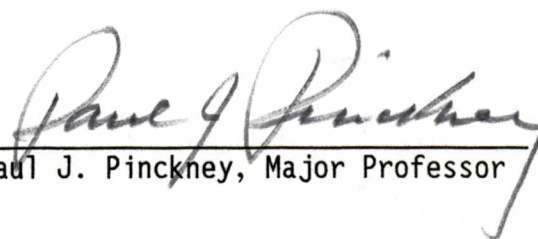
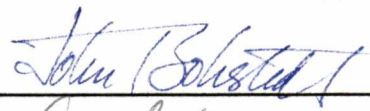
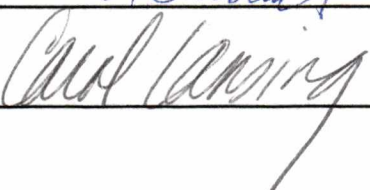


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Robin Scott McNutt entitled "'That Cursed Brood of Rome': Aspects of Anti-Catholicism in Restoration England, 1660-1673." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.


Paul J. Pinckney, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made.

Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis may be granted by my major professor, or in his absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when, in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature

Robert Scott McNutt

Date

Nov. 30, 1989

"THAT CURSED BROOD OF ROME": ASPECTS OF ANTI-CATHOLICISM
IN RESTORATION ENGLAND, 1660-1673

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Robin Scott McNutt

December 1989

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to:

Susan Brown, whose patience made it possible;

Jeff Churchwell, whose confidence in me kept my confidence up;

and last, I dedicate this thesis to my parents,
who have supported me in all my academic endeavors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Doctors Paul Pinckney, Carol Lansing, and John Bohstedt for serving on my committee for this thesis. Due to their advice, criticism, and constant encouragement, this project has matured from a vague notion into a coherent historical inquiry. This thesis would not have been possible in its present form without their contributions. The responsibility for any remaining errors is, of course, entirely my own.

ABSTRACT

Anti-Catholic attitudes in seventeenth century England have been well-documented except for one brief period, from 1660 to 1673. Were anti-Catholic attitudes just as prevalent in this period as in the rest of the century? Was anti-Catholicism an intense, irrational fear caused by the association of Catholicism with past national crises, as suggested by other historians? These questions were investigated at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, during a sixteen-month period, from August, 1988 through November, 1989. Publication of books and pamphlets on Catholics and Catholicism between 1660 and 1673 as found in Wing's Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700 was correlated with four potential crises from the same years.

The results showed a high degree of correlation between crises involving the government (such as King Charles II's two attempts to allow toleration for religions other than Anglicanism), and when Catholics appeared to have done direct damage to the nation (as in the great Fire of London) and an upsurge of anti-Catholic literature. Correlation was low when the crisis was a natural phenomenon from which supposed Catholic conspirators could not profit (the plague of 1665).

This anti-Catholicism was not irrational. The literature of anti-Catholicism was, rather, a legitimate expression of wariness and concern over a religion that was the state religion of England's two

most powerful rivals, France and Spain. It was further exacerbated by rumors (which had basis in fact) that King Charles II was considering converting to Catholicism, a move many English people feared would start them on a path to an Absolutist monarchy, which conflicted with English traditions of partial representative government, as practiced through Parliament. Thus, anti-Catholicism may have been an extreme reaction to national upheavals, but it was not irrational.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. <u>FIAT LUX; OR, LET THERE BE LIGHT: THEORIES OF PERSECUTION AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM</u>	1
II. <u>A FRIENDLY ADMONITION: OR, GOOD COUNSEL TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE KINGDOMS: MODERATION AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM, 1660-1664</u>	14
III. <u>GOD'S JUDGEMENT STILL THREATEN'D: PLAGUE, FIRE, AND ANTI-CATHOLIC REACTION, 1665-1667</u>	25
IV. <u>REASONS AGAINST POPERY: ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE TOLERATION DEBATE, 1667-1673</u>	35
V. "THAT CURSED BROOD OF ROME": CONCLUSIONS ON ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND, 1660-1673	51
BIBLIOGRAPHY	57
VITA	74

CHAPTER I

FIAT LUX; OR, LET THERE BE LIGHT¹: THEORIES OF
PERSECUTION AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM

A Settled Debate?

The phenomenon of anti-Catholicism in seventeenth century England does not generate much enthusiasm within the historical community at present. Although the debate over the causes of anti-Catholicism has not been truly settled, enough theories have been propounded that a historian of England in this period can, most likely, find a theory agreeable to him. Why then devote another thesis to this perhaps over-answered question?

Part of the answer lies with the historian's penchant for studying turbulent and explosive events of the past. The old Chinese curse, "May you live in interesting times," might be paraphrased as a historian's blessing, "May you study interesting times." Everyone wants to know, "Why was there war?" as if war were an unusual aspect of the human condition. Answering the question, "Why was there peace?" might be equally profitable.

¹J.V.C. [John Vincent Canes], Fiat Lux: or, Let There Be Light (1662), Reel 933, Position C430 in the Xerox Corporation's ongoing microfilm project to record all items in Wing's Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700, a three-volume reference work in second edition. This project will hereafter be referred to as STC II, with the reel number and position number of each book following this designation. My work in this thesis is based on the titles released on microfilm in the first thirty years of this project.

Predictably, the study of English anti-Catholicism has centered around periods of national upheaval. Thus, anti-Catholicism has been closely scrutinized in the periods before and during the Civil War and Interregnum, as well as during the years of the Popish Plot hysteria, the exclusion Crisis, and the Glorious Revolution. In between these clusters of excitement lies the period from 1660 to 1673, fourteen years that some historians have considered fairly placid for anti-Catholicism, except for the flash of outrage immediately after the Great Fire of London in 1666. The usual scenario for this period is of relieved Englishmen welcoming the return of monarchy in 1660 as a deliverance from the unsettling commotion of the previous two decades, and a population complacently sinking into normality thereafter.²

Other historians argue that fear of Catholics began to mount once again after the incident of the Great Fire, culminating with the explosion of frenzy in the Popish Plot, while still other historians suggest that the Great Fire was but a momentary convulsion, and the real rise of anti-Catholicism resumed in 1673.³ The difference is not crucial; most historians agree that anti-Catholicism reaches a

²See John Miller, Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1975); Richard L. Greaves, Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1986); and J. P. Kenyon, The Stuarts: A Study in English Kingship (Great Britain, 1970) among others for this view.

³See Timothy Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 62-96; and J. P. Kenyon, The Popish Plot (New York, 1972), pp. 1-32 for the former view; and Michael Finlayson, Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics Before and After the Interregnum (Toronto, 1983), pp. 119-158; and Miller, Popery, pp. 108-120 for the latter.

crescendo in times of crisis,⁴ and their concern is behavior exhibited during those crises. What then of the quiet years, 1660-1673? Is it fruitless to study this period? Is anti-Catholicism quiescent during this time?

The above question is the central focus of this thesis. However, to examine this subject in all its manifold aspects would hopelessly swell the boundaries of this modest project. Thus, the focus of this study is restricted to literature about Catholics or Catholicism printed between 1660 and 1673. These parameters obviously limit this study to a minority of the populace: literate society. But before delving into the society of seventeenth century England, some theories of the motivations behind prejudice must first be examined.

Witchcraft, Deviance, and Power in Society

Although historical theories of behavior that apply specifically to English attitudes toward Catholics in the seventeenth century will be examined later, it may be best to first consider theories that encompass a much greater latitude of prejudice than those inspired solely by anti-Catholicism. It is important to remember that Catholics were a tiny minority in seventeenth century England, probably making up no more than 5 percent of the population.⁵ Could prejudice against Catholics stem from their minority status?

⁴Ibid., Robin Clifton, "The Popular Fear of Catholics During the English Revolution," in Paul Slack, ed., Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 129-161.

⁵Clifton, in Slack, p. 140; John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London, 1975), pp. 216-220, 419.

In a recent book, R. I. Moore has traced the origins of persecutions of European lepers, heretics, and Jews to the strengthening of the hierarchy in the Christian Church between 950 and 1250 C.E., and to the threat the more highly literate Jews posed to the attempts of the Christian clergy to gain influence over the then-nascent secular governments of Western Europe.⁶ Through their efforts to consolidate and extend their influence, the Christian clergy formalized more clearly the tenets of Christianity, thus making it easier to identify fringe elements like heretics, lepers, and Jews. R. I. Moore infers from this that the Christian clerical elites indulged in persecutions as a result of their struggle for primacy in Western European society from the tenth to thirteenth centuries.⁷

According to Norman Cohn, European societies from the second to at least the seventeenth century C.E. have developed fantastic "anti-human" stereotypes of particular minority groups so that persecution of that minority may be justified, and the society through such persecution may be symbolically purged of evil. Roman society applied such stereotypes to the early Christians in the second century, C.E. Later the Christian Church, upon becoming the dominant power in Europe, accused minority sects of the same practices. Phillip the Fair of France used similar accusations to destroy the Knights Templars in the early fourteenth century. Finally, witchcraft accusations in the

⁶R. I. Moore, The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250 (New York, 1987).

⁷Ibid., p. 150.

fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries included the same stereotypical images.⁸

Moore and Cohn agree that the activities all these groups supposedly indulged in are the most repulsive behavior thought possible for human beings: sexual depravity, infanticide, and cannibalism.⁹ On a more general level, these groups were feared by the dominant elements of society to be fomenting plots to overthrow the majority.¹⁰ Accusations of this type of behavior by the majority are the closest we can come to general patterns of persecutions of minorities historically. Besides all the groups already documented as being accused of these "anti-human" activities, it should be noted that similar accusations have been made against blacks in the United States in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and even twentieth centuries.¹¹

Cohn's explanation for this behavior is that the previously mentioned "anti-human" activities represent repressed childhood anxieties or desires of the dominant part of society. By projecting these perversities onto minorities, the majority is exorcising such impulses from itself, and is demonstrating its fear that someday its child (the minority group) will take its place.¹² Moore's explanation

⁸Norman Cohn, Europe's Inner Demons (New York, 1975), pp. xi-xvi, 1-99, 147-265.

⁹Ibid., pp. xi-xvi, 1-15; and Moore, pp. 64-70, 78-79.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹George Rable, But There Was No Peace (Athens, 1984); Joel Williamson, The Crucible of Race (Oxford, 1984).

¹²Cohn, pp. 258-263.

is that the leaders of Christian church, by more narrowly defining their dogma between the tenth and twelfth centuries, ostracized groups that were formerly on the periphery of its boundaries. Once defined as formally outside the church, Jews, lepers, and heretics eventually came to be defined as threats to the church's existence and possible obstacles to the church's growth.¹³ But does either theory explain seventeenth century English anti-Catholicism?

First, it should be noted that there is some excellent corroborating evidence for both theories. In support of Cohn, many Protestants believed that the Anglican church was actually more ancient than the Roman church,¹⁴ and feared that English Catholics were part of a sub-society bent on the destruction of English Protestant society. This establishes the Anglican church as the "adult" and the Roman church as the evil "child." Of course, the fear that Catholics were organized to destroy Protestants also parallels Moore's depiction of the fear of heretics, lepers, and Jews in earlier Christian European society.¹⁵

Some literature at this time also contains accusations that Catholic priests practiced witchcraft, and the Pope is very frequently equated with the anti-Christ in popular Protestant literature.¹⁶ This

¹³Moore, pp. 146-152.

¹⁴See Richard Carpenter, Rome in Her Fruits; Being a Response . . . (1663), pp. 20-22, STC II 841:C626; and Richard Vines, The Authors, Nature, and Dangers of Heresy (London, 1662), pp. 29-38, STC II 1370:V545a, for just two examples.

¹⁵Moore, pp. 150-152.

¹⁶Alexander Petrie, A Compendious History of the Catholic Church (The Hague: 1662), STC II 924:P1879; Richard Baxter, Fair Warning . . . Second Part (1663), STC II 1116:B1264; and John Wigan, Antichrist's Strongest Hold Overturned (1665), STC II 1452:W2096, among others.

appears a more specific connection with Cohn's witchcraft theory, but Moore's heretics were also accused of devil-worship, a forerunner of the witchcraft hysteria.¹⁷ Again, both seem equally applicable here. Both Moore's and Cohn's theories also seem to tie in with a small amount of anti-Catholic literature printed between 1667 and 1673, in which Catholics are denounced for supposedly practicing the same "anti-human" activities attributed to many European minority groups before them.

Three works, all apparently drawn from the same source, were written on the massacre by the Duke of Savoy's forces in Piedmont in 1654 and the Irish Rebellion of 1642.¹⁸ A Looking-Glass for England, published anonymously in 1667 may have been the first of the three. Certainly the two remaining authors, George Fox and Matthew Crawford, drew on and embellished this first account. But all three contain graphic tortures supposedly perpetrated by Catholics. Fox writes of an instance in the Irish Rebellion where Catholics caught a man, and "ript his belly, took out his gut, and so left him alive."¹⁹ Pregnant women were singled out for a particularly gruesome torture: having their unborn babies cut and torn from their womb.²⁰ Rapes, drownings, babies thrown into the fire--the list of torments goes on and on, especially

¹⁷Moore, pp. 64-65.

¹⁸A Looking-Glass for England (London, 1667), STC II 464:L3017; George Fox the Elder, The Arraignment of Popery (London, 1667), STC II 738:F1750b; and Matthew Crawford, in an addendum to John Welsh, Popery Anatomized (1672), pp. 445-520, STC II 1108:W1312.

¹⁹Fox, p. 87.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 92.

in Fox's account of the Piedmont massacre, which includes details of Catholics eating human brains at Mass and the mutilation of male and female genitalia.²¹ Crawford's account adds necrophilia to the list of perversities perpetrated by Catholics.²² This sort of tale may have enjoyed some popularity, since Fox's pamphlet ran into a second edition in 1669.

These accounts obviously fit in with the accusations hurled at other minority groups previously. However, the setting has changed: Catholics practice such depravities in war and rebellion rather than in secret ceremonies. This is one clue to why the minority theory will not work as well for Catholics in England as it will for other minorities in other times. For Catholics, though indeed a minority in England, were not a minority in many areas of the continent, including the powerful nations France and Spain. Fears that the English Catholics might be supported by one of these nations in a bid to overthrow the English government were perhaps overly imaginative, but still grounded in reality. Memories of the Spanish Armada still lingered in the minds of late-seventeenth century English people. This is a point that will receive much consideration later in this thesis.

For now, there is still a stronger point to present against using the minority theories as a model to better explain anti-Catholicism. Although the literature cited above does bear considerable similarities to attitudes expressed by majorities toward minorities in other cases,

²¹Ibid., pp. 84-98.

²²Crawford, in John Welsh, pp. 495-496.

this literature is itself in a minority here. Accusations of magic-use and "anti-human" activities against Catholics do appear at this time, but so do dozens of treatises battling Catholicism on purely theological or political grounds. Several defenses of Catholicism are also written, a few even by Protestants. In short, attitudes toward Catholics seem to make up a spectrum of opinion which cannot be reduced to a single perception of Catholics. Thus, the cause of anti-Catholicism cannot be traced to only a single foundation, be it minority status or something else.

The History of English Anti-Catholicism

Most writers on seventeenth century English anti-Catholicism agree on the broad outlines of this phenomenon: It began in earnest under Queen Elizabeth I in response to various attempts on her life--and attacks on England--sponsored by Catholics or Catholic nations. It was reaffirmed by the revelation of the Gunpowder Plot, the plan to blow up Parliament in 1605, and was kept alive by the reminder of annual celebrations of the foiling of this plot. The penal laws were another reminder of anti-Catholicism. Although laxly enforced under Charles I, these laws, which among many other restrictions forbade Catholic priests to enter England under penalty of death, were fearsome warnings that Catholics were not welcome in England.

Spain and France, both Catholic nations, though battling one another between 1635 and 1659, were a constant concern to England, and the fierce religious strife of these and other nations in the Thirty

Years' War was followed in detail by an apprehensive English populace. The events leading up to the English Civil War and the manipulations of John Pym in the House of Commons provoked a new outburst of anti-Catholic frenzy between 1640 and 1642. By the time of the Great Fire of London in 1666, Papists were the devils every Englishman feared.²³

The historian who has perhaps most clearly demonstrated the major features of this outline in a theory of anti-Catholicism is Robin Clifton. Clifton's 1971 article, "Popular Fear of Catholics in England 1640-1660," recounts these popular anti-Catholic reactions. Most historians of England on this period draw on these same events to explain anti-Catholicism, and most works specifically on anti-Catholicism cite Clifton's work.

Theories of English Anti-Catholicism

Central to Clifton's argument on fear of Catholics is that this fear is a deep-rooted antipathy, far more intense in the English people of this time than purely political or religious differences can explain.²⁴ It is the long-standing association in the English national consciousness of Catholicism with invasion and conspiracy that produces such absolute repugnance of Catholicism to the English.²⁵ Unfortunately, Clifton describes anti-Catholic reactions as "panics" or

²³See Bossy, Clifton, Kenyon, and Carolyn Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, 1983) among others for more details of this outline.

²⁴Clifton, in Slack, pp. 159-161.

²⁵Ibid.

"alarms" without defining precisely what is meant by such terms, although in context he appears to mean that whole communities were gripped by unreasoning terror of supposed Catholic plots.

Other historians have taken up this concept. Ian Y. Thackray has recently suggested that the English were so ready to believe that Catholics were always conspiring to take over their country that a number of absolutely fictitious plots were accepted as true during the years of the Interregnum.²⁶ Michael Finlayson has argued persuasively that, while other historians have presented the Restoration as a period in which the ideas and fears which motivated the English people prior to the Interregnum have been forgotten, quite to the contrary, fear of Popery remains a constant.²⁷

Although the concept that seventeenth century English anti-Catholicism was so strong that it frequently overpowered the rational faculties of most English people as articulated by Clifton and extended by Thackray and Finlayson is potentially useful in isolating the causes of anti-Catholicism, difficulties remain. These historians tend to perceive all Englishmen as in the grip of an irrational fear of Catholics. Both Clifton and Finlayson warn readers not to exaggerate the pervasiveness of this phenomenon, but neither author follows his own advice. All three understand English anti-Catholicism as a phenomenon that affected all English people equally, regardless of such

²⁶Ian Y. Thackray, "Zion Undermined: The Protestant Belief in a Popish Plot during the English Interregnum," History Workshop Journal, 18 (1984), pp. 28-52.

²⁷Finlayson, pp. 119-122.

factors as education or social standing. In examining the literature of anti-Catholicism, we shall observe whether at least one societal subgroup--the authors of anti-Catholic tracts--is truly overwrought with a blinding fear of Catholics, or if this group has reasons for its fear.

Clifton found a high correlation between anti-Catholic alarms throughout England and national crises traced through an examination of county records.²⁸ This is not surprising, if Clifton's hypothesis has any basis in reality at all. When is this irrational fear more likely to be demonstrated than at moments of high tension? The intriguing finding is the unevenness of English response to perceived Catholic threats, "pseudo-crises," perhaps such incidents should be called: Sometimes alarms break out due to rumors of Catholic activity and sometimes they do not.²⁹ Clifton does not pursue this anomaly, preferring to track attitudes in true crisis situations. But how did the average seventeenth century Englishman, without the advantage of hindsight, know what was a true crisis and what was merely a rumor? This variety of response suggests more investigation is necessary.

Robin Clifton's study covers only the years 1640-1660. Thackray examines the same years. Finlayson does the same, then skips the years 1660-1666, and continues his study from 1667 until 1688. However, Finlayson draws most of his evidence for the latter period from the years after 1673, and especially from 1678-1681, the years of the

²⁸Clifton, pp. 129-130.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 131-140.

Popish Plot hysteria.³⁰ Thus, we are left with a very incomplete examination of the years 1660-1673. Although this seems a shallow gulf of years, it cannot be assumed that English attitudes remained constant during it.

The Examination of Anti-Catholicism, 1660-1673

To bridge the evidential gap between 1660 and 1673, the bulk of pro- and anti-Catholic literature from this period will be examined in this thesis. Four potential crises will also be examined. By measuring whether the volume of literature about Catholics increases around the time of these incidents, we shall create a gauge of the literate class's fear of Catholicism. Further, by studying the content of this literature, we may be able to infer if anti-Catholicism does indeed take similar form among these authors, or if most express different attitudes about Catholicism.

The four potential crises are: Charles II's attempt to pass a bill for the toleration of religions besides Anglicanism in 1662, the outbreak of plague in London in 1665, the Great Fire of London in 1666, and Charles's issuance of a Declaration of Indulgence for dissenting religions in 1672. These four incidents, natural and political upheavals, caused considerable distress in England, and could have developed into threats to government stability. Any one of these occurrences might have become a national crisis. Did they provoke anti-Catholic sentiment? Do they compare with the historical crises already studied? These are the issues to be investigated next.

³⁰Finlayson, pp. 123-132.

CHAPTER II

A FRIENDLY ADMONITION: OR, GOOD COUNSEL TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICSIN THE KINGDOMS¹: MODERATION AND

ANTI-CATHOLICISM, 1660-1664

The Early Years of the Restoration

The common historical image of Englishmen hailing the restoration of the monarchy as a triumph for normality is by no means incorrect. A majority of Englishmen favored moderation in the settlement of both political and religious dilemmas posed by the end of the Interregnum.² Charles II's choice of Privy Council members was a reflection of this desire: A mixture of old royalists, former Cromwell supporters, and new non-aligned men were chosen to advise the king.³ Other political steps seem equally well-balanced.⁴ Conservatism and normality seemed to be assured with the return of a "Cavalier Parliament" in 1661. Unfortunately, the nature of the religious settlement, although a victory for conservative Anglicanism, was a disaster for many other religious groups, the largest of which was the Presbyterians.⁵

¹Martin Mason, A Friendly Admonition: Or, Good Counsel to the Roman Catholics in the Kingdoms (1662), STC II 720:M929.

²Harris, pp. 60-61, Ronald Hutton, The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667 (Oxford, 1985), p. 127.

³Ibid., pp. 128-140.

⁴Ibid.

⁵I. M. Green, The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 117-177, Hutton, pp. 150-152.

The obvious desire many Englishmen had for normality did not mean that England had, indeed, returned to normal. The monarchy was restored, but not all English people were restored to good fellowship with it. The Presbyterians were not the only discontented group during the early years of the Restoration; the literature from the years 1660-1664 is filled with the grievances of another disgruntled community: the Quakers.

Fear and the Society of Friends

Quakers, much more than Catholics, perturbed the minds of English people in 1660 and 1661. The literature of the Society of Friends is not the focus of this thesis, but in reviewing all book titles of a religious nature from 1660 to 1664, literature by and about Quakers exceeds literature by and about Catholics by at least a ratio of five to one, except in 1662, when Catholic literature sustains a moderate increase. Quaker tracts throughout the period of this study warn of the imminent destruction of London, England, or the entire world.⁶ The Quakers' insistence that only they would survive this devastation annoyed many of their contemporaries, and no doubt left many others wondering whether this was to be a spiritual or material apocalypse, and who would carry it out.

When the Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner staged his uprising in early January, 1660/1 in London, it was not Catholics, but literally

⁶See Edward Burrough, A Hue and Cry after False Prophets (1661), STC II 1418:B6007; Stephen Melish, England's Warning (1664), STC II 1426:M1644; and Stephen Smith, A Trumpet Sounded (London, 1670), STC II 1470:S4216, for examples.

thousands of Quakers--and other Protestant sectarians--who were rounded up and thrust into the "gaol." This round-up took place in the face of Charles II's recent release of hundreds of Quakers from prison and in spite of his promises of leniency toward them.⁷ Venner's rebel band was pitifully small, and apparently unsupported by any larger dissenting churches, but these groups were easily identifiable (especially Quakers, because of their refusal to doff hats and their abjuration of all oaths, among other idiosyncracies), and thus, easy targets.⁸ When it was decided that Venner had only marginal support, the government reluctantly released most Quakers from captivity. Suspicions remained though, particularly since the Quakers continued to produce their millenarian literature.

Anti-Catholicism and Dissent

No connection was made between Venner's Uprising and Catholicism in literature or newspapers produced at this time.⁹ This is important, because Catholics, despite being at the supposed opposite end of the religious spectrum, were often accused of fomenting rebellion through dissenting religious groups. Ian Y. Thackray has demonstrated that throughout the Interregnum Catholics were suspected of infiltrating and subverting dissenting sects, especially Quakers.¹⁰ In one pamphlet

⁷Hutton, pp. 150-152.

⁸Ibid.

⁹The Kingdom's Intelligencer, nos. 10-13 (London, 1661), STC II 258:E192-4.

¹⁰Thackray, pp. 37-42.

released in 1660 Presbyterians are accused of being organized on Jesuitical principles.¹¹ In the years that follow dissenting groups would continue to be linked with Catholicism.¹² Thus, there was a precedent in literature to associate Catholicism with dissent. Why then was a connection not made between the Roman faith and Venner's Uprising?

It may have been obvious to all observers that Venner had no support from Catholics. It may also be that authors of other faiths were too occupied accusing one another of Catholicism to connect true Catholics with Venner. Of the ten works published in 1661 found to be about Catholicism, one is a general attack on the popish practice of bowing to altars, one is an assessment of Presbyterianism's similarity to Catholicism, three are attempts to distinguish the English church's services from those of the Roman, three are by Catholics pleading their harmlessness, and only two are direct assaults on Catholicism itself.¹³

¹¹Matthew Griffith, The Samaritan Revived (London, 1660), pp. 22-26, STC II 1444:G2016a.

¹²See Hugh Edmunds, Presbytery Popish, Not Episcopacy (London, 1661), STC II 1440:E178b; Robert Boreman, Hypocrasie Unvail'd and Jesuitisme Unmaskt (London, 1662), STC II 810:B3756; Henry Foulis, The History of the Wicked Plots of Our Pretended Saints (1662), STC II 277:F1642; Francis Howgill, The Rock of Ages Exalted Above Rome's Imagined Rock (London, 1662), STC II 1464:H3178; Richard Baxter, Fair Warning . . . (1663), STC II 1116:B1264; and Howgill, Truth Lifting Up Its Head (1663), STC II 1405:H3186.

¹³See Hugh Edmunds, Presbytery . . .; John Bramhall, A Just Vindication of the Church of England (1661), STC II 1456:B4227; David Cawdrey, Bowing to the Altar (London, 1661), STC II 1457:C1623; George Masterson, The Spiritual House (London, 1661), STC II 1466:M1073; [Thomas Rogers], The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion of the Church of England (1661), STC II 1444:R1833; Reasons Why Roman Catholics Should Not Be Persecuted (London?, 1661), STC II 1044:R586; John Sergeant, Reflexions Upon the Oath of Supremacy (1661), STC II 1048:S2588; [Peter

Perhaps the other factions were too concerned with these attempts to bring one another into disrepute with the taint of popery to worry over the Catholic faction. But what did bring fear of Catholicism into play?

Toleration and Catholicism, 1662

As we have seen, Catholicism was a moot issue up until 1662. Despite Charles II's promise in the Declaration of Breda to relieve tender consciences, the most Catholics had received was Charles's private promise that the penal and recusancy laws against them would be laxly enforced.¹⁴ But in 1662 Charles urged Parliament to arrange a religious settlement that would allow him to keep the promise made at Breda. The result in print was twenty-three works concerned with the Catholic question, a total higher than the combined output of the previous two years.¹⁵

The books and pamphlets published in 1662 about Catholicism offer a variety of opinions on the subject, from a vindication of the Quaker religion in opposition to that of the Catholics, to a tale of an Italian convert from Catholicism set three hundred years earlier (!), to a satirical proposal for the establishment of a non-conformists'

Walsh], Some Few Questions Concerning the Oath of Allegiance (London, 1661), STC II 1135:W641; George Bishop, An Illumination to Open the Eyes of the Papists . . . (London, 1661), STC II 885:B2994; and John Perrot, Propositions to the Pope (1661), STC II 1510:P1628.

¹⁴Hutton, p. 166.

¹⁵Eleven appeared in 1660, ten in 1661.

registry, its purpose being to "farm," or tax, freedom of conscience.¹⁶ The above list is only a short sampling of the variety of concerns associated with Catholicism. Such is the diversity of the literature on Catholicism from 1662 that no real pattern of anti-Catholicism emerges.

There is one hint of a pattern. Jesuits specifically, rather than Catholics generally, are frequently condemned as trouble-makers, which corresponds with the findings of other historians, including Clifton and Thackray.¹⁷ In this case, Jesuits are blamed for spreading the doctrine that a monarch derives his power from the people he rules, and they are accused of secretly controlling the Presbyterians in the Civil War.¹⁸ However, the tone of these accusations, if acerbic, is not hysterical. Perhaps literate society was more afraid of learned, intelligent agents of a foreign potentate such as the pope than they were afraid of Catholicism, as such. But this must remain only a hypothesis until more evidence is examined.

The work that best sums up the diverse elements of anti-Catholicism from the literature of 1662 is The Friendly Admonition . . . from the chapter title. Written by Martin Mason, a Quaker more

¹⁶Howgill, The Rock . . .; Niccolo Balbani, The Italian Convert (London, 1662), STC II 1395:B544; and [Samuel Butler] A Proposal Humbly Offered for the Farming of Liberty of Conscience (London, 1662), STC II 1089:B6329.

¹⁷The Jesuit's Reasons Unreasonable (1662), STC II 319:J527; John Novell, The Seditious Principle (London, 1662), STC II 1489:N1421a; Boreman, Hypocrasie . . ., and Foulis, The History . . .

¹⁸Ibid.

than once jailed for his beliefs,¹⁹ the pamphlet is a warning to Catholics not to become haughty. Mason feels that Catholics have toleration enough, plus a friendly disposition to their party at court. His fear that Catholics might subvert the king and cause him to persecute all other religions is shared by other writers at this time, although it is not widely circulated in the literature reviewed thus far.²⁰ Mason goes on to inform his readers that Quakers bear no evil toward Catholics (a sentiment probably not shared by Francis Howgill, the author of the vindication of Quakers against Catholicism), and hopes they will not try to destroy Quakers. Finally, he admonishes the Romanists not to seek more influence than they already have.²¹ Thus, in a quiet way, Mason sums up both the fear and derision aimed at Catholics by his literate contemporaries. Despite his status as a jailed dissenter, he feels his opinion worthy enough that the furtive Catholics should hear his warnings. And his signal fear is that Catholics might have influence at court. This fear will assume a more ominous dimension in 1667.

The Aftermath: Unofficial Toleration?

After 1662, concern about Catholics dissipated as quickly as it had arisen. Only seven anti-Catholic books appeared in 1663, and just

¹⁹See Mason, STC II 720:M929 and M931, M932.

²⁰Edward Powell, The Danger of the Errors of Rulers (1662), STC II 1408:P3046a; and John Tombes, The Oath Book (London, 1662), STC II 1390:T1817.

²¹Mason, p. 4.

six in 1664. If it were not for the substantial increase in literature about Catholicism in 1662, it would almost seem that Catholics did not trouble the thoughts of the English people at all.

The Catholic-oriented works printed in 1663-1664 are very like the previous years in form and content: There were two tracts defending Catholics from criticism, some outlining the differences between Catholicism and another religion, and more attacking the Catholics for political or theological deficiencies.²² Only two works seem very different. One, already noted in Chapter I, accuses Catholic priests of practicing sorcery. The other work is unique in its unwilling depiction of the sincerity of some English Catholics.

In The Lord's Arm Stretched Out, James Barrow recounts the story of an unfortunate young man possessed by an evil spirit. After some months the boy becomes well, so his father apprentices him (unfortunately, the pamphlet does not indicate in what trade) out to a Catholic. When the boy falls ill again, the Catholic master suggests that the boy's father take him to Catholic priests to find a cure. Although the father is not of any religious persuasion (the indication is that he is a lapsed Anglican), he is suspicious of Catholicism, but

²²A Letter to a Person of Honour in London from an Old Cavalier (1663), STC II 1152:M29; and Christopher Harvey, Faction Supplanted (London, 1663), STC II 1571:H1043a; Thomas Pierce, The Primitive Rule of Reformation (1663), STC II 727:P2191; Peter Du Moulin the Younger, A Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion (London, 1664), STC II 1382:D2571; and Howgill, Truth . . .; Richard Carpenter, Rome in Her Fruits (1663), STC II 841:C626; D., J.D., The Pope's Posie (1663), STC II 1548:D50; Papists Discovered to the King (London, 1663), STC II 223:P4030; Antoine Arnauld, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism (London, 1664), STC II 1029:A3729; and Daniel Whitby, Romish Doctrines (London, 1664), STC II 1136:W1736, for example.

takes the boy to Queen's Chapel at Westminster, anyway. There the Catholic priests, over the father's objections that such actions are non-scriptural, have the lad recite a prayer to Saint James to exorcise the demon. The father relates that, despite this cure lasting for less than twenty-four hours, Catholic worshippers flocked around the boy, in awe of this miracle. To the contemptuous father, this is a clear sign of their superstitiousness. Suspicious that the priests are trying to convert the boy to Catholicism, the father takes him to a gathering of Friends (Quakers), where the boy is cured permanently through group fasting and prayer.²³

This pamphlet is an obvious propaganda piece for the Quakers, yet it has features of interest grounded in reality. The style suggests that these events, although embellished, did take place and also suggest first-hand experience, possibly the author's own. The author, though suspicious of Catholicism, cannot make the Catholic master out to be a bad person. The priests, too, although unsympathetically portrayed, are obviously concerned for the child's well-being, even though he is not of their faith.

This account suggests that, despite whatever terrors Catholicism as an institution or as a foreign political influence held for Protestants during the early Restoration, individual Catholics are not considered an immediate threat. The master could openly practice a trade, even apprentice a Protestant, and remain unmolested. The

²³James Barrow, The Lord's Arm Stretched Out (1664), pp. 1-20, STC II 1454:B965.

Queen's priests, too, could practice their religion and receive others not of their faith, and perhaps could proselytize, although the Queen's priests were allowed this privilege because they were servants of the royal household. Still, in the early years of King Charles II's reign, the penal laws against Catholics were very slackly enforced.²⁴ The brief flurry of anti-Catholicism which ensued during the debate over toleration did not disturb the peace of the nation. Unofficial toleration was the norm in the immediate years after 1662.

Factors of Crisis in the Settlement of 1662

Why is it that the furor over toleration in 1662 did not blossom into a crisis? Applying Robin Clifton's thesis, animosity to Catholics did not grow into a crisis because the Catholics did not achieve toleration. If Catholics had gained an official repeal of the ban against their religion, this might have incited even moderate Anglicans to open hostility. This seems plausible, if somewhat circular, reasoning. Still, if we grant that the leap in total literature about Catholics printed in 1662 indicates a genuine concern over the possibility of Catholic toleration, it might be argued that the concern was mollified by Parliament's quick action in refusing the king's request, and this in turn quashed the public debate before it could gather energy.

It should also be reiterated that Protestant authors expended much of their energy at this time trying to disassociate their sects from

²⁴Hutton, pp. 166-167.

Catholicism. Catholic practices are mistakenly or maliciously attributed to dissenting groups, and Jesuits are implicated in many dissenting machinations. Perhaps the actual Catholics did not occupy the thoughts of these authors, concerned as they were with making sure that no one thought they were Catholic. But if confidence in the government's anti-Catholic stance faltered, would the Protestant authors continue battling amongst themselves?

CHAPTER III

GOD'S JUDGEMENT STILL THREATEN'D¹: PLAGUE, FIRE, AND
ANTI-CATHOLIC REACTION, 1665-1667

The Plague: God's Judgement or Human Conspiracy?

The plague that struck London in 1665 was one of the most severe outbreaks in England in the past hundred years; it was also to be the last, although the typical Englishman had no way of knowing it that dreadful summer season. The characteristic reaction in print was to attribute the plague to the wrath of God, visited upon London for a variety of sins: for pride, for turning away from the Lord, for allowing "Rebel Republicans" to stir up civil war in the previous two decades, or for not listening to the Quakers, who smugly assured Londoners that worse was yet to come if Friends continued to be persecuted.² With such a calamity fallen upon the capital city and other parts of England, the English Catholics had something of respite from attacks in print: Only four anti-Catholic works appear to have

¹Daniel Roe, God's Judgement Still Threaten'd (London, 1666), STC II 1535:R1773a.

²Matthew Mead, An Appendix to Solomon's Prescription for the Plague (1667), pp. 135-140, STC II 768:M1544; Thomas Clarke, Meditations in My Confinement (1666), STC II 1523:C4562; William Bridge, The Righteous Man's Habitation in Times of Plague (1665), STC II 1565:B4460; John Crouch, London's Bitter-Sweet-Cup (1666), STC II 1001:C7304; P. Dorman, The Super-Eminency (1666), STC II 1483:D1929a, and Mead.

been printed that year, and none blamed the Catholics for the plague.³

If, as Clifton suggests, any major upheaval in the life of the nation results in outbreaks of anti-Catholicism, why did this plague not bring forth a great surge of anti-Catholic feeling? In fact, Michael Finlayson does claim that historians, preachers, and others charged the Catholics with culpability for the plague, but he cites no specific works to support his assertion.⁴ The only evidence found in this study relating Catholicism to the plague comes from 1564: The Marian persecutions elicited the prediction of a retributive plague sent by God.⁵ But divine punishment is hardly the same as human machinations, and this prediction dates from a century earlier, anyway. Even assuming that Finlayson's claim is correct, and Catholics were held responsible for the plague, there is still a considerable amount of literature on the plague that does not blame the Catholics.⁶

If Catholics were not blamed for the plague, was this because of a scientific understanding of the plague? Did contemporaries consider it

³Meric Casanbon, Concerning the New Way of Infallibility . . . (London, 1665), STC II 841:C811; Thomas Mall, A Cloud of Witnesses (1665), STC II 1063:M333, and Mall, A Cloud of Witnesses . . . Second Part (London, 1665), STC II 1487:M331; Jonas Porre, The Degenerate Plant (London, 1665), STC II 1408:P2980.

⁴Finlayson, p. 125.

⁵Bernard Capp, English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press (New York, 1979), p. 157.

⁶Works cited in Note 2 above, Humphrey Brooke, Cautionary Rules for Preventing the Sickness (London, 1665), STC II 1089:B4903; Thomas See, A Discourse Concerning the Sovereign Internal Balsom (1665), STC II 1431:S2405; London's Plague-Sore Discovered (London, 1665), STC II 328:P2336 are some examples.

unlikely that the plague could be purposely released and spread by man? This is difficult to answer with precision. Most of the literature on the plague calls it an act of God. The specific nature of this infectious disease was far from clearly understood. "This malignant and occult quality of the plague lieth chiefly in the Spirits, or spiritual parts of the blood,"⁷ and the principal means of combatting it was through prayer, although other more esoteric solutions were suggested.⁸

If the plague was seen primarily as an act of God, it does not seem likely that Catholics would be blamed for it. But the possibility of blaming the plague on deliberate human activity cannot be ruled out, given the imprecise understanding contemporaries had of the disease. And considering that the outbreak of the plague drove the government out of London,⁹ and that at its highest the mortality rate reached 7,000 plague deaths a week,¹⁰ this pestilence had all the earmarks of crisis.

Assuming the outbreak of the plague was a crisis situation, we still have only Finlayson's claim that Catholics were blamed for it. There is no evidence that they were blamed. Clifton's thesis does not

⁷Theophile Garencieres, A Mite Cast into the Treasury (London, 1666, Third Edition), STC II 1402:G257, p. 4.

⁸See Sir Richard Barker, Seasonable Advice (London, 1665), STC II 1395:B778; J.D., Food and Physick for Every Household (London, 1665), STC II 1548:D88, and See, for examples.

⁹Hutton, p. 226.

¹⁰London's Dreadful Visitation: A Collection of the Bills of Mortality for the Year 1665 (London, 1666?), p. 79, STC II 426:L2926.

seem to hold true here. A possible explanation for this lapse is that, while Englishmen certainly thought the outbreak of the plague was critical, it was not uncommon. True, it was killing large numbers of people and had driven the court to abandon the capital. But this was a familiar threat; it had recurred several times through the course of the century. This was a blow from which recovery was possible.

Perhaps the English simply could not see any logic in the thought that the plague might be a Catholic plot. What could possibly be the goal of such a scheme? To kill off the capital's population? Londoners had experienced this trauma before, and while a grim and haggard business, the plague was endurable. Could the Catholic plan be to drive the national government from the capital? How could this benefit the Catholics? As long as they, too, were susceptible to the deadly touch of the pestilent air they could not hope to capture the capital, no matter how many men they brought. In short, there was no logical reason for the Catholics to set loose plague in London. Whatever ingrained fears English Protestants may have had of Catholics, those fears do not seem to have much impaired their ability to reason.

It should be noted that the above reasoning is very similar to the views that Bishop Burnet and some of his friends took on the Great Fire of London two years later.¹¹ In the case of the Fire this was not the majority view. Why was the fire different? One factor was the overall confidence of the nation in the government. Charles's flight from

¹¹Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times (Oxford, second edition, 1833), vol. 1, p. 426.

London certainly did not help morale. If the government's reputation suffered further loss of esteem, how would this affect popular attitudes toward Catholicism?

Scapegoats or Insurgents: Placing Blame for the Great Fire

Although Catholics came to be almost universally blamed for the Great Fire of London in 1666, during the days in early September when the fire raged, speculations on the culprits ran to all enemies, or suspected enemies, of England; Irish, French, Dutch, and fanatics were all rumored to have been the arsonists.¹² A declaration by Charles II shortly after the fire started blamed only God and an east wind, and other authors drew similar conclusions.¹³ Still, it cannot be denied that Catholics were the prime suspects, as Pepys's and Burnet's writings from this time make clear.¹⁴ Once Robert Hubert confessed to doing the deed at the instigation of French Catholics, all suspicions were confirmed, despite negative conclusions in the investigation by Parliament into the circumstances of the fire.¹⁵

From this point on suspicions against Catholics only grew stronger. The debate in print over the possibility of toleration for

¹²Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (hereafter CSPD), 1666, pp. 103, 109, 110, 116, 124.

¹³Charles II, Declaration to His City London Upon . . . the Fire (London, 1666), STC II 863:C3004; Robert Elborough, London's Calamity (London, 1666), STC II 1091:E320; [Samuel Wiseman], A . . . Narrative of London's Fatal Fire (1667), STC 512:S3551.

¹⁴Burnet, vol. 1, pp. 421-425; Samuel Pepys, Diary, entry for Sept. 6, 1666.

¹⁵Miller, p. 104; Hutton, p. 249.

Catholics was renewed in the years following the fire. Leading Protestant authors for the most part discontinued accusing each other's sect of Popish tendencies and renewed the vigor of their direct attacks on Catholicism. But Catholics did not attract this opprobrium only because an ill wind fanned the fire of London and an unstable pseudo-Catholic confessed to setting it; there also appeared an increasing fear that Catholics influenced the actions of the king's court.

A pamphlet entitled A True and Faithful Account appeared in 1667, and was reprinted in different form that same year, and was reprinted yet again in later years.¹⁶ The pamphlet purported to be a reprint of the proceedings of the committee appointed by Parliament to investigate the fire; it was not, however, an official document, since the report of the committee was not authorized to be released to the public.¹⁷ In this pamphlet, depositions given by citizens of London and surrounding areas concerning suspicious actions they had seen or conversations they had overheard about the fire were reprinted. Robert Hubert's confession was revealed to a general readership through this pamphlet. But also revealed--besides fantastic stories of Catholics having armies 40,000 strong ready to fall upon England¹⁸--was the complicity of the king's personal bodyguards in helping accused "fireballers" to escape

¹⁶A True and Faithful Account (London, 1667), STC II 1216:T2470; London's Flames Discovered (London, 1667), STC II 793:L2928; London's Flames (1679), STC II 793:L2929; and Trap ad Crucem (1670), STC II 518:T2029.

¹⁷Miller, p. 104.

¹⁸A True . . ., p. 27.

from authorities.¹⁹ Indeed, even King Charles and his brother James were indirectly implicated; both were rumored to be under the influence of Catholics.²⁰ In other parts of the country similar reports that the king, the Duke of York, or the entire army were under Catholic control also surfaced.²¹

Modern historians have been oddly unconcerned about these allegations. Most benignly accept that the general hysteria provoked by Catholic association with the fire is sufficient cause to explain these disloyal assertions. But is irrational fear truly a satisfactory explanation for the publication of the fire committee's findings, in direct contravention of Charles II's wishes? Secret government documents are rarely leaked to the press by disinterested parties. Rather than blaming such a release on irrational fears, it seems more likely that someone purposely released this report to continue agitation over Catholics and perhaps to cause Charles embarrassment. It seems undeniable that someone in Parliament (perhaps on the fire committee) released these depositions without authorization. Such action suggests prior thought and planning, rather than the absence thereof. It is indicative of rational, rather than irrational, response.

We can be certain that confidence in the government, and in Charles's aptitude for governing, had been shaken by the fire and other

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 18-19, 23-32.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹CSPD, 1666-1667, pp. 417, 568; CSPD, 1667, pp. 109, 363-364, 409.

issues--especially the reversals suffered in the Dutch war, sluggish trade, and rumors of the court's debauchery. Perhaps Charles also did not appear to share his subjects' fears of Catholics. In 1667 Charles did direct tighter controls to be put on recusants, and the oaths of supremacy and allegiance (which most devout Catholics could not in good conscience take) were henceforward to be administered to all army officers.²² But after this, Charles seemed little worried over Catholics, as references to them in the Calendar of State Papers drop from a total of eighty-six in 1666 to eighteen in 1669.²³ From 1668 through 1673 references to Catholics average only seventeen a year.²⁴ These numerical comparisons suggest that Charles--and the government--shared little of his subjects' apprehensions about Catholicism in the years after the fire.

The Literature of Anti-Catholicism, 1667

The thoughts of Charles's literate subjects may have been more and more focused on Catholics. Of the twenty-two tracts printed about Catholicism in 1667, eighteen were anti-Catholic diatribes. Some titles reveal the aggressively antagonistic attitudes of these Protestant authors, such as The Fiery Jesuits Temper and Behaviour and

²²Miller, pp. 105-106.

²³These totals were arrived at by checking through the CSPD index for references to the terms Catholic, English Catholic, and Irish Catholic, as well as related terms: Jesuits, papacy, papists, Pope, Popery, Popish, priest, recusant, Roman, Rome, and Romish.

²⁴The totals for these years are as follows: 1668--27, 1669--18, 1670--25, 1671--13, 1672--3, 1673--15.

The Arraignment of Popery. Others had fairly unassuming titles, such as the previously-cited A Looking Glass for England, but exploded with anti-Catholic harangues in the text. There were also scholarly works arguing against Catholics on theological grounds, although some of these titles, like The Whore Unveiled, also reveal the author's opinion in no uncertain terms.

Who were the targeted readers? The materials themselves offer clues. Of the eighteen anti-Catholic works printed in 1667, eight are under a hundred pages long and seven are under fifty. Three more are under 150 pages long. Of these eleven, only one is a theological disputation; the rest directly attack Catholics for being bloody-minded, or cast aspersions on Catholics' loyalty. Scholarship and religion are not the concern here. These authors wanted to warn their readers in as short a space as possible of the social and political dangers of Catholicism.

These are relatively short works, and the shortest ones tend to be the most inflammatory (two being A True and Faithful . . . and its reprint, and another being the lurid Looking Glass). A reasonable hypothesis is that these authors made these works short and blunt to reach as broad an audience as possible. These authors do not take up complex theological arguments. They simply attack Catholics on grounds of Catholics' complicity in the fire or other nontheological reasons. But does this make the Great Fire of London a crisis?

According to Clifton's thesis, the fire should have provoked direct anti-Catholic outbursts. According to the evidence reviewed, it

did. Some of the literature examined here also seems to verge on hysteria as reference to the material cited in Chapter I shows. The question is, was this so because the author was in a hysterical state of mind when composing an anti-Catholic piece, or did he want to promote and continue a hysterical reaction among his readers? The tone of these tracts is undeniably more hostile than the previous Catholic-scare year of 1662. But it has already been suggested that some of this literature may have been purposely released to link the government to Catholicism. Is it possible that other anti-Catholic authors were baiting the government? In 1662, the debate in print immediately died down after toleration for Catholics was refused. Following the Great Fire this debate was renewed.

CHAPTER IV

REASONS AGAINST POPERY¹; ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND THE
TOLERATION DEBATE, 1667-1673

The Problem of Toleration Prior to 1672

Most historians of popular opinions in England between 1640 and 1688 have remarked upon anti-Catholic attitudes during most of this period, but almost none seem to have attached particular importance to the debate over toleration between 1667 and 1672.² This debate was spurred by the conservative religious settlement of 1662 which disallowed the practice of all other religions save Anglicanism. Leaders of other religious groups argued for toleration for their religions, although some of these authors were puzzled as to why toleration had become such a relevant topic. John Owens, a dissenter, opens his Indulgence and Toleration Considered wondering why the number of works on toleration had recently increased.³ There had been some talk of introducing bills for toleration into parliament, although none were introduced. Nor did these bills include Catholics in their schemes.⁴ And yet, fear that Catholics might be allowed toleration was

¹William Chillingworth, Reasons Against Popery (1673, Second Edition), STC II 1523:C3889.

²Timothy Harris has, however, recently used this debate as evidence for some of his interesting interpretations of crowd behavior during this period. See Harris, pp. 81-91.

³John Owens, Indulgence and Toleration Considered (London, 1667), p. 1, STC II 431:0763.

⁴Harris, pp. 86-87.

a recurring topic. Why was there debate over toleration for Catholics in the ensuing years?

One possible explanation lies in Roger Palmer, the Earl of Castlemaine's The Humble Apology of the English Catholics, published anonymously in 1666, possibly after the fire.⁵ Its publication generated replies in print in 1667 and Castlemaine issued a rejoinder in 1668.⁶ Castlemaine's timing was certainly abominable, and after the fire it would probably have been wiser for Catholics to drop the matter, though they may have felt that silence would be akin to an admission of guilt. But was The Apology itself a sufficient affront to cause the debate?

This seems a partial explanation at best. The debate ranged far beyond The Humble Apology of the English Catholics, and it is curious that little seems to have been done to silence this controversy through official channels. Roger L'Estrange, the Surveyor General of the Press, seems never to have had sufficient personnel or funds to effectively stifle much printed matter,⁷ apparently a chronic problem of early modern governments. Charles did act to suppress The Apology,⁸ but overall, he did not take much interest in such matters, as

⁵Roger Palmer, the Earl of Castlemaine, The Humble Apology of the English Catholics (1666), STC II 19:C1249.

⁶An Answer to . . . the Humble Apology (London?, 1667), STC II 832:A3324; [William Lloyd], The Late Apology in Behalf of the Papists Reprinted and Answered (1667), STC II 732:C1244; Palmer, A Reply to the Answer of the Catholique Apology (London?, 1668), STC II 1121:C1246.

⁷George Kitchen, Sir Roger L'Estrange (London, 1913), pp. 165, 173, 176.

⁸CSPD, 1666-1667, pp. 323, 361.

L'Estrange's superior, John Berkenhead, noted.⁹ Whether this was purely an oversight by Charles, the design of someone within the government, or simply a function of the difficulty of policing print in this period cannot be determined. But the inefficiency of this department encouraged an environment of debate and speculation that, in retrospect, it would have been wiser for the government to silence.

An Atmosphere of Intrigue

At some point in 1668 both Charles and his brother James began to seriously consider converting to Catholicism.¹⁰ James soon did so. Charles's meditations on this matter eventually led to his resolution in the secret parts of the Treaty of Dover with France to proclaim publicly his conversion to Catholicism at a propitious moment.¹¹ Historians are not agreed on how seriously Charles took this commitment, some arguing that he assented to this provision simply to get money out of Louis XIV of France.¹² Be that as it may, Charles was conspiring with Catholic forces, and at least one person involved in the debate in print over Catholicism, Hugh (Serenus) Cressy, the Catholic controversialist, was brought into the negotiations by Lord Clifford to facilitate plans for the expansion of Catholicism into England.¹³

⁹P. W. Thomas, Sir John Berkenhead (Oxford, 1969), p. 219.

¹⁰Miller, pp. 108-116.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 114.

In the aftermath of the Great Fire of London, rumors circulated that the king, the Duke of York, the court, and the army were under the influence of papists. Such rumors persisted in literate circles, if not in literature, after 1667. Bishop Burnet noted in 1668 that the Duchess of York was suspected of Popery,¹⁴ and by 1672 he writes that the whole nation was alarmed by the possibility of Catholicism at court.¹⁵

It is a provocative coincidence that in the exact same paragraph in which Burnet comments on the Duchess of York's religious persuasions, he also observes that, "at this time, the court fell into much extravagance in masquerading."¹⁶ King, queen, and all the court it seems, went about in masks, even to "houses unknown." Given the restoration playwrights' penchant for plays about mistaken identities and other concealments and skullduggeries,¹⁷ and the distractions fashionable at court, it is not too far a leap to suggest that this was the atmosphere in literate circles as well.

Despite the air of mystery and melodrama at court, Bishop Burnet still caught hints about the Duchess of York and Catholicism, and this when he was only infrequently in England (his diocese at that time being in Scotland). What Burnet could observe from afar, others closer

¹⁴Burnet, vol. 1, p. 483.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 563-566; vol. 2, p. 2.

¹⁶Burnet, vol. 1, p. 482.

¹⁷J. L. Styan, Restoration Comedy in Performance (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 1-19, 201-203, especially 232-234; also Norman N. Holland, The First Modern Comedies (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959), pp. 45-63.

to home could possibly notice, too. Thus, it seems probable that anti-Catholic writers of this period were aware that more was going on at court than was openly acknowledge. But if the mood of the times was given to misdirection, would these authors guilelessly announce their suspicions?

The Toleration Debate and Anti-Catholicism, 1667-1671

Prior to the Great Fire, some non-Catholic authors argued for toleration for Catholics as well as other non-conformists.¹⁸ After the fire, no one but a Catholic was willing to argue for toleration for Catholics in print. Anti-Catholicism was now more prevalent in print than before the fire. Was this due to continuing irrational fears?

Some tracts released during this period were violently anti-Catholic, especially anonymous works and those by Quakers (one by George Fox the Elder, the leader of the Quakers, was reviewed in Chapter I). Some of the anonymous pamphlets printed during the years 1667-1673 were The Jesuites Intrigues (1669), A Letter from the Devil (1670), and Room for News or News from Rome (1673). In general, anonymous anti-Catholic works are more vitriolic than those whose authorship is acknowledged, befitting an atmosphere of masquerade and misdirection. The Jesuites Intrigues could even be construed as a veiled warning to Charles II, as it purported to be a manual for Jesuits on how to gain control of rulers and how to bilk wealthy dupes

¹⁸[Thomas Hewley], Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned, 1662, STC II 1463:H1413a.

of their riches.¹⁹ The other two tracts were apolitical, although both accuse the pope of having an unholy alliance with the devil.²⁰ Room for News even features a passage where the devil drinks a toast to the pope with the blood of Protestants.²¹ But provocative as this literature was, it only appeared sporadically. The greater mass of literature was produced by leaders in religion, be they Anglican or non-conformist. Also at this time, Catholic authors published more frequently as well.²²

Catholic authors may have provoked Protestant authors to continue the debate. The principal Catholic authors--John Sergeant, John Vincent Canes, Hugh Cressy, and Edward Worsley--boldly engaged the Protestant clergy, frequently making personal remarks about them in their prefaces.²³ This aggressiveness by the Catholics may have alarmed the Protestant authors; these authors may also have perceived the Catholics' vigor and seeming fearlessness of prosecution as another clue that Catholics were not in ill-favor with all Englishmen, particularly those with royal blood in their veins.

The Protestant response to Catholic writings at this time was a unanimous condemnation of Catholicism in print. Protestant authors no

¹⁹The Jesuites Intrigues (London, 1669), pp. 2-36, STC II 423:J717.

²⁰A Letter from the Devil (1670?), STC II 1152:L1517; Room for News or News from Rome (1673), pp. 1-8, STC II 1389:R1926.

²¹Room for News or News from Rome, p. 8.

²²On average, two tracts a year appeared before the fire, four a year after.

²³See [John Sergeant], A Letter of Thanks (Paris, 1666), STC II 511:S2294a; [David Abercromby], Scolding No Scholarship (1669), STC II 1194:A87; [John Vincent Canes], Three Letters Declaring the Strange Odd Proceedings . . . (Douay?, 1671), STC II 933:C436; [Canes], To Catholico Stillingfleeton (1672), STC II 911:C433 for examples.

longer accused one another of Popish tendencies. Now all turned their venom against the Catholics. There was still considerable debate over whether toleration should be extended to dissenting Protestant religious groups, but even in these debates Catholicism was universally considered unworthy of toleration. Richard Baxter, premier spokesman for the Presbyterians and sometime opponent of Anglican controversialist Edward Stillingfleet, could agree with Stillingfleet that Catholics did not deserve toleration.²⁴ They were joined in this sentiment by many others: Gilbert Burnet, William Lloyd, John Tillitson, Jeremy Taylor, John Menzies, and Matthew Poole are some of the Anglican clergy and professors who wrote against Catholicism in this period. George Fox the Elder was joined by George Whitehead and William Penn among others in the Quaker condemnation of Catholicism. Among dissenting clergy, William Chillingworth, Samuel Rolle, George Hughes, and others wrote against Catholicism.²⁵

Were all these religious men motivated by irrational fears to expatiate against the Catholics? Some of these authors do sound

²⁴Cf. Richard Baxter, The Certainty of Christianity Without Popery (London, 1672), STC II 53:B1213 with Edward Stillingfleet, A Discourse Concerning Idolatry (London, 1672), STC II 751:S5578a.

²⁵See Gilbert Burnet, Rome's Glory (1673), STC II 1566:B5868; William Lloyd, The Late Apology . . .; John Tillitson, A Sermon Lately Preached (London, 1673), STC II 553:T1223; Jeremy Taylor, A Dissuasive from Popery (1668, Fourth Edition), STC II 803:T322; John Menzies, Papismus Lucifugus (1668), STC II 795:M1725; Matthew Poole, The Nullity of the Romish Faith (three editions in 1667), STC II 1338:P2845a; Fox, The Arraignment . . .; George Whitehead, The Popish Informer Reprehended (London, 1670), STC II 930:W1946; William Penn, A Seasonable Caveat Against Popery (London?, 1670), STC II 328:P1359; Chillingworth, Reasons . . .; Samuel Rolle, London's Resurrection (London, 1668), STC II 1409:R1879; and George Hughes, Sure-Footing in Christianity (London, 1668), STC II 536:H3309 for examples.

hysterical in their anti-Catholic compositions, especially Fox. But most are quite scholarly (if not reasonable) in their presentations, appearing not at all like men in the grip of paranoia. Edward Stillingfleet begins A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith quite calmly, with a statement of problems to be addressed in this treatise: "There are two great Pleas for the necessity of Infallibility in the Roman Church, one to make an end to Controversies, the other to lay a sufficient Foundation for divine Faith . . . I shall now proceed to the latter; with a particular respect to those Adversaries, who have undertaken the Defence of the Cause of the Church of Rome against me in this Controversie." The bulk of the text is in a similarly scholarly vein, although Stillingfleet does not resist tossing an occasional jibe at his opponents. Referring to the works of E. W. (probably Edward Worsley), Stillingfleet fears, ". . . if either of his books against me were to be thrown at my head; for they are very thick and heavy as possible. And to my great comfort, I never yet saw two such bulky books, whose substance might be brought into a less compass; for setting aside Tautologies and tedious repetitions, frequent excursions and impertinent digressions, the pith and marrow of both his books lies in this one word Infallibility."²⁶ Stillingfleet might have had contempt for his Catholic adversaries, but he was not panicked by them.

These authors did have legitimate fears. The Anglicans all had a vested interest in maintaining their religion's predominance: not only

²⁶Edward Stillingfleet, A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith (1673), pp. 295-296, 330, STC II 780:S5634.

was it their faith, it was also their means of financial support. The dissenting clergy also feared that should Catholicism gain ascendancy in England they would be persecuted much more severely,²⁷ having witnessed the persecutions of Protestants in France and Spain. These men obviously feared that a toleration for Catholics might lead to its eventual reconquest of their "scept'red isle." Was this an irrational fear?

It has already been suggested that others besides Bishop Burnet had heard rumors and had suspicions about Catholicism at the court. Consider that Hugh Cressy was involved in the king's conversion scheme. He may have informed other prominent Catholics, such as his fellow Catholic authors. This might explain the somewhat greater number of Catholic tracts printed in this period, and the insolence some of these authors show to their Anglican opponents. Of those opponents, some also had connections at court. Edward Stillingfleet dedicated one of his anti-Catholic books to the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1673, while Shaftesbury was part of the Privy Council. The dedication thanks Shaftesbury for "past favors" and praises his dedicated opposition to Catholicism as an example of firmness in a righteous cause.²⁸ Years later, William Lloyd was a principal interrogator of prisoners involved in the Popish Plot. Both men also knew Burnet and were in contact with him in the latter half of the 1660s and early 1670s.²⁹

²⁷See Fox; Mason; D., J.D., The Pope's Posie; Richard Baxter, The Difference Between the Power of Magistrates (London, 1671), STC II 200:B1243 for examples of this fear.

²⁸Edward Stillingfleet, A Second Discourse, "dedicatory remarks."

²⁹Burnet, Life . . ., vol. 1, p. 423, vol. 2, pp. 25-27.

These clerics may well have had their suspicions about the court as well.

Timothy Harris has recently argued that attacks on bawdy houses in London in 1668 were actually a symbolic attack by dissenters on the Catholicism and licentiousness at court.³⁰ If London apprentices had suspicions about the king, why should members of the clergy connected to the court have been any less informed? The dissenters' indirect method of protest also fits in with the interpretation that this was a time when misdirection was favored over confrontation.

Given this, it is possible that the Protestant authors were indirectly rebuking the king and his court in their attacks on Catholicism in this period. Although the evidence for this assertion is all circumstantial, it must be remembered that by an act passed in 1661 it was a serious offense to accuse the king of being a Catholic. This alone would be cause enough to proceed cautiously, even if the mood of the times did not favor intrigue. But if any Anglican clergy were apprehensive that the king was enamored of Catholicism, what would they do? It is probable that they would do precisely what these clergy did. Writing anti-Catholic literature would not only be an indirect warning to the king, it would also continue to incite opposition to Catholicism. Rather than being in the grip of hysteria, it seems likely that these authors wished to stir up hysteria.

It must also be remembered that in the three potential crises we have studied so far, direct involvement of Catholicism is necessary

³⁰Harris, London Crowds, pp. 82-91; Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668," History, 29, no. 3 (1986), pp. 537-556.

before Catholics are blamed for the event. Debate over toleration for Catholics quickly died out in 1662 after the king acquiesced in Parliament's denial of toleration. No connection between Catholics and the plague seems to have been made by the English. The Great Fire of London had many suspected perpetrators until a supposed Catholic confessed to having set it. It is possible that hostility toward Catholics continued in the late 1660s because of Hubert's confession to that deed, but considering that rumors of Catholicism at court continued for at least two years after the fire, we may postulate that it was those rumors, not the memory of the fire, to which anti-Catholic authors were reacting. If the clergy did not believe the rumors about the court, why did they not print refutations? Because they did believe them. And it is their belief in those rumors that keeps an anti-Catholic stream of literature flowing in the years after the fire.

The Crisis over Toleration, 1672-1673

By 1672 no one wanted toleration for Catholics except Catholics and King Charles II. Whether Charles's motives were altruistic or selfish, it was an extremely foolish gesture to extend toleration to Catholics at this time. The rumors of the king's Catholicism were all but confirmed by the Declaration of Indulgence. Coupled with the outrage over the promiscuousness at court and the disquiet over Charles's allying England with France, this move must have plunged the already shaken confidence of the nation's Protestants to immeasurable depths of apprehension.

Literate Catholics, somewhat rashly, appear to have bounded to new heights of confidence because of this short-lived event. At least ten pro-Catholic tracts were released in 1672, the highest total for any year in this study. In fact, there were more pro-Catholic tracts than there were anti-Catholic tracts in 1672.³¹

No doubt this outpouring of literature from the supposed agents of Rome alarmed the literate Protestants more than any suspicions they had had previously, for twenty anti-Catholic tracts appeared in 1673. Some are theological discourses, some are histories of the treachery of Jesuits in the Civil War, some outline reasons why Catholicism is incompatible with monarchy, and others warn of the dire consequences for Protestants should Catholicism gain a foothold in England.³² Nothing new is presented here, nothing that had not already been expressed in 1662 and 1667, except for one piece: An account of The Burning of the Whore of Babylon, at Poultreys on Guy Fawkes Day. This is the first account we have of this specific ritual being used to celebrate the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The pamphlet details the procession and eventual burning of an effigy of the pope by an unidentified group of apprentices, to the delight of a great crowd.³³

³¹There are ten pro-Catholic tracts in 1672 and nine anti-Catholic tracts.

³²See Stillingfleet, A Second . . .; Samuel Colville, The Grand Imposter Discovered (Edinburgh, 1673), STC II 348:C5425; [Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon], Animadversions Upon . . . the Fanaticism . . . Imputed to the Catholic Church (London, 1673), STC II 1:C4414; Popery Absolutely Destructive to Monarchy (London, 1673), STC II 1042:P2920; The Character of a Papist (1673), STC II 1588:2C1982; and The Anatomy of Popery (London, 1673), STC II 340:A3058a for examples.

³³The Burning of the Whore of Babylon (1673), STC II 910:B5965; O. W. Furlley, "The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," History, 59, no. 150 (1959), pp. 16-23.

This event suggests that greater numbers of people were concerned about Catholicism than in the previous toleration scare in 1662. That someone thought this ritual important enough to write and publish an account of it also suggests that the situation was regarded with some seriousness. But does this constitute a crisis?

The Anglican authors apparently believed it so. Gilbert Burnet, William Lloyd, Edward Stillingfleet, and John Tillitson all published anti-Catholic tracts in 1672, with Stillingfleet and Lloyd penning two works each.³⁴ The Quakers and some dissenting clergy also weighed in against Catholicism in print this year.³⁵ Many anonymous tracts or pieces by authors whose religion could not be discovered were also released at this time.³⁶

Of the Anglican authors, Burnet and Stillingfleet engaged in scholarly theological discourses against Catholicism, while Tillitson and Lloyd took an approach more designed for popular consumption. Stillingfleet, as noted before, dedicated one of his books, A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith to Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, who, after the Duke of York's Catholicism was publicly acknowledged, became the premier opponent of

³⁴Burnet, Rome's . . ., William Lloyd, A Conference Between Two Protestants . . . (London, 1673), STC II 987:L2675; Lloyd, A Seasonable Discourse (London, 1673), STC II 767:L2693; Stillingfleet, A Second . . .; Stillingfleet, An Answer to Several Late Treatises (London, 1673), STC II 751:S5559; and Tillitson, A Sermon

³⁵William Tomlinson, An Awakening Voice to the Papists (1673), STC II 676:T1845, and Chillingworth.

³⁶The Character . . .; Room for News . . ., The Burning . . .; L.B.P., Popery Manifested (1673), STC II 434:P2376.

King Charles's government. Interesting as this dedication was, the texts of Stillingfleet's works were very dry dispassionate scholarship. Burnet's work was similar. Tillitson's piece, a sermon he had preached sometime earlier, was fiery, but it was not irrational. Tillitson argued persuasively that placing faith in Catholicism was as dangerous as building a house out of unsafe materials. Lloyd's works were in the same vein.

Lloyd was especially convincing in A Seasonable Discourse Showing the Necessity of Maintaining the Established Religion, in Opposition to Popery, which ran to five editions in 1673 alone.³⁷ In twenty-five pages, Lloyd very lucidly examined ten reasons why the Anglican church must be preserved against Catholicism. Some of the reasons given were that trade would suffer, that the pope would collect tithes from England, that the loyalty of Catholics to the king could not be trusted (a message to Charles?), and finally, citing the previous massacres by Catholics in Piedmont and Ireland, Lloyd claimed that Catholics would murder all Protestants in England.³⁸ This was not hysteria working on Lloyd. He was as dispassionate as his fellow cleric Stillingfleet in one of his theological treatises against Catholicism: "If the industry we expect from . . . [the Catholics in proselytizing converts] meet not with a proportionable zeal in all true Protestants, it will not be hard to conjecture the success of a vigorous and industrious attaque, and a

³⁷Lloyd, A Seasonable Discourse. See later editions STC II 767:L2696 and 767:L2697.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 6-25.

faint and negligent defense. And therefore I think it cannot be unseasonable to offer a few motives to the stirring up of zeal and awakening the prudence of all such Protestants as fear God, and love the king, the church or themselves"39 This straightforward statement of Lloyd's goals, coupled with his brief, direct recitation of the perils of Catholicism, closing with the vision of religious carnage, was calculated to elicit a hysterical response from its readers.

In a very real sense, Charles's decision to extend toleration to Catholics was a threat to the Anglican clergy. They perceived the toleration as endangering their beliefs and livelihoods. It was not Charles's willingness to allow Catholics to practice their religion in the privacy of their homes that worried the Anglican clergy. It was what this step indicated about Charles's future plans that frightened them. The dissenting Protestant authors apparently felt the same way, given their distaste for Catholicism at this time. Most likely the general populace held similar fears, although that cannot be ascertained from this evidence.

The point that must be stressed is that the fears expressed in these religious leaders' literature--regardless of the extent they represent the opinions of this society as a whole--were legitimate. "The fears of Popery and arbitrary government that burst out in 1673 were exaggerated and inaccurate," writes John Miller, because those fears were not based on satisfactorily authenticated evidence.⁴⁰ But

³⁹Ibid., p. 1.

⁴⁰Miller, p. 120.

the necessity for firm evidence is a modern concept. The English people of this period had no reason to suppose that Catholicism was harmless to them; they had had only grief from Catholic--or suspected Catholic--monarchs since 1553. Charles II's court bore too many dangerous resemblances to his father's court on the even of the Civil War. And, in fact, whatever rumors and suspicions literate society might have heard, they were far closer to the truth than these authors might have guessed: After all, Charles had agreed to convert to Catholicism and was an admirer of Louis XIV's absolutist rule in France. Thus, historians should not dismiss the outcry--both popular and literate--against toleration for Catholics as overreaction. People had shown in 1662 and 1665 that as long as their monarch inspired trust they would behave moderately; once Charles lost this trust, all his actions were viewed, very wisely, with suspicion. In publicly arguing against Catholicism at this time these Protestant authors were sending a message to Charles, a message that in 1672-1673 was apparently taken up by the mass of the people. This was not a hysterical outburst, but a clear statement that any extension of arbitrary personal rule, that plainly seemed to go hand-in-hand with Catholicism in France and Spain, was unwelcome in England.

CHAPTER V

"THAT CURSED BROOD OF ROME"¹: CONCLUSIONS ON ANTI-CATHOLICISM
IN ENGLAND, 1660-1673

Anti-Catholicism: Irrational or Rational

The purpose of this thesis has been to apply the most widely-accepted explanation of anti-Catholic behavior in seventeenth century England to a period which had, until now, remained relatively unexamined. Using Robin Clifton's interpretation of that theory--that due to Catholics' association with many grave national threats in the relatively recent English past, seventeenth century English people had developed a fierce antagonism to Catholicism which manifested itself as irrational outbursts against Catholics during times of contemporary crises--four potential crises between the years 1660 and 1673 have been examined. What has emerged is a tableau somewhat different from that depicted by Clifton and others who propose a model of extreme and irrational fear. It appears that, though there are certainly signs of popular hysteria in the panicked response to the Great Fire of London in 1666 and the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, irrationality is not necessarily a valid description of the anti-Catholic reaction in all potential crises. In 1662, Charles's attempt to pass a toleration bill inspired some debate, but no crisis. Several minor uprisings by Fifth

¹William Dyer, Christ's Voice to London (London, 1666), p. 68, STC II 1005:D2942.

Monarchy men or others early in the Restoration were easily suppressed without inducing widespread anti-Catholicism. Nor did a horrendous outbreak of the plague in 1665, which drove the government out of London and killed thousands upon thousands of its inhabitants, bring forth any censure upon Catholics.

A patent observation is that the later events bring out anti-Catholicism while the earlier ones do not. A simple deduction would be that there is a progression of anti-Catholic feeling over time, yet this does not appear to be the case. In terms of anti-Catholic literature produced, there is a drop in totals for each year after 1662 and before 1666: seven in 1663, six in 1664, and four in 1665. This indicates that literate anti-Catholic opinion was not intensifying. It was not intensifying, that is, until the Great Fire incinerated hopes for a peaceful future.

Even in the immediate aftermath of the fire, Catholics were not exclusively singled out for blame. They were only one among several perceived enemies to be blamed for the fire. It was not until Robert Hubert confessed to the crime and proclaimed himself a Catholic that opinion truly seems to have coalesced against Catholics. Several authors in 1667 cited this confession as an irrefutable confirmation that the Catholics were the guilty party. Coinciding with this confirmation, suspicions of Catholicism at court began to surface. These rumors would persist off and on until Charles's Indulgence in 1672 would all but confirm them. Confidence in the government, lacking over a number of issues, would remain low.

Several points about the association of Catholicism and crises may now be drawn from this information. First, the nature of the crisis must lend itself to logical interpretation. The outbreak of the plague seems to have been understood as a natural occurrence or the will of God. But even if the Catholics could have been responsible for it, the plague does not seem to have been something that English people thought could further the designs of any plotters; it was too familiar a threat to raise such fears. The other potential crises had this element, although any such fears in 1662 were quickly assuaged by the government. In the fire and the furor over the Indulgence in 1672, such designs were more easily believable, especially given the rumors of Charles's Catholicism in 1672.

Second, a crisis must have at least the possibility of being precipitated by a human agent. We cannot know what might have happened had Robert Hubert not confessed to firing London. But that confession and Hubert's admission of being Catholic confirmed the suspicions against Catholics. Neither the attempted toleration of 1662 nor the plague appear to have been seriously considered as the outcome of human conspiracies, although there was some speculation that Catholics had the ear of the king in 1662. In 1672, when he personally issued a Declaration of Indulgence without going through Parliament, Charles was highly suspected of being involved in secret Catholic machinations.

Third, confidence in the government's complexion, abilities, and intentions may have been a deciding force in public reaction. Although Charles's attempt to extend toleration to other religions besides

Anglicanism in 1662 caused considerable discussion, Parliament's denial of this request and Charles's acceptance of this refusal in good grace eased the collective mind of the nation. Discussion of Catholics quickly faded from print, and fears of Catholicism at court were forgotten.

After the fire this assurance failed, and it is because of this shift in opinion that we can see how important confidence in the government can be to anti-Catholicism. The conduct of the Dutch War, the lack of trade, and the shocking behavior of Charles's Court were only some of the things that undermined public confidence in Charles. But rumors of Catholicism at court coincided with failing public belief in Charles's abilities.

Fourth, literate English society at least was not as credulous as some historians have apparently thought. Rumors of Charles's flirtation with Catholicism did have basis in fact. Men such as Bishop Burnet were in a position to hear such rumors and pass them along. Instead of assuming that these men would act impulsively on suspicions caused by these rumors, we must try to understand their position: Direct criticism of the government is rarely good policy; its result is usually more trouble for the critic than for the government. Accusing the king of Catholicism was a legal offense. Too, the atmosphere of the times may have been more suited to indirect action, as the court's pastimes and the studies of Timothy Harris suggest.

What has been argued in this thesis is that, acting out of a rational apprehension that Charles's court was converting to

Catholicism, some Anglican clerics, and leaders of other Protestant sects who doubtless had heard rumors too, took the best option available to them: indirect criticism of the king via printed attacks on Catholicism. These assaults had the advantage of being directed against a target other than the king and his court. Their works also publicized the undesirable qualities of Catholicism, and may have kept anti-Catholic feeling high.

Whether Charles recognized these anti-Catholic works as warnings to him is a moot point; if he did, he ignored them and agreed in 1670 in the secret Treaty of Dover to announce his conversion to Catholicism at a convenient moment in exchange for an alliance with Louis XIV of France and money from Louis to finance another Dutch War. Charles's decision to extend an indulgence in 1672 to non-conformists was probably a step toward declaring his own Catholicism. But reaction to this first step convinced him never to take the second.

Public backlash was immediate. The clergy and leaders of Protestant dissenting groups led the attack in print. This reaction, both literate and popular, was not an unjustified or hysterical outburst, as some historians have contended. How much the anti-Catholic sentiment was based on guesses and suspicions and how much it was based on fact and deduction is irrelevant. The suspicions were essentially correct. It is a modern assumption that suspicions must be authenticated before being acted on, an assumption that comes from living under governments whose rule is not based on personal power and discretion, as Charles's government at least partially was, and which, in all probability, Charles hoped to increase.

Ultimately it may be proved that a popular hysteria against Catholics did dominate many English people's minds in this period. But the literature of the period, while sometimes revealing exaggerated fears of Catholicism, also indicates an awareness by the authors of the nuances of Charles II's court. These authors also show good judgement in fearing Catholicism. Good, because English Protestants had no reason to trust Catholicism. The Smithfield fires under Mary Tudor, the attempted invasion by the Armada of Philip II of Spain, the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, the assassination of Henry IV of France, and the absolutism of Louis XIV--all these elements convinced English Protestants that Catholics and Catholicism were a source of evil and ruin. Such a pronouncement may offend a modern understanding of the concept of judgement--sensitized as such judgement is to the evils of prejudice--but a fear of perceived enemies is basic to the survival of humans, and human society. We may learn many lessons from the past, and one such lesson is that so many of our fears are irrational and unjustified. This is the case later in England, when prejudice against Catholics still remained after the threat that religion posed had passed. But in seventeenth century England fear of Catholicism, and especially of its presence at court, was very reasonable indeed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

All primary sources not from the Xerox Corporation's project microfilming the items in the Wing Catalogue are indicated by an *.

[Abercrombie, David], Scolding No Scholarship (1669), STC II 1194:a87.

The Anatomy of Popery (London, 1673), STC II 340:A3058a.

An Answer to . . . the Humble Apology for the English Catholics (1667), STC II 832:A3324.

Arnauld, Antoine, That Is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism (1664), STC II 1029:A3729.

[Assheton, William], Toleration Disapprov'd (London, 1670), STC II 1299:A4047.

Bacon, Nathaniel, A Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira (1665), STC II 1394:B359.

Bagshaw, Edward, A Brief Inquiry into the Infallibility of the Pope (1662), STC II 51:B404.

Balbani, Niccolo, The Italian Convert (London, 1662), STC II 1395:B544.

Barker, Sir Richard, Seasonable Advice (London, 1665), STC II 1395:B778.

Barrow, James, The Lord's Arm Stretched Out (1664), STC II 1454:B965.

Baxter, Richard, The Certainty of Christianity without Popery (London, 1672), STC II 53:B1213.

_____. The Difference between the Power of Magistrates . . . (London, 1671), STC II 200:B1243.

_____. Fair Warning . . . Second Part (1663), STC II 1116:B1264.

_____. The Judgement of Richard Baxter upon . . . a Proposition for the Safety of the King (1667), STC II 201:B1290.

_____. Mr. Richard Baxter, His Account to His Dearly Beloved (London, 1662), STC II 200:B1179.

- _____. Sacrilegious Desertion (1672), STC II 201:B1378.
- _____. The Saints Everlasting Rest, (1669, Tenth Edition), STC II 1194:B1392a.
- Bentham, Joseph, A Dissuasive from Error (1669), STC II 1274:B1909.
- The Best Fence Against Popery (1670), STC II 1349:B2056.
- Bishop, George, An Illumination to Open the Eyes of the Papists . . . (London, 1661), STC II 885:B2994.
- Booker, John, Telescopium Unanicum (1666), STC II 1560:A1352.
- Boreman, Robert, Hypocrisie Unvail'd and Jesuitisme Unmaskt (1662), STC II 810:B3756.
- Bos, Lambert van den, An Exact History of England from William to Charles II (London, 1662), STC II 1586:B3777d.
- Bossuet, Jacques, An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church (Paris, 1672), STC II 1455:B3782.
- Bramshall, John, A Just Vindication of the Church of England (London, 1661), STC II 1456:B4227.
- Brathwaite, Richard, The History of Moderation (1669), STC II 1456:B4264.
- Bridge, William, The Righteous Man's Habitation in Times of Plague (1665), STC II 1565:B4460.
- Brevint, Daniel, The Depth and Mystery of the Roman Mass (Oxford, 1672), STC II 205:B4420.
- Brooke, Humphrey, Cautionary Rules for Preventing the Sickness (London, 1665), STC II 1089:B4903.
- Brookes, Thomas, A Heavenly Cordial (1666), STC II 1417:B4948.
- Bullingham, Nicolas, A Paraenesis to the Dissenting Clergy (1665), STC II 1501:B5424.
- *Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time (6 vols.; Oxford, 1833, Second Edition).
- _____. A Modest Conference Betwixt a Conformist and a Nonconformist (Edinburgh?, 1669), STC II 1378:B5834.
- _____. Rome's Glory (1673), STC II 1566:B5868.

The Burning of the Whore of Babylon as It Was Acted at Poultre . . .
(1673), STC II 910:B5965.

[Butler, Samuel], A Proposal Humbly Offered for the Farming of Liberty
of Conscience (London, 1662), STC II 1089:B6329.

*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660-1673 (London, 1860-1902).

Canes, John Vincent, An Account of Dr. Stillingfleet's Latest Book
(1672), STC II 347:C426.

_____. To Catholico Stillingfleeton (1672), STC II 911:C433.

_____. Diaphanta; or, Three Attendants on Fiat Lux (Douay, 1665), STC
II 911:C427.

_____. Fiat Lux; or, Let There Be Light (London, 1662, Second
Edition), STC II 911:C430.

_____. Three Letters Declaring the Strange Odd Proceedings of
Protestant Divines . . . Against Catholics (Douay?, 1671), STC II
933:C436.

Caron, Raymond, Loyalty Asserted (London, 1662), STC II 1279:C609.

Carpenter, Richard, Rome in Her Fruits . . . (1662), STC II 841:C626.

Casanbon, Meric, Concerning the New way of Infallibility Lately
Delivered to Uphold the Catholics Cause (London, 1665), STC II
841:C811.

[Castlemaine, Roger Palmer, Earl of], The Humble Apology of the English
Catholicks to All Royalists . . . (1666), STC II 19:C1249.

_____. A Reply to the Answer of the Catholique Apology (London?,
1668), STC II 1121:C1246.

A Catholick's Resolution (London, 1668), STC II 1201:C1500.

Cawdry, David, Bowing to the Altar (London, 1661), STC II 1457:C1623.

The Character of a Papist (1673), STC II 1588:C1982.

Charles II, Charles II's Declaration to His City London upon . . . the
Fire (London, 1666), STC II 863:C3004.

_____. A Proclamation . . . of Popery . . . (London, 1672/1673), STC
II 1566:C2596a.

_____. A Proclamation for the Suppression of Popery (London, 1673),
STC II 1566:3515a.

- Chillingworth, William, Reasons against Popery (1673, Second Edition),
STC II 1523:C3589.
- [Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of], Animadversions upon Fanaticism
Fanatically Imputed to the Catholic Church (London, 1673), STC II
21:C4414.
- Clark, Samuel, A True and Full Narrative of Those Two Never to Be
Forgotten Deliverances (London, 1668), STC II 733:C4559.
- Clarke, Thomas, Meditations in My Confinement when My Home Was Visited
with the Sickness (1666), STC II 1523:C4562.
- Coale, Josiah, The Whore Unveiled (London, 1667), STC II 1523:C4760a.
- C[ollop], J[ohn], Charity Commended, or a Catholick Christian Soberly
Instructed (1667), STC II 958:C5391.
- Colville, Samuel, The Grand Imposter Discovered (Edinburgh, 1673), STC
II 348:C5425.
- [Corbet, John], A Discourse of the Religion of England (London, 1667),
STC II 486:C6252.
- . A Second Discourse of the Religion of England (London, 1668),
STC II 865:C6263.
- [Cressy, Hugh Paulin], A Collection of Several Treatises in Answer to
Dr. Stillingfleet (1672), STC II 1548:C6891.
- . Dr. Stillingfleet's Principles of Protestantism Considered
(Paris, 1671), STC II 1000:C6892.
- . Fanaticism Fanatically Imputed by Dr. Stillingfleet to the
Catholic Religion (Douay?, 1672), STC II 812:C6898.
- Crouch, John, London's Bitter-Sweet Cup (1666), STC II 1001:C7304.
- D., J.D., The Pope's Posie (1663), STC II 1548:D50.
- D., T., Food and Physick for Every Household in Plague Time (London,
1665), STC II 1548:D88.
- [Derby, Charles Stanley, Earl of], The Jesuites Policy to Suppress
Monarchy (1669), STC II 488:D1086.
- . Truth Triumphant in a Dialogue Between a Papist and a Quaker
(1669), STC II 959:D1090b.
- A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity (London, 1671, Third Edition), STC
II 893:P460.

Dorman, P., The Super-Eminency (1666), STC II 1483:D1929a.

Du Moulin, Pierre, The Great Loyalty of Papists to King Charles I (1673), STC II 490:D2558.

Du Moulin, Peter, the Younger, A Vindication of the Sincerity of the Protestant Religion (1664), STC II 1382:D2571.

Dyer, William, Christ's Voice to London (1666), STC II 1005:D2942.

E., Y., A Caveat for the Protestant Clergy (1671), STC II 275:F45.

[Edmunds, Hugh], Presbytery Popish, Not Episcopacy (London, 1661), STC II 1440:E178b.

Egan, Anthony, The Franciscan Convert: or, a Recantation Sermon (1672?), STC II 192:F248.

Elborough, Robert, London's Calamity (London, 1666), STC II 1091:E320.

F., F., Rome for the Great Turke (1664), STC II 1441:F16.

The Fiery Jesuits Temper and Behaviour (London, 1667), STC II 289:P4318.

Foulis, Henry, A History of Romish Treasons (1671), STC II 1331:F1640.

———. The History of the Wicked Plots of Our Pretended Saints (1662, Second Edition), STC II 277:F1642.

Fox, George, the Elder, The Arraignment of Popery (London, 1667), STC II 738:F1750a.

———. The Arraignment of Popery, Second Edition (London, 1669), STC II 1188:F1750b.

Franciscus, a Santa Clara, Father, An Explanation of the Roman Catholick's Belief (1670, Fourth Edition), STC II 913:D353.

[Fullwood, Francis], Toleration Not to Be Abused by the Independents (1672), STC II 1188:F2518.

G., J., The Dreadful Burning of London (1667), STC II 1461:G31.

Garencieres, Theophile, A Mite Cast into the Treasury (1666, Third Edition), STC II 1402:G257.

Gearing, William, God's Sovereignty Displayed . . . with Application to the Great Fire of London (1667), STC II 739:G435a.

[Godden, Thomas], Catholicks No Idolaters (1672), STC II 532:G918.

The Good Catholick No Bad Subject (London, 1660), STC II 1403:G1039.

Griffith, Matthew, The Samaritan Revived (London, 1660), STC II 1444:G2016a.

[Hall, George], The Triumphs of Rome over Despised Protestantcy (London, 1667), STC II 629:H337.

Harby, Thomas, What Is Truth (1670), STC II 1207:H685.

Harvey, Christopher, Faction Supplanted; or, a Caveat (1663), STC II 1571:H1043a.

Heath, James, A Brief Chronicle of the Late Intestine War (1663, Second Edition), STC II 1485:H1320.

———. A New Book of English Martyrs (1665?), STC II 1527:H1336.

[Hewley, Thomas], Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned (London, 1662), STC II 1463:H1413a.

Heydon, John, A Quintuple Rosie-Crucian Scourge (1665), STC II 1309:H1673.

[Holden, Henry], A Check, or, Inquiry into the Late Act of the Roman Inquisition (London, 1662), STC II 1404:H2376.

Horsman, Nicholas, The Spiritual Bee (Oxford, 1662), STC II 1464:H2871.

Howgill, Francis, The Rock of Ages Exalted above Rome's Imagined Rock (London, 1662), STC II, 1464:H3178.

———. Truth Lifting Up Its Head above Slander (1663), STC II 1405:H3186.

Hughes, George, Sure-Footing in Christianity (London, 1668), STC II 536:H3309.

An Humble Adresse to . . . Parliament in Vindication of Kingly Power (London, 1660), STC II 1485:H3391.

An Humble Apology for the Non-Conformists (1669), STC II 919:H3402.

Indulgence Not to Be Refused (1672), STC II 1387:I154.

Insolence and Impudence Triumphant (London, 1669), STC II 1506:I226.

Jenkins, David, A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King (1667), STC II 1311:J601.

The Jesuite and Priest Discovered (London, 1663), STC II 1125:J703.

The Jesuite Discovered (London, 1659), STC II 509:S69.

The Jesuites' Intrigues: With the Private Instructions of that Society . . . (London, 1669), STC II 423:J717.

The Jesuit's Reasons Unreasonable (London, 1662), STC II 319:J725.

Keynes, George, The Roman Martyrologie (1667, Second Edition), STC II 1190:K392.

The Kingdom's Intelligencer, nos. 10-13 (London, 1661), STC II 258:E192-194.

L[ancaster], J[ames], To the Pope, and All His Cardinals (London, 1671), STC II 540:L311.

Laud, William, A Relation Between . . . Mr. Fisher the Jesuite . . . (London, 1673, Third Edition), STC II 638:L594.

L'Estrange, Roger, A Memento (1662), STC II 540:L1270.

———. Toleration Discuss'd (1670), STC II 921:L1316.

A Letter from the Devil to the Pope (1670?), STC II 1152:L1517.

A Letter to Mr. S a Romish Priest (1672), STC II 1152:L1718.

Liti, Gregorio, The History of the Pope's Nephews (London, 1669), STC II 605:L1335.

Lloyd, William, A Conference Betwixt Two Protestants and a Papist (London, 1673), STC II 987:L2675.

———. The Late Apology in Behalf of the Papists Reprinted and Answered, in Behalf of the Royalists (1667), STC II 732:C1244.

———. A Seasonable Discourse Showing the Necessity of Maintaining the Established Religion, in Opposition to Popery (1673), STC II 767:L2693-7.

London's Plague-Sore Discovered (London, 1665), STC II 796:N14.

London's Dreadful Visitation: A Collection of All the Bills of Mortality for the Year 1665 (London, 1666?), STC II 426:L2926.

London's Flames (1679), STC II 793:L2929.

London's Flames Discovered (London, 1667), STC II 793:L2928.

A Looking-Glass for England (London, 1667), STC II 464:L3017.

M., H., A Letter to a Person of Honor in London from an Old Cavalier (1663), STC II 1152:M29.

M., P., A Letter to the Answerer of the Apology for Catholics (London?, 1667), STC II 1263:M65a.

Mall, Thomas, A Cloud of Witnesses (1665), STC II 1063:M333.

_____. A Cloud of Witnesses, Second Part (1665), STC II 1487:M331.

Mason, Martin, A Friendly Admonition: Or, Good Counsel to the Roman Catholics in the Kingdoms (1662), STC II 720:M929.

[Mason, R. A.], Liturgical Discourse . . . of Mass (1669), STC II 1015:M937.

Masterson, George, The Spiritual House (London, 1661), STC 1466:M1073.

M[ead], M[atthew], Solomon's Prescription (London, 1667), STC II 1016:M1558a.

_____. An Appendix to Solomon's Prescription for the Plague . . . (1667), STC II 768:M1544.

Menzies, John, Papismus Lucifugus (1668), STC II 795:M1725.

Moore, Henry, An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches . . . with Application to the Church of Rome (1669), STC II 362:M2660.

[More, Henry], The Two Last Dialogues on the Kingdom of God (London, 1668), STC II 1128:M2680.

Mumsford, James, The Catholike Scripturist (1662), STC II 1019:M3063.

[Nicole, Pierre], The Pernicious Consequences of the New Heresie of the Jesuites (London, 1666), STC II 722:N1138.

Nonfan, John, Answer to a Passage in Mr. Baxter's Book, Intituled, A Key for Catholics (Worcester, 1660?), STC II 818:N148.

Novell, John, The Seditious Principle (London, 1662), STC II 1489:N1421a.

Orrery, Roger Boyle, First Earl of, An Answer to a Scandalous Letter Lately Printed and Subscribed by Peter Welsh (Dublin, 1662), STC II 770:0473.

[Owen, John], Indulgence and Toleration Considered (London, 1667), STC II 431:0763.

- _____. A Peace Offering in an Apology and Humble Plea for Indulgence (London, 1667), STC II 923:0790.
- P., L.B., Popery Manifested . . . (1673), STC 434:P2376.
- Papists Discovered to the King (London, 1663), STC II 223:P4030.
- Patrick, Symon, A Friendly Debate Between a Conformist . . . (London, 1669, Fourth Edition), STC II 1129:P801.
- P[enn], W[illiam], The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience (London, 1670), STC II 433:P1299.
- _____. A Seasonable Caveat Against Popery (London?, 1670), STC II 328:P1359.
- _____. The Sandy Foundation Shaken (1668), STC II 1099:P1356.
- *Pepys, Samuel, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews (12 vols.; London, 1976).
- [Perrault, Nicholas], The Jesuit's Morals (1670), STC II 505:P1590.
- [Perrinchief, Richard], A Discourse of Toleration (1668), STC II 1154:P1593b.
- _____. Indulgence Not Justified (London, 1668), STC II 1337:P1594.
- _____. Samaritanism Revised and Enlarged (1669), STC II 1492:S525.
- Perrot, John, Proposition to the Pope (1661), STC II 1510:P1628.
- Petrie, Alexander, A Compendious History of the Catholic Church (The Hague, 1662), STC II 924:P1879.
- Pierce, Thomas, The Primitive Rule of Reformation (1663), STC II 727:P2191.
- The Plague Checkt (London, 1665), STC II 328:P2336.
- Poole, Matthew, A Dialogue Between a Popish Priest . . . (London, 1667), STC II 1067:P2828.
- _____. The Nullity of the Romish Faith (London, 1667, Third Edition), STC II 1338:P2845a.
- Popery Absolutely Destructive to Monarchy (London, 1673), STC II 1042:P2920.
- Porre, Jonas, The Degenerate Plant (London, 1665), STC II 1408:P2980.

- Powell, Edward, The Danger of the Errors of Rulers (1662), STC II 1408:P3046a.
- Rait, William, A Vindication of the Reform'd Religion (1671), STC II 645:R146.
- Reasons Why Roman Catholicks Should Not Be Persecuted (London?, 1661), STC II 1044:R586.
- Rige, Sincere, pseud., Observations, Both Historical and Moral, upon the Burning of London (1667), STC II 723:092.
- Roe, Daniel, God's Judgement Still Threaten'd (London, 1666), STC II 1535:R17773a.
- [Rogers, Thomas], The Faith, Doctrine and Religion of the Church of England (1661), STC II 1444:R1833.
- Rolle, Samuel, The Burning of London in the Year 1666 (London, 1667), STC II 646:R1877.
- _____, London's Resurrection (London, 1668), STC II 1409:R1879.
- Room for News or News from Rome (1673), STC II 1389:R1926.
- S., R., A Collection of Some of the Murthers . . . (London, 1662), STC II 1026:S126.
- Sanderson, Robert, Five Cases of Conscience (1667), STC II 1046:S604.
- Scriptures' Self-Evidence . . . (London, 1667), STC II 426:L2842.
- See, Thomas, A Discourse Concerning the Sovereign Internal Balsom (1665), STC II 1431:S2405.
- [Sergeant, John], A Discovery of the Groundlessness . . . (London, 1665), STC II 703:S2564.
- _____. Error Non-Plust (1673), STC II 948:S2565.
- _____. Faith Vindicated from the Possibility of Falsehood (1667), STC II 926:S2566.
- _____. The Fifth Catholic Letter (London, 1668), STC II 848:S2567.
- _____. A Letter of Thanks (Paris, 1666), STC II 51:S2294a.
- _____. Reason Against Raillery (1672), STC II 876:S2587.
- _____. Reflexions upon the Oath of Supremacy (1661), STC II 1048:S2588.

Shaw, Samuel, The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness (London, 1666),
STC II 1048:S3046.

Short Reflections upon a Pamphlet Entitled Toleration Not to Be Abused
(London, 1672), STC II 1536:S3616.

[Squire, William], The Unreasonableness of the Romanists (London,
1670), STC II 825:S5102.

Stillington, Edward, An Answer to Several Late Treatises (London,
1673), STC II 751:S5559.

_____. A Discourse Concerning Idolatry (London, 1672, Second Edition),
STC II 751:S5578a.

_____. A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith (1666,
Third Edition), STC II 780:S5618.

_____. A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of
Faith (1673), STC II 780:S5634.

_____. A Sermon . . . Before the House of Commons . . . October 10,
1666 (1666), STC II 852:S5637.

[Stubbe, Henry], A Censure upon Passages . . . in the History of the
Royal Society (Oxford, 1670), STC II 1537:S6033.

Tabor, John, Some Reflections on . . . the Burning of London (London,
1667), STC II 780:T93.

Taylor, Jeremy, A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of
Friendship (London, 1671), STC II 803:T318.

_____. A Dissuasive from Popery (London, 1664, Third Edition), STC II
803:T321.

Tillitson, John, The Rule of Faith (London, 1666), STC II 299:T1217.

_____. A Sermon Lately Preached (London, 1673), STC II 553:T1223.

[Thimelly, Richard], Some General Observations upon Doctor
Stillington's Book (1672), STC II 303:A3942.

Tombes, John, The Oath Book (London, 1662), STC II 1390:T1817.

Tomlinson, William, An Awakening Voice to the Papists (1673), STC II
676:T1845.

[Traherne, Thomas], Roman Forgeries (London, 1673), STC II 116:T2021.

Trap Ad Crucem (1670), STC II 518:T2029.

A True and Exact Relation of the Most Dreadful and Remarkable Fires (1666), STC II 1076:T2453.

A True and Faithful Account of Several Informations Exhibited to the Honourable Committee Appointed to Inquire into . . . the Burning of London (1667), STC II 1216:T2470.

A True Narrative of the Two Wonderful Prophets at Rome (1660), STC II 1558:T2766.

Underhill, Thomas, Hell Broke Loose (London, 1660), STC II 1538:U44.

The Vain Insolency of Rome (London, 1673), STC II 337:V18.

Veron, Francois, The Rule of the Catholic Faith (Paris, 1660), STC II 441:V256.

Vincent, Thomas, God's Terrible Voice in London (1667), STC II 1538:V441a.

Vines, Richard, The Authors, Nature, and Danger of Heresy (London, 1662), STC II 1370:V545a.

Walker, Clement, Relations and Observations upon the Parliament Begun in 1640 (London, 1660?), STC II 1559:W335.

[Walsh, Peter], The Advocate of Conscience Liberty (London, 1673), STC II 904:W67.

———. The Controversial Letters (1673), STC II 1135:W631.

———. The History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary (1673), STC II 442:W634.

———. The Irish Colours Fold'd (London, 1662), STC II 904:W635.

———. A Letter . . . for the Just and Merciful Regard of Roman Catholics of Ireland (1662), STC II 1219:W636.

———. Some Few Questions Concerning the Oath of Allegiance (London, 1661), STC II 1135:W641.

Waterhouse, Edward, A Short Narrative . . . of the Fire (London, 1667), STC II 523:W1050.

Welsh, John, Popery Anatomized (1672), STC II 1108:W1312.

Whitby, Daniel, An Answer to Fiat Lux (1666), STC II 1109:W1725.

- _____. Romish Doctrines (1664), STC II 1136:W1736.
- [Whitehead, George], The Popish Informer Reprehended (London, 1670), STC II 930:W1946.
- [Wilson, John], A History of Ancient Ceremonies (London, 1669, Second Edition), STC II 1244:W2895a.
- Wilson, Joseph, Nehushton (1668), STC II 1110:W2927.
- [Wilson, Thomas], A Just and Necessary Apology (London, 1667), 1138:W2946.
- [Wiseman, Samuel], A . . . Narrative of London's Fatal Fire (1667), STC II 512:S3551.
- [Wolseley, Sir Charles], Liberty of Conscience, the Magistrate's Interest (London, 1668), STC II 1321:W3309.
- _____. Liberty of Conscience upon Its True and Proper Grounds (London, 1668, Second Edition), STC II 971:W3311.
- [Woodhead, Abraham], Considerations upon the Councils of Trent (London, 1671), STC II 649:W3442.
- _____. The Roman Church's Devotions Vindicated (London, 1672), STC II 1516:W3454.
- [Worsley, Edward], Protestancy without Principles (Antwerp, 1668), STC II 1082:W3616.

Secondary Sources

- Bedford, John, London's Burning (London, 1966).
- Bossy, John, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London, 1975).
- Capp, Bernard S., English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press (New York, 1979).
- Carroll, Robert Todd, The Common-Sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet (The Hague, 1975).
- Clancy, Thomas H., English Catholic Books, 1641-1700, a Bibliography (Los Angeles, 1974).
- Clifton, Robin, "The Popular Fear of Catholics During the English Revolution," in Paul Slack, ed., Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1984).

- Cohn, Norman, Europe's Inner Demons (New York, 1975).
- Finlayson, Michael, Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics Before and After the Interregnum (Toronto, 1983).
- Furley, O. W., "The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," History, 59, no. 150 (1959), pp. 16-23.
- Greaves, Richard, Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Great Britain, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1986).
- Green, I. M., The Reestablishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978).
- Harris, Timothy, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668," The Historical Journal, 29, no. 3 (1986), pp. 537-556.
- _____. London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge, 1987).
- Hart, A. Tindal, William Lloyd, 1627-1717: Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet (London, 1952).
- Hibbard, Caroline, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, 1983).
- Holland, Norman N., The First Modern Comedies (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959).
- Hutton, Ronald, The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667 (Oxford, 1985).
- Kenyon, J. P., The Popish Plot (New York, 1972).
- _____. Stuart England (New York, 1978).
- _____. The Stuarts: A Study in English Kingship (Great Britain, 1970).
- Kitchen, George, Sir Roger L'Estrange (London, 1913).
- Leys, M.D.R., Catholics in England, 1559-1829: A Social History (New York, 1961).
- Loades, D. M., "The Press Under the Early Tudors: A Study in Censorship and Sedition," Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 4 (1964), pp. 29-50.
- Manning, Brian, The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649 (London, 1976).

- Miller, John, Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1973).
- Moore, R. I., The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250 (New York, 1987).
- Mullet, C. F., "Toleration and Persecution in England, 1660-89," Church History, 16 (1949), pp. 18-43.
- Mullett, Michael, "'A Receptacle for Papists and an Assilum': Catholicism and Disorder in Late Seventeenth Century Wigan," Catholic Historical Review, 73, no. 3 (July, 1987), pp. 391-407.
- Norman, Edward R., Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council (Oxford, 1985).
- Palmer, William, and Hibbard, Caroline, "Catholic Plots and the English Revolution: Some Comments," and "A Response," The Catholic Historical Review, 73 (January, 1987), pp. 81-88.
- Rable, George, But There Was No Peace (Athens, Georgia, 1984).
- Rostenberg, Leona, "Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century Censorship," Bibliographical Society of America Papers, 49 (1955), pp. 131-152.
- Sachse, William, "The Mob and the Revolution of 1688," Journal of British Studies, 4, no. 1 (1964), pp. 28-40.
- _____. Restoration England, 1660-1689 (Great Britain, 1971).
- Seaton, A. A., The Theory of Toleration Under the Later Stuarts (Cambridge, 1911).
- Sharpe, J. A., Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550-1760 (London, 1987).
- Sommerville, C. John, Popular Religion in Restoration England (Gainesville, Florida, 1977).
- Styan, J. L., Restoration Comedy in Performance (Cambridge, 1986).
- Thackray, Ian Y., "Zion Undermined: The Protestant Belief in a Popish Plot During the English Interregnum," History Workshop Journal 18 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 28-52.
- Walker, J., "The Censorship of the Press During the Reign of Charles II," History, 35 (1950), pp. 219-238.

Whiteman, A., "The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, 5 (1955), pp. 120-135.

Williamson, Joel, The Crucible of Race (Oxford, 1984).

VITA

Robin Scott McNutt was born in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, on January 26, 1963. He attended Woodland Elementary School and Jefferson Junior High School in that city and was graduated from Oak Ridge High School in June 1981. The following September he entered The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and in June of 1986 received a Bachelor of Arts in College Scholars, with Emphasis in Creative Writing. In the fall of 1987 he accepted a graduate assistantship with the History Department at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and began study towards a Master's degree. This degree was awarded in December 1989.

The author is a member of Phi Kappa Phi and Golden Key National Honor Societies. He plans to teach history at the junior college level in the Knoxville area after graduation.