

Johnson on Pope's deathbed, where Pope said, on having a priest called: "I do not think it essential, but it will be very right; and I thank you for putting me in mind of it." [compare Waugh scene]. And after receiving the last rites, Pope said: "There is nothing that is meritorious but virtue and friendship; and indeed friendship itself is only a part of virtue." "The religion in which he lived and died was that of the Church of Rome, to which in his correspondence with Racine he professes himself a sincere adherent ... to whatever levities he has been betrayed, it does not appear that his principles were ever corrupted, or that he ever lost his belief of Revelation. The positions which he transmitted from Bolingbroke he seems not to have understood, and was pleased with an interpretation that made them orthodox" (Johnson). Spence reports that on arrival of priest, "he exerted all his strength to throw himself out of his bed, that he might receive the last sacraments kneeling on the floor."

****1745****

Jacobite uprising in the north by Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender; son of Old Pretender; Prince Charlie defeated at Culloden Moor in 1746, *thus diminishing fear of Jacobites in Ireland*. Pretender's declaration pub. in name of James III: "We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the church of England as by law established in all her rights ... We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Protestant Dissenters, being utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of conscience and religion ... We come not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at the present established in England, Scotland and Ireland" (prepared at Rome!-- Berington, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England (L 1813)).

Thomas Wharton the Younger, "The Pleasures of Melancholy": "O let me sit / Far in some distant aisle of the deep dome, / There listen to the solemn sounds, / Which as they lengthen through the Gothic vaults, / In hollow murmurs reach my ravished ear."

Colley Cibber (hero of Dunciad, final edn.), Papal tyranny in the reign of King John; pref.: "In all the historical Plays of Shakespear there is scarce any FACT, that might better have employed his Genius, than the flaming Contest between his insolent Holiness and King John. This is so remarkable a passage in our Histories, that it seems surprising our Shakespear should have taken no more Fire at it ... Shall we suppose, that in those Days, almost in the Infancy of the Reformation, when Shakespear wrote, when the Influence of the Papal Power had a stronger Party left, than we have reason to believe is now subsisting among us; that this, I say, might make him cautious of offending? Or shall we go so far for an Excuse, as to conclude that Shakespear was himself a Catholick? This some Criticks have imagin'd to be true, from the solemn Description of Purgatory given us by his Ghost in Hamlet; yet here, I doubt, the Conjecture is too strong; that Description being rather to be consider'd simply as a poetical Beauty, and critically proper to a Catholick Character than offer'd as a real Point of Declaration of his own Faith. Had Shakespear been a Romanist, he would scarce have let his King John have taken the following Liberty with his Holiness, when he contemns the Credulity of Philip the French King that can submit to --

Purchase corrupted Pardon of a Man,
Who in that Sale, sells Pardon from himself.

This is too sharp a Truth to be suppos'd could come from the Pen of a Roman-Catholick. If then he was under no Restraint from his religion, it will require a nicer Criticism than I am master of to excuse his being so cold upon so warm an Occasion.// It was this Coldness than, my Lord, that first incited me ..." [apparently first to cite Hamlet Purgatory bit as reflecting S's papism—Chandler 2006, but see Theobald above]

- **1747**** William Warburton, edn. of Shakespeare, asserts that Holofernes in Love's Labour's Lost is a satiric portrait of John Florio, Protestant tutor in Southampton's household, a point later developed by Francis Yates and others. Notes Catholic nature of Purgatory lines in Hamlet but does not think S. a Catholic (Chandler 31).
Jonathan Edwards, in Connecticut, preaches "A Concert of Prayer, or A humble attempt to promote the agreement and union of God's people throughout the world," which begins Great Awakening, with its feel for Christian unity.
- **1749**** William Collins, "An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland" (c. 1749-50), precursor of Hurd (see 1762).
Wesley, Letter to a Roman Catholic, plus sermon "Catholic Spirit," ecumenical, but would support Gordon for political reasons.
- **1750**** William Oldys, in Life c. 1750, younger brother described seeing Shakespeare "act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein being to personate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was As You Like It."
- **1752**** P.T., "Observations on Shakespeare's Falstaff," Gentleman's Magazine: treats as absurd that Shakespeare could have satirized Oldcastle, "who stood foremost on the list of English reformers and Protestant martyrs, and that too at a time when reformation was the Queen's chief study."
- **1753**** Samuel Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison, the gentleman torn between Protestant Harriet and pious Catholic Italian Clementina who gives him up because of religious difference, though there is much discussion of how the marriage could be a compromise. (See summary in F. M. Steele, "Catholicism and English Literature in the Eighteenth Century," American Catholic Quarterly Review (Oct 1911): "One of the remarkable features of this novel": "The author has not only dealt fairly with the Catholics ... but he has made his Protestant characters respect them ... Indeed, one of the great lessons ... is charity to those who are of another faith.") (Grandison blames Clementina's illness on her religion, and refuses to convert; also wards off Italian Lady Olivia and marries English Harriet; Charles proposes to establish 'Protestant nunneries' in England for excess women; precursor of Gothic themes.)
Edward Gibbon converts to Catholicism, temporarily (until 1754).
- **1755**** British export 6,000 Acadians from their homeland. See Longfellow.
- **1756**** John Lawrence Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, trans. now into English, highly influential example of anti-medievalism, used by Gibbon.
Seven Years War 1756-1763, first "world war" (W. Churchill), engulfing Europe and North America; Prussia, Great Britain and her North American colonies etc. against Austria, France (including the North American colony of New), Russia, Sweden etc.; soon involving Spain and Portugal; see 1763. Result was end of French Empire and beginning of British empire.
- **1759**** David Hume, History of England (1754-1761). Notes twin corruptions of superstition and enthusiasm (parallel Catholicism and Protestantism). On More: "Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition." The usual nationalist notion of England, but describes Queen Elizabeth as "excellent hypocrite" politically attaching herself to Protestantism. Bashes monasteries, hierarchic church, middle ages.
Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy (1759-67), with satire of Dr. Slop. Drenched with mud by Obadiah's horse, "never was a Dr. Slop so beluted, and so transubstantiated." Mr. Shandy proposes to read Yorick's sermon and Dr. Slop has no objection "for it does not appear on which side of the question it is wrote ... 'Tis not wrote upon neither side, quoth Trim, for 'tis only upon Conscience, an' please your Honours." As Yorick attacks Rome's religious persecution, Dr. Slop interjects after waking, "They may thank their own obstinacy," but joins in pity for story of a victim of the Inquisition, but then says "'Tis only a description, honest man, quoth Slop, there's not a word of truth in it—There's another story, replied my father." "We preach much in that way with us, said Dr. Slop ... But in this, added Dr. Slop, a little piqued, --our sermons have greatly the advantage, that we never introduce any character ...

below a patriarch ... or a saint." The Great Excommunication Curse, "my uncle Toby whistling Lillabullero, as loud as he could, all the time." Toby pooh pooh's Rome's seven sacraments. Slawkenbergius's Tale, about noses, given Catholic contexts. Trim gives tale of Count Solmes "made a shift to tell his story so, that priests and virgins might have listened to it." On marriage: "I think the procreation of children ... beneficial to the world, said Yorick ... It replenishes the earth; said my mother—But it keeps heaven empty—my dear; replied my father. —Tis Virginity, cried Slop, triumphantly, which fills paradise. // Well push'd nun! quoth my father." Story of poor Maria: plays an air on her pipe: "It is the evening service to the Virgin, said the young man—but who taught her to play it—or how she came by her pipe, no one knows; we think that Heaven has assisted her in both; for ever since she has been unsettled in her mind, it seems her only consolation—she has never once had the pipe out of her hand, but plays that service upon it almost night and day." Sterne's anti-Catholicism lessened after his trips abroad [2 journeys abroad, 1762-4, 1765] [reflected in Tristram's trips to France in Vol. 7?]; did this effect late picture of Maria? Maria also appears in A Sentimental Journey (1768) (shows "evidence of the author's changing attitude toward Roman Catholicism;" Sterne "positioning himself somewhere between the usage of Catholicism as a sentimental tool, as an accessory, and the recognition of Catholicism as a spiritual discourse") which contrasts with Smollett's travel narrative disparaging Europe. Toby when irritated whistles "Lullibullero", i.e. satirizing defeated Irish Jacobites, at time of Glorious revolution; it "sung James II out of three kingdoms;" portrayed Pope as dupe of the devil, tyrannical, etc.

****1760**** **George III** begins reign. Boswell converts to Catholicism and retains respect for it, despite soon opting for the libertinism of Lord Eglinton (see F. Pottle).
Macpherson, Fragments of Ancient Poetry.

****1762**** Bishop Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, defending Gothic against classical, establishing influential ideal of chivalric knight. He would have preferred the "feudal ages" for their "improved gallantry" and "the superior solemnity of their superstitions." "There is ... in the revolutions of taste and language, a certain point, which is more favourable to the purposes of poetry than any other ... somewhere between the rude essays of uncorrected fancy, on the one hand, and the refinements of reason and science, on the other."

Rousseau's Émile, includes "The Creed of a Savoyard Priest," great humility about what can be asserted--doctrines degrade ideas of the Supreme Being--guided by inner light--true worship is of the heart, but: "Called to the service of the Church in my own religion, I fulfill as scrupulously as I can all the duties prescribed to me ... I carry out the whole ritual exactly; [at the consecration] I strive to annihilate my own reason before the Supreme Mind; I say to myself, Who art thou to measure infinite power?" "I shall never teach ... No salvation outside the church;" "go back to the religion of your fathers, and follow it in sincerity of heart (but treat all with charity); thus in Montaigne (a favorite of Rousseau) and Erasmus tradition. "He represented the deepest modern challenge to Christianity because he was the first to offer man the benefits of religion without appealing to revelation" (Mark Massa, The Stillborn God 2007).

****1763**** Treaty of Paris, end of Seven Years War. Spain hands over Florida territory to England; Britain's triumphs also swept away entire continental empire of the French; "marked the end of an epoch" (Ahlstrom), thus Catholics seen as less of a threat with the predominance of the British empire.

End of French and Indian War (1754-63), and of French empire. But in 1774, the Quebec Act allowed French Catholic Canadians to retain their religious traditions; striking departure from anti-papist British tradition. The acquisition of colonies with large Catholic populations helped lead to relief act of 1778.

****1764**** Gibbon resolves to write his Decline and Fall, "on the fifteenth of October 1764, in the close of evening, as I sat musing in the Church of the Zoccolanti or Franciscan friars, while they were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter on the ruins of the Capital" (Memoirs)

****1765**** Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story (given its influential subtitle in second edition) (see Branagh's Hamlet, 1996) influenced by Gothic interests of Thomas Gray and Thomas Warton. Preface: "found in the library of an ancient Catholic family in the North of England" "printed at Naples ... in ... 1529" (sic), perhaps by an "artful priest" who is trying "to confirm the populace in their ancient error and superstitions;" basic moral is "that the sins of the fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation." Manfred calls on priest

to aid him in divorcing his wife and marrying Isabella, daughter of usurped ruler of Otranto (Knight of the Gigantic Sabre); she escapes with peasant Theodore's help; Father Jerome refuses. Gigantic sword found by Isabella's father in Holy Land, on which was written that only the blood of Manfred could atone for his wrongs committed on the family of the true ruler of Otranto (the peasant Theodore). At end appears giant ghost form of dead Prince Alfonso proclaims Theodore to be true heir as his grandson. On Walpole: "Middleton taught him that prayer was a delusion" (and compared papist and pagan rites) ... But aesthetically he found Catholic church services ... irresistible ... While he was in Italy he behaved as an honorary Catholic, still claiming to despise priestly authority and corruption ... Eventually he added a pseudo-chapel, the Tribune, a cross between a church and an art gallery, to Strawberry Hill" (Mowl, Horace Walpole).

Bishop Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, bringing "a vital picture of medieval Catholicism to the attention of the middle-class" (Morris, 1984); includes "The Rising in the North," on Northumberland and the Nortons, "declaring their intent was to restore the ancient religion, to get the succession of the crown firmly settled, and to prevent the destruction of the ancient nobility, &c. Their common banner (on which was displayed the Cross, together with the five wounds of Christ) was borne by ... Richard Norton ... who with his sons ... distinguished himself on this occasion" (preface). (See Wordsworth 1815). Also includes "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne": "Robin thought on Our Ladye deere, / And soone leapt up again ... And he Sir Guy hath slayne." Also "The Friar of Orders Gray" begins: "It was a friar of orders gray / Walkt forth to tell his beades; / And he met with a lady faire / Clad in a pilgrim's weede's;" friar is her former scorned lover and they are reunited, since he is "haply" only a novice. Similar story in "Gentle Herdsman, tell to Me": she asks way to Walsingham, her scorned lover having died: "And for his sake these weeds I weare, / And sacrifice my tender age; / And every day Ile begg my bread, / To undergoe this pilgrimage." "Little John Nobody," "witty libel on the Reformation under Edward VI" (Percy forenote): "I little John Nobody dare not speake" i.e. because Cranmer has ordered services in English; "For bribery was never so great since born was our Lord, / And whoredom was never les hated sith Christ harrowed hel."

Parliamentary census shows about 70,000 papists.

Blackstone's Commentaries (1765-9): "if a time should ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very distant, when all fears of a pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the pope shall become feeble, ridiculous and despicable, not only in England, but in every kingdom of Europe, it probably would not then be amiss to review and soften these rigorous edicts ... for it ought not to be left in the breast of every merciless bigot, to drag down the vengeance of these occasional laws upon inoffensive, though mistaken, subjects, in opposition to the lenient inclinations of the civil magistrate, and to the destruction of every principle of toleration and religious liberty" (qu. in C. Haydon, Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England (Manchester UP, 1993).

****1766**** Pope recognizes George III and Hanoverian dynasty (with the death of 'James III' in 1766).

****1768**** Ann Radcliffe, The Italian but Inquisitor "reasonable, honourable judge" (Sage quoted by Purves, 2009).

****1770**** Catholics about 80,000 (Bossy).

John Shakespeare's "Spiritual Testament" found, ca. 1770, by bricklayer in rafters of Shakespeare house on Henley street, then occupied by Thomas Hart, a direct descendant of Shakespeare's sister, Joan; witnessed by alderman and vicar of Stratford (see 1790).

****1771**** *Irish penal land restrictions begin to be relaxed; 1782 repeal of Poyning's Law achieved by Grattan (see 1495); 1792 relax marriage and education laws; 1793 allow Catholics to vote and hold most offices. "Protestant Ascendancy" coined late in century.*

****1773**** Dissolution of Jesuits by Clement XIV, under pressure from Bourbons; "No Pope made so instant and so favourable an impact upon general opinion" (Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution).

Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under sobriquet of "First Citizen" published notable

attack on Taxation policy, attended First Continental Convention in 1774 Philadelphia, in 1774 elected to the Maryland Convention, first Catholic to hold office since 17th Century, only Catholic to sign Declaration of Independence in 1776 (“When I signed the Declaration of Independence, I had in view not only our independence of England but the toleration of all sects, professing the Christian religion, and communicating to them all great rights” (qu. Birzer, American Cicero). Catholics also helped by support of French, and by Enlightenment notions of freedom and toleration. Catholics supported separation of church and state, often used English in church liturgy, used lay trustees for churches. In 1789 John Carroll appointed first bishop of Baltimore, with jurisdiction over all states and territories (Catholics 10% of 4 mill. pop.); but after ordination and because of French Revolution, turned back liberal reforms. Maryland and Kentucky key pre-1820 Catholic centers, and thus attached to slavery. In 1817, all U.S. bishops save one were French; thus eventual conflict with Irish Catholicism.

****1774****

Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (-1781): on medieval: “Their pageants, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory.” Warton: “The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion of the Middle Ages, were favourable to poetry”; “ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination.” Elizabethan age combined imagination and reason; there was still alive a “degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, and the adoption of the machineries of romance.” “The Reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanting all the strongholds of superstition;” “Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry”: thus the witches and fairies in Shakespeare thus 3 stages of literature, primitive imaginative, Elizabethan synthesis, final period of correctness (but at a cost).

“Warton [“The Pleasures of Melancholy”] was one of the first to associate monasticism with the cult of pensive melancholy” which Milton had disassociated (Morris, 1984).

Cowper’s important friendship with the Catholic Throckmortons begins, c. 1774 (see F. M. Steele, “Catholicism and English Literature in the Eighteenth Century,” American Catholic Quarterly Review (Oct 1911)), though he retained his overt anti-Catholicism.

John Adams visits St. Mary’s Catholic Church in Philadelphia: “This afternoon, led by curiosity and good company, I strolled away to mother Church, or rather grandmother Church. I mean the Romish chapel. I heard a good, short moral essay upon the duty of parents to their children ... how shall I describe the picture of our Savior in a frame of marble over the altar, at full length, upon the cross in the agonies ...the assembly chanted most sweetly and exquisitely. Here is everything which can lay hold of the eye, ear, and imagination—everything which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell.”

****1775****

Beginning of American Revolution (1775-1783), dividing the Protestant English, and reducing sense of the Catholic threat.

****1776****

George Washington issues intercolonial order banning Pope’s Day, New England version of Guy Fawkes Day, to avoid offending Canadian French Catholics. French alliance of 1778 softened intense colonial anti-papalism. Earlier, American revolutionists denounced George III for allowing Catholic establishment in Canada, i.e. George no genuine king if he betrayed the Glorious Revolution (thus anti-Catholicism higher standard for Protestants than royal authority) (see Conor Cruse O’Brien, God Land).

American Revolution, leading to separation from Church of England (which had been formally instituted 1607 in Virginia) and forming of American Episcopal Church. After an Act of Parliament, English bishops were empowered to confer the episcopate upon men who were not subject to the British Crown: first American Episcopal bishops consecrated by Archbishop of Canterbury in 1787. *American Revolution would influence the Irish Protestat “Patriots.”*

William Shenstone’s Works includes “The Ruin’d Abby; or, The Effects of Superstition,”

attacking corrupt monks and Papacy (“Becket ... with unhallowed crosier bruised the crown;” “wicked thrones combine / With papal craft, to gull their native land!”). The ruins are “now but of use to grace a rural scene; / To bound our vistas, and to glad the sons / Of **George’s** reign, reserv’d for fairer times!”

Edward Gibbon’s Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, to portray mankind’s emergence from “the darkness and confusion of the middle ages,” (1776 pref.); vol. 1, including chapters 15 and 16 portraying earliest Christianity as fanatical and superstitious -- thus enforcing the dilemma: Catholic Christianity or no Christianity. Vol. 5, chap. 54, on the Reformation: “Myriads of ... the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life;” “the credulity of the people is no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions,” replaced by “a pure and spiritual worship ... the least unworthy of the Deity.” “The chain of authority was broken;” “each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience;” thus a “secret Reformation” where the Reformer’s appeals to private judgment were accepted far beyond what they intended; “the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation.” “Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished; the web of mystery is unraveled ...” Further volumes in 1781, 1788.

Also from chap 15: “since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been some period in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church.” Argues for the urbane tolerance in paganism—attacked by Hart (2009).

Johann Pütter, Lutheran lawyer, coins term, “Counter-Reformation,” to designate move of German Catholic princes against Lutherans.

****1777****

Chatterton’s Rowley Poems (1767-70): his “empathy for religious medievalism in the Rowley and Canyng poems was total” (Morris, 1984); uses persona of imaginary 15th century poet-monk.

****1778****

First Catholic Relief Act removed a few disabilities, enabled Catholics, who gave allegiance to House of Hanover (i.e. deny Stuart claims and Pope’s civil jurisdiction), to inherit or purchase lands, and children no longer forfeited to nearest Protestant relatives for attending continental schools; ended prosecution of Catholic priests by informers; still banned public worship, excluded from military and from law, double tax, etc. (Motivated partly by Lord North’s need for Catholic soldier vs. the Colonies.) Provoked No-Popery riots of 1780. **See 1791**. Preceded by Quebec Act of 1774 giving Catholics rights in lower Canada.

Edmond Malone, Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare were Written, important pioneer work.

****1779****

James Fordyce, A Sermon ... on the Delusive and Persecuting Spirit of Popery: on liberal Catholics: “If many of them have acquired new light, by the diffusion of learning and philosophy, what effects has it produced upon the face of their Church? Have they publicly reprobated a single error in the established system, or dropped a single practice of their former superstition? Have they in a body expressed one sentiment of toleration?” Fr. Joseph Berington, A Letter to Dr. Fordyce: denounced Bellarmine conservatism and Jesuitical plotting, said that “universal toleration” was the “true spirit of Christianity,” denounced union of church and state. On cisalpine era (roughly 1780-1800) following, see Duffy, “Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected,” Recusant History 1970-75.

****1780****

Catholics about 1%. Lord Gordon presents petition of the Protestant Association of England to repeal the 1778 Catholic Relief Act: then, “Gordon riots.”

Joseph Berington, liberal Catholic, The State and Behaviour of the English Catholics from the Reformation to the year 1780, in response to Gordon riots: basic Catholicism, stripped of its accretions and politicized papacy, is true, original Christianity; both Reformation and Counter-Reformation were tragic aberrations; how could Protestant be blamed for persecuting a temporarily distorted Catholicism? Yet now everything changing, with Protestants losing interest in their dogma, and Catholics discarding Counter-Reformation accretions. Catholics had always been loyal, and were very few now anyway. Denounced fanatical James II, praised 1688 revolution as dawn of liberty, and British Constitution as great glory. Denounced “Roman” Catholicism as in Spain and Italy (“I am no Papist, nor is my religion Popery”) (like

Pope—an 18th cent. formula?). Archbishop Carroll praised Berington for the “noble and generous freedom” with which he has portrayed both Catholic and Protestant, but Challoner denounced it. Helped lead eventually to founding of Cisalpine Club in 1792 (dissolved 1830, year after Catholic Emancipation). “This notion of true devotion, shared in various degrees by Lingard, Archer, Butler, Berington, and Fletcher, was at the core of the Cisalpine mentality;” the condemnation of Quietists had impeded such a focus, “la deroute des mystiques;” “man’s inner experience of the divine had been forced underground.” “Archer’s view of devotion, like John Fletcher’s, recalled that of Francis de Sales.” “Fletcher also appealed to the reform tradition that combined humanism and mysticism.” (Chinnici, 1980, p. 182-5)

****1781****

Edward Capell notes source of Gonzalo’s speech in Montaigne’s “Of the Caniballes.” *Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, a “Copernican Revolution in-reverse”*.

****1782****

St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, praising America as land of “religious indifference” where Quakers and Catholics etc. live side by side, with religion being “nobody’s business”. “Let us suppose you and I to be traveling; we observe that in this house, to the right, lives a Catholic who prays to God as he has been taught ... his belief, his prayers offend nobody. About one mile farther on the same road, his next neighbour may be a good honest plodding German Lutheran, who addresses himself to the same God ... he also works in his fields ... He persecutes nobody and nobody persecutes him,” etc. “In a few years, this mixed neighbourhood will exhibit a strange religious medley, that will be neither pure Catholicism nor pure Calvinism ... Thus all sects are mixed as well as all nations; thus religious indifference is imperceptibly disseminated from one end of the continent to the other.” Thus religious version of the melting pot (“individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men”). Influenced romantics’ view of America.

*Irish Constitution (-1800), result of increasing prosperity, need of Irish support during American Revolution; founding of Maynooth Seminary in 1795 for training Catholic priest (their bishops horrified by French Revolution); Pitt offering sanctuary to fleeing French priests; era of Henry Grattan (Protestant) (“Ireland is now a nation!”) and Wolfe Tone (Protestant, believed Catholicism would disappear under influence of Enlightenment ideas) (heads Society of United Irishmen) who sought French Revolutionary support (opposed by Catholic bishops); proposed idea of “Erin” uniting Anglo-Irish elite and Gaelic antiquity; United Irishmen objective was “To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and dissenter”. Thus Irish Rebellion of 1798; but Tone (hated Catholicism and knew little of the common people—F. Shaw) was defeated and killed himself in prison in 1798, defeat making the Union (1800-1921) inevitable. Grattan got independent Parliament but proved ineffective. In prior decades, Anglo-Irish found themselves allied with Catholic against British oppression (reflected in Swift, Berkeley ...); and Anglo-Irish Ascendancy began to regard Irish cultural heritage as their own; i.e. Charlotte Brooke’s 1789 *Reliques of Ancient Irish Poetry*; but “paternalist Patoriot model” eventually replaced after French Revolutionary with “insurrectionary separatist one” (Leerssen, *Mere Irish*) “Initially Anglo-Ireland was unimpressed by Catholic claims on a Gaelic past ... its purpose [i.e. late 18th cent. Anglo-Irish antiquarians] were far removed from any revitalizing of the national spirit: the task was to preserve and catalogue the remnantrs of a dead society ... Anglo-Irish revivalism (later) then was an astonishing *volte face*,” as in “Ferguson’s ‘discovery’ of a new Anglo-Irish nationality ... and O’Grady’s insistence.” (Platt, “Voice of Esau,” JJQ 1992) See below, 1840. ...*

****1783****

Moses Mendelssohn, Jerusalem, preaching tolerance; trans. 1838; ecumenical model for Christians; also reflected Moses Maimonides’s Guide for the Perplexed (12th century) with its Neoplatonic Aristotelianism. Mendelssohn made prototype of the hero in Lessing’s Nathan the Wise (1778-9), showing tolerance between Moor, Jew, and Christian.

Mendelssohn is forerunner of the "Haskalah," movement of Jewish intellectual enlightenment.

****1785****

William Paley, The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy: "I perceive no reason why men of different religious persuasions should not sit upon the same bench, deliberate in the same council, or fight in the same ranks, as well as men of various religious opinion upon any controverted topic of natural history, philosophy, or ethics" (qu. Canuel, Religion, Toleration, and British Writing 1790-1830).

Variorum Shakespeare, ed. Isaac Reed, note by Peter Whalley on Hamlet Purgatory, that "Shakespeare talks more like a Papist, than a Platonist" (Chandler: "remarkable .. in the most distinguished edition of Shakespeare then published").

****1788****

Bonnie Prince Charlie dies, succeeded by Henry Stuart, Cardinal York, "Henry IX" (d. 1807), whose portrait hangs at Hoghton Castle. Legitimist claim then passed to descendants of Queen Henrietta, daughter of Charles I, i.e., the family of Louis, prince of Bavaria (d. 1921).

****1789****

French Revolution begins. Storming of the Bastille. In 1791, Claude Fauchet will preach sermon at Notre Dame declaring Revolution a "divine work" that will show the "accord of religion and liberty"; but the accord is ephemeral. Earlier persecuted Jansenists preceded philosophie revolutionists who rejected the royal reliance on Jesuits (expelled 1760s) and on universalist Counter-Reformation in favor of puritan nationalism though this connection has been effaced (see Conor Cruse O'Brien, God Land, p. 44-5).

****1790****

Malone publishes, in his edn. of Shakespeare, Plays and Poems, John Shakespeare's papist testament and is "perfectly satisfied it is genuine" (but see 1796). (In 1784 John Jordan had sent a copy of the testament to the Gentleman's Magazine but the editor rejected it as spurious; in 1789 James Davenport, Stratford vicar, told Malone that alderman Payton reported that bricklayer Moseley had earlier found the testament, which Davenport examined: "it appears to be the confession of our poet's father's faith drawn up by himself, and by which it appears he was a strict Roman Catholic ... [later] "the bricklayer ... bore the character of an honest, sober, industrious man, and no doubt found the manuscript in the manner before described. His daughter remembers him finding it, and that he showed it at the time to many of his neighbours.") Malone here "one of the first to contemplate that possibility" [that Shakespeare was a Catholic—because of the Will, Davie, and intenal evidence.] Malone also the first to argue for Fletcher's lines in the final scene of Henry VIII.

Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, bemoaning the violent sacrilege wreaked upon the French Catholic church: "the age of chivalry is gone." Has to defend the moderate English reform against the French: "Who that had not lost every trace of humanity could think of casting down men of exalted rank and sacred function, some of them of an age to call at once for reverence and compassion, of casting them down from the situation in the commonwealth, wherein they were maintained by their own landed property, to a state of indigence, depression, and contempt?" Defends French clergy against charges of corruption: "They seemed to me, beyond the clerical character, liberal and open, with the hearts of gentlemen and men of honor, neither insolent nor servile in their manners and conduct ... amongst whom you would not be surprised to find a Fénelon. I passed my evenings with three clergymen ... two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western, particularly in their own profession." "I see the confiscators begin with bishop and chapters, and monasteries, but I do not see them end there ... we have never dreamt that parliaments had any right whatever to violate property." Defending monks: "Suppose them no otherwise employed than by singing in the choir. They are as usefully employed as those who neither sing nor say." [Burke's usual clarity becomes obfuscated in trying to distinguish French Revolution from English

Reformation; the Achilles' heel of his reverence for tradition? Tradition becomes "property" and my property.] [See Conor Cruise O'Brien, intro. to Burke, Reflections (Penguin 1968) that Burke's Catholic sympathies led to "subtly subversive" argument that English interests were bound up with Catholicism, a force for order, in France, motivated by passion to defend Catholic Ireland; sees anti-Catholic Protestantism is "natural seed-bed of Jacobinism" (O'Brien)]

Helen Maria Williams's Letters Written in France, surprised that both Catholic and Protestants joined in the French Revolution, and surprised at her mixed reaction to papist worship: "the Roman Catholic worship, though a sad stumbling-block to reason, is striking to the imagination. I have more than once heard the service for the dead performed, and never can hear it without emotion ..."

****1791****

Second Catholic Relief Act grants freedom of worship in registered chapels (if clergy took Oath of Allegiance—see 1778), and thus repeals Uniformity law of 1559; repealed most of Catholic disabilities. In Act of 1793, universities, military and judiciary opened to Catholics, but not membership in Parliament and some offices (see 1829) (1817 Act opened up all military ranks to Catholics).

First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (see 1649, Maryland Act of Toleration).

Mrs. Elizabeth Inchibald's A Simple Story (1791) (her "Lover's Vows" is the play in Mansfield Park): "the surviving eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English novels of religious experience are different. They do not proceed from religious absolutists [like Greene and Waugh], but show the virtues of a candid testing of the value, the strength and the weaknesses, of a religious culture as it actually existed. Thus Mrs. Inchibald's pioneer novel of this kind, A Simple Story (1791) ... though written by a good Catholic... [She] sets herself to enquire, by means proper to the novel, what were the differences between the character typically produced by a Protestant and Catholic education, what the qualities of mind and feeling, what attitudes that promote or threaten happiness ... with very little authorial comment and that impartial ... Even Charlotte Brontë ... shows herself in Villette (1853) holding a similar balance ... At the end of the century Mrs. Humphrey Ward's one fine novel, Helbeck of Bannisdale ... is an exploratory novel which ends inevitably in tragedy for both the leading characters, a profound and moving work of art ... Mrs Ward managed to achieve such imaginative partiality that, as her husband had predicted, some readers thought the novel pro-Catholic ... Without having behind her these novels of religious controversy, George Eliot would hardly have opened Middlemarch with a symbolic first chapter ..." (Q. D. Leavis, "The English of the English Novel," Collected Essays, vol. 1 (Cambridge UP 1983). Also see Q. D. Leavis, "Mrs. Inchbald: A Simple Story," in Collected Essays, vol. 2. (Cambridge UP 1989): "a novel superior to Pride and Prejudice in interest and not less witty, or rich in memorable scenes ... [there is] no bias in exhibiting the character of either religion's representatives ... This is so unthinkable in any nineteenth-century novel on the same theme ... Yet it is in line, as we have seen, with the attitudes of Catholic and Protestant writers, whether novelist, critic or theologian, in the calmer waters of the century before the Victorians arrived to change all that" (pp 7, 10).

United Irishmen founded, calling for a "cordial union among all the people of Ireland" to resist England, and saying "That no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion." Alternative republican movement to elitist Ascendancy "patriotism."

Boswell's Life of Johnson: "We talked of the Roman Catholick religion, and how little difference there was in essential matters between ours and it." "'True Sir,' commented the doctor, 'all denominations of Christians have really little difference in point of doctrine, though they may differ widely in external forms. There is a prodigious difference between the external form of one of your Presbyterian churches in Scotland and church in Italy; yet the doctrine taught is essentially the same'."

****1792****

8,000 French bishops and priests find refuge in England.

****1793****

Wordsworth's Descriptive Sketches, with descriptions of Chartreuse; developed thereafter in various works, concluding with The Prelude (1850).

Burns, "Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots, on the Approach of Spring." Burns: "Whether it is

that the story of our Mary, Queen of Scots, has a peculiar effect on the feelings of a poet, or whether I have in the enclosed balled succeeded beyond my usual poetic success, I know not; but it has pleased me beyond any effort of my muse for a long time.”

Edmond Malone: “Some one has idly enough, from a passage in ‘Hamlet’ in which the Ghost tells of his having been cut off unhouzel’d, disappointed, unanel’d, inferr’d that Shakespeare was a Papist. I cannot at present call to mind by whom that observation was made, or where it is found. Do you happen to recollect by whom it was made? Is there any instance of a Roman Catholick, either in former or modern times, being buried in the church or churchyard of the parish church of Stratford? Are there any Roman Catholicks now living at Stratford, or in its neighbourhood, and where are they buried?” (Original Letters from Edmund Malone to John Jordan, ed. J. O. Halliwell (London: T. Richards, 1864).

Joseph Berington, The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani [papal envoy to Charles I], “standard Cisalpine history of English Catholicism” (Duffy 1970), anti-Rome, defended Elizabeth; pioneer in use of authoritative document, set standard for later historians (Vidmar 2005); cites Sancta Clara.

Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (c.1790-93): “The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it.”

Charlotte Smith, The Emigrants, empathetic account of the traumatic experience of the French clerical exiles: “Whate’er your errors, I lament your fate.”

****1794****

Walter Whiter, A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare, sees “The Phoenix and the Turtle” as intending “a serious allusion to the great mystery of the Catholic faith” (258).

Joseph Milner (evangelical founder) and brother Isaac, History of the Church of Christ (1794-1819, 5 vols.) with “long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the other Fathers” (“produced a deep impression on me” (Newman, Apologia)).

Ann Radcliffe, The Mysteries of Udolpho. Emily, loved by Valancourt, taken by her aunt’s evil husband, Montoni, to Udolpho castle in Appenines where he also imprisons Valancourt; Montoni, trying to get estates, locks up aunt who dies; his depredations of countryside move Venetian army to seize him; Emily’s lands restored and she marries Valancourt. (Meanwhile Montoni’s former wife discovered in convent; she had fled to join her lover, but in repentance for his poison plot against his wife, had gone into convent). (Ghostly noises in Udolpho then naturalistically explained as caused by smugglers; also mystery of what is behind black veil in Udolpho is waxen image of a corpse used as penitential object by old Marquis of Udolpho). “Radcliffe’s nuns are sometimes, famously, protestantized ... manifest an impartial, universal benevolence” (Purves, 131).

****1796****

Malone changes his mind about the John Shakespeare testament, “the will could never have been written by any of the poet’s family,” but does not give reason, perhaps doubting the Italianate style and John Shakespeare’s literacy (Borromeo template not yet known).

Monk Lewis’s The Monk: Father Ambrosio, pure superior of Madrid Capuchins, condemns pregnant Agnes to torture by Inquisition; she is imprisoned by evil prioress in basement of a convent where she will eventually be discovered by her brother, Lorenzo; Ambrosio is then seduced by wanton witch-like Matilda whose images merges with that of the Madonna, then loves, pursues and eventually rapes and murders Antonia, beloved by Lorenzo; tortured by Inquisition, he compounds with Devil who reveals that Antonia was his sister and betrays him to eternal damnation.

****1797****

George Chalmers, An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers, which were Exhibited in Norfolk-Street: argues John Shakespeare’s recusancy, on the basis of the will and his removal from Stratford corporation; and the

likelihood of William's papism from the ghost's speech in Hamlet, references to purgatory and confession ("regrettable that it was mixed up with so much other disputable and sometimes risible material"-- Chandler, 2006).

French Catholic exiles welcomed, and government grants given to maintain refugee priests. Jesuits establish houses at Stonyhurst (1794) (orig. at St Omers), and Benedictines at Ampleforth (1802) and Downside (1814). Also Oscott (1795). St. Cuthbert's at Ushaw, founded 1808 (by ex-Douai community which had regrouped near Durham in 1794) (orig. Allen's Douai seminary, ended by French Revolution in 1793); also St. Edmund's at Ware (1794)

John Milner, anti-Cisalpine, Serious Expostulation with the Rev. Joseph Berington.

****1798****

John Milner's History ... of ... Winchester (Catholic bishop and historian), defending Gothic architecture (Milner had pioneered building of St. Peter's Chapel in Winchester in 1792) argued Elizabeth's Catholic tendency, but forced into Protestantism; nevertheless her policy disastrous for Catholics; Milner combined "circumscribed intellect of a mendicant friar with the uncaptivated universality of a scholar" (reviewer); "to the orthodox clergy of 1800 it was terrible ... most reviewers treated Milner as a popish wolf in the clothing of an antiquarian sheep" (K. Clark, Gothic Revival); "the success of Milner's book alone complicates the argument That the Gothic revival loosened the association of Gothic architecture with Catholicism" (Purves, 50).

Coleridge, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner": tale of Catholic supernaturalism leading to shiving hermit.

Wordsworth, "Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey."

Wolfe Tone's Irish Rebellion.

Papal States invaded by French forces who declare a Roman Republic (Pius VI died in exile in France in 1799), but restored in 1800 (Pope Pius VII returned), but invaded again by French in 1808, restored in 1814 with fall of Napoleonic system. In 1849, a Roman Republic was declared, but French Louis Napoleon Bonaparte restored papal rule (vs. Garibaldi). See 1870.

****1799****

French threat to Papal states, created alliance between England and the Pope.

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