

Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Arlington's World:

Polemic, Persuasion, and the Conversion of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York*

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In late 1670 or early 1671, a worried father wrote to his daughter expressing concerns about rumours that she might convert to catholicism. Deeply moved, he urged her to consider the damage this would do to her and her family's reputation, stressed that catholics were disloyal to the monarchy, and offered a series of arguments against Rome being the only church in which salvation might be obtained. He coupled this with a letter to his son-in-law, pressing him to dissuade any such conversion. These letters may have been written without sight of his daughter's narrative justifying her conversion; indeed, it is possible that they arrived after she died in spring 1671. They remind us that conversion was a profound and often traumatic experience for more than just the individual convert, affecting their kin, household, and parish. Furthermore, this was no ordinary family. The father was the exiled earl of Clarendon, formerly Charles II's leading adviser; the daughter, Anne Stuart (*née* Hyde), Duchess of York, wife of the heir presumptive to the throne – the future catholic King James II.

The conversion of the duke of York, an anonymous author wrote in 1681, was 'one of the greatest Calamities that has happened in our Age'.¹ If the numbers of converts to catholicism were fewer than anxious protestants imagined (under 2000 in the years 1669-71, by one estimate), the prominence and activism of many of these converts terrified the English protestant imagination.² The reign of Charles II saw the gradual exposure of catholics at the heart of government: the heir to the throne, the king's mistresses, the king himself, and some of his leading counsellors, such as Thomas Clifford. Arlington himself joined this group in

1685, apparently converting on his deathbed on 28 July. Sir John Bramston reported how, when Arlington's physician told him he would die 'speedily':

Then sayd my Lord, "Fetch me a preist, for I am a Roman Catholick." His seruants were amased, but he sayd he would haue a preist fetcht; "Yet," says he, "I will not haue it knowne vntill I am dead." Soe he had a preist, was absolued, and soe he died of that Church, tho' he had receaued the Sacrament very often, had taken the Test, where he renounced Transubstantiation, the worshipinge of the Virgin Marie, &c. seuerall tymes as a Peere in the Lords' House, and as the King's seruant, both in the last King's tyme and in this present King's too.³

The puritan diarist Roger Morrice wrote that Arlington's wife, Isabella, was reportedly 'the great instrument' in her husband's change of religion, and that Thomas Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, had tried and failed to keep Bennet in the Church of England.⁴ The news, coupled with an insinuation from James II that Arlington's catholicism had been long concealed, reached the anglican diarist John Evelyn in early October via Samuel Pepys, although it is overshadowed in Evelyn's account by Pepys seizing the opportunity to ask James about rumours regarding Charles II's conversion – and James being more than willing to reveal his deceased brother's papers on the subject.⁵

Arlington's religion is elusive. He maintained a protestant position into James's reign, taking the tests necessary to sit in the parliament of 1685. His stance was interpreted cynically by some contemporaries, but he may well have disliked the Treaty of Dover and the French alliance.⁶ He and his wife served Catherine of Braganza, who in 1684 gifted Isabella a portrait by the Italian catholic Benedetto Gennari, painter of the queen's chapel.⁷ This hung in the gallery of Arlington's country house Euston Hall. Both the Hall and the parish church at Euston, St Genevieve (in the vault of which Arlington's monument would be placed) were rebuilt during Charles II's reign, the family paying for the church's woodwork, pulpit,

reredos, and screen. Fashion may have been the dominant influence, with the plan echoing that of Wren and the new City churches, and the woodwork that of Grinling Gibbons.

Despite use of catholic artists (such as Verrio for the interior frescos), Euston Hall seems to have been a statement of fashionable grandeur rather than of concealed catholicism, classified by architectural historians as ‘provincial mid-century Baroque’ and by Evelyn (who designed a garden) as ‘after the French’.⁸

Although Arlington and Anne were not of the same political faction, their shared change of faith means that an exploration of Anne’s conversion may shed light on Arlington’s quiet, yet elusive religion. This chapter first analyses the nature of conversion and how Anne described her experience of it. It then turns to responses to her conversion by her father, her former spiritual director George Morley, and a wider circle of her kin, acquaintances, and (a decade after her death) the public, teasing out what scholars may learn from *responses* to conversion as well as the process itself, and exploring questions of reputation and the interwoven power dynamics of family, gender, and social status, as well as arguments over the true church. Finally, by analysing Clarendon’s reaction to the news in a range of texts – correspondence, essays, meditative literature, and printed polemic – it will demonstrate the similarities and differences between these various genres of writing.

I

The complexity of conversion rendered it both ‘desired and dreaded’ by contemporaries. Associated with repentance and with conversation in the New Testament, *metanoia* was both passive and active, voluntary and involuntary, internal and external; ambivalences that echoed in its multiple meanings in later Christian history. In the Middle Ages it could mean becoming a monk, while the 1559 Book of Common Prayer spoke of the ‘conversion’ of

sinner, whether in or out of the church.⁹ For all its Reformation associations with a change of church, this alteration of confessional allegiance was only the outward sign of internal spiritual renewal. This core evangelical meaning of repentance, felt most intensely by the most devout, explains the initially surprising way in which the most zealous members of one church became the most enthusiastic members of another. Thus John Cosin jr, Dean of Peterborough, could tell Evelyn in 1651 that he wished to get as far into the (catholic) church as possible, having been out of it for so long – and hence Evelyn could, in response, dismiss the jesuit language of ‘conversion (as they call’d it)’.¹⁰ It also helps us understand how grace might be felt to move the will at a particular moment of crisis, such as during an illness or just before death, and yet the need to approach conversion as a process, involving ‘long hesitation and public conformity’.¹¹

This shared sense that true conversion meant evangelical regeneration, albeit involving an alteration that might require a shift in confessional allegiance, should not obscure the different ways in which reformed protestants and catholics described converting. As Michael Questier has shown, reformed protestants emphasised the moment of justification, when God’s grace called a sinner’s soul; if sanctification (the process after justification) might vary, the shared grace was most important. Catholics (and some other protestants) saw conversion as extending into sanctification, which reached varying levels of intensity in different individuals and made the point of regeneration much harder to identify.¹² Different confessions could therefore simultaneously agree that changing church membership was not conversion unless accompanied by grace and argue that being in the wrong church inhibited the reception of grace, associating an internal with an external change. But this was again represented in differing ways. Protestants admitted that unaided reason could not convert, but also wanted to insist that the will was passive until the soul was touched by grace. This stress on a reactive will led to an emphasis on the intellect, reading,

and scripture. Catholics were far more inclined to downplay the intellect and stress the will to change and to belong to the true church.¹³ Nevertheless, prioritising the will to change did not preclude Catholics from talking about books, examination, and instruction. Molly Murray has shown how William Alabaster structured his conversion narrative around an Augustinian model of reading, but was moved (more than convinced by specific intellectual propositions) to believe that ‘nothing could be false which the Catholic Roman Church did propose’.¹⁴ Susan Rosa’s studies of elite converts in the later seventeenth century also note that the *will* to convert was crucial, although she underlines the significance of reasoned Catholicism and the appeal of the unity, continuity, and stability that seemed to signal Rome’s authority.¹⁵ Furthermore, according to Rosa there was a sense of the imitability of elite converts, present since the early church, but especially strong amongst late-seventeenth-century converts. Bossuet claimed that it was the published conversion narratives of Charles II and Anne that ‘began to shake’ the convert James Drummond, earl of Perth, since they were ‘testimonies that God himself has elicited in order to revive the ancient faith’.¹⁶ Encouraging the conversions of eminent persons was one motive for Louis Maimbourg to publish Anne’s ‘belle Déclaration’; it was the reason that Protestants feared the Catholic clergy’s ‘*Croaking*’ about their success converting the powerful.¹⁷

As this shows, there was a wider (and recognised) advantage in publicising the accounts of imitable converts. That conversion was ‘an act that cried out for justification’ meant that it generated narratives, texts that were simultaneously generically patterned and a window onto an individual soul.¹⁸ Much has been written on the genre, often stressing the constructed nature of such texts, defensively positioned, with invented invective, and structured to lead up to a crisis moment that is resolved by a new institutional affiliation.¹⁹ These generic patterns can be traced in Anne’s conversion narrative. Nevertheless, some of the details in it may help to identify the moments of the process she underwent, and that

generated the rumours that worried Clarendon so much. Indeed, while the multiple versions of Anne's narrative and the nature of its dissemination may undermine its credibility as an autobiographical statement of personal experience, they may also render it an especially interesting contribution to the wider genre.

II

Information on Anne's life is relatively sparse. Born in 1637, she grew up in exile in the Low Countries, residing at Antwerp and Breda before taking up a position in the household of Mary, Princess of Orange, where she met York in 1656. Fatefully, by the time the Stuarts were restored in May 1660, Anne was pregnant. Much of that autumn was spent investigating her claim of a pre-contract with York, and in placating her infuriated father (He urged Charles II to send her to the Tower). Charles initially opposed the marriage, but then altered into being a staunch supporter of it, while James, who had initially insisted on upholding the pre-contract, shied away from accepting responsibility for Anne's pregnancy.²⁰ Anne's life in the 1660s is relatively obscure, although she apparently became devoted to James, despite his affairs, and some sexual slander surrounding her own relationship with Henry Sidney. Burnet's insinuation that her conversion was a means to entice her husband back seems unlikely: comments on her influence over James (particularly his household) are more prevalent. Satirical literature of the 1660s played on Anne's sexuality, pride, influence, and girth. There is no trace of negative comment on her religion.²¹

It is clear that Anne was a devout anglican during the 1650s and much of the 1660s. The Hyde family house in Antwerp was a haven of anglican devotion in a staunchly catholic area, in which the family chaplain George Morley read the Prayer Book daily, held monthly communion, maintained anglican rites of passage, and catechised the children. In the 1660s

Morley would become Anne's spiritual director and confessor, as well as a bishop, first of Worcester and then of Winchester, although he fell from his position as dean of the Chapel Royal in 1667, after his patron Clarendon was disgraced, impeached, and exiled. Clarendon's fall was followed by some significant religious changes at court. In 1668, York turned to catholicism. In 1669, Charles II promised Louis XIV he would do the same. Rumours also began to circulate about Anne as people noticed her gradual withdrawal from anglican worship. Although Anne's spiritual commitments are hard to trace – her memorandum book contains only general, undated, comments on God's nature – her reputation for firm anglicanism was secure until late in the 1660s. She patronised the convert to anglicanism Ferdinand de Macedo; Pepys' comments on her devotions suggest a liking for the beauty of holiness. Later accounts of religion in her household outline the importance of daily attendance at morning and evening prayers, catechising, and maintaining a guard against any catholic clergy trying to gain converts.²² As late as August 1669, a letter from her father provided some advice on who to trust at court, but did not express worries about her spiritual situation.²³

Two main versions of Anne's conversion narrative circulated in Restoration England. They agree in essentials, albeit the printed one (from which some manuscripts clearly derive) contains slightly stronger language – perhaps partly from the publicity edge it gave to the Jesuit scholar Louis Maimbourg, and to James II when he sponsored its printing in 1685-6 as an appendix to a new edition of Charles II's papers on religion.²⁴ Anne never spoke of 'conversion', but rather of embracing the 'Roman Catholique' or 'Catholique' religion. Although she mentioned seeing catholic worship during her exile, she was careful to avoid endangering any individual priest by pointedly dating her contact with the catholic clergy to a period after she had discussed her doubts with anglican bishops.²⁵ Other comments suggest that she was reconciled to the catholic church by the Franciscan Father Hunt, although – as

will be shown below – some contemporaries discerned the influence of other catholic clergy.²⁶

Anne's narrative contains elements that attribute her change of religion to divine action, a 'particular favour' (in the printed versions, 'blessing') from God, in response to her prayers to die in the true church and the 'trouble' she experienced in taking communion on Christmas day 1669. Yet Anne did not describe herself as the passive recipient of God's grace. Instead her account demonstrated her own agency in the process, including consideration and reading, reflecting the patterns that Rosa has identified for other elite catholic converts. According to Anne, in around November 1669 she read accounts of the Reformation and then turned to the Bible to examine the doctrinal scruples she felt.²⁷ She said less about her emotional anxiety than other converts did, such as the one who wrote at length of his position as a lost traveller suffering disturbing dreams when 'very sore crost' in religion. This individual suffered a head of care and heart of grief for two years, 'one while I am in Opinion to bee a Papist by and by a protestant Anon the devil puts in his foote and maks mee hate both'.²⁸ Again, however, the printed versions heighten Anne's spiritual pain into the 'most terrible agonies', and some reports of her death suggested spiritual turmoil.²⁹

According to Anne, her scruples hardened into doubts when she read the history of the Reformation written by Laud's quondam chaplain Peter Heylin. Often used by catholics to indict protestantism, Heylin's *History* spoke of Henry VIII as motivated by lust, the Edwardian regent Somerset as driven by greed, and Elizabeth I forced into protestantism by dynastic need: what the printed text of Anne's narrative called the 'horridest' and 'most abominable' motives.³⁰ Both these critiques of events and the topics on which Anne sought doctrinal discussion (the real presence, infallibility, confession, and prayers for the dead) were fairly standard. But, devastatingly, she linked her final turn to a priest to the lack of a robust response provided by the anglican bishops to whom she communicated her doubts.

Although unnamed, they were thought to be Morley and Walter Blandford, bishop of Oxford, albeit Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon was also mentioned.³¹ As usefully dismissive of the capabilities of the English clergy as such an account was, it might hold a ring of truth. Protestants might refute catholic attacks on their beliefs, but it was pastorally rather difficult simply to deny someone's internal spiritual motivations. As York's quondam chaplain Richard Watson later wrote, who would abandon a friend if they saw their spiritual anxiety converted into peace, even if that peace was found in Rome?³²

Insofar as it can be dated, the majority of the process described above seems to have taken place in late 1669 and early 1670, before Anne missed taking anglican communion in Easter 1670. In April of that year, her husband confided her plans to the French ambassador, although she said nothing to Morley about her spiritual turn when the two met in June. Probably between then and the date of her narrative (20 August) she met a priest and was 'confirmed' in her views. In December, her brother wrote to York; in January, Morley wrote to her. But in the spring Anne's health failed, and she died in March. Her funeral was described, like Charles II's, as 'private', but still involved a number of public figures and she was buried on 5 April in Westminster Abbey, in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots.³³

III

Responses to Anne's conversion emerged over an even more protracted period than the process itself. The first cluster overlapped with the final months of her life. Most directly and immediately these included letters from her father to her and to York, correspondence between Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury and York, and a letter from Morley to her. These pieces were designed to halt or swiftly to reverse her change of view. Surviving in textual form, they also include tantalising hints of irrecoverable oral exchanges: what Cornbury said

that exasperated York, what comments accompanied the passage of Clarendon's letters 'from hand to hand', what Laurence Hyde told Clarendon when he visited him in 1671 – a meeting that brought 'much comfort' and a discussion as to whether Hyde and Cornbury ought to keep their places at court.³⁴ A wider literature emerged from these initial persuatory (and ostensibly private) exchanges during the period between Clarendon's writing the preface to his *Meditations on the Psalms*, dated from Montpellier on 18/28 February 1671, and the reflective remarks in Laurence Hyde's meditations in 1675 on the first anniversary of his father's death. For Laurence, Anne was 'seduced' and 'overborne', partly 'betrayed by the most stupid negligence, and coolness, carelessness, and unconcernedness' of the anglican clergy, partly by being separated from her father's advice. While Laurence mourned Clarendon's death, he saw Anne's as a blessing: 'God be thanked' that her conversion was not known, nor indeed so 'fully perfected' as to lead her to 'eternal perplexity' and her family to further ills.³⁵ Inbetween these texts, we find rippling aftershocks in Clarendon's essay 'Against multiplying controversies' (1672), his *Animadversions* on Serenus Cressy's attack on Edward Stillingfleet (1673), and his *Religion and Loyalty* of 1674. The target of Cressy's book, Stillingfleet's *Discourse concerning Idolatry* (1671), clearly emerged from an endeavour to reclaim a female convert to catholicism, as it began with her questions about whether salvation was possible for a convert to catholicism, and whether it could be had outside of any particular church. The questions had apparently been answered by Stillingfleet sometime before, but sent to him again by a friend of the lady about Christmas 1670. His printed answer included a series of polemical attacks on catholic idolatry, lifestyle, 'fanatical' mysticism, divisions, and adherence to the pope, a text in which Anne's questions and interests echoed, but in an account so expansive as to make it hard definitively to identify her as the convert in question.³⁶ Readers of these works, unless well-connected, might have been hard-put to it to identify Anne behind them. Nevertheless, in the early 1670s, when Arlington

was at the centre of policy making, and we think of Clarendon in exile, writing (or rewriting) his most famous works: his *Life* and *History of the Rebellion*, we should remember that he simultaneously invested increasing energy in anti-catholic polemic. Clarendon had a longstanding interest in this area, but the time that he devoted to it in this period of his life seems to have been stimulated by his daughter's conversion, culminating in his mammoth *Religion and Policy*, a two-volume disquisition on catholic disloyalty, completed in February 1674, a few months before his death.

A second wave of responses emerged in the early 1680s, triggered by the publication of Louis Maimbourg's *History of Calvinism* in the first half of 1682. The appending of Anne's narrative to this introduced her account into the domain of public print. John Evelyn discussed Maimbourg's book with John Dolben, bishop of Rochester, on 29 May and at some point acquired a copy of Anne's narrative, previously owned by Ossory, from Dolben. On 1 June Evelyn wrote to Morley complaining of Maimbourg's 'impudence' in printing Anne's 'pretended letter'. Although it might be 'suppositious', he also warned Morley that 'the universal discourse' suggested that he was one of the bishops who had unconvincingly defended the Church of England and urged him to 'vindicate your selfe and our Church'.³⁷ Morley both denied being one of the divines Anne had spoken with (if indeed such a discussion had occurred) and disowned their responses – if salvation was possible in the church of England, then Anne was obliged to remain in it. Emphasising his own staunch maintenance of the Prayer Book in exile, and Anne's firm anglicanism while under his direction, he printed his letter to her of January 1671.³⁸ Rumours against Morley were stoked by the peeved Thomas Jones, a chaplain in Anne's household in the 1660s, who accused Morley of being one of a party of 'disguised Wolves' and 'carnal compliers' who had treacherously betrayed Anne, York, church, and country. Jones believed that he had been persecuted by Morley (culminating in a suit for *scandalum magnatum* in 1670) and

Clarendon because he had assisted Anne's patronage of Macedo, because she at first liked his own sermons better than those of others, and because he had upheld anglicanism in her household.³⁹ Jones's claim that he had suspected Anne's religion from 1666 onwards, and had been protected by York more than by her, was attacked by York's chaplain Richard Watson. Watson claimed that he had ordered the Book of Common Prayer to be read at the doors of Anne's bedchamber for as long as possible during her final illness, that she desired to take the viaticum by the hands of Walter Blandford, bishop of Oxford, but that Blandford arrived too late, and that she might have died in either church.⁴⁰ This phase of responses therefore introduced the topic of the public reputation of both Anne and those around her.

Finally, a third batch of responses was prompted by the publication of Anne's narrative as an appendix to the second edition of Charles II's papers on religion, and as a separate broadsheet. James Tyrrell offered to send a copy to John Locke in January 1686. William Petty wrote out a version in his notes – he may have got one from James⁴¹ – although did not examine it in detail. In the debate that followed, Stillingfleet's *Answer to Anne's paper* invoked Morley's letter to her to show that she had not properly examined the question – and might not have debated it with anyone, while John Dryden focused his efforts on defending Anne rather than Charles (perhaps liking the tone of her reasoned but anti-controversial narrative) and criticising Blandford's poor showing on the part of the church of England.⁴² In this way the nearly fifteen-year-old narrative fed into the most famous catholic poem of James II's reign, *The Hind and the Panther*.⁴³

While some of the printed responses of the 1680s focused on the doctrinal or historical issues mentioned by Anne, others were uninhibited in attacking her character and abilities. Watson was remarkably blunt in insisting that there were plenty of books that adeptly defended anglicanism – ones that Anne should have known anyway, or could have found easily had she bothered to look.⁴⁴ Stillingfleet, as well as repeating this, mocked her

claim of divine illumination as superfluous in one who professed submission to the church.⁴⁵

Although Anne clearly did not convert for political advantage (unlike, potentially, the catholic converts of James's reign), her character was subjected to a new level of scrutiny.

IV

In the seventeenth century, widespread concern about the seductive lure of catholicism was heightened by rumoured conversions as well as real ones. Rumours about the religious affiliations of Anna of Denmark or Archbishop Laud may be unsurprising; the story of Elizabeth I's deathbed conversion seems more incredible.⁴⁶ Conversion narratives were therefore structured in ways designed to achieve credibility, while their readers considered the risk of forgeries.⁴⁷ In the Stuart world of court conversions and crypto-catholicism, anxiety about potential converts might be a family matter – as it was for the Carys – or a political one, as recognised by Laud, who feared a dream about converting to Rome for the 'scandal' it would cause.⁴⁸ In Anne's case the personal and political converged.

As Anne herself recognised, her conversion would seriously damage her public standing. 'I lost all my friends, and very much prejudiced my Reputation.'⁴⁹ While her father claimed to have initially attributed the rumours of her spiritual wavering to 'that ill spirit of the Time that delights in slanders, & Calumny', his concern grew when the rumours persisted and were repeated by the English ambassador to France, the Hydes' friends, and 'many worthy Persons'. That reference to 'worthy' persons echoed the contemporary assumption that those of higher status were more trustworthy.⁵⁰ Morley similarly disdained to notice catholic brags of having converted Anne, scornfully dismissing their boasts as akin to those of the 'Secular Gallants' about their sexual prowess, but was worried when a 'Person of Honour and title' made the same assertion.⁵¹ The problem of how to refute a rumour

without fuelling it was noted by Cornbury in his correspondence to York – his attempts to laugh it off having failed – as well as by Sir John Bramston, himself the victim of such reports. In both his first and second exiles, Clarendon meditated on the rise of slanders against the monarchy and the pain when forced to remain silent in the face of such talk because speaking would do more harm than good.⁵² Significantly, both Morley and Clarendon saw the danger of the history of seventeenth-century anti-popery repeating itself when the ‘bold Whispers’ about Anne ‘break out into Noise’ and became ‘Common discourse in Coffee houses’. Such slander had fuelled rebellion against Charles I and damaged the reputation of the exiled Stuarts.⁵³

In making such comments, both Morley and Clarendon drew on their personal memories as well as their political awareness. Morley’s familiarity with the difficulties of quashing rumours of conversions recalled worries about York in the 1650s. As the chaplain to the exiled Hyde family in Antwerp, Morley had maintained Prayer Book services in a catholic town and discreetly presided over anglican funerals at midnight, to avoid discovery. That that earlier royalist exile was very much on his mind in 1671 was shown by his use of the same metaphor to describe conversion to Rome on each occasion: leaving good air for a pesthouse.⁵⁴ Clarendon warned York about the damage done to his and Charles’ reputation as well as to Anne’s: he too would have been aware of the rumours that had surrounded both men in the 1650s. These were in part fuelled by prominent invitations to convert, such as that extended to Charles by Théophile Brachet de la Milletière in 1651, but also by the diplomatic necessity of negotiations with catholic powers on the Continent. Exiled royalists could present a deliberately ambiguous face, looking protestant to their English supporters and sounding catholic to their Continental hosts. The difficulties of maintaining such a position were most sharply exposed by the arguments over Henrietta Maria’s attempt to convert the Duke of Gloucester in 1654. Charles himself recognised the political disaster this would be,

even if Gloucester was merely pretending to convert in order to gain catholic support.⁵⁵ This was a major political crisis – but it was also a family quarrel, between Gloucester’s fraternal king-in-exile and their mother.

Responses to Anne likewise demonstrate the interplay of various claims to authority, with power differentials deriving from gender, kinship, spiritual, and social status pulling in opposing directions. While Clarendon rebuked York for at best ‘not using your Authority’ over Anne and, at worst, for ‘Connivance’ with her, Morley blamed Anne for apostatising. In comparing her to Eve battling the serpent, Morley exhibited the wider propensity to see women as especially prone to catholic lures. While Eve had ‘more wit then any of her Sex had since’, had she asked Adam before tasting the forbidden fruit, the fall might have been averted.⁵⁶ The association of women with catholicism was particularly pronounced in early modern England because of the ambiguous legal status of the recusant wife, often able to avoid churchgoing and so becoming the lynchpin of domestic catholicism, while her husband outwardly conformed. Female catholics were associated with rebellion against ecclesiastical, political, and patriarchal norms, while the language of anti-popery was highly gendered, positioning masculine protestant reason in opposition to a sensual, effeminate catholicism whose priests were depicted as targeting potential female converts and engaging in suspicious covert communication with them. Instability in performing both gender roles and religious identities converged in the figure of the female convert, seen as someone who might draw their spouse and families into converting as well.⁵⁷ A royal female convert further depended on a network of court women to maintain secrecy. It is not clear whether Anne’s ladies performed the same vital role as Anna of Denmark’s entourage had done for her – although at least one, Margaret Godolphin, firmly rejected her mistress’s change of religion, commenting on Anne’s ‘unspeakable tortur’ when she died ‘in doubt of her Religion ... like a poore wretch’.⁵⁸

By converting, Anne imperilled a potential line of succession: she was a possible queen-consort, but one who seemed to have turned from being an attractively devout nursing mother to the anglican church to becoming a wayward daughter. It is possible to fit Clarendon's correspondence to her into the genre of protective male advice to female convert relatives; significantly, he himself described it as the letter of a 'troubled & perplexed Father'. This case is therefore one of a confessionally-divided family – a topic on which there is an 'urgent need for further scholarship'.⁵⁹ Clarendon's letters emphasised how the paternal bond transcended social as well as spatial distance between himself and Anne: neither the 'distance of Place ... in respect of our Residence, [n]or the greater distance in respect of the High Condition you are in, can make me Less your Father, or absolve me from performing those obligations which that relation requires from me'.⁶⁰

The Hyde family appears to have felt these vertical bonds profoundly. Anne's male siblings felt the force of their father's example, citing it to one another in the midst of crises.⁶¹ Conversion could certainly disrupt or invert normal family hierarchies. One catholic convert professed a desire to help their 'impious heretical parents', others critiqued them or at least outdid them in spiritual commitment, just as Christ had rebuked his earthly parents.⁶² At the very least, conversion left families divided or feuding – a scenario that might become the subject of drama in catholic colleges, but which also involved intense emotional pain: Cornbury may not have exaggerated excessively when he told York that Anne's conversion would break their father's heart. Clarendon's meditations on Psalm 127 bemoaned how an unnatural child who disobeyed their monarch would 'expedite Destruction to the Family'. Impossible to date precisely, if this was a hypothetical remark when penned, it soon turned into the reality of a daughter who, by changing her religion, would 'renounce all obedience, & affection to your Father ... such an odious Mutation would break his Heart', condemning both him and her deceased mother, while ruining and dividing her from her own

children – for ‘God forbid, that after such an Apostasy’, she should play any role in their education.⁶³ Repeatedly, Clarendon’s writings play on this image of a child betraying their upbringing, showing ingratitude to the church in which they had been bred as well as to their family. He made the same complaint about Serenus Cressy and other converts, who renounced their allegiance and condemned their former church, parents, friends, and kin – often, in a ‘wonderful’ and ‘absurd’ way, in a very short space of time, by dependence on a person ‘not half so well known, nor half so knowing’ as these earlier associates.⁶⁴ This echoes his advice to Anne not to heed those ‘who know Less than many of those you are acquainted with, and ought Less to be beleevd by you’. He urged her to consider both the two persons whom he thought had greater authority over Anne than he did (York and Charles) and ‘those who are able to inform you’ in doctrinal and ecclesiastical specifics – that is, those clergy who, the *Animadversions* argued, were the best judges of religious questions.⁶⁵

While it would be wrong to assume that doctrinal controversies drove conversion, neither should we marginalise theological and ecclesiological controversy. Anne mentioned a handful of points – the real presence, the infallibility of the church, confession, and prayer for the dead – but professed her desire to avoid ‘long and unprofitable disputes’, just as her husband refused to debate theological points with Morley several years later. Both cited historical rather than theological works they had read as stimulating doubts about the church of England’s legitimacy.⁶⁶ Books could certainly play a role in conversions to catholicism – there are examples of individuals reading and weighing up arguments on both sides.⁶⁷ But the impact of books often came combined with personal contacts, or by serving as the trigger to an ‘emotional’ rather than ‘intellectual’ response, as in the case of William Alabaster, modelled on the example of Augustine.⁶⁸ Anne’s account reflects an Augustinian sense of the will’s desire to gain the truth, stimulating a process of cultivating the understanding by

reading, examining, thinking, instruction, and further examination.⁶⁹ Her narrative thus combined reasoned enquiry with the emotional response of a troubled soul.

By the time of Anne's conversion, the most vital argument between protestants and catholics rested on the 'rule of faith' and what the true church was: if Rome could be shown to have continuity, antiquity, and universality, its authority on specific doctrinal queries naturally followed.⁷⁰ The impact this might have is shown by the convert who shifted from conviction that protestants were unassailable on the Bible to adherence to Rome on the nature of the church. Anne's brother Laurence was subjected to a disputation focused on the nature of the church in 1686. Charles II's papers asserted the necessity of one visible catholic church to govern belief, and the irrationality of faith resting on an individual's judgement; in this, they reflected the arguments of the priest who assisted his flight after Worcester and attended his deathbed, Father Huddleston.⁷¹ Thus William Petty, responding to Charles's papers, focused directly on the definition of the church, although he described this as defined by grace and apostolic unworldly authority, and then added his own account of how this might manifest itself on earth.⁷² Morley, while professing a willingness to answer any particular queries Anne had, honed in on the claim that salvation might only be had in the Roman church. Only charity, he claimed, allowed the argument that invincibly ignorant and well-meaning Roman catholics might be saved, *despite* their ecclesiological allegiance – but this could hardly apply to those who apostatised to Rome. True catholics were governed by Christ and the Gospel, but Roman catholics submitted to the pope, and their assertion that only their church saved was the heretical notion of the Donatists.⁷³

While John Evelyn brusquely dismissed catholic arguments based on the nature of the church and miracles as 'subterfuges' used to justify their 'so called conversion',⁷⁴ Clarendon, faced with the defection of his daughter, was equally unconvinced, but at greater length. He considered the case for catholic antiquity and universality a 'fallacious' and 'canting

discourse' that was 'both irrationall, and untrue', especially when used as evidence that Rome was the only church that saved. The majority of the world was not Christian, and so not to be imitated, and Rome was a church both internally divided and lacking a monopoly of Christian areas. Furthermore, the apostolic faith was what saved, and any church receiving it was a true one, even if it contained some errors (which were more prevalent in Rome than elsewhere anyway). Here Clarendon showed a remarkable openness to the validity of other communions: 'there are many Churches in which Salvation may be attained'.⁷⁵ This was far from a throwaway remark, for it was a sentiment he repeated in his polemical attack on Cressy, denouncing the 'artifice' of confining salvation to one church: 'there is room enough in Heaven for them all ... many of all *Christian Churches* will come thither'. The outward forms of religion could and would change in different churches, although he still saw them as something to take great care of.⁷⁶ The concept was not unusual, but Clarendon's commitment to it shines through in the fact that he included it when professing attachment to the church of England in his will of January 1666. Yet, like Morley, he treated the salvation of catholics as something that was a charitable belief on the part of anglicans, who thought that Roman catholics might be saved despite rather than because of Rome.⁷⁷

If Clarendon refrained from using Morley's pesthouse analogy, he shared the sentiment that it was spiritually destructive folly to leave a church with some errors for one with more.⁷⁸ Again and again, he professed his profound belief in the superiority of the Church of England. What he wrote to Anne of it being 'the best constituted, & the most free from Errors of any Christian Church this Day in the world' was repeated almost verbatim in his essay 'Against multiplying controversies' of 1672 and inbetween, in the dedicatory epistle to his *Meditations on the Psalms*. There, he noted that:

I do in my Conscience believe (without presuming that there are no Errors in it) that it [the Church of England] is not only a very sure Guide and Conduct into the ways of

Salvation, but that it is by much more free from dangerous Corruptions, than any other Church that professes a Faith in Christ in the Church of God.

That he followed this with a warning against being tempted to Rome by ‘the mistaken Opinion of its Antiquity, and the Evidence of its possessing a greater Part of the World, I mean the Christian World’, is a telling suggestion that Anne’s conversion was on his mind.⁷⁹

This textual convergence might be thought to be the result of repeated witnessing of a profoundly-held belief, often offered when Clarendon was deeply moved, such as when writing his will or corresponding with his children. But the coalescence of these comments in the early 1670s suggests that Anne’s conversion stimulated Clarendon’s increasing focus on catholicism in the last years of his life. Furthermore, he expressed these sentiments in common language across a range of genres: family correspondence, devotional writings, essays, and polemic. Where there are variances, these do not seem to derive from changes in genre, blurring if not erasing the distinction between polemical and other writings. The patterns of expression fall into three categories. First, there is continuity: as in the comments on the Church of England as the ‘best’ church. Second, a theme common to all, but one that received increasing emphasis over time, was the stress on anglican obedience to the monarchy. Clarendon mentioned this when writing to both York and Anne, but gave it much greater attention in the *Animadversions* and ultimately dedicated two volumes to the topic in 1674.⁸⁰ Third, there were topics that mutated as time went on. Clarendon commented on some of the doctrines Anne mentioned – especially communion in one kind – but also addressed clerical marriage, papal authority, and political obedience, on which she was silent, in his letter to her. In considering the nature and legitimacy of the Church of England’s separation from Rome, a motif in Anne’s conversion, Clarendon’s essay on ‘Controversies’ touched on doctrinal questions and the issue of catholic loyalty. Yet this culminated in an attack on Cressy, and indeed Cressy’s *Exomologesis* (the work named by Clarendon) could

have inspired the title of the piece, given the dedicatory epistle to the 1653 edition denounced ‘those that unnecessarily multiply’ controversies.⁸¹ The *Animadversions*’ broader consideration of catholicity, the origins of English Christianity, loyalty and papal and royal authority, penance and confession, prayer for the dead, and communion and transubstantiation, as well as the amount of space given to discussion of miracles, is explained by these being the themes of Cressy’s own book. Yet, while Clarendon was clearly deeply unhappy at his old friend’s defection from the Church, it may be no coincidence that it was at this moment – over twenty years after Cressy’s conversion – that he attacked him in public. The *Animadversions*’ denunciation of Cressy’s attack on Edward Stillingfleet’s response to an unnamed female anglican’s questions over conversion and salvation are significant in this regard. Whether or not this was Anne is unclear, but Clarendon seems to have associated her conversion with Cressy.⁸² Here, *par excellence*, was a family quarrel that spiralled into public printed controversy, a spiritual crisis that mutated into polemical attacks. And Clarendon may not have been the only person moved to argue with Cressy by Anne’s conversion. That doughty campaigner against popery, Thomas Barlow, received a letter from Anglesey in November 1670 thanking him for his ‘opinion concerning the condicion of persons liveing & dyeing papists’ – the hottest of hot topics in the court that year.⁸³

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Any argument within Arlington’s family or household over his conversion has left little or no trace in the historical record, and wider political developments probably overtook any concerns about the conversion of a deceased and recently low-profile politician. Much more can be said about the controversies surrounding Anne. All the pleas of her father and former confessor, and all the fury of her brother about the personal and political disaster they saw

looming could not dissuade her from her course. Furthermore, while York apparently ignored Clarendon's letter, he was clearly infuriated by Henry Hyde's efforts to argue with him: Hyde had to write a profound apology for bringing up the 'very nice subject' of Anne's religion in December 1670.⁸⁴ Yet, whether from the accident of her death, political discretion, or the happenstance of circumstance, Anne's conversion was rather a success in political terms. It provoked rumours, but no major crisis, and it did little more than add fuel to the anti-popish flames in the 1680s. As one pensive reader noted on their copy of the 1686 printing of her narrative, Anne was a 'mistaken, and deceived Lady'. Her conversion 'deserves Lamentation',⁸⁵ but it was never lambasted in quite the way her husband's was. This was one crisis over Stuart popery that was, surprisingly, contained.

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¹ *A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of York* (1681), 1.

² John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1973), 49-50; Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), 8-9.

³ *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, ed. P. Braybrooke (Camden Society, 1845), 204.

⁴ *Morrice: The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, ed. Mark Goldie *et al.* (7 vols, Woodbridge, 2007, 2009), III., 31-2, which resembles his account of Ken at Charles II's deathbed (II. 510-11). The comment on Isabella is striking given she was the daughter of Lodewyck van Nassau, heer van Beverweerd (the illegitimate son of Prince Maurice, cousin of William II).

⁵ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer (6 vols, Oxford, 1955), IV. 475-9; Kate Loveman, 'Samuel Pepys and "Discourses touching Religion" under James II', *EHR*, cxxvii (2012), 46-82, at 54-7.

⁶ *Mr Coleman's Two Letters to Monsieur l'Chaise* (1678), 10; Maurice Lee, jr, *The Cabal* (Urbana, 1965), 103.

⁷ Edward Corp, 'Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics', in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837*, ed. Clarissa Campbell-Orr (Manchester, 2002), 58, 63, and p. 69, n. 28 on the expectation that servants attend Mass. Arlington was Catherine's Lord Steward; Isabella was appointed groom of the stole in 1681: Alan Marshall, 'Bennet, Henry, first earl of Arlington (bap. 1618, d. 1685), politician', *Oxford DNB*. Prisco Bagni, *Benedetto Gennari e la Bottega del guerino* (Italy, 1986), 98; for Arlington's direct patronage of Gennari: Helen Jacobsen, 'Luxury Consumption, Cultural Politics, and the Career of the Earl of Arlington, 1660-1685', *HJ*, lii (2009), 295-317, at 311.

⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, rev. Enid Radcliffe, *Suffolk* (2nd edn, Harmondsworth, 1961), 47-8, 54, 202-4; Marshall, 'Bennet, Henry'; Jacobsen, 'Luxury Consumption', passim, though her case for this signalling an absolutist vision is stronger than that for it showing Arlington's Catholic leanings (313).

⁹ Molly Murray, *The Poetics of Conversion in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2009), 22, 7-8, 11-15; Peter Marshall, 'Evangelical conversion in the Reign of Henry VIII', in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge, 2002); Conversation: 2 Cor. 1: 12, explored in Matthew Dimmock, 'Converting and not converting 'Strangers' in Early Modern London', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 17 (2013), 457-78.

¹⁰ Questier, *Conversion*, 79, 84-5, 89; *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, ed. George Ornsby (2 vols, Durham, 1869-72), i, 283, 285.

¹¹ Questier, *Conversion*, p. 192 and n. 102; *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome*, ed. Anthony Kenny, pt 2, 1622-1685 (Catholic Record Society, 55, Newport, 1963), 476; on the ambiguity of when exactly reconciliation happened, see Lucy Underwood, *Childhood, Youth, and Religious Dissent in post-Reformation England* (Houndmills, 2014), 24-9.

¹² Questier, *Conversion*, ch. 3; Michael Questier, 'Crypto-Catholicism, Anti-Calvinism, and Conversion at the Jacobean Court: The Enigma of Benjamin Carier', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlvii (1996), 45-64, at 54-5.

¹³ Questier, *Conversion*, 61-8, 74-5.

¹⁴ Molly Murray, "'Now I am a Catholic': William Alabaster and the Early Modern Conversion Narrative", in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, IN, 2007), qu. 198; Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, ch. 1 and p. 113.

¹⁵ Susan Rosa, 'The Mentality of a Persecutor: James Drummond, Earl of Perth, and the Recatholicisation of Scotland, 1685-1693', in *Konversionen im Mittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit*, ed. Friedrick Niewöhner and Fidel Rädle (Hildesheim, 1999), 193, 195, 207, 205; Susan Rosa, 'Bossuet, James II and the Crisis of Catholic Universalism', *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, i (2003), 37-121, at 72-5, 44-6, 61, 65; Susan Rosa, "'Il était possible aussi que cette conversion fût sincère': Turenne's Conversion in Context", *French Historical Studies*, xviii (1994), 632-66, at 643, 645, 637-8.

¹⁶ Rosa, 'Turenne's conversion', 635; Rosa, 'Bossuet', 69 (qu. p. 74, n. 75); Rosa, 'Perth', 206.

¹⁷ *Letter to His Royal Highness*, 2; Louis Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme* (Paris, 1682), 505.

¹⁸ Peter Mazur and Abigail Shinn, 'Introduction: Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World', *Journal of Early Modern History*, xvii (2013), 427-36, at 428, 431-2.

¹⁹ Lieke Stelling *et al.*, ed., *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden, 2012); Daniel Carson Johnson, 'Apostates who never were: The Social Construction of *absque facto* Apostate Narratives', in *The Politics of Religious Apostasy*, ed. David G. Bromley (Westport, CT, 1998); Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford, 2012); Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, 27.

²⁰ For her movements in the 1650s see BL, Add. MS 15900, ff. 4v-5r; on her life then and marriage: John Miller, John, 'Anne [née Anne Hyde], duchess of York (1637–1671), first wife of James II', *Oxford DNB*; J.R. Henslowe, *Anne Hyde, Duchess of York* (1915), 49, 88, 109-58; J.S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second* (2 vols, London, 1816), i, 387-8; Gilbert Burnet, *History of my Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy (2 vols, Oxford, 1897), i, 293-5. For lingering doubts about the legitimacy of her marriage see Morrice, *Entring Bk.*, IV. 45, 100, 101-2, 111, 186; and Grant Tapsell, 'Laurence Hyde and the Politics of Religion in Later Stuart England', *EHR*, cxxiii (2010), 1414-48, at 1440.

²¹ Henslowe, *Anne Hyde*, 183, 209, 160; John Callow, *The Making of King James II* (Stroud, 2000), 121; *Lorenzo Magalotti at the Court of Charles II: His Relazione d'Inghilterra of 1668*, ed. and trans. W. E. Knowles (Waterloo, Ontario, 1980), 37-8, 78-9; Burnet, *Own Time*, i, 405-6; *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second, by Count Grammont* (1846), 274-6; for poetry, see Marvell's 'Last Instructions to a Painter', lines 49-78 (responding to lines 79-90 of Waller's 'Instructions') in *Anthology of Poems on Affairs of State*, ed. George deForest Lord (New Haven, 1975), 70-1, 23 (see also 239, 528-31 for other comments on Anne).

²² BL, Add. MS 15900, f. 8v; Miller, 'Hyde, Anne'; Burnet, *Own Time*, i, 299; Bramston, *Autobiography*, 134-58; Thomas Jones, *Elymas the Sorcerer* (1682), 35-6.

²³ BL, Add. MS 32499, f. 24v.

²⁴ It was originally appended to the edition of mid-December 1685, of which the print run was very limited; then reprinted in a larger run: Loveman, ‘Pepys and “Discourses touching Religion”’, 56. Wing C2943 and C2944 include Anne’s paper, Wing C2942 does not. One imprint of the single-sheet version (Wing Y46) is catalogued as 1670, but this seems unlikely; the Huntington Library copy (available on EEBO) has annotations linking it to Charles II’s papers. Like many of the core sources for this article, the original manuscript may not be extant. In citing the ‘conversion narrative’ written by Anne, her father’s correspondence, and Morley’s letter to her, I draw on the copies in Clarendon’s papers (esp. Bodl., Clar. MS 87), although I have not relied on the dates of these. Cornbury attested to the authenticity of this copy of Anne’s narrative (Paul Seaward, ‘The View from the Devil’s Mountain: Clarendon, Cressy and Hobbes, and the Past, Present and Future of the Church of England’, in *From Republic to Restoration: Legacies and Departures*, ed. Janet Clare (Manchester, 2018), p. 223, n. 41; I am indebted to Paul Seaward for sharing a copy of this with me before publication). I have highlighted below where significant differences exist in the printed versions that were known in public debate.

²⁵ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 62r-63r. She does use ‘change’.

²⁶ For Hunt: Bodl. MS Carte 180, ff. 34v-35r, 58v-59r; Clarke, *Life*, I. 452; Miller, ‘Hyde, Anne’.

²⁷ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 62r-v.

²⁸ CUL, MS Dd, xiv.25³F, pp. 13-14.

²⁹ The accounts differ: Miller, ‘Hyde, Anne’, and below, n. 00.

³⁰ The manuscript is again less confrontational, if equally condemnatory: ‘nothing but Sacrileges ... great Impietys’: Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 62r.

³¹ Henslowe, *Anne Hyde*, 293 (Turner and Blandford at her death); Miller, ‘Hyde, Anne’, notes Blandford’s attendance on her at her death; see also below. Turner was in fact only

made a bishop in 1683. T. H. Lister, *Life and Administration of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon* (3 vols, 1837-8), iii, 483, seems to exclude Sheldon (Seaward, 'View', p. 223, n. 40).

³² Richard Watson, *A Fuller Answer to Elimas the Sorcerer* (1683), 25.

³³ Miller, 'Hyde, Anne'; Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança* (1908), 390, 264; *CSPD, Jan.-Nov. 1671*, pp. 4, 7, 36, 50, 106, 127, 131, 141, 169-70, 177; p. 63 mentions a gift of artificial flowers from some nuns, given via the Portuguese ambassador, possibly in January 1671. Whether Clarendon's letter arrived in time is unclear: see Burnet, *Own Time*, i, 558; Seaward, 'View', p. 223, n. 45.

³⁴ Lister, *Life and Administration*, iii, 481-3.

³⁵ Laurence Hyde, 'Meditations on the Anniversary Day of Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Death, 9 Dec. 1675', in *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and of his Brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (2 vols, 1828), i, 647.

³⁶ Edward Stillingfleet, *A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome* (1671), sigs. (a)r-(a2)r, 9-11, and *passim*; for the address to a female recipient see 9, 50-1, 102, 185, 198. His catholic opponent is termed 'I.S.' and Stillingfleet's concern was to emphasise that saying a convert *might* be saved was not the same as stating that they *must* convert to be saved. It is worth noting that Anne spoke of a discussion with 'bishops' specifically, although this does not preclude one of them seeking counsel of Stillingfleet. See also below, **p. 00**.

³⁷ Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. De Beer, iv, 282-3; BL, Add. MS 20731; *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (4 vols, London, 1879), iii, 401-2 (misdating this to 1681). Thomas Butler, sixth earl of Ossory, had given Anne away at her marriage, succeeded Cornbury as Catherine of Braganza's chamberlain, was a friend of Evelyn and associate of Arlington and died at the latter's house in London on 30 July 1680: J. D. Davies, 'Butler, Thomas, sixth earl of Ossory

(1634–1680), politician and naval officer’, Oxford DNB (27 May 2010) [accessed 27 Aug. 2018]; Corp, ‘Catherine of Braganza’, 58. Bramston, *Autobiography*, 180 mentions Anne being ‘generally sayd’ to be a catholic at the time of the Popish Plot, and Clarendon’s ‘excellent letters’, the printed copy of which is usually deemed to date from 1680.

³⁸ George Morley, *A Letter to Her Highness the Duchess of York* (1683); George Morley, *Several Treatises* (1683), preface, ii-xv. The copy in the Clarendon papers at the Bodleian may be one of those he here mentions sending to Anne or to her father, or a copy of the latter taken by Cornbury.

³⁹ Jones, *Elymas*.

⁴⁰ Watson, *Fuller Answer*, 2-4, 26. Clarke states that Blandford was allowed to attend, on condition that he did not disturb Anne in her new faith, and that he respected this: *Life*, i, 452-3.

⁴¹ *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E.S. de Beer (10 vols (Oxford, 1976–), letter 842 (Tyrrell to Locke, 20 Jan. 1686); Loveman, ‘Pepys and “Discourses touching Religion”’, 55-6.

⁴² Edward Stillingfleet, *An Answer to some Papers lately printed* (1686), 59-63 (stating she spoke to Sheldon and Blandford); John Dryden, *A Reply to the Answer made upon the Three Royal Papers* (1686); Edward Stillingfleet, *A Vindication of the Answer* (1686). See Earl Miner, ‘Dryden as Prose Controversialist: His Role in *A Defence of the Royal Papers*’, *Philological Quarterly*, xliii (1964), 412-19.

⁴³ John Dryden, ‘The Hind and the Panther’, in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Earl Miner, vol. iii (Berkeley, 1969), ep. to the reader, pp. 121-2 (and notes at pp. 351-2), pt 3, lines 281-4, 308 (pp. 169, 170).

⁴⁴ Watson, *Fuller Answer*, 8-9, 18-19. For a response focusing on the historical debate, see *The Church of England Truly Represented* (1686).

⁴⁵ Stillingfleet, *Answer*, 58-9, 64-5; Dryden, *Reply*, 43-4; Stillingfleet, *Vindication*, 105.

⁴⁶ Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark* (Philadelphia, 2001), 169-70, 172; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), 130. For worries in the 1630s, see Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Icatha, 1999), ch. 3; Elfrieda Dubois, 'Conversions a la cour de la reine Henriette-Marie', *La conversion au XVIIe siècle* (1983), 201-8; G. Albion, *Charles I and the Court of Rome* (1935); Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1983).

⁴⁷ Johnson, 'Apostates'.

⁴⁸ David Lunn, 'Elizabeth Cary: Lady Falkland (1586/7-1639)', *Royal Stuart Papers*, 11 (1977), 1-8, at 3; Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, 22. Scandal here carried a Pauline meaning of disturbing the faith of others.

⁴⁹ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 63r (in printed single-sheet copy [Wing Y46]: she 'must lose all the Friends and Credit I have here by it').

⁵⁰ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 14r-v, 12r; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth* (Chicago, 1994).

⁵¹ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 76v, 77r. The sexual comparison hints at the gendered dynamics of conversion, for which see below.

⁵² Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 66r; Bramston, *Autobiography*, 130-1, 152-3; Clarendon, *Psalms*, in *Several Tracts* (1727), 667-9 (on Ps. 109, written after 1668), 472-3 (on Ps. 39, written before 1651).

⁵³ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 12r, 75r.

⁵⁴ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 75v-76r, 79v; for repetition see F. Bussby, 'George Morley: Bishop of Winchester, 1662-1684', *Church Quarterly Review*, clxviii (1967), 433-42, at 436-7;

Philip Major, 'Funerary Rites in the Royalist Exile: George Morley's Ministry in Antwerp, 1650-1653', *Renaissance and Reformation*, li (2008), 35-50.

⁵⁵ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 12r; Mark Williams, 'The Devotional Landscape of the Royalist Exile, 1649-1660', *Journal of British Studies*, liii (2014), 909-33; Nicole Greenspan, 'Public Scandal, Political Controversy, and Familial Conflict in the Stuart Courts in Exile: The Struggle to Convert the Duke of Gloucester in 1654', *Albion*, xxxv (2003), 398-427; Ronald Hutton, 'The Religion of Charles II', in *The Stuart Court and Europe*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge, 1996), 230.

⁵⁶ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 12v, 80v.

⁵⁷ Dolan, *Whores of Babylon* (6 comments that gender was the 'most fully developed' way of articulating confessional difference); Marotti, *Religious ideology*, ch. 2. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 64-9; Simon Ditchfield and Helen Smith, 'Introduction' to *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2017), 3-4; and Claire Canavan and Helen Smith, "'The needle may convert more than the pen": Women and the Work of Conversion in Early Modern England', in *Conversion*, ed. Ditchfield and Smith, 108-110.

⁵⁸ Maureen M. Meikle and Helen M. Payne, 'From Lutheranism to Catholicism: The Faith of Anna of Denmark (1574-1619)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, lxiv (2013), 45-69; John Evelyn, *The Life of Mrs Godolphin*, ed. Samuel Wilberforce (1847), 13.

⁵⁹ For this genre: Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, 111; Bodl., Clar MS 87, f. 12v; Ditchfield and Smith, 'Introduction', 10.

⁶⁰ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 14r.

⁶¹ Tapsell, 'Laurence Hyde', 1418, 1423, 1437, 1447-8.

⁶² *Responsa Scholarum*, 401; Alison Shell, "'Furor juvenilis': Post-Reformation English Catholicism and Exemplary Youthful Behaviour", in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'*, ed. Ethan Shagan (Manchester, 2005), 186, 194-5, 199.

⁶³ Murray, *Poetics of Conversion*, 20-1; Clarendon, *Psalms*, 731; Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 66v, 17r.

⁶⁴ Clarendon, *Animadversions upon a Book, Intituled, Fanaticism Fanatically Imputed* (1673), 238; Clarendon, 'Against the Multiplying Controversies', *Several Tracts*, 278 (he used a similar metaphor for Dissenters as the Church's rebel children at 243). The same image was used by Morley when he urged York to reconsider his conversion in the late 1670s (George D'Oyly, *The Life of William Sancroft* (2 vols, 1821), I. 168, 175) and both the bishop and Clarendon cited Charles I's example to James (as Charles had done to Gloucester: Hutton, 'Religion of Charles II', 237). Nevertheless, James may have interpreted it differently: Callow, *Making*, 153. Compare Watson's blunter critique of Anne's 'search so superficial, and so definitive': *Fuller Answer*, 19.

⁶⁵ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 15r; Clarendon, *Animadversions*, 14.

⁶⁶ Regarding James, see D'Oyly, *Life of Sancroft*, I. 177; Callow, *Making*, 146.

⁶⁷ CUL, MS Dd.xiv.25³F, p. 17; Alison Shell, 'Catholic Texts and Anti-Catholic Prejudice in the Seventeenth-Century Book Trade', in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600-1910*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1992), 49.

⁶⁸ *Responsa Scholarum*, 385, 399, 408, 415, 422, 430, 446, 459, 465, 489, 507, 521, 556; Murray, 'Alabaster', 196, 199, 202-4.

⁶⁹ See above, nn. 13-17.

⁷⁰ Questier, *Conversion*, 19, 23-4, 28.

⁷¹ CUL, MS Dd.xiv.25³F, pp. 16, 16, 33-6; Singer, *Correspondence*, II. 63-4; *Copies of Two Papers written by the late King Charles II* (1686); Richard Huddleston, *A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church* (1688), 4-5, 18-19, 23; Serenus Cressy, *Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church* (n.p., 1672), 54-6, 93-4, 99ff, 156.

⁷² BL, Add. MS 72887, ff. 65r-92v.

⁷³ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 78r-80r.

⁷⁴ *Correspondence of John Cosin*, i, 283.

⁷⁵ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 15r-v.

⁷⁶ Clarendon, *Animadversions*, 127-8, 137-40; see Paul Seaward, 'Circumstantial Temporary Concessions: Clarendon, Comprehension, and Uniformity', in *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited*, ed. Neil Keeble (Oxford, 2014).

⁷⁷ Bodl., Clar. MS 84, f. 37r; Clarendon, 'Controversies', 250.

⁷⁸ Clarendon, *Animadversions*, 210-11; Clarendon, 'Controversies', 276.

⁷⁹ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 14v; Clarendon, 'Controversies', 271 (with a caveat that there were some errors in all churches); Clarendon, *Psalms*, 376.

⁸⁰ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 12v, 16v; Clarendon, *Animadversions*, 10-11, 75, 80-1, 130-1, 243ff; Clarendon, *Religion and Policy* (2 vols, Oxford, 1811).

⁸¹ Clarendon, 'Controversies'; Cressy, *Exomologesis* (Paris, 1653), sigs. [A3]v-[A4]r (the ep. ded. is dated Oct. 1652).

⁸² **See above, p. 00.** Seaward, 'View', 216. I have found no external evidence to suggest he was the priest she spoke to although, as Seaward points out, there is a paper dating from c. 1670 by Cressy on the proximity of the English and catholic churches in the Clarendon collection: see Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance, and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660-72', *EHR*, cxxviii (2013), 263-291, at 272-3.

⁸³ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, f. 64r. Barlow clearly did not wish to make these public. His marked up copy of the 1647 edn of *Exomologesis* is in the Bodleian: shelfmark 8° C 137 Linc.

⁸⁴ Bodl., Clar. MS 87, ff. 66r-67r.

⁸⁵ *Copies of Two Papers*, 11 (Huntington Library copy of Wing C2943, on EEBO).