Antichrist in the Indies: Anti-Catholic Discourse and English Responses to Roman Catholic Missions in the Americas and East Asia, c. 1558-1660

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December 2022

Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines late sixteenth and early to mid-seventeenth-century English Protestant responses to Roman Catholic missions in Spanish America, Japan, and (to a lesser extent) other "heathen countries." It focuses on how anti-Catholicism infused and shaped authors' writings and their interactions with the missionaries. Particular attention is given to how writers characterised the missionaries, and their views on the efficacy of the missions. The thesis argues that while responses to the missions frequently followed stock anti-Catholic arguments and denunciations, they could vary considerably and were not always entirely critical. It demonstrates how individual Protestant's loyalties, beliefs, objectives and circumstances shaped how they represented and interacted with the missions.

This analysis of anti-Catholic rhetoric is conducted through case studies of five Protestant authors and travellers. It compares and contrasts their accounts of and interactions with the missions, and considers them within the wider anti-Catholic discourse identified in the scholarship. The first chapter focuses on three Church of England divines, George Abbot, Samuel Purchas, and Peter Heylyn, whose cosmographical and controversial texts contained some of the most prominent second-hand discussions of the missions written by English Protestants. The chapter establishes the common arguments made about the missions and reveals how the differing doctrinal perspectives of the three divines shaped their responses. The second chapter discusses Thomas Gage, a Dominican friar who served with the mission in New Spain in the 1630s before converting to Protestantism. It analyses how his personal circumstances and multiple loyalties rendered his seemingly conventional anti-Catholic account of the missions ambiguous. The final chapter discusses the East India Company merchant Richard Cocks, who witnessed the suppression of the Catholic mission in Japan in the early seventeenth century. It reveals clearly how the changing political and economic environment in which he lived and conducted the Company's business dramatically coloured his response to the missions.

The scholarship on English anti-Catholicism has largely neglected early modern Protestant attitudes to Rome's expansive global missionary efforts. My thesis therefore seeks to address this gap in the literature and deepen our understanding of anti-Catholicism through its comparative analysis which combines differing clerical views with those of a converted former missionary in Spanish America and the secular perspective of a merchant in Japan. Anti-Catholicism provided Protestants with a rich stock of tropes to draw upon in their texts and interactions with Catholics. My thesis contends that the ones they selected and how they deployed them were subject to a writer's individual outlook, experience, and circumstance.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Alexander Timothy Pring, 06/12/2022

Acknowledgments

Researching and writing this thesis has been a long, slow, and at times painful process. Numerous individuals and institutions have aided in bringing that process to its conclusion. I am grateful for the research assistance provided by the staff of the University of Adelaide Library, the State Library of South Australia, Cambridge University Library Archives and Manuscripts, and the British Library's Asian and African Studies Reading Room. To my supervisors Claire Walker and Amanda Nettelbeck, I extend the deepest gratitude for their constant encouragement and advice, patience, and timely feedback. I would not have been able to make it to the end without their help. I would also like to thank the numerous other academics and postgraduates here in Adelaide and in the UK for their advice and interest in my work. In particular I would like to thank my friends and officemates Julian Kusabs, Emma Carson and David Milazzo, both for their companionship and their many helpful insights and suggestions. Moving outside the university sphere I give my heartfelt thanks to Dr Shum for encouragement and advice, and his faith that I would see this through to the end. Finally, I am eternally grateful for the boundless support and encouragement of my parents, brother and wider family. To my mother I extend additional thanks for her help in proofreading the final draft of the thesis.

In the text of this thesis all dates are given in Old Style, though with the start of the year is taken to be 1 January. All quotations from primary sources are rendered in their original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation, though the use u and v have been modernised.

Introduction

The early modern period was a time of significant change and upheaval for Europe. The Protestant Reformations shattered the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church and plunged much of the continent into intermittent religious warfare. Religious intolerance abounded, and suspicion and prejudice remained even when different confessions lived together in relative peace. In Protestant England anti-Catholicism became a dominant force, with the Catholic Church, its adherents, and doctrine, becoming the objects of scorn and persecution. At the same time as this confessional conflict, European powers were making contact with and subjugating lands and people they had hitherto known little or nothing about. Spain and Portugal carved out the first global empires from the end of the fifteenth century, and England, the Netherlands and France followed from the end of the sixteenth. Christianity played a central role in this imperialism. Catholic missionaries spread their faith throughout the Iberian empires, adding millions to their Church while the Reformations drew millions away from it. Protestants, making their own plans for Christian empire, inevitably took notice of this harvest.

This thesis sits within the field of early modern religious history and explores confessional conflict against the backdrop of global imperialism. It examines late sixteenth and seventeenth-century English Protestant responses to the Catholic missions in the Americas and East Asia, and the role played by anti-Catholicism in them.[1] It explores how different Protestants represented the missions and, in some cases, interacted with them. It considers their views on the efficacy of the missions – whether the converts were proper Christians or not – and their views on and relationships with the missionaries. The thesis examines why Protestants

[1] This thesis will reference the wider context of early modern imperialism, but as it is focused on English responses and anti-Catholicism it will not extensively engage with the literature on empire.

responded as they did, analysing the factors that led to both consistency and variation between individual responses. Finally, it considers what these responses to the missions reveal about the nature of early modern English anti-Catholicism and Protestant responses to Catholics more generally.

For many English Protestants the missions in the Americas, Japan and other "heathen" countries were not as immediately concerning or as relevant as the Catholic missionary efforts in their own country, or the Catholic military victories on the continent in the wars of religion. However, there were still some Protestant writers who were interested in Rome's global missionary efforts, and a few actually encountered them firsthand during their travels. As I will show, they frequently condemned the missions and their responses often followed conventional anti-Catholic arguments and denunciations. However, not all were entirely critical, and there was much variation in which anti-Catholic tropes were employed and how they were used. Indeed, some authors produced nuanced assessments of the missions and others praised aspects of them. I will argue that the beliefs, objectives, loyalties, and circumstances of individual Protestants determined how they represented and interacted with the missions and missionaries. Much like wider attitudes and approaches to Catholicism, their responses, for all their adherence to common arguments and tropes, varied on a case-by-case basis.

I: Early modern English anti-Catholicism, and early modern Roman Catholic missions

Anti-Catholicism was ubiquitous in Protestant English society and culture from the late sixteenth century to the eighteenth, maintaining an enormous influence on politics. During that time Catholics and their "false" religion were one of, if not the most important, "others" that Protestant England sought to define itself against. Anti-Catholicism was a central element of the developing national identity, a mark of the true, loyal, Protestant Englishman or

Englishwoman. It also acted as a powerful explanatory tool, constructing England's past and present as a Protestant conflict with Catholicism.[2] All fields of English literature were influenced by anti-Catholicism, and numerous sermons, books and pamphlets attacked Rome and its evils.[3] Prejudice against Catholics infused local life, and, as Robin Clifton first argued, that hatred erupted into bouts of popular violence during times of particularly heightened tension.[4] But even in times of calm, Catholics faced difficulties. The mass was outlawed, numerous penal laws were enacted to restrict the financial and social rights of recusants who refused to conform to the Church of England, and priests and those who assisted them were actively hunted down and executed as traitors.[5]

As many historians have noted over the past few decades, anti-Catholicism played a central role in many of the conflicts of the period. The furore over the Spanish Match, the Civil Wars, the Exclusion Crisis, and the Glorious Revolution were among the most prominent.[6] Even after the early modern period, anti-Catholicism remained a notable force in England and the wider

[2] Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 27-28; Colin Haydon, "'I Love My King and My Country, but a Roman Catholic I Hate': Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 34-52; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 131-132; Hilary Larkin, *The Making of Englishmen: Debates on National Identity 1550-1650* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 13-14, 124-129; Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan, "The Catholic 'Other'," in *Anti-Catholicism in Britain and Ireland, 1600-2000: Practices, Representations and Ideas*, ed. Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 8-9, 11-12.

[3] Haydon, "Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England," 38-42; Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 16-17.

[4] Robin Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), 165.

[5] John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 51-66; John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England: 1558-1689* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 78-87, 117-122, 157-158, 182-188.

[6] Prominent works include: Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); John Morrill, "The Religious Context of the English Civil War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1984): 155-178; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Jonathan Scott, "England's Troubles: Exhuming the Popish Plot," in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie Tim Harris (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 107-132.

Anglo-world. It persisted through the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth despite the repeal of most legal restrictions on Catholics by 1829, and vestiges of it remain right up to the present day.[7]

Historians have however shown that while it was undeniably an important force for centuries, anti-Catholicism has never been a simple and straightforward phenomenon. It has always been nebulous and protean, and as Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan have recently observed "there can be no teleological narration of anti-Catholicism – its manifestations have been episodic, more or less rooted in common worldviews, and its history does not end today."[8] It has evolved repeatedly, with its details shifting to address the issues and conflicts of the day.[9] The intensity of anti-Catholic feeling has also varied wildly both geographically and temporally. It has been particularly strong during times of war and crisis, such as at the start of the Civil Wars or during the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century, but at other times has faded in influence. In a similar vein while some groups of English Protestants (like Puritans) were generally stridently anti-Catholic, others like the Laudians were relatively tolerant of Catholics. Furthermore, plenty of communities across England cooperated, or at least begrudgingly coexisted, with their confessional enemies.[10]

The rhetoric of anti-Catholicism was also not limited to Catholics, being frequently directed at other forms of deviance believed to share the taint of what contemporaries called "popery."[11] This concept and the animus against it, "anti-popery," are heavily entwined with anti-Catholicism. Indeed, historians have often used anti-Catholicism and anti-popery

[7] John Wolffe, "Protestant-Catholic Divisions in Europe and the United States: An Historical and Comparative Perspective," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 12, no. 3 (2011): 241-256.
[8] Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Vaughan, "The Catholic 'Other'," 4.
[9] Ibid., 3-4, 8.
[10] Haydon, "Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England," 50; Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 85-115.
[11] Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Vaughan, "The Catholic 'Other'," 8.

interchangeably.[12] However, Tim Harris has stressed that they are not the same thing. He observes that while contemporaries were not consistent in their terminology, employing popery and anti-popery both when discussing Catholicism and other forms of deviance, they generally distinguished between hatred of popery and hatred of "papistry" (i.e. Catholicism).[13] The latter was conterminous with Roman Catholicism, while popery was wider and meant "different things to different people," covering "anything associated with what the pope or the Church of Rome stood for."[14] Whether Harris' definitions will be widely accepted is unclear, but it is apparent that some clarity in terminology in necessary. Thus, to avoid confusion and because this thesis deals specifically with responses to Roman Catholicism, I will be avoiding the terms popery and anti-popery in my analysis.

Due to its variability and contingent nature, no definitive summary of anti-Catholicism's tropes, mythology and impact can be given, even for the period covered by this thesis. Even so, Robin Clifton, Peter Lake, Anthony Milton and others have identified a relatively consistent body of themes and tropes that ran through anti-Catholic discourse from the end of the sixteenth century, serving as the core of what I will consider "conventional" anti-Catholicism. To most conforming English Protestants and Puritans, Catholicism was an idolatrous, persecutory, and tyrannical anti-religion. Its errors were many, with some of the most frequently criticised being its ritual of the mass and transubstantiation, the invocation of the saints, Virgin, and angels, the doctrine of salvation through good works, the exaltation of celibacy, and claims of the infallibility and universal jurisdiction of the papacy in matters spiritual and temporal.[15]

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[12] Evan Haefeli, "Conclusion: History, Polemic and Analysis," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 292-294.
[13] Tim Harris, "Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Popery in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 25-26.
[14] Ibid., 26-27, 34.
[15] Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 187-206, 211-212, 219; Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Crust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 74-75.

The Catholic Church as an institution, meanwhile, was seen as England's great religious and political enemy, hell-bent on destroying the Kingdom and true religion, and enslaving the world beneath a yoke of superstition and ignorance. The Pope was generally seen as the ultimate source of all Catholic plots and evil deeds, and was traditionally identified as the Antichrist, or at least the most important of the antichrists.[16] The Catholic laity were depicted either as ignorant dupes enthralled by the church, or as a treacherous fifth column loyal to the Pope and willing to commit murder in his name.[17] Arthur Marotti notes that the Gunpowder Plot and later the Irish Rebellion did much to cement this stereotype of the murderous traitor, although Catholic loyalty had been questioned under Elizabeth.[18]

The Catholic Clergy, seen as worldly and self-serving, were almost always blamed for corrupting the laity. They were accused of using false doctrine to control them so that they could exploit them to satiate their avarice.[19] Their efforts to maintain and spread Catholic "error" in England were strongly condemned, and this was particularly the case with the Society of Jesus.[20] The Jesuits were considered the worst of all the clergy and a substantial body of myths grew up around them. They were Antichrist's foremost champions, sworn to obey his orders and those of their superiors without flinching. They were deceitful, masters of equivocation, and consummate plotters. They were accused of fomenting rebellion and plotting regicide, and they were presented as the masterminds behind every "popish plot." Their ambition was boundless, and they were variously accused of seeking world domination for the

[16] Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle," 30-36; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 93- 96; Peter Lake, "The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31, no. 2 (1980): 161-178.
[17] Clifton, "Fear of Popery," 149, 153-156; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67; Lake, "Anti-Popery," 75.
[18] Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 132-133; Clifton, "Fear of Popery," 149.
[19] "Fear of Popery," 147-148; Lake, "Anti-Popery," 75.
[20] Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle," 36.

Pope, the King of Spain, or themselves. They were English Protestantism's main villain besides the Pope.[21]

A final notable common element in much hard-line anti-Catholic discourse, though certainly not all as Milton stresses, was the doctrine of the Two-Churches.[22] This presented Catholicism as the binary and irreconcilable opposite of Protestantism, and the conflict between them as the latest and ultimate manifestation of the cosmic battle between Christ's true church of the elect and the devil's false church of the reprobate. These two "churches" and their conflict spanned all of history and encompassed all of humankind. Rome was identified as the latest and ultimate manifestation of the false church, while Protestantism was associated with the true church, which was destined to face persecution at the hands of the false and ultimately triumph over it come the eschaton. Under this view England's attempts to counter Catholicism were part of a literal conflict between good and evil with the salvation of humanity at stake.[23] This included its clashes with the Catholic empires, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada being presented as a deliverance from evil, and the Thirty Years War as a battle to defend true religion from Antichrist's onslaught.[24]

Indeed, in the late sixteenth century and for much of the seventeenth, Spain in particular was frequently depicted as Antichrist's instrument.[25] And even when it was not, it was still seen by

[21] Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 44, 47-53; Eric Nelson, "The Jesuit Legend: Superstition and Myth-Making," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, ed. Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 95, 100-101; Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 132-141; Alexandra Walsham, "'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuite Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England," in *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. David Lemmings and Claire Walker (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 41-42.
[22] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 87.
[23] Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millennarianism, and the English Reformation: From John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman.* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), 54-58, 68, 92-94; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 103-104, 106, 131-133.
[24] Julian Lock, "'How Many Tercios Has the Pope?' The Spanish War and the Sublimation of Elizabethan Anti-Popery," *History* 81, no. 262 (1996): 199-202; Thomas Cogswell, "England and the Spanish Match," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 113-114, 116-117.
[25] Lake, "Anti-Popery," 72; Lock, "'How Many Tercios Has the Pope?'," 199-202, 210-211.

many English Protestants as their enemy and so was subject to considerable ridicule and hatred. This was most notable in the form of the Black Legend, which painted the Spanish as prideful, ambitious, cowardly and cruel. This body of stereotypes influenced English discourse for much of the period covered in this thesis and it frequently overlapped with anti-Catholicism. However, despite their consistency and prevalence they, like the central tropes of anti-Catholicism discussed above, were never universal.[26]

While Protestant England was trying to expunge Catholicism from its shores, representatives of Rome were working to spread their faith across the globe. In the wake of Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest in Africa, Asia and the Americas, members of the mendicant orders of friars (principally the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians) and later the Jesuits established missions to convert the newly encountered or pacified "heathens." These missions were particularly widespread in Spanish America, where surviving indigenous peoples were quickly converted to Catholicism, albeit nominally. Many Amerindians retained much of their belief systems and continued traditional practices under a Christian guise. The missionaries spent decades and, in some areas, centuries slowly working to obliterate traditional cultures and beliefs. They did not entirely succeed, and the Latin American churches ended up adapting to local conditions and accommodating numerous elements of pre-Columbian cultures which survive to this day. Nevertheless, even if they did not ultimately adopt the strict Tridentine Catholicism that some missionaries may have wished, millions of Amerindians were brought through persuasion or coercion into the Catholic fold.[27]

[26] William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971); J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), chs. 10-12.
[27] C. R. Boxer, *The Churh Militant and Ibrian Expansion 1440-1770* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 94-107, 112-115; Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), chap. 10-11; Mark Christensen, "Missionizing Mexico: Ecclesiastics, Natives, and the Spread of Christianity," in *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 20-22, 34-35.

Outside the Americas the early modern missions were not quite as fruitful, though there were still tens of thousands of conversions across Africa and various parts of Asia. Those areas conquered or controlled by the Portuguese and the Spanish, such as Goa and the Philippines, saw particularly high rates of conversion, though independent Asian states also saw some conversions.[28] In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Japan was Rome's greatest success in Asia outside European controlled lands. There, the Jesuits, joined in the 1590s by the friars, were able to convert up to 300,000 to Catholicism.[29] Their success was, however, short-lived as the Tokugawa Shogunate outlawed Christianity in the early seventeenth century and expelled the missionaries. Those that remained or chose to brave the dangers were persecuted along with their converts, and Catholicism was reduced to a tiny underground tradition.[30] But even with these and other setbacks, the missionaries' global harvests were fruitful and brought millions across the world into the Church. The early modern global missions were, in short, a significant development for the peoples being converted and for the Catholic Church.[31]

This thesis grew out of a curiosity over how late sixteenth and seventeenth-century English Protestants responded to those missions. With England taking increasing interest in the wider world and making its first forays into global empire-building and colonialism, I had assumed that some Englishmen would have taken notice of the missions and their impact. Given its near dominance in the discourse at the time I also suspected that anti-Catholicism would play a major role in many of their responses, and that they would accordingly be largely hostile and

[28] Boxer, *The Churh Militant and Ibrian Expansion 1440-1770*, 96-97.
[29] C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 320-322.
[30] Ibid., chap. IV, VII, VIII.
[31] For additional explorations of evangelisation in the Spanish Empire see: Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ida Altman, *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire Brihuega, Spain & Puebla, Mexico, 1560-1620* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Daniel I. Wasserman-Soler, *Truth in Many Tongues: Religious Conversion and the Languages of the Early Spanish Empire* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2020); Roberto A. Valdeón García, *Translation and the Spanish Empire in the Americas* (Amsterdam: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

critical. With one major exception discussed in the literature review below, historians have not analysed Protestant responses to the missions. This thesis seeks to fill this gap in the literature and in doing so further our understanding of anti-Catholicism.

II: Literature review

Research into Protestant responses to the Catholic missions has thus far been limited. Literature on the Black Legend skirts around the edges of this topic through its analysis of English responses to the Spanish empire and its mistreatment of the peoples it conquered. Among others, William Maltby and J. N. Hillgarth have shown how English and indeed Dutch and French authors exploited accounts of that mistreatment to demonise Spain and have argued that those accounts helped establish the stereotype of Spanish cruelty and brutality.[32] Other scholars like Christopher Hodgkins argue that the stories of Spanish atrocities were used to promote and justify English imperialism.[33] None of their arguments deal with responses to the missions specifically, but their findings are important because, as will be shown, coverage of Catholic evangelisation in the Americas usually went hand in hand with discussion of the atrocities. Several of the Protestants discussed in this thesis addressed the missions in a manner commensurate with the findings of Hodgkins and Maltby, though others took different approaches.

While several historians have noted in passing that Protestants were critical of the missions, Gregory Murry is the only author who directly addresses their responses in detail.[34] He has

[32] Maltby, *Black Legend in England*, 12-28; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 302-303, 317-324, 376-377.
[33] Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 55-56; E. Shaskan Bumas, "The Cannibal Butcher Shop: Protestant Uses of Las Casas's 'Brevísima Relación' in Europe and the American Colonies," *Early American Literature* 35, no. 2 (2000): 112-113.
[34] Evan Haefeli, "Protestant Empire? Anti-Popery and British-American Patriotism, 1558-1776," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 205; Delio Mendonca, "Protestant and Jesuit Encounters in India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Encounters between Jesuits and Protestants in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Robert Aleksander Maryks, and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Boston: Brill, 2018), 140, 142, 145, 147.

discussed two common models used by English Protestant authors to attack the missions: the "tears of the Indians" and superficial conversion. The first of these, which emerged in the late sixteenth century, was largely based on Bartolomé de las Casas' description of the atrocities committed during and after the Spanish conquests in the Americas in *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*. Murry argues that English Protestants adopted Las Casas' argument that the cruelties of the conquistadores had driven most of the Amerindians to hate Christianity and used it as proof that the Catholic missions had been ineffective.[35] However, he also notes that from the early seventeenth-century English Protestants began to draw an alternate interpretation from the works of José de Acosta. Acosta had argued that the Amerindians' slow uptake of Christianity was the result of their continued attachment to "idolatry" and suggested taking advantage of the similarities between their religions and Catholicism to expedite conversions. Murry asserts that Protestants used this to argue that the Catholics were simply converting the Amerindians from one form of idolatry to another and were thus not spreading true Christianity at all.[36] In both cases he stresses that these attacks served a polemical purpose, undermining Catholicism's claims to its truth and demonising it.[37] As I will discuss, these two arguments or slight variations were certainly used by a multitude of Protestants assessing the missions, Catholicism and Spain. However, Murry neglects to acknowledge that there was a greater variety in responses beyond the two he has identified, and that Protestant approaches to the Catholic missions could be far more varied.

Wider research has stressed that Protestant responses to Catholicism more generally were variable and contingent. The work of Anthony Milton is particularly significant in this respect. Firstly, he has illuminated the considerable variation that existed in responses to Catholicism

[35] Gregory Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion? José De Acosta, the Black Legend, and Spanish Evangelization in the New World," *The Catholic Historical Review* (2013): 30, 32.
[36] Ibid., 31, 38-40.
[37] Ibid., 31-32.

among Church of England divines in the early Stuart church. He has shown that the church at that time featured an evolving spectrum of doctrinal positions and, accordingly, a multiplicity of views on Catholicism. Plenty of divines espoused views in line with the conventional anti-Catholicism discussed above, but Milton shows that there was considerable variation in how controversial aspects of Catholicism were addressed. Indeed, some increasingly prominent groups of divines disregarded the conventional criticism and began to question the value of strict anti-Catholicism.[38] Milton shows that this trend reached its extreme with the followers of Archbishop William Laud, the Laudians, who were critical of the Papacy's claims to secular power but otherwise rejected most tenets of anti-Catholicism and viewed Puritans rather than Catholics as the greatest threat to England.[39] One might assume that this diversity of opinion extended to the divines' views on the missions and my thesis investigates the extent to which this was the case.

Milton has also shown that this variation in approaches to Catholicism was not limited to divines but applied to English Protestants as a whole. He persuasively argues that "while confessionally driven anti-Catholicism was a *prominent* discourse in early modern England, it was not the single *dominant* one."[40] Openly challenging conventional anti-Catholicism, at least in the early seventeenth century, was not acceptable, but as he shows English Protestants regularly compromised on it for a variety of reasons. Pragmatism and national interest meant that even the most strident anti-Catholic Protestants would compromise with Catholics in international diplomacy, and at the local level social norms and economic need meant that Catholics were frequently tolerated, though this varied by region and time. Even anti-Catholic polemicists would, when it suited their objective, temper their vitriol to appear more irenic than

[38] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 26-27, 55, 531-539.
[39] Ibid., 169, 118-122, 208, 215-217, 220-227, 529-530.
[40] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 110. This is a conclusion he has reinforced in Anthony Milton, "Epilogue: Words, Deeds and Ambiguities in Early Modern Anti-Catholicism," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 302-317.

their Catholic opponents and so gain a tactical advantage in the war of words with Rome.[41] However, Milton stresses that such compromise and collaboration did not invalidate the prejudice against Catholics. If anything, he argues, the constant trampling of confessional boundaries made anti-Catholicism all the more pronounced in times of crisis.[42] Beyond this he also notes that Protestants were able to move between different degrees of anti-Catholicism as their circumstances dictated and could manipulate its extremes to their political or commercial advantage.[43]

Some of these observations have been expanded on by other authors. Recent literature on religious tolerance and intolerance in early modern Europe more generally has emphasised that inter-confessional toleration was relatively common and often driven by pragmatism in some capacity, and that it did not eliminate prejudice. Bob Scribner and Benjamin Kaplan have been particularly influential. Scribner has argued that at a societal level in early modern Germany tolerance and intolerance depended on context and were often driven by secular and political concerns.[44] Meanwhile, Kaplan's work has identified how the different forms of coexistence in Europe varied.[45] These ideas have been explored in relation to England by Alexandra Walsham. As well as further emphasising how religious toleration played into and helped feed prejudice and persecution, she has argued that while inter-confessional toleration in general was widespread, intolerance was endemic and could easily erupt into violence in times of crisis.[46]

[41] "A Qualified Intolerance," 86-88, 96-102, 110.
[42] Ibid., 107-110.
[43] Ibid., 108.
[44] Bob Scribner, "Preconditions of Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 46-47.
[45] Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).
[46] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England. 1500-1700* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 270-287, 322.

On the subject of the toleration of English Catholics specifically, William Sheils has highlighted that the need to ensure social harmony and economic prosperity often pushed confessional divisions aside and drove harmony in parishes throughout the country.[47] More recently Carys Brown has argued that the state of confessional relations heavily depended on local contexts, and that in some situations pragmatism could drive toleration even in circumstances when Catholics were belligerent.[48] In further work she has also emphasised that even when anti-Catholicism was compromised in everyday life, its tropes and stereotypes continued to cloud perceptions of Catholics, and the behaviour of Catholics could in turn reinforce those perceptions.[49] My thesis builds on this understanding of the variability of anti-Catholicism developed by Milton, Brown and others. I will show that responses to the missions were contingent on context and not solely governed by anti-Catholic ideology. I will also stress that responses varied on an individual and indeed instance to instance basis. The individual variability of anti-Catholicism is something that Milton has briefly touched on and I aim to further explore it here.[50]

III: Methodology and structure

This is not a comprehensive study of every English Protestant assessment of or encounter with Rome's global missionary efforts from the designated period. Instead, this thesis takes a case study approach, analysing the responses of five Protestant writers: George Abbot, Samuel Purchas, Peter Heylyn, Thomas Gage and Richard Cocks. I analyse how each of the five

[47] William J. Sheils, "'Getting on' and 'Getting Along' in Parish and Town: Catholics and Their Neighbours in England," in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570-1720,* ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan, et al. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 68, 80-81.
[48] Carys Brown, "Militant Catholicism, Interconfessional Relations, and the Rookwood Family of Stanningfield, Suffolk, c. 1689–1737," *The Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017): 24, 43-45.
[49] "Everyday Anti-Catholicism in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *Anti-Catholicism in Britain and Ireland, 1600-2000: Practices, Representations and Ideas*, ed. Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 57, 70-71.
[50] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 108.

represented, characterised and in certain cases interacted with the missions and missionaries. I contextualise the consistencies and variations in their approaches by analysing how they tied into broader anti-Catholic tropes and trends, and by exploring how they were shaped by each writer's motives, beliefs, loyalties and circumstances. To do this I discuss other English Protestant responses to the missions and to Catholicism or the Spanish empire more generally to show how the approaches of the five did or did not tie into broader trends. I consider how their responses were variously moulded by the broader themes, arguments and purposes of their writings, by the social, political, religious, and/or economic climate within which each was writing, and by their past and present political and religious loyalties.

The first chapter consists of three case studies of Church of England divines: stridently anti-Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot (1562-1533), divine, cosmographer and imperial theorist Samuel Purchas (1577-1626), and Laudian polemicist and historian Peter Heylyn (1599-1662). Their cosmographical and controversial texts contained some of the most prominent second-hand discussions of the missions written by English Protestants. The chapter establishes the common arguments made about the missions and reveals how the differing doctrinal perspectives and objectives of the three divines shaped their different approaches. It shows how Abbott's firmly Calvinist and anti-Catholic beliefs and polemical objectives inspired him and similar divines to employ a range of common arguments to condemn the missions. It also shows how Purchas's strident anti-Catholicism and desire for a world united under Christ led him to temper his otherwise critical assessment of the missions with an acknowledgment of their potential benefits. Finally, it highlights how Heylyn's response to the missions evolved in line with his wider ideology, shifting from criticism to praise as his Laudian ideology developed.

The second chapter deals with Thomas Gage (1603-1656), one of the few Englishmen who had extensive firsthand knowledge of the Catholic missions. An ex-Dominican who converted to

Protestantism in 1642, Gage served with the mission in New Spain for almost a decade in the 1630s. After his conversion he wrote a detailed account of his travels in New Spain and his experience with the mission. The chapter analyses how his at times uncertain goals and loyalties and his personal circumstance combined to produce an ambiguous account of the missions. I will examine how the need to prove his loyalty post conversion, and his goal of promoting the English conquest of Spanish America drove his largely negative characterisation of the missions and use of traditional anti-Catholic tropes. However, I also note how his residual loyalty to his erstwhile Dominican comrades and his unique firsthand experience of the missions tempered his hostility and added a level of nuance and detail to his coverage that distinguished it from earlier works.

The final chapter focuses on the East India Company merchant Richard Cocks (1566-1624), who witnessed the suppression of the Catholic mission in Japan in the early seventeenth century while managing the Company's trading post in Hirado from 1613-1624. During his time there he had multiple encounters with Catholic missionaries and became embroiled in the Tokugawa shogunate's campaign of persecution. He recounted his experiences and observations at length in his diary and correspondence. I will explore how the changing political and economic environment in which he lived and conducted the Company's business dramatically coloured his responses to the missions, which varied considerably. I argue that much of his response was governed by pragmatism, which in many cases combined with his anti-Catholicism and drove his hostility to the missionaries, but in other cases when the situation was different led him to cooperate with them. I will also highlight how his perspective as a merchant led him to be much less concerned with or critical of the Jesuits and friars' evangelical efforts than the divines discussed in the previous chapter.

Chapter 1:
English Divines on Global Catholic Missions: Abbot, Purchas and Heylyn

Introduction

While Rome's global missions were never a major confessional issue like predestination or the authority of the Pope, they were nevertheless still the subject of at times heated debate between Catholics and Protestants. The missions had been substantial and, in some cases, very fruitful, and Catholic divines such as John Percy (alias Fisher) and Richard Bristow invoked their success – and Protestants' lack thereof in similar endeavours – as a sign of the truth of their religion.[1] Protestant divines could not, and did not, ignore the Catholic missions or the claims to truth they were used to support. Many sought to counter those claims with a variety of arguments, attacking the motivation of the missionaries, insisting that their efforts were less successful than had been claimed, or that they were not spreading true Christianity. Others, while still critical, developed more nuanced and even approving stances. This chapter provides some insight into the varied ways English Protestant divines, who had never actually seen the global missions or their fruits firsthand, responded to Rome's proselytisation of "heathen" peoples. It focuses on three prominent divines: Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot, geographer and imperial theorist Samuel Purchas, and Laudian historian and polemicist Peter Heylyn. Their responses to the missions drew on a common set of arguments and tropes used in multiple other Protestant works, but they were by no means the same and each author ultimately had distinct assessments.

[1] John Fisher [Percy], *A Treatise of Faith Wherin is Briefely, and Planly Shewed, a Direct Way, by which Every man may resolve, and settle his minde, in all doubtes, questions, or controversies, concerning matters of faith* ([St. Omer]: 1605), 120-122; Richard Bristow, *A Briefe Treatise of Divers Plaine and sure waies to finde out the truth in this doubtfull and dangerous time of heresie* (Antwerp [England]: 1599), 102v-104r.

As touched on in the Introduction, two elements of the Protestant response to the missions, or at least those in the Americas, have been analysed by Gregory Murry. The first was the "tears of the Indians" narrative model drawn from Bartolomé de las Casas, under which Protestants argued that the atrocities of the conquistadores drove the Amerindians to reject Christianity.[2] The second was the superficial conversion argument: that those who did convert were simply exchanging one form of error for another and were not being taught true Christianity.[3] While these two general arguments were common, clerical responses to the missions overall were broader and more varied, and not all of them were equally critical. As discussed, Anthony Milton has shown that divines had a wide range of views on Roman Catholicism. Attitudes varied across the doctrinal spectrum of English Protestantism, with Puritans and committed Calvinists typically being more staunchly anti-Catholic than the more irenic Arminians and Laudians.[4] Individual divines also adjusted their stances on Rome between works, sometimes taking a more conciliatory tone for tactical reasons.[5]

My analysis here of clerical responses to the missions is not and cannot be comprehensive. However, the following three case studies and briefer analyses of the writings of other divines reveal several trends. As I will show, the patterns of variation in wider Protestant attitudes to Catholicism identified by Milton also occurred in divines' responses to the missions. In line with the dominant anti-Catholicism of the time, many divines were highly critical of the missions. They attacked and attempted to undermine Catholics' claims of missionary success, variously declaring that few converts had been made, that the missionaries had poorly instructed their proselytes, and that they were only teaching them an alternate form of idolatry.

[2] Gregory Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion? José De Acosta, the Black Legend, and Spanish Evangelization in the New World," *The Catholic Historical Review* (2013): 30, 32.
[3] Ibid., 31, 38-40.
[4] Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[5] Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts,* ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 87-91.

However, while versions of these arguments were widespread, not all divines were entirely critical and some praised aspects of Rome's labours. Attitudes towards the missions varied depending on the ideologies and doctrinal allegiances of individual authors, as well as on the goals of their texts and the context within which they were written.

The first section will focus on George Abbot's largely hostile response to the missions and will analyse how he drew on a range of conventional anti-Catholic tropes in his criticisms. It will also show how many other Calvinist and Puritan divines echoed his arguments, and will discuss how the archbishop varied his response between works to suit his objectives and context. The second section examines the writings of Samuel Purchas and discusses how his particular world view influenced his response. It will analyse how his virulent anti-Catholicism and desire for the world to become Protestant led him to both heavily criticise the missions, and begrudgingly commend them for advancing Christianity. The third and final section examines how Peter Heylyn's assessment of the missions evolved as his Laudian ideology developed, showing how he went from condemning the missions to praising them for spreading the gospels across the world.

I: George Abbot and Protestant criticism of Rome's global missions

George Abbot (1562-1633), the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1611, discussed the missions and Rome's claims about them at length. He was generally highly critical and largely presented them as failures, though there were times when he moderated his critique and acknowledged that the missionaries had spread some elements of Christianity. Overall, his assessment was consistent with orthodox English Protestant attitudes to Rome and incorporated many common criticisms of the missions and of Catholicism more broadly. This should not be surprising given that Abbot's attitudes to Roman Catholicism were overwhelmingly hostile. He was a strident

Calvinist with Puritan leanings, and was devoted to the international Protestant cause and to spreading the Christian truth.[6] He was unflinchingly anti-Catholic; indeed Fincham has argued that "an intense, even pathological, fear of popery, based on the identification of the Pope as antichrist" lay at the centre of his theology.[7] As will be shown his Anti-Catholicism may not have been quite as uncompromising as Fincham's analysis suggests, but it was certainly virulent and a defining feature of his career. During his brief stint as Bishop of London in 1610 and the earlier years of his primacy (before he lost favour with the King in the early 1620s) he assiduously endeavoured to repress England's Catholics. He employed networks of informers to infiltrate and undermine Catholic communities, arrested seminary priests and Catholics who attended mass at foreign embassies, and unsuccessfully tried to pressure James I to execute more priests.[8]

Abbot also sponsored anti-Catholic writers and gathered a circle of similarly minded clerics to combat the threat from Rome and its ally Spain. As part of his polemical campaign he and his circle encouraged converts from Catholicism to write against their former co-religionists.[9] He also advocated an aggressive pro-Protestant foreign policy and saw Spain as a serious threat to the reformed cause. He privately opposed the Spanish Match, though publicly he was forced to follow the King's policy and suppress opposition to the proposed alliance.[10] Abbot's opposition to the pro-Spanish policies of the 1620s cost him his influence with the King, and the accession of Charles I and the rising power of William Laud (Abbot's successor) saw it

[6] Kenneth Fincham, "Abbot, George (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, accessed 11 Sep. 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4; Kenneth Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's Defence of Protestant Orthodoxy," *Historical Research* 61, no. 144 (1988): 36-38.
[7] Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics," 37.
[8] Ibid., 37, 44-45.
[9] Michael C. Questier, "John Gee, Archbishop Abbot, and the Use of Converts from Rome in Jacobean Anti-Catholicism." *Recusant History* 21, no. 3 (1993): 347-348, 349-351, 357; Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics," 44.
[10] Thomas Cogswell, "England and the Spanish Match," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 118; Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics," 46-49, 51-53.

decline even further.[11] But his desire to combat Rome remained undiminished and was not limited to the European theatre.

Abbot saw Catholicism and the Spanish as a global threat. He maintained an extensive correspondence with likeminded English diplomats across Europe and even in Asia. One of his most faithful contacts was Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Mughal empire from 1615-1619 and later to the Ottomans. Reports from Roe and his other contacts allowed Abbot to monitor Catholic developments on the continent as well as the state of Spain's overseas empire. The archbishop understood that developments in that empire could have major repercussions in Europe.[12] As well as concern over the Spanish empire, Abbot also seemingly had some interest in the advancement of English imperialism. He supported several colonial ventures, holding shares in the Virginia Company and putting his name to a group of adventurers supporting the formation of a "Company of the Merchants of London, discoverers of the North-west passage."[13] He also provided advice to the English East India Company on several occasions, and was also linked to it via his younger brother Maurice, who was governor of the Company from 1624 to 1638.[14]

Abbot's virulent anti-Catholicism and interest in global affairs are apparent in his discussions of Rome's global missionary endeavours. Both of his texts covering them, *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath Brought, for the Upholding of Papistry, which is falselie termed the*

[11] Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics," 52-53, 62; Fincham, "Abbot, George (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury."
[12] Fincham, "Prelacy and Politics," 49-50.
[13] Paul A. Welsby, *George Abbot: The Unwanted Archbishop, 1562-1633* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), 9. Welsby mistakenly states that Abbot held 75 shares in the company. In actuality he held six shares worth a total of £75, with each share being valued at £12 s10. See: Counseil for Virginia, *A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia: with The Names of the Adventurors, and Summes adventured in that Action* (London: 1620), sig. C3r; on the proposed North-West Passage Company see: William N. Sainsbury, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862), 240.
[14] IOR/B/5 Court Minutes (1613-1615), Minutes of the East India Company's Directors and Proprietors. British Library: 370, 448; Andrew Thrush, "Abbot, Sir Maurice (1565–1642), Merchant and Politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 03 Jan. 2008, accessed 11 Sep. 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7.

Catholike Religion: Unmasked and *A Briefe Description of the whole World*, were critical of the missions and attempted to downplay their success. However, these were quite different texts, written for different reasons and in distinct environments. There is some variation in Abbot's assessment of the missions and missionaries between the two. *Reasons… Unmasked* is the more substantial and critical. It was written to confute part of a 1600 Catholic polemic: Edmund Thomas Hill's *A Quartron of Reasons of Catholike Religion, with as Many Briefe Reasons of Refusal*.[15] Secretly published in England, like most such polemics *A Quartron of Reasons* sought to prove the truth of Roman Catholicism and the invalidity of Protestantism. Hill deployed Rome's evangelical success as evidence for his arguments, so Abbot sought to deny that success to counter his opponent's claims.

Anti-Catholic controversial literature such as *Reasons… Unmasked* was a prominent part of England's campaign against Rome and had several important roles. Milton notes that polemical texts served a spiritual function for their authors and Protestant audience, confirming their "commitment to the true faith."[16] The main purpose of such works though was to help counter the threat of Roman proselytisation. During the early Stuart period Protestant clerics were concerned about the potential for Catholic polemic to spread doubt among the laity and induce conversions to Rome.[17] Contemporaries frequently asserted that changes of religion came about when rival polemicists convinced the convert that their avowed religion was false, though Questier has shown that in practice polemic alone generally did not induce conversion, which was a far more complex and varied experience.[18] Nevertheless, Protestant divines firmly

[15] Edmund Thomas Hill, *A Quartron of Reasons of Catholike Religion, with as Many Briefe Reasons of Refusal* ("Antwerp" [England]: 1600).
[16] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 37.
[17] Greg Salazar, "Polemicist as Pastor: Daniel Featley's Anti-Catholic Polemic and Countering Lay Doubt in England During the Early 1620s," *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 319-320; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 38.
[18] Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 12, 35-36, 39, 203-204.

believed that all Catholic polemics needed to be confuted lest they encourage defections.[19] In doing so divines generally aimed to thoroughly undermine their opponents' arguments and present Catholic "error" in as poor a light as possible.[20]

In *Reasons… Unmasked* Abbot firmly adhered to the goals and style of this polemical tradition. He made it clear that his aim was to block the potential negative influence of Hill's book, which he sought to do by undermining Hill's "reasons" for the truth of Catholicism point by point.[21] In doing so he hoped to instruct "the ignorant, who most readylie are seduced," and if possible to convert and save any papists predestined to salvation.[22] Thus when Hill invoked Rome's recent missionary success in the Americas and Asia to support his position, Abbot sought to counter his claims by arguing that the missions had been ineffective and had not won nearly as many converts as Catholics claimed. As Murry notes he deployed a version of the superficial conversion argument to do this, though he also employed a version of the "tears of the Indians" argument as well as criticisms of the missionaries' behaviour and other claims.[23] In all cases his claims were designed to counter Hill's specific assertions.

Abbot's primary deployment of the "tears of the Indians" argument was in his rebuttal of Hill's fifth "reason." Hill had argued that Catholicism's global spread was proof that it was the true church, as only Rome fulfilled the scriptural criteria that the true church would be known throughout the world.[24] He highlighted the spread of Catholicism in the Americas and parts of Asia as evidence of this global reach.[25] Abbot countered that Catholicism had not been nearly as widely received in Asia and America as Hill and other Catholic authors claimed. As was

[19] Ibid., 17-18.
[20] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 38-39.
[21] George Abbot, *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath Brought, for the upholding of Papistry, which is falselie termed the Catholike Religion: Unmasked, and shewed to be very weake, and upon examination most insufficient for that purpose* (Oxford: 1604), sigs. ¶4r-v, Ffv-Ff2r.
[22] Ibid., sig. Ff2r.
[23] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 38.
[24] Hill, *Quartron of Reasons*, 23-24.
[25] Ibid., 27

typical of the "tears of the Indians" argument Abbot drew on the works of Bartolomé de las Casas and Peter Martyr to argue that there were few conversions in the Americas in large part because of Spanish atrocities.[26] He highlighted three reasons the behaviour of the Spanish caused so few "Indians" to convert:

> first there are few left among them. Secondly those who be there, being in truth no better then vassals, slaves & drudges to the Spanyards, come on slowly to be baptised. And thirdly they who for feare or fashion come, doe in hart hate them & their religion, & lacke but opportunity to revolt from them.[27]

However, Abbot went further than simply co-opting Las Casas, applying the same counter argument to conversions in Asia. He claimed that the "mischievous suttlety & incroching rapine" of the Portuguese made them "odious" to the people of Asia, who as a result wanted nothing to do with Catholicism and very much wished to be rid of the Iberians and their religion.[28]

To further undermine Hill, Abbot also argued that the missionaries had been lax in their instruction of those who were baptised, meaning that the few actual "converts" did not even understand Christianity. He explained that this lack of instruction had led many of the Amerindians to hate and renounce their Christianity and asserted that those baptised in Japan and other parts of Asia were unable to give proper testimony of their Christianity.[29] He explained that

> It is not sufficient to salvation, for an ignorant person to be baptised into he cannot tel what, or to be taught by rote to mumble up a few praiers, wherof he understandeth no

[26] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 201; Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 32.
[27] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 202-203.
[28] Ibid., 205.
[29] Ibid., 201, 205-206.

> part, or to use a paire of beads with nothing but superstition: or to fal down before a Crucifixe: when the manner of our Redemption, & the course of our Iustification, is no more knowne to him then to very beasts.[30]

To further undermine Hill, Abbot argued that this poor instruction was not limited to the "pagan" converts. He asserted that the Iberian laity in Asia were just as poorly instructed, "being more furnished with wicked devises, leading them the ready high way to damnation, then with ought which belongeth to true Christianity."[31] These criticisms tied into several of the core Protestant critiques of Catholicism. Claims of the Catholic clergy keeping the laity in ignorance, and of the superstitious and idolatrous nature of Catholic worship were anti-Catholic staples. Protestant polemicists like Abbot constantly engaged with those themes when discussing the Roman church or countering Catholic polemic.[32]

Abbot had also employed some of these arguments in his answer to Hill's fourth "reason," which presented Rome's propagation of the gospel, and Protestants' lack thereof, as proof of Catholicism's truth. Hill argued that Catholics have converted all who were ever converted to Christianity, while Protestants, being heretics, have been and are unable to win "heathen" converts.[33] Hill highlighted the "infinite numbers [brought] to the Christian faith in the East and West Indies" by the friars and Jesuits as proof of his argument, to which Abbot responded in part with his argument that the laxity of proselytisation had led to far fewer converts than Rome claimed.[34] But he did not simply repeat the same points. Abbot also stridently defended the Protestants' lacklustre record of evangelism among "heathens." He highlighted the potential of the (so far failed) English colonies in North America, and the efforts of Genevan

[30] Ibid., 206.
[31] Ibid., 206.
[32] Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Crust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 74-75; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 173-174, 186-187.
[33] Hill, *Quartron of Reasons*, 16-23.
[34] Hill, *Quartron of Reasons*, 17; Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 135-136, 151.

ministers in France Antarctique in mid-sixteenth century Brazil, which he claimed failed because of Catholic interference.[35]

Abbot also attacked the dedication and virtue of Catholic missionaries. Hill had praised them for willingly renouncing worldly desires to travel to the distant corners of the world and win souls to Christ, braving great danger and deprivation in the process.[36] Abbot countered this rosy image and complemented his claims of lax catechesis by presenting the missionaries as weak worldly men committed to their own advancement or that of the devil. He argued that most of them, being unable to disobey their superiors, were forced to become evangelists, though he insists that few actually went to lands beyond Europe, and of those that did, most served as agents and spies for the Spanish King.[37] Drawing on the common stereotype of the worldly priest, he claimed that, far from abandoning riches and honours, the missionaries had enriched themselves by fleecing their converts.[38] The Jesuits in particular, Abbot argued, had gained immeasurable wealth and power in India and Japan. To further counter Hill's praise of the Jesuits, he also invoked many common anti-Jesuit stereotypes, highlighting their supposed fomenting of rebellion, blind obedience to Rome, and regicide.[39] To conclude, Abbot insinuated that even those missionaries who did renounce riches and willingly braved great danger were not spreading the Christian truth, but the corruption of the devil.[40]

This last point tied into Abbot's version of the superficial conversion argument. He argued that the converts in America and Asia who were instructed in Catholic doctrine were not becoming true Christians. Rather they were simply exchanging one form of idolatry for another, "for you

[35] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 129-131, 156.
[36] Hill, *Quartron of Reasons*, 19-20.
[37] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 150-152.
[38] Ibid., 152-154.
[39] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 138-139, 153; Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 44-45, 49-52.
[40] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 154.

mingle to their handes the doctrine of the Gospell, with many pollutions of vile Idolatry, & most horrible superstition, like to that of the olde Heathens."[41] As Murry rightly notes this argument tied into Protestant claims that Catholicism was idolatrous and tainted by error that made it little different from "heathenism," claims central to most Calvinist and Puritan arguments that Rome was not the true church.[42] Murry is likely less correct in his claim that Abbot's argument was influenced by José de Acosta's admissions regarding the limited effectiveness of the missionary efforts in America, and of the similarity of Catholicism and "Indian" religion.[43] While it is possible that Abbot had read Acosta and been influenced by him in some capacity, there is no clear evidence of this as Abbot does not obviously cite him at any point in *Reasons… Unmasked*. Rather he seems to have been drawing on the older argument that heretics and erroneous Christians could not spread true Christianity. Hill himself had made that point, arguing that "Heretikes cannot possiblie convert anie to such faith as may make the converted better then they were before."[44] It also had biblical precedent in the Woes of the Pharisees, with Jesus cursing the Pharisees for spreading false religion, compassing "Sea and land to make one Proselyte, and when hee is made, yee make him two fold more the childe of hell then your selves."[45] This was a passage that Abbot did cite, doing so to equate the Catholic missionaries with the Pharisees and show that they too were doing the devil's work.[46]

All told, Abbot presented an extremely unflattering picture of the missions. However, while he was generally unrelenting in his efforts to confute Hills' claims of evangelical success, his condemnation of the missions was not absolute. He allowed that the missionaries' teachings incurred one small benefit to their proselytes. This was "that formerly they knew not Christ at

[41] Ibid., 172.
[42] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 38-39. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 132, 174-175.
[43] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 38.
[44] Hill, *Quartron of Reasons*, 122.
[45] Matt. 23:15 (King James Version, 1611).
[46] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 154.

all, and now they know him in some sort, although it be not so rightly as they should."[47] This sort of moderation was not necessarily unusual for anti-Catholic polemic. As Milton has shown, while Rome was denounced as satanic anti-religion under the doctrine of the Two Churches, this was only one contemporary model for assessing Catholicism. To counter Catholic polemic many Protestant polemists, including Puritans, found it necessary to present a more nuanced portrait of Catholicism and acknowledge that it retained some truth. They recognised that taking a more irenic approach than their opponents could be tactically advantageous, while denouncing Rome as non-Christian and emphasising Protestantism's total break from it risked giving separatists ammunition.[48] Even Abbot, who sponsored multiple works that condemned Rome under the Two Churches doctrine, was willing to countenance moderation when necessary.[49] His admission that the missionaries were spreading some knowledge of Christ is probably an example of this tactical moderation, and was not the only place in *Reasons… Unmasked* in which he begrudgingly acknowledged Rome retained some tiny elements of Christian truth amidst its damning errors.[50] This was faint praise at best, and in no way detracted from Abbot's wider assertion that Rome was not spreading Christianity as Hill claimed.

However, this brief instance of irenics was not necessarily purely tactical. Abbot's more moderate if still critical assessment of the missions in his *Briefe Description of the whole World* suggests that he was genuinely willing to accept that the missionaries were doing at least some work to advance Christianity. This short global geography, which was first published in 1599 and enlarged in 1605 and 1617, still reflected Abbot's anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish ideology. He attacked the papacy for its claims to temporal power, and identified Rome with the Whore

[47] Ibid., 172.
[48] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 87-91.
[49] Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion*, 47-48; Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 87; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 58.
[50] Abbot, *Reasons… Unmasked*, 304-305.

of Babylon.[51] In his discussion of the missions, which first appeared in the 1605 edition, he repeated most of the core points of the "tears of the Indians" narrative, and highlighted that the missionaries were spreading "popish superstition."[52] However, unlike in his polemical treatise, Abbot was more accepting of the intentions of the missionaries themselves, particularly those like Las Casas who spoke out against the depredations of their countrymen. He accepted that they had gone to America "mooved with some zeale to draw the people there to the Christian Faith," and gave them credit for attempting to stop the depredations of the colonists.[53] He still insinuated that their intentions were somewhat misguided, noting that they went to America "as they think for *Christs* sake."[54] But he nevertheless acknowledged that they were labouring to root out the Amerindians' "infidelitie" and bring them Christianity, though they were mixing it with considerable error.[55]

At their core, Abbot's individual comments about the missions in his *Briefe Description* are little different from many of his criticisms in *Reasons… Unmasked*. He makes the same sorts of claims about converts rejecting Christianity and the spread of error. However, his two assessments of the missions differ in tone and emphasis. While his polemic was overwhelmingly condemnatory and focused on the missions' flaws, his geography was more nuanced and gave more attention to the good aspects of the missions. This variance in approach likely stems from the difference in the aims of each text. His polemic was constrained by the need to counter Hill's arguments by proving that the missions had been ineffectual. This allowed some moderation, but criticism needed to be Abbot's main focus. The *Briefe Description*, by contrast, was not directly seeking to challenge Catholicism. Rather it was likely

[51] George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the whole World* (London: 1617), sigs. D2r, D3r,
[52] Ibid., sigs. R3v, M2r-M2v, S4r, Tr.
[53] Ibid., sigs. S4v-Tr.
[54] Ibid., sig. Tr.
[55] Ibid., sig. Tr.

originally written as a text for his students at Oxford.[56] There was increasing interest in the study of geography in the universities and in wider English society in the late Elizabethan period, and thus a market for texts like Abbot's that provided up to date information on the wider world.[57] Anti-Catholic as he was, Abbot naturally included some criticism of his foes, but as he was not directly challenging Catholic arguments there was greater leeway for nuance and for giving credit to Catholics when he thought it was due.

Abbot's apparent concession that the missions had done some good at all seems somewhat at odds with his vehemently anti-Catholic reputation. Such moderation is certainly not unprecedented, and as Milton has repeatedly emphasised, anti-Catholicism was not an ideological straitjacket. Even hard-line Puritans were capable of compromising on its tenets and engaging with Catholic works and ideas.[58] In Abbot's case it was a fairly minor compromise, as he still highlighted some of the missionaries' failures and the errors of their doctrine. Nevertheless, it seems that Abbot's anti-Catholicism was probably not quite as uncompromising as has been suggested. However, it could also be speculated that his views on Catholicism changed over time. Both texts were written well before Abbot became Archbishop and began enacting his strict anti-Catholic policies. Over the intervening years he may have become more uncompromising and intolerant, perhaps spurred on in part by the Gunpowder Plot. However, determining if this was the case would require far more thorough analysis of his writings and correspondence than is possible here.

Even if Abbot's views were slightly more moderate than has been previously thought, his criticisms of the missions were nevertheless orthodox. Many other Calvinist and Puritan

[56] Welsby, *The Unwanted Archbishop*, 8.
[57] Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 37, 50.
[58] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 86, 88-89, 94-95, 110; Milton, "Epilogue: Words, Deeds and Ambiguities in Early Modern Anti-Catholicism," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 305.

authors in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also employed the same or similar arguments to Abbot when they criticised the missions or sought to deny their success. The prominence of the "tears of the Indians" narrative has already been well established by historians like Murry.[59] Other polemicists made use of it when challenging Rome's claims to evangelical success, and it appeared in other religious texts as well as in secular works like geographies.[60] It was also a core component of the anti-Spanish Black Legend.[61] The superficial conversion argument was also common as Murry rightly points out.[62] It was used by Puritan divine Andrew Willet in the course of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and by Francis Dillingham in his own earlier rebuttal of Hill.[63] Both authors referenced the Woes of the Pharisees, and so too did the Presbyterian Thomas Cartwright when he used that argument in his confutation (published 1618, but written in the 1580s) of the Douay-Rheims New Testament.[64] Meanwhile, in 1611 George Abbot's elder brother Robert, the Bishop of Salisbury, echoed the archbishop's arguments about the supposed laxity of the missionaries in instructing their proselytes. He too highlighted that the forcibly baptised "Indians" (those who had not been killed) had been taught some ceremonies, but "nothing of religion, nothing of the Gospell of Iesus Christ."[65]

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[59] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 30-33.
[60] See for example: Francis Dillingham, *A Quartron of Reasons, composed by Doctor Hill, unquartered, and prooved a quartron of follies* (Cambridge: 1603), 11; Thomas Cartwright, *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament* (Leiden: 1618), 258; Thomas Adams, *A Commentary or, Exposition Upon the Divine Second Epistle Generall, Written by the Blessed Apostle St. Peter* (London: 1633), 280-281, 1078; Samuel Clarke, *A Geographicall Description Of all the Countries In the known World* (London: 1657), 51, 170-171, 182-183, 186-189; John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London: 1646), 9-10; Thomas Porter, *A compendious view, or Cosmographical, and geographical description of the whole world* (London: 1659), 78, 90-91.
[61] William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971), 12-28; E. Shaskan Bumas, "The Cannibal Butcher Shop: Protestant Uses of Las Casas's 'Brevísima Relación' in Europe and the American Colonies," *Early American Literature* 35, no. 2 (2000): 107-108.
[62] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 38-40.
[63] Andrew Willet, *Hexapla: that is, a Six-fold Commentarie vpon the most Diuine Epistle of the holy Apostle S. Paul to the Romanes* (Cambridge: 1611), 712-713; Dillingham, *Quartron of Reasons… unquartered*, 10-11.
[64] Cartwright, *Confutation of the Rhemists Translation*, 258.
[65] Robert Abbot, *The True Ancient Roman Catholike: Being an Apology or Counterproofe Against* Doctor Bishops Reproofe *of the defence of the Reformed Catholike* (London: 1611), 114.

Not all divines used the same arguments as George Abbot. In confuting Hill, Dillingham had also argued that the supposed barbarousness and ignorance of the Amerindians had made it easy for the Catholics to convert them, commenting that it was no marvel "if they were easily ledde into any religion, especially carrying such a shew of apparrell and other ceremonies?"[66] The prolific Puritan controversialist William Fulke also took a different approach when addressing Thomas Stapleton's argument that Roman Catholics' conversion of countries proved their truth. Unlike Abbot and Dillingham, he made no effort to deny the success of the missions, though he did wonder "if their monstrous reports be credible."[67] Instead he challenged the underlying premise that making conversions was actually a sign of truth. He highlighted that the Pharisees, the Arians, Nestorians, and the Greek Church had all made converts and were still considered heretical and thus the Catholics' reported evangelical successes did nothing to prove the truth of their church.[68]

While there were arguments against the missions beyond those used by Abbot, his criticisms of and overall antipathy towards Rome's evangelical efforts broadly reflect the attitudes of Puritan and Calvinist English divines. Individual authors varied in their specific approaches but denying the extent of Rome's harvest or insisting that it was not spreading true Christianity were commonplace. Indeed, all the conformist or radical clerics analysed throughout the rest of this thesis echoed or outright repeated claims and arguments made by Abbot, though each also diverged from the archbishop in substantial ways. Of course, Abbot's approach had its own quirks. The slight divergence in his assessment of the missions between the two texts highlights that Protestants could vary their response between works to suit their objectives and circumstance. As I will discuss in subsequent chapters, context and individual intent were

[66] Dillingham, *Quartron of Reasons… unquartered*, 11.
[67] William Fulke, *T. Stapleton and Martiall (two Popish Heretikes) confuted, and of their particular heresies detected* (London: 1580), 59.
[68] Ibid., 59.

critical in influencing different assessments of the missions. As Abbot also shows, those assessments were also not necessarily entirely critical. Anti-Catholicism, for all its influence, was not all encompassing, and Protestants could and did depart from its tenets. Abbot was not the only English divine to accept that their enemies' efforts could be beneficial for the advancement of Christianity, nor was he the most generous.

II: Samuel Purchas' moderate view on the missions and hope for global Protestantism

Samuel Purchas (1577-1626), the second of two great compilers of early modern travel literature in English, was one prominent Calvinist divine who believed that Catholic evangelisation, while flawed, was beneficial to the converted "heathens" and to the advancement of the Christian cause.[69] As with Abbot and other likeminded divines there were many aspects of the missionaries' work that he objected to or outright condemned. However, while his discussion of the missions featured multiple common arguments and echoed many of Abbot's positions, his multifaceted response was distinguished from those of many contemporaries by his more balanced assessment of them and the ideology behind it. Two major aspects of his world view shaped his response: his virulent and apocalyptic anti-Catholic ideology, and his desire to see the whole world united as a single Christian flock.

Purchas was not as highly placed in the Church hierarchy as Abbot, for whom he was a chaplain, but his opposition to Rome in his writings was just as rabid. David Armitage has noted that in all his published works Purchas situated England firmly within the history of the apocalyptic conflict "between the true and false churches, and in particular the history of the

[69] For a summary of Purchas' life and career see D. R. Ransome, "A Purchas Chronology," in *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, ed. L. E. Pennington, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997), 329-380.

Protestant cause in northern Europe."[70] He saw England as one of God's elect nations which, alongside other Protestant states, would defend the true church against the false church of Rome.[71] He made multiple references to this battle between the two churches throughout his one published sermon, highlighting England's deliverance from the forces of Antichrist with reference to two staples of anti-Catholic myth: the Gunpowder Plot and the Spanish Armada.[72] A further sign of Purchas' anti-Catholic credentials was his work between 1621 and 1625 at Chelsea College, an institution set up by James I to produce anti-Catholic polemic.[73] It was there that he compiled his most famous work, his twenty book collection of travel writings *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims*.[74] This enormous work, published in four volumes, contained a number of editorial sections which had specific anti-Catholic purposes. These included an attack on Pope Alexander VI's bull *Inter Caetera*, which donated the Americas to Spain and Portugal, and an extensive tirade on "The Churches Peregrination by this *Holy Land* way, and warre into mysticall *Babylon:* or a Mysterie of Papall Iniquity revealed, how the Papall Monarchie in and over Christendome, was advanced in that Age and the following, and principally by this Expedition into the *Holy Land.*"[75]

Attacking Catholicism was also a core aim of his first work, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the whole World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*, which was published in 1613 – and dedicated to George

[70] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 83.
[71] Ibid., 84-85.
[72] Samuel Purchas, *The Kings Towre and Triumphant Arch of London* (London: 1622), 51, 76, 79, 81-82, 103; Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 132.
[73] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 83. On Chelsea collage see also: Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 32-34; D. E. Kennedy, "King James I's College of Controversial Divinity at Chelsea," in *Grounds of Controversy: Three Studies in Late 16th and Early 17th Century English Polemics*, ed. D. E. Kennedy (Parkville, Vic: History Dept., University of Melbourne, 1989), 105-106.
[74] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims. Contayning a History of the World, in Sea voyages & lande-Travells, by Englishmen & others*, vol 1. (London: 1625), sig. ¶6r. N.B. the first book of the *Pilgrims* has separate pagination from the remaining four in the first volume.
[75] Ibid., vol. 1., 18-26, vol. 2., 1245-1271.

Abbot on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot – and expanded in 1614, 1617, and 1626.[76] The primary declared purpose of this "pilgrimage" was to explore "*Religion* from *Paradise* to the *Ark,* and thence follow her round about the World" to see how the "original" religion was corrupted and splintered into myriad bodies of belief.[77] But as Matthew Dimmock has observed, it had a great many other aims and purposes, including exploring global geography and history, and of course undermining Roman Catholicism.[78] Purchas hoped to show his readers "how popery derived out of paganism," and to that end highlighted parallels between various "heathen" religions and Roman Catholicism.[79] This included a decidedly unflattering discussion of how certain Aztec rites "much resembleth the Popish *Chimara,* and monstrous Conception of *Transubstantiation,* and of their *Corpus Christi* Feast, with other their Rites."[80] The attacks on Catholicism in the *Pilgrimage* did not stop there. With his global focus, Purchas naturally also discussed the Spanish atrocities in America, which he presented as a further black mark against Rome.

It is notable, however, that unlike many contemporaries who discussed the "tears of the Indians" Purchas did not use the stories of the conquistadores' atrocities to demonise Spain. As Armitage and others have noted, this is because he did not seem to have had a distinct anti-Spanish agenda.[81] Indeed Purchas made it clear at several points that he had no particular distaste for Spain as a nation. Thus, while he devoted the entire final chapter of the last book of the *Pilgrimage* to an exploration "of the Spanish cruelties in the West Indies: and of their

[76] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage. or Relations of the whole World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*. 1st ed. (London: 1613), sig. ¶3v.
[77] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the whole World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*. 4th ed. (London: 1626), sig. ¶6r.
[78] Matthew Dimmock, "Faith, Form and Faction: Samuel Purchas's Purchas His Pilgrimage (1613)," *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 2 (2014): 262-263.
[79] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), sig. ¶6v.
[80] Ibid., 880-881.
[81] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 87, 89; Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Native Peoples," in *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577-1626*, ed. L. E. Pennington, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1997), 175-176.

perverse Conversion of the Indians unto Christianity," he stressed that he did so due to hatred of the Spaniards' "Pseudo-catholike Religion," and not of their nation.[82] He made a similar point in the introduction to his abridgment of Las Casas' *Brevísima Relación* in his *Pilgrims*, insisting that "if any thinke that I publish this in disgrace of that Nation; I answere, Every Nation (We see it at home) hath many evillmen, many Devill men."[83] This avoidance and denial of anti-Hispanism seems to have served a political purpose, at least in the *Pilgrims*. The denial of anti-Spanish intent was part of Purchas' negotiation, as Armitage puts it, of the treacherous and often contradictory arguments of Jacobean foreign policy."[84] The *Pilgrims* was assembled at the height of the Spanish Match, when James I was particularly sensitive about opposition to Spain.[85] Purchas had to be careful what he wrote lest he drew the ire of the King, who was an avid reader of his work.[86]

Even if Purchas was not actively anti-Spanish, he was still definitely anti-Catholic. While in totality his treatment of the Catholic missions was more positive than that of many other Calvinists, elements of it were still shaped by his agenda against Rome. This is particularly clear in his discussion of the New World efforts in the *Pilgrimage*, which echoed the claims about the limited success of the missions made by Abbot and other polemicists. Indeed, Purchas specifically highlighted the archbishop's confutation of Hill before he began his own attempt to refute Catholic claims of evangelical success.[87] He made the conventional "tears of the Indians" argument that most of the Amerindians had come to despise and reject Christianity because of the cruelties of the conquistadores. To this he added that the sinful and worldly behaviour of the priests and friars had further deepened the Amerindians' disgust for

[82] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 962, 967. For the same comment in the first edition, see Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1613), 752.
[83] Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 4, 1567.
[84] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 87.
[85] On the Spanish Match see Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[86] Ransome, "A Purchas Chronology," 365-366.
[87] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 962.

Christianity. He also repeated the claim that they had been extremely lax in their instruction of the "converts" who had been forcibly baptised en masse. Any instruction the missionaries did give was, Purchas claims, "but a iest and shadow to get mony."[88] Between these arguments and the numerous stories of depravity from Las Casas, Acosta and others, the entire chapter on the American missions held firm to Purchas' anti-Catholic agenda and was thus unrelenting in its criticism and condemnation. However, though Purchas repeatedly condemns the missionaries' methods and actions, he never suggests that Rome's efforts are completely without benefit.

Elsewhere in his *Pilgrimage*, Purchas was much more positive in his assessment of Rome's attempts to propagate the gospels and even argued that those efforts ultimately served the Christian cause. He begrudgingly thanked the Jesuits for their efforts in China and Japan, though like Abbot and other authors he bemoaned that they spread their "*Babylonish slime*" along with the gospels.[89] However, whereas others had insisted that the Catholics made any proselyte "two fold more the childe of hell then your selves," Purchas unequivocally stated that conversion to Catholicism was an improvement over "paganism":

> Neyther are the wounds of Popish Superstition so absolutely mortall, as the Ethnike Atheisme; the one having no foundation at all; the other shewing the *true foundation*... Better a mixed truth, then a totall errour: and a maymed Christ, then none at all.[90]

This idea that Roman error gave a better chance for salvation than "heathenism" was one Abbot had insinuated with his admission that the missionaries were spreading at least some Christian truth. In stating it outright Purchas went further than the archbishop and also diverged from the Protestant tendency to deny that salvation was possible within the Roman Church. Most Calvinists did allow that salvation could be possible for a small number of Catholics who were

[88] Ibid., 962, 964-965.
[89] Ibid., 476, 586.
[90] Ibid., 586.

absolutely ignorant of their church's errors and held the true faith of Christ.[91] But Purchas was suggesting a greater capacity for salvation than even this allowed, and while some authors admitted that those holding to errant doctrine could be saved, they did so to allow for the salvation of their pre-reformation forefathers.[92] Allowing that the converted "heathens" now had better prospects for salvation was unusual for a Protestant as virulently anti-Catholic as Purchas and sets him apart from many of his contemporaries.

The saving of souls was not the only benefit Purchas saw in the missions. He also argued that the Jesuits' efforts were good because they kept the Society out of Europe. The more focus they paid to converting "heathens" in the east, the less damage they could do in Europe. Indeed, Purchas wished all of the Jesuits would go to the Indies "so that our Europe were well ridde of such vermine."[93] Like the condemnation of the slaughter in the Americas, this particular position is mostly a manifestation of Purchas' anti-Catholic beliefs and intent. Hatred of the Jesuits was a core element of anti-Catholicism, and most Protestants would have been glad to be rid of the Society. But it is important to note that much of Purchas' positive assessment of the Catholic missions tied in with another of his concerns, which was the unification of the world under Christian truth.

Milton has stressed that anti-Catholicism was only one paradigm through which Protestants understood the world, and in this Purchas is no different.[94] He was also driven by his cosmopolitan Protestantism and ardent desire to see Reformed Christianity spread throughout the world.[95] He made it clear at several points that he hoped to see all humanity, regardless of ethnicity or sex, united under God "so there may thus be one Church truly Catholike, *One*

[91] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 135-136.
[92] Ibid., 160-161.
[93] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 602.
[94] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 110.
[95] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, 89.

Pastor and one Sheepfold."[96] Purchas saw trade and navigation as key to achieving this and promoted them accordingly in his *Pilgrims*.[97] He also encouraged and defended colonisation in Virginia for the same reason, arguing that the spreading of Christianity there was both a benefit of and justification for the colony.[98] And, for all his criticism, Purchas felt that the Catholic missions in Asia, America and elsewhere would also ultimately help realise his cosmopolitan vision. He argued that Rome's conversions of "heathens" had likely been orchestrated by God to lay the foundation for the eventual spread of Protestant truth. He suggested that the Jesuits and friars were harbingers of the gospels much "as the *Iewish* Dispersions in the Translations of the Scripture and profession of the true God, were fore-runners of the Apostles preaching."[99] More than that, he felt, or at least prayed, that when the Roman Antichrist fell, God would "shew mercy to Spaine, to make them truly Catholike," and thus open "great a window... unto this new World for their conversion and reformation."[100] In short, Catholic evangelism, despite its issues, was acceptable to Purchas because it served Protestant evangelism, a cause he very much favoured.

As much as Purchas despised Rome and adhered to the main tenets and narratives of anti-Catholicism in his text, that ideology was not the sum total of his world view. He had his own views on theology and eschatology that went beyond the key teachings set down by the Church of England. It is important to remember that while the Church of England had a central core of doctrine it was not monolithic and contained within it a varied spectrum of ideological positions. Milton has shown that there was considerable variation in attitudes toward

[96] Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 1, bk. 1, 20-21, 63-65; Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 723.
[97] Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 1, bk. 1, 61-65. For a fuller exploration of Purchas' efforts to promote trade and colonisation see: L. E. Pennington, "*Hakluytus Posthumus:* Samuel Purchas and the Promotion of English Overseas Expansion," *The Emporia State Research Studies* XIV, no. 3 (1966): 5-39.
[98] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 42; Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 4, 1813-1814, 1816.
[99] Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 3, 317. He made the same argument at *Pilgrims*, vol. 1, bk. 1, 64, and *Pilgrimage* (1626), 41-42.
[100] Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 41-42; Purchas, *his Pilgrims*, vol. 1, bk. 1, 64-65.

Catholicism between divines of differing doctrinal persuasions.[101] Purchas shows that views on the missions were also hardly uniform. His particular beliefs meant that he approached the missions in a manner that bore much in common with contemporary assessments, but which also contained several distinct conclusions. His opposition to Rome combined with his vision for a united Protestant world led him to balance his condemnation of the missions with an acknowledgement of the benefits he saw in them.

III: Laudian moderation and Peter Heylyn's changing assessment of Catholic missions

All the individuals discussed in this thesis were to some extent critical of Rome's efforts to convert "heathens," though some were much less critical than others. Purchas and to a lesser extent Abbot show that stridently anti-Catholic Calvinists could moderate their positions somewhat. However, there were sections of the Church of England that were much more tolerant of Rome than the more hard-line Protestants. As Milton has shown, Arminians and Laudians rejected much of conventional anti-Catholicism and were generally willing to accept that Rome was a true church and acknowledge that it mostly followed true Christianity.[102] The historian and polemicist Peter Heylyn (1599-1662) was one of the principal champions of the Laudian movement and spent much of his later career ardently defending episcopacy and Archbishop Laud's reforms. He was also a Royalist and defender of absolutism (though not necessarily of the Stuarts). In line with the typical trend of Laudians, he virulently opposed Presbyterians and, indeed, Calvinism more generally.[103]

[101] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 5, 10-27.
[102] Ibid., 529-530.
[103] Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 224-233; Anthony Milton, "Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662), Church of England Clergyman and Historian," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, accessed 03 Aug. 2020, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13171.

However, as Milton has shown, Heylyn was not always an ardent Laudian, rather his "expressed ideas evolved and shifted considerably over the forty years in which he was a published author."[104] In much of his early work he held to a fairly standard form of Calvinism. It was only gradually over the course of the 1620s that his views shifted towards Laudianism, and they continued to develop over the rest of his career.[105] This evolution is reflected in his coverage of the missions. In his earlier work, before he became a Laudian, his response was hostile and consistent with most of the criticism made by Calvinists. However, his opinion changed as his wider beliefs evolved and his Laudian ideology crystallised. In his later work his response very much reflected the Laudian moderation on Catholicism. He was still critical of some aspects of the missions, but on the whole, he supported and indeed praised Rome's efforts.

This change in views seems to reflect the evolution of his wider attitude towards Roman Catholicism. Because Heylyn never discussed Catholicism in great detail his overall position is not entirely clear.[106] Certainly for the bulk of his career it was never as great an issue for him as Calvinism and Presbyterianism, which he presented as the main threats to England's stability and religious settlement.[107] Still, it is clear that he became more moderate with time. His initial works featured a fairly standard anti-Catholicism, attacking the Pope as Antichrist and denouncing Roman corruption.[108] Interestingly though, he was not then or ever anti-Spanish, supporting the Spanish Match in his anonymously published poetry in the 1620s and openly defending it in his later writings.[109] As his career developed Heylyn became more moderate towards Rome, though as Milton has noted this "was more a function of his anti-puritanism"

[104] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 4-5.
[105] Ibid., 8-10, 223.
[106] Ibid., 232.
[107] Ibid., 229-230.
[108] Ibid., 16.
[109] J. P. Hudson, "Peter Heylyn's Poetry Notebook," *The British Museum Quarterly* 34, no. 1/2 (1969): 25; Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 16; Peter Heylyn, *Observations on the Historie Of the Reign of King Charles* (London: 1656), 8-10.

before 1640.[110] At least until the Restoration he continued to employ anti-Catholicism to prove his orthodoxy. However, in his final works he became more openly positive towards Rome, portraying some segments of the Catholic Church as potential allies to England. He also started attacking "anti-popery," decrying it as a tool used by Puritans to undermine English Protestantism.[111]

Like Catholicism in general, the missions were not a major topic in his work. The only place in which they received any attention was in his global geographies *Microcosmus* and *Cosmographie*. First published in 1621 and significantly expanded in its second edition (1625), *Microcosmus* presented the world in line with conventional Calvinist, anti-Catholic ideology.[112] In it Heylyn defended the international Protestant cause, and invoked the orthodox anti-Catholic claims that the Pope was Antichrist, Rome had fallen into error, the religious orders were corrupt and worldly, and the Jesuits were "the greatest disturbers of the quiet of *Europe."*[113] Heylyn's brief treatment of the missions in *Microcosmus* was very similar to Abbot's in *Reasons… Unmasked*. Only really discussing those in America, he repeated the ubiquitous tales of Spanish slaughter and also challenged Rome's claims to large numbers of converts.[114] He acknowledged that a great many had been forcibly baptised, but claimed that the friars had, by their own admission, never "instructed [the newly baptised Amerindians] in the articles of faith, or points of *Christian* Religion."[115] This was the typical Calvinist response,

[110] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 232.
[111] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 232; Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, The History of the Life and Death of The most Reverend and Renowned Prelate William By Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: 1668), 93, 129.
[112] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 14-16.
[113] Peter Heylyn, *Μικροκοσμος, or A Little Description of the Great World. Augmented and Revised* (Oxford: 1625), 79-80, 175-177, 181-188, 192-196, 246-251, 273-274, 300-301.
[114] Heylyn, *Μικροκοσμος* (1625), 779-780, 785, 790, 803, 810, 811.
[115] Ibid., 780.

though there is a certain irony in its unmitigated condemnation as Heylyn's main source of information on the missions was the much more nuanced Purchas.[116]

Heylyn's treatment of Catholicism and its missions was much less negative in his *Cosmographie*. Written during the Interregnum and published in 1652, this was a large-scale revision and expansion of *Microcosmus*. By this point Heylyn had been an ardent Laudian and Royalist for a good twenty years, producing reams of polemical works defending his beliefs. Yet, he presented the *Cosmographie* as an ideologically neutral work, a departure from his earlier hyper-partisan propaganda.[117] Milton suggests that Heylyn, deprived of his church positions and property by Parliament, likely made this claim to neutrality in the hope that the work would sell well, like *Microcosmus* had.[118] With Laudianism and its supporters decidedly out of favour during the Interregnum, he certainly had good reason to produce a politically acceptable work so as to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Yet the *Cosmographie* was not neutral. Heylyn avoided discussing any of the recent events in England, but otherwise he held true to his Laudian and Royalist ideals, defending absolutism, episcopacy and the independent powers of the church.[119] More than this, his prior support for international Protestantism was mostly gone, replaced by criticism of continental Calvinism.[120] His assessment and portrayal of the Catholic Church, though still critical, had also become more moderate, with the references to the Pope as Antichrist expunged and most of the remaining criticism focused squarely on the Laudian bugbears of the Popes' usurpation of temporal power

[116] Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus, or A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford: 1621), 403. Heylyn had removed most of his references in the later edition of *Microcosmus*, however, they are all clearly visible in the first edition.
[117] Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Bookes. Containing the Chorographie and Historie Of the whole World, And all the principall Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas and Isles thereof* (London: 1625), sig. A3v.
[118] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 153-154.
[119] Robert J. Mayhew, "'Geography Is Twinned with Divinity': The Laudian Geography of Peter Heylyn," *The Geographical Review* 90, no. 1 (2000): 24-29; Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 154-157. Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, sig. A4v.
[120] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, bk. 1, 139r-140v, 147-148.

and false claim to supremacy.[121] His criticisms of the Jesuits and other religious orders were retained from *Microcosmus*, though they were somewhat mitigated by Heylyn's positive discussion of their missionary efforts in Asia.[122]

Heylyn's assessment of Catholic evangelism in America and Asia in *Cosmographie* was much more positive than it had been in *Microcosmus*. He was still critical of some aspects of the missionary endeavour and the wider Catholic imperial project, but in stark contrast to most Calvinists or Puritans he was far more willing to accept that the missions had been successful and praised the missionaries for their efforts to save souls. He was still critical of the Spanish atrocities and like the rest of the work his discussion of them had been expanded, with Heylyn producing grisly descriptions of massacres and making multiple reference to the conquistadores' lust for gold. [123] His comment that the Amerindians were baptised en masse without initial instruction also remained. However, he muted this criticism by admitting that the proselytes were at least taught to follow their teachers' and pastors' instructions. Furthermore, though the Amerindians may initially have struggled with Christianity, he accepted that "by long time and education, it is now grown more plausible and familiar to them."[124] He confessed that thanks to Rome's efforts "there hath been made a great improvement of *Christianity:* the number of *Christians* in this Country, being thought by some learned men of the Church of *Rome* to equal all those of the *Latine* Churches in *Europe*."[125]

Heylyn made multiple other references to the success of Rome's proselytisation throughout his discussions of Latin America and East and Southeast Asia.[126] He had particularly high praise for the missions in Japan and China. He expressed some reservation as to whether the figures

[121] Ibid., bk. 1, 36, 86-87v, 89r-90v
[122] Ibid., bk. 1, 92r-94.
[123] Ibid., bk. 4, 100, 156-157, 164, 181, 184.
[124] Ibid., bk. 4, 100.
[125] Ibid., bk. 4, 100.
[126] Ibid., bk. 3, 249, 251, bk. 4, 125, 131, 138.

for the number of converts in Japan given by the Jesuits were accurate, but nonetheless stated that "if the one half [of the claimed conversions] be but true, we have great cause to praise God for it, and to give them the commendation of their pains and industry."[127] He gave similar praise for the efforts in China, commenting that

> the *Jesuites* (commendably industrious in the propagation of the *Christian* faith) not without great danger to themselves, have endeavoured, and in part effected, their *conversion.* For though they have gained but few *Proselytes,* (in regard of those infinite numbers of people which are said to live here) yet some *Converts* they have made amongst them, and thereby sown those seeds of that saving truth (though mingled with some *Tares* of their own) which may in time increase and spread over all the Countrey.[128]

Even with the brief admission that the Jesuits were spreading Christian truth "mingled with some *Tares*," Heylyn clearly had a far more positive view on the missions than most Calvinists or Puritans. Where Purchas had emphasised that the missions could do some good in spite of all the errors taught alongside true doctrine, Heylyn very much focused on the fact that the missionaries were doing good work and saving souls.

This was a standpoint that would have been unthinkable to the many Calvinists and Puritans who saw Roman Catholicism as a road to damnation, but it was entirely consistent with most Laudian attitudes to Catholicism. While they still criticised Catholicism for its perceived errors, they were less inclined to charge it with idolatry and focused most of their criticism on Papal claims to primacy and universal jurisdiction. More significantly, many of them accepted that Rome was a true Christian church within which salvation was possible for Catholics who were sincere in their beliefs.[129] Heylyn's lack of discussion of Rome makes it unclear how much of

[127] Ibid., bk. 3, 247.
[128] Ibid., bk. 3, 208.
[129] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 169, 208, 216-217, 219.

this viewpoint he held. However, between his general moderation on Catholicism in his later writings and the fact that he approved of a potential reconciliation with Rome, a position even some Laudians were uncertain about, it is highly probable that he shared the view of his peers that Rome was a true church within which salvation was possible for some.[130] Thus, while Heylyn had a few quibbles about the missionaries spreading their "*Tares*," it appears that he genuinely believed that Rome was spreading true Christianity and saving the souls of "heathens." To his mind they were doing Christ's work, unlike his doctrinal opponents the Puritans, whose laxity in converting the indigenous peoples of North America he heavily criticised.[131]

All told then, Peter Heylyn's assessment of Catholic Proselytisation underwent a substantial revision over his lifetime. As his Laudian ideology developed he went from criticising them in line with traditional hard-line anti-Catholicism to praising them in a manner that was far more positive than any of the hotter sorts of Protestants examined here. That he still made some of the conventional criticisms of the missionaries' strategies and of the behaviour of the Spanish is not surprising. For all their moderation on Rome and departure from Calvinism in ceremonial matters, Laudians were still ultimately Protestants and never fully abandoned anti-Catholicism. Nevertheless, Heylyn shows that there were some English Protestant divines whose ideology allowed them to express genuine approval of Rome's efforts to propagate the gospels among "heathen" peoples.

Conclusion

The way English Protestant divines responded to Rome's global evangelical campaign echoes the trends of their broader attitudes towards Catholicism. Some criticism of the missions, as of

[130] Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic*, 232; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 348, 361-362, 365-366.
[131] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, bk. 4, 109, 112.

Rome, was standard, with the behaviour of the Spanish in the Americas and its impacts being particularly widely condemned. However, the intensity and nature of the criticism of the missions varied. Puritans, committed Calvinists, and other strongly anti-Catholic Protestants like Abbot were generally highly critical and rejected Catholic claims of a bountiful harvest, drawing on a common set of condemnations to do so. He and many of his peers repeated claims that the depravity of the Spanish had driven prospective proselytes to reject Christ, that the corrupt and worldly missionaries had been lax in their instruction, and that they were merely translating converts from "pagan" idolatry to Catholic idolatry. Individual authors took different approaches to these arguments and introduced others, but as with their criticism of Rome they were drawing on a common body of arguments and narratives. Even divines who took more positive stances on the missions, like Purchas and Heylyn, repeated tempered versions of these criticisms.

However, Protestant attitudes to Rome were rarely purely critical, and the same is true of divines' responses to the missions. They could accept that Rome had made some converts and even that the missionaries were spreading some Christian truth. How much credit they were willing to give varied, but even the notoriously anti-Catholic Abbot did not condemn them outright. Protestants were not solely driven by hostility to Catholicism and had other concerns and desires which could influence their responses and make them more accepting of Rome's endeavours. For Purchas his commitment to a world united as one flock under God tempered his virulent anti-Catholicism and led him to produce a nuanced assessment of the missions. Meanwhile the more irenic attitude to Catholicism that was typical of Laudians shaped Heylyn's response into one that was far more positive than those of more anti-Catholic divines.

Attitudes towards the missions were not of course fixed. As seen with Heylyn, responses could shift alongside a divine's broader ideology. But while individual world views were crucial in shaping how divines wrote about the missions, the intent behind a work and the context within

which it was produced could also lead to variations in approach, just as they did with other aspects of Catholicism. Abbot provides a clear example of this, with the requirements of his polemical genre leading him to take a harder line on the missions in *Reasons… Unamsked* than he did in his geography. Purchas' negotiation of the King's pro-Spanish foreign policy further indicates how important context could be. The next two chapters will further illustrate how the requirements of circumstance could influence responses to the missions which, for all their adherence to common ideas, could vary in both subtle and significant ways.

Chapter 2:
Thomas Gage and the Missions in New Spain

Introduction

Most of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century English Protestant divines who discussed Rome's missionary efforts in the Americas and Asia never witnessed them firsthand. The Dominican friar turned Church of England minister Thomas Gage (1603-1656) was a significant exception. Born to a prominent recusant family and educated on the continent, Gage had in 1625 joined a group of Spanish missionaries bound for the Philippines by way of New Spain. He and several other Dominicans absconded from the Philippines mission in Mexico (modern day Mexico City) and journeyed south, eventually traveling to Guatemala. There Gage was admitted to the New Spanish Dominican province, and for almost a decade he ministered to several towns of nominally Catholic Poqomchi' Maya. He returned to England in 1637 and then spent the next few years living with the recusant underground and traveling on the continent. But in mid-1642 with England on the brink of civil war he converted to Protestantism, and at the same time gave his support to the Parliamentary cause.[1] In 1648 he published an account of his travels in New Spain titled *The English-American, his travail by sea and land, or, A new survey of the West-India's*.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several at least nominally Protestant Englishmen, mainly merchants or marooned sailors, had lived in Spanish America, and had encountered the missionary orders.[2] Some, like the sailors Job Hartrop and Miles Philip, had briefly discussed

[1] Allen D. Boyer "Gage, Thomas [Name in Religion Tomás De Santa María] (1603?–1656), Dominican Friar and Writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, accessed 24 June 2021, https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10274.
[2] See for example the accounts of sixteenth-century travellers to New Spain collected in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 3 (London: 1600), 450-495.

the behaviour and character of the religious orders that made up the missions, though not their evangelical efforts.[3] Gage, by contrast, discussed Rome's proselytisation and the behaviour of the missionaries at length in his account. He was able to leverage his extensive firsthand experience to explore those matters to a greater depth than Abbot, Purchas, and other untraveled English divines. Yet Gage's assessment of the missions and missionaries was not particularly original beyond its depth. The *English American* largely echoed criticisms and arguments established by earlier authors and was dominated by conventional anti-Catholic rhetoric. However, Gage's past life as a Catholic and his personal experience somewhat tempered this and added a nuance to parts of his work that distinguish it from earlier texts.

The previous chapter touched on how the circumstances in which authors wrote and how their different objectives could shape their approaches to the missions and to Catholicism more generally. This chapter expands on those themes and explores in detail how Gage's assessment and depiction of the missions was shaped by his circumstances and by his different loyalties and objectives. Other historians have already discussed some of this more broadly. Catharine Armstrong, Jesús Casellas, and Edmund Campos have all highlighted that Gage's conversion to Protestantism and the need to prove his loyalty to the Parliamentary faction played a critical role in moulding the *English-American*.[4] They have also noted the influence Gage's Catholic past had on his writing.[5] As will be shown, these factors were important in defining the contours of his discussions of the missions and missionaries, though they were not the only ones. I will argue that his text was shaped by a range of at times ambiguous motives and factors, leading it

[3] Ibid., vol. 3, 477, 481-482, 485, 492.

[4] Catherine Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity: The Cultural Significance of Thomas Gage," *Atlantic Studies* 15, no. 4 (2018): 457-459, 461, 464-466, 469; Jesús López-Peláez Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire: Thomas Gage's the English-American (1648) and English Puritan Proto-Colonialism," *Miscelánea: A journal of English and American studies*, no. 56 (2017): 102-104; Edmund Valentine Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 1 (2009): 187, 190-192.

[5] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 466-467; Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " 188.

to be broadly conventional and anti-Catholic but also distinct and nuanced in several places. The need to prove the sincerity of his conversion and his loyalty, whether out of genuine commitment or pragmatism, helped drive his criticism of the missionaries and adherence to convention. So too did his push to promote English imperialism, again either out of genuine commitment or at the urging of his patrons. But his firsthand experience and residual loyalty to the Dominicans occasionally tempered his anti-Catholicism, adding nuance to parts of his account and leading him to portray some missionaries in a positive light. The multifaceted nature of Gage's text and the varied factors that shaped its content highlights the complexity and ambiguity that could underlie anti-Catholicism and responses to Catholics more generally.

The first section of this chapter will discuss Gage's hostile assessment of the missions and missionaries, and how his attacks fitted into broader condemnation of New Spain and Catholicism. It will emphasise that much, though not all, of his coverage adhered to broader anti-Catholic themes and frequently followed the arguments established by earlier authors. The second section will explore how Gage's efforts to prove the sincerity of his conversion and his loyalty to Parliament shaped his account. It will analyse how he used his conventionally negative portrayal of the missions to appeal to his audience's prejudices and justify his conversion and it will discuss the uncertainty over how much of this was motivated by pragmatism or a genuine alienation from Catholicism. The third section will discuss how Gage's other main goal of promoting the English invasion of New Spain influenced his account. It will show how, like many earlier Protestant authors, he sought to justify such an invasion by demonising the missionaries and Spanish. I will also consider the ambiguity surrounding his support for English imperialism and evangelisation. The final section will discuss how Gage's Catholic past and particularly his residual loyalty to the Dominicans shaped his response to the missions and led him to moderate his negative portrait of the

missions in a few specific places.

I: Gage on the New Spanish missions and missionaries

Thomas Gage presented his account of New Spain as distinct from and superior to earlier works. He emphasised the firsthand nature of his descriptions, insisting that he "shall offer no Collections, but such as shall arise from mine own observations."[6] These observations would "much differ from what formerly hath been hereupon written," being more detailed and complete.[7] Thomas Chaloner, Gage's patron, further emphasised this claim to originality in his prefatory poem.[8] However, the *English-American* was not as original or unique as these claims suggest. As Armstrong has observed, Gage was influenced by a range of Spanish and other Catholic authors.[9] Las Casas' descriptions of Spanish atrocities were directly referenced at several points, and Gage's account of the conquest was largely copied from Francisco Lopez de Gomara.[10] His portrayal of the mission and missionaries as failing and corrupt, while not a copy of earlier discussions, was also familiar. His individual arguments were generally established ones, and his overall discussion mostly adhered to the "conventional" anti-Catholic rhetoric seen in the work of Abbot. Much the same is true of his wider portrait of New Spain and the Catholic Church as corrupt and worldly, which was one that most English Protestants would have been familiar with. However, his text did contain some distinctive elements. Thanks to his much-vaunted personal experience he provided a far more in-depth discussion of the missions than earlier authors, one replete with personal anecdotes. His arguments were

[6] Thomas Gage, *The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land, or, A New Survey of the West-India's* (London: 1648), sig. A3v.
[7] Ibid., sig. A3v.
[8] Thomas Chaloner, "Upon this Worthy Work, *Of his most worthy Friend The* Author." In Thomas Gage, *The English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land, or, A New Survey of the West-India's* (London: 1648), sig. A5r-A5v.
[9] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 466.
[10] Gage, *English-American*, 44, 69, 71; Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 466.

also more detailed than those of other authors, and there were specific parts of his text that departed from the anti-Catholicism that otherwise dominated it.

Like other authors, Gage insisted that Catholic proselytisation in the Americas had been ineffective, and that the Amerindians' conversions were superficial. He explained that while their religion is "outwardly such as the *Spaniards,*" inwardly they do not believe "that which is above sense, nature, and the visible sight of the eye; and many of them to this day doe incline to worship Idols of stocks and stones, and are given to much superstition."[11] Indeed he says he had uncovered and destroyed an idol secretly worshiped by four Maya brothers who had appeared to be good Catholics.[12] Even those who were outwardly good Catholics were not above Gage's criticism. Certainly, they would obediently follow Catholic rituals and recite parts of the catechism. But when he asked them if they believed a particular point of religion, they would "never answer affirmatively, but only thus, 'Perhaps it may be so.'"[13] They were hardly proper Christians.

Over the course of his text, he presented two problems as the root of the missions' ineffectiveness and the superficiality of the conversions. One was Roman Catholicism itself, which like most Protestant polemicists he presented as doctrinally erroneous and riddled with superstitious practices.[14] He even compared it to Aztec religion, following a long tradition of Protestants comparing Catholicism to paganism.[15] Because of these errors, any Catholicism imparted to the Amerindians simply replaced their idolatry with Rome's. The missionaries were preaching "more *Rome* and Antichrists name, than the name of Christ and the truth of the

[11] Gage, *English-American*, 148.
[12] Ibid., 167-173.
[13] Ibid., 150-151.
[14] Ibid., 20-22, 122, 197-198.
[15] Gage, *English-American*, 52-54; Gregory Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion? José De Acosta, the Black Legend, and Spanish Evangelization in the New World," *The Catholic Historical Review* (2013): 39-40.

Gospel."[16] As argued by Gregory Murry and discussed in the previous chapter, this was a standard argument.[17] Abbot and Purchas had made the same point, though unlike the latter Gage did not soften his critique with statements that a flawed Christianity was better than none.[18] He did practically the opposite and insisted that the missionaries were "bringing under pretence of salvation, damnation and misery to their poor and wretched souls."[19] All together these arguments place Gage squarely within the tradition of conventional hard-line anti-Catholicism, at least when it came to Catholic doctrine. However, while his assertions of the falsity of Catholicism were key to Gage's critique of the missions, they were not the only part.

Gage focused most of his attention on showing how the missionaries' laxity and avarice sustained the Amerindians' ignorance, and in doing so again largely echoed established anti-Catholic arguments. Like Abbot, Purchas, and pre-Laudian Peter Heylyn, he condemned how they forcibly baptised the Amerindians after the conquest without first grounding them in Christianity.[20] His argument on this point was essentially the same as theirs, though he did distinguish himself by using personal anecdotes. For example, he recounted how he was unable to stop one of his companions forcibly baptising uninstructed Maya children after an expedition into the Petén region of Yucatan.[21] More important than this laxity in instruction was the missionaries' worldly desire and their exploitation of the Amerindians to satiate it. Gage made it clear that while a few missionaries were driven by genuine zeal at first, the vast majority were motivated to join the missions by "Liberty, in a word, under the Cloake of Piety and

[16] Gage, *English-American*, 2-3, 25, 54.
[17] Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion?," 38-39.
[18] George Abbot, *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath Brought, for the upholding of Papistry, which is falselie termed the Catholike Religion: Unmasked, and shewed to be very weake, and upon examination most insufficient for that purpose* (Oxford: 1604), 169-170, 172.
[19] Gage, *English-American*, 3, 81.
[20] Abbot, *Reasons... Unmasked*, 135, 202-203; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the whole World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present*. 4th ed. (London: 1626), 962; Peter Heylyn, *Μικροκοσμος, or A Little Description of the Great World. Augmented and Revised* (Oxford: 1625), 708.
[21] Gage, *English-American*, 158-159.

Conversion of Souls."[22] They went to the Americas to indulge their worst excesses and get rich by fleecing their flocks.[23] The Amerindians were ignorant of Christianity because the missionaries only taught them those Catholic rituals and "superstitions" that made them compliant to exploitation. As Gage put it,

> Thus all the yeer are those Preists and Fryers deluding the poore people for their ends, enriching themselves with their gifts, placing Religion in meer Policy; and thus doth the *Indians* Religion consist more in sights, shewes and formalities, then in any true substance.[24]

This argument tied into one of the major themes of anti-Catholic literature: that the Catholic clergy were using their superstitious doctrine to enthral the laity and so exploit them to fuel their worldly ambitions and desires.[25] Numerous Protestant authors, like John Gee, Lewis Owen and Philip Stubbes, had made points similar to Gage in relation to the Catholic clergy in Europe and even pre-Reformation critics of the Catholic Church like John Wycliffe had touched on the same ideas.[26] Abbot and Purchas had also pre-empted Gage on this front, though they did not explore those ideas in as much depth.[27] That depth and, again, Gage's firsthand details were the main points that distinguished his account. Whereas his predecessors had simply presented the missionaries' use of "superstition" to extract wealth as a given, he showed

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[22] Ibid., 6, 8.
[23] Ibid., 8.
[24] Ibid., 152.
[25] This theme and its importance are discussed by Robin Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), 148; Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Crust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 75.
[26] Phillip Stubbes, *The Theater of the Popes Monarchie* (London 1584), sigs. G6v-G7r; John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare: with a Detection of Sundry Late practices and Impostures of the Priests and Iesuits in England* (London: 1624), 17-18, 50-51; Lewis Owen, *The Unmasking of All Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuits. Or, A Treatise of their Genealogie, beginnings, proceedings, and present state* (London: 1628), 51-53, 133-134; John Wycliffe, *Two Short Treatises, Against the Orders of the Begging Friars,* Edited by Thomas James (Oxford: 1608), 30-31, 43-44, 52-53.
[27] Abbot, *The Reasons… Unmasked*, 150-154; Purchas, *his Pilgrimage* (1626), 964- 965.

how the exploitation worked. The missionaries, he explained, were able to accrue considerable wealth from a combination of donations made during confession or on holy days, and tributes paid for the upkeep of images of the saints and for the remission of souls in purgatory.[28] He even broke down his own earnings, and showed that he was able to supposedly make a "modest" £500 per year from his ministry in Guatemala.[29] This evidence accumulated to show that the Catholics' ministry of the Amerindians was utterly corrupted and debased.

These attacks on the missions did not of course stand on their own. The missionaries' failure to spread Christianity and their exploitation of the Amerindians were simply central pieces of Gage's broader condemnation of his former comrades. Throughout his text he endeavoured to show that most of his fellow friars and other missionaries were sinners consumed by worldly desire. In doing so he again mostly echoed established anti-Catholic themes, with his portrayal of the missionaries principally echoing the traditional claim that the regular clergy were hypocrites whose worldly lives violated their oaths.[30] As Gage explained, everywhere in New Spain he travelled he "found in the Priests and Fryers looseness of life, and their ways and proceedings contrary to the ways of their profession, sworn to by a solemn Vow and Covenant."[31] They violated their vows of chastity by engaging in amorous relationships with noblewomen and nuns, and made further mockery of their vocation through gambling, drinking and swearing.[32]

Above all else Gage highlighted their pursuit and enjoyment of material wealth in violation of their vows of poverty. Their exploitation of the Amerindians was his clearest example of this,

[28] Gage, *English-American*, 149-153
[29] Ibid., 161-162.
[30] For earlier protestant articulations of this theme see: John Nicholls, *Iohn Niccols Pilgrimage, whrein is displaied the liues of the proude Popes, ambitious Cardinals, lecherous Bishops, fat bellied Monkes, and hypocriticall Iesuites* (London: 1581), sigs. G2r-G2v; Stubbes, *Theater of the Popes Monarchie*, sigs. G3r-G4r; Gee, *Foot out of the Snare*, 10; Owen, *Unmasking of All Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuit*, 79-80, 132-133, 151.
[31] Gage, *English-American*, 26.
[32] Ibid., 8-9, 11, 14, 26, 97, 160-161.

and the root of most of the wealth he described, but it was not the only one. He provided numerous examples of the missionaries' greed, recounting tales of simonite friars in Veracruz and Chiapas, of the rich and elaborately decorated monasteries in Mexico, Oaxaca, and Guatemala, and of the wealthy and well fed friars he met throughout New Spain.[33] This mockery was explicit in the case of the Franciscans Gage stayed with in Xalapa, who punctuated their evening of cards by "scoffing and jearing at the religious vowes of poverty which they had vowed."[34] One of them even made a habit of using one sleeve to sweep his winnings into the end of the other, remarking that while he had sworn to handle no money, his sleeves had not. This showed, in Gage's mind, "what religion was in his heart," and was fairly typical of the behaviour he claimed to have encountered.[35] As will be discussed in the final section, Gage did encounter some friars who did not engage in this behaviour, and his portrayal of the missionaries was not purely a regurgitation of stock anti-Catholic tropes and was influenced by his Catholic past. However, the overall image of material excess and rank hypocrisy that his account conveyed was nonetheless one most English Protestants would have been familiar with from earlier attacks on the Catholic orders.[36]

While the missionaries were the main target of Gage's bile, the rest of New Spanish society and the Catholic Church did not escape his condemnation, and he portrayed them as being similarly corrupt and worldly. He compared Mexico and Guatemala to Sodom, presenting them as obscenely decadent dens of gambling and other vices, inhabited by vainglorious and quarrelsome people who like the missionaries maintained their lifestyle through the exploitation of the Amerindians.[37] Gage tied that exploitation and much of the corruption he

[33] Ibid., 23, 56-58, 70, 86, 87, 112, 160-161.
[34] Ibid., 26.
[35] Ibid., 26.
[36] See for example Owen, *Unmasking of All Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuit*, 31-32, 68-69; Stubbes, *Theater of the Popes Monarchie*, sigs. G4v-G5r.
[37] Gage, *English American*, 55-62, 127-128, 153.

described back to the papacy. Like many Protestants, he depicted the papacy as hungry for power and wealth, noting how it extracted wealth from across Europe using its "superstitious" doctrines and practices, like the cults of the saints. The missions, in his reckoning, were simply an extension of that "policy," a way for the papal Antichrist to expand his reach into the Indies and feed his greed.[38] Gage did not delve into direct attacks on Rome itself very often in his text. But between his constant lambasting of the friars and occasional attack on Rome or Catholic doctrine, his work acted as a fairly traditional Protestant assault on the whole edifice of Roman Catholicism.

II: The *English-American* and Gage's conversion

Gage's image of the missions and by extension Catholicism as corrupt and dripping in worldliness need to be understood within the context of his conversion to Protestantism. It was heavily influenced by his attempts to secure his place within the Commonwealth's religious establishment. In sixteenth and especially seventeenth-century England, converts could be treated with some suspicion, and to be accepted it was usually necessary, if not mandatory, for them to prove their loyalty and the sincerity of their conversion. To do so, many chose to or were required to give public account of their conversion and recant their sins.[39] Gage was no exception, and he went to considerable lengths to prove his loyalty to his Parliamentary patrons and Calvinist and Puritan Protestants more widely. He gave a recantation sermon at St Paul's Cross on 28 August 1642, and to further cement his conversion and "doe more to satisfie the

[38] Ibid., 2-3.

[39] Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 46-55; Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 57-58, 101-124. Note, however, that formal conversion narratives were much less common among Protestants in the sixteenth century, with converts generally only producing them when they needed to repent for more than just their past Catholicism. See: Judith Pollmann, "A Different Road to God: The Protestant Experience of Conversion in the Sixteenth Century," in *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity*, ed. Peter van der Veer (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 47-48, 51.

world of my sincerity," he followed it up by marrying.[40] He also assisted the Parliament by testifying against captured missionaries. These included Thomas Holland SJ, his younger brother George Gage, and his elder brother Henry's former chaplain Peter Wright SJ. Holland and Wright were both executed while George died in prison.[41] He further demonstrated that loyalty in October 1653 in a disputation defending the Commonwealth's religious establishment from attacks by separatist minister Charles Nichols.[42] Gage's publication of the *English-American* was another facet of this campaign to prove his loyalty and show his sincerity, as Armstrong and others have noted.[43] He was not shy about this, stating that he hoped his account of his travels and conversion "may be a better witnesse of my sincerity" for those who doubted it.[44]

Perhaps the most obvious way the *English-American* sought to prove Gage's sincerity and loyalty is as a work of straight anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish propaganda. Tracts by converts were a notable part of the anti-Catholic literary corpus, with the Church of England encouraging their production.[45] Michael Questier notes that Archbishop Abbot and his circle were particularly enthusiastic in their support of such works, enlisting or conscripting numerous foreign and English converts to produce ammunition for their anti-Catholic

[40] Thomas Gage, *The Tyranny of Satan, Discovered by the teares of a Converted Sinner* (London: 1642), 5, 15-18, 23-24; Gage, *English-American*, 211.
[41] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 1 (London: Burns and Oats, 1877), 549-552; Philippa Revill and Francis W Steer, "George Gage I and George Gage II," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 31 (1958): 152; Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 2 (London: Manresa Press, 1875), 522-523.
[42] Thomas Gage, *A full Survey of Sion and Babylon, And A clear Vindication of the Parish-Churches and Parochial-Ministers of* England, *from the uncharitable Censure, the infamous Title, and the injurious Nick-name of* Babylonish (London: 1654), sigs. A2v-A4v, pp. 9-10, 29.
[43] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 457; Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " 187; Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 93.
[44] Gage, *English-American*, 212.
[45] Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 95-96.

campaign.[46] Church authorities saw converts' accounts as particularly useful because of their supposed firsthand authority, and hoped that their example would dissuade potential apostates and encourage further conversions.[47] Robin Clifton argues that for the convert authors their accounts were a way for them to gain acceptance and advancement in the Protestant church. As he and Questier explain, to achieve that goal they typically regurgitated stock anti-Catholic rhetoric designed to appeal to the prejudices and expectations of their Protestant audience and patrons.[48] This is precisely what Gage did in the *English-American*, which he likely published at the urging of Chaloner and his other Parliamentary patrons, or at least with their approval. Like earlier converts, Gage wrote that text to appeal to his patrons' and wider audience's prejudices. As discussed above his attacks on the missions were mostly ones that they would have been familiar with. In a similar vein, Armstrong argues that his attacks on New Spanish society and discussion of the abuse of the Amerindians appealed to popular interest in the Black Legend. They "reiterated the stereotypical view held by the English that the Spaniards were inherently greedy, immoral, cruel taskmasters."[49]

Gage also tried to appeal more directly to the Puritan Parliament by drawing parallels between the Laudian church and New Spanish church. Puritans had been accusing the Laudians and the broader royalist faction of "popery" since the early 1630s, and Gage sought to take full advantage of that hostility.[50] He observed that Archbishop Laud was influenced by Catholic clerics who were just as corrupt as their New Spanish counterparts, and that in the Church

[46] Michael C. Questier, "John Gee, Archbishop Abbot, and the Use of Converts from Rome in Jacobean Anti-Catholicism." *Recusant History* 21, no. 3 (1993): 350-351.
[47] Clifton, "Fear of Popery," 148; Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion*, 120-122; Abigail Shinn, *Conversion Narratives in Early Modern England: Tales of Turning* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 3.
[48] Clifton, "Fear of Popery," 148-149; Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion*, 46-47.
[49] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 461.
[50] John Morrill, "The Religious Context of the English Civil War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1984): 162, 164-165, 171-173; Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 6-7, 113-114, 172.

under his episcopate "*Spanish* Popery was much rooted, Protestant Religion much corrupted."[51] He also linked the doctrines of the Laudians to the teachings of the missionaries, remarking that the superficial religion, or "formality," imparted to the Amerindians was much akin to that of "our Formalists [i.e. Laudians] formerly in *England*," with both lacking in substance.[52] The comparison was only brief, but it is still a notable appeal to his new masters, staining their Laudian rivals with the same inadequacies that he had spent much of his book exposing.

It is worth noting that even without this comparison to Laudianism, his general portrayal of the conversion efforts by his fellow missionaries as ineffective, and insistence that Catholics could never teach true Christianity, can be seen as an appeal to Puritan sensibilities. As discussed in the previous chapter, these were hard-line positions championed by Puritan-leaning divines like Abbot that appealed to the binary rejection of Rome that was prominent in Puritan discourse. Whether or not Gage employed those arguments because he thought that they specifically would appeal to the Puritans in Parliament is uncertain, but it is quite probable that he took a generally hard-line stance on Catholic proselytisation with them in mind. Whatever his exact intentions, these attacks on England's religious enemies seem to have borne fruit for Gage, as they had for earlier converts.[53] In October 1648, the year of the publication of the *English-American*, he was granted the living of St Leonards in Deal, Kent, a more prominent parish than his previous living of St Martin in Acrise, Kent.[54] The timing very much suggests that he was being rewarded for his contribution to anti-Catholic propaganda and other services to the state.

[51] Gage, *English American*, 205
[52] Ibid., 151
[53] On earlier converts receiving preferment in return for their propaganda, see Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion*, 46-48.
[54] Boyer, "Gage, Thomas."

The *English-American* was not, however, solely a work of propaganda, and his attacks on the missionaries were not simply made to appeal to his readers' prejudices. The book was also, as Armstrong and Campos highlight, an extended conversion narrative that, like others in its genre, sought to cement his change to Protestantism by exposing his past sins and by justifying his conversion.[55] The corruption and failures of the missionaries played an important role in this. While not the sole cause of his conversion they are presented as a major factor behind his alienation from Catholicism.[56] He established this role early in his account by stating that he travelled to New Spain in part to contemplate "that new planted Church, and… those Church Planters lives and Conversations" so as to address his pre-existing scruples with the Catholic Church.[57] As discussed above, the remainder of his account shows his growing horror at the poor state of that Church and the corruption of its planters, with him commenting that the "lewd lives of the Preists, Fryers, Nuns… did much trouble and perplex my conscience."[58] He explained that his discomfort over their behaviour and that of the Spanish, coupled with deepening doubts about Catholic doctrine, alienated him to the point that, in 1630, he resolve to return to England to investigate Protestantism and so satisfy his conscience.[59] Ultimately he did not return to England until 1637 (he claimed that his superiors would not let him leave) or convert until 1642, but Gage nevertheless presented this resolution in 1630, and thus his observation of the missionaries' corruption, as major steps in his path to Protestantism.[60]

[55] Shinn, *Conversion Narratives*, 3; Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 457; Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " 187.
[56] Other factors presented as driving his conversion include him witnessing a mouse nibble the consecrated host in Portobelo, Panama, an event that Gage claims convinced him to fully reject the doctrine of transubstantiation. Seeing the corruption of Spanish America mirrored in Italy, along with the changing climate in England in the lead up to the Civil Wars, are presented as the final catalysts for his decision to convert. Gage, *English American*, 197-198, 209.
[57] Ibid., 13.
[58] Ibid., 156.
[59] Ibid., 156. The elements of Catholic doctrine that Gage claims he was already doubting were, unsurprisingly, ones that Protestants typically objected to.
[60] Ibid., 156, 178-181, 202-204.

This narrative of a convert becoming alienated from Catholicism in this way is one Gage's readers would have expected, for here again he followed established conventions. As Abigail Shinn observes, "to a greater or lesser extent, all accounts of conversion respond to, or subsume within their workings, the narrative patterns and models provided by previous converts and other outside authorities."[61] Gage's *English-American*, as Armstrong and Campos note, shared notable similarities with, and was almost certainly influenced by, James Wadsworth Jr's (b. 1604) similarly titled 1629 polemical travelogue and conversion narrative: *The English Spanish Pilgrime*.[62] Wadsworth, who converted in 1625 and had been a contemporary of Gage at St Omer, had also presented the corruption and worldliness of Catholic clerics, in his case the Jesuits, as one of the catalysts for his eventual conversion.[63] Arthur Marotti notes that this rejection of the Jesuits, those most quintessential of Catholic villains, sent "the strongest possible signal" that Wadsworth was sincere in his desire to join the Protestant church.[64] Gage's rejection of the missionaries' worldliness and the broader excesses of New Spain served the same end, with Armstrong noting how it distanced him from Catholicism.[65]

Gage sought to further distance himself from his old faith and also establish his Protestant credentials by contrasting the missionaries' behaviour against his own. Wadsworth had done something similar with the Jesuits asserting that while he had been a sinful Catholic, he was never seduced by their teachings and thus never fell to their level of corruption.[66] In Gage's case, he admitted to engaging in some of the sins he ascribed to the missionaries and repented for doing so, but insisted that he always had a pure core of good intentions and was never

[61] Shinn, *Conversion Narratives*, 12.
[62] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 457; Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " 187.
[63] James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime. or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery, and Jesuiticall Stratagems* (London: 1629), 31, 81-82; for his extensive, if stock standard attacks on the Jesuits see: 4, 16, 19-31, 46-48, 50-58.
[64] Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 122.
[65] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 464.
[66] Wadsworth, *English Spanish pilgrime*, 24.

motivated by rank avarice.[67] He admitted that the fortune he had built during his ministry had been unlawfully acquired and that "it was the will of my heavenly Father" that pirates took it from him."[68] He also claimed that he did not pursue wealth out of avarice like the other missionaries, but to make up for the inheritance denied to him by his father because he refused to become a Jesuit, and out of necessity.[69] He explained that he needed the money to fund his return to England and also had to engage in exploitative practices to blend into New Spanish society or risk attracting the Inquisition.[70] Furthermore, he showed that he did not spend his ministry revelling in his wealth like some missionaries, but devoted himself to studying scripture, "which I knew would profit mee more then all those riches and pleasures of *Egypt*."[71]

To further contrast himself with the missionaries he also depicted himself as an evangelist genuinely committed to spreading the gospels among the Amerindians. He recounted how he preached Christ to the Maya under his ministry and defended them from Spanish abuses so that he "might better worke upon them to bring them to more knowledge of some truths, at least concerning God and Christ."[72] When he discovered that some of his parishioners were worshiping an "idol," he preached a sermon on the first commandment to them in the hopes of stamping out both their "idolatry" and the worship of saints instilled in them by the Spanish.[73] Gage was not entirely consistent when it came to the effectiveness of this preaching. He stated that his efforts had reformed the erstwhile worshippers of the "idol" and made them receptive of true Christian doctrine. But elsewhere he bemoaned that his preaching bore little fruit, commenting that fear of the Inquisition prevented him from preaching "a new Gospell unto

[67] Gage, *English American*, 203.
[68] Ibid., 189.
[69] Ibid., 12-13.
[70] Ibid., 156, 163, 190-191.
[71] Ibid., 163.
[72] Ibid., 159, 166-167.
[73] Ibid., 174.

them, which might make them true, reall, and inward Christians."[74] Even if his continued outward adherence to Catholicism rendered his efforts ineffective, his admission that he still tried, where the Catholics did not, worked alongside his repentance and justification for his moneymaking to persuade his readers that he was a Protestant at heart and well on his way to salvation.

All these attempts to justify himself before the English Puritans make it tempting to conclude that his evisceration of the missionaries was nothing more than self-interested propaganda, and at least one of his biographers has done so.[75] However, while it is undeniable that his criticisms served pragmatic ends, the possibility that they were also the product of genuine disillusionment with Catholic practices and beliefs cannot be dismissed. As Questier has argued, conversion in early modern England was always "partly a matter of politics and partly a matter of religion."[76] Practical considerations were rarely if ever the only motive and converts almost always had some disagreement with the theology and doctrine of the Catholic or Protestant church (or both). [77] The rising tide of anti-Catholic feeling that preceded the outbreak of the Civil Wars and the potential for career advancement certainly provided Gage with pragmatic reasons to convert in 1642.[78]

However, Gage's experiences in New Spain could also have truly alienated him from Catholicism. His discussion of the problems in the New Spanish church and the missions was heavily coloured by stock anti-Catholic tropes and as such exaggerated in places, but it did contain a substantial core of truth. Spanish authors like Jose de Acosta and modern historians

[74] Ibid., 151, 178.
[75] Arthur Percival Newton, "Introduction," in *Thomas Gage, the English-American, a New Survey of the West Indies, 1648*, ed. Arthur Percival Newton (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1928), xx.
[76] Questier, *Conversion, Politics, and Religion*, 2-3.
[77] Ibid., chap. 3-4.
[78] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 458-459. On the fear of Catholics before the Civil Wars see: Clifton, "Fear of Popery."; Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot*.

have shown that clerical corruption and serious abuse of the Amerindians of the kind described by Gage did occur in New Spain throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[79] Nancy Farriss, while focusing on the Maya in the Yucatan rather than Guatemala, reveals conditions of economic abuse that were very similar to those described by Gage, including mendicants (Franciscans) exploiting their flocks to live well above their vows of poverty.[80] Her description of post-conquest Maya religion also corroborates much of Gage's description of their limited uptake of Christianity.[81] Determining the precise accuracy of Gage's criticism would require research beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is clear that he did witness genuine corruption. It is not a stretch to suggest that his experience of it could have driven him to seriously question Catholicism, especially if he really was already grappling with religious doubts as many did in the post-Reformation world.[82] Ultimately the sincerity of Gage's conversion and thus his critiques must remain a matter of speculation. As Armstrong and Casellas have emphasised, he was an ambiguous figure who repeatedly sought to rework his identity as he navigated the early modern world.[83]

What is certain is that Gage's critiques were undeniably part of his reinvention of himself as a loyal Protestant, regardless of whether he actually was one. The expectations of his Puritan patrons and audience required that he abjure the evils of Catholicism and that is what he (mostly) did. Recycling and reinforcing established arguments about the missions and stereotypes of the friars and Spanish was logical in his circumstances, and probably the safest

[79] C. R. Boxer, *The Churh Militant and Ibrian Expansion 1440-1770* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 68-70, 97-100, 105-107; Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, trans. Stephen Buckwalter and Brian McNeil, Revised and Expanded ed. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 64-65n36, 81-82, 96-97, 201, 213-220.
[80] Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 39-49, 56, 95-96, 324-327.
[81] Ibid., chap. 10-11.
[82] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 459; David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society in Early Modern England a Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2.
[83] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 452, 469-470; Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 104-105.

approach. Authors' approaches to Catholicism could and often did vary for a multitude of reasons, but it was necessary for them to cleave to its most established tropes to affirm that they were committed to the Reformed religion. Reassertion of the same ideas was encouraged if not mandatory and that was particularly true for a convert like Gage, regardless of how sincere he was. However, while establishing his Protestant credentials was a key motive driving his critical stance on the missions, it was not the only one.

III: Gage's call for empire and evangelisation

Along with proving his loyalty, Gage's critique of the Catholic mission in New Spain served to promote the expansion of England's empire through the conquest of Spain's American territories. In his dedication to Sir Thomas Fairfax, then leader of the Parliamentary army, Gage made this purpose explicit. He hoped that Fairfax would turn his "thoughts to employ the Souldiery of this Kingdom upon such just and honourable designes in those parts of *America*."[84] Fairfax, who lost the last of his influence soon after the *English-American* was published, would not do so, but his erstwhile subordinate Oliver Cromwell would. In 1654 Cromwell launched the so-called Western Design to seize Hispaniola, and in part relied on Gage for advice.[85] This came in the form of a memorandum titled "Some briefe and true observations concerning the West–Indies," which presented a condensed summary of relevant information from the *English-American*.[86] It suggested targets to attack, information on Spanish defences, and justifications for the proposed invasion.

[84] Gage, *English-American*, sig. A3v.

[85] On Gage's role in the Western Design see: Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 97-101; David L. Smith, "The Western Design and the Spiritual Geopolitics of Cromwellian Foreign Policy," *Itinerario* 40, no. 2 (2016): 282-283.

[86] Thomas Gage, "Some briefe and true observations concerning the West-Indies." In *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 3, December 1654-August 1655*, Edited by Thomas Birch (London: 1742), 59-61.

As with his self-justification, Gage's exposé of the corruption of the missions and New Spanish society again played an important role here. As Casellas notes, they provided a moral justification for attacking New Spain.[87] Gage advised that the slaughter of the Amerindians reported by Las Casas and depravity of the colonists rendered moot any claim the Spanish had to the New World and justified a godly crusade to expel them.[88] Gage presented the invasion and overthrow of New Spain as divinely ordained, commenting that godly individuals had often said to him that God would undoubtedly "give up the Countrey into the power of some other nation."[89] He was certain that the corruption he described made this inevitable, for "though God be long–sufferring, yett hee is not ever sufferring and ever bearing with a proud sinfull people."[90] The English were the ones to enact this punishment, and to "save" the Amerindians from the exploitation and ignorance he had so extensively documented. While they would remain ignorant under Roman exploitation, Gage noted "that they are of a good and flexible nature, and (were those Idols of Saints statues removed from their eyes) might bee brought easily to worship one onely God."[91] They would gladly follow the teaching of "true Ministers of Gods Word."[92] All that was needed was for the English to invade so that they, or at least Cromwell, could become "a protector of those poore Indians," and spread "the light of the Gospell" among them.[93]

The sinfulness of New Spain and the abuse of the Amerindians was more than just a moral justification. Gage also presented the conditions he witnessed as evidence that any invasion was sure to succeed.[94] Because the Amerindians were so downtrodden and oppressed, and

[87] Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 99.
[88] Gage, *English-American,* sigs. A4r-A4v; Gage, "briefe and true observations," 59.
[89] Gage, *English-American,* 57.
[90] Gage, *English-American*, 57; Gage, "briefe and true observations," 59.
[91] Gage, *English-American,* 178.
[92] Ibid., 178.
[93] Gage, "briefe and true observations," 59, 61.
[94] Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 100.

stripped of all arms and the ability to wield them, Gage argued that they would not aid the Spanish in the event of an invasion.[95] Quite the opposite in fact. He insisted that they along with the African slaves would eagerly aid any "liberating" invader against the small number of Spanish who, being lazy and sinful, would not be able to hold their cities.[96] His prediction was to prove false. The Western Design was mostly a failure and, while a range of factors contributed to the disaster, Gage's overly optimistic advice did not help.[97] The invasion force met stiff resistance when it landed in Hispaniola and did not receive aid from the Amerindians and slaves. After being repulsed, the force redirected its attention to Jamaica, which it successfully captured and held with significant casualties due to supply shortages and disease. Gage, who had accompanied the expedition as a chaplain and advisor, was among the dead.[98]

As in other instances, Gage's use of Spanish atrocities and Catholic missionary failures to promote and justify English imperialism and Protestant evangelisation was hardly original. Cromwell used those same arguments (among others) in his own justifications for the Western Design, and he at least may have believed them.[99] Arthur Williamson suggests that Cromwell was genuinely motivated by a desire to liberate the Amerindians, and Armitage highlights how Cromwell saw the expedition as a divinely guided mission to overthrow the antichristian Spanish empire and replace it with a godly English one.[100] This crusade to drive Antichrist

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[95] Gage, *English-American*, 138-139.

[96] Gage, *English-American*, 9, 138-139; Gage, "briefe and true observations," 59-60

[97] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 468-469.

[98] David Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," *The Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (1992): 239-240; L. H. Roper, *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 155-157.

[99] Oliver Cromwell, "The Protector's commission to general Venables." In *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 3, December 1654-August 1655*, Edited by Thomas Birch (London: 1742), 16; Oliver Cromwell, *A Declaration of His Highnes, By the Advice of His Council; Setting forth, On the Behalf of this* Commonwealth, *the Justice of their Cause Against Spain* (Edinburgh: 1655), 4-5, 17-18.

[100] Arthur H. Williamson, "An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansion," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1-2 (2005): 247-250; Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," 536-538. Note that other motives for the Western Design, such as control of trade and defence of English geo-political interests have been highlighted by other authors: Smith, "The Western Design and the Spiritual Geopolitics of Cromwellian Foreign Policy," 280-283; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Errand to

from the Indies and "save" the Amerindians was built on ideas that had been circulating for decades.[101] In the 1630s prominent Puritans had established the short-lived colony of Providence Island off the coast of Nicaragua with the intention of spreading Protestantism and challenging Spain.[102] Earlier still Patrick Copland, an ex-chaplain of the East India Company, had urged proselytisation in Virginia to counter the damage done by the Jesuits "poysoning with the Coloquintida of Popery many thousand soules in the *East Indies* and *Iapan*."[103] Ultimately these ideas can be traced back to the works of Elizabethan adventurers like Sir Walter Raleigh and colonial theorists like Richard Hakluyt.[104]

Hakluyt, whose work promoting and recording English overseas exploration and expansion inspired Purchas, is of particular interest as a point of comparison for he prefigured many of Gage's arguments and claims in a pamphlet scholars refer to as the "Discourse of Western Planting." This was a privately circulated work presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1584 to promote colonisation on the East coast of North America with the aims, among others, of destroying Spain's empire and spreading Protestantism among the Amerindians.[105] In regards to the former goal, Hakluyt did not call for a direct attack on Spanish holdings but advocated funding and supplying Amerindian rebels and supporting them with English sea power.[106] Like

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the Indies: Puritan Colonizaion from Providence Island through the Western Design," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1988): 90-94; Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 96-97.

[101] Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies," 94; Williamson, "An Empire to End Empire," 237-240.

[102] Kupperman, "Errand to the Indies," 72-75.

[103] Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God be Thanked, or A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare* (London: 1622), 28-30.

[104] Casellas, "Fashioning Identities and Building an Empire," 95-96. On Raleigh see: Walter Raleigh, *Discoverie of The Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana, With a relation of the great and Golden Citie of* Manoa *(which the spanyards call* El Dorado*)* (London: 1596), 5-7, 51-52; Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 61-64.

[105] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting." In *The Original writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, edited by E. G. R. Taylor, vol. II (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935) 211-326; Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 128-129, 139-154.

[106] Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting," 241, 247-249.

Gage, Hakluyt argued that the Amerindians would willingly cooperate with the English to gain their freedom and emphasised that the abuse they had suffered made them eager to revolt.[107] Hakluyt also used the Spanish atrocities and conversions, which he called perversions, to challenge Spanish claims to the Americas, prefiguring Gage's comments to Fairfax and Cromwell.[108] As a final point of comparison, he used the missionaries drawing of the Amerindians "from one error into another" as a clarion call for Protestant proselytisation.[109]

Gage's arguments were not identical to Hakluyt's and those of other earlier authors, and his use of eye-witness evidence of the economic abuse of the Amerindians set him apart from authors who had to rely on Las Casas and other Spanish writers. However, the similarities of his writing to past calls for English evangelisation and/or action against Spanish America were numerous enough to raise questions about his motivation. Was his advocacy for those causes encouraged by his patrons and thus another part of his attempt to integrate into Protestant England? Gage's patron Chaloner, who became one of the leading figures in the Commonwealth's diplomatic and trade policy, was a proponent of English imperialism and was widely connected with others involved in colonial projects.[110] It is entirely possible that Chaloner or those connected to him encouraged or even pushed Gage to promote the invasion of Spanish America. They may even have guided his arguments.

However, it is again important to stress that Gage's advocacy of invasion and proselytisation could have been genuine even if it was shaped by the demands of his patrons and his quest to prove his loyalty. Hakluyt and many of the others who promoted evangelisation and colonisation were genuinely concerned with spreading "true" Protestant Christianity and

[107] Ibid., 246, 257-261, 263-264.
[108] Ibid., 217, 308-309.
[109] Ibid., 214-217.
[110] Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament, 1648-1653* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 252-261; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London: Verso, 2003), 603-604.

"saving" the Amerindians.[111] It is not difficult to imagine that the abuses Gage saw and described could have motivated him to try and save them from the cruelty of the Catholics, especially if his conversion was genuine. In his account he certainly demonstrated his affection for them by painting the Amerindians in a positive light and trying to neutralise any aspersions his work cast on them.[112] He also declared that he "would willingly spend the best drops of blood in my veines to doe them good, and to save their soules."[113] The fact that he accompanied the expedition he had promoted is also potential evidence of his genuine commitment to evangelisation. However, he could also have gone for other reasons, such as to advance his career or, as Armstrong muses, to get away from hostile Catholics in England who he feared wanted him dead.[114] As with his attempts to prove the sincerity of his conversion, it is ultimately unclear how much of his promotion of invasion and proselytisation, and demonisation of the missionaries to that end, was driven by genuine zeal or pragmatic self-interest; it is entirely probable that he was driven by some combination of both. Gage's immediate objectives of proving his loyalty and promoting imperialism and their influence on his text are clear enough. But the ultimate motives underlying his hostility to the missionaries are more ambiguous.

IV: Gage's Dominican past

Much of the *English-American* was shaped by Gage's attempt to show that he was a good and loyal Protestant. However, despite his attempts to distance himself from his Catholic past it

[111] On Hakluyt's interest in evangelisation and broader motivation see: David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 71-72, 76-78; David Harris Sacks, "'To Deduce a Colonie': Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Contexts, c.1580-1616," in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (London: Routledge, 2012), 207-217; Matthew Dimmock, "Hakluyt's Multiple Faiths," in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (London: Routledge, 2012), 219-220, 227-228.
[112] Gage, *English-American*, 178.
[113] Ibid., 178.
[114] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 460.

continued to influence his actions and his writing. It gave his account a perspective that was at times distinct from texts produced by inveterate Protestants like Abbot. It also led to a few sympathetic portrayals of missionaries which were at odds with his otherwise unrelentingly anti-Catholic approach. Historians have taken some note of this Catholic influence, with Campos observing that Gage's text features many of the hallmarks of the Spanish picaresque.[115] Other have also noted Gage's residual loyalty to the Dominicans, the most dramatic impact of which was on the evidence he gave against certain Catholic priests.[116] At the same time that he denounced the Jesuit Peter Wright he was also called to give evidence against his former superior the English Dominican Provincial Thomas Middleton (alias Dade). Rather than denouncing Middleton, as he had Wright and other Jesuits, Gage defended him and thus secured his acquittal, saving his life.[117]

This lingering loyalty to the Dominicans shaped several aspects of Gage's coverage of the missionaries in the *English-American*. It is particularly apparent in his treatment of the Jesuits. This was largely conventional, with Gage relying on the stereotypes of Jesuit plotting, greed, pride, deceitfulness and ambition common to Protestant literature.[118] He accused them of plotting to monopolise the missions in Asia and of being principally motivated by "the wealth and riches of those Countries, [and] the ambition of honor in their Gospel function".[119] He also reiterated the stock claim that they conned rich gentlewomen and widows out of their wealth, and sought to show how they tried to gain power and wealth by ingratiating themselves with

[115] Campos, "Thomas Gage and the English Colonial Encounter with Chocolate " 188.
[116] Armstrong, "Print, Religion and Identity," 459.
[117] Ibid., 459.
[118] On common themes and stereotypes in anti-Jesuit discourse see: Peter Burke, "The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 168-169; Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 133-141.
[119] Gage, *English-American*, 6-7, 18-19, 16.

nobility and officials like the Governor-General of the Philippines.[120] The typical claims that they were the Pope's most fanatically loyal champions also made an appearance, with Gage explaining that this loyalty was instrumental in allowing the papacy to maintain the missions and thus spread its corruption and feed its avarice.[121]

Gage's Dominican loyalty principally shaped how he compared the Society to the other orders, and how he addressed inter-order rivalry. While his discussion of them was only brief, Gage depicts the Jesuits as worse than the Dominicans or other orders, explaining that while they were all driven by avarice, the Jesuits were "the most covetous," and that their ambition and arrogance was so great it "hath stirred up in all other Religions a hatred to them uncapable ever of Reconciliation."[122] "Above all," he elaborated, "is this envy and hatred found between Dominicans and Jesuites," and while both orders endeavoured to destroy each other, the Jesuits "were more bold and obstinate in malice and hatred."[123] This rivalry was real enough and Gage, who had joined the Dominicans after refusing to become a Jesuit, took his old order's side when discussing particular incidents.[124] He condemned the Jesuits' celebration of the feast of Saint Ignatius during the mission's voyage to New Spain but did not criticise the Dominicans' subsequent celebration of the feast of Saint Dominic and instead emphasised how much better their festivities were.[125]

Gage also took the Dominican side when describing how he, the other Dominicans, and the Jesuits attempted to "rescue" and convert a former slave found living with the Amerindians of

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[120] Gage, *English-American*, 4-7, 15, 99. Compare to Owen, *Unmasking of All Popish Monks, Friers, and Iesuit*, 102-106; [Thomas Heywood?], *The Rat-Trap: or, The Jesuites taken in their owne Net* ([London?]: 1641), 5-6; John Gee, *New Shreds of the Old* Snare (London: 1624), 10-16.
[121] Gage, *English-American*, 3. Compare: Meredith Hanmer, *The Iesuites Banner. Displaying their original and successe: their vow and othe: their hypocrisie and superstition: their doctrine and positions* (London: 1581), sigs. B2v-C4r.
[122] Gage, *English-American*, 4, 5.
[123] Ibid., 5.
[124] Ibid., 12-13.
[125] Ibid., 16.

Guadalupe, only to be met with a hail of arrows. He portrayed his fellow friars as naive and wavering in their commitment, commenting that their boasted missionary zeal faded the moment they faced actual danger.[126] But he showed that the Jesuits were already corrupt, describing their interest in the former slave as a "Plot to take him away with his Wife and Children" and explained how they hoped that his conversion "might bee their glory."[127] This presentation of the Jesuits as the most corrupt of the orders is not on its own unusual; English Protestants frequently decried them as the vilest of papists and as arch-traitors.[128] However, the Dominican perspective that suffused the discussion made it distinct from most Protestant anti-Jesuit literature and the mostly conventional anti-Catholic rhetoric that dominated Gage's account.

Gage's Catholic past and residual loyalty to the Dominicans influenced more than just his discussion of the Jesuits, they also occasionally softened his anti-Catholic calumny and led him to recognise the virtue of some of the missionaries. For all his insistence that the vast majority of them "are Fryers of leud lives," he did not deny that some who joined the missions were "men of sober life and conversation, moved only with a blind zeal of increasing the Popish Religion."[129] Indeed he noted that several of his companions expressed their disapproval of the worldliness they witnessed when they arrived in New Spain.[130] However, he also insisted that this initial virtue was soon lost and "like *Iudas* they fall from their calling, and for pleasure and covetousnesse sell away Christ from their Soules."[131] Furthermore, the fact that friars were trying to increase "the Popish Religion" in their "blind zeal" undercut their initial good

[126] Ibid., 19.
[127] Ibid., 18-19
[128] Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, 49-53.
[129] Gage, *English-American*, 8.
[130] Ibid., 23.
[131] Ibid., 9, 82.

intentions, so while these particular admissions of virtue softened Gage's broader portrait of corruption they did not contradict it.[132]

However, Gage did show that there were a few friars and other clerics who, while not completely immune to the corruption of New Spain, retained considerable virtue.[133] The best of these was Peter Alvarez, the New Spanish Dominican provincial who arranged for Gage and a few of his traveling companions to stay in New Spain after they fled from the Philippines-bound mission. Gage showed Alvarez to be a kind man who offered comfort to them when he noticed their distress over their possible fate. In stark contrast to the vainglorious friars described elsewhere, he was humble, washing his guests' feet like "Christ to his Disciples."[134] Indeed, Gage did not indicate any major vices on his part. Even his dicing was not portrayed as sinful, with Gage showing that neither money nor any serious stakes were involved.[135] Alvarez was an exception to the corruption of New Spain. Though still a Catholic, Gage shows that he was a comparatively virtuous one.

Thus, for all his willingness to attack the Dominicans and other friars in service to his conversion, Gage was unwilling to damn his old comrades outright. Why he occasionally presented this more nuanced and positive image of the missionaries is not clear. It may be that it was designed to help attract further converts to Protestantism. By showing that some Catholics were still virtuous even in the face of overwhelming corruption, Gage left open the possibility that they could convert to Protestantism and be "saved" just like he was. Milton highlights that Puritan divines would often subvert vituperative anti-Catholicism and take a

[132] Ibid., 9, 82.
[133] Ibid., 102-103, 114.
[134] Ibid., 92-93
[135] Ibid., 92-95.

more irenic stance on Rome for tactical reasons like attracting converts.[136] Gage, who stated that he hoped his writing would win future converts, might have been trying to do something similar, though there is insufficient evidence to do more than speculate on this point.[137]

Gage's personal loyalty to and affection for Alvarez and some of his other old comrades is a more probable root for his positive portrayal of them. There were clear reasons for him to be personally attached to them. They were his friends and/or had rendered him significant aid, as Alvarez had done in giving him a new home by facilitating his admission to the New Spanish mission after his desertion.[138]. It is impossible to know Gage's mind for certain, but his fond memories of these old friends must have made the idea of completely condemning them unpalatable, even if they were Catholics. His personal experience with them outweighed the need to adhere to strict anti-Catholicism.

It must be stressed that this was not a phenomenon unique to Gage. Personal experience with Catholic clergy added nuance to the accounts of other converts and English travellers to New Spain. Miles Philips' account of his time living in Mexico in the late sixteenth century is a perfect example and has numerous parallels to Gage's. Philips had travelled to New Spain as a boy as part of John Hawkins' third privateering voyage (1567-1569). He had been marooned there in 1568 along with more than a hundred other sailors after the fleet's defeat at the battle of San Juan de Ulúa, and only returned to England in 1582 after a series of adventures that included a run-in with the Mexican Inquisition. His account, which was published and edited by Richard Hakluyt, attacked England's religious and political enemies to help prove his loyalty to England after years spent living among the enemy, just like Gage. In Philips' case

[136] Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 88, 90.
[137] Gage, *The Tyranny of Satan*, 2; Gage, *English-American*, 212.
[138] Gage, *English-American*, 94-95, 102-103, 114.

Spanish officials and the Inquisition served as his main bugbears rather than the missionaries.[139] Despite the need to prove his loyalty, the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish themes suffusing his account did not extend to the friars. Philips explained that they generally treated him and the other marooned sailors with compassion, unlike the Inquisition, and provided them charity and assistance on several occasions.[140] He specifically emphasised that the "blacke friers" he was sent to do penance with by the Inquisition "did use us very courteously."[141] They offered him and the other penitents comfort and commiserated with them over the cruelty of the Inquisition, whom they did "utterly abhorre and mislike."[142] This positive image was not the only instance in which Philips showed his connection with the Catholics and Spanish. As Barbara Fuchs highlights, he repeatedly betrayed his ties to New Spanish society despite his attempts to portray himself as a loyal Protestant who never truly assimilated.[143]

Philips' positive image of the "friers" and other elements of New Spanish society may have had additional purposes. For instance, it helped emphasise how bad the Inquisition was by showing that even other Catholic clergy did not like them. However, in large part that positivity was probably influenced by the connections and friendships he developed in New Spain during his formative years. As his Inquisition trial record reveals, he was only in his early teens when he was marooned and was not particularly familiar with religious matters.[144] He was a boy in a dangerous and unfamiliar land, and by his own admission the "friers" and other clerics had

[139] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 3, 472-473, 477, 479-481; Barbara Fuchs, "An English Picaro in New Spain: Miles Philips and the Framing of National Identity," *The New Centennial Review* 2, no. 1 (2002): 57-58, 61, 64-65.
[140] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* vol. 3, 477, 485.
[141] Ibid., vol. 3, 482.
[142] Ibid., vol. 3, 482.
[143] Fuchs, " English Picaro in New Spain," 61-62.
[144] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* vol. 3, 479, 482; Criminal suit against Miles Philips translation, 1572-1577. GBR/0012/MS Add. 7241, 153-198, G. R. G. Conway collection: Transcripts from the National Archives of Mexico. Cambridge University Library Archives and Manuscripts: 153-155, 193.

helped him survive and adjust in New Spain, like Alvarez did for Gage. Thus, there was ample reason for him to have fond memories of them and have been unwilling to condemn them. He could not, however, be entirely uncritical when it came to the "blacke friers" he did his penance with. Contrary to what his account suggested, Philips did his penance with the Jesuits, not the Dominicans. Presumably either he or, more likely, Hakluyt had taken stock of the anti-Jesuit panic that was developing in the 1580s when his account was written and decided to censor that detail.[145] A few good words for his Catholic friends might have been acceptable for Philips as they later were for Gage, especially as they did not contradict his assault on the Inquisition. But their situations as recent converts and the political and religious climates they were writing in put some limits on how generous they could be to their old comrades.

It is telling that Gage's Catholic past could shape and soften his account even with his conversion and other aims encouraging a hard-line anti-Catholicism. The images of the covetous friars and of the land of sin still dominated his account. But Gage, like Philips and other conforming English, had multiple loyalties beyond just to church and state. His ties to Catholicism and the Dominicans may have been formally severed, but their influence remained. Those past loyalties shaped his coverage of the missions and missionaries, adding some nuance to it and causing it to occasionally vary from a strict rejection of Catholicism on the conventional model. As Milton has argued strict anti-Catholicism could be disregarded or undercut for a variety of reasons.[146] In Gage's case, as in others, it was his personal connections that brought about a softening in his approach.

[145] On the development of the anti-Jesuit panic in the 1580s see Alexandra Walsham, "'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuite Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England," in *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England*, ed. David Lemmings and Claire Walker (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 41-62.
[146] Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance," 91-96, 110.

Conclusion

Thomas Gage's coverage of the New Spanish Catholic missions and missionaries was largely consistent with the criticisms of earlier Calvinist and Puritan authors. His image of the greedy Friars and Jesuits enthralling hapless Amerindians for their own ends was not original and was built on foundational anti-Catholic tropes. Indeed, his wider text mostly followed conventional anti-Catholicism. But both the *English-American* and his specific account of the missions were more nuanced than strict anti-Catholic narratives. Gage's personal experience of the missions brought out a range of original details, and his loyalties to his erstwhile comrades added a perspective not seen in works by inveterate Protestants. Those residual ties of friendship and loyalty also softened his otherwise damning portrait of the missionaries in several places.

This depiction of the missions and New Spain and Catholicism more widely was the product of multiple sometimes ambiguous factors. Gage's need to prove his loyalty post conversion and appeal to his patrons' prejudices was no doubt crucial in shaping the conventional nature of his criticisms. He was largely following established models and ideas to fulfil his objectives. However, the motivation behind those objectives and thus his hostility is not clear. There is abundant evidence for pragmatic self-concern, but there are also hints at a genuine devotion to the advancement of Protestantism, or at least for Gage wanting to "liberate" the Amerindians. His residual loyalty to his Dominican friends further added to his ambiguity, and all combined to produce a response to the missions that was more complex than its conventional arguments might suggest.

Ultimately, while Protestants could respond to Catholicism and its adherents with relatively straightforward anti-Catholicism driven by prejudice, their motivations were rarely so straightforward. Their responses could be shaped by a host of different loyalties and goals, as well as by the need to negotiate the political and religious circumstances they found themselves in. Abbot's, Purchas', and Heylyn's different and changing responses to the missions have

already highlighted this. Gage much more clearly demonstrates just how ambiguous Protestant responses to the missions and Catholicism more generally could be. The same ideas and arguments about Catholicism and Catholics were recycled time and again, but the particular circumstances and concerns of individuals determined how and why those arguments were employed and led to variations. As the final chapter will show, the need to adapt to changing circumstances and, at times, conflicting practical and religious concerns could lead some Protestants, like East India Company merchant Richard Cocks, to respond to Catholic missionaries in seemingly contradictory ways.

Chapter 3:
Richard Cocks and the Missions in Japan, 1613-1623

Introduction

The only English Protestant to publish a substantial firsthand account of Rome's global evangelical efforts between 1558 and 1660 was Thomas Gage. However, there were numerous other English Protestant travellers, sailors and merchants during that period who encountered the missions either in the Americas or Asia. Richard Cocks (1565-1624), of the English East India Company (henceforth the Company, or EIC) is one of the best documented. From 1613 to its closure in 1623 Cocks was Cape Merchant of the Company's Japanese factory (trading post) located in the port of Hirado, an island located off the northeast coast of Kyushu.[1] The factory was not profitable, but it did leave behind a treasure trove of logs, journals, letters, and much of Cocks' daily diary. Most of this material focused on the Company's business dealings, but it did occasionally touch on the Japanese mission. Like the clerical authors discussed in previous chapters, Cocks wrote some commentary on the state of the mission, though his criticisms were focused more on the political activities of the missionaries than on their proselytisation. He also recounted his and the Company's sometimes fraught dealings with the missionaries, and his interactions with the Tokugawa Shogunate's growing anti-Christian apparatus. Other factory employees also occasionally discussed the missionaries, most notably William Adams (1564-1620), who had been in Japan since 1600 and was hired by the Company as an advisor and translator. However, none did so with the frequency of Cocks. This chapter

[1] The most extensive overview of the Hirado factory is: Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

focuses on his varied and sometimes contradictory views on and relationship with the missionaries. In doing so it considers how the complex and evolving situation in Japan and Asia moulded his responses.

Cocks was in Japan at a pivotal moment in the history of the mission: the beginning of its destruction. Founded in 1549 the Japanese mission had been the most successful in Asia. The Jesuits, joined in the 1590s by a small number of friars (whom they did not get along with), had been able to win almost 300,000 converts by 1614 and had built a substantial congregation in northern and western Kyushu and a smaller one around Osaka, Kyoto and Edo (modern Tokyo).[2] They were also able to take advantage of Japan's ongoing civil war and lack of central authority to temporarily secure the conversion and support of several of Japan's warring feudal lords, the Daimyō, in exchange for international trade and firearms.[3] However, the period of civil war did not last, and neither did the missionaries' success. The first of Japan's great unifiers, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), had been content to let them preach. However, his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) was less tolerant and issued an edict in 1587 expelling them, though he largely did not enforce it. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), who wrested control of Japan from Hideyoshi's seven-year-old heir in 1600 and became Shogun (Japan's military ruler) in 1603, initially tolerated them. However, that changed not long after the arrival of the English. In 1614 he issued an edict expelling the missionaries and prohibiting Christianity. Churches across the country were torn down and most of the friars and Jesuits were forced to leave, and that was only the beginning. Ieyasu's successor, Tokugawa Hidetada (1581-1632), issued his own edict in 1616 ordering a crackdown on Christianity, and the

[2] C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 320-322.
[3] On the missionaries' relationships with the Daimyō see Jurgis Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 4, Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 301-372.

executions began soon after. Over the decades that followed more than a thousand missionaries and Japanese Christians were martyred.[4]

These developments were of great interest to Cocks, who along with the rest of the factory actively worked against the missionaries and contributed to the persecutions at several points. However, Cocks' response was not solely hostile. He also showed charity to certain missionaries and expressed some approval of their evangelical efforts and sympathy for the martyrs. Historians have noted these seemingly inconsistent responses. They repeatedly emphasise the merchants' hostility to the missionaries. C. R. Boxer highlights that Adams' overall attitude towards them was "strongly anti-Catholic to his dying day," and that he, Cocks and the others fed malicious tales about them to the Shogun.[5] Derek Massarella similarly notes that "the English mistrusted the missionaries from their earliest days in Japan," and that Cocks "despised" them.[6] However, both historians also stress that there were limits to this hostility. Boxer notes that Adams was friendly to individual missionaries, while Massarella notes that the English generally had good relations with the Iberian merchants in Japan.[7] Massarella, noting Cocks' apparent guilt over his role in the executions of two friars, also commented that the chief factor was "essentially a tolerant man," an assessment that seems at odds with the antipathy he highlighted earlier.[8] Neither Boxer nor Massarella explores Cocks' or the other merchants' views in any great detail, nor do they attempt to explain the apparent inconsistencies.

I will argue that Cocks' variable views on and interactions with the missionaries were shaped by a range of competing ideological and practical factors. They were dictated by his immediate

[4] On the turn against Christianity see: Boxer, *Christian Century*, chap. IV, VII, VIII; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 359-372; Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), chap. 4-6.
[5] Boxer, *Christian Century*, 290, 309-311.
[6] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 164.
[7] Boxer, *Christian Century*, 290; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 164.
[8] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 297.

concerns and the wider situation faced by the Company in Japan and Asia. Like Abbot, Purchas, Heylyn and Gage, his responses were shaped by anti-Catholicism. However, this ideological influence was comparably limited, and practical concerns were far more pivotal. In many cases the need to advance the Company's economic interests in the face of its European rivals and the changing situation in Japan guided his attitudes and actions. Those concerns frequently aligned with his anti-Catholicism and drove his hostility, but in other circumstances they left room for more tolerant attitudes, and even fostered cooperation with the missionaries. The combination of confessional, economic, and social imperatives that guided Cocks led him to employ many common anti-Catholic tropes in his criticisms of the missionaries. But they also made his perspective and approach distinct from those of clerics back in England.

The first section of this chapter will discuss how Cocks' anti-Catholicism influenced his responses. It will show how anti-Jesuit stereotypes influenced his antipathy, but also highlight his comparative lack of Protestant zeal and his relative approval of the Christian conversion of the Japanese and his distress over the destruction of their church. The second section will discuss how his antipathy toward and attacks on the missionaries were principally driven by commercial self interest in the face of the Shogunate's anti-Christian campaign and the Company's rivalry with other Europeans. It will also discuss how the situation in Japan and his anti-Catholicism fed into one another to fuel his hostility. The final section will discuss the hospitality Cocks occasionally extended to the missionaries, examining it within the broader context of his cooperation with the other Europeans in Japan and showing how it was driven by both practical concerns and cultural imperatives.

I: Cocks' Anti-Catholicism and hostility to the missionaries

Richard Cocks' seemingly contradictory responses to the missionaries were, like those of Gage, Purchas and Abbot, influenced by anti-Catholicism and his Protestant faith, though perhaps not to the same degree. Certainly his attitude and approach to them were largely hostile, something Massarella and Boxer rightly emphasise.[9] Generally he did not approve of "those villainous papistical rabble at Langasaque [Nagasaki]."[10] He very much wanted them out of Japan and approved of their expulsion, commenting that news of the 1614 edict seemed "too good to be true," and later that he hoped the padres "will never be permitted entrance into Japon again."[11] His coverage of them in his letters was largely negative. He denigrated the friars and especially the Jesuits at length in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, for whom he had acted as an informant while trading in Bayonne.[12] In other letters he repeated rumours that the missionaries' expulsion was the result of poor behaviour and covetousness.[13] He also accused them (sometimes rightly) of trying to interfere in the affairs of the factory, claiming that they were enticing sailors to desert and spreading malicious tales about the English.[14] However Cocks did not just criticise the missionary orders, he actively worked to undermine them and their rapidly evaporating influence in Japan. He fed his own malicious tales about them to the Tokugawa Shogunate and instructed his subordinate Richard Wickham to do the same.[15]At several points he even assisted in the persecutions. In October 1621 he informed the Daimyō

[9] Boxer, *Christian Century*, 290, 309-311; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 164.
[10] Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 01/04/1614, in *Letters Received, by the East India Company from is Servants in the East*, Ed. William Foster, Vol. II (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968), 27. Unless otherwise indicated, all letters by Cocks were sent from Hirado.
[11] Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 17/02/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968), 19; Cocks to Richard Westby at Bantam, 25/02/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 59.
[12] Cocks to Lord Salisbury in London, 10/12/1614, in *The English Factory in Japan: 1613-1623*, ed. Anthony Farrington (London: The British Library, 1991), 256.
[13] Cocks to Adam Denton in Patania, 25/11/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II, 202.
[14] Cocks to Sir Thomas Smythe and EIC in London, 30/11/1613, in *English Factory in Japan*, 98-99; Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 01/04/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II, 26-27; *Diary of Richard Cocks: Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, vol. II (London: Hakluyt Society, 1883), 204.
[15] *Diary*, vol. I, 173; Cocks to Richard Wickham, 14/10/1615, in *Letters Received*, Vol. III, 194-195.

of Hirado of a priest in the port.[16] More significantly from 1620 to 1622 he waged a protracted campaign to prove to the Shogunate that two friars captured at sea by the then (temporarily) allied English and Dutch East India Companies were actually missionaries.[17] This campaign eventually succeeded and the two friars, Luis Flores, a Dominican, and Pedro de Zuniga, an Augustinian, were convicted and burned in Nagasaki on 19 April 1622.[18]

At first glance Cocks' hostility might suggest that he was a stridently anti-Catholic Protestant like Abbot or Purchas. However, this does not appear to be the case. The evidence for Cocks' religion is vague and insufficient for making hard and detailed conclusions. However, it does indicate that he was not as concerned with religious matters as were the divines analysed elsewhere in this thesis. There is barely any evidence that he or other members of the factory held religious observances, except when Company preachers like Patrick Copland or Arthur Hatch were visiting the factory.[19] There is also no indication that Cocks was a particularly avid reader of religious literature; he certainly never commented on it though he did have a copy of Augustine's *City of God* while in Japan.[20] Even so, he hardly ever discussed Christian theology or doctrine in general, and he never directly addressed his own beliefs.[21] Furthermore, in his surviving writings from Japan, he only addressed Catholic beliefs obliquely a couple of times.[22] The gaping silence in his extensive writings indicates that he was not, then, a vocal champion of Protestantism eager to rail against the Catholic anti-religion.

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[16] *Diary*, vol. II, 207.
[17] *Diary*, vol. II, 137, 201, 208, 216-223, 235; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 275, 292-295.
[18] J. F. Schutte, "Japan, Martyrs Of," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Detroit and Washington: Gale/Thomson and the Catholic University of America, 2003), 733.
[19] *Diary*, vol. II, 112, 197-198; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 241.
[20] *Diary*, vol. I, 118.
[21] Besides his Japanese writings several of the letters Cocks wrote to Salisbury while working in Bayonne also survive in the State Papers (SP94/8-17 and SP15/34). I did not learn of these until after my research trip to England, so was unable to consult them for this thesis. They might reveal more about Cocks' religious commitment and general views on Catholicism, though given the contents of his Japanese diary and correspondence I would guess that they are similarly lacking in religious subject matter.
[22] *Diary*, vol. I, 335; Cocks to Thomas Wilson in London, 10/12/1614 in *English Factory in Japan*, 262-266.

However, while not as obviously zealous as Purchas or Abbot, Cocks nonetheless seems to have been a largely orthodox English Protestant. His insistence to a visiting samurai that England had nothing to do with Roman Catholicism and the Pope certainly points in that direction.[23] As does his lambasting of a Portuguese rumour that England had called on the Pope for aid in interpreting a purported miracle, which he called a "monstroze lye."[24] Further hints of his orthodoxy can be seen in his life before journeying to Japan. From 1603 to 1608 the Earl of Salisbury and Sir Thomas Wilson (one of Salisbury's most prominent clients and intelligencers) engaged Cocks to provide accurate information on Spanish and Catholic movements across the Franco-Spanish border, as well as to relay letters (including secret ones) to and from the ambassador in Spain.[25] Given that they trusted him with this fairly sensitive work, Massarella observes that Wilson and Salisbury must have been satisfied that Cocks' "Protestantism was not in doubt."[26] The fact that the EIC was willing to hire him also points in that direction. As Alison Games has shown, the Company generally sought to ensure it hired loyal Englishmen for its senior representatives and rejected applicants whose allegiance or religion were found wanting.[27] Given all this, it seems apparent that Cocks' beliefs, whatever their precise nature, lay within what was acceptable for English Protestants of his time.

Even if he was not as vocally anti-Catholic as some of his clerical contemporaries, like many orthodox Protestants Cocks' writings and expression were definitely influenced by common anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit stereotypes. As Timon Screech notes he invoked the image of the Jesuits as tyrannous enemies of the state in a discussion with some of Hidetada's advisors in

[23] *Diary*, vol. I, 22-23.
[24] *Diary*, vol. II, 57-58.
[25] Derek Massarella, "The Early Career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), Head of the English East India Company's Factory in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 3rd series, 20 (1985): 11-16.
[26] Ibid., 14.
[27] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 94-96.

1616.[28] He warned them that the missionaries were fomenters of rebellion and regicides, and noted that they had tried to blow up the King of England with gunpowder.[29] All of these were stock accusations, and the reference to Jesuit involvement in the Gunpowder Plot was central to the anti-Jesuit myth.[30] Also standard was the image of the Jesuits as greedy, ambitious and treacherous, which he echoed in the stories of Jesuit misbehaviour he relayed as news to Lord Salisbury.[31] He claimed that the "craftie Jesuistes..., thinking to inrich themselves," had sought to gain control of all feudal rents in Nagasaki from their ally the Daimyō of Ōmura, a betrayal that led to his apostacy.[32] He also recounted several supposed Jesuit deceptions during the Tenshō Embassy, the 1582-1590 visit of four young Japanese Christian nobles to Spain and Rome. He explained that the four were peasants passed off as nobles to increase the Society's standing, and that the Jesuits had stolen the gifts they received.[33] With how well they illustrated typical Jesuit stereotypes it should be of little surprise that these claims were largely incorrect.[34]

It is, however, important to note that Cocks may not have known they were false and could very well have believed them. He does not seem to have invented his anti-missionary tales, but rather drew them from pre-existing rumours and calumnies. His claims about the Tenshō Embassy seem to have been based on near identical accusations made by the Franciscans, and indeed Cocks referenced the friars' attack on the embassy in his letter.[35] Meanwhile, his discussion of the Nagasaki business was probably influenced by Ōmura, who had incorrectly

[28] Timon Screech, "The English and the Control of Christianity in the Early Edo Period," *Japan Review*, 24 (2012): 28.
[29] *Diary*, vol. I, 173.
[30] Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 44, 47-48.
[31] Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 136-141; Peter Burke, "The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 168-169.
[32] Cocks to Salisbury, 10/12/1614, *English Factory in Japan*, 256.
[33] Ibid., 257.
[34] On the actual history behind these events see: Derek Massarella and J. F. Moran, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012); Boxer, *Christian Century*, 185-186; Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 329-330, 363.
[35] Massarella and Moran, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 10-15.

blamed the Jesuits when the shogun had taken his lands.[36] That Cocks was willing to relay stories based on calumnious rumours indicates that he had at least somewhat internalised the anti-Jesuit stereotypes they seemed to confirm. Thus, he not only spouted anti-Catholic rhetoric, but also seems to have had a preconceived bias against the missionaries that made him willing to believe ill of them. Given this it is highly likely that his general suspicion towards them and his often poorly founded accusations of their interference in the factory's affairs were driven by prejudice, at least in part.

However, in line with his less zealous anti-Catholicism, Cocks was not entirely critical of all aspects of the mission. His limited discussion of the missionaries' efforts to convert the Japanese is notably mild. Unlike the clerical writers discussed in previous chapters, he did not downplay the missionaries' harvest or criticise them for making superficial conversions. Indeed, Cocks only recorded criticism of the missionaries' teachings was his complaint, made in relation to a purported miracle in Nagasaki in 1617, that "these popish pristes envent lies to deceave the pore symple people."[37] Apart from that, his coverage of evangelisation forewent any criticism. For the most part he simply acknowledged that the missionaries had won a significant number of converts and recorded some of their notable successes, such as their conversion of Daimyō Ōmura Sumitada (1533-1587) and his subjects, and their establishment of Nagasaki as a Christian city.[38]

On one occasion Cocks went beyond this neutrality and obliquely expressed support for the missionaries' proselytisation. In a 1620 letter to the Company, he commented that he did "not rejoyce" over the Shogunates' wholesale destruction of the churches and other Christian sites in Nagasaki for he wished "all Japon were Christians."[39] Though he supported the expulsion

[36] Boxer, *Christian Century*, 185-186.
[37] *Diary*, vol. I, 335.
[38] Cocks to Lord Salisbury in London, 10/12/1614, in *English Factory in Japan*, 256.
[39] Cocks at Nagasaki to EIC in London, 10/03/1620, in *Diary*, vol. II, 315.

of the missionaries and had misgivings over the doctrine they preached, Cocks was not happy with the destruction of the Japanese church they had created. This indicates that he saw their harvest as in some sense beneficial to the advancement of Christianity and accepted their converts as Christians of a sort. The extent and exact nature of his support or acceptance of the missionaries' work is, however, unclear. Unlike Gage, Abbot, or Purchas, Cocks never elaborated on his views on Catholic proselytisation. However, his relatively tolerant and even supportive attitude toward the conversion of the Japanese is clear enough. Anti-Catholicism did not influence all his responses toward the mission, or indeed his responses to Catholics in general.

His views on Catholic evangelisation may be somewhat ambiguous, but there is more concrete evidence that he was sympathetic to the Japanese Christians. Despite his occasional involvement in the persecution of the remaining missionaries, Cocks' writings indicate that he found the executions of Christians discomforting, especially those of the Japanese converts. As with his coverage of the missionaries' harvests, much of his discussion lacked commentary and consisted of brief statements that a certain number of missionaries, men, women, and children, had been executed.[40] But in a letter to Sir Thomas Wilson describing some executions he witnessed in Kyoto, Cocks did reveal his discomfort. He seemed disturbed that some of those executed "were littell children of 5 or 6 yeares' ould" who were "burned in their mothers' armes, criing out "Jesus receve their soules"."[41] Significantly, he also described the Japanese converts as martyrs, further indicating that he saw them as fellow Christians being persecuted, and not simply as subversive papists being eliminated.[42]

[40] See for example: *Diary*, vol. I, 256, 258-259, vol. II, 67; Cocks to EIC in London, 7/09/1622 in *Diary*, vol. II, 334-335.
[41] Cocks at Nagasaki to Sir Thomas Wilson in London, 10/03/1620, *English Factory in Japan*, 779.
[42] Ibid., 779.

Cocks was not the only Protestant merchant to show such sympathy for the martyrs. Years later François Caron, the head of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Japan from 1639-1641, discussed in grizzly detail some of the horrific tortures and executions inflicted on the Japanese converts and missionaries and was, Neil Fujita notes, utterly horrified by them.[43] Captain John Saris, who led the expedition that founded the Hirado factory, also seems to have been sympathetic to them, remarking that it was wonderful that a group of Christians executed in an isolated burst of persecution in 1613 had in the space of a night been able to convert a "heathen" imprisoned with them.[44] The execution of other Christians, even "erroneous" ones, at the hands of the "pagan" Japanese was one point over which it seems that some Protestants were willing to set aside their prejudice. This did not of course mean they were sympathetic to the Japanese Christians in other circumstances. Cocks certainly did not always get along with them and still cursed them as "papists" when they were at loggerheads with the English. Matsūra Takanobu, the Daimyō of Hirado, whom Cocks mistakenly believed was secretly a Christian, was the subject of particular ire over his real or perceived interference in the factory's business.[45]

Ultimately, all this paints a complex and somewhat ambiguous picture of Cocks' religion and attitudes towards Catholicism. The silence on religious matters in most of his Japanese writings makes it hard to draw many solid conclusions. However, the existing evidence and lack thereof indicates that Cocks' responses to the missionaries were shaped by anti-Catholicism, but not to the same degree as some of his zealous contemporaries. He had internalised elements of the anti-Jesuit myth as well as other Catholic stereotypes, a sign of just how prevalent they were becoming in early seventeenth-century English society. They certainly negatively coloured his

[43] Francois Caron and Joost Schorten, *A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, trans. Roger Manley (London: 1663), 66-71; Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, 177-179.
[44] John Saris, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, ed. Ernest M. Satow (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1900), 139.
[45] See for example, *Diary*, vol. II, 250-251; Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London, 04/10/1621, *Diary*, vol. II, 330. On the Matsūra and Christianity see: Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 107-109, 293.

perception of the missionaries and reaction to them. However, given that he was largely unconcerned with their evangelical activities and rarely addressed Catholic religion in general, it is apparent that there is more behind his hostile response than simple prejudice. Milton emphasises that when anti-Catholic unrest occurred in England, confessional divisions and prejudice were important factors, but they were "not necessarily the engine driving events or the sole ideological influence directing people's anger and hostility." Other anxieties and conditions usually played a key role in such conflicts.[46] Cocks' response to the missionaries does not really qualify as an anti-Catholic riot, but Milton's arguments are still applicable. In Cocks' case it was economic and other practical anxieties that were key to his hostility.

II: The role of economic self-interest, commercial rivalry, and the Shogun's anti-Christian policy

Richard Cocks' responses to the missionaries and indeed to Catholics in Japan more generally were in most cases largely driven by pragmatism. His antipathy toward, and attempts to undermine, the missionaries must be understood within the context of his efforts to ensure the success and survival of the Hirado factory in the face of the increasingly anti-Christian Shogunate and competition and conflict with the EIC's European rivals. The latter was particularly important in driving his animosity. The Portuguese and Spanish empires, already firmly established in Asia when the English arrived, were significant obstacles to the Company's entry into Asian markets during its first few decades. At its inception in 1599 the Company had committed to avoid confronting the Iberian empires, with whom Queen Elizabeth was seeking to make peace at that time. However, despite that commitment and James I's official pro-Spanish foreign policy and push for peace, the EIC's first few decades

[46] Anthony Milton, "Epilogue: Words, Deeds and Ambiguities in Early Modern Anti-Catholicism," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 314.

saw it frequently confronting and engaging in open war with the Iberians.[47] The Company clashed with the Portuguese while establishing its factory at Surat in India, which it did in 1613, and again when establishing trade in the Persian Gulf where in 1622 it helped the Safavid Empire capture the Portuguese stronghold of Ormuz.[48] Earlier in 1619 the EIC reluctantly and temporarily allied with the Dutch East India Company to attack Spanish and Portuguese shipping across Asia, and in 1622 they tried and failed to take the Portuguese stronghold of Macao.[49] The competition with the Iberians during the period of the Hirado factory was thus fairly intense, though it is worth stressing that the Spanish and Portuguese were not the EIC's only rivals. The Company had originally been founded to counter a possible Dutch monopoly over the Spice Islands and, apart from the temporary alliance, the VOC proved to be their main competitor in much of Asia over the following decades. As with the Iberians this rivalry turned violent, with the companies entering open war in 1616. Even after allying in 1619 their conflict continued through petty squabbles and the hurling of abuse.[50]

All of these rivalries had an impact on Cocks in Japan. He had the most contact with the Dutch, who had established their own factory in Hirado four years before the English. Relations with them were occasionally tense, but the two factories generally got along and avoided open warfare.[51] Relations were colder with the Portuguese, who of the two Iberian powers had the

[47] K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London: Frank Cass & co, 1965), 28, 40. For an overview of Anglo-Portuguese rivalry in the Company's first two decades see: Rogerio Miguel Puga, *The British Presence in Macau, 1635-1793*, trans. Monica Andrade (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 7-12.
[48] L. H. Roper, *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 87-88; Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, 43-44, 47.
[49] Roper, *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613-1688*, 91; Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, 49, 60-61; Puga, *British Presence in Macau*, 21.
[50] On the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in Asia see: David Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia, 1600-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 38-45; Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, 11, 49, 60-61; Alison Games, *Inventing the English Massacre: Amboyna in History and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1-11, 29-32.
[51] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 110-111, 257-258, 262-263. For examples of competition and conflict between the Dutch and English in Japan see: *Diary*, vol. I, 26-27, 123, 261-262, 270, vol. II, 60-63, 109-110, 173-174; Richard Cocks to the East India Company, 10/03/1620, in *Diary*, vol. II, 301-306; Saris, *Voyage of Captain John Saris*, 96, 206.

largest presence in the Japanese market.[52] Their commercial activities, primarily carried out through annual voyages from Macao of the *Kurofune* or Black Ships, helped turn their main entrepôt of Nagasaki from a small hamlet into a major trade hub. Thanks to their direct access to Chinese markets through Macao and thus to Chinese silk, which was highly coveted in Japan, the Portuguese were able to dominate Japan's international trade for decades.[53] Importantly, this was a trade in which the Jesuits played an important, if not indispensable role, acting as intermediaries and translators. They were also directly involved in it, importing their own shipments of Chinese silks to help fund their missionary endeavours.[54]

How much of this Cocks understood is unclear, but it is certain that he saw the missionaries and the Iberian traders not merely as competitors, but as threats to the Company's commercial interests. In 1616 he commented that "Yt seemeth there is many papistes in these partes, which would doe us a mischeefe yf they could," noting how they slandered the English at Hidetada's court.[55] In a similar vein he later remarked that the Iberians sought "to crosse our proceadinges in all they may, both w'th greate bribes & trecherouse plottes."[56] As for the missionaries, Cocks believed that they had allied with Toyotomi Hideyori, the deposed heir to Hideyoshi who made moves to overthrow the Tokugawa in 1614.[57] Cocks feared that if Ieyasu had not defeated Hideyori in the siege of Osaka in June 1615 the Toyotomi would have allowed the missionaries back into the country and as a consequence the English would have "been all driven out of Japon."[58] Even though this hypothetical had not come to pass, Cocks still considered the

[52] On the limited and short-lived trade between the Spanish Philippines and Japan see: Boxer, *Christian Century*, 301-303.
[53] Regarding Portuguese Japan trade see: *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1959); Michael Cooper, "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade," *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, no. 4 (1972): 423-433.
[54] On Jesuit involvement in trade see: Boxer, *Christian Century*, 91-104, 117-121, 179-180, 183; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 41-42; Mihoko Oka, *The Namban Trade: Merchants and Missionaries in 16th and 17th Century Japan* (Boston: Brill, 2021), chap. 6.
[55] *Diary*, vol. I, 171.
[56] Cocks to Sir Thomas Smythe and EIC in London, 31/01/1621, *English Factory in Japan*, 831.
[57] Cocks to Richard Westby at Bantam, 25/02/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 59.
[58] Ibid., 59.

missionaries to be a hindrance to the factory's business. He warned his companions to be wary of them because of their spreading of anti-English rumours, and bemoaned that their opposition had made Nagasaki, a superior port to Hirado, unsuitable for the English base at the time of the Company's arrival.[59]

These concerns about the missionaries were not unfounded. William Adams had faced opposition from the missionaries when he first reached Japan in 1600 and his reports of their hostility would likely have coloured Cocks' opinions even before he arrived.[60] His antipathy would have been confirmed by Iberian attacks on the factory. Some of these absolutely involved the missionaries, such as their spreading of rumours about Adams' death and supposed English piracy. Others, such as an attempt to blow up the factory's powder store and the detention of two of its members by a Portuguese captain, may not have, though Cocks nevertheless suspected missionary involvement.[61] Regardless of how true Cocks' accusations were, there was undeniably mutual animosity and conflict between the English and the Iberian merchants and missionaries, with some of the missionaries blaming the English for their expulsion.[62] This mutual hostility extended across much of Asia, with the Company's representatives clashing with missionaries at the Mughal and Safavid courts.[63] Thus in Japan and Asia the missionaries, in concert with the Iberian merchants, were the Company's commercial competitors and outright enemies. This rivalry was the root of much of Cocks' hostility to them. As he saw it, they were a genuine threat to the factory, and that apparent

[59] Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 01/04/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II, 26-27; Cocks at Nagasaki to EIC in London, 10/03/1620, in *Diary*, vol. II, 315.
[60] William Addames at Hirado to his 'unknown friends and countrymen' at Bantam, 23/10/1611, in *English Factory in Japan*, 68-69; Boxer, *Christian Century*, 75-78.
[61] *Diary*, vol. I, 52, 86, 171, Vol. II, 201; Cocks to EIC in London, 25/02/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 46-47; Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 01/04/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II, 26-27.
[62] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 163; Screech, "English and the Control of Christianity," 11.
[63] See for example: Thomas Keridge at Agra to Thos. Aldworth and Council at Surat, 7/09/1613, in *Letters Received*, Vol. I, 282-286; Edward Connock, William Tracy, and William Robbins at the Persian Court to EIC, 04/08/1617, in *Letters Received*, Vol. VI, 31-34.

threat was crucial in driving his suspicions of them and desire for them to be expelled from Japan.

The desire to mitigate that threat and advance the Company's interests naturally also played a key role in Cocks' active opposition to the missionaries, though it was not the only aspect of his situation driving those actions. The need to negotiate the Shogunate's increasingly severe anti-Christian attitudes and policies was also critical here. Those attitudes and policies were bad for the Company's Catholic rivals, but, as Cocks recognised, they were also a potential threat to the English. Protestant they may have been, but the Japanese did not necessarily understand the distinction between the different Christian churches. Cocks learned to appreciate the potential danger immediately after the issuing of the 1614 edict, when he was ordered to stop displaying the English flag because of its newly outlawed cross imagery.[64] On this development he remarked to Wickham that "It should seem these people are generally bent against all Christians," and warned him to be careful what he said around the court, nothing that "it is not good to wake a sleeping dog."[65] His concerns were reinforced when he visited the court in September 1616. While there he was inundated with questions about England's relationship to Rome and repeatedly warned that the English would be expelled from Japan if they were caught fraternizing with the missionaries.[66] All of this, coupled with Hidetada issuing his own anti-Christian edict at the same time, somewhat spooked Cocks. He expressed his concerns to Wickham: "It rested doubtful since our arrival in [Edo] whether all Christians should be banished out of Japon or no, and I verily think that if it could have been proved that we had christened any children with papist priests we had been held to be of their faction or sect and so banished."[67]

[64] Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo or Suruga [Shizouka], 07/03/1614, in *Letters Received*, Vol. II, 21.
[65] Ibid., 22.
[66] *Diary*, vol. I, 171-175.
[67] Cocks in Edo to Richard Wickham in Kyoto, 13/09/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 171.

The English were probably not in quite as much danger as Cocks believed, though his concern about negotiating the Shogunate's strictures was not unwarranted. Unlike in other parts of the world, Europeans in Tokugawa Japan did not have much leeway to assert themselves. As Adam Clulow shows in regard to the Dutch, the Shogunate was the dominant partner in its relationships with European powers that wished to trade with it and forced them to do so on its terms and under its laws.[68] Europeans who did accept or were perceived as a threat to its dominance were made to comply, as the Dutch were when they engaged in piracy in Japanese waters, or were expelled like the Portuguese in 1639. The Shogunate was not quite as uncompromising in 1616 as it was in the 1620s and especially the 1630s. However, even then it was taking steps to pacify unruly Europeans, as it did with its expulsion and executions of the missionaries and persecution of those who aided and abetted them.[69] Cocks had only ever given the missionaries passing aid and between his anti-Catholicism and rivalry with them he had little reason to do much else. Nevertheless, he recognised that the Shogunate's increasing hostility to the missionaries made it more urgent for the Company to distance itself from Catholicism.

That hostility was not simply a threat to be negotiated though. It was also an opportunity for Cocks to improve the fortunes of the English over those of their Catholic rivals. When he answered the questions of Hidetada's advisors in September 1616 by repeating the stereotypical image of the tyrannous, regicidal Jesuits and insisting that the English did not suffer "any of their sect to remeane in England, but punish all them which are fownd with death," he was pursuing several interlinked aims.[70] Certainly, he was seeking to placate the

[68] Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 16-18.
[69] Boxer, *Christian Century*, chap.7-8 ; Clulow, *Company and the Shogun*, 165-169. For further context on the Shogunate's efforts to control engagement with Europeans see: Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 6, 103-109.
[70] *Diary*, vol. I, 175.

Shogunate's apparent concerns about the English's Christianity by showing that they were also enemies of the missionaries. However, He was also seeking to further damage the standing of his rivals by portraying them as subversives who threatened the Shogunate, and in doing so was employing a common tactic. He and the other English had used slander to damage all of their rivals in Japan, and indeed Europeans employed this tactic throughout Asia.[71] His comments in 1616 and others at later dates were, as Massarella and Rogerio Miguel Puga observe, also made to curry the shogun's favour.[72] This was partly done to improve the Company's position in a general sense, but in 1616 it was also specifically to help convince the Shogunate to renew their trade privileges.[73] Hidetada, who had come to rule in his own right after Ieyasu's death in June, would not allow the English to sell any of their new stock until they had visited Edo to have the necessary documents reissued.[74]

Whether or not Cocks' anti-Catholic tirades influenced the Shogunate's attitudes and subsequent actions is unclear. The Company's trading rights were renewed, but they were restricted compared to privileges granted under Ieyasu. Furthermore, Cocks does not seem to have much improved the standing of the English with the Shogunate.[75] He may, however, have been successful in damaging the position of his rivals. Screech argues that Cocks' comments to Hidetada's senior advisors on 7 September were a key factor behind the promulgation of Hidetada's anti-Christian edict the very next day, and beyond that asserts that the English played a pivotal role in the Shogunate's broader turn against the missionaries.[76] In making his broader argument Screech is at odds with the accepted explanations for the expulsion of the

[71] On Cocks' slandering of the Dutch see: *Diary*, vol. I, 123, 270-271; Screech, "English and the Control of Christianity," 30-32. On the Dutch and English using these tactics against each other across Asia during their conflicts see Games, *Inventing the English Massacre*, 18-19, 24-26.
[72] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 163-164; Puga, *British Presence in Macau*, 18.
[73] On the 1616 visit, see: *Diary*, vol. I, 166-193
[74] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 196.
[75] Ibid., 196-199.
[76] Screech, "English and the Control of Christianity," 4, 28-29, 32.

missionaries and he probably overstates the importance of the English.[77] However, given the timing of the 1616 edict - immediately after Cocks informed the Shogunate of the Jesuits' supposed propensity for regicide – it is quite possible that he did have some influence in that particular instance.

Regardless of the outcome of his comments in 1616, the combination of economic opportunism and self-preservation that motivated them is clear enough. And it is also clear that those general factors underpinned many of Cocks' attacks on the missionaries and other European Catholics. However, as with the trade privileges in 1616 the need or desire to respond to specific situations also frequently factored into his use of anti-Catholic rhetoric. In 1615 the capture of two Company employees by a Portuguese captain in Nagasaki led Cocks to instruct Wickham to deploy anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric at court so as to gain support for his efforts to recover the two men.[78] He later employed anti-Catholic rhetoric himself when the Spanish (rightly) accused the English and Dutch of piracy before the court. To counteract those accusations, he suggested that recently arrived Spanish ships had been sent to support a Christian revolt.[79]

This incident is notable since it shows that Cocks' use of anti-Catholicism could contain an emotive element. Certainly he was seeking to advance the Company's interest by countering Iberian propaganda. However, his language indicates that he was also defending its pride and that of the English nation by getting back at the Spanish for insulting them. As he put it, he "crid quittance with [them] for geveing out falce reportes of us."[80] Such clear emotional motivation is not so obvious in his other clashes with the Iberians and missionaries though this does not mean it was not there. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that Cocks' anti-

[77] Massarella, in particular, argues that the English had no impact on the Shogunate's attitudes to the missionaries. *World Elsewhere*, 169.
[78] Cocks to Richard Wickham, 14/10/1615, in *Letters Received*, Vol. III, 194-195.
[79] Cocks to EIC in London, 1 & 14/01/1617, in *English Factory in Japan*, 555-556.
[80] Ibid., 556.

Catholic acts were not purely a "rational" response to his situation. Grounded in economic rivalry and self-preservation they may have been, but there were multiple factors driving them beyond pragmatism and, indeed, anti-Catholic prejudice.

It is also imperative to stress that the factors driving Cocks' hostility to the missionaries were not separate and independent forces. Confessional conflict and anti-Catholicism were intertwined with the imperialism and the push for overseas trade that drove the EIC's competition with the Iberians, at least up to a point. The desire to propagate Protestantism and counter the expansion of Rome and its Iberian "champions" loomed large in many of England's early modern imperial ventures.[81] Evangelical and anti-Catholic imperatives also had some influence on the EIC's founders and patrons, though not quite to the same extent. Unlike Hakluyt and Gage they did not use anti-Catholicism to justify their endeavour when founding the Company; England's push for peace with Spain would have made doing so inexpedient.[82] Nevertheless, many of those men were pious Puritans committed to upholding Protestantism.[83] As Daniel O'Connor observes, they believed that maintaining true religion and proper manners amongst the Company's representatives was crucial to maintaining good relations with Asian peoples and so making a profit.[84] They also expressed some commitment towards spreading Protestantism in Asia, and in 1614 made plans for an "Indian" youth converted by Company chaplain Patrick Copland to be properly instructed so that he could convert his countrymen.[85]

[81] Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 2-6, 55-56; Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9, 63, 71-73.
[82] John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company: From Their Establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the Union of the London and English East-India Companies, 1707-8.* (London: Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1810), 112-121.
[83] Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858* (London: Continuum International Pub., 2012), chap. 1, esp. pp. 4-6.
[84] Ibid., 4, 20-21.
[85] IOR/B/5 Court Minutes (1613-1615), Minutes of the East India Company's Directors and Proprietors. British Library: 202, 448.

However, despite this brief push for evangelisation the Company ultimately did little to support missionary activity until the eighteenth century. Then, as Penelope Carson shows, they started providing more active support, both to convert the "pagan" people of India and to counteract the influence of Catholicism.[86] Even then, the support was limited. While many of its leaders were firmly anti-Catholic, the EIC was principally a commercial organisation. It frequently chose to accommodate "pagan" religion and even Catholicism so as not to alienate its customers and subjects.[87] Even when it actively sought to counter Iberian and Jesuit influence at the Mughal court in 1615 by dispatching Sir Thomas Roe as an official English ambassador, its stated aim was "to prevent any plotts… to circumvent our trade," not to counter the spread of Catholicism.[88] Given the directors' commitment to Protestantism it is highly probable that confessional concerns also influenced their decision to send Roe, but it is apparent that their principal concern was with their bottom line.

A similar point can be made about Cocks. As I have made clear, anti-Catholicism influenced his opposition to the missionaries and his other Catholic commercial rivals. While not the most zealous Protestant, he understood that the Catholics, and the Jesuits in particular, were England's religious enemies. He readily used anti-Catholic rhetoric – particularly the trope of Jesuit plotting – when expressing his antipathy and discussing the threat the missionaries posed to the factory. Furthermore, while Cocks did employ anti-Catholic rhetoric for pragmatic ends, his use of it was by no means purely cynical. Milton stresses that the use of anti-Catholicism for political and commercial ends did not mean that it was insincere. Even when many

[86] Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion, 1698-1858* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 6 11.
[87] Ibid., 2-4, 15-16.
[88] IOR/B/5 Court Minutes (1613-1615): 211-212; Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, 43-44, 47.

Protestants in practice compromised on strict anti-Catholicism, its strictures still held some sway over their understanding of the world.[89]

Critically, Cocks' anti-Catholic views and his clashes with the missionaries fed into one another to fuel his antipathy toward them. As Carys Brown has shown, prejudice and interactions with its object reinforced one another. Anti-Catholic stereotypes shaped how English Protestants responded to Catholics and their actions, and interactions with Catholics in turn shaped the discourse and the views it instilled. Behaviour that appeared to confirm anti-Catholic stereotypes "became "proof" of the veracity of [those] stereotypes."[90] For Cocks his prejudice preconditioned him to see the missionaries as subversive plotters who were a threat to the Company and made him more inclined to attribute hostile acts against the factory to them. Their real and purported opposition to the English would in turn have reinforced the stereotypes about them and confirmed Cocks' fears. This feedback loop no doubt played a crucial role in hardening Cocks' desire for the missionaries to be expelled.

However, while anti-Catholicism was strongly interlinked with Cocks' pragmatism and important in fuelling his animosity, confessional concerns were generally not the main driver of his response to the missionaries. In any given instance there were multiple factors influencing Cocks' hostility, but the core impetus for it was commercial rivalry. As with the Company his principal concerns overall were with countering their apparent political and economic threat and protecting the Company's interests, not defeating Antichrist. As shown, many of his tirades against and attacks on the missionaries and Iberians came when they slandered or attacked the Company (or he believed they had), or were aimed at accruing some

[89] Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 108-110.
[90] Carys Brown, "Everyday Anti-Catholicism in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *Anti-Catholicism in Britain and Ireland, 1600-2000: Practices, Representations and Ideas*, ed. Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 57.

advantage to the factory. Similarly, his criticism of the missionaries in his letter to Lord Salisbury, while certainly typically anti-Catholic, is focused on their politics and economic activities and lacks direct attacks on their doctrine.[91] Cocks was still opposed to the Catholic religion to a point, but it was not as relevant or threatening to the Company's mercantile interests as were Catholic commerce and lobbying. This is in all probability one of the main reasons why he did not object to Catholic evangelisation despite his otherwise firm opposition to the missionaries. Such activity was of concern to clerics like Abbot or Purchas and Company Chaplains like Patrick Copland and Edward Terry, whose focus was on upholding and propagating Protestantism.[92] But Cocks, faced with hostile Iberian competitors and suspicious Japanese customers, did not have the same priorities.

A grim illustration of these practical priorities and of the limits of Cocks' anti-Catholicism can be seen in his prosecution of the friars Zuniga and Flores in 1620-22. As with his uses of anti-Catholic rhetoric, this cooperation with the persecutions potentially benefited the Company in several ways. As Massarella notes, Cocks hoped that convicting the two would convince Hidetada to remove the restrictions on English trade.[93] He and the Dutch also hoped to secure the cargo of the ship upon which the friars were captured , the Shogunate having sequestered it while the friars were investigated.[94] Cocks was to be disappointed, as the English received neither the cargo nor an expansion of trade privileges.[95] They and the Dutch did, however, avoid having their position in Japan further diminished. As Massarella has shown, the affair embroiled the companies in Japan's internal commercial rivalries and threatened their continued trade. He notes that if they failed to prove the identities of the friars they risked being

[91] Cocks to Lord Salisbury in London, 10/12/1614, in *English Factory in Japan*, 256-257.
[92] Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God be Thanked, or A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare* (London: 1622), 28-30; Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London: 1655), 449-450.
[93] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 296.
[94] *Diary*, vol. II, 137, 207-208, 216-223, 235; Cocks to EIC in London, 31/12/1620 in *Diary*, vol. II, 320; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 275, 292-295.
[95] Cocks to EIC in London, 7/09/1622 in *Diary*, vol. II, 334-335; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 296-298.

charged for unlawfully seizing the ship, which was Japanese. This would have led to further restrictions on their trading rights.[96] Cocks likely did not understand the full nature of the affair, but he was acutely aware that failure threatened the English trade and so vigorously pursued the case to its end.[97]

The Zuniga-Flores affair was a matter of profit and self-preservation, but it was not a confessional one. Cocks did believe that the Iberians and Japanese Christians were conspiring against the English in the affair, but there are no indications in his writing that he pursued the missionaries out of opposition to their faith.[98] However, there are signs that he was uncomfortable with sending them to their deaths. He had falsely claimed that the English would be executed and all their property seized if they lost the case, and Massarella suggests his exaggerations were an attempt to assuage his guilty conscience.[99] This is impossible to prove, but given his discomfort with the destruction of the Japanese church and apparent sympathy for the martyrs it is probable that he was uncomfortable with their deaths. While he did celebrate the missionaries' expulsion and distrusted them like many contemporary Protestants, his anti-Catholicism does not appear to have been so strong that he wanted them burnt alive. We cannot be certain, but his role in their deaths seems to have been almost entirely a matter of expediency, not intolerance.

III: Cooperation, charity, and the limits of prejudice

In many of his responses to the missionaries, Cocks' anti-Catholicism aligned with his pragmatism. However, they did not always do so. William Sheils and Brown have shown that Catholics and Protestants in English towns and villages generally chose to cooperate and put

[96] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 295-296.
[97] Cocks to EIC in London, 30/09/1621 in *Diary*, vol. II, 325-326.
[98] Cocks to EIC in London, 04/10/1621 in *Diary*, vol. II, 330.
[99] Cocks to EIC in London, 7/09/1622 in *Diary*, vol. II, 335; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 296-297.

the economic and social needs of the community before their religious rivalries.[100] Cocks' circumstances were different from those in England. But economic and social imperatives nevertheless frequently required him to set aside his prejudices and cooperate with his confessional and commercial enemies. In several instances, this included providing hospitality and charity to missionaries. These included a Basque named "Thomas," who visited the factory on 3 June 1615. He introduced himself as a merchant, but Cocks identified him as a "padre or Jesuit." This Thomas "begged a littell allowaies of me, which I gave hym, as I did the like when he was here before," and then provided Cocks with some rumours.[101] It is unclear whether "Thomas" really was a missionary, but Cocks thought he was and still helped him. He also aided Apolinar Franco, a Franciscan who visited the factory on 7 June 1615 and was later executed in September 1622.[102] Cocks called him "Appolanario," and stated that he had met him two or three times before. On this occasion the friar "desired me for God's sake to geve hym something to eate" for, Cocks explained, he claimed to have just escaped from Ieyasu's sacking of Osaka a few weeks prior with nothing but the clothes on his back.[103] Cocks duly fed him and also provided him with 15 mas of silver plate, money of account used for trade in east Asia which, in this instance, roughly equalled 7s 6d.[104]

These acts of charity stand in stark contrast to Cocks' hostility and particularly his later involvement in the persecutions, but like his antagonism they need to be understood within their contexts. Firstly, in mid-1615 the Shogunate's anti-Christian campaign was less intense than it would later become and this allowed more leeway for engagement with the missionaries.

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[100] William J. Sheils, "'Getting on and 'Getting Along' in Parish and Town: Catholics and Their Neighbours in England," in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570-1720,* ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan, et al. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 67-68; Carys Brown, "Militant Catholicism, Interconfessional Relations, and the Rookwood Family of Stanningfield, Suffolk, c. 1689–1737," *The Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017): 42-45.
[101] *Diary*, vol. I, 3-4. Thompson, the original editor of Cocks' diary, thought that "allowaies" may have been "allegeas," a type of cotton material. *Diary*, vol. I, p3 n2.
[102] Schutte, "Japan, Martyrs Of," 733-734.
[103] *Diary*, vol. I, 5-6.
[104] *Diary*, vol. I, 6; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, xi.

Despite Ieyasu's edict the previous year expelling them, many remained in Japan and they were mostly unmolested. Hidetada's edict calling for the remaining missionaries to be hunted down, and for any who aided them to be punished, was still more than a year from being issued.[105] Crucially, Cocks had not yet been explicitly instructed by the Shogun's officials to avoid all cooperation with the missionaries and to report any he encountered. As seen with his warning to Wickham, the 1614 edict had made him somewhat wary of the anti-Christian policy. But at that time there was not the same need to cooperate with those polices, so briefly showing hospitality to a couple of missionaries would not have been as risky as it would be later. Indeed, after 1616 Cocks was no longer willing to entertain visiting missionaries. In March 1517, when Apolinar again sought aid, Cocks refused to have anything to do with him.[106] At that point he had good reason to refuse him aid.

The less dangerous political situation partially explains why Cocks was not hostile to his guests, but it is not the full story. His cooperation with the missionaries, like his hostility to them, needs to be understood within the context of his broader relationships with the Company's rivals. This was frequently marred by strife, and Cocks was fully in favour of military action against the Iberians in the wider Asian theatre.[107] Yet in Japan direct conflict was mostly avoided and relations with the Iberians as well as the Dutch were more often than not civil, and there was a considerable amount of cooperation between them. This cooperation was generally necessary if the English wanted to have a chance of taking proper advantage of the Japanese market. The pursuit of profit did encourage hostility in many instances, but in other circumstances it required English merchants to compromise on national and religious imperatives. Pragmatism and adaptability were, Games argues, central to successful English

[105] Boxer, *Christian Century*, 331-334.
[106] *Diary*, vol. I, 238.
[107] Cocks expressed his approval at news of Iberian defeats at several point, see for example: *Diary*, vol. I, 24-25, 106, 272-273.

international trade in the early modern period.[108] To flourish, merchants needed to understand and adapt to local conditions and doing so often meant that they had to cooperate with their rivals.[109] Games shows that Cocks made a considerable effort to adapt to the situation in Japan.[110] It was not enough to make the factory profitable, as Clulow has since noted, but Cocks nonetheless sought to integrate himself into Japan's trading community, and willingly turned to other Europeans for aid and advice when necessary.[111]

Cocks' cooperation with the Company's European rivals took numerous forms. These included hosting Dutch and Iberian merchants, sending them gifts, and enlisting their aid to carry English correspondence within and outside Japan.[112] On several occasions, the English even helped their rivals in their trading ventures. At one point Cocks allowed the Dutch to transport some of their goods to Bantam on an English vessel, while another of the factory's personnel, Edmund Sayers, was approached by two Iberian merchants to serve as their proxy in Cochin China if their primary representatives died.[113] Cocks also corresponded with several of the Iberians, sharing news and rumours with them and soliciting their aid to purchase small quantities of goods, a service he reciprocated on several occasions.[114] These correspondents included the Spaniards Alvaro Munos and Hernando Ximenes, and the Nagasaki-based Goan/Portuguese merchant Jorge Durois, who provided assistance to all of the groups trading

[108] Games, *Web of Empire*, 83-85.
[109] Ibid., 83-85, 100-101.
[110] Ibid., 115.
[111] Adam Clulow, "Commemorating Failure: The Four Hundredth Anniversary of England's Trading Outpost in Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 68, no. 2 (2013): 213-214.
[112] *Diary*, vol. I, 7, 41, 44, 47, 86-87, 89, 101, 149-150, 265, 267, 277, vol. II, 121, 204. For an example of a letter carried by one of the Iberian merchants see: Cocks to Richard Wickham in Edo, 18/09/1613, in *Letters Received*, Vol. I, 295.
[113] Cocks to EIC in London, 25/02/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 57; Alvaro Gonçales in Nagasaki to Edmund Sayers in Hirado, 11/03/1619, in *English Factory in Japan*, 750; Geronimo de Varreda in Nagasaki to Edmund Sayers in Hirado, 03/1619, in *English Factory in Japan*, 751.
[114] *Diary*, vol. I, 36, 40, 47.

in Japan and was one of Cock's most frequent correspondents during the early years of the factory.[115]

As well as helping integrate the English into Japan's trading community, much of this cooperation met particular needs of the factory. Cocks and the other English had limited resources available to them. The factory only had eight personnel at the beginning, and during the early years they were spread across sub-factories in Edo and Kyoto. Thus, they frequently relied on foreign assistance for tasks such as carrying correspondence, which they generally did not have the resources to do themselves. This was particularly the case with international mail, as English ships only visited Hirado infrequently. Massarella notes that this was especially a problem in the early years as the first English ship, the *Hosiander*, did not arrive until the beginning of September 1615.[116] Enlisting the service of foreigners was also necessary when it came to finding crew for the ships the factory occasionally chartered. With England months away, Cocks had to turn to Japanese and other Europeans, such as the Spanish Juan de Lievano and the Italian Damian Marina. Both were hired to help with a voyage to Siam in 1615, though this was postponed after the Portuguese in Nagasaki imprisoned them and charged them with treason.[117] It was as part of his campaign to free the two sailors (which he eventually did) that Cocks had advised Wickham to slander the missionaries at court.

The hiring of foreigners to crew merchant vessels was not an unusual practice for the period. Casualty rates among sailors were high, so European captains would recruit almost any sailor that was available, with the result that crews tended be quite cosmopolitan.[118] Other Europeans

[115] For correspondence with Munos see: *Diary*, vol. I, 47, 149-150, 289, vol. II, 53; for Ximenes: *Diary*, vol. I, 48, 114, 233, 290, vol. II, 145, 147; For Durois see *Diary*, vol. I, 5ff; Farrington, *English Factory in Japan*, 1555. Cocks' correspondence and cooperation with Iberian merchants was less frequent in the 1620s, and he ultimately found himself in more direct opposition to several of his former correspondents during the Zuniga Flores affair. *Diary*, vol. II, 216, 220-221.
[116] Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, 160; *Diary*, vol. I, 48-50.
[117] Cocks to EIC in London, 25/02/1616, in *Letters Received*, Vol. IV, 46-47; *Diary*, vol. I, 52-86 passim.
[118] G. V. Scammell, "Manning the English Merchant Service in the Sixteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 56, no. 2 (1970): 134-135, 146-147.

were not only hired as sailors but were also enlisted to fill other roles. Saris, for example, had hired Hernando Ximenes to act as the Company's translator during the initial voyage to Japan.[119] In general the EIC was quite ready to take on foreigners. In 1626 it even hired as an advisor one "Jeronimo," a Portuguese Jesuit turned Protestant who had Asian experience.[120] Back in England the board may have expressed doubts about the loyalty of foreigners, and it certainly had some quibbles about hiring those whose orthodoxy was questionable, but as Games observes it would still hire them anyway if they were experienced.[121] Availability, experience and willingness to serve were usually more important than nationality or religion, at least for lower ranking personnel.

Labour was not the only area in which the factory found itself deficient. The English also lacked knowledge about local practices and conditions, which was needed if they hoped to take advantage of Japanese and other Asia markets. When they reached Japan in 1613 the English were still newcomers to the wider region, having only established their first factory at Bantam in 1602. Their knowledge about East Asia in general was limited, and in the case of Japan consisted only of scraps gleaned from a few translated Jesuit letters and other patchy sources.[122] To make up for their ignorance they needed to pursue friendly relations with local peoples as well as more established European rivals.[123] In Japan the factory could turn to Adams for much of the advice it needed. But the Dutch and the Iberians were also valuable guides on Japanese culture and commerce, as well as useful sources of news.[124] Cocks certainly appreciated this

[119] Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 104.
[120] IOR/B/10 Court Minutes (1625-1626): 222-223, 241, 355; IOR/B/11 Court Minutes (1626-1627): 96, 172-173; "Jeronimo" was not the only Portuguese employee or recorded in the Company's court books from that year. Several Portuguese sailors who wished to leave the Company's service after four years are also mentioned at IOR/B/11 Court Minutes (1626-1627): 227-228.
[121] Games, *Web of Empire*, 93-95, 98. For an example of the Company questioning the orthodoxy of a prospective employee, in this case Anthony Varnworthy, an English merchant who had lived in Mexico for six or seven years, see IOR/B/8 Court Minutes (1623-1624): 405-406.
[122] On the English's limited knowledge of Japan see: Nandini Das, "Encounter as Process: England and Japan in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2016): 1343-1368; Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 64-71.
[123] Games, *Web of Empire*, 87-88, 110-111.
[124] Ibid., 111.

and accordingly promoted friendly intercourse with them, advising Wickham that when he was managing the sub-factory in Edo he should "use both Duche, Spaniardes, and Portingalls kindly … and learne from them what yow can."[125] This was advice Cocks himself endeavoured to follow, as seen with his correspondence with and entertainment of foreign merchants.

Cocks' entertainment of the two missionaries fits within this framework of cooperating with rivals to make up for limitations in the factory's resources and knowledge. The missionaries were simply two of the many visitors he entertained as part of his efforts to make potentially useful connections, acquire information, and learn the latest news. Cocks' entertainment of the two men may not have provided him with any substantive commercial connections, but they did produce some intelligence. In the first case rumours about the Daimyō of Satsuma (Shimazu Tadatsune) and in the second news about the siege of Osaka. Cocks could not necessarily have known if the two men would bring any meaningful benefit to the Company, but the possibility was certainly there. He was for the most part a practical man and made a habit of trying to take advantage of opportunities when they presented themselves. In some cases that meant slandering the missionaries or handing them over to the Shogun for execution; in others it meant entertaining them.

However, while pragmatism was central to Cocks' conviviality toward the Company's rivals, those relationships were not all purely self-interested. Some developed into genuine friendships, and Games highlights Cocks' relationship with the lead Chinese merchant Li Tan (called Andrea Dittis by Cocks) as one example.[126] It is also likely that Cocks became friends with the Portuguese/Goan merchant Jorge Durois, given the great frequency with which they corresponded and sent each other gifts of fruit, conserves, wax, clothing, and gardening

[125] Cocks to Richard Wickham, 01/1614, in *Diary*, vol. II, 261.
[126] Games, *Web of Empire*, 111.

supplies.[127] The lack of surviving letters between Cocks and Durois makes their friendship difficult to confirm, but it certainly would not be unusual for the period. Catholics and Protestants developed genuine friendships in England throughout the early modern period, and they could and did help each other because of those social bonds as well as because it was pragmatic to do so. Brown has highlighted this point in her study of the militant Catholic Rookwoods, who enjoyed close friendly relationships with their Protestant neighbours in early eighteenth-century Stanningfield.[128] She notes that "economic practicality combined inextricably with the need to be a good Christian and neighbour appears in Stanningfield to have drawn individuals towards a much friendlier approach to their Catholic neighbours."[129]

Cocks would not of course have been friends with the two missionaries he briefly entertained; his interactions with them were too limited for that. But this did not necessarily matter when it came to giving them entertainment and aid. In early modern England, hospitality, the entertainment of visitors with food, drink and accommodation, was to be offered equally to all, regardless of their wealth or familiarity, at least in theory.[130] Felicity Heal has argued that this ideal was not always adhered to, and indeed that from the late sixteenth century private hospitality was increasingly denied to poor and unfamiliar visitors.[131] However, the ideal remained and was regularly espoused in literature throughout the period.[132] Charitable giving, providing alms to the poor and needy, was also a Christian duty throughout the period. The perceptions of that duty had changed after the Reformation, with the link between such good works and salvation having been officially disavowed.[133] But charitable giving remained an

[127] For examples from June to December 1615 see *Diary*, vol. I, 5-7, 11, 17, 23, 26, 29, 32, 37, 41, 54, 62, 64-65, 70, 75-77, 79-80, 82, 89.
[128] Brown, "Interconfessional Relations," 39-40.
[129] Ibid., 45.
[130] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3-4.
[131] Ibid., 217-220, 394-403.
[132] Ibid., 220, 402-403.
[133] Brian Pullan, "Catholics, Protestants, and the Poor in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 3 (2005): 447.

important part of English culture as it continued to be espoused as a godly duty and many still saw it as a path to heaven.[134] Similarly, while much charity was increasingly administered through public institutions, private giving remained popular in England.[135]

Thus, Cocks had a cultural imperative to provide hospitality to visitors, though the extent to which it influenced his entertainment of the friars is unclear. Such hospitality was comparatively unusual. Hospitable relations between Protestant and Catholic neighbours were comparatively common, but Catholic foreigners and strangers were generally treated with far more suspicion and hostility than locals.[136] Cocks had lived and worked with foreign Catholics in Bayonne for almost a decade and so was not as averse to them as some of his countrymen.[137] Nevertheless, while hospitality customs likely had some influence on his decision to aid the visiting friars, that assistance was almost certainly not an act of pure charity. Like his hostile acts, it was driven by multiple factors. As with the Rookwoods in Stanningfield, and many other cases back in England, economic self-interest as well as social and cultural norms and needs drove him to put aside his prejudice and "get along" with his nominal (and sometimes actual) enemies.

Conclusion

Richard Cocks' varied responses to the missionaries in Japan featured many of the tropes employed or referenced by Abbot, Purchas, Heylyn, Gage and dozens of other English Protestant writers. But in many ways his perspective and actions were markedly different from

[134] Susan Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth-Century London," *Past & Present* 103 (1984): 106; Ian W. Archer, "The Charity of Early Modern Londoners," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 226-229.
[135] "The Charity of Early Modern Londoners," 238-243.
[136] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England. 1500-1700* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 141.
[137] On the length of time Cocks spent in Bayonne see: Massarella, "Early Career of Richard Cocks," 10-12, 38.

those of the clerics in England. Like them and many loyal Englishmen he was quick to employ anti-Catholic rhetoric, and its strictures naturally made him suspicious of the missionaries. However, Cocks was a merchant, not a divine. Confessional divisions were important to him, but his primary concern was usually to ensure that he and the Company both survived and thrived in Japan. His focus was thus primarily on the missionaries' potential to threaten the Company, and not on the proselytisation that usually concerned ordained authors. He was not obviously concerned about the spread of "false" doctrine and was relatively tolerant of Catholics, showing sympathy to those facing martyrdom and cooperating with others when necessary. Anti-Catholicism was ubiquitous in seventeenth-century England, but there were many kinds of Protestants, and that discourse was only one of many factors shaping their attitudes. Social, economic, and other cultural concerns, could all influence individual responses, depending on their context.

Cocks' circumstances played a key role in driving his attitudes toward and engagements with the missionaries. This is true, to an extent, of all the men examined in this thesis. However, Cocks provides the clearest example of how important context was in shaping Protestant responses to the missions and Catholicism more generally. The need to negotiate the Shogunate's rising hostility to Christianity and the rivalry with other Europeans, and the need to manage the Company's limited resources all influenced his approach. Many times, the complex and changing situation in Japan and Asia saw economic imperatives align with his anti-Catholicism, leading him to heinously attack the missionaries. But in others it meant that he had to put his antipathy aside for the good of the Company and cooperate with his confessional rivals, including the missionaries. Cocks' precise motivation for attacking or aiding the missionaries in any given instance is impossible to discern. However, it is clear that while he was anti-Catholic, he was also a pragmatic man who sought to adapt to the situations he faced.

Conclusion

While Rome's attempts to spread Catholicism in Spanish America, Japan and other "heathen" countries may not have been a major concern for most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English Protestants, there were those for whom the missions were of interest. Some divines discussed their efficacy and challenged Catholic authors' claims about their success. Travellers too occasionally addressed the labours of Jesuits and friars they encountered. This thesis has considered how several Protestants responded to the missions and has taken note of both the common arguments that repeatedly appeared in their writings, and how and why their approaches could vary. This analysis has not been comprehensive, and indeed it could not be. Covering every English Protestant assessment of the missions from the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration would require a work far longer than this thesis. However, between the five main case studies and the dozens of other authors and travellers considered throughout this thesis, several patterns do emerge. The same criticisms of the missions and missionaries were repeated by multiple authors, and their responses were typically grounded in the standard tropes and mythology of anti-Catholicism. However, while usually hostile in at least some capacity, responses were hardly uniform. Arguments varied, often in quite subtle ways, and some Protestants were more critical than others. Some even highlighted positive aspects of the missions and missionaries and indeed treated them kindly when they interacted. Throughout this thesis I have sought to show that the way Protestants represented or interacted with the missions and missionaries in a given instance was shaped by their individual loyalties, beliefs, objectives and circumstances. Anti-Catholicism dominated many of these responses, but attitudes to the missions, like attitudes to Catholicism in general, were contingent on individual ideology and circumstance.

Historians have made it clear that anti-Catholic discourse in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was built from a common mythology and set of stereotypes that were continuously reiterated and reinterpreted through the years.[1] This broader trend held true for responses to the missions, with authors drawing a stock collection of tropes and arguments when discussing them. They commonly claimed that Rome's harvest was far less substantial or successful than reported. As previously shown by Gregory Murry the "tears of the Indians" narrative was widely invoked to do this.[2] The stories of how Spanish cruelty and misbehaviour had driven the surviving Amerindians to reject Christ provided a ready rebuttal to Catholic claims, as well a useful tool with which to attack Spain. Another common argument was that the missionaries were not actually spreading proper Christianity. In line with the wider Protestant claim that Catholicism was an error-riddled anti-religion, authors argued that proselytes were merely being taught another form of idolatry which imparted little to no salvific benefit.

Claims that the missionaries were lax in their proselytisation were also repeated, with the mass baptism of uninstructed converts drawing particular condemnation. In a similar vein the friars and Jesuits were accused of exploiting the ignorant proselytes to feed their avarice. Such claims reflected another anti-Catholic staple, the accusation that the Catholic clergy kept the laity in ignorance for their own benefit. Indeed, much of the coverage of the missionaries themselves reflected common stereotypes, with the standard accusations of ambition, material excess, worldliness, and the violation of religious vows being frequently deployed. As regards the Jesuits, the ubiquitous accusations of plotting and interference in the affairs of independent

[1] Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 131-132; Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Crust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), 74-79; Colin Haydon, "'I Love My King and My Country, but a Roman Catholic I Hate': Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*, ed. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33-38.
[2] Gregory Murry, "'Tears of the Indians' or Superficial Conversion? José De Acosta, the Black Legend, and Spanish Evangelization in the New World," *The Catholic Historical Review* (2013): 30-32.

states also appeared frequently. Abbot, Purchas, Heylyn, Gage, and a host of others employed versions of these arguments and tropes when responding to the missions. Even Cocks, who had little to say on Catholic proselytisation, briefly referenced their spreading of error and invoked many of the common anti-Jesuit stereotypes.

However, just as responses to Catholicism more broadly could vary significantly from the conventional tropes, so too did different authors have their own approaches to the missions. For all their similarities, Abbot, Purchas, Heylyn, Gage and other divines did not use identical suites of arguments and tropes. Furthermore, the criticism of Catholic proselytisation which dominated most clerical discussions of the missions was largely absent from the writings of the merchant Cocks. Beyond the differences in arguments, there were also some cases where Protestants identified positive traits in the missions and missionaries. Abbot acknowledged that the missionaries were spreading a few fundamentals amidst much error, and Purchas went further by declaring that some Christianity was better than no Christianity. He also accepted that the missionaries were laying the foundation for the eventual spread of Protestantism. Gage similarly departed from his otherwise scathing assault on the missionaries to highlight the initial zeal of some of them, and to show that a few were genuinely virtuous. He naturally also portrayed his own efforts in a much better light than those of the other friars. Some Protestants were even more willing to limit their criticism and presented the missions in a largely positive light. Heylyn, at least in his later writings, accepted and even applauded Rome's harvests in the Americas, and Cocks too indicated that while he did not appreciate the missionaries' political activities in Japan, he was in favour of their evangelical efforts. He was likewise willing on two known occasions to provide hospitality to visiting missionaries who sought his aid.

As the proceeding chapters have shown, this variation in responses was driven by a range of potential factors. Ubiquitous though it was, anti-Catholicism was not the only animus shaping

Protestant engagement with Catholicism, as Anthony Milton has made very clear, and this holds true for the missions.[3] Religious ideology, political and social context, economic need, friendships, and a host of other concerns could all shape how Protestants approached Rome's evangelical efforts, just as they did their responses to other elements of the old religion.[4] Calvinist or Puritan authors generally expressed critical views that aligned with conventional anti-Catholic dogma. However, those with doctrinal positions closer to Catholicism, like Heylyn after his turn to Laudianism, were unsurprisingly far less critical of Rome than hotter Protestants like Purchas and Abbot. Beyond general doctrinal alignment, the particular beliefs of individuals could also mollify the typical criticisms. This was the case with Purchas' wish for a global Protestant flock and his belief that Rome's missions would help bring that world about.

The aims and intent of a given work and its author, as well as the audience they were targeting, were also important factors. Abbot's focus in his polemical work was naturally on undermining his opponents' arguments and so hopefully dissuading any would-be apostates. He thus generally took a largely uncompromising approach, though was able to moderate his position when it was advantageous. In a similar vein, Gage was incentivised to take a hard line to demonstrate the sincerity of his conversion and show his loyalty to Parliament and the Puritans. The need to promote and justify Protestant evangelisation and imperialism gave him further reason to present the missions as devastating and damaging for the Amerindians. Abbot and Heylyn's geographies, by contrast, were more general works. They were not trying to promote imperialism or directly attack Catholicism, and thus there was less need for a strict anti-Catholic line.

[3] Anthony Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance: The Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism," in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 110.
[4] Ibid., 85-110.

Similarly, those whose wider concerns were practical and financial, like Cocks and the other East India Company merchants, naturally had a different approach to the Catholic missions from divines who were primarily concerned with upholding true religion. For clerics like Abbot, Purchas, Hakluyt and Gage who were both opposed to Catholicism and actively invested in seeing "heathen peoples" brought to Christianity, the impact and efficacy of Catholic proselytisation was a point of major concern. But for a merchant like Cocks, the missionaries' spreading of idolatry was less important than their real or imagined interference in the Company's trade, which thus occupied the bulk of his coverage.

The shifting political and religious environment Cocks found himself in was also crucial in shaping his particular response, just as it was for Protestants engaging with Catholics at a local level in England.[5] For Cocks the Shogunate's violent opposition to the missions meant that upholding conventional anti-Catholic opposition to the missionaries was both necessary for the Company's survival, and potentially beneficial. Indulging in anti-Catholic prejudice was similarly the pragmatic choice for Gage, who, as a new convert, was naturally under suspicion. However, in different circumstances disregarding confessional divisions was the more pragmatic option. Cocks frequently found it necessary or at least beneficial to put his prejudices aside and cooperate with his Catholic rivals and even on occasion with some of the missionaries.

Such cooperation was not always purely the result of pragmatism. As dominant as religious identities and the prejudices that went with them could be, personal loyalties and old friendships could outweigh them. Cocks' cooperation with some of the Iberian merchants in

[5] William J. Sheils, "'Getting on' and 'Getting Along' in Parish and Town: Catholics and Their Neighbours in England," in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c.1570-1720*, ed. Benjamin J. Kaplan, et al. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009); Carys Brown, "Militant Catholicism, Interconfessional Relations, and the Rookwood Family of Stanningfield, Suffolk, c. 1689–1737," *The Historical Journal* 60, no. 1 (2017); "Everyday Anti-Catholicism in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *Anti-Catholicism in Britain and Ireland, 1600-2000: Practices, Representations and Ideas*, ed. Claire Gheeraert-Graffeuille and Geraldine Vaughan (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020).

Nagasaki may in part have been the result of such relationships, and this was almost certainly the case with Gage's positive depictions of some of his Dominican comrades. There were still other factors beyond these that helped drive moderation in the responses to the missions. Other social and cultural obligations, such as the dictates of hospitality, could help drive toleration and cooperation, as they seem to have done with Cocks.

Over the last three quarters of a century historians have developed an increasingly clear understanding of anti-Catholicism. They have revealed that while many of its core tropes, arguments and mythology were consistent, their meanings could differ markedly between individuals, and their intensity, application and impact varied geographically and across time. It is increasingly apparent that Protestant responses to Catholicism and its adherents were contingent on circumstance and world view. As Milton recently argued, for historians to properly understand anti-Catholicism they must "situate every incident or example of [it]—whether written or acted—in the immediate context of broader belief systems, polemical circumstances, political developments, the religiosities of the individuals concerned, and the treatment and behaviour of Roman Catholics themselves."[6] I have endeavoured to do just this with my analysis of responses to the missions, and I have shown that their nature was equally contingent on circumstance and world view. Each of the five main Protestants analysed in this thesis, and the myriad of others touched on throughout, shared many common ideas, but each responded in their own unique and at times ambiguous ways. Their responses highlight how Protestant attitudes and responses to Catholics could vary at the personal level, and even on a case-by-case basis for those individuals. Anti-Catholicism may have been all-pervasive, but in any given instance its core tropes and mythology were deployed, reinterpreted, or disregarded

[6] Anthony Milton, "Epilogue: Words, Deeds and Ambiguities in Early Modern Anti-Catholicism," in *Against Popery: Britain, Empire, and Anti-Catholicism*, ed. Evan Haefeli (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 317.

based on an individual's needs, loyalties and the context in which they were writing about or interacting with Catholics.

There is still much that can be done to further improve our understanding of Protestant responses to the missions. There are certainly other authors from the period covered by this thesis who could be discussed, but it is unclear if this would be valuable beyond filling out the catalogue of different attitudes and arguments. A more fruitful project would be to examine responses from the latter half of the seventeenth century and beyond, when English Protestants began sending out their own missions. During the period covered by this thesis such missions were little more than dreams and plans, with only a few scattered individuals like John Elliot in Massachusetts Bay in the 1660s making any attempts at preaching. However, Protestant missionaries became more active in the eighteenth century, and reached their peak in the nineteenth. It could be illuminating to examine how responses to Rome's evangelical efforts shifted in these later periods when Protestants were in direct competition with Catholic missionaries. Given the continued prevalence of anti-Catholicism into the twentieth century, it is likely that English Protestant attitudes would have remained critical, but increased firsthand contact and the subtle shifts in broader views on Rome may well have led to more nuance. Regardless, if my findings in this thesis and the wider conclusions of research on anti-Catholicism are any indication, attitudes will almost certainly have varied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, just as they did in the sixteenth and seventeenth.

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