, in Dorrington's view, softened attitudes to Roman Catholic doctrines or, paradoxically, directed unnecessary "Ardour and Fierceness" at legitimate doctrines that were unnecessarily decried as 'Popish;' as a result, it became necessary to correct these mistaken impressions through "distinct Representation" of Roman Catholic belief and practice.[709] Dorrington was mainly concerned with the reputation of the Church-State on the world-stage, wherein ill-informed Protestants believed the Church of England to be mired in a "World of the Popish Superstition and Corruption" and thereby useless in the "Mutual Defence" of Protestantism against the Roman Catholic threat.[710] This kind of in-fighting was counter-productive in the face of the Church of Rome's errors and its machinations to exacerbate divisions within Protestantism; instead, the "Zeal against Popery" could not be allowed to abate but instead had to be harnessed and directed at its rightful target.[711] To this end Dorrington hoped to remind readers of the "Losses" in "Liberties" and "Properties" that would surely ensue from a return to Roman Catholicism and the very real potential of this occurrence if the Protestant interest continued to be eroded at home and abroad by a combination of misdirected anti-Catholicism, zealous Roman Catholic kings, and scheming Jesuits and monks.[712] In particular, secular leaders had to be reminded of the "true Notions of Popery" that would stir them from "Indifferency," namely, the "Impious and Wicked" principles of Roman Catholicism and its abuses of Christianity and divine honour; moreover, Dorrington endeavoured to remind Protestants of the persecutory nature of Roman

[707] Ibid., 70.
[708] Dorrington, *Observations*, 5. 8.
[709] Ibid., 8-9.
[710] Ibid., 9.
[711] Ibid., 10.
[712] Ibid., 10-11.

Catholicism, which, when the "reigning Religion," restricted all religious expression apart from the "Roman and Popish."[713]

The "pretended Assumption or Ascension of the Virgin Mary" was one such corrupt principle which, while taught as a certainty to ignorant Roman Catholics through images representing the Virgin rising into Heaven in front of many witnesses, had, in fact, no basis in Scripture or any written testimony to suggest its occurrence; on the contrary, Scripture said nothing of the Virgin after the crucifixion, and the only accounts of her life and death suggested she died at Ephesus in her old age with no mention of an Assumption.[714] The Immaculate Conception, too, was plagued by doubt even in Roman Catholic circles, who, on both sides of the debate, used "Miracles, Visitations, and Revelations" as evidence that the Virgin herself has "testifie[d] for them;" unfortunately for these theologians, even the "infallible Guide" of the Pope had failed thus far to settle the debate.[715] The importance of images in Roman Catholic devotion was attributed in the case of the doctrines surrounding the Virgin as well as that of purgatory to an absence of textual evidence that necessitated the "delicate Fiction" of art.[716] Had the Virgin's Assumption actually occurred, Dorrington suggested, the event would certainly have been "order'd by the Divine Providence" to have taken place in front of many witnesses to dissipate any "reasonable doubt or contradiction," and this would have provided some basis for the feast of the Assumption that remained, at the time, baseless.[717] Indulgences, too, were fundamentally baseless, a "great Manufacture" designed for financial rather than spiritual merit.[718] Indulgences drew believers to Mass and to the fraternities, unknowing of the "groundless and false" reality of indulgences and ill-educated in the Church's doctrine pertaining to the satisfaction of sins, which was not founded on the ancient tradition of public penance for sins but on a "politick Engine" designed to increase the power and wealth of the Church.[719] This tradition was only for "Satisfaction and evident Proof of the Sincerity and Truth of [the sinner's] Repentance," not to "satisfy" for sins themselves, and in the event of an indulgence—a diminution of the

[713] Ibid., 12, 183, 189.
[714] Ibid., 39-40.
[715] Ibid., 189.
[716] Ibid., 37.
[717] Ibid., 40.
[718] Ibid., 57.
[719] Ibid., 59.

penance's duration—this was in response to a "due Sense and Detestation of [a] Fault," not in exchange for good works or payment.[720] At no time, Dorrington explained, was this penance expected to continue into the sinner's afterlife, as the Church of Rome claimed through purgatory, because purgatory was a concept totally unknown to the early Church; Scripture, too, spoke of no punishment in the afterlife except for the suffering meted out to the "damned and reprobate" in Hell.[721] This was because temporal punishments were designed to correct sins rather than satisfy for them, being "Medicinal" rather than "Penal," manifestations of "Wise Mercy" instead of "Avenging Justice;" as such, the fate of good Christians was one of "Bliss," not further strife.[722] Dorrington argued that works-righteousness, which attributed merit to "penal Works," was also unknown in Scripture, which taught that it was through the "Merits and Satisfactions of Jesus Christ" and the grace of God that Men were saved; similarly, it said nothing of a need to perform works for the self or others to partake in this satisfaction, although the doctrine itself also problematized this by suggesting that Man could never perform enough works to satisfy the penalties for his sins and therefore was required to purchase indulgences.[723] In this way indulgences as well as purgatory became self-defeating: if it was impossible to satisfy sufficiently for all sins in this life, and the pains of purgatory were as horrific as they were described, no penalties on Earth could be sufficient to equal them or satisfy them for others, and thus all works done in their name were evidence of a "Cheat."[724] For Dorrington, this 'proof' ought to deter rational Roman Catholics from continued belief in indulgences, purgatory, and any other illogical tenets.

Sects such as the Jansenists who sought to revive ancient traditions and views of salvation were "hated and persecuted" by the Church of Rome as heretics, although the tenets of Christianity and the benevolent nature of God testified to the full satisfaction for sins effectuated by Christ's sacrifice.[725] Jansenists were, in Dorrington's view, a case study in the corruption of the Church of Rome, a sect pronounced by the Church as heretical that rejected the authority of religious orders to hear confessions; insisted upon true repentance

[720] Ibid., 60.
[721] Ibid., 60, 62.
[722] Ibid., 62.
[723] Ibid., 61.
[724] Ibid., 62.
[725] Ibid., 60-61.

and "love of God" for participation in the Eucharist and, more generally, salvation; offered the sacraments of baptism, marriage, extreme unction, and confession in vernacular languages; and refused to acknowledge the spiritual efficacy of indulgences for either the living or the dead in purgatory.[726] In the same way as the Jansenists were described as a reformed expression of Roman Catholicism through the enumeration of their dissentient teachings, the Church of England was lauded as a greater expression of Protestant reform through the negative example of a church "Reform'd after the Calvinist modell [sic]," which featured only a pulpit and pews and was fitted without accoutrements for sacraments such as the Eucharist or baptism; from Dorrington's perspective, the reduction of "Publick Worship" to preaching alone was an undesirable reform largely "condemn[ed]" except by English "Dissenters" and the Church of England thus retained its status as pure in Reformation and free of excess.[727] Dorrington experienced a similarly acceptable form of public worship at a Lutheran church, which boasted a literate congregation knowledgeable in the Scripture and liturgy and possessed of a great "Seriousness and Devotion" that eclipsed that of even the Roman Catholic religious orders; for Dorrington, this expression of lay piety proved them to be the "true Worshippers of God," and the "judicious well-studied Divine" conducting the service demonstrated the "Gravity and Seriousness" with which these Protestants approached their devotions.[728] Perhaps more importantly, this minister "express'd a great Veneration and Esteem for [the English] Church" and gave credence to its authority by "condemn[ing] those of our Nation who separate [...] from a Church so wisely and justly reform'd," a "Prejudice to the Progress and Prosperity of the Reformation."[729] In all of this discussion, however, the minister betrayed a "Spirit of Meekness and Charity, and Wisdom" reminiscent of the early Christians, a further testament to the spiritual authenticity of the Protestant cause.[730] The excess of Roman Catholic religious culture was also elucidated by example, in this case through the use of bells in the Roman Catholic tradition. Bells were hung with a baptism or "blessing" performed by a bishop or a deacon featuring an anointing process of holy water and holy oils (chrism) on the interior and exterior of the bell; throughout this physical process, the bishop recited special prayers requesting the sanctification of the bell so that it

[726] Ibid., 114.
[727] Ibid., 129.
[728] Ibid., 191.
[729] Ibid., 192.
[730] Ibid.

might have maximum efficacy in inspiring devotion and warding off the "machinations of the Enemy," especially bad weather.[731] While he admitted the scriptural precedent for the use of an instrument designed to call believers to prayer—one set by the priests of the temple in Jerusalem, who used trumpets—Dorrington rejected their superstitious use by Roman Catholics and ridiculed their purported efficacy in dispersing storms as a belief that, like other physical or carnal rites, "foolish and conjuring Tricks" could secure "Divine Favours" better than "Exercises of Faith and good Living."[732] For Dorrington the celebration of the Eucharist and its miracle of transubstantiation were equally disturbing in their implications for the worship of God, as they inspired "Awe and Reverence" for the Eucharist without due appreciation for its importance.[733] From all of these observations and the "Rule and Precept of Holy Scripture" itself, Dorrington concluded that the Church of England preserved the greatest manifestation of Christian truth, a fact that should not only bolster Protestants in their faith in the Reformation but encourage Roman Catholics to look outside of their own confession for legitimate faith and salvation.[734] For these writers, Roman Catholicism was odious and intolerable in part because its beliefs and their manifestations in religious culture corrupted the basic foundations of true religion and assigned that authority to sources that rightfully held no legitimacy, spiritual or otherwise.

Section II: Corruption and "Romish Politicks"—Roman Catholic Authority in the State

Long before the late seventeenth century, when Popery returned to England "like a Torrent" to threaten the Protestant nation, England and the papacy found themselves closely, even personally, linked.[735] In the ninth century a Pope stumbled in a holy procession and, surrounded by bishops and cardinals, delivered a child; by her labour pains the former "John called English" revealed not only her ruse but the potential for the Holy See to be led by an impostor.[736] Closely intertwined with critiques of the religious codes of the Church of Rome was a sense of apprehension regarding the Church's episcopal structures, the doctrines that

[731] Ibid., 164.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Ibid., 175, 194.
[734] Ibid., 194.
[735] Ware, *Pope Joan* Preface, 3. Titular quotation drawn from *Full and Impartial*, 15.
[736] Ibid., 6-7.

supported them, and their influence outside of the ecclesiastical realm. This sense of spiritual and political malaise highlights the complexity of the negotiations made between spiritual authority and governance following the Reformation and the ways in which distinctions between religion as "belief and ritual" and religion in its organized sense as "reified institutional authority" were constantly and heatedly contested.[737] For the writers already mired in depths of rhetoric aimed at Roman Catholic religious codes, it would be remiss not to also target those religious beliefs, rites, and values that justified the Church of Rome's structures and jurisdictions and also, as a result, created serious problems for a Protestant Church-State. These specific codes concerned the role and rights of the Pope as head of the universal, apostolic Church and guardian of its presence in the temporal sphere as well as the elements of Roman Catholic religious culture that personified these beliefs, namely auricular confession and 'divine worship' of the Pope. While the spiritual implications of these codes were severe, in terms of an annexation of divine authority and an absence of evidentiary authority, their temporal consequences were also dire: the Pope as supreme Pontiff, Head of the Church, spiritual guide of Christendom was also a direct and often hostile threat to already contentious Protestant regimes and the synthesis of religious and monarchical authority that they claimed.

Part of this anxiety stemmed from the Church of England's self-perception as a "reformed continuation of the Apostolic church" with religious as well as civil authority and the right to interpret or establish customs within the bounds of *adiaphora* and enforce conformity to the same; in this endeavour the established Church combined "sacred and human history" to justify its authority through Scripture, the early Church Fathers, and reformed scholars who promised that the Church as represented was the purest form of Christian worship.[738] While Thomas Erastus heavily influenced the Church of England's stance on the magistrate's authority within the Church, the duty to intervene in the interest of preserving true religion had also been articulated by St. Augustine in his interpretation of *compelle intrare* and was ultimately translated into a conceptual link between "public worship" and "political loyalty."[739] This theoretical and practical Church-State alliance became a foundation for persecution as the Church encouraged submission to civil power

[737] McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 16.
[738] Prior, *Jacobean Church*, 4-5, 23.
[739] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, 33, 36-37; Prior, *Jacobean Church*, 24.

while the state helped suppress heterodoxy as a means of preserving social stability.[740] From this perspective, allegiance to the Church of Rome's perceived "international, centralised" nexus of religious and political abuses linked English recusants with the tyranny of the Continent and made them inherently "outlandish" and un-English.[741] This view of English Catholics as a destabilizing "fifth column" also gave credibility to fears that Roman Catholics were willing to participate in the intrigues of their Pope and priests who either openly or secretly sought to end the Protestant state and, in the eighteenth century, restore the Stuart line.[742] The potential return of "popish tyranny" to England was a present and not an abstract concern for both the established Church and the government in the years—decades, even—leading up to the Civil War (1630s), the Exclusion Crisis (1670s), and the reign of James II (1680s), periods during which the nation as well as the rest of the Continent were engaged in a broader conflict of Reformation versus Counter-Reformation.[743] Despite the Protestant hegemony within the archipelago (fragile as it was in Ireland) and the strength of pan-European Protestant ideological ties, the Reformation in England was perceived as vulnerable, particularly in light of the recent uprising in Ireland, the Thirty Years' War, and the persecution being carried out against Protestant co-religionists in Bohemia and Spain.[744] France was an especially cogent example of the consequences of Roman Catholic dominance in government, as Henri IV's manipulation of the "symbiotic relationship" of Church and State and its potential to strengthen the Crown resulted in strategic appointments of bishoprics based on familial prominence and willingness to support the king.[745] The Edict of Fontainebleau on October 22nd, 1685 succeeded a gradual erosion of the privileges set out in the Edict of Nantes and, despite Louis XIV's claims that most Huguenots had willingly converted and made the Edict of Nantes redundant, cemented views of the Roman Catholic regime in France as corrupt and rabidly persecutory of Protestants.[746] In light of this history, France became an example to Protestant critics of the merger between corrupt Roman

[740] Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration,* 38-41; Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (New York & Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 14-17.

[741] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism,* 27-28.

[742] Ibid., 27-28, 10.

[743] Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie, "Introduction," in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 13; Jonathan Scott, "England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot," in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 110-112.

[744] Scott, "England's Troubles," 112-114.

[745] Briggs, *Communities of Belief,* 181-182, 186-187.

[746] Kamen, *Toleration,* 193-198.

Catholic authorities in secular as well as spiritual affairs, although for the same critics a similar cooperation by the civil and ecclesiastical regimes in England and Ireland was not only desirable but divinely appointed. Closer to home, events like the Irish uprising became no less sharp in the public memory for their occurrence prior to the Civil War, as the press continued to circulate tales of rebellion, Irish Catholic plots with France, and the goal of a universal Catholic monarchy; Titus Oates's fabrication of the Popish Plot, then, did not reflect simple 'hysteria' but deep-rooted underlying public fears of Popery and arbitrary government (in the form of Charles II) which seemed to be recurring.[747]

In a complex but largely negative sense, national identity plays its part, too, as an element of the perception of the secular facets of Roman Catholicism. Colin Kidd has argued that English national identity in the early modern period fused both the ethnic and the "institutional," in the sense that Englishmen were bound together by Anglo-Saxon descent and, more importantly, by their participation in a continuous chain comprised of laws and a "mixed constitution" gleaned from the Celtic Britons through the Gothic Saxons and, later, the Normans.[748] In religious terms, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought appeals by the Church of England to a continuity derived from ancient British Christianity, which theologians of the established Church claimed had been established independent of the Church of Rome by a "direct personal link to Christ" through Paul, Philip, or Joseph of Arimathea (as opposed to St. Augustine) and was merely restored to its autonomy by Henry VIII.[749] Given the complexity of the discourse surrounding nationhood and the 'invention' of the nation itself it is perhaps more useful to consider J.C.D. Clark's definition of the 'collective consciousness' present in the early modern period and defined not by nationalism but by law and religion, which together formed "powerful collective self-images."[750] Regardless of the nomenclature, from both Kidd's and Clark's analyses of the English community English-born Roman Catholics were traitors both to their prescribed civil identity, which was formed by bonds to the English constitution and its legal structures, and their expected religious identity, which was historically 'independent,' both of which they abandoned in favour of the foreign jurisdiction of the Pope. In seventeenth-century Ireland,

[747] Scott, "England's Troubles," 122-123, 117-118.

[748] Kidd, *British Identities*, 75.

[749] Ibid., 99-118; Champion, *Pillars*, 55-57.

[750] J.C.D. Clark , "Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832," *The Historical Journal* 43.1 (2000): 250-251.

too, national identity blended religion and politics with "ethnic division," the result of an extended campaign to establish the dominion of the Church of Ireland as well as English colonial authority that resulted in "particularly volatile" expressions of loyalty and disloyalty.[751] For many Irish Protestants, the uprising of 1641-49 (and the subsequent re-conquest of 1649-53) proved the Irish Catholic penchant for barbarity and violence as well as their desire to wipe out Protestantism in Ireland and ultimately became fodder for polemic justifying dispossession of the Roman Catholic community and support for the Orange faction in the Glorious Revolution.[752] Accounts of the uprising were frequently exaggerated and falsified but for polemical purposes the actual events of the uprising were less important than their potential to provoke a desired response in readers; in this way, '1641' became a "touchstone" for a united Irish Protestant identity formed by their status as a "besieged" or threatened population that justified the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.[753] The fusion of religion, politics, and identity in Ireland persisted even into the nineteenth century, when Protestant evangelism was viewed as a means of saving Roman Catholics from religious error as well as strengthening the political order of the Union under a single Protestant portmanteau.[754] In this period more specifically, Roman Catholics in England and Ireland were locked in an ideological struggle with their conforming peers that concerned not only their political leanings but the religious allegiances that might affect those leanings and thereby determine their suitability for admission within a national community.

The pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church and its leadership were seen as embodied in invented doctrines and a religious culture of rites and values designed to advance the interests of the Pope and the ecclesiastical hierarchy at the expense of believers' spiritual welfare and the prerogative of the magistrate. The purported infallibility and deposing power of the Pope were beliefs attributed to Roman Catholics that justified the Church of Rome's foray into secular affairs and were underpinned by obligations of blind obedience and faith that were contrary to natural reason as well as to duties owed to the state.

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[751] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 1.

[752] John Gibney, "The Memory of 1641 and Protestant Identity in Restoration and Jacobite Ireland," in *Irish Protestant Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 13.

[753] Gibney, "1641," 14-17.

[754] Mervyn Busteed, Frank Neal and Jonathan Tonge, "Introduction," in *Irish Protestant Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 4-5.

This synthesis of doctrinal, ritual, and civil fears was embodied the Statute in Restraint of Appeals (1533) during the Henrician Reformation and reflects the ways in which anti-Catholicism blended "disparate phenomena" into a single threat to be attacked or, equally, a fusion of anti-social attributes like "treason and madness" that had to be excised.[755] As the English constitution was seen as comprising both *imperium* and *sacerdotium,* Roman Catholics' rejection of the Church of England as the 'true' Church and their allegiance to the Pope as sole spiritual authority undermined the uniformity of the established Church as well as the "ecclesiastical sovereignty" of the king.[756] From the perspective of the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope's authority was derived directly from God as separate from (and superior to) that of civil authority and, as a result, the Pope necessarily held a responsibility to use his authority to protect the spiritual wellbeing of the universal Church and was thus free to intervene in temporal affairs where they threatened true religion.[757] This assertion of the Pope's right to excommunicate and depose monarchs who failed in their 'obligations' to the Church was viewed as a "solvent" of "political loyalty" and a threat to both the rights of the king and to social bonds, which would inevitably be broken by Roman Catholics following the directives of their Pope.[758] The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance responded to the Pope's perceived annexation of authority historically entrusted to kings and were designed to represent and enforce a covenant between the ruler and the ruled that affirmed the "unity and indivisibility" of religious and secular authority embodied in the Crown.[759] This strategy sought to return the right of spiritual governance to the king, who was constrained only by natural and divine law.[760] The Roman Catholic Church's ecclesiastical 'example' had been the subject of dispute amongst reformers within the Church of England who sought to reject forms of ecclesiastical authority motivated by political aspirations and power-mongering "human invention" but not necessarily deny the important bond between religious and political life.[761] For the Roman Catholic Church, ecclesiastical leadership was a

[755]Lake, "Anti-Popery," 82-83; Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman, "Introduction," in *Heresy In Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 8.

[756] Prior, *Jacobean Church,* 34, 39.

[757] Sommerville, "Papalist,"170-171.

[758] Lake, "Anti-Popery," 79.

[759] Prior, *Jacobean Church,* 45-46, 40.

[760] Lake, "Anti-Popery," 78.

[761] Prior, *Jacobean Church,* 114-115.

central element in the *communio* that provided continuity and communication between local churches and bishops and the broader community of churches; in the early Church, the papacy was a means of perpetuating unity within the Christian fellowship in the face of schism as well as maintaining the apostolicity of the Church and its connections to St. Peter and St. Paul.[762] Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, the role of the papacy became more proactive in shaping Church policies and as a result the Pope himself gained new potency and influence, particularly in terms of his influence on secular affairs within Christendom.[763] Despite its controversy, over time Roman Catholic confessional identity came to be inextricably associated with acknowledgment of the "divine right" and legitimacy of papal primacy, especially as a point of differentiation against Protestantism and Gallicanism.[764] Acceptance of the Pope's broadening jurisdiction was linked to a similar perspective on the growth of absolute monarchy as necessary for preserving harmony within a kingdom, both of which views understood the effective influence of the head of Church or state to be dependent on his ability to operate outside of law.[765] With the growth of the Pope's spheres of influence coincided concepts of papal authority that stressed his inability to err "*utens consilio et requirens adiutorium universalis ecclesiae*," or in/with the interest and counsel of the whole Church; as such, the Pope's infallibility was not necessarily personal and was expected to be accompanied by prayer and research into Scripture but was nonetheless guaranteed by the intervention of God and the influence of the Church itself, which was inspired by the Holy Spirit and infallible.[766] Papal infallibility became a lightning-rod for Protestant critics who sought to undermine the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church by attributing its faith to the fancies of the Pope rather than Scripture; like the Tridentine avowal of the authority of tradition, such "antichristian foundation[s]" undermined all of the doctrines and practices built upon them and made even nominally orthodox Christian beliefs "essentially heretical."[767] For many Protestant polemicists, where the Church of England and the Church of Rome agreed, the former could always boast

[762] Klaus Schutz, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*, trans. John A Otto and Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 17, 36-37.
[763] Schutz, *Papal Primacy*, 78-79.
[764] Ibid., 131.
[765] Ibid., 123.
[766] Ibid., 122, 132-133.
[767] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* 219-220.

primacy or authority because it renewed the ancient Church free of extraneous Roman Catholic errors; more specifically, writers such as Thomas Bell argued that the Pope's claim to apostolic succession was negated by the fracture of the 'line' during the Schism and that as a result, doctrine was to be interpreted by a Christian prince in the style of the Church of England.[768] Archbishop Laud's interest in the Pope's jurisdiction in the secular and temporal spheres and his supposed infallibility coincided with a period of hostile anti-episcopal sentiment and as such resulted in rejection of the Pope's supremacy but an admission that he held some status as a bishop within the confines of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; in this way, Laud's approach to the Pope was to reject the Pope's own claims to authority while assigning diminished authority that did not contradict the ecclesiastical perspective of the Church of England.[769] For divines such as Richard Montagu this kind of 'hedging' of papal authority allowed for some possibility of reunion between the two Churches but nevertheless implied that Roman Catholic views on the role of the Pope were misguided and untenable within English society.[770]

While his proclaimed infallibility and responsibility to depose heretical rulers undermined the authority given to the Church and to the king, the Pope's heretical affectations also betrayed the authority of Christ.[771] The tyranny of the Pope was not only ecclesiastical and political but also a form of "spiritual oppression" enforcing beliefs in, for example, the works-righteousness model of justification and ceremonies like auricular confession that impeded Roman Catholics' full knowledge of God and relied on lay ignorance for their acceptance.[772] For writers supportive of the Church of England, the proposed influence of the Pope on Roman Catholicism provided an anti-case that demonstrated the spiritual as well as the civil correctness of the current regime and provided a common theological and ecclesiastical enemy that could be harnessed to unite Protestant factions.[773] The Pope's treachery as simultaneous 'keeper' and destroyer of Christendom stoked the imagination of many Protestant polemicists who determined that the Pope was

[768] Prior, *Jacobean Church*, 52-56.

[769] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 220-226; the debate over episcopacy was central to the English Civil War, as elucidated by Conrad Russell in *The Causes of the English Civil War: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1987-1988* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

[770] Ibid., 228.

[771] Ibid., 138-139.

[772] Lake, "Anti-Popery," 76.

[773] Ibid., 79.

also the Antichrist, a mutable, versatile term that denoted a heretical false prophet and also could be used to spur "defensive sentiments" concerning "national solidarity" in the face of encroachment from the Church of Rome.[774] Likewise, the association of the Church of Rome with the 'whore of Babylon' made Roman Catholicism a concrete manifestation of spiritual corruption while also suggesting a link with the potential social and spiritual disorderliness of the unbridled feminine.[775] The myth of Pope Joan as well as the Protestant rebuke of the cult of the Virgin exemplify the ways in which critiques of Roman Catholicism linked the feminine with illegitimate authority; in both cases, women presumed a quasi-divine status above their rightful station and it is only Pope Joan who pays the price for her hubris. Roman Catholic women such as these epitomized the "seductive power" and "fecundity" of Roman Catholicism as well as its subordination of the intellect to the passions and carnal impulses.[776] In text, English women saints were used to prove the antiquity of the Roman Catholic Church in England and England's resulting status as a 'Catholic' nation and, as such, became a historical, evidentiary threat to the Church of Engand's party line concerning its ancient independence; Roman Catholic nuns-in-exile also perpetuated missionary efforts in England by preserving and disseminating devotional texts that not only brought Roman Catholic materials into England but also assumed a moral authority and initiative beyond the expected role of women in religious life.[777] Roman Catholic women were also, in a practical sense, essential to the continued practice of Roman Catholicism in England, where recusant women often organized and maintained Roman Catholic worship within their households; more important than this continued devotion to the 'Old Faith,' however, was their acquisition of some religious prestige as "custodians" of recusancy and, in some cases, their preference for the authority and guidance of their confessors or priests over their husbands.[778] Likewise, critiques of the court of James II included the irregularity of Roman

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[774] Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 154-155.

[775] Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 52.

[776] Corthell, Dolan, Highley and Marotti, "Introduction," 5.

[777] Ibid., 13-14, 8-9.

[778] Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 50.

Catholic Mary of Modena's influence over the king and fears of how that influence would play out in governance.[779]

These concerns surrounding the jurisdiction(s) assumed by the Pope were a prism through which Protestant critics viewed rites and the value assigned to those rites within Roman Catholic religious culture. Auricular confession was seen as a particularly heinous manifestation of the temporal aspirations of the Pope and the manipulations of cunning Roman Catholic priests who hoped to enhance their own station; at the same time, it was also a rite that highlighted the carnality of the codes of the Roman Catholic Church by prioritizing human, physical actions over divine will in terms of salvation and eschewing the rational, textual Protestant doctrine concerning grace and justification. Annual auricular confession was made mandatory for participation in Easter sacraments in the fourth Lateran Council (1215) and was viewed by reformers as part of a network of beliefs like works-righteousness and practices such as indulgences that imposed unnecessary intermediaries between believers and God and made an "ambitious claim" for priestly authority without any foundation in Scriptural or patristic texts.[780] Between the medieval and early modern periods confession had come to emphasize the individual's relationship with God through penance, a shift from earlier forms that had focused on the social aspect of reconciling sins with the community; in the seventeenth century, similar shifts in the role of priests resulted in a de-emphasis on socially-minded actions such as dispute resolution and healing at the same time as confession and catechism came to dominate the priest's pastoral ministrations.[781] Confession was also a chief element of the spiritual services offered by missionary priests operating covertly in England in this period, who were often concealed in gentry homes long enough to hear confessions and say Mass before moving on to a new area.[782] Beyond its purgative spiritual benefits, confession was an effective tool for "social control and personal reformation" as priests gained the ability to offer personalized correction and admonition for ill behaviour, all of which carried the additional impetus of potentially eternal ramifications if it went unheeded.[783] To many Protestant writers, auricular confession was inherently

[779] Ibid., 96-98.
[780] Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 277-278.
[781] Ibid., 280-281; Bossy, *English Catholic*, 264-267.
[782] Bossy, *English Catholic*, 250-256.
[783] Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 328-330.

subversive in the spiritual sense of avowing absolution by human intervention and penance but also in a fundamentally temporal sense in which priests gained access to and influence over the innermost recesses of the conscience, which was unreachable by the magistrate. From this unique privilege of priests, the polemical imagination drew seditious scenarios ranging from treason to disenfranchisement of Protestants to murder. In like fashion Roman Catholics' alleged worship of the Pope was an example of the corrupted values of Roman Catholic religious culture that could equally prove detrimental to the health of the Protestant nation.

John Gother's defense of Roman Catholics also extended to the charges of sedition laid against them, who like the Christians in the Roman empire were accused of being "Prophane in their Worship, Enemies to the Government, and the undoubted occasions of every misfortune."[784] For Gother, then, as now, this attempt to besmirch the reputation of Christians was a "damnable Scheme of Religion" intended to falsely label them as ignorant, prophane, "unsufferable [sic] in a Commonwealth, Enemies to their Country and Prince" to serve other (unnamed) interests.[785]. Whereas Roman Catholics had been accused of being "train'd up in Ignorance" to allow them to more freely accept "sottish Superstitions" and "un-Christian Doctrines," Gother argued that Roman Catholics were free to seek education, in universities as well as in the basics of doctrine in their vulgar tongues, and actually received active instruction from priests who hoped to better instruct youth.[786] Gother acknowledged that the 'Papist'—who "has disturb'd this Nation [...] with Fears and Jealousies [...] with Fires and Massacres"—deserved the laws levelled against him but distinguished him from the Roman Catholic, whose principles were entirely different.[787] In this way Gother sought to distance Roman Catholics from the alleged civil subversion of their faith and articulate in his own terms the reality of their religious authority. To this end, Gother tackled the issue of papal infallibility, which Protestant critics described as believing "Pastors and Prelates" were "exempt from Errour" and "secure from all Mistakes" as though God had distributed his "Benefits and Graces amongst his Creatures."[788] On the contrary, while leaders of the Church were able to "fall into Errours [sic], Heresie [sic] and Schism,"

[784] Gother, *A Papist* Introduction, 2.
[785] Ibid., 3.
[786] Gother, *A Papist,* 37.
[787] Gother, *A Papist* Introduction, 4.
[788] Gother, *A Papist,* 16.

Christ made the Church as a whole "secure [...] from all Errour [sic], and danger of Prevarication" by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which also guided the general councils.[789] To Gother the errors of men who "through Pride or Ignorance" invented doctrines or taught false ones did not extend to the Church itself, because God had promised it "continual and un-interrupted assistance" to maintain its purity; indeed, like the "Jewish Church," which was also troubled with charges of idolatry and corruption but affirmed by Christ as worthy of obedience, the Church of Rome was maintained in the "Truth of its Doctrine, [and] its Authority."[790] Gother also debated the accusation that Roman Catholics worshiped the Pope as a "great God" who deposed Christ as "Head of the Church" and whose dictates, on the basis of "Mysterious Infallibility," had to be accepted with "respect, submission and awe" like that owed to Christ.[791] Unlike this false representation, Gother argued, Roman Catholics viewed the Pope as the "Pastor, Governour and Head of Christ's Church under Christ," owed the same "Respect, Submission and Obedience" due "in reason or conscience" to any temporal leader but with the addition of a "helping Grace" from God given to all men who hold the position; moreover, papal infallibility was not a necessary article of faith and, like *adiaphora*, could be held or discarded by Roman Catholics at their own discretion.[792] Papal dispensations were decried by Protestant critics as excuses to break the Commandments and "Dissemble, Lie and Forswear" on behalf of the "common good of the Church," but for Gother, such dispensations did not "dispense with the Law of God," as charged, because they did not exist, being the invention of "Zealous Adversaries."[793] In fact, Roman Catholics frequently faced expropriations, "Banishments, Imprisonments, Torments, and Death" before lying under oath and facing the wrath of God, and were instructed by their Church never to "cheat or cozen" or operate under "Artifices," "dissimulations, equivocations, mental reservations," or otherwise.[794] In a similar way the papal deposing power had been described as a necessary article of faith for Roman Catholics who, on the basis of this power, had no allegiance to their monarch and were willing to deny the "Rights, Priviledges [sic] and Authority of [the] King" at the Pope's instructions; Gother, however, maintained that this

[789] Ibid.
[790] Ibid., 17.
[791] Ibid.
[792] Ibid., 18.
[793] Ibid., 19.
[794] Ibid.

was no mandatory article of faith and more Roman Catholics than not completely "disown[ed] all such Authority" and would not abandon civil loyalties in its favour.[795] This, and other purported beliefs, were exaggerated or invented to "render the Papists bloody and barbarous to the World," when many Roman Catholics defended Charles I against his own Protestant subjects.[796]

In terms of religious culture, auricular confession, from the Protestant perspective, "[made] Gods of Men" by giving them "the power to forgive sins" and encouraging Roman Catholics to bare the "whole state of [their] Soul[s]" to priests who were "more wicked" than their charges; worse, the Roman Catholic was accused of believing that an incantation and the "sign of a Cross with two fingers and a thumb" was capable of absolving him of his sins.[797] On the contrary, Gother argued, Roman Catholics only believed in as much power for priests as Christ Himself gave them as the "Ministry of Reconciliation" and "Dispensers of the Mysteries of Christ;" in Matthew 18:18, for example, priests received the power to "loose on Earth whatsoever was to be loosed in Heaven," and in that sense true penitents could receive absolution on Earth that would be "ratifie[d] above."[798] For Gother, many of the charges of corruption, of misused authority, and of persecution levelled at the Church of Rome were the result of confusing the errors of men with the principles of their religion, or deliberately attributing the motives and actions of individuals to the religion they professed; a man of "Reason and Conscience," however, could distinguish these, and understand that like any "Temporal Prince," the Pope was subject to missteps, and that the communion of the Church as a whole cannot bear responsibility for them.[799] The Roman Catholic Church, then, maintained its legitimacy in spiritual as well as institutional terms and Roman Catholics themselves acquitted of all charges of seditious inclinations.

For Thomas Comber, the "Decays of Piety" that plagued the Roman Catholic Church were the result of the doctrinal novelties imposed to suit its "Pride, Luxury and Covetousness," which reached such a pitch that even Roman Catholics had noticed its "apparently secular" motives; to their discredit, however, Comber suggested that, cognizant of this corruption, English recusants continued to "hug the Chaos" and would rather "carry

[795] Ibid.
[796] Ibid., 20.
[797] Ibid., 9.
[798] Ibid.
[799] Ibid., 32.

on the Designs of the imposers, than [pursue] the Salvation of their over incredulous Believers."[800] In Comber's view, Roman Catholics were expected to acknowledge that the Pope and bishops' prescriptions were driven more by "Machiavel" than "Conscience or Gospel-simplicity" and that the Roman Catholic religion itself was an attempt to "enslave, and impoverish" believers and push ecclesiastics to the "highest pitch of honour and abundance" in the process.[801] Implicit faith, for example, was a doctrine imposed to make priests "Infallible Oracles" and prevent "evil principles from being enquired into" but which contradicted Church Fathers' instructions that religious principles must be believed sincerely and on the basis of evidence; to believe arbitrarily, Comber argued, was to follow the example of the "Jewish Rabbins [sic] [who] told their Disciples They must believe whatever they told them."[802] Likewise, Comber explained, auricular confession was not only without scriptural precedent but was a fairly recent invention, which until 50 years before the Lateran Council had been acknowledged by scholars such as Gratian and Thomas Aquinas as *adiaphora* in terms of confessing only to God or to a priest.[803] Its imposition as a necessity was designed to "make the Priests masters of every mans [sic] Secrets" and "Intelligencer[s] in the breast of every great man," the better to uncover "the least inclination" to leave the Church and to ensure that believers sufficiently "venerate[d] and depend[ed] upon their Spiritual Guide."[804] The spiritual as well as social consequences of auricular confession were apparent to Comber: men no longer feared their sins or amended their actions, believing that penances and prayers were the "proper cure" for their sins.[805] Worse, the Church itself sinned more than it absolved, as it preyed on its ignorant and credulous laypeople by giving false pardons never promised by God and thereby "forfeit[ed] their Souls" for the sake of papal and priestly authority.[806]

Papal supremacy, too, "aim[ed] at the honour of the Church of Rome" and created a new form of authority through which the Church might sow "Ignorance and Superstition" and make opposition a mortal sin; in practical terms, the supremacy justified Popes making

[800] Comber, *The Plausible Arguments*, 17.
[801] Ibid.
[802] Ibid., 18.
[803] Ibid., 11.
[804] Ibid., 18.
[805] Ibid., 33-34.
[806] Ibid., 34.

themselves like "Temporal Princes" by expanding their territories, putting down rebellions—called 'heresies'—against their innovations, and bestowing "Dignities and Fortunes" on their families, effectively making their religious title an empty one.[807] For these reasons, Comber called Roman Catholicism a "Politick Religion," which enforced its "New Decrees," "Policies and Frauds" with "Forgeries" and violence.[808] The innovations and novelties imposed by the Roman Catholic Church nullified any inheritance from the Apostles, as according even to St. Ambrose "they who have not Peter's faith cannot succeed to Peter's inheritance;" likewise Lactantius said that the Catholic Church is the one that "retains the true worship of God," which the Roman Catholic Church corrupted through the "Triple Crown" and "Title of Universal" given to the Pope as well as the novel rite of auricular confession.[809] Even Pope Gregory 'the Great,' Comber asserted, agreed with Protestant critics that the Pope was the "Emperors [sic] Servant" and that the magistrate had "power over priests as well as others;" Gregory also "disown[ed] the Title of universal Bishop" offered in the Council of Chalcedon as unlawful and "unfit for any Christian Bishop."[810] In this example Comber revealed a willingness to acknowledge the intellectual authority of a Pope but only in the event that said Pope agreed with Comber's arguments and debased his own authority. Similarly, the title 'vicar of Christ,' Comber argued, was never used exclusively to denote the Pope or bishop of Rome but rather referred to any bishop or priest in its first usage; likewise, the role of "Supreme Infallible Judge" was never stated in Scripture as a privilege of the bishop of Rome, and Peter's title of 'rock' was only applied to the man himself in the "Forged Decretals" cited by Popes in their own defense.[811] From these examples Comber believed to have proved the Pope's authority to be an "Usurped Jurisdiction" in both "Ecclesiastical and Temporal" terms.[812] The Church of England, however, was established according to the "Primitive Patterns" of governance, akin to those of the "Religious Kings of Judah" and the emperor Constantine, who could convene Councils, approve doctrine, punish heretics, choose bishops, and otherwise "determine all Causes and Controversies Ecclesiastical and Civil" as "Supreme Governour [sic]" of the

[807] Ibid., 18, 20, 22.
[808] Ibid., 23.
[809] Ibid., 13.
[810] Ibid., 12, 39.
[811] Ibid., 37.
[812] Ibid., 41.

Church; for impartial judges, Comber argued, the legitimacy of this form was unassailable, an attainable antidote to the religious defects and civil deficiencies of the Church of Rome.[813]

Specific to the "Roman Catholicks of England," Comber reminded recusants that the Pope "hath, nor ought to have any Authority over [the] Nation" because the "true and perfect Church of Christ" in Britain was established centuries before it had any contact with Rome, was acknowledged in the Council of Nicaea and throughout the early centuries of the Church as "without subjection to any Foreign Patriarch" and, according to the geographic delineations made at Nicaea, would never have been under the jurisdiction of Rome regardless.[814] As a result, the king retained the right to reject the Pope's legates and restrict the importation of papal bulls, highlighting the king's continued and uninterrupted jurisdiction over spiritual as well as temporal matters in the kingdom.[815] Where the king did appeal to Rome, Comber qualified, it was done only "for respect [sic] sake," and with the understanding that the king maintained the legal right to reject the Pope's instructions and implement his own policies as the "Supream [sic] Head of the Churches in his own Dominions."[816] This was not only a right entrusted to all Christian monarchs but one established specifically in England by the Saxons, carried through William the Conqueror, who determined "all things both Divine and Humane" in his realm, and enshrined legally by Parliament, which considered the Pope an "ambitious and dangerous Encroacher upon the Rights of the Crown."[817] Comber blamed the confusion felt by Roman Catholics in England on the subject of papal jurisdiction on the Popes themselves, who with their deposing and excommunicating power claimed an authority well above their station and thus made poor subjects of Roman Catholics, who engaged in "bloody Conspiracies and open Rebellion" on their Pope's behalf.[818] Comber urged recusants to understand that the king can have no "security of [their] Allegiance" when they also acknowledged a foreign power, and that their Church was dependent enough upon the doctrine of papal supremacy to persecute its own

[813] Ibid., 52.
[814] Ibid., 41-42.
[815] Ibid., 43.
[816] Ibid., 44.
[817] Ibid.
[818] Ibid., 45-46.

priests who wrote against it.[819] For this reason, Roman Catholics should not "enslave" themselves to the Pope but should rather be Roman Catholics in the way of their ancient forebears, who "condemned Appeals to Rome," disavowed the "Earthly subjection" of kings to the Pope, and otherwise approached the papal supremacy rationally and critically.[820] For patriotic reasons alone, Comber argued, recusants should harness the "Nobleness and Gallantry of true English Spirits" and reject "Pretences which dishonour the King" and their "Native Country."[821] Instead of Roman Catholicism, recusants were advised to turn to the Church of England, which safeguarded their "Temporal, Spiritual and Eternal welfare," "reform[ed] itself" in the interest of true religion and under its own authority, and was amenable to the needs of all "Good Christians and sober men."[822]

Comber's *Letter to a Bishop* concerned the "dissatisfactions" growing amongst the bishops of the Church of England in response to the Toleration Act of 1689 and the new Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and hoped to dispel some of the "Misapprehensions and Mistakes" that inaccurately coloured the Act.[823] More specifically, Comber sought to prove that the oaths sworn to James II "have ceased to oblige [swearers]" now that the former king's reign had ended, and that oaths to William III and Mary II could and should be "lawfully taken;" in this endeavour, Comber also articulated the implications of Roman Catholic confessional identity, doctrine, and allegiance to the Pope on the state.[824] For Comber, the privileges given to recusants exemplified James II's "direct contravention" of the "two main Hinges" of English governance: laws that were "made in Parliament" and government "administered according to these Laws."[825] Where recusants were by law barred from all "Civil and Military Commands" and from "keeping Conventicles," the former king did not only fuse his "Dispensing Power" with "Legislative power," he effectively "annu[ed] all the Laws in force against [recusants], and qualifie[d] the Recusants and put them into Places of Trust."[826] This action on behalf of the king's fellow Roman Catholics constituted a "direct subversion" of the English government and Constitution that, by extension, also

[819] Ibid., 46.
[820] Ibid., 47.
[821] Ibid.
[822] Ibid., 49-50.
[823] Thomas Comber, *A Letter to a Bishop Concerning the Present Settlement, and the New Oaths* (1689), 1.
[824] Comber, *Letter*, 2.
[825] Ibid.
[826] Ibid., 3.

subverted the king's "Legal Kingly Power" and authority and thereby dissolved all oaths sworn to him.[827] The "forfeiture" of monarchical authority was incited by a total disregard for the laws "made in defence of the Church and Government in England" and specifically "for the security of the Church of England" that effectively made "Bond Slaves of those who were [the king's] Free-born Subjects."[828] The participation of English Protestants in the Glorious Revolution created a "True Contract betwixt the Prince of Orange and the Nation" that not only secured the rights of Englishmen but gives additional legitimacy to the authority of the Crown through a combination of hereditary right and popular consent, all of which could rightfully be affirmed by oaths to the new government.[829] Aside from reason, which recommended this "transfer [of] Obedience to the Conquerour [sic]," Scripture also commanded "under the greatest penalties, Subjection to the Supreme powers," and contained in the Old Testament examples of "Oaths taken to Kings who were such meerly [sic] by Conquest" in Judaea.[830] Where the former king's religion was "wholly inconsistent with [England's] safety, either in [its] Properties or in [its] Religion," mainly because by the influence of the Pope the king was "obliged upon forfeiture of his Kingdoms, to extirpate Hereticks, to destroy every Protestant in England," the new regime has promised "to secure the Nations in their Protestant Religion and in their properties;" for Comber, to those who "examine things impartially, and lay by all prejudice," the decision of which regime deserved allegiance was an easy one.[831] Comber closely linked the concepts of absolutism and the papal deposing power with the concrete example of James II, who embodied the corruption inherent within Roman Catholic permutations of authority and the inverse righteousness and reasonability of Protestant forms, which accord with Scripture as well as with rights and procedures enshrined within the Constitution.

William Sherlock's *Preservative* articulated the intellectual as well as practical tyranny of Roman Catholicism with reference to its rejection of the use of the "private Spirit" in matters of faith as a contravention of the "Infallibility of Church, and Popes, and General Councils."[832] In keeping with the assumption that Roman Catholics were incapable of

[827] Ibid.
[828] Ibid
[829] Ibid., 7.
[830] Ibid., 8.
[831] Ibid., 8-9.
[832] Sherlock, *A Preservative Against Popery*, 3.

exercising reason or having conscientious inclinations of their own, Sherlock argued that the use of reason was incompatible with the "blind and implicite [sic] Faith" that he believed kept Roman Catholics within the fold of their Church and as such it was decried by the Pope and his assistants as a "Protestant Heresie" leading to "Protestant Uncertainty" or untold "Schisms, and Heresies, and Blasphemies" that could be avoided by faith founded solely "upon the Authority of the Church."[833] For Sherlock, the "Infallible Guide" of the Church of Rome was used as an enticement for converts to abandon their reason, a bait that only proved that Roman Catholic "Articles of Faith" were not founded on any reasons or evidence and used the pretence of infallibility to "impose [faith] upon the Weak and Ignorant."[834] In this view, Roman Catholics who accepted the Church's doctrines based on reasons beyond the infallibility of the Church were not, in fact, Roman Catholics but closer to Protestants, as they held the "Faith of the Protestants, which is grounded upon rational Evidences [sic]" and Scripture, sources that offer "double and treble the assurance[s]" offered by the infallible Church of Rome.[835] As no rational man could be convinced of the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church—because it was impossible to do so from rational premises—Roman Catholics were "taught from their Infancy to believe the Church Infallible" and in their adulthood understood the infallibility of the Church to be a "first and self-evident Principle."[836] In Sherlock's arguments the Roman Catholic Church was made a cunning conspiracy designed to enforce its false interpretations through a systematic process of brainwashing that removed Man's natural inclination to reason or seek evidence and replaced it with an arbitrary belief that supports the authority of the Church without question.

The infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church, its "Preheminence [sic] and Prerogative" as the "Catholick Church" and the Pope's role as "Oecumenical Pastor, and the Center of Catholick Unity" were dependent on the will of God and therefore must be proven through humanity's only means of knowing God's will: revelation, or "plain and express Scripture."[837] For Sherlock, despite the Roman Catholic interpretation of "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock will I build my Church," it was clear that this role for the Pope was never explicitly stated in Scripture, and while Man might reason that such a leader is needed to

[833] Ibid., 3-4.
[834] Ibid., 6-7.
[835] Ibid., 8, 11.
[836] Ibid., 12.
[837] Ibid., 29.

avoid disunity within the Church and enforce orthodox principles, that which is "useful, convenient, or necessary" to Man's mind is not necessarily that which was appointed by God, and it was a "very fallacious way of Reasoning" to assume as much without evidence.[838] In Sherlock's analysis, "equal Power" was given to the Apostles as leaders of the Church, and St. Peter was never a "Prince of the Apostles" whose "Rights and Prerogatives" could thereafter be inherited by the successive bishops of Rome; on Pentecost, for example, all of the Apostles received the Holy Spirit and the same "Gift of Tongues, and Miracles, and Prophesie [sic]" before being sent off to different corners of the world, where they could have no contact with each other nor any "Universal Head."[839] Even if St. Peter had been given a special status, there is no proof in Scripture that this status was the inheritance of any other bishops of Rome, and "nothing but the Authority of Scripture can prove a Divine Institution" such as primacy; in a similar way, while Sherlock admits that Peter was as "infallible" as any other Apostle, there was no proof from Scripture that this infallibility was a "natural and necessary entail" inherited by Peter's successors.[840] From this argument the Pope's authority was made illegitimate by both reason and Scripture, both of which simultaneously upheld the Reformation and especially the independence of the Church of England.

Auricular confession exemplified both the "Sophistry" of twisting Scripture to meet the Church of Rome's needs and its attempt to usurp authority from Christ. According to Sherlock, auricular confession was founded on the "power of Judicial Absolution" given by Christ to priests to forgive sins and as "a Judge" to "absolve and inflict Penances," all of which were carried out after a penitent has revealed his sins through confession.[841] Sherlock argued that this "judicial authority" is non-existent, because no passage in Scripture recommends confession to a priest or explains that priests hold judicial authority to hear and forgive sins; although confession to God and fellow man were allowed, they were not necessary, and even the Apostles were not said to have the power to forgive sins.[842] Like many of his contemporaries, Sherlock suggested that auricular confession was a device crafted to imbue further power and influence into the priesthood at the expense of Christ,

[838] Ibid., 32-37.
[839] Ibid., 39.
[840] Ibid., 39-40.
[841] Ibid., 42.
[842] Ibid., 37, 42.

who was wrongly charged with the institution of auricular confession, and of God, whose sole right to forgive sins had been absorbed by human channels. In this text, the doctrinal and institutional authority of the Roman Catholic Church was undercut by the argument that its privileges were, in fact, pretensions without scriptural or rational basis which, as evidenced by auricular confession, sought only to advance the Church and its ecclesiastical structure. Roman Catholics who by birth or by misguided conversion accepted these structures were degraded as irrational or, perhaps, corrupt in themselves and were thus relegated to an identity that was undesirable as well as almost inhuman.

Robert Midgley's account of the vices of Roman Catholicism targeted the social and political implications of the confession, namely the impossibility of ensuring that people who believe in the "Doctrine of their Casuits[sic]" or the "Authority of the Pope" would operate within the accepted "Terms or Laws of Humanity."[843] Midgley appeared most concerned with the Pope's "annul[ment] of Contracts betwixt Man and Man" and his dissolution of "Oaths between Princes" and between monarchs and their subjects, both of which were prohibited by "God and Nature;" in advising believers to engage in sinful behaviours, the Pope made the Church of Rome a "Sanctuary to all Malefactors" that valued the worst in human behaviour for its own gain.[844] Midgley went on to list the 'invented' prerogatives claimed by the Pope, which included jurisdiction over "Angels, Purgatory and Hell;" the authority and personification of God in his judgments as well as the role of "sole Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversie;" and absolute power and infallibility in his pronouncements as well as the right to depose kings.[845] In specifically theological terms, Midlgey accused the Pope of downgrading the "Precepts of Christ" enshrined in Scripture as expendable while simultaneously denoting as "Mortal Sin" any deviation from his own invented doctrines; for Midgley, this presumption exemplified the Pope's tyrannical devotion to preserving his own authority and was also clarified in the Pope's "unpardonable Crime" of promoting "blind Obedience" and "Implicit Faith" in the Pope's office and infallibility.[846] Any Christians who refused to acknowledge the Pope's false spiritual and temporal jurisdictions were labelled heretics and subjected to the countless "Massacres and

[843] Midgley, *Popery Banished,* 3.
[844] Ibid.
[845] Ibid.
[846] Ibid.

Devastations" responsible for the spread of Roman Catholicism, which Midgley attributed to the "barbarous" tactics needed to impose on Christians that which is "absurd," "false and unreasonable."[847] While the early Popes might have been honest, over time others used "notorious Forgeries, and Falsification" and manipulated a "Weak, Ignorant and Credulous Age" to promote themselves to new heights of "Temporal and Spiritual principality," slowly abandoning Christ in the process.[848] Likewise rites of auricular confession and absolution were inventions lacking entirely in Scripture-proof but designed to exploit lay ignorance in the interest of creating an "omnipotent Priesthood" with the power and prerogatives of the divine.[849] For monarchs or civil leaders to allow Roman Catholicism to operate within their kingdoms, knowing that its clergymen had no loyalty to the sovereign and that the entire flock was required by their religious beliefs to "rebel at any time upon the Pope's pleasure," must be the result of either fear of assassination by Roman Catholic zealots, a desire to harness Roman Catholic absolutism to establish a "more absolute and tyrannical Government, "or, more likely, "Sloth."[850] Toleration, in this sense, was not only undesirable but a strategy born from corruption or laziness that ignored the false authority assumed by the Church and its leaders.

The *Full and Impartial Account* armed Protestant readers with the details of the "indefatigable Romish Genius for the promotion of the Catholick Cause" in Ireland and endeavoured to inform them of the complete "Violations of the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm" used to carry out this plot under James II.[851] The author was particularly horrified by the Irish uprising of 1641, a "Rebellion and Murther [sic]" from which, despite the many acquittals by an "Arbitrary Court," "not Ten of the Irish Papists were free" of guilt.[852] Compounding the guilt of the Rebellion itself was the subsequent conspiracy to deprive Protestants and the few loyal Irish Catholics of their estates and transfer them to rebels and, in some cases, the Roman Catholic Church, a stratagem which revealed its ultimate aim in the remarks "intimate[d] to the English, That in a short time the Protestants, and they, must

[847] Ibid.
[848] Ibid.
[849] Ibid., 2.
[850] Ibid., 4.
[851] *A Full and Impartial Account of all the Secret Consults, Negotiations, Stratagems & Intriegues of the Romish Party in Ireland, from 1660, to This Present Year 1689 for the Settlement of Popery in That Kingdom* Preface (London: N.P. for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1689), 2.
[852] *Full and Impartial,* 3.

be of one Religion."[853] In one attempted plot Irish Catholics made the link between their seditious plots and religious proclivities clear: at their Masses priests informed members of the congregation to affix straw crosses to their doors, and while "Foreign Priests" were better informed on the "black and damnable intriegue [sic]" than the "poor ignorant Priests of Ireland," the advice of the purported "Infallible Oracles" was "punctually obeyed."[854] In the style of other "infallible demonstrations of the Church of Rome's undoubted Catholicism," like the Irish uprising and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, the plot itself was to be a "Bloody Massacre" of Protestants, who would be distinguished from Irish Catholics by the absence of straw crosses on their doors; being a "Catholick Design," its discovery did not lead to real inspection by the biased Irish government, but did result in the "terrifying devices of the Irish"—cattle theft and arson, namely—being aimed at those who revealed the plot.[855] Despite this plotting against them in Ireland as well as in England and the "Indirect Principles, and barbarous proceedings [...] of the Church of Rome," the Protestants of [856]Ireland—called 'English'—maintained "great impartiality and equal demeanour" to the "Natives," their "Implacable Adversaries."[857] The "greater integrity of the English" was the result of their religious principles, which allowed them to view oaths and testimony as "indissolluble [sic]" "Sacred Institution[s]" worthy of the "greatest Solemnity," contrary to the Roman Catholic Church which encouraged false oaths and absolved them according to the infallible "Vicarial Prerogative" of the Pope. The principles of the Protestant religion inspired a "Spirit of Peace and Meekness, of Mercifulness and Universal Charity" as embodied in the early Church, and were completely at odds with the "Persecuting Spirit" and heathenish practices of the Roman Catholic Church, which continued in a "Retrograde motion to Ancient Gentilism."[858] It was only because of the "Palpable Contradictions, and Incongruities" of Irish Catholics' "ridiculously contrived" ruses to frame Protestants that kept the English Protestant community in Ireland safe from the "Wicked and Diabolical intent" of their contemporaries, who also did not scruple to wear a "Protestant Mask" to

[853] Ibid., 5.
[854] Ibid., 9.
[855] Ibid., 9-11.
[856] Ibid., 19.
[857] Ibid., 18.
[858] Ibid., 26.

carry out their designs.[859] While the Protestants of Ireland conducted themselves with the virtues of "equal Moderation and indifferency," Irish Catholics were charged not only with plots but with lies and extra-territorial allegiances that justified their corruption and styled it a "service" done for God; while the author acknowledged that some non-Catholics were involved in Roman Catholic plots, he denied these a true Protestant identity and called them "Mongrel Protestants" instead.[860]

James II, himself accused of having joined the Jesuits, was a chief proponent of this conspiracy to advance the Roman Catholic cause in his kingdoms, proceeding with such "Extravagancies in Government" that even the English recusants believed his plan was "extream [sic] hazardous and insecure;" the king, however, was dedicated to subjecting his kingdoms to the Pope's authority, which the author believed would surely be a "Work of Supererogation" so great as to keep the king from purgatory entirely and deliver himself and his charges straight to "Abraham's bosom."[861] The birth of the king's heir occasioned jubilation in Ireland that further exemplified their goals, as existing hierarchies were inverted and even the "meanest Labourer" was comfortable "threaten[ing] to hang his Master," calling him an "English Churle," and otherwise "reveling [in] Debaucheries" on the basis of the "Prayers of their Infallible Church" which guaranteed a Roman Catholic revival.[862] In the courts, too, which were certain of an Irish Catholic supremacy, the doctrine of keeping "no Faith" with nor offering justice to heretics translated to stacked juries and corrupt rulings that kept even murder of a Protestant from being fairly prosecuted.[863] Because the Irish Catholics did not believe it a crime to "rob or steal from an English-man as being an Heretick [sic]" and "publick enemy to their religion," this was an opportunity to pursue all sorts of crimes which, under the Protestant government, they had avoided not out of conscience but out of fear of punishment.[864] Likewise the priests took advantage of this auspicious period by invoking their "unlimited and Arbitrary power" and threatening excommunication to instruct their believers not to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland but to pay them to the priests instead; for the author, the efficacy of this endeavour was founded on the "arts of terrour

[859] Ibid., 29, 46.
[860] Ibid., 19-20, 23-24.
[861] Ibid., 32.
[862] Ibid., 64-65.
[863] Ibid., 65.
[864] Ibid., 71.

[sic]" employed by the priests as well as the tradition of deference to and veneration of the purportedly infallible powers of priests and the Pope.[865] Ultimately, it was by Providence alone that the Prince of Orange "miraculously confounded all the wicked devices of his Adversaries," defended the kingdoms and true religion and rightfully suppressed the doctrines of Roman Catholicism that justified treachery and deceit.[866]

William Lloyd opened his *Seasonable Discourse* with a reminder: members of the Church of England and Christianity more broadly were required by their faith to uphold their duties of "obedience and submission to the Magistrate" as a matter of conscience, the result of having taken "the [papal] Yoke off their Necks" in the Reformation.[867] Along with this burden the English were also freed of the doctrines of "implicite [sic] faith and blind Obedience" as well as of an "infallible Judge and Arbitrator of all Doctrines, the Pope of Rome," all of which threatened to return and supplant the true guides of faith—reason, Church, and Scripture.[868] Toleration, reconciliation, and conversion were equally destructive to the nation because they all masked the same end: a compete return to the subjugation of the pre-Reformation period, the "grossest errors" of theology masked with "a Persuasion of being infallible," the subversion of the "Safety of the King's Person" and the "Prerogative of the Crown," and rule by the "spiritual Sword" of the Pope, who threatened monarchs with his deposing power.[869] Lloyd explained the papal deposing power as pursuant to the law of Pope Boniface VIII, who stated that Man "must be subject to the Bishop of Rome" and thus laid the stage for the belief that the Pope could "give and take away Kingdoms, [...] expel men and restore them at his pleasure," dissolve subjects' allegiance to the Crown, and did so all with the pretended "interest deriv'd from our Lord Jesus."[870] Worse, the papacy was also responsible for the "greater prodigy of Tyranny" by revoking whole nations' rights to the "Offices and comforts of Religion" through interdicts, usually as an extension of the "barbarous insolence of Excommunicating and Deposing Kings" who sought to preserve their own rights.[871] In this way the Popes revealed the illegitimacy of their own authority and

[865] Ibid., 66.
[866] Ibid., 75.
[867] Lloyd, *Seasonable Discourse*, 3-4.
[868] Ibid., 4.
[869] Ibid., 6.
[870] Ibid.
[871] Ibid., 9.

failed in their stated spiritual duty of the "feeding of Christs [sic] Sheep" and preferred instead to assert their powers of "Coercion and Dominion" in the temporal sphere.[872]

The papacy also claimed authority over the English Crown, and Pope Innocent IV was said to have claimed England as "his Vassal, nay, to speak truth, his Slave," a claim that was recalled by Popes Paul III and Paul IV, who, respectively, attempted to deprive Henry VIII of his title and subjects' obedience and later refused to acknowledge the title of Elizabeth I.[873] The Irish rebels of 1641 confirmed this subjection by "submitt[ing] that unhappy Kingdom" to Pope Urban, and Lloyd was convinced that, despite their claims of loyalty, the same would happen again—and in England—if Roman Catholics had the leeway to do so; while Lloyd acknowledged that some "natural conscience" might remain to allow loyalty for a number of Roman Catholics, those that truly professed the faith were certain to be neither "good Christians" nor "good Subjects."[874] For Lloyd, Roman Catholics of all nationalities worked together to the same end of restoring the Roman Catholic Church and disenfranchising Protestants, and as such the "true English Interest" could only stand to lose by tolerating Roman Catholicism and thereby bringing in "great numbers of Forreiners [sic]" with all of their "mischiefs."[875] Auricular confession was the rite that most overtly expressed this treasonous impulse, as it was also the "Picklock of the Cabinets of Princes" and the means through which confessors satisfied their "Avarice and Rapine" and "Lust and Villany [sic]" through the "Soul and Conscience of every private man."[876] Aside from the secrets that priests gleaned and exploited from confession, in spiritual terms the rite itself made men less modest for their sins, which they considered absolved upon payment of "perfunctory Penances" that, in fact, only encouraged men to sin again and thereby filled the Church of Rome's coffers.[877] Priests were not only encouraged by the Pope to "break all the Obligations of Duty and Allegeance [sic]" rather than break the "Seal of Confession" by reporting plots but, as proved in the Irish rebellion, encouraged plotting themselves, and handed out the plenary indulgence offered by the Pope for participation in the uprising.[878] In

[872] Ibid., 10.
[873] Ibid., 7.
[874] Ibid., 8.
[875] Ibid., 23.
[876] Ibid., 24.
[877] Ibid., 25.
[878] Ibid., 26.

Lloyd's view, Roman Catholicism was not only undeserving of toleration but deserving of the suppression it also meted out upon Protestants, not only because Roman Catholics themselves could not be trusted to keep oaths but because all of their religious principles wrought tyranny, whether in the form of superstition, of foreign papal rule, or the suppression of the conscience.[879]

In his defence of the *Seasonable Discourse,* Lloyd described the treasonous consequences of Roman Catholics' allegiance to the Pope with reference to the continued threat they posed within even Protestant nations, whose monarchs feared assassination and insurrection at the Pope's bidding. In 1571, Lloyd reminded his reader, a Protestant prince in France—Henri de Navarre—found himself the target of "Butchery committed in cold blood in a time of Peace" and in spite of the "solemnest promises of security," a violation of the "Laws of Nations, Nature, and Religion" perpetrated for the "propagation and glory of the Roman Catholick Faith" at the behest "his Holiness himself."[880] Likewise Queen Elizabeth I faced attempts on her life "by War, by Dagger, or by Poison" carried out by her "perpetually loyal" Roman Catholic subjects, a legacy carried on by these subjects in the Gunpowder Plot targeting James I/VI as well as the "Nobility and Senate, the representative Power, and real strength of his whole Realm."[881] That Roman Catholics were not only unworthy of toleration but incapable of understanding rightful expressions of authority is explained in Lloyd's example of the kings of France and Spain, each of which ruled as James II threatened to rule: "ranting like a Grand Seignior," yet facing no opposition from their Roman Catholic subjects.[882] Whether Roman Catholics were not required to believe in papal infallibility as an article of their faith (as apologists such as Gother claimed) was immaterial to Lloyd, who maintained that in either case, Roman Catholics pledged themselves to a "tyrannous and debauched" leader; wilfully and irrationally submitted themselves to "spiritual and temporal tyrannies;" and on the basis of this infallibility and a deposing power only ever proved by deliberately mis-interpreted Scripture, "filled Europe with confusion and blood," namely "Rebellion, Treason, Parricide" and other "enormous crimes."[883] Lloyd reminded his readers of this because, to his mind, there was "no ruine [sic] so fatall [sic] as that which is

[879] Ibid., 27-28.
[880] Lloyd, *A Reasonable Defence,* 3-4.
[881] Ibid., 4.
[882] Ibid.
[883] Ibid., 6-8.

contemned [sic] and overlooked," and while apologists might claim that the faith cannot be held responsible for its institutional errors, Protestant readers had to consider the implications of a religion that put "whole Nations under interdict" should they "displease his Holiness," and that will seek its own re-establishment in England to the detriment of Protestants' rights and properties.[884] Lloyd impressed upon his readers that it was the *modus operandi* of Popes to steal "the Estates of private men, and Dominions of princes," and to do so with the full support of canon law, which would certainly creep in once Roman Catholics were allowed ecclesiastical courts or appeals to Rome; moreover, the resumption of Roman Catholicism would also invite a total reversal of the present settlement, and a replacement of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy with ones restricting Protestants from civil offices.[885]

Auricular confession, Lloyd explained, was found in neither Scripture, nor "Canon of any ancient Council, Writing of Fathers, or practice of the Primitive Church," and, as proof of the "abuse and novelty" of the practice, stated that in the first centuries of the Church penance preceded absolution—the inverse of the Roman Catholic rite.[886] For Lloyd, far from being a dissuasion from sin, auricular confession was a means of perpetuating corruption and treason, as exemplified in the Gunpowder Plot (1605), which was known to confessors who, failing to disclose the plot, were also conspirators; for this reason, Lloyd claimed, auricular confession should be as restricted to Roman Catholics as the Scripture, because its potential to be corrupted was great.[887] Compounding this derision of auricular confession was the accusation that the Pope was aware of and complicit in the Gunpowder Plot, who in this event used his influence in the most overtly seditious means possible.[888] From this perspective, Roman Catholics' appeals for toleration were ridiculous manifestations of "stupid ingratitude," as no persecution against them was carried out until their "multiplied Treasons" necessitated "severe Laws" against them and many of their confession lived in "all freedom, affluence, and plenty."[889] Lloyd refused to differentiate between the Roman Catholics of England and those of Ireland, the latter of whom were implied to have been proven dangerous, and reasoned that a Roman Catholic transplanted from one place to

[884] Ibid., 9.
[885] Ibid., 10-11.
[886] Ibid., 18-19.
[887] Ibid., 19.
[888] Ibid., 23.
[889] Ibid., 20-21.

another does not "[lose] his venoms;" in this way, Lloyd affirmed the 'barbarity' of Irish Catholics, the uniformity or ubiquity of Roman Catholic sedition on the basis of their beliefs, and the validity of the measures restricting the practice of their faith.[890]

In *News from the Sessions House*, 'Popery' was indicted for its civil crimes: corruption, plotting, and murder. The defendant was first accused of a Satanic alliance, an unholy combination used to "allure, entice, and enforce" monarchs into accepting the primacy of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church and in the process effectuating the "utter destruction of their faithful Subjects;" for those "royal hearted Christians" who objected to this usurpation, 'Popery' "Savagely and Inhumanely" violated the laws and "Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity" by arranging for invasions, assassinations, and persecution.[891] In his address, the attorney general reminded the jury that 'Popery' was "of the Race and Progeny of Cain," a murderer who, in order to better carry out his various "Villainies" and "odious" plots had "shaded himself under the serene Veil of Christianity."[892] 'Popery' claimed for himself the title of "Universal" in a pretended succession from St. Peter and thereby also claimed power over monarchs and brought believers into "Thraldom, and Slavery."[893] These 'Popery' has convinced do not owe their non-Catholic parents or their countrymen any obedience or allegiance, and are even permitted to rob and murder them as heretics, or to say oaths to monarchs that can be dispensed at any time; in this way, 'Popery' is a particularly insidious force within the nation because it dissolves social bonds and mutual obligations, both of which might be severed in secret to the detriment of Protestant citizens and magistrates.[894] In testament to this 'Sir Naked Truth' recalled the persecution of Protestants in the French Wars of Religion, in the Inquisition in Spain, in France again in the abortive Edict of Nantes—a "Vizard of Friendship" disguising future persecution—and in Ireland, where Protestants faced a "barbarous" uprising; in England, too, Protestants were not safe, as Roman Catholic plotters were accused of setting the Great Fire of 1666, and only failed to perpetuate worse crimes by "Special Providences of God."[895] For the attorney general, however, these crimes against true

[890] Ibid., 21.
[891] *News from the Sessions House*, 1.
[892] Ibid., 2.
[893] Ibid., 2.
[894] Ibid., 3.
[895] Ibid.

religion and the divine right of kings would not go unpunished; in another connection drawn between Roman Catholics and biblical Jews, who the attorney general claims "sold Christ for thirty pieces of Silver" and lost their special status with God, 'Popery' would soon feel the "Arm of Justice" to rectify his misdeeds.[896] The "dangerous, and wickedly subtle" nature of 'Popery' required "timely" action if Protestants were not to live in "dayly [sic] hazard of [their] Lives" in their own homeland; Roman Catholicism was to be condemned to death or, at the very least, suppression.[897]

The *Tryal and Condemnation of Popery* was introduced with a poem that spoke directly to the issue of the role and influence of the Pope: "'Tis nothing strange a shepherd reigns in *Rome*. / For he that built it was a Shepherds Groom : / Nor is it strange that Wolves in *Rome* abound / He suckt a Wolf that did that city found. / But this is rare, and far above my Skill, / How Wolves should keep the Flock secure from Ill."[898] The poem juxtaposed the stated role of the Pope as shepherd of the flock of Christ with the perceived reality of his avarice. In the trial itself 'Popery' was decried by 'Master Law' and his "Sons"—the "Civil, Cannon, Common, and Municipal" varieties—and by 'Master Verity,' the most prolific witness, who accused the defendant of falsely claiming succession from the Fathers of the Church and using "fair and smoothing words" to deceive "mans [sic] wisdom" and gain prestige; where cajoling failed, 'Popery' used "false witnesses," or persecuted true Church leaders and Christians with violence and excommunication.[899] In order to pursue its own ends 'Popery' would "plot Conspiracies to the shedding of Blood," "make open insurrections, and stir up great personages" to join them, and encourage his priests to carry them out.[900] The attorney general, too, spoke up against 'Popery' for "counterfeit[ing] his Majesties [sic] Broad Seal, inventing New Sacraments" and conspiring the "death of an innumerable multitude of his Majesties [sic] Subjects," both of which charges used the language of the monarchy to describe spiritual abuses and the defendant's misappropriation of religious authority belonging only to Christ.[901] The result of this corruption, according to the attorney general, was a need for the court to dispose of 'Popery' entirely, for "as long as

[896] Ibid.
[897] Ibid.
[898] *Tryal and Condemnation*, 2.
[899] Ibid., 3-4.
[900] Ibid., 4.
[901] Ibid., 6.

he may have liberty to live" 'Popery' would be a "rank Traytor [sic] to [the] King and State," likely to subvert religion and the "true Church of Christ" and in the process prove anathema to "peace and welfare in the Commonwealth."[902] In this text, the issues surrounding the Roman Catholic Church's religious teachings—its use of authoritative texts, its presumption of divine authority in the implementation of the sacraments—were closely tied to political concerns, namely, its influence over believers and recommendation of seditious behaviours for Roman Catholics in non-Roman Catholic countries. The trial's outcome was not only an indictment of the fictional 'Popery' but the conclusion that Roman Catholics were led by their Church and their faith into errors in religious and political judgment that, like 'Popery' itself, could not be abided.

Antonio Gabin's *Journey* through Italy also afforded him access to the less visible but equally significant articles of the Roman Catholic faith concerning the Pope, a figure Gabin largely associated with ignorance and the singularly problematic "Controversie" of the Council of Trent. [903] For Gabin, the Pope was so far from holding an infallible "Key of Knowledge" as to require all kinds of counsel from "his Doctors," who determined doctrines for him but were carefully omitted from his pronouncements of unique authority and "infallible Truth."[904] Regardless of the origin of these verdicts, Gabin explained, Roman Catholics believed in the Pope's decisions on a "Faith of the Will" rather than a "Faith of Understanding," the former of which required no evidence but, in "something of a Mystery," needed only the will to believe; this was at odds with the "Intellectual Faith" of understanding, which must be "so agreeable with the Principles of Reason" that believers would be acting "contrary to good sense" if they refused to believe.[905] According to an abbot of Gabin's acquaintance, the "secret Byass" allowing for faith by will was "infused into all Christians" at baptism, but Gabin argued instead that this ability to believe without reason was the result of a flawed education, and that Protestants were no less Christians for having failed to acquire this kind of "Baptismal Grace."[906] In Gabin's approximation, faith by will was encouraged by priests as a means for those believers who could not reconcile doctrines such as transubstantiation with reason to remain Roman Catholics in good standing, or else

[902] Ibid.
[903] Gabin, *Observations,* 2.
[904] Ibid., 3-4.
[905] Ibid., 4.
[906] Ibid.

recommend the "uncomfortable Pastime" of trial by Inquisition.[907] For all this, Gabin noted, even Roman Catholics like the abbot who knew of this corruption still in "blind Faith" believed ecclesiastical pronouncements to be the "Words of Life and Eternal Truth," as the ignorance of their leaders only permitted the Holy Spirit to speak through them more easily.[908] From these "Asses and Ignoramus[es]" Roman Catholics received only inducements to further ignorance and devotion to the clergy, being convinced by Jesuits and the like that divinity was a subject well above the intellectual capacities of the laity and thus better left to the discovery of priests and bishops who were to be "adore[d]."[909] The *Sedes Stercoraria*, for example, was a "Close Stool, or Chair, with a Hole in it" on which the Popes were carried in a procession following their "Exaltation" to the papacy, which was intended to remind Popes to remain humble despite having been raised to "Greatness" from the "Dust and Dunghil;" Gabin, however, interpreted the chair as less a symbol of the "Glory of the Heads of the Church of Rome" as of papal corruption, one necessitated specifically by Pope Joan, whose trick forced the cardinals to check succeeding Popes for the "Constitutive Parts of a Perfect Man."[910] This degradation of the "Spirits of Men by Ignorance" and an "Abyss of Error" was the chief employ of the "Heads of the Romish Church" who exploited this nescience to perpetuate "base and infamous" doctrines and "low, wicked and unworthy" morals.[911] Among these was the religious life designed by Robert d'Ambrissel in 1100, who against the "Order of God, and Nature" gave women "Superiority over Men" in the community as a testament of his dedication to the Virgin; this order is, Gabin claimed, the "greatest Shame and Reproach of the [Roman Catholic] Religious Orders" for forcing its men to swear a "Solemn Vow of Obedience to the Nuns" on the basis of a misinterpretation of Christ's instructions to St. John to care for His mother.[912] Like the Pope himself, nuns of this order received "blind obedience" from their male peers and, with the support of their local Jesuits, proceeded in the most "mortifying and abasing" behaviours and forcing men to perform all sorts of "Indignities, Follies, and infamous Services" as "Slave[s] to Women."[913]

[907] Ibid., 5.
[908] Ibid., 7.
[909] Ibid., 7, 17, 96.
[910] Ibid., 129.
[911] Ibid., 35.
[912] Ibid., 86-87.
[913] Ibid., 89.

Of the "Manly qualit[ies]" adopted by the nuns of this order, Gabin was especially concerned with their knowledge of Latin and philosophy and their insistence that women should not be kept in "Subjection and Error," all of which had made them "Worldly and Lascivious" as well as disobedient to St. Paul, who "affirm[ed] Man to be the Head of the Woman."[914] Orders like these had existed in England but, Gabin qualified, were happily ended by the Reformation.[915]

Gabin was also concerned with the use of the Church's influence to encourage "all manner of Wickedness and Treason," plotting, betrayal, "all manner of Cheats," and "attempt[s] [on] the Sacred Lives of Kings," all on the basis of the "superlatively holy" priests and monks; for Gabin, however, "Religion and the State ought to be [...] perfectly united," without discord, and working to the same ends, as they did in the Church of England.[916] In this vein, Gabin also described the true motives of the Jesuits, who disguised their espionage with "Charity" like hearing confessions and performing Masses for the nobility, and used that influence to gain the loyalty and trust of their charges before fomenting sedition; for this reason, and rightly, Gabin argued, the Jesuits were hated by princes and magistrates and feared by laypeople in their "insolent Domination" and theft of "Temporal Revenues."[917] Auricular confession was an especially cogent example of the corrupt motives of Roman Catholic priests of an "Ambitious Humor," who used the rite to gain access to the "most secret Thoughts, and the very bottom of Mens Hearts" and, like "Spies," used that information to elevate their own positions.[918] While priests justified the use of auricular confession and their own power of absolution through texts such as James 5:16, "Confess your faults one to another," and John 20: 23, "Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," Gabin accused the Church of conspiring to make a voluntary public act a secret rite and obligation, the better to know the secrets of their flock, and of being further corrupted by the process, which exposed and acclimatized them to "abominable Filthiness" on a daily basis.[919] The "dangerous and false Doctrin [sic]" also perverted believers' knowledge of God, whom they were taught to fear and reconcile with in an

[914] Ibid., 92.
[915] Ibid.
[916] Ibid., 132.
[917] Ibid., 144.
[918] Ibid., 150.
[919] Ibid., 150-151, 155.

arbitrary fashion, an almost mechanical process of confession and penitence that, they were told, guaranteed their salvation in spite of the most sinful life in the manner of the "good Thief [...] on the Cross."[920] Gabin was certain that the spiritual and structural corruption of the Church of Rome would ultimately result in its downfall, but hoped that its dissolution would not result in "Atheism" but in a "holy Reformation" based on the "perfect model" of the Church of England, which preserved true religion in both its doctrine and its organization.[921]

Theophilus Dorrington's attempt to document the various errors of the Church of Rome was, to his mind, an exercise in proving the importance of the "Doctrine of Implicite [sic] Faith and Blind Obedience," which, while anathema to "true Faith," nonetheless made all of the superstitious and illogical tenets of Roman Catholicism palatable to an ignorant mind.[922] For Dorrington, the Jansenists offered the most reasonable approach to Roman Catholic doctrines and ecclesiastics, in the sense that they considered both un-Scriptural and rejected papal authority and the contemporary "Ecclesiastical Discipline" as corrupt; for attempting to "shake off the bridle of Obedience" and reform a "corrupt and wicked Communion," Jansenists were called schismatics and heretics, "Haughty and unjust accusations" levelled by the Church of Rome for fear of the loss of its power and privilege.[923] This power entailed a "slavish subjection" to the Pope that was supported and promoted by the bishops, whose "corrupted Nature" resulted in the impulse to revere men over the "Great God" and assume the "Authority of representing him" over the "Humility of reverencing him."[924] In theological terms the infallibility of the Pope operated as a "Scare-crow, set up against the Protestants" to give additional certainty to Roman Catholic doctrines.[925] That Roman Catholics failed to see and subject themselves to rightful authority was highlighted in the example of the Jesuit library in which Dorrington was shown a "Dizaine" and "little Book of Prayers" owned by Mary, Queen of Scots; the Jesuits' "Zeal" for the "Unfortunate Lady," Dorrington noted, ignored how her treasonous "Conduct [...] betray'd her to her Death," and seemed to prove that Roman Catholics were happy to

[920] Ibid., 157.
[921] Ibid., 146.
[922] Dorrington, *Observations,* 49.
[923] Ibid., 113.
[924] Ibid., 133, 176.
[925] Ibid., 190.

"Venerate the Memory" of a monarch who subsumed her civil loyalties under broader religious ones.[926] As further proof of this mindset, Dorrington accused Jesuits of inciting the Prince of Mons to oppress his Protestant subjects, using means above and beyond the "humane and gentle Methods of perswading [sic] and endeavouring to convert" usually preferred by the bishops and secular clergy and instead hoping to gain Protestants' "Goods and Possessions" through "Barbarous and Inhumane Cruelties;" these methods, Dorrington claimed, had only barely been thwarted in England.[927] With these corrupt goals in mind, auricular confession was a rite designed to prey on the ignorant and bring the "Wealth of the World" to priests and religious orders who, with the authority to forgive sins, promoted the "Duty of confessing" as "indispensable" to salvation while gleaning for themselves a "good Life" from material penances.[928] This cultural manifestation of Roman Catholic arbitrary belief embodied the corruption of the Church's hierarchy, its willingness to use false doctrine to achieve its worldly ends and, for Dorrington, the more alarming willingness of Roman Catholics to blindly follow such overtures to the detriment of their souls and the state.

In the anonymous *Letter to an Honourable Member of Parliament*, the author 'R.W.' enumerates the intermixture of civil and religious dangers of Roman Catholicism to a member of Parliament who failed to see that the threat to Protestantism was not only present on the Continent but in England as well. The laws restricting freedom of religious expression for Roman Catholics were, to the author's mind, rightfully crafted with an eye to the "Idolatries of Popery" and the "Usurpations [...] upon the Rights of this Kingdom" carried out by its bishops; for R.W., however, these laws were not implemented to their full potential, as several Roman Catholic bishops and many priests operated in England unmolested, creating bishoprics and confirming believers.[929] R.W. suggested that there are "at least 100 Jesuits, 150 Franciscans, and proportionably [sic] of the Benedictines, Dominicans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and of the Secular Priests" in England at the time of his writing, many of whom were secreted away in gentlemen's homes.[930] The fines imposed for

[926] Ibid., 138.
[927] Ibid., 193.
[928] Ibid., 88.
[929] R.W, *A Letter to an Honourable Member of Parliament, Concerning the Great Growth of Popery, and the Treasonable Practices of the Romish Bishops and Priests at This Time in England* (London: N.P. for Brabazon Aylmer, 1700), 1.
[930] R.W., *Letter*, 1.

participation in "Popish Worship"—"200 Marks with one Year's Imprisonment" for saying Mass, and "100 Marks with a Year's Imprisonment" for hearing Mass—remained in place but, in spite of these, "Mass houses" had erupted throughout England to little response and, R.W. claimed, to the extent that more Roman Catholic Masses were heard in London than Church of England services.[931] For the author, the lack of enforcement on these laws was a clear violation of their original intent and their underlying assumption that a convert to Roman Catholicism could not be made without "losing a Subject to the Government," a statement that R.W. believed to be truer than ever with there being "not one Native Papist, or Popish Convert, [...] that does not perfectly hate the present Government."[932] For R.W., the "unaccountable insensibility" of the English public to the reality of the Roman Catholic threat, the "constant implacable Enemy" of the nation, was likely to result in the loss of "[their] Laws, of all [their] Rights and Estates, as well as of [their] Holy Religion" to the machinations of the "idolatrous," "superstitious," "cruel, and tyrannical and intolerable" Church of Rome.[933] In conclusion R.W. reminded his reader of the potential outcome of the "late Reign" and the providential salvation of the "Protestant Religion and Interest" through William of Orange, an outcome which entailed, on the part of the public and politicians, a concerted effort to put an "Effectual Stop to the Growth of Popery."[934] For all of its doctrinal failings, compounded by their required allegiances and subversions in the State, Roman Catholicism was not to be tolerated; in this way, toleration was not simply a pragmatic political tactic or a policy concerned with sedition but a decision grounded firmly in perceptions of religious error.

[931] Ibid., 2.
[932] Ibid.
[933] Ibid., 4.
[934] Ibid.

Conclusion: "An Unhappy Separation"

Toward the end of His life Jesus Christ prepared his disciples for the coming trials: "If anyone wishes to come after me," He said, "Let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Matthew 16:24).[935] In an eternal sense, then, to suffer for Christ was also to live for Him. For the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland, this exhortation must have seemed prophetic, as their interpretation of religious truth became the primary motivating force in the systematic relegation of their communities to the fringes of now-Protestant societies. The Glorious Revolution was heralded by a deluge of literature that questioned the legitimacy of Roman Catholic conceptions of authority and the suitability of Roman Catholics for toleration. An onslaught of critique aimed at its cults (beliefs and their specific modes of devotion), codes (doctrines, articles of faith, and other—sometimes unofficial—beliefs), and religious culture (practices, attitudes, and values) ultimately found the foundations and expressions of Roman Catholic belief to be invalid as well as insufferable. Where true faith found its basis in Scripture approached by reason, Roman Catholicism was founded on pretense and the absurd; while Protestant beliefs were grounded in the cerebral and celebrated on the model established by Christ, Roman Catholic tenets descended into corporal, carnal expressions fixed in human superstition. Although Roman Catholics were a community of nonconformists, their nonconformity in religious terms was viewed with suspicion as a dissension that was also fundamentally secular: beliefs, for example, must be taught and upheld by authorities who, whether priests or bishops (or even a bishop of Rome), provided an alternate intellectual structure to that of the English state. For a Church-State, such an alternative was religiously as well as civilly disruptive, and the arguments purporting to prove the corruption and worldliness of the Roman Catholic ministry and episcopacy reflected concerns that were spiritual as well as temporal. These religious arguments were central to the discourse of toleration, which frequently was approached with practical concerns: what happens to an elect nation that allows a minority to worship saints over God? Where can allegiance to a Pope lead the king's subjects? The answers to these questions were never optimistic, and the implication of this negative response to religious disunity was also a negative response to toleration: the English (and Irish) Church and state could not allow disloyalty to go unsuppressed.

[935] Quotation from Dorrington, *Familiar Guide*, 2.

The fusion of religious and political concerns does not suggest that religion itself was only a gloss for more 'important' issues. Certainly the Church of England's combination of monarchy and episcopacy also entailed, as Charles W.A. Prior noted, a theoretical connection between uniformity of religious profession and practice and the health of social order; as such, religion and politics were expected to be intertwined in a meaningful way, although their relationship could prove to be contentious.[936] In this way, "secular and religious grievances" were often synthesized and reflected as such in discourse, an amalgam of contemporary concerns that can result in interpretations of Reformation-era religious argument as a rhetorical device used to gain the upper hand in political debate.[937] However, as Justin Champion has argued, claims and appeals based on religion or "ecclesiastical politics" entered into discourse because they were of real importance to the seventeenth-century mindset.[938] The preoccupation with spiritual authority described in the preceding chapters suggests that polemicists and, likely, their readers craved and expected legitimacy in their religious expression as much as they hoped for it in politics. Claims that Roman Catholicism was an illegitimate religion or not a religion at all not only justified refuting the many pleas for toleration for Roman Catholics but also condoned the Reformation for those who might have found themselves confused about its motives or in doubt of their salvation.[939] The frequent connections made between Roman Catholicism and the Judaism represented in the Old and New Testaments were used to prove both the obsolescence of these faiths and their illegitimacy in secular and religious terms through corruption; both were described as "precursor[s]" of 'true' Christianity that had not only failed God and Christ but that were deservedly discarded for the reformed Protestant faith.[940] Appeals to reason in religious argumentation served a similar purpose of proving legitimacy through theoretical popular consent, in which readers of polemic could feel included and participate in a rejection of "hierarchical absolutes" attributed to the Roman Catholic tradition in favour of a righteous reformed faith.[941] Through this process the wary could be comforted by the

[936] Prior, *Jacobean Church,* 254-256.

[937] Nicholas Tyacke, "Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War," *Journal of British Studies* 35.2 (1996): 140-142, 166.

[938] Champion, *Pillars,* 224-225.

[939] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed,* 176.

[940] For more on Enlightenment views of Judaism see Champion, *Pillars,* 158.

[941] Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion," 156.

knowledge that their government as well as their consciences were free from tyranny. Put succinctly, religion was serious business not only in life, but in polemic, politics, and print.

While Roman Catholicism on its own terms only enters into this analysis on the periphery through rebuttals such as Gother's, it is important to note that the self-perception of practicing Roman Catholics in this period and place is of equal importance to their Protestant contemporaries' perceptions of their faith. As much as it is a subject to be considered in future, for the present it will suffice to say that Roman Catholic beliefs and practices as understood and expressed by practitioners were as likely to be coloured by external circumstances as outsiders' interpretations of the same. Underlying the acceptance of purgatory, indulgences, and the treasury of merits, for example, was the premise that suffering was not simply a state of emotional or physical discomfort to be avoided but a condition with constructive potential. Whether undertaken bodily through fasting and pilgrimage or anticipated in the afterlife, suffering was the means through which Man could achieve purgation of his human flaws and, ultimately, find reunion with the purity of the divine. The promise of purgatory, then, was not only one of pain but one of paradise: through the cleansing fire of purgatory, the human life-cycle of error and redemption came to reflect that of Christ, whose earthly mission was inaugurated, concluded, and in many ways defined by suffering. For a population undergoing cycles of political and social upheaval as well as corresponding cycles of disenfranchisement and persecution based on their religious proclivities, a theology that assigned spiritual value to their worldly suffering might have been particularly poignant. The collaboration and conflict between this world and the next has been a subject of interest to scholars for some time and detailed analyses will remain worthy contributions to the fields of religious and intellectual history.

Recusants might have given Caesar his coins but, in reality, found their situation more complex than Matthew had led them to believe. Searching Scripture they might have found another passage more relatable: "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will stand by the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon" (Matthew 6:24). From the perspective of many Protestant polemicists, this exclusivity of allegiance was a pragmatic concern which, translated into policy, could not abide the coexistence of Roman Catholic and Protestant authority within

the state. The result was a formal rejection of Roman Catholicism that persisted well into the nineteenth century.

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