THE COMPLEXITIES OF WHIG AND TORY ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN LATE
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The purpose of my research is to analyze anti-Catholicism in late seventeenth-century England in order to comprehend how complex it was. I analyzed primary (published) sources such as dialogues, diaries, histories, letters, pamphlets, royal proclamations, and sermons to get my results. Based on this research, I argue that Whiggish anti-Catholicism remained mostly static over time, while the Toryish variant changed in four different ways; this reflected each party's different approach to anti-Catholicism. The Whigs focused on Francophobia, the threat that Catholicism posed to Protestant liberties, and toleration of all Protestants, while the Tories focused on loyalty to Anglicanism and the threat that Catholics and Dissenters posed to Anglicanism. While the Whigs did not change with different contexts, the Tories did so four times. The significance is that, while the core principles might have remained fairly static, the presentation and impact of those ideas changed with different circumstances.

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INTRODUCTION

Anti-Catholicism was a defining component of life in England ever since the Reformation, when King Henry VIII (ruled 1509-47) broke away from the Catholic Church to establish his own Church. It encouraged animosity towards Catholic Queen Mary I (ruled 1553-8), who became known in popular English Protestant mythology as "Bloody Mary." When the Spanish Armada invaded England in 1588 and suffered a crushing defeat, English Protestants hailed the victory as a "Protestant wind" that had saved their country from Catholicism. Finally, the English conquest of Ireland encouraged adventurers and landowners to invest in Catholic-owned property, promoted rulers such as Oliver Cromwell to pass more draconian legislation against Irish Catholics, and exacerbated religious tensions on both sides that lasted well into the twentieth century. In the late seventeenth century, anti-Catholicism was still influential in shaping the ideologies of two political parties in England, the Whigs and the Tories. Both formed in the 1670's, during the reign of King Charles II (ruled 1660-1685), and continued developing during the 1680's and 1690's, under the reigns of two successive Kings: James II, who was Catholic (1685-1688) and William III, who was Protestant, waged war against France, and ruled with Mary II (1689-1694) and alone (1694-1702). While both

parties included anti-Catholicism as part of their ideologies, they formulated different versions of anti-Catholicism.

The Whigs believed, on one hand, in the inclusion of all Protestants by uniting them under an anti-Catholic banner (this meant accepting Dissenters, or non-Anglican Protestants, in addition to Anglicans as part of promoting this cause), that Protestantism and liberty were associated with each other, and that Catholicism threatened both, and the view that France under Louis XIV (whom the Whigs viewed as the epitome of tyranny under absolutism) was their foremost threat. The Whigs were also pro-Dutch, and advocated for William III to fight Louis XIV in a land war on the European Continent.[1] Ultimately, Whig anti-Catholicism remained fairly static.

The Tories, on the other hand, understood the threat to the Church of England to emanate from two sources: the Catholic Church and Dissenters. They viewed Catholicism as primarily a threat to the Church of England, and they also viewed Dissenters as an equally dangerous threat (unlike the Whigs), accusing this group's members of working together with Catholics to weaken the Anglican Church.[2] Unlike the static nature of Whig anti-Catholicism, Tory anti-Catholicism changed in four ways over time: first, coming out of the Civil War, Dissenters were the only threat about which to worry. Second, during the 1670's, the Catholicism of Louis XIV and James (while Duke of York) raised concerns, and became incorporated into the Tories' "threat to Church" matrix. Thus, when James became King, his promise to respect the established Church satisfied most

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[1] For more information on the Whigs, see Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 298, and J. R. Jones's 1961 study, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

[2] See Bucholz and Key, page 298.

Tories. Third, the Declaration of Indulgence that James passed in 1687 shattered this satisfaction among Tories, who claimed that he now sought to weaken the Anglican Church. Fourth, and finally, under William, the presence of a successive non-Anglican monarch on the English throne colored Tories' anti-Catholicism in multiple ways; some Tories, for example, maintained that both Catholics and Dissenters were threats to Anglicanism, other Tories reverted to pre-Exclusion Crisis ideas that only Dissenters were a threat, while a third faction endorsed the return of James II to the English throne (aligned with an ideology called "Jacobitism").

These ideological differences (and changes over time within the Tory Party, in its case) appeared in the many writings on anti-Catholicism that circulated widely during this time period. During the 1670's and beyond, for example, Whigs produced pamphlets that warned of the French menace to England, the threats that Catholicism posed to Protestants, and the necessity of an Anglo-Dutch alliance to counter French aggression. Tories, on the other hand, produced pamphlets that celebrated the Anglican Church's virtues, denounced non-Conformists collectively as "Phanaticks" and "Jack Presbyter," and highlighted the four stages of development that their anti-Catholicism underwent. As the era that this thesis discusses ended, these ideological differences (especially amidst the Tories) had reached their climax.

It is the intent of this research to argue that the Whigs and the Tories approached, and developed within the context of, anti-Catholicism differently during the late seventeenth century; while the Whigs' approach mostly remained static, the Tories' changed in the four ways aforementioned. In the process, this thesis will analyze how anti-Catholicism propelled the development of both parties along separate lines; it will

also utilize the research question: Why did both parties approach, and develop within the context of, anti-Catholicism differently? More specifically, this thesis will also analyze three sets of questions concerning its argument:

1) What differentiated (proto-) Whiggish anti-Catholicism from its (proto-) Toryish counterpart? What were some writings that promoted these parties' separate anti-Catholic views?

2) How did Whigs and Tories respond to James II differently on the basis of his Catholicism, and what was the impact of his Declaration of Indulgence upon both party members' anti-Catholicism?

3) How did Whigs and Tories use anti-Catholicism to respond to William III? More specifically, in what ways did Whigs remain united and Tories become more fragmented during his reign? How did Whigs and Tories use anti-Catholicism to counterattack each other in their pamphlets?

The answer to the research question is the subject of this paragraph. While both parties held different opinions as to why Catholicism was bad, the threats to Whiggish anti-Catholicism remained constant over time, while those to the Tory variant changed more with the circumstances. For the Whigs, Catholicism was threatening to Protestant liberties, endangered Protestants' security (especially the United Provinces'), and symbolized tyrannical absolutism (as seen with Louis XIV of France). For the Tories, Dissenters started out as the main threat to the Anglican Church, then Catholics became an additional one, and, finally, James II and William III (according to Tories who took the Jacobite position) allegedly worked to destroy Anglicanism.

The significance of this research is that it leads to a better understanding of how anti-Catholicism in late seventeenth-century England was more complex than unitary, especially when party politics had the potential to shape it. Moreover, understanding this historical trend provides an insight into how Whig/Tory ideas added a new dimension to anti-Catholic politics in England during the late seventeenth century. The competition between both sets of ideas defined this anti-Catholic ideological realm that witnessed the Exclusion Crisis, the pro-French sentiments of a Catholic monarch, and propaganda warfare between Whigs and Tories during William III's reign. This is important in considering how religion still had the potential to shape English politics in the late seventeenth century, as the following paragraph on this thesis's historiography suggests, especially in contributing to a new two-party system. In the area of politics, it is important to understand how religion shaped it.

There are many works on this period that analyze aspects of party politics and political culture during the later Stuart era, such as Whiggism, Toryism, and the importance of anti-Catholicism in shaping political culture. This thesis highlights all of these individual aspects while making specific Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholicism more noticeable. The historiography on this subject dates back to the nineteenth century, when works such as Thomas Babington Macaulay's *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (1848) utilized a Whiggish approach to English party politics and political culture. The first comprehensive survey on the Tories, Keith Feiling's *A history of the Tory party, 1640-1714*, only appeared in 1924, while the first survey on the Whigs, J. R. Jones's *The first Whigs; the politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683*, followed in 1961. Feiling's work claims that the Tories' dual loyalties to

Anglicanism and the monarchy reflected both seventeenth-century aristocracy and feudalism, while Jones identifies the Whigs as a single-issue party centered around excluding the future King James II from the throne. Twenty-six years passed before Tim Harris's study on London crowd politics during the Restoration, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II – Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration*, appeared; particularly, Harris writes that "bottom-up" anti-Catholicism was more important than its "top-down" counterpart. Finally, John Spurr's 1991 study, *The Restoration Church of England*, limits its focus to the Anglican Church while claiming that Dissenters did not truly prosper until the Glorious Revolution's aftermath. The initial historiography certainly hints at aspects of Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholicism (with the notable exception of Spurr), but it is this thesis's function to give attention to both parties' approaches to this idea as a whole.[3]

Since Harris's 1993 study, *Politics under the later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715*, some additional works have emerged in its successful wake; this study provided the most comprehensive survey of later Stuart party politics up to that point. Among some of these works are Mark Knights's 1994 study, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81*, and Jonathan Scott's *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (2000). Particularly, Knights's work includes several useful nuggets of information regarding Whiggish and Toryish anti-

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[3] See Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924); Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II – Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); J. R. Jones, *The first Whigs: The politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961); and John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).

Catholicism; for example, Knights successfully places both parties' origins in religious contexts during the 1670's. Finally, Scott identifies the formulation of "Whiggish" ideas during Charles II's reign; yet, while Knights's work leans more towards this thesis's ideas, Scott's tends to downplay both Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholicism. This thesis intends to preserve the points in Knights's work regarding this subject while building on Scott's approach to English politics.[4]

Some more recent works in this historiography use a chronological approach to events such as the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, with Tim Harris analyzing the Restoration in his 2005 study *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685*, in order to understand the Glorious Revolution in its entirety; this is the topic of *Restoration*'s sequel, *Revolution – The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (2006). A more specific analysis of the Glorious Revolution, in turn, is the subject of Steven C. A. Pincus's 2009 study, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. Pincus's study claims just what the title suggests; the Glorious Revolution was, for him, the first modern revolution, albeit hardly a "glorious" one in a sense that it produced a united consensus. Also, Pincus is radical in claiming that William III's war against Louis XIV was not religious, but international; that is not what this thesis sets out to do. Rather, it partly claims that Whiggish anti-Catholic pamphlets justified William III's war against France and alleged that Tories were secretly pro-Catholic Jacobites, while Toryish anti-Catholic

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[4] See Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1993); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 116 & 140; and Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), accessed June 18, 2019, EBSCOhost.

pamphlets highlighted an ideology now fragmented into three positions as a response to William III's presence. This is a point that Chapter Three of this thesis will analyze in more detail.[5]

The final three books that are analyzed as part of this historiography highlight the persistence of partisan anti-Catholicism amidst England's path towards the Enlightenment: Mark Knights's *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (2006), John Marshall's *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture* (2006), and Bill Bulman's *Anglican Enlightenment* (2015). All three of these works make Enlightenment-centric arguments: Knights's study claims that later Stuart Britain's embrace of a representative society provided a context for the English Enlightenment, Marshall writes that religious intolerance and "universal religious toleration" characterized "Early Enlightenment culture," and Bulman argues that "Anglican Enlightenment" was the Anglican clergy's participation in the Enlightenment. While these authors do identify representative society and universal religious toleration as central elements of the Enlightenment, their inclusion of anti-Catholicism in their respective studies hardly does justice to the movement's status as an intellectually forward-looking one. It is also important to note that this thesis does not even touch upon the idea of an "Enlightenment"; rather, it explores a much darker side of intellectualism

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[5] See Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (New York: Allen Lane, 2005) and *Revolution – The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (New York: Allen Lane, 2006); and Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 339, accessed June 24, 2019, EBSCOhost. Also, for more information on the chapter built around this argument, see Chapter Three of this thesis, "Anti-Catholicism, William III-Style."

(this dichotomy of "Enlightenment" vs. "darker intellectualism" is something that Bulman rejects) by analyzing Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholic sources.[6]

This thesis relies on numerous primary sources in order to analyze the partisan nature of Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholicism, such as dialogues, diaries, histories, letters, pamphlets, royal proclamations, and sermons. The majority of these sources originate from Early English Books Online (EEBO), a particularly useful database for analyzing English sources from the early modern period. Yet, there are some limitations that I have confronted in doing this careful research. For example, it was repeatedly harder to find Tory sources, a possible reflection that that party's anti-Catholicism was less clear-cut than the Whigs'. On the other hand, Whig sources were more plentiful and easier to find; along those lines, it was never easy to identify whether the author of a certain document was a Whig or Tory without a careful interpretation of that source or a look at its title, which sometimes was helpful. Also, since my thesis deals almost entirely with published sources, I have looked at how these parties presented themselves in print and not seen the inside look that archival sources might have given me for this type of academic writing.

This thesis will analyze the Whigs' and Tories' development during the reigns of three kings (Charles II, James II, and William III), and between 1670 and 1693; it includes three chapters, important terms and events, and a conclusion. I argue in Chapter One that the proto-Whigs formed as an ideologically fixed anti-Catholic group, while the

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[6] See Bill Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), accessed June 24, 2019, EBSCOhost; and John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

proto-Tories started as anti-Dissenter before changing over time to also become anti-Catholic, with the Exclusion Crisis serving as the point when these two groups became two parties, the Whigs and the Tories, with two different approaches to anti-Catholicism. In Chapter Two, I argue that the Whigs maintained a constant belief that James II threatened their anti-Catholic ideology, while the Tories changed by believing his promise to respect the Anglican Church until they perceived him as threatening it in conjunction with Dissenters. I argue in Chapter Three that, between 1689 and 1693, Whiggish anti-Catholic pamphlets unanimously justified William III's war against France and alleged that Tories were secretly pro-Catholic Jacobites, while Toryish anti-Catholic pamphlets highlighted an ideology now fragmented into three positions as a response to William III's presence.

CHAPTER 1

ANTI-CATHOLICISM BFORE JAMES II'S REIGN

Between 1670 and 1685, the latter half of the "Restoration" era in England,

religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics continued to fester. Particularly,

these tensions provided the backdrop for two parties that emerged during this time: the

Whigs and the Tories. Before they emerged in 1678, there existed separate strands of

proto-Whig and proto-Tory ideology during the decade. I will argue in this chapter that,

while the proto-Whigs were anti-Catholic from their beginning, the proto-Tories started

out as anti-Dissenter ("Dissenter" was a term for a non-Anglican Protestant) before

incorporating anti-Catholicism into their ideology as the 1670's progressed; the

Exclusion Crisis would then serve as the point when these two groups became two

parties, the Whigs and the Tories, with two different approaches to anti-Catholicism.

During the 1670's, the proto-Whigs emphasized aspects including Francophobia

(especially the threat that Louis XIV posed to English Protestantism), concerns about

absolutism, toleration of all Protestants in the face of a Catholic threat, and an alliance

with the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Statesmen such as Slingsby Bethel,

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Andrew Marvell

highlighted these aspects, which never really changed over time, in their respective

works: *The Present Interest of England Stated* (1671), *A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country* (1675), and *An account of the growth of popery and arbitrary government in England* (1677). As such, the proto-Whigs remained an ideologically fixed group during the 1670's.

The proto-Tories, on the other hand, initially claimed that Dissenters were the only threat about which to worry; this was a view that statesman Edward Hyde, the First Earl of Clarendon, articulated in his 1671 work, *The History of the Rebellion*. Two years later, however, when James Stuart (the Duke of York), who had been covertly Catholic, publicly acknowledged his Catholicism, the proto-Tories asserted that Catholics now constituted an additional threat to the security of Anglicanism. As a result, their ideology changed to become both anti-Dissenter and anti-Catholic, meaning that the nature of their anti-Catholicism was accusatory towards Catholics for collaborating with Dissenters to weaken the Anglican Church.

The differences between proto-Whig and proto-Tory anti-Catholicism became even more pronounced after proto-Tory Thomas Osborne, the Earl of Danby, alarmed proto-Whigs like Shaftesbury by proposing the Test Oath of 1675, which made Shaftesbury convinced that an absolutist like Louis XIV was planning to introduce French-style Catholicism into England. In 1678, the Exclusion Crisis would sharpen further the cleavages between the proto-Whigs and proto-Tories; this event, which centered on whether or not the Duke of York would become the next King of England, marked the point at which the proto-Whigs and proto-Tories became the Whigs and Tories, respectively. The Whigs supported the Duke's exclusion based on his Catholicism, while the Tories opposed it based on his anticipated inheritance of the

throne, despite his religious faith. At this point in time, more importantly, the Whigs and

Tories were no longer merely two ideological groups, but two formal anti-Catholic

parties with different approaches to that issue: the one pro-Protestant, anti-Catholic, and,

more specifically, anti-French, the other pro-Anglican, anti-Catholic, and anti-Dissenter.

These would become the core principles that characterized each party separately as the

1670's transitioned to the 1680's.

In asserting my argument in this chapter, I will examine the pamphlets that both

(proto-) Whigs and (proto-) Tories produced in the 1670's and early 1680's. Among the

trends discussed include the development of both (proto-) Whig and (proto-) Tory ideas,

the steady aggression of Louis XIV's policies, and the role the Exclusion Crisis had in

solidifying the different strands of anti-Catholicism about which this chapter talks; by the

early 1680's, there were two clear and distinct ideologies of anti-Catholicism, associated

with the two parties. The Exclusion Crisis was especially pressing for Whigs (but less so

for Tories, who advocated for maintaining the Duke's ascension to the throne, despite his

religion) due to the Duke of York's Catholicism, which was not only offensive, but also

dangerous because it gravitated towards French absolutism, as it was to prove during his

reign as King James II (1685-1688).

As the 1670's unfolded, some proto-Whig commentators expressed concerns

about Louis XIV's newly sought aggression, the exposure of the United Provinces to the

French military, and the threats that Catholicism continued to pose to England that kept

anti-Catholicism alive. One of these commentators was Slingsby Bethel, a politician who

wrote a 1671 pamphlet entitled *The present interest of England stated*. This document

appeared one year before the Anglo-French attack against the Dutch during the Third

Anglo-Dutch War, and stressed the importance of England's role in protecting not just itself, but also the United Provinces, from Louis XIV's aggression.

Bethel, in *The present interest of England stated*, also anticipated the coming of one of England's political ideologies. Bethel's stated beliefs, such as a pro-Dutch stance, Francophobia, and toleration of all Protestants, were ideas that would later comprise the core of the Whig party. Although the labels "Whig" and "Tory" did not exist yet, Bethel's ideas could be described as "proto-Whig." Particularly, Bethel promoted liberty of conscience for Protestant dissenters, while intending to curb it for Catholics: "As it is the King and Kingdome of England's Interest, to give Libertie of Conscience to all Protestant Dissenters, so it is not only to deny it to the Papists, but also to…prevent the growth of them…." At the same time, Bethel called out Catholics for their ignorant ways: "Papists [are] ignorant, debauched[,] and scandalous Ministers." Protestants, equipped with this liberty of conscience, were expected to admire their Kings; any sort of rebellion was the equivalent of Catholic practices, which encouraged their adherents in "disturb[ing]…their Countrey[….]" Along those lines, Bethel was also certain that Catholics were the bad subjects, not the Protestants.[7]

Bethel's proto-Whig ideology manifested itself notably in his analysis of England's international role. His admiration of the United Provinces convinced him that a mutual alliance with England was best; he reasoned that, particularly, a shared Protestant faith was an encouragement to his religious compatriots across Europe. "[I]t would be of great incouragement…to all the Protestant Countries,…and as great a trouble and

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[7] Slingsby Bethel, *The present interest of England stated* ([London], 1671), 18, 25, 26, & 27, accessed August 27, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

disturbance, to all the Popish Counsels," wrote Bethel. A shared religion also ought to fend off any invasions, as any harm done to the United Provinces was not only bad for England, but advantageous for France and Roman Catholicism. As such, Bethel considered an Anglo-Dutch alliance a bulwark against both, claiming, "[It is an] impregnable Fortress."[8]

On the proto-Tory side, arguments emerged that promoted the idea that Dissenters, not necessarily Catholics, were the only threat to Anglicanism about which to worry. A significant analyzer of the central ideas associated with this proto-Tory ideology was statesman and writer Edward Hyde, the First Earl of Clarendon, whose most famous work was his history of the English Civil War, *The History of the Rebellion* (originally written between 1646 and 1648, then revised in 1671 before being published posthumously in 1702). This work, written from the perspective of a Royalist/proto-Tory who was involved in the English Civil War, listed four major reasons for Hyde's adherence to Anglicanism: membership was a matter of his conscience and reason, not the Churchmen's; the Church could not exist without bishops; the state government was dependent on the Church; and there was a lack of certainty of what could replace that current government. Indeed, Hyde's major concern was twofold: "to maintain the government and preserve the law[.]" Hyde was a member of an emerging Cavalier party which believed that Presbyterians, not Catholics, were more of a threat to Anglicanism.

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[8] Bethel, 30 & 33.

Sufficient evidence seemed to confirm that Presbyterians were intent on weakening the Anglican Church by "expos[ing] it to so much persecution and oppression…."[9]

Samuel Parker, a churchman and theologian who strongly opposed Dissenters, charged Presbyterians (and "Tories," which meant Irish Catholic rebels at the time) with "Insolence and Hypocrisie" in his 1673 document, *A discourse in vindication of Bp Bramhall and the clergy of the Church of England from the fanatic charge of popery*. Additionally, Parker called them "Goodly and Rebel-Saints," whose actions were insulting to both the English government and religion in general because they appeared to reflect their perpetrators' numbers and religiously rebellious behavior. Most significantly, Parker claimed that that the Dissenters whom he referred to as "Rebel-Saints" committed the "worst practices," which were "villanous not only beyond example, but belief."[10] This statement indicated that, as late as 1673, Dissenters were the only threat within England about which Cavaliers like Parker worried because externalized Irish Catholics were "the other." This pamphlet was likely an early example of how the threat of Catholicism was starting to get integrated into the threat posed by Dissenters by proto-Tories like Parker. That year, however, some disturbing news would provide a tipping point for Cavaliers that caused a shift in anti-Catholic thinking to occur.

In 1673, it transpired that James Stuart, the Duke of York and the future King James II, revealed his previously covert Catholicism, having been so for three years at

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[9] Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, and Paul Seaward, *The History of the Rebellion: A New Selection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 88 & 89, accessed August 26, 2019, EBSCOhost.

[10] Hyde, 99 & 268; and Samuel Parker, *A discourse in vindication of Bp Bramhall and the clergy of the Church of England from the fanatick charge of popery* ([London], 1673), 4, accessed October 17, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

this point.[11] On March 30th of that year, which was Easter Sunday, Anglicans expressed their horror at something that the Duke refused to do while at a Church service: he refused to take the Communion that was expected of everybody who belonged to the Anglican Church. Diarist John Evelyn, who happened to be attending this service, expressed his feelings about the Duke's action: "This…gave exceeding griefe & scandal to the whole Nation; That the heyre of it, & the sonn of a Martyr for the Protestant Religion, should apostatize: What the Consequence of this will be God onely knows, & Wise men dread."[12] Evelyn was shocked that the Duke had the audacity to forsake his Anglican faith for Catholicism, especially because his father, Charles I, died for the former faith. He dreadfully anticipated any future happenings regarding this. Indeed, the Duke would become King James II in 1685, with disastrous results.

The news that the Duke's religion was Catholicism hastened his removal from his position as lord high admiral. It also stoked fears of a constitutional crisis that smacked of Catholic treachery at the same time that Charles II was assisting Catholic aggression on the Continent.[13] The threat of Catholicism that was emerging from France attracted the attention of Thomas Osborne, a conservative Anglican who began his tenure as Lord Treasurer in October 1673 and as the Earl of Danby in May 1674. Danby, who was anti-French, sought to do everything in his power to increase Anglicanism's positive image. For example, he arranged the marriage of Mary Stuart to William of Orange, and insisted

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[11] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 66.

[12] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, vol. 4, Volume IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 7.

[13] Bucholz and Key, 292.

that they maintained their Protestant faith after they were married. Also, Danby's support

of William of Orange hastened his ascension to the throne when the latter became King

in 1689. Indeed, Danby's anti-French sentiment was powerful enough to compel Louis

XIV to attempt curbing his political ambitions.[14]

Danby also supported the Test Act of 1673, which applied to all English public

workers; it required them to deny transubstantiation (a Catholic doctrine emphasizing the

conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ) and accept communion

in an Anglican service.[15] It targeted Catholics and had the support of many future Tories

and Whigs; this suggested that, at that point in time, the proto-Tories were now not just

anti-Dissenter, but also anti-Catholic. This shift reflected their impression that Louis XIV

and James now raised concerns, allowing proto-Tories like Danby and Evelyn to

incorporate them into their "threat to Church" matrix.

Danby was able to convince several Anglican MPs (Members of Parliament) with

his support of the Test Act, but his attempt to introduce the Test Oath of 1675 (which

attempted to maintain Anglicanism and the structure of the English state as they were,

and also hinted that differences were starting to emerge), made him unpopular among

Parliamentarians like Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Shaftesbury, a minister under Charles II who supported the Test Act (and whose political

ideology, like Bethel's, also foreshadowed the rise of Whiggism), expressed his

opposition both to the Test Oath and what he perceived to be the growth of arbitrary

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[14] Bucholz and Key, 293, Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, 93, and Spurr, 67.

[15] Bucholz and Key, 292.

power in England in his 1675 pamphlet, *A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country*. Shaftesbury accused the Test Oath's creators of wrongdoings such as the creation of a political clique of conservative Anglicans and Cavaliers, a Church government based on divine right, and the establishment of arbitrary government. To accomplish all of this, Parliament became more of a mechanism for increasing money needed for such arbitrary rule.[16]

Regarding France and Louis XIV, Shaftesbury feared that the oath required as part of the Test Oath would constitute a "Service to the Government": "[I]t…should give the French King a just Title and Investiture in the Crown of England,…a design by force, to change the Religion, and make his Government here as Absolute as in France[….]" In other words, the Test Oath would make the Crown more accessible to Louis XIV by allowing him both a rank in (and claim to) the English monarchy, the religion become Catholicism with a French tinge, and the government more absolute. Additionally, he believed that the Test Oath would serve the growth of arbitrary government in England because it would expose it at its worst, in the form of a standing army. If Charles II allowed a standing army to be legal, it would "alter…the whole Law of England, in the most essential and Fundamental parts of it,…and without effect, whenever the King pleases." Ultimately, the Test Oath threatened the "Liberties of the Nation,…[the] Magna Carta[,] our Properties, and the Establish'd Law and Government of the Nation."[17] In short, the Test Oath threatened everything about English society that Shaftesbury

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[16] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *A letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country* ([London], 1675), 1 & 2, accessed September 24, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO), and Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 72.

[17] Shaftesbury, 16, 18, & 20.

cherished. It also highlighted the basic aspects of proto-Whig ideology that Bethel and

Shaftesbury shared: the animosity towards Louis XIV and conservative Anglicans, a fear

of arbitrary government, and suspicion of French power under Louis XIV. Additionally,

Shaftesbury accused Danby of using power that he possessed to gradually shift England

in a more absolutist direction.[18]

Poet and MP Andrew Marvell also highlighted the opposition to Danby's policies

in his 1677 document, *An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in*

England, & c. Marvell's document identified a two-pronged design to change England by

making the government more tyrannical and converting the entire country from

Protestantism to Catholicism: "There has now been for diverse Years, a design been

carried on, to change the Lawfull Government of England into an Absolutist Tyranny,

and to convert the established Protestant Religion into down-right Popery." Marvell

understood Catholic-majority France as a primary example of an "absolutist tranny." As

an Anglican, Marvell highlighted that Church's benefits, among which were freedom

from "that Romish Yoak," which was a large component of Christianity. Although

Marvell was not a clergyman, he understood Anglicanism enough to know that it

represented freedom from a supposedly false religion. For instance, Marvell wrote that

Popery was unequal with "civility," and that it was entirely absurd. He also claimed that

Popery was only a Christian denomination in its name, not in ideology.[19]

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[18] Scott, 374.

[19] Andrew Marvell, *An account of the growth of popery and arbitrary government
in England* ([Amsterdam], 1677), 3 & 5, accessed September 5, 2019, Early English
Books Online (EEBO).

In addition to denouncing Catholicism as false and ridiculous, Marvell stated that Catholic princes were lazy and unable to effectively rule their states, allowing Catholicism to function as an invitation to slavery under the pretense of religion. For Marvell, this indicated that Catholics did not act as effective promoters of liberty; rather, they threatened the political stability of Protestant-controlled parts of Europe (England included). They were also very far removed from early and primitive Christianity. Marvell reasoned that the English Church could never become Catholic again, partly because experimenting with Catholicism had always failed, as witnessed by the historical examples of Mary I's reign, the Gunpowder Plot, and the 1641 Massacre in Ireland, the most recent debacle to date (and a commonly recurring memory for all Protestants). Yet, people in the English government whom Marvell referred to as both "lawless and incapable miscreants" and "wicked Traytors" had tried to circumvent maintaining Protestantism by introducing "French slavery" and "Roman idolatry," both "Crimes of the Highest Nature." Along these lines, Marvell described Louis XIV as an absolutist, the "Presumptive Monarch of Christendom," the "Champion of Popery," and the enemy of the English "King and Nation."[20]

Much like Bethel did in *The Present interest of England stated*, Marvell called for warfare against Louis XIV. Most prominently, Marvell stated his case for an Anglo-Dutch alliance. For Marvell, such an alliance "was most expedient," and something that Marvell deemed necessary to counter Louis XIV's "purse and power."[21] Like Bethel's ideas, Marvell's were too premature to identify as "Whiggish," yet they became essential

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[20] Marvell, 11, 14, 15, & 16.

[21] Marvel, 122.

to the formation of that party's ideology. However, despite Marvell's compelling case, he and the other members of Shaftesbury's group remained a part of England's political minority. They needed a catalyst to enable them to spread their message's contents, which came in 1678: rumors of a Catholic plot to kill Charles II. At first, hardly any authority figures noticed this. Yet, after hearing of two successive incidents, the plot became more firmly established as an idea. Anti-Catholicism would only sharpen amidst alleged evidence of Catholic militancy, bomb scares, spy sightings, and reports of French and Spanish landings – all this, despite Catholics constituting "about [one] percent of the population."[22]

1678 was a momentous year in the history of anti-Catholicism in England. Because of the rumors of a plot to kill the King, the Duke of York's possible succession to the throne also became an issue. The latter's open Catholicism was an additional contribution to the so-called Exclusion Crisis that soon presented itself in Parliament. This crisis's immediate catalyst was Charles II's dissolution of Parliament in an attempt to prevent his first minister, Danby, from suffering the risks of exposure of his involvement in asking Louis XIV for money to block Charles II's action. When that backfired, Shaftesbury used this setback as an opportunity to promote his political agenda across England. This marked the point when the proto-Whigs became the Whigs, and when the proto-Tories became the Tories, who acquired a reputation for opposing the Duke of York's exclusion.[23] Now, there existed two political parties, with two different approaches to anti-Catholicism.

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[22] Bucholz and Key, 294 & 295.

[23] Bucholz and Key, 295, 296, & 297.

Some competing pamphlets from the latter half of the Exclusion era in the early

1680's appeared as dialogues between individual members from both parties. Examples

included Tory Roger L'Estrange's *The Observator* (1681) and Whig Edmund

Hickeringill's *The history of Whiggism* (1682). *The Observator*'s dialogue took place

between a Tory "Nobody" and a Whig "Somebody:" for the Tory, the issue was less anti-

Catholic than anti-Dissenter, while the Whig maintained that anti-Popery was the

problem to confront. For example, in Dialogue #1, "Nobody" blamed the Whigs for

"medling with the Government" and called them "fanatics." In Dialogue #2, "Nobody"

accused the Whigs like "Somebody" of burning effigies of the Pope instead of non-

Conformists, which reflected how Tories opposed non-Conformists, such as "Jack

Presbyter." Also, "Nobody" insisted that the Whigs conspired together to eliminate

Catholic plots, which "Somebody" claimed existed. In Dialogue #3, "Nobody" called

Presbyterians "Plot-teeming" and "Monstrous," claimed they had "20[,]000 Plots in

[their] Bell[ies]" targeting God, the King, popular liberties, and freedoms, and insisted on

distance from "Heretick Protestants." After "Somebody" spent most of Dialogue #4

countering "Nobody's" claims, "Nobody" continued to denounce Whigs in Dialogue #5

as "Ingrateful" for refusing to believe the anti-Papists, and dull for refusing to accept

Tory arguments. Ultimately, "Nobody's" comments regarding true Dissenters here were

that they were hypocritical – "neither Protestants nor Papists," but "Protestants" in name

only who viewed all governmental workers as "Papists," the only people they truly

opposed.[24]

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[24] Roger L'Estrange, *A new dialogue between some body and no body, or, The Observator observed* ([London], 1681), nos. 1-5, 2, 1, 2, 1 & 2, & 1 & 2, accessed July 17, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

In *The history of Whiggism*, Hickeringill attempted to prove that the Cavaliers ultimately sided with Charles I, who had, in turn, received the support of the Pope. As a result, the Roundheads (many of whom were the Whigs' political ancestors) condemned Charles I as a traitor to England for acquiescing in this purported wrongdoing. He traced the Whigs' origins to the Civil War era, amidst the conflict between the monarchy and Parliament. He classified the Catholics (and Tories) as Cavaliers, rogues who would not listen to God, and traitors to Christianity who were morally loose, completely immoderate, and unholy. As a Whig, Hickeringill emphasized the Irish (Catholic) origin of the "Tory" slur in analyzing the 1641 Massacre there, claiming it to be a Tory-led action: "[T]he Tory Cut-throats basely Butcher'd the Protestants, Man, Woman[,] and Child that they could come at, or durst come at; and they…spared not Man, Woman[,] nor Child." Hickeringill warned of the Tories' objective to dissolve Whiggish constitutionalism, and established a connection between Catholicism and arbitrary government, claiming that one could not survive without the other. Hickeringill, in arguing this, retrospectively blamed Charles I for threatening England, Parliament, and his subjects, which increased the possibility of Catholicism and arbitrary government in the long term. Hickeringill wrote of the last point, "The King…[increased] Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Government."[25]

Just as the Whigs used epithets such as "Cavaliers" and "Cut-throats" for the Tories, the Tories alleged that the Whigs (specifically, the Dissenters who supported them) were "Phanaticks" and "Popishly Affected." In historian John Phillips' 1681 work,

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[25] Edmund Hickeringill, *The history of Whiggism* ([London], 1682), 11, 12, 13, 38, 44, 48, & 68, accessed February 12, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

The character of a popish successor, the author pointed out the nicknames that Tory

Roger L'Estrange had used to describe Whigs, such as "Phanaticks and Presbyterians."[26]

The Tories, indeed, expressed an "abhorrence" towards anything they associated with the

Whigs.[27] James Butler, the Duke of Ormond, blamed "Liberty" (representing the Whigs)

for "aspers[ing] Men, and Represent[ing] them to the World under the monstrous and

odious figures of Papists, or Popishly Affected" in his 1682 letter, *A letter from His

Grace James Duke of Ormond*, for example. In other words, Butler castigated Whigs for

viewing Anglicans as either Catholics, or affiliated with Catholics. Furthermore, Ormond

claimed that Anglicans were much too devoted to religion and the monarchy to cause

damage to both: "[T]hey are known to be too good Protestants, and too Loyal Subjects, to

joyn in the Destruction of the Crown and Church[.]"[28]

John Nalson, a Tory pamphleteer, also characterized Whigs as fanatics who were

bent on destroying Anglicanism and the monarchy, and as collaborators with Catholics.

Nalson asserted in his 1681 pamphlet, *The true Protestants appeal to the city and

countrey*, that "All honest men believe the Popish Plot, and have a Detestation, both

against the Principles and Practices of Popery." This passage indicated that, to Nalson,

only Tories could truly cite the existence of the Popish Plot, whereas Whigs misused it:

"[T]hey are attempting to play the[ir] Old Game again [...] the Alteration and Ruine of

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[26] John Phillips, *The character of a popish successor* ([London], 1681), 33, accessed February 12, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[27] Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, 174.

[28] Ormond, James Butler, Duke of, 1610-1688, *A letter from His Grace James Duke of Ormond* ([London], 1682), 3, accessed March 12, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

the Government established both in Church and State."[29] In other words, the Whigs misused the Plot by attempting to change and destroy the monarchy and the Anglican Church; they were acting like Catholics in this instance, too, by following in their footsteps.[30]

Rather than solving the problems associated with anti-Catholicism, the Civil War, then the Restoration, only continued to exacerbate them. Indeed, the anti-Catholicism during the Restoration era produced two political parties, the Tories and the Whigs. By the time both parties formed amidst the Exclusion Crisis in the late 1670's, their respective adherents had spent the decade formulating their ideas. As the 1670's gave way to the 1680's, it was now clear that the Whigs and Tories represented two different schools of anti-Catholic thought. Shortly afterwards, the accession of James II to the throne following Charles II's death in 1685 would challenge the Tories' ideas because it brought anti-Catholicism and support of the monarchy into conflict, but it did not really challenge the Whigs'. The Whigs had always thought a Catholic monarch would be bad, and he turned out to be bad in almost exactly the ways they predicted. It is to James II's controversial reign that the next chapter will turn.

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[29] John Nalson, *The true Protestants appeal to the city and country* ([London], 1681), 2, accessed August 12, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[30] Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 99.

CHAPTER 2

ANTI-CATHOLICISM BETWEEN 1685 AND 1688: JAMES II'S REIGN

James II became the next King of England in 1685. He remained on the throne until 1688, when William of Orange and his invasion force deposed him. Although he was a Catholic, James II was able to win the satisfaction of most Tories by promising to respect the established Church upon his ascension. Also, James II's Catholicism initially seemed rather mild to Tories who shared less-than-positive memories of extreme Protestant politicians such as Oliver Cromwell and the Earl of Shaftesbury. James II, however, was not able to win the satisfaction of the Whigs; they asserted their hatred of him based on his absolutist leanings, Catholicism, and pro-French sentiments. Particularly, they highlighted his collaboration with Louis XIV in attempting to extirpate Protestantism and its associated liberties.

While the Whigs claimed that James II was a threat to Protestantism, the Tories asserted that James II was a good Catholic because he had promised to respect the established Church upon his ascension to the throne. This marked another stage of development in Tory anti-Catholic thinking: acceptance of a Catholic monarch as long as s/he adhered to this promise. Meanwhile, the Tories continued to promote their assertion that Catholics and Dissenters continued to pose a combined dual threat to the Church.

However, in 1687, James II's Declaration of Indulgence would grant both of those groups toleration, which was something that had contradicted his promise to maintain Tory Anglican security. As a result, the Tories claimed that James II was now one of those Catholics who worked with Dissenters to threaten the Anglican Church – in other words, it now mattered to Tories that James II was Catholic. Simply put, he was no longer the champion of the Church. The Whigs, on the other hand, asserted that the Declaration of Indulgence was the culmination of James II's attempt to introduce Catholicism into England, with the assistance of Louis XIV. At this point, the aftermath of the Declaration of Indulgence's passing witnessed the Whigs summarizing all of James II's wrongdoings during the course of his reign. Anti-Catholicism suffused Whiggish opinion concerning this subject as 1687 gave way to 1688.

In this chapter, I argue that the Whigs maintained a constant belief that James II threatened their anti-Catholic ideology, while the Tories changed by believing his promise to respect the Anglican Church until they perceived him as threatening it in conjunction with Dissenters. This would indicate that, between 1687 and the end of James II's reign, the Tories denounced James II as unequivocally as the Whigs always had. In doing so, this chapter will analyze sources such as Whiggish pamphlets that warned of James II's consequential alliance with Louis XIV of France, and Tory pamphlets that emphasized loyalty to Anglicanism and James II. Also, this chapter will detail the anti-Catholicism surrounding the period between the passing of the Declaration of Indulgence and the ascension of William III and Mary II to the throne. With that established, it is now time to turn to James II's coronation in April 1685.

As James II's power took shape in the aftermath of his coronation, the Whigs found themselves to be the subjects of a monarch who was Catholic, had connections to Louis XIV, and actively sought to strengthen his absolutist style of ruling. The Whigs attempted to strike back at James II as early as they could into his reign. They did so in June 1685, under the leadership of James Scott, the First Duke of Monmouth, who arrived from the United Provinces of the Netherlands to launch a rebellion against James II. Monmouth's army included not just 150 soldiers, but tradesmen and farmers, all of whom were of the Protestant faith.[31]

Monmouth's declaration, *The declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, the noblemen, gentlemen & others*, particularly claimed James II to be a "Usurper" whose reign so far "hath been but one continued conspiracy against the Reformed Religion, & rights of the Nation." Monmouth then listed a long selection of wrongdoings that James II allegedly committed during the reign of Charles II, all of them threatening to both England and Protestantism. Among them were setting London on fire, "Instigating a confederacy with France," waging war against the United Provinces, contributing to the Popish Plot of 1678, "forging Treason against Protestants," and dissolving Parliaments to avoid any accusations of criminal activity. All of these crimes, Monmouth asserted, were "so black and horrid," and "so ruinous & destructive to Religion, and the Kingdome[….]" Worse, James II accomplished all this "in defiance of all the Laws & Statutes of the Realme[.]"[32]

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[31] Bucholz and Key, 300 & 301.

[32] Monmouth, James Scott, Duke of, 1649-1685, *The declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, the noblemen, gentlemen & others* ([London], 1685), 2, accessed September 9, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

Monmouth's rebellion ended in defeat almost as quickly as it began, thanks to James II's more organized and loyal force that he assembled as a way of counteracting it. As a result of Monmouth's defeat, more than three-hundred perpetrators faced execution at the hands of George Jeffreys, Baron Jeffreys (the King's lord chief justice).[33] An anonymous Tory pamphlet entitled *The Arraignment and condemnation of the late rebels in the West*, in true party fashion, condemned the Whigs as "Phanaticks," "Pests of Government," "despisers of Kingly Power," "Devourers of the Church," and "c[onti]nual broachers of Sedition and Mutiny," and held that the Whigs' anti-Catholicism only smacked of a plot "to Murther the [King], Prophane [Religion], and Subvert the [Government]." Particularly, the Whigs' cause was a pretended one to promote their religion, maintain their liberties, and demote a Catholic King who allegedly promoted the "needless fears of Popery and Arbitrary Government" in the name of a "most Bloudy and Unnatural Rebellion."[34]

Approximately six months after James II's coronation, his Whiggish subjects took notice of France's continued aggression, mainly as Louis XIV accomplished the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This piece of legislation, which French King Henry IV passed in 1598, had given protection to Huguenots (French Calvinists). Particularly, this was aggression on a confessional (politico-religious) level, and managed to convince Whigs that Louis XIV was a monstrous anti-Protestant.[35] This also coincided with fears

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[33] Bucholz and Key, 301.

[34] Anonymous, *The Arraignment and condemnation of the late rebels in the West* ([London], 1685), 2-3, accessed March 19, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[35] Scott, 209-10.

that Louis XIV was attempting to convince James II to collaborate with him in order to subvert England's security and faith. An anonymous Whig pamphlet from 1686 entitled *The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered* warned of this attempt, "[H]e has hitherto spar'd nothing, and is still turning every stone, to…engage [James II]…to be an idle, unconcern'd Spectator of the horrid Tragedy the French King acts upon the Theatre of Europe."[36] In other words, the author accused James II of standing by and doing nothing to stop Louis's conquests; this was especially true when it came to Continental Europe.

The author, a Whig, also blamed Louis XIV for committing offenses such as pitting various Protestant sects against each other, and James II for so thoroughly falling under Louis XIV's influence that he sought to destroy the Church of England by attracting its bishops to Catholicism and allowing them to advance its treasonous cause: "[T]he Bishops favored Popery, and would not fail to prove turncoats, as soon as a favourable Opportunity should be offer[']d them…." Moreover, in the aftermath of James II's conversion to Catholicism some years ago, Louis XIV would undoubtedly have influenced the latter's actions regarding Anglicanism, according to the author: "But now since the King of England has thought good to change his Religion, France also has alter'd his Battery, and turn'd all his Great guns against the Church of England." Ultimately, the sectarian conflicts would overtake James II's reign to a point where the monarch would have no choice other than to focus only on Britain and make him less likely to intervene in continental affairs, as a result. Amidst all this, widespread anger at

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[36] Anonymous, *The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered* ([n.p.], 1686), 2, accessed March 21, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

James II's policies would make it more difficult to allow him to carry them out effectively: "[A]t home,…he is like to meet with so many Crossings and Thwartings of the Designs he is carrying on, that he will find it a hard matter to break through them, and accomplish the thing he aims at, and so zealously affects."[37] In short, James II would encounter opposition to his plans for accomplishing his ultimate goal of re-Catholicizing England.

On the same page of the document where he predicted that James II would face massive resistance at home, the author also called for an alliance with the United Provinces. Like Slingsby Bethel had in his 1671 pamphlet, *The present interest of England stated*, the author of *The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered* claimed that such an alliance would not only represent a "League" and a "right understanding and good Correspondence between those two Governments, to oppose all Powers that would invade and trouble the Peace of Christendom," but a significant chance to convince other "States" to "most gladly embrace the Proposal." However, the author also knew that not only would Louis XIV and James II collaborate further to prevent this from happening, but that Louis XIV never wanted this to happen: "This indeed is the thing, which France, would be very loth to see, because the hearty Union of these two Governments, would in all probability put a stop to the French king[']s understandings…[and] design–"[38] In short, any acceptance of an Anglo-Dutch alliance would be harmful to Louis XIV's strategies.

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[37] Anon., *The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered*, 3.

[38] Anon., *The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered*, 3-4.

On the Tory side, the arguments in favor of a strong Anglican Church willing to struggle against Catholics and Dissenters, as well as loyalty to James II, still carried significance for their adherents in 1686. The Tories still castigated these two religious groups, yet it made sense to remain loyal to James because his promise to respect the established Church still remained in effect one year into his reign, allowing James II's Tory subjects to maintain their satisfaction with him. An anonymous Tory pamphlet entitled *A second remonstrance by way of address from the Church of England, to both Houses of Parliament*, claimed that James II secured his subjects with his initial promise to respect the Anglican Church – but only if his subjects reciprocated this respect. The author wrote of this, "We find our selves safely sheltred under the promise of Our most Great and Gracious Soveraign…[b]ut it behooves us to reflect, this promise was Conditional, if we were true to Monarchy."[39] Particularly, it did not matter that James II adhered to Catholicism as long as he had convictions steeped in religion. Also, whereas Whigs accused James II of working with Louis XIV in order to overthrow Protestantism during this time, Tories accused Dissenters and Catholics of attempting to do the same with Anglicanism. As late as 1686, they still called Dissenters names such as "Fanatics."

An author writing under the name of Philemon Angell ("lover of angels") explained in his pamphlet, *The way of peace: or, A disclosure of the dangerous principles and practices of some pretended Protestants*, that non-conforming Protestants still represented a danger to Anglicanism. Angell asked, "Now how dangerous and destructive the Presbyterian and Phanatick Principles and Practices…are? How subversive of all

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[39] Anonymous, *A Second remonstrance by way of address from the Church of England, to both houses of Parliament* ([London?], 1686), 2, accessed April 16, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

Government, Order, and Peace in the World? And how contrary to the…true Protestant

Church of England[…]?,” before answering, “[They are] more fit to be abominated and

detested, and exploded out of the Christian world, than cherished and countenanced.”

Angell blamed Catholics, especially Jesuits, for enabling Dissenters to pursue them and

upend Anglicanism; moreover, it was not that Tories were suddenly okay with Catholics,

but it was that they believed James's promises to defend the Church. He wrote of this,

“[T]hese men of such intolerable and insolent spirits and principles are now so earnest in

prosecution of the Romanists, from the worst of whom (viz. the Jesuits) they take their

principles and practices[.]”[40]

Thomas Cartwright, a bishop and diarist, & the Dean of Ripon at the time,

celebrated the monarch in his sermon entitled *A sermon preached upon the anniversary

solemnity of the happy inauguration of our dread sovereign Lord King James II*. This

document claimed that not only was it appropriate “to Celebrate, according to the

Laudable and Religions Practice of good Subjects in former Ages,…our Gracious

Soveraign Lord King JAMES the Second,” but that non-Conformists were “hot-spurs”

and “Conspira[tours],” as well as adherents of religion prone “to…Madness.” In this

selection, Cartwright acknowledged that the “Laudable and Religions Practice” was

obedience to the King. Cartwright also called Dissenters “Blood-thirsty Men, being not

only agreeable to their Anti-Monarchical and Anti-Episcopal Principles; but, in truth,

inseparable from them.” For Cartwright, not only were Dissenters allegedly against the

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[40] Philemon Angell, *The way of peace: or, A disclosure of the dangerous principles and practices of some pretended Protestants* ([London], 1686), 7-8, accessed March 23, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

monarchy and Anglicanism, they sought no intentions to withdraw from these animosities. On the other hand, Cartwright claimed of Anglicanism, "[Our Religion] sets the Crown fast and easie upon the King's Head, without Catechising him." In other words, Anglicanism not only secured James II's crown, but freed him from any inquiries into his religion. This claim reflected the fact that Anglicanism secured James II by leaving him only that choice of religion. It also made other religions unable to compete with it for supremacy. Finally, this claim seemed to be based in the fact that, although James II was Catholic and not Protestant, he was a rightful monarch who respected his subjects and treated them as if they were respectful of him.[41]

Simon Patrick, a theologian and the then-Dean of Peterborough, claimed in his 1686 sermon *Ad testimonium*, that there was required to be this sense of mutual respect between the way that James II's subjects and the Church prayed for him: "We must pray for the King in that sense that the Church prays for him[…]." Patrick then went on to list why James II was considered the rightful King for that position: he had "Wisdom and Understanding" that allowed him to rule and made him "well[-]qualified for Empire," was dedicated to his task, was aware of what justice meant, could solve problems effectively (especially the Monmouth Rebellion), and, finally, "was a Man of extraordinary Piety and Devotion; in this he shewed himself to be the true Son of Holy David."[42] Notably, Patrick made no mention of the King's Catholicism, unlike Cartwright. All that mattered was that James II was religious, and would seek to uphold

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[41] Thomas Cartwright, *A sermon preached upon the anniversary solemnity of the happy inauguration of our dread sovereign Lord King James II* ([London], 1686), 1-2, 13, & 15, accessed July 18, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[42] Simon Patrick, *Ad testimonium* ([London], 1686), 15, 19, 20, 21, & 22, accessed March 23, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

his subjects' Anglican settlement. Like Cartwright, however, Patrick felt that there was no reason to criticize the King's faith.

In 1687, James II passed his Declaration of Indulgence, which finally alienated the Tories by granting tolerance to both Catholics and Dissenters. A pro-Declaration author writing as a "Member of the Church of England" described that opposition in his 1687 document, *An answer from the country to a late letter to a dissenter upon occassion of His Majesties late gracious declaration of indulgence*. The author claimed that the majority of Tory Anglicans viewed the Declaration of Indulgence as a mistake because it appeared to extinguish their duties, gave special treatment to Dissenters who had previously engaged in acts of destruction, and "suggested [an] enlarge[ment] [of] the Roman Catholick Church." As a result, Anglican leaders within this camp sought to do everything to prevent James II from granting any more sorts of preferences to the Roman Catholics. Unfortunately for them, James II's ultimate wish was for both Dissenters and Catholics to achieve freedom from the religious laws that had previously restricted them, and not just temporarily. The author explained how James II sought to accomplish this: "To Establish this, consultations are had; leading Men among the Dissenters are treated with, great promises are made, that Persecution against them shall cease…." The assistance of Dutch and Dissenting English pamphlets would amplify concerns about Catholicism and the Church of England, and "not only declaim against the abrogating of all Penal Laws, but the Dispensing Power, likewise, as tending to the shaking all other Laws, even those of Property[.]" Ultimately, the possibility that James II would repeal the use of dispensing power particularly worried Tories whom the author classified as critics

of the Declaration of Indulgence because it would mean that all laws, especially those pertaining to property, would also become irrelevant.[43]

This evidence that the author presented had indicated that, at that point in time, the Tories finally asserted that James II had not only squandered opportunities to maintain their approval, but failed to respect their Church. Instead, James II's decision to convince Catholics and Dissenters to approve his policies struck at two fundamental Tory beliefs – loyalty to the King, often unquestionable, and total allegiance to Anglicanism – which shook the Tories' faith in James II, at last.[44] The Tories now joined the Whigs in distrusting James II, although their opposing political views still dictated their anti-Catholicism in this instance. Whereas the Tories disliked James II after April 1687 because of fears he would grant religious freedom to both Dissenters and Catholics as a consequence of the Declaration of Indulgence, the Whigs disliked James II since the beginning of his reign because he violated their principles – strict anti-Catholicism, toleration of all Protestants, Francophobia, and pro-Dutch sentiment. In short, Whig/Tory anti-Catholic divides still remained quite relevant.

Anti-Catholic fears by both sides who were concerned about James II's Declaration of Indulgence also asserted themselves in spring 1688. At that time, seven Anglican bishops suffered imprisonment for publicly refusing to read it from the pulpit. This group included William Sancroft, the Tory Archbishop of Canterbury, who made his

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[43] Bucholz and Key, 303, and Member of the Church of England, *An answer from the country to a late letter to a dissenter upon occassion of His Majesties late gracious declaration of indulgence by a member of the Church of England* ([London], 1687), 5, accessed August 5, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[44] Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 187, accessed July 19, 2019, EBSCOhost.

reasons for opposing the Declaration of Indulgence noted in his document (anonymously published) entitled *A Dialogue between the Arch-B. of C. and the Bishop of Heref*. Sancroft listed five main reasons for opposing the Declaration of Indulgence. Among them was his refusal to associate with the Catholics and Dissenters, whom he claimed would overshadow his fellow Anglicans. As Sancroft explained, "[W]e would not joyn with the Papists (as the Dissenter[s] do at this day) and the giddy-headed multitude we knew well enough would…cry us up to the Skies[….]" Moreover, Sancroft claimed that, if it were not for Anglicans' existence, every Christian all over England would be a Catholic: "[W]e should all be Papists if it were not for such as these."[45]

The Whigs, including the Dissenters who supported them, asserted that James II had never intended to end religious persecution with the passing of his Declaration of Indulgence; moreover, the Declaration of Indulgence did not win over Whigs because they perceived it as part of James's larger Catholic plot to destroy liberty and instill absolutism. This emphasized what Whig anti-Catholicism was all about for its followers. Presbyterians, Whiggish Anglicans, Independents (Congregationalists), Baptists, Quakers, and Whiggish politicians and commentators all expressed their opposition to this unpopular document. For example, George Trosse, a Non-Conformist minister from Exeter, not only viewed the Declaration of Indulgence as "'against [the] law," but also claimed "the design of the King was to withdraw the people from the public, and so to weaken the party of the Church of England, whom if he had once brought into contempt, the Dissenters would have been crushed." In other words, Trosse reasoned that James II's

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[45] Anonymous, *A Dialogue between the Arch-B. of C. and the Bishop of Heref.* ([London], 1688), 2, accessed July 18, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO), and Bucholz and Key, 304.

intentions concerning the Declaration of Indulgence were curbing his subjects'

involvement in public life and weakening the Tories, in turn, which would cause them to

massacre all of England's Dissenters if James II had provoked them enough. Another

Dissenting sermon "warned against 'grounding thy expectations upon absolute power.'"[46]

A Whiggish pamphlet from 1688, entitled *An account of the pretended Prince of*

Wales, claimed that James II and Louis XIV both worked together to subjugate the

former's kingdoms to Rome and make England more absolute. The author wrote of the

Catholic Church's attempts to accomplish this, "[S]he thought there could be no way

more effectual, then strictly to unite the two Princes, now both of the same Religion

together that with united Strength and Treasure, they might…be enabled to bring about

their Grand Design." This "Grand Design" included the extirpation of the Protestant faith,

the re-introduction of Catholicism into England, and James II's attempts to introduce

absolutism into England. Also, James II's attempts to introduce absolutism into England

mirrored Louis XIV's, including the modification "[of] all the Officers and Magistrates

of the Kingdom under Subjection to Absolute Will and Pleasure." In other words, James

II had attempted, like Louis XIV, to make these positions more absolute. Amidst this

moment of crisis for English Protestantism, the author predicted that the joint ascension

of Mary Stuart and William of Orange would cause the Catholic officers in England to

scare them to the point of attempting to thwart this ascension. The author wrote of this,

"[I]t did no less turmoil and perplex the Councils and Deliberations of the Papish with

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[46] Anonymous, "Joshua Sager's Sermon Notes" (1687/88), Add. 54185, fol. 59v,
British Library (BL), London; and A. W. Brink, ed., *The Life of the Reverend Mr. George
Trosse* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 125 & 129-30, quoted in
Pincus, 202-3.

Terror and Consternation; which made them enter into various Consultations to ward off this Threatening Opposition to their Designs." This indicated that Catholics in England, in addition to Louis XIV, would be just as afraid of William and Mary.[47]

By the end of James II's reign, another anonymous Whig pamphlet entitled *An account of the reasons of the nobility and gentry's invitation of His Highness the Prince of Orange into England* symbolized James II's wrongdoings throughout his reign. Among the offenses were the King's misusing of liberty of conscience in order to promote Catholicism above Protestantism, supplying of his subjects' rights to the Pope, and contribution to a (French) Catholic-rooted Design to extirpate Protestantism. The author also chose to overlook the wrongdoings of Catholic monarchs who were not Louis XIV, claiming that Louis XIV's role in this Design was despicable due to its publicity: "The instance alone of the French King is enough to be named instead of all, because he hath owned and published to the whole World his part in that Design[….]" Whig William Cavendish, the Earl of Devonshire, claimed that James II's power would make Whigs "like[ly] to suffer." Tory Thomas Osborne, the Earl of Danby, wrote in September 1688, "I had rather lose my life in the field than live under an arbitrary power, and see [the King change] our laws and religion[….]"[48] All of these passages indicated that, not only

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[47] Anonymous, *An account of the pretended Prince of Wales* ([London], 1688), 6, accessed April 14, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[48] Anonymous, *An account of the reasons of the nobility and gentry's invitation of His Highness the Prince of Orange into England* ([London], 1688), 4 & 6, accessed April 16, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO); William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, to (Prince) William, July 10, 1688, King William's Chest, National Archives (NA), Kew Gardens, UK; and Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, to Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, [September] 1688, in *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712*, vol. 2, ed. Andrew Browning (Glasgow: Jackson, Son, 1944), 135, quoted in Pincus, 212.

was James II capable of trying anything at this point to maintain his power, but that any recovery of it would render his position impregnable, and prevent the joint monarchy from assuming its power in England, which it did in fall 1688. In April 1689, William and Mary Stuart became the newly joint King and Queen of England.

In conclusion, James II's reign highlighted everything that gave credence to both Whiggish and Toryish anti-Catholicism – his absolutist leanings, pro-French sentiments, and strict Catholicism for the Whigs, and his abandonment of Anglican security, Declaration of Indulgence, and failure to respect Anglicanism for the Tories. Although he originally promised to maintain this respect, his subjects did not uniformly reciprocate it, especially the Whigs. The Tories, on the other hand, maintained their confidence in James II to respect the Anglican Church until he passed his Declaration of Indulgence during his third year in power. As the Declaration of Indulgence granted special religious preferences to both their Catholic and Dissenter enemies, the Tories' confidence in James II evaporated. Whig-aligned Dissenters not only felt convinced that the Declaration of Indulgence would specifically harm them, but that it was more evidence of a design attempted against them, with Louis XIV at its front and center. Worse, Louis XIV was willingly assisting James II in this. Criticism of both monarchs contributed to calls for William of Orange to invade England, and also became a major theme of anti-Catholicism during William III's reign, especially in the context of calls to launch warfare against Louis XIV. It is to these aspects of anti-Catholicism in England to which Chapter Three will turn next.

CHAPTER 3

ANTI-CATHOLICISM, WILLIAM III-STYLE

William III and Mary II ruled as joint King and Queen of England until 1694

(when Mary II died), leaving her husband to rule alone until his death eight years later. A

collaborative group of Whigs and Tories alike had placed William III on the throne;

however, both parties continued to engage in propaganda warfare that highlighted their

different approaches to anti-Catholicism. Particularly, the war that William launched

against Louis XIV underscored these anti-Catholic divides. Whigs were more likely to

encourage William III in maintaining anti-Catholic rhetoric against Louis XIV, stopping

Louis XIV's ambitions, and including all Protestants in his campaign that he launched

upon his ascension. Tories, on the other hand, were more likely to agree that William III

was another threat to their anti-Catholic ideology, prompting them to downplay his war

against France. In his reign, this influenced how they approached anti-Catholicism, which

now consisted of three approaches with three corresponding factions: the Traditionalists,

who concentrated on Catholics and Dissenters as a combined threat to Anglicanism, the

Revivalists, who returned to pre-Exclusion Crisis ideas that only Dissenters were a threat,

and the Jacobites, who supported James II to one degree or another. All told, the

Tories' threefold approach hinted how fragmented their anti-Catholicism had grown during William III's reign, in contrast to the Whigs'.

Particularly, the Tory documents that appeared during William III's reign reflected how fragmented the party's anti-Catholicism was becoming. For example, an anonymous Traditionalist document entitled *Englands crisis, or, The world well mended*, accused William III of reintroducing Catholicism into England and attempting to abolish Anglicanism in place of Calvinism. Also, the document openly advocated for the restoration of James II, indicating that the author was a Jacobite. Nathaniel Johnston, a Revivalist and High Tory political theorist, claimed that only Presbyterians were a threat to Anglicanism in his pamphlet, *The dear bargain. Or, A true representation of the state of the English nation under the Dutch*. In doing so, Johnston highlighted an example of pre-Exclusion Crisis thought which claimed that Dissenters were the only threat to Anglicanism. An anonymous Jacobite document entitled *The character of a Williamite* labelled Whigs as Catholic-leaning Protestant supporters of William III, which was the Jacobites' response to the Whigs' claim that all Tories committed treason by allegedly supporting James II, as this chapter will show.

In this chapter, I argue that, between 1689 and 1693, Whiggish anti-Catholic pamphlets unanimously justified William III's war against France and alleged that Tories were secretly pro-Catholic Jacobites, while Toryish anti-Catholic pamphlets highlighted an ideology now fragmented into three positions as a response to William III's presence. The content of those writings was indicative of whatever party the author of a particular document supported. Whigs were more likely to argue that William III was responsible for stopping Louis XIV, that Louis XIV and James II were guilty of attempting to make

England absolute and Catholic, and Tories were all secretly pro-Catholic Jacobites. Tories, on the other hand, were more likely to argue either of the following: that Catholics and Dissenters threatened Anglicanism (Traditionalist), only Dissenters threatened Anglicanism (Revivalist), or that James II's restoration was the proper action to take (Jacobite). Also, the Tory faction that adhered to Jacobitism argued that Whigs were Catholic-leaning supporters of William III. This propaganda ensured that Whigs and Tories would remain divided in their anti-Catholicism for the remainder of William III's reign and decades after it ended. In investigating this propaganda warfare, this chapter will analyze Whiggish pamphlets that promoted their cause above the Tories' and Toryish pamphlets that did the same. With that established, it is now time to turn to 1689, William III's first year.

As William III's reign commenced, anti-Catholic divides between Whigs and Tories soon re-emerged. The only agreement they shared was their belief that James II needed to go. Indeed, according to Steven C. A. Pincus in *1688*, these anti-Catholic divides characterized the early years of William III's reign, not unity. While Tories advocated for a more conservative, Anglican society, the Whigs wanted a more liberal and transformative one.[49] Yet, under William III, the Tories faced a predicament: their participation in bringing him to the throne contradicted their principles regarding Church. For example, they had placed a non-Anglican King on the throne; particularly, that was

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[49] Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 278-9, accessed July 24, 2019, EBSCOhost.

an issue because the consecutive matter of the ascension of another non-Anglican King to the throne made Tories dread another period of suffering similar to that under James II.[50]

However, as a pro-Dutch/anti-French (or pro-Protestant) party, Whiggish pamphleteers wholeheartedly urged their new King to preserve their religion and protect them from Louis XIV's aggression. The King eagerly spearheaded this Whiggish propaganda. On May 7th, 1689, William III issued a proclamation, entitled *Their Majesties declaration against the French King*, which specifically cited the criminal acts that Louis XIV had committed. Among them were invading the Holy Roman Empire, destroying other countries, and using his armies to kill their inhabitants. William III also accused Louis XIV of launching warfare against England's allies and defying treaties the Crown guarded. William III then declared it essential to create an anti-French alliance to counteract Louis XIV's Design, stating, "We can do no less than Joyn with our Allies in opposing the Designs of the French King, as the Disturber of the Peace, and the Common Enemy of the Christian World."[51] In other words, Louis XIV's Designs included interrupting peace and presenting a threat to Christianity, as William III viewed it.

Whig commentator P. B., in his 1689 document, *The Means to Free Europe from the French Usurpation*, expected William III to rule in the name of Christianity: "…[T]here was requir'd to be sitting on the Throne,…a Disinterested Prince, Zealous of the Glory of God, and the good of Christendom." Additionally, P. B. expected William III to avenge Louis XIV's actions that the latter "had been highly provok'd by

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[50] Bucholz and Key, 322.

[51] England and Wales, Sovereign (1689-1694 : William and Mary), *Their majesties declaration against the French King* ([London], 1689), 1, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

France[.]"[52]Dissenter (Presbyterian) writer Daniel Defoe's *The Advantages of the Present Settlement* (1689) proclaimed that both the monarchy and the people had a common cause: a devotion to the Protestant religion, "for which both have an equal Zeal." Indeed, Defoe proclaimed that religion, "the best of all things," was essential to English Protestants. Also, Defoe specified that the English Protestant Churches ensured the permanent security of Protestantism as a whole: "It's well known that these churches of Great Britain and Ireland, and more particularly that of England, have been…the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion in general." Defoe then understood Protestant security to be threatened if Catholicism were to return to England.[53]

The Whigs' views of Louis XIV certainly had not changed. Anglican minister William Wake, who was close with William III, claimed that the King was the object of fear of Louis XIV. More specifically, the former was the "Scourge and Terror of the Universal Enemy of Truth, Peace, Religion, Nature: In short, of all the common Laws and Rights of God and of all Mankind."[54] Wake hoped for everyone in England to accept the new settlement, with only those who desired destruction choosing to have regretted it. Daniel Defoe, in *The Advantages of the Present Settlement*, claimed of Louis XIV, "[H]is Cruelty to [Protestants] hath far surpassed all Heathen Barbarity."[55] The author of an

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[52] P. B., *The Means to Free Europe from the French Usurpation* ([London], 1689), 44, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[53] Daniel Defoe, *The Advantages of the Present Settlement* ([London], 1689), 28, 33, & 34, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[54] William Wake, *A sermon preach'd before the honourable House of Commons* ([London], 1689), 32, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[55] Defoe, *The Advantages of the Present Settlement*, 11.

anonymously penned pamphlet entitled *The case of the people of England in their present circumstances considered* called Louis XIV an "Old Enemy of the English Nation, one who desires nothing more than to destroy, and ruine the People; [and] to change and subvert their Laws, and…Religion[….]"[56]

Whiggish pamphlets from this era also accused James II of covertly supporting Louis XIV. Defoe accused both James II and Louis XIV of collaborating to establish a "Private League" that attempted to subvert Protestantism in his British kingdoms and for conspiring with each other to accomplish this goal.[57] P. B. noted that, ultimately, Louis XIV was making them dependent on France, and reasoned that Louis XIV had long hoped for a Catholic to inherit the English throne, especially one under his tutelage. As a result, James II (while still the Duke of York) would fall under Louis XIV's spell.[58] An anonymously penned source, entitled *A Brief account of the nullity of King James's title and of the obligation of the present oaths of allegiance*, contained evidence that James II aligned himself with French Catholicism and absolutism – "the declared Enemies of our Government" – to overturn English laws, expel all "Lawful Members of the Government" because of their opposing viewpoints, amend the English Constitution to accomplish the destruction of English laws, liberty, and property, and establish his authority to increase his absolute power, and making his subjects essentially his slaves. Ultimately, the author declared that James II was unqualified to be an English monarch:

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[56] Anonymous, *The case of the people of England in their present circumstances considered* ([London], 1689), 2-3, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[57] Defoe, *The Advantages of the Present Settlement*, 8.

[58] P. B., 25.

"[T]he Essential Qualifications of an English Monarch could not be found in him; his Principles were utterly opposite and inconsistent; & therefore…he was [i]ncapable to be the true and Rightful King[…]."[59]

Another anonymously penned pamphlet, entitled *Good and seasonable advice to the male-contents in England*, contained the claim that government ceased to function properly under James II: "[W]hen the King would Govern no longer as a King of England, then sure his Government ceased[.]" The author of this pamphlet, who was Anglican, also criticized James II for "alienating his Kingdom, and putting himself under the conduct of a Foreign Prince, who is the greatest Enemy to our Church and Nation[.]" Furthermore, the author expressed suspicion of James II's intention of coming back to England with French soldiers and upending the Anglican Church. The author claimed that James II's "Conscience [wa]s managed by a hot-brain'd Jesuit." Finally, the author warned of what would happen if James II were to return: "That if he regains his Kingdoms, the whole Design of Popery and Arbitrary Government, shall return upon us with more Fury than ever[.]"[60] According to the author, a relapse under James II, in short, would have been even worse than the first reign. Defoe echoed this in *The Advantages of the Present Settlement*, claiming that such a relapse would exceed the miserable conditions under James II's initial reign.[61]

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[59] Anonymous, *A Brief account of the nullity of King James's title and of the obligation of the present oaths of allegiance* ([London], 1689), 7, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[60] Anonymous, *Good and seasonable advice to the male-contents in England* ([London], 1689), 2, 3, & 4, accessed April 1, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[61] Defoe, *The Advantages of the Present Settlement*, 34.

In his 1689 poem, *An heroick poem upon the late expedition of His Majesty, to rescue England from popery, tyranny, and arbitrary government*, a Whig-affiliated controversialist named John Tutchin claimed that England, under James II, "Felt such Tyrannick Force without Redress, That turn'd her Eden [in]to a Wilderness." In other words, James II's reign was so tyrannical and unjust that he converted England's paradise into a wasteland. Furthermore, Tutchin claimed that James II exchanged the Protestant churches in England for a religion that worshipped "Wooden Gods and far more Wooden Priests." In other words, Tutchin asserted that there were two things wrong with Catholicism: that its adherents worshipped multiple gods instead of just one, and that their objects of worship and religious leaders were ignorant, in contrast to their Protestant counterparts. The same applied to all judges, lawyers, and statesmen during James II's reign. Tutchin accused the lawyers serving James II of stripping English law of its "Saving…Power [in exchange for] destroying Power," substituting tyranny in place of freedom, and contributing to the enslavement of James II's subjects. Only William III, Tutchin claimed, could "Threat Destruction to the Tyrant State."[62]

Simultaneously, some Tories denounced William III in the same way that Whigs had denounced James II, asserting that the Calvinist monarch strengthened the "Tyrant State" that Whigs such as Tutchin had feared. In a Traditionalist Tory (anti-Calvinist and anti-Catholic) document from 1689 entitled *Englands crisis, or, The world well mended*, the anonymous author asserted that accepting the rule of a Dutch-born monarch like

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[62] John Tutchin, *An heroick poem upon the late expedition of His Majesty, to rescue England from popery, tyranny, and arbitrary government* ([London], 1689), 4, accessed July 22, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

William III was equivalent to madness: "Now for us to put the Government into the Hands of these Men, who for several Ages have constantly made it their Business to…make them the Protectors of our Religion,…is such an Instance of a deplorable…Madness[….]" In other words, it would be madness because William III and his Dutch compatriots' Calvinism made them unqualified to secure the Tories' Anglicanism. The author also claimed William III to be a pretend English ruler – one who would only corrupt the kingdoms he ruled with his foreign status.[63]

Additionally, the author conflated William III's liberation of England with the reintroduction of Catholicism into England: "He has a Popish Army commanded by Popish Officers, and Papists go in great Numbers to Mass, at several Chappels, as openly as when King James was here, and with a non Obstance to all our Laws[….]" In other words, the author asserted his dislike of William III by using anti-Catholicism to communicate disapproval of the King's allegedly Catholic military force, as well as a spike in Catholics' free and open attendance of Mass akin to that under James II, despite William III's disregard of the laws that Tories cherished. Particularly, the author accused William III of attempting to abolish the Anglican Church and the Episcopalian Church of Scotland (that nation's variant of Anglicanism and Church, which did change from Episcopalian to Presbyterian in 1689), and it was clear the author hated the French as much as the Dutch: "[W]e may not need to be beholden to the French whom we hate, for bringing in the King whom we love; and may we make hast to deliver our selves from the impending Mischief of a Dutch Conquest." This was a reference to James II, making this

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[63] Anonymous, *Englands crisis, or, The World well mended* ([London], 1689), 1, accessed April 2, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

document a Jacobite tract; to the author, James II symbolized a "good Cause," and would convince his English supporters to eventually overthrow William III's government, restore James II's, and ensure that James II promised he would "keep his Word."[64]

Revivalist (anti-Dissenter) and High Tory political theorist Nathaniel Johnston wrote in his 1689 pamphlet, *The dear bargain. Or, A true representation of the state of the English nation under the Dutch*, that the Anglican Church faced danger not from the Catholics, but from the Presbyterians. Particularly, Johnson claimed that both the Dutch and the French Huguenots were assisting the Presbyterians, especially in restoring that faith in Scotland and England; amidst this, the Presbyterians basically became "stand-in" Catholics. Johnston wrote of this, "The[y] indeed have…drive[n] out the Papist, but they have got themselves into his Place[.]" In other words, the Presbyterians may have helped depose James II and his Catholic henchmen, but they acquired the Catholics' dangerous behavior; this was an example of Tories returning to pre-Exclusion Crisis ideas that only the Presbyterians were a threat. Alongside this line of thinking, Johnston claimed that the Dissenters would generally "like[ly]…make another type of War than the Papists could[.]" This type of warfare would involve the Presbyterians' acquisition of access to the English government, schools, and Anglican churches; Johnston also blamed Dissenters, William III specifically, for invading England to "thereby divert King James from assisting France." This indicated that Johnston despised William III because the latter favored warfare against France, whereas Johnston did not.[65]

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[64] Anon., *Englands crisis, or, The World well mended*, 1-2.

[65] Nathaniel Johnston, *The dear bargain. Or, A true representation of the English nation under the Dutch* ([London], 1689), 15, accessed April 2, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

The Whigs, obviously chagrined at this perceived smear of their party's ideology,

charged at the Tories' insults in pamphlets that labelled them as "Jacobites" in some

instances because of their alleged support of James II. This indicated that Whigs

conflated Toryism with Jacobitism, even though most Tories were not Jacobite. Still, the

Whigs were prepared to "exploit the Jacobite 'bogey'" in the midst of their attempt to

smear the Tories.[66] An anonymous pamphlet, from a "*Person of quality*," called *The*

character of a Jacobite, called Jacobites corrupt and two-shaped: "Jacobites…carry two

shapes in one body, like a Centaur, or the Irish Virgin with a Fish in her tail, half

Protestant, half Papist." In other words, the author claimed that Jacobites had Irish

tendencies – half-Protestant and half-Catholic. The author then asserted that Jacobites

represented everything that was bad to Whigs: Catholicism, tyranny, arbitrary power,

resistance to law and authority, and animosity towards the nobility.[67]

The author then compared Jacobites to Lord Jeffries, the judge who had

suppressed Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, by defining him as "an Abandon'd Slave to

Despotick Tyranny" who preferred killing people over admitting that he lost in his

ideological battle against Whigs. The author characterized James II as a monarch who

intended to reconcile Anglicanism and Catholicism, which were opposing doctrines, by

utilizing both religious doctrines in the ideal re-unified Church: "[He himself] will kiss

each other upon his coming back, two Chappels under the same Roof[.]" Louis XIV, to

Jacobites, was "like a Most Christian Prince." Also, the author claimed that the Jacobites

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[66] Harris, 157.

[67] Person of quality, *The character of a Jacobite* ([London], 1690), 1, accessed April 3, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

believed, in turn, that their ability to use their faith freely would contribute to the maintenance of authority and security in England. Ultimately, the author claimed this would be the Jacobites' downfall.[68]

Another anonymous document, *Toryism revived: or, The character of a modern tory* (1690 – an update of a 1681 document with the same name) claimed that Tories "have acted villanous Perjuries, unchristian Butcheries, and unheard of Cruelties on our English Stage[.]" In addition to maintaining the author's description of the typical Tory as a "Monster with an English Face, a French Heart, and an Irish Conscience," the document updated the characterization of a Tory as someone who was "furiously inspired for King James, [and] would bring him back again." Indeed, the author claimed, the Tory publicly acknowledged William III while privately supporting James II: "[W]hatever his External Cant may be for King William, his inward man is fraught with King James." Regarding religion, the Tory "[wa]s either Crab Protestant, that crawls backward, toward Ireland, or at best but the Cats-foot, wherewith the Romish Monkeys claw the Protestant Religion[.]" The passage underscored the Irish (Catholic) origins of the "Tory" slur. Additionally, the Tory pretended to be a High Churchman when he actually was not: "[A]s he understands not her Doctrine, so he dishonours her by his Lewd Conversation."[69]

Another 1690 document, entitled *A hue and cry after a Jacobite, or Louisian and a true character to know and distinguish him*, used almost the same language as the opening paragraph in *Toryism revived: or, The character of a modern tory*, did. The

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[68] Person of quality, *The character of a Jacobite*, 3 & 5.
[69] Anonymous, *Toryism revived: or, The character of a modern tory* ([London], 1690), 1 & 2, accessed July 24, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

opening paragraph in *A hue and cry after a Jacobite, or Louisian* claimed that the

Jacobite was equivalent to a follower of Louis XIV (the "Louisian" of this document),

and "[wa]s a certain Animal of the Doubtful Gender, with an English Face, a French

Heart, a Jesuits Conscience, and an Irish Valour[.]" This time, the author equated the

Jacobite with sharing the same ways of thinking as the Jesuits and bravery as the Irish,

signifying that Jacobitism was more of a Catholic-leaning ideology than Toryism was.

The author underscored this point by claiming, "This Creature is a Protestant in

Masquerade, a Jesuits Advocate, a Popish Sollicitor, [and] a King James's Votary[.]"

Additionally, the author claimed that Louis XIV recoiled at any prospect of acting below

the law, and that he would do nothing but commit errors during his reign: "But…on a

sudden the Muligrubs have Violently possessed him[….]"[70]

Meanwhile, just as the Whigs were alleging that the Tories were all secretly pro-

Catholic Jacobites, members of the Tory sect that adhered to Jacobitism made the

allegation that Whigs were anti-Anglican Protestant supporters of William III who feared

Catholicism, yet somehow grew attracted to it simultaneously. In an anonymous 1690

pamphlet entitled *The character of a Williamite*, the author was of this opinion when he

classified a Williamite as the following: "He is One, who being lately Bug-bear'd out of

his Wits, fancies himself still haunted by the frightful Ghost of Popery." This implied that

Williamites were scared enough of Catholicism to lose the ability to think critically.

Along this line, the author claimed that Williamites spread Catholic lies to promote their

inclusive version of Protestantism: "[They]…tell…you more Romantick lies than ever

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[70] Anonymous, *A hue and cry after a Jacobite, or Louisian* ([London], 1690), 1, 2, & 4, accessed April 3, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

stood on Popish Legend for the Holy Promotion of Protestant Religion." The Jacobite's

hatred of Dissenters, especially Presbyterians who gave the Whigs their name, was also

evident when he claimed that this exempted them from swearing oaths to the monarchy

and Anglicanism: "He derives his venerable Name from a Rigid Presbyterian, and by

consequence does not hold himself obliged to solemn Oaths, or any Sacred Tyes

whatever."[71]

Additionally, the author's hatred of both William III and his religion reflected his

identification of William III as a "Usurper" who was not his true King, just as Whigs

asserted the same regarding James II; the Jacobite claimed that Williamites would never

think of restoring James II to the throne. Furthermore, the Jacobite wrote, "He…therefore

represents Him as a Common Enemy, the Hater of his People, and scares you with Fire

and Fagot[.]" This, the Jacobite asserted, compelled Williamites to help their compatriots,

too. Finally, the Jacobite accused the Williamite of snubbing Anglicanism because it was,

allegedly, an "Unsafe…Protestant Church to glory in; and…own[s] himself as Religious

a Rebel as the greatest Fanatick Zealot in England[.]"[72] This meant that Jacobites still

viewed Williamites as religious fanatics in 1690.

A pro-Williamite document that appeared in 1690, entitled *The character of a*

Williamite, lavished praise on the Whigs' side. This pamphlet, unlike the others described

that hurled negative critiques at each opposing side, was a more positive one that

explained why Williamites were a group of heroic status; it was also indicative of the fact

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[71] Anonymous, *The character of a Williamite* ([London], 1690), 1, accessed
October 17, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[72] Anonymous, *The character of a Williamite*, 1.

that Whigs used this term as a sign of honor during the Williamite era. Indeed, in this pamphlet, the Williamite symbolized everything good, the Jacobite everything bad: "[A]s a JACOBITE must naturally include all that's false, persidious, insulting, and cruel, or otherwise would be no kin to his Godfather; so must his Reverse, a WILLIAMITE,…be whatever is brave, generous, merciful, just[,] and good[.]" Furthermore, the Williamite was synonymous with qualities such as "English Bravery," "Love of Liberty," and "Hatred of Tyranny." Finally, the Williamite shrewdly intimidated France, and was "much more properly than the Cardinals a Fellow for any Prince in Christendom." In other words, the Williamite was the Christian monarch's true ally.[73]

During the Williamite era, pamphlets that appeared in the form of dialogues also asserted the differences between Whig and Tory ideology. One such pamphlet that appeared in 1690, *A smith and cutlers plain dialogue about Whig and Tory*, accomplished this while seeming to favor the Whigs – a bias that suffused the document almost from its opening. For example, "The Tory revileth the Dutch, the Whig applaudeth them," according to the cutler in the dialogue's fourth line; the smith added to this by claiming that the Tories expressed sympathy with James II after his deposition, while Whigs celebrated his loss of power. Indeed, both were divided in every aspect of society, especially English religion.[74]

Although the smith wrongly assumed that only Anglicans were Tories and Dissenters were Whigs, the cutler corrected him by stating that the Whigs comprised the

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[73] Person of quality, *The character of a Williamite* ([London], 1690), 2 & 3, accessed April 3, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

[74] Anonymous, *A smith and cutlers plain dialogue about Whig and Tory* ([London], 1690?), 1, accessed July 24, 2019, Early English Books Online.

top Anglican leadership positions; the Dissenters were merely assistants to Whiggish Anglicans. Along this line, the cutler revealed his Whiggish anti-Catholicism by highlighting his party's supremacy in the Church and the Tories' violation of their claim to it when they agreed to the Catholics' help: "[T]he Heads and chief Body of the Whigs are in the Church of England, and Dissenters are only Helpers to the Church Whigs, as the Papists do assist the Tory." Furthermore, the Tory used Anglicanism as an excuse to threaten the English government, as well as a mechanism for the establishment of arbitrary government and tyranny. On the other hand, the Whigs believed in Protestant security, wanting to assess the causes of the Popish Plot, supporting the exclusion of James II from the throne, and thwarting the Popish Plot. Once in power, the cutler assured, they ensured the security of Protestantism and civil rights. The Tories did not: "By such as were in little Imployments, the Bulwark of Protestancy and Civil Right was stronger than when in Tory Hands."[75]

Indeed, the cutler claimed that the Tories not only weakened Protestant security and civil rights, but also made government mostly irrelevant, weakened English patriotism, strengthened French power in Europe, harmed England's reputation in foreign courts, and contributed to either the murder or exile of the monarch's subjects. Additionally, the Tories caused misery that allegedly helped them while harming the Whigs: "[A]ll their rights violated; the Kingdom debauched and divided: these and a thousand such Fruits may the Tory boast of, and the Nation curse him for." The cutler then claimed that, if England lacked everything that Whigs held dear to them (e.g.,

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[75] Anonymous, *A smith and cutlers plain dialogue about Whig and Tory*, 1.

Parliament, liberties, and justice), or "if all Whigs had been Tories," then the previous

reigns would have erased all evidence of their existence.[76]

The language the Whigs used to assert themselves against the Tories manifested

itself in Daniel Defoe's 1693 document, *A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory, aliàs*

Williamite and Jacobite. Like L'Estrange's *The Observator* twelve years earlier, Defoe's

document appeared in the form of a dialogue between members, individually, of both

parties. Specifically, the Whig accused the Tory of making the Anglican Church the

object of mockery, and of stocking the Church with clergymen sympathetic to

Catholicism and both Charles II and James II. Defoe wrote of this, "[T]hey were

composed of Bishops, and a Clergy preferr'd by two Kings, who were about to set up

Popery and Tyranny…and wh[ich] might…Discredit…the Protestant Religion[….]" The

Whig, in short, feared the extirpation of the Protestant faith. Also, the Whig accused the

clergy of advancing arbitrary power. The Jacobite clergy, the Whig claimed, expressed

contempt for the Archbishop of Canterbury: "…[H]im too do they rail, scoff at, and treat

with the foulest Invectives." Ultimately, the Jacobites did not deserve membership within

a "Reformed Church": "[T]o be served by such a Clergy [was] not only a Scandal to the

Name of Protestant, but to the name of Religion." In short, Williamites believed that the

Jacobites sullied their faith.[77]

The Whig also claimed that too many High Church clergymen were true only to

their Church, not God: "[M]ost of the high Church, as they call themselves,…have the

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[76] Anonymous, *A smith and cutlers plain dialogue about Whig and Tory*, 2.

[77] Defoe, *A dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory, aliàs Williamite and Jacobite* ([London], 1693), 4 & 5, accessed March 8, 2019, Early English Books Online (EEBO).

Spirit of the Church in which they were bred, [but] they [do not] have the Spirit of God."

The Whig expressed admiration for the Anglican faith, wanting to use it for maintaining

English laws, liberties, and the nation, not for selling out England to French interests. He

also supported the Anglican priesthood, and was eager to support its members, not

subjugate himself to them, as he claimed a Tory would have done: "I…am their Servant,

but never can submit to be their Slave." Finally, the Whig claimed that William III was

the right King to serve – he was "Rightful and Lawful." The Whig in Defoe's document

claimed this characterization of William III "to be the Shibboleth, to distinguish those

who are alone fit to serve this Government."[78] In other words, the Whig utilized this as a

slogan to distinguish himself from the Tory in claiming that William III was

representative of all the Whig endorsed, such as anti-Catholicism.

As the first quarter of William III's reign concluded, the Whigs had maintained

their unity in asserting that the war against France was a righteous anti-Catholic

campaign and that Tories were secretly pro-Catholic Jacobites; the Tories grew

increasingly fragmented in responding to William III, on the other hand, and broke into

three groups which made claims that were not necessarily compatible with each other at

this point. The first group, the Traditionalists, claimed that Catholics and Dissenters alike

continued to threaten Anglicanism; the second, the Revivalists, returned to pre-

Exclusionary Crisis Tory thought that only Dissenters were the main threat; and the last,

the Jacobites, was most likely to advance the restoration of James II to the throne and

label Whigs as Catholic-leaning Protestant Williamites. The writings that members on

both sides reflected these cleavages: the Whig pamphlets that highlighted the importance

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[78] Defoe, 6, 19, & 29.

of stopping Louis XIV's ambitions and asserted that Tories were Jacobites, and the Tories' that hinted at the threefold path that their ideology was taking (including the inclinations of some Tories towards Jacobitism that Whigs feared). Whig-Tory anti-Catholic divisions then characterized the remainder of William III's reign, during which the war against Louis XIV ended, in 1697. Yet, while the war against Louis XIV might have ended, the battle between ideologies did not. It would remain true as William III's reign drew to a close and a new century for England began.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that the Whigs and Tories approached, and developed within the context of, anti-Catholicism differently during the late seventeenth century; the Whigs emphasized Catholicism's threat to Protestant liberties, Francophobia, and a toleration of Dissenters, while the Tories preached loyalty to Anglicanism, intolerance of Dissenters like Presbyterians, and the belief that Dissenters worked with Catholics to weaken Anglicanism. Also, Whiggish anti-Catholicism remained mostly static over time, while the Toryish variant changed in four different ways. Particularly, the Whigs maintained their unity, while the Tories fractured into three anti-Catholic groups at the start of William III's reign. Ultimately, four types of anti-Catholicism developed in late seventeenth-century England: one Whiggish, and three other Toryish. Moreover, these variants of anti-Catholicism reflected its complexity in late seventeenth-century England, the ability of religion to shape politico-religious issues (and vice versa), and the centrality of religion to these seventeenth-century politico-religious issues.

While the Whigs' and Tories' core anti-Catholic beliefs might have remained fairly static between 1670 and 1693, the presentation and impact of those ideas changed with different circumstances, and continued to do so as the seventeenth century transitioned into the eighteenth. During this century, the Act of Union (1707) united
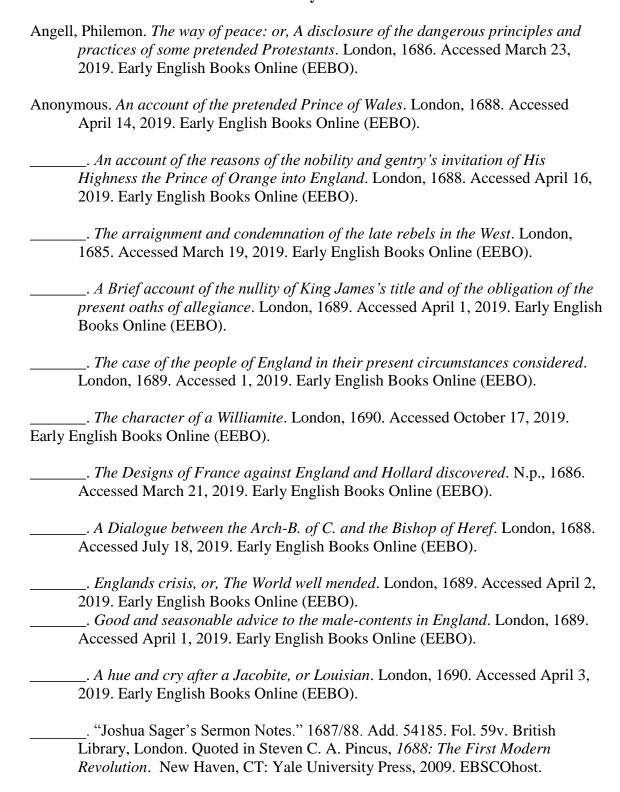
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England and Scotland to create the Kingdom of Great Britain, the Stuart Dynasty came to

a close with the death of Queen Anne (1714), and two Jacobite rebellions (1715 and

1745) ended in defeat for their associated participants and, in turn, their cause. Moreover,

the Britons' engagement in constant warfare against the French sharpened their collective

identity as a Protestant body unified against a Catholic antagonist, an argument which

historian Linda Colley makes in her seminal 1992 work, *Britons: Forging the Nation,

1707-1837*.[79] Although this thesis does not make use of Colley's work, it does make use

of her assertion that Protestantism was a rallying cry against French Catholicism, which

was a unifying force for Whigs in the late seventeenth century, and then one for Britons

in the eighteenth century as Colley suggests. Indeed, the Whigs maintained their anti-

Catholic beliefs well into the nineteenth century, at which point they transitioned from

being an anti-Catholic party to a pro-Catholic emancipation one. Their support of the

Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 confirms this. Meanwhile, the Tories clung to their

beliefs regarding a strong Anglican Church until the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the

Whigs, however, the Tories underwent no such ideologically religious change. After the

mid-nineteenth century, both the Whigs and Tories transitioned into the Liberal and

Conservative Parties, respectively. Today, the name "Tory" survives as conventional

shorthand for the latter, while the name "Whig" hardly exists at all, except among

members of certain political circles. Both names, however, are shells of their former anti-

Catholic selves – a testament to the reduced power of anti-Catholicism in modern Britain,

yet a legacy of these parties that formed as a result of it in the late seventeenth century. In

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[79] See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), for more information.

short, these names reflect a current of thought that still stains Britain's historical legacy today.

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