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Underground Devotions: The Day-to-Day Challenges of Practicing an Illegal Faith

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It was not only difficult to engage in illegal Catholic ritual in the Protestant British Isles, it could be downright dangerous. In his autobiography, the Jesuit missionary William Weston described the risks accompanying an active Catholic devotional life in the late 16th century. Weston related how one layman who hosted a Mass in his home was wise to prepare for trouble by keeping his sword “ready for action.” The layman needed it after a servant imprudently opened the door to an insistent knocking. The maid shouted a warning as a group of pursuivants stormed in. Dressed in a surplice to assist the priest, the layman snatched up his weapon and drove the intruders back, eventually trapping them in the lower part of his house while he returned to help the priest hide. Together, they stripped off the altar and their vestments and stashed the “Massing stuff” before the priest concealed himself. Only then did the man return downstairs to greet his visitors. When they asked him about the surplice they had seen him wearing, he responded with incredulity: “What, I in a surplice? Do you really think I am one of those people who go about in surplices?” The man then bribed the searchers to depart.¹

Although it was not always so dangerous to engage in Catholic ritual, the performance of Catholic pious practices always carried risk. Even when Protestant authorities turned a blind eye to Catholic worship, these were still uncertain times. The penal laws remained on the books until Emancipation, and although enforcement of the laws had often waxed and waned, Catholics understood that a new crisis or unexpected change in tolerance might spur new persecutions, as Catholics in Dublin discovered the day after Christmas in 1629. It was well known that Observant Franciscan monks had been celebrating Mass at a regular location on Cook Street for some time, yet Protestant authorities had not shut them down. Finally, Dublin’s mayor and Protestant archbishop had had enough. After the monks celebrated a well-attended and much-talked-about Mass on Christmas Day, the Protestant officials led soldiers through the building the following day, interrupting another Mass and sparking a street riot as Catholics attempted to rescue the friars. Shortly thereafter, the English-run government shut down this Mass center and other Catholic gathering spots in Dublin and throughout Ireland, forcing the religious orders deeper underground, as in England and Scotland.² There were limits to Protestant toleration. What was winked at today might be persecuted tomorrow.

This chapter explores the challenges and changes in Catholic devotional life in the British Isles between Henry VIII’s break with Rome and Catholic Emancipation in 1829.³ Successive confiscations and statutes deprived Catholics of many of the traditional mainstays of their faith. Catholic churches became Protestant ones. Catholic shrines, pilgrimage sites, and images were demolished. It became illegal and punishable by death just to *be* a priest ordained after 1559 in the British Isles. Those who harbored or assisted priests were to “suffer death, loss, and forfeit as in cases of one attainted of felony.”⁴ The government essentially outlawed the Mass and many other traditional pious practices.

¹ William Weston, *William Weston: The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: 1955), 33-34; York, Borthwick Institute (hereafter BIY), High Commission Cause Papers, ND/11; and John A. Myerscough, *A Procession of Lancashire Martyrs and Confessors* (Glasgow: 1958), 72-73. McClain, *Divided Loyalties? Pushing the Boundaries of Gender and Lay Roles in the Catholic Church, 1534–1829* (New York: 2018), 16-37, 161-62.

² Nicholas Archbold, *Evangelical fruit of the Seraphical Franciscan Order*, 112-115, discussed in F.X. Martin, *Friar Nugent: A Study of Francis Lavalin Nugent (1569–1635): Agent of the Counter-Reformation* (London: 1962), 271-72.

³ For general history, see Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: 2017); Michael Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (New York: 1998); Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 2003); Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Burlington, Vt.: 2014); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625* (Edinburgh: 1991); J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh: 2007).

⁴ Treasons Act, 1571, 13 Eliz 1, c. 1 and an Act against the Bringing in and Putting into Execution of Bulls [...] from Rome, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2, building upon the Treason Act, 1543, 35 Hen. 8, c. 2; Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Such Other Like Disobedient Persons, 27 Eliz 1, c. 2; 29 Eliz 1, c. 6; Popish Recusants Act, 1605, 3 Jac. 1, c. 4; 4 Jac. 1, c. 5; 7 Jac.1, c. 6. Irish recusants were subject to the same penalties as English recusants. Catholics were also subject to a variety of other penalties, such as financial exactions, restrictions on property ownership, public service, and profession, and lost social opportunities, that influenced their level of conformity to their Protestant state church.

Catholic worship continued clandestinely, however, for almost three centuries. In the frequent absence of priests, sacraments, and churches – the bulwarks of late-medieval and post-Tridentine Catholic faith – Catholics in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales utilized whatever resources they still possessed to work for the good of their souls.⁵ Their three biggest needs were priests, places to worship, and grace toward salvation. In other words, they needed to find new means to access and receive priests' mediation and counsel; new places in which to engage in ritual unmolested by Protestant authorities; and new ways to accrue enough salvific merit to comfort themselves that they were pleasing to God and on the path to salvation. The accommodations Catholics made to meet these needs often involved a greater degree of lay participation in sacrament and other ritual than the church typically allowed. And, largely as an unintentional byproduct, relationships between the laity and clergy evolved along with the devotional practices themselves.⁶ Yet as Catholics modified their devotional lives to meet their salvific needs in an ever-changing underground faith, it was essential that they remain orthodox. A major reason Catholics elected to remain loyal to the Roman church was their assurance it offered the only path to salvation. To risk unorthodoxy or heresy would defeat their purpose.

Investigating patterns in Catholic devotional life in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales--areas that possess separate histories, identities, cultures, and languages – over such a long period carries its challenges. Religious and political balances varied over time and within each kingdom and region, producing different levels of persecution and devotional opportunity. Catholics' ability to engage in ritual in western Ireland in the 1590s would likely have been envied by Catholics in Edinburgh at the time while it is unlikely Catholics in northern Wales or the Scottish Highlands would have traded places with their coreligionists living near London or Dublin at the time of anti-Catholic restrictions, persecutions, and violence during the Popish Plot in the late 1670s or the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland in the early 1700s.

Despite such differences, Catholics in these regions were joined by many shared pressures. In contrast to earlier historiography in which scholars investigated Catholicism in only one country, i.e. Ireland or England, several recent scholars have considered the experience of Catholicism in the British Isles as a whole.⁷ Catholics lived under similar laws and faced many similar prejudices, persecutions, and uncertainties. As such, their need for a supply of priests, new places to worship, and access to sacraments and rituals for saving grace was a shared one.

The Changing Role of the Priesthood

First and foremost, lay Catholics needed priests. Catholicism is a religion of sacraments, which are believed to deliver the divine grace required for a believer's salvation. Unlike Protestants, Catholic laypeople understood a priest to be integral to their ability to attain this grace. Priests served as Christ's representatives on earth, mediating between God and humanity to deliver God's grace to believers, particularly through their creation and celebration of the sacraments.⁸ The reduced number of priests working undercover in the British Isles had to serve laypeople in new ways, often from a distance. They had to provide new understandings as to how laity deprived of the physical presence of a priest received mediation and grace and could work toward salvation.

Most priests on the mission served their flocks from the margins, hiding from Protestant authorities while providing spiritual comfort and the sacraments to Catholics and attempting to reconcile Protestants to the Catholic Church.⁹ This story is well known. But these missionaries served the laity differently than did priests in Catholic countries. Although the Catholic Church named cardinals and bishops as ecclesiastical leaders over the British Isles, there were no public, clearly defined Catholic parish, episcopal, or diocesan structures or administrations. There were no ecclesiastical courts to enforce discipline. There was little property or funding. The penal laws significantly hampered priests' efforts to convert and minister to Catholics and avoid detection. England, Wales, and eventually Scotland – each Roman

⁵ McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559–1642* (New York: 2004).

⁶ McClain, *Divided Loyalties?*, 195-234.

⁷ For example, James Kelly and Susan Royal (eds.), *Early Modern British Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter Reformation* (Leiden: 2016); Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*; Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*; and Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*.

⁸ For a fuller explanation of priests' role, see McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 32-34.

⁹ For example, see Robert E. Scully, *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580-1603* (Saint Louis: 2011).

Catholic for almost a millennium before Protestant reforms – became lands to be converted. Ireland, which never lost its Catholic majority, did not need to be reconverted so much as continuously supplied with priests to serve an underground church that was a poorly kept secret from Protestant authorities.¹⁰

Recusants and potential converts had to weigh the costs of Catholicism and of meeting with or aiding clergy. Inevitably, a number of priests and the laypeople who helped them were discovered, arrested, imprisoned, fined, and sometimes executed. Consequently, many Catholics' access to priests and the sacraments declined throughout the 16th and 17th centuries while frustrations and fears over salvation grew, particularly in England, Scotland, and Wales. Even during periods of greater accommodation of Catholic worship in the 18th century, most Catholics kept their worship behind closed doors, careful not to arouse the notice or ire of Protestant neighbors or authorities, since the penal laws were still enforceable.

Priestly mediation and how priests accomplished it, therefore, had to change. Instead of traditional Catholic worship centered on parish churches, many priests lived in the homes of Catholic laypeople, where they conducted rituals for the family and Catholics in the surrounding area. Others traveled in disguise from region to region, providing the sacraments.

Traditional historiography critiqued these clerical efforts for focusing predominantly on wealthy, powerful Catholics. While a number of families of gentry or higher rank certainly housed missionary priests and benefitted from their immediate presence, more recent scholarship has emphasized cooperative lay and clerical efforts to minister to what are typically described as underserved populations of lower- and middle-ranking people.¹¹ For example, women who were members of Mary Ward's Institute of English Ladies – a group of laywomen who sought to aid the mission and the salvation of their neighbors – wrote of their efforts to provide the poor with access to priests, sacraments, and rituals. They recorded how they visited poor households, where they employed “some times familiar conversation, other times authority amongst the common and poore sort, [and] woud first put them in doubt of their owne error, and then lay the Light before them.”¹² When potential converts “desire[d] nothing more than to save their souls, by means of the sacraments,” the women brought priests to reconcile them.¹³ Laity and clergy thus worked together in new ways to make clerical mediation possible for Catholics and potential converts from a variety of backgrounds in these uncertain times.

In addition to experimenting with such new forms of lay-clerical cooperation, priests also had to find new places to perform the sacraments and other rituals. Without churches, priests often found themselves marrying, baptizing, burying, and absolving Catholics of their sins in unusual places, such as woods, fields, and jail cells.¹⁴ The church had always been willing to bend some of its traditional rules in times of emergency, not as rejections of doctrine or policy but as necessary, temporary, and justifiable suspensions of rules to adapt to specific situations. Such deviations from accepted practices, therefore, were not unorthodox.

Even when priests could not be physically present with the laity, their books could provide a type of counsel and mediation tailored to the difficulties of practicing Catholicism illegally within a Protestant nation. Records left by both Catholics and Protestants reveal the sheer number of Catholic titles and books available through smuggling and illegal

¹⁰ Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 51-53, 59-60; James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (London: 2012), 130-57; and James Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2009), 5-19, 261-321.

¹¹ Christopher Haigh, “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation,” *P&P* 93 (1981), 57-59, 62-63, 67; Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993), chap. 15; and “Revisionism, the Reformation and the History of English Catholicism,” *JEH* 36 (1985), 394-408; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: 1975), 206, 216, 224, 251, 282; and “The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism,” *P&P* 21 (1962), 39-59; J.A. Hilton, “The Cumbrian Catholics,” *Northern History* 16 (1980), 41, 58. These characterizations began to be questioned in the 1980s and early 1990s by scholars such as Patrick McGrath, “Elizabethan Catholicism: A Reconsideration,” *JEH* 35 (1984), 420, 422-28; A.D. Wright, “Catholic History: North and South Revisited,” *Northern History* 25 (1989), 120-34; and Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 1993), 92.

¹² Winifred Wigmore and/or Mary Poyntz?, *The English Vita or A Briefe Relation* (1650) in Christina Kenworthy-Browne (ed.), *Mary Ward, 1585–1648: “A Briefe Relation” with Autobiographical Fragments and a Selection of Letters* (Rochester, N.Y.: 2008), 20; Laurence Lux-Sterritt, “Mary Ward's English Institute and Prescribed Female Roles in the Early Modern Church,” in *Gender, Catholicism, and Spirituality*, eds Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen M. Mangion (London: 2011), 83-98.

¹³ Sister Dorothea, [pseud.] to Frances Brookesby, 1622-23, hereafter “Narrative,” in M.C.E. Chambers, *The Life of Mary Ward, 1585-1645*, ed. Henry James Coleridge (London: 1882), 1:28-33. See also McClain, “On a Mission: Priests, Jesuits, and ‘Jesuitresses’ and English Catholic Missionary Efforts in Tudor-Stuart England,” *CHR* 101 (2015), 437-62.

¹⁴ London, TNA, SP Dom., 12/192/46; Sister Dorothea, “Narrative,” 2:28.

printing operations.¹⁵ Letters, diaries, and memoirs written by Catholics attest to the importance books played in their devotional lives, from convincing them to convert to Catholicism to inspiring them to become priests or monastics. Catholic convert Catherine Holland, for example, penned her conversion story in 1664, in which she related how as a Protestant teenager, “my Knowledge of the Catholicke Religion did increase by means of Catholicke Books, which I grew so fond of.” When she finally worked up the courage to confess her change in conviction to her father, John Holland, she explained heatedly that she suffered from a “troubled Conscience, I being no longer able to conform to a Religion so erroneous as the Protestant Religion was, which discovery I had made by reading of Histories which had informed me on the Antiquity of the Catholic religion,” which she now intended to embrace, and nothing would change her mind.¹⁶

Clerical authors eventually targeted their texts to serve a variety of different lay populations, such as women, the unlearned, youth, and Irish and Welsh speakers. The Scottish Jesuit Alexander MacKenzie even published a guide targeted at Catholic prisoners. He collected information, prayers, and rituals into 1764’s *The Poor Prisoner’s Comforter*. In it, MacKenzie adapted many Catholic practices and understandings for a Catholic prison population and told readers that prison could be a blessing if one used the time well to focus on faith, God, and salvation.¹⁷ For example, if a priest were unavailable to celebrate Mass for prisoners, MacKenzie suggested that prior to mealtime, prisoners find any corner where they might have a little privacy and imagine they were at Mass:

There hear Mass in Spirit and ... suppose yourself in some Church or Chapel where Mass may be saying at that Time. Join your intention with the priest and devoutly say all the usual Prayers to be said at Mass, that you may partake of that great Sacrifice,

thereby sharing in the saving merits of the Mass. As MacKenzie assured prisoners, Mass was offered not only “for those who are actually present at it, but [also] for the absent, especially for those who, like you, are absolutely hindered from being at it.”¹⁸

As MacKenzie’s instructions illustrate, priests increasingly emphasized to the laity how they could receive the saving merits of the sacraments without a priest’s immediate presence. This in no way denied the mediative and sacramental role priests played in salvation. Laypeople should place themselves under the direction of priests and receive the sacraments whenever they were available but could still work toward their salvation when priests and sacraments were inaccessible. Priests encouraged Catholics to shift their focus from away their inability to receive the sacraments traditionally and toward a fulfillment of the *functions* for which the sacrament was intended. God was not so bound by his sacraments that he could not deliver his grace without them. When discussing confession, for example, the Derbyshire seminary priest John Radford recommended his readers make a full confession and receive absolution and penance at the hands of a priest. If this proved impossible, however:

¹⁵ Nancy Pollard Brown, “Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England,” in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, eds Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths (Oxford: 1989), 1:120-43; Elizabeth Patton, “Women, Books, and the Lay Apostolate: A Catholic Literary Network in Late Sixteenth-Century England,” in *Women’s Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation*, eds Leah Knight, Micheline White, and Elizabeth Sauer (Ann Arbor, MI: 2018), 117-134; Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants, and the Conversion of England* (London: 2017), chap. 7; McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 49-54, 117, 159-64, 195-96, 249-51.

¹⁶ Catherine Holland, “How I Came to Change My Religion,” 20 September 1664, full text in C.S. Durrant, *A Link Between Flemish Mystic and English Martyrs* (London: 1925), 277-78, 285-86. For further examples, see Durrant, *Link*, 420-22; M.M. Merrick, *James Duckett: A Study of his Life and Times* (London: 1947), 55-56; Myerscough, *Procession*, 247; Mary Ward, “The Italian Autobiography,” in *Mary Ward, 1585–1648*, 122-24; H. Willaert, *History of an Old Catholic Mission: Cowdray, Easebourne, Midhurst* (London: 1928), 34-35.

¹⁷ Alexander MacKenzie, *The Poor Prisoner’s Comforter. In a Collection of Proper Instructions and Prayers for Christians in Prison By the Use of which a Prisoner may find Comfort and Satisfaction in his Poverty and Confinement, and wisely improve them to his eternal Salvation. To Which is Added, Instructions and devout Exercises for a Person laying under Sentence of Death. According to Mr. Gother, and other pious Authors* (London: 1764). MacKenzie drew inspiration from Benedictine and Cluniac monasticism to provide a model for Catholic communal life for prisoners in jail. See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: 1966), 78, 83, 87-88, 107, 110, 145-58.

¹⁸ MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner’s Comforter*, 15-20, 46-52. For similar examples, see exercises from John Gother, *Instructions and Devotions for the Afflicted and Sick With some Help for Prisoners Such as especially are to be Tried for Life* (London: 1697).

Christ hath commanded that we confess our sins...as soon as he can meet with a lawful Priest, or in due time he will confess then; that so Christ's ordinance being fulfilled by means of the Priest, they may be forgiven him. But if man be in danger of death or in such place that he cannot come possibly by any mean to confession before a Priest; then no doubt, if he have perfect contrition and sorrow for his sins, Christ, the high Priest ... giveth in such times of necessity perfect absolution from sin.¹⁹

By guiding the laity to new understandings about how God delivered salvific grace to believers, priests such as MacKenzie and Radford continued to mediate between God and believers even when they could not be physically present with the laity.²⁰

Barns and Basins

When the Protestant vicar of Eccles, John Jones, led 400 armed parishioners to arrest the Benedictine Ambrose Barlowe, on Easter Sunday in 1641, they found him delivering a sermon in a barn to approximately 100 Catholics. Barlowe was allegedly so focused on delivering his sermon that he did not even notice the mob's approach until it was too late to flee.²¹ In contrast, a priest married Roger Widdrington and Rosamund Reavley in a field in the middle of the day near Cuthberthoope in Scotland without incident. One of Widdrington's tenants, a yeoman farmer named Edward Hall, witnessed the ceremony and later recalled how an older man he had never seen before met them in an open field, and "there the stranger took forth a book and called Mr. Widdrington and Rosamund together. Before he spoke anything, he asked [Edward] and his company if they knew any cause why these two might not be joined together, after which the stranger did marry Widdrington and Rosamund Reeveley."²² Even without clergy, lay Catholics soldiered on, engaging in familiar liturgical traditions. The Lancashire layman Peter Croncke, for example, invited neighbors to a traditional "creeping to the cross" ritual in his home during Easter week of 1604. Guests placed an ordinary basin on the floor in a room in Croncke's house, laid a broken cross on the basin, and got down upon their hands and knees and crawled around Croncke's floor.²³

As such examples testify, many Catholics were going to continue their sacraments and traditions, and their rituals are still readily recognizable as Catholic ones, although modified to restrictive circumstances. It is to these modifications we now turn. Catholics accommodated their devotions to take advantage of whatever resources they possessed, whether it be a barn or a basin. And when priests were unavailable, lay Catholics like Croncke – both men and women – often stepped in to fill the gaps, using the resources and the spaces that remained to them. Such laypeople were not trying to assume priestly roles or reject the priesthood. They were simply trying to serve God and protect their own and their neighbors' souls as best they could in trying times. As an unintended consequence of this process, however, the boundaries between lay and clerical roles shifted to include increasingly active roles for laity in Catholic devotional life of the British Isles.

Common to all these home-, barn-, or field-based devotions was an air of secrecy and deception, a new aspect of Catholic devotional life. In ages or countries where Catholicism was legal, much of devotional life was public. Laypeople went openly to church most Sundays and holy days. They processed and went on pilgrimage together, shared feasts and fasts, rang the church bells to mark major events, and advertised baptisms, burials, and marriages to one another. Now Catholics concealed many of their pious practices. Priests hid in concealed rooms and holes in Catholic homes, "in caves in the ground" or in "other secret places not possible to be found," and celebrated the sacraments "in corners," as the unnamed priest did when he celebrated Widdrington's and Reavley's marriage in a Scottish field.²⁴ Catholics hid devotional objects. They sometimes wore disguises and used secret codes to conceal

¹⁹ John Radford, *A Directorie Teaching the Way to the Truth in a Briefe and Plaine Discoverse against the heresies of this time* (n.p.: 1605), A3, 71, 104-5, 190; See also Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed* (London: 1827), 194-95; Henry Garnet, *The Societie of the Rosary* (n.p.: 1596/7), 34-35; William Stanney, *A Treatise of Penance, with an explication of the Rule, and maner of living, of the brethren and sisters, of the Third Order of St. Francis, comonli called, of the Order of Penance, ordayned for those which desire to live hollilie. and doe Penance in their owne houses*, part 1 (Douai: 1617), 65, 298. See also MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, 119, 154-55, 174-75, and exercises compiled from Gother and other unnamed authors in MacKenzie, *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, 95, 97, 100-1, 109, 112-13.

²⁰ For analysis, see McClain, "Troubled Consciences: New Understandings and Performances of Penance among Catholics in Protestant England," *CH* 82 (2013), 90-124, and *Lest We Be Damned*, 109-40.

²¹ W.E. Rhodes (ed.), *The Apostolical life of Ambrose Barlow*, (Chetham Miscellanies) n.s., 2 (Manchester: 1909), iii-iv.

²² William Hylton Dyer Longstaffe (ed.), *Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham*, (Surtees Society) 34 (London: 1858), 68-70. For other examples, see SP Dom. 12/256/71, 12/243/93; Merrick, *James Duckett*, 62; William Blundell, *Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell to His Friends, 1620-1698*, ed. Margaret Blundell (London: 1933), 4.

²³ SP Dom. 14/8/34.

²⁴ SP Dom. 12/240/138. See also SP Dom. 12/238/126ii, 12/245/131.

their communications from watchful eyes.²⁵ Laypeople deceived Protestant family members, friends, and neighbors to engage in Catholic rituals, such as when Margaret Clitherow, a butcher's wife, snuck out at night to make frequent pilgrimages to Knavesmire, the site of recent martyrdoms of Catholic priests, situated just a half mile from her home in York, where her confessor remembered she "went barefoot to the place, and kneeling on her bare knees even under the gallows" to pray.²⁶ They disguised their rituals, such as when Catholic members of the Inns of Court in London engaged in a religious procession through the streets of London in their Inn robes in 1586, appearing to casual observers as simply a group of gentlemen out for a walk. They camouflaged their meeting places, such when Catholics in Fernyhalgh built a chapel in 1685 "on the old site by the [Lady] well" but designed it to "look like the larger houses of the district" to avoid Protestant notice.²⁷ Even in times and places where persecutions were few, Catholics frequently practiced their faith privately and quietly as a prudent precaution, as did Catholics in Dundee in 1776 who authorities described as having a priest but "keep not open door, these having no tolleration."²⁸

In the absence of churches, devotional life centered on the home as never before. It had, of course, been common prior to reforms for households to gather for prayer, but such devotions had *supplemented* traditional church worship led by a priest. Now home-based liturgies and prayers *stood in* for devotional life centered on the parish church. Beyond the home, Catholics like Barlowe, Widdrington, and Reavley also created devotional spaces in fields, woods, barns, and even in prisons. Some left home to go on pilgrimage. Wherever Catholics could gather in relative privacy and security for private or communal devotions, they did so.

Some Catholics reserved particular spaces in their homes or nearby for receiving priests, catechesis, or Catholic prayer and meditation. Wealthier Catholics might dedicate chapels in their homes, as Magdalen Dacre Browne, Viscountess Montagu, did at Battle.²⁹ Catholics of lesser wealth might set aside an outbuilding or a room or two within their homes, as Clitherow did, when she arranged two chambers – one in the garret of her own home and one in a neighbor's house – for maintaining priests and educating Catholic youth, or as the poor-yet-pious farmer Richard Jebbe did when he secreted a small outbuilding amid the foliage of his fields to hide priests.³⁰

Jails also proved to be popular gathering spots for Catholic rituals and devotions. Thanks to the penal laws, the government imprisoned many Catholics together, priests and laypeople alike, and Catholics enjoyed a menu of ritual options in prisons. When he was incarcerated in London's Gatehouse Prison in the late 16th century, the jailed Augustinian missionary Laurence Vaux described the many types of Catholics by whom he was surrounded, "shut up for the ... faith": nobles, clerics, and laypersons of all types, male and female, well born and common, who frequently gathered in the prison hall, a communal space. They read the divine office, prayed, and studied.³¹ Priests celebrated

²⁵ *A True and Perfect Relation of the Whole Proceedings against the late most barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Iesuite, and his Confederates* [...] (London: 1606), fols. T1v-T2r; Mary Ward to companion, possibly Catherine Dawson, ca. 1639, and Mary Poyntz to Barbara Babthorpe, 24 January 1645, both in Chambers, *Life*, 2:466-67, 496-500; see also 350-51. John Gerard, *The Hunted Priest: Autobiography of John Gerard*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: 1959), 124-35; William Blundell to Winifred Gifford, 10 July 1673, in *Cavalier*, 157; Anthony Batt, *A Short Treatise Touching the Confraternitie of the Scapular of S. Benedict's Order* (Douai: 1639), 2, 6-7.

²⁶ John Mush, *The Life and Death of Margaret Clitherow, the Martyr of York, Now First Published from the Original Manuscript*, ed. William Nicholson (London: 1849), 116-22; Holland, "How I Came to Change," 271-306. Pilgrims visited places associated with the new martyrs as well as with ancient Christian activity in the British Isles, such as Saint Winefride's Well in Wales and Lindisfarne off the English-Scots border. See London, BL, Additional 39288, fol. 6; notebook of William Blundell, entry of 23 May 1664, in *Cavalier*, 313-14; SP Dom 12/216/153, 14/17/31, 14/19/35, 16/61/13; examination of Garnet, in Foley, 4;147; David Shorney, *Protestant Non-Conformity and Roman Catholicism: A Guide to Sources in the Public Records Office* (London: 1996), 74; Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 61-63; *Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, (Surtees Society) 68 (Durham: 1878), 246; Jean Baptiste van Male to the Archdukes, 6 November 1620, Vienna, Haus Hof und Staats Archiv, PC56, fols. 399r-v, in Albert Loomie (ed.), *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, vol. 2, 1613-1624, (CRS) 68 (London: 1978), 140; John Aston, *Journal of John Aston 1639*, (Surtees Society) 118 (Durham: 1910), entry of 28 May 1639.

²⁷ Richard L. Smith (ed.), *Lancashire Registers: Fernyhalgh, Goosnargh and Alston Lane*, (CRS) 31 (London: 1932), 1-2; Myerscough, *Procession*, 247-9; also Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 166.

²⁸ Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 179-80. See also Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2007), 8, 142-43, 195-97.

²⁹ Willaert, *History*, app. 1, 94. On the Montagu family, see Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge, Eng.: 2006); see also Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 173.

³⁰ Mush, *Margaret Clitherow*, 145-46; John Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves* (London: 1877), 3:18.

³¹ Laurence Vaux to his former prior, 20 October 1580, quoted in Christine Kelly, *Blessed Thomas Belson: His Life and Times, 1563-1589* (Gerrards Cross, Eng.: 1987), 23. See also Alison Shell, "The writing on the wall? John Ingram's verse and the dissemination of Catholic prison writing," *BCH* 33, no. 1 (2016), 58-70; J.C.H. Aveling, "Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580-1603," *Northern History* 16 (1980), 89-90.

Mass and preached. They heard confessions and spiritually directed laypeople. Jesuits even led Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* in prisons. Catholics exchanged information, traded books, provided one another fellowship, and made contacts for the mission.³²

But these devotions were more than the importation of church ritual into different settings. Catholics' experience of the rituals needed to change as well, as MacKenzie's instructions on how to attend Mass in spirit from prison suggest. The Jesuit Robert Southwell, for example, insisted Catholics do more than engage in a regular regimen of Catholic prayers at home. They needed to change their daily lives, dedicating every daily action and thought to God. In his instructions to Catholic householders, *The Short Rule of Good Life*, Southwell insisted:

Not only my faith and all mine actions ... ought to be different from the erroneous opinions, sects, and actions of infidels, but even my ordinary actions of eating, drinking, playing, working, and such like ought to have a mark and badge of Christianity and some difference from the like things done by heathens.³³

Southwell's "infidels" and "heathens," of course, were Catholics' Protestant neighbors. To distinguish God's true believers, Southwell instructed laypeople to undergird each action with heartfelt humility, perfect charity, and unshakeable hope to transform quotidian behaviors into *Catholic* acts of devotion.³⁴ Southwell assured Catholics they would earn "great merits," daily or even hourly, to aid their salvation.³⁵

Although Southwell's basic approach was nothing new, the context in which he employed it was. As early as the 11th century, Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and Richard Poore, suggested many religious practices to help lay Christians go beyond the expected piety of ordinary lay life in their popular *Salisbury Primer*.³⁶ Such guides to daily Christian living were also common in post-Tridentine Continental Europe, where many authors wrote extensive treatises instructing lay Catholics on the methods to live a good life and die well in the arms of the Roman church.³⁷ What was distinctive for Southwell and similar authors was that these lay devotions were clearly more than an "extra" added on to a regular cycle of religious rites led by a priest. Of necessity, they became the crux of underground, home-based observances.

Although devotions like Southwell's or MacKenzie's required little more than space, many Catholics supplemented their worship with other resources. These were typically objects that were small, portable, and easily concealed. Protestant records attest to the number and variety of Catholic "trumpery" laypeople kept in their homes, on their persons, and in jails to aid their devotions: holy water, holy oil, blessed candles, rosaries, chalices, consecrated and unconsecrated Eucharistic bread, relics, crucifixes, agni dei, images, books including Latin and English prayer books, and even clerical vestments for when a priest might arrive.³⁸ For example, after former seminary priest Richard Hitchmough turned Protestant informer sometime around 1709, he led searchers back to homes in which he had celebrated Mass in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Flintshire. Authorities recovered candlesticks, crucifixes, chalices,

³² McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 41, 51-52, 62-70, 142, 144-47, 167-69, 196, 198; John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 29 February 1600, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, (American Philosophical Society) 12 (Philadelphia: 1939), letter #25. *CSP Dom.* 12/248/36, 43; SP Dom. 12/155/27, 12/158/9; Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 138; Merrick, *James Duckett*, 72.

³³ Although Southwell was a member of the Society of Jesus, his advice wove together threads of earlier monastic traditions, such as those of the Cluniacs and Cistercians, out of which Jesuit mores later emerged. See Martin Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c.1300-1535* (Manchester: 2009), 77, 146.

³⁴ Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life*, in *Two Letters and Short Rules of a Good Life*, ed. Nancy Pollard Brown (Charlottesville, Va.: 1973), chap. 2, lines 92-98; chap. 10, lines 3, 17, 25-29, 60-63, 96-97, 100-3, 125-26, 162-64; chap. 11, lines 85, 108-22, 145-48, 150, 348-56. MacKenzie suggested a similar approach to prisoners in *Poor Prisoner's Comforter*, iv-v, 18-21.

³⁵ Southwell, *Short Rule*, chap. 2, lines 104-6.

³⁶ The Westminster printing house of Wynken de Worde reprinted both these works in 1494 and five more times before Henry VIII's reforms. Heale, *Monasticism*, 57-64.

³⁷ Brown, introduction to *Two Letters*, xxvii-viii; McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, 103-4, 115-16.

³⁸ For examples, see SP Dom. 12/32/15, 12/164/48, 12/167/47, 12/198/12, 12/248/99; London, BL, Lansdowne 153, fols. 30-31; Chester, Cheshire PRO, Proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, EDA 12/2/81v, 12/2/132r; *Selections from the Household Books*, lxi-xxi; York, York Minster Library, Additional 151, fol. 51r.

patens, books, “rich copes, vestments,” and other church linens.³⁹ Of course, Catholics had kept such items prior to Protestant reforms, but again, in a supplemental capacity to a church-centered faith. If this is what the authorities found, we can only wonder at what remained hidden.

As Hitchmough’s mention of vestments suggests, women’s needlework assumed increasing importance as part of Catholic women’s home-based devotions. Missionary priest John Gerard described how when he first arrived in England in the 1580s, he had to take everything he needed for Mass around with him, placing himself in danger. While priests in Catholic countries kept their own personal sets of vestments, Protestant authorities searched people’s belongings for such incriminating items.⁴⁰ A priest risked arrest, imprisonment, and even execution by carrying them. Gerard wrote how women thus began to sew vestments to be worn by any priest who came to celebrate the sacraments in their homes. After a few years, almost every house had vestments ready for him.⁴¹

By creating vestments, needlework became a part of women’s shared tradition of religious fellowship and worship. Girls and women of all social classes did needlework. Just as Southwell instructed laypeople to sacralize everyday tasks by dedicating them to God, girls and women who sewed or embroidered were instructed to “wish each stitch might produce an act of love, which may render your work as meritorious as prayer.”⁴² Because of the fragile nature of textiles, few sets survive. There is even evidence of Catholics sewing new sets of vestments out of older, presumably deteriorating ones.⁴³ But enough garments remain, and there are enough mentions of homemade vestments found by Protestant searchers, to establish a pattern of religious needlework as a key part of many Catholic women’s devotional lives, even in poorer households.⁴⁴

Through the inclusion of personally important religious symbolism and requests for intercession in their embroidery, Catholic women made clerical garments into devotional items to praise God, serve the priests on mission, and aid their own quest for salvation. As Susan Frye has observed, a woman’s needlework products reveal her self-perceived place within the religious community and her engagement with religious issues “encoded within shared patterns of meaning.”⁴⁵ Several beautiful vestments kept today at Stonyhurst College in Lancashire corroborate Frye’s conclusion.⁴⁶ One set, known as the Saint Ignatius vestments, were likely created by Mary Bodenham, who decorated the vestments with coral, pearls, and gold. She stitched upon the outer, visible side of the vestments, the figure of Saint Winefride, along with a supplication for the virgin saint to pray for her, allegedly as a memorial for having received a miraculous cure after a pilgrimage to Saint Winefride’s Well in Wales. Bodenham also embroidered representations of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier on the vestments, likely indicating her reverence and possible preference for Jesuit priests serving the mission.⁴⁷

More Active Lay Roles in Ritual

As the need for vestments suggests, lay Catholics engaged in an increasing number of rituals and sacraments in their homes, as Weston’s sword-wielding laymen did when he hosted Mass. Priests who customarily baptized children or heard confessions in churches also now frequently did so in a home setting.⁴⁸ The absence of a priest, however, was

³⁹ Edgar E. Estcourt and John Orlebar Payne, *The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715: Being a Summary of the Register of Their Estates, with Genealogical and Other Notes, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents in the Public Record Office* (London: 1885), 347-49, 357-58. See also SP Dom. 12/198/12i, 14/14/52; CSP Dom. 12/243/71; Thomas Chamberlain to Thomas Egerton, 16 August 1612, in Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts*, (CRS) 60 (Saint Albans: 1968), 208-10.

⁴⁰ Challoner, vol. 1 (London: 1924), 35-39; SP Dom. 12/184/33,33ii, 14/16/34, 16/12/58; George Oliver, *Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Gloucester, in Two Parts, Historical and Biographical. With notices of the Dominican, Benedictine, and Franciscan Orders in England* (London: 1857), 9.

⁴¹ Gerard, *Hunted Priest*, 57. See also 43, 67, 105, 173, 187, 193.

⁴² Tobie Matthew, *The Life of Lady Lucy Knatchbull* (London: 1931), 119; A. Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College, Present and Past: Its History, Discipline, Treasures, and Curiosities*, 2nd ed. (Preston, Eng.: 1878), 130-32; *A Daily Exercise, and Devotions for Young Ladies and Gentlewomen Pensioners at the Monastery of the English Canonesses Regulars of the Holy Order of S. Augustin, At Bruges. Collected from Many good Authors* (Douai: 1712), 21; SP Dom. 12/164/48, 12/247/3.

⁴³ *Catalogue of Catholic Exhibition of Art and Antiquities Illustrating Catholic Life in England During Penal Times (1529–1829), 13 Apr to 5 May, 1929*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: 1929), items 364, 376. See also items 361, 362, 371, 376, 384-88, 395, 404, 406-10, 624; Neil MacGregor, “A Pedlar’s Trunk,” *Shakespeare’s Restless World*, accessed 19 January 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/ZVdDDvbcZCNYTFQpP4ZZI/transcript-shakespeares-restless-world-programme-14>; CSP Dom. 12/240/138, 12/245/131. For examples, see SP Dom. 14/7/89; York Minster Library, Additional 151, fol. 64r.

⁴⁵ Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women’s Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: 2010), 3-9, 121, 127-28, 133.

⁴⁶ Sophie Holroyd analyzed the symbolism of the Wintour vestments in depth in “‘Rich Embroidered Churchstuff’: The Vestments of Helena Wintour,” in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, eds Ronald Corthell et al. (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2007), 73-116.

⁴⁷ Hewitson, *Stonyhurst College*, 132.

⁴⁸ “Examination of Imprisoned Recusants,” in *Ellesmere Manuscripts*, 44, 47-48; BIY, High Commission Cause Papers, 1624/18.

no deterrent to such rites, even for the sacraments. The Catholic Church, for example, had long allowed laypeople to baptize in emergency situations, such as when a child's life was in danger and there was little hope of bringing a priest in time. Anthony Browne, 2nd Viscount Montagu, therefore, felt justified in performing a lay baptism of his child in the home of his Protestant father-in-law in what he called a "case of necessity." He scooped water out of a small box he hid under his hat and recited a simple phrase, "I baptize thee, Mary, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He expressed confidence based on what he had read in Catholic books and learned in discussions with other Catholic laypeople that this was as legitimate a baptism as if a priest had performed it in a church.⁴⁹

Laypeople began to participate in other rituals, such as burials, in new ways, too, to gain the spiritual grace they believed would usher them to heaven. A traditional Catholic burial service consisted of carrying the body to the church; prayers, Mass, and absolution in a church; and burial in hallowed ground. A priest was traditionally present throughout. In the absence of churches, Catholic burial grounds, and priests, laypeople struggled to fulfill the functions of the rites by performing modified versions of them. In 1604, for example, Protestant church authorities cited Elena Bid of Wigan parish for "cast[ing] holy water round about the chamber at the death of Katherine Bolton."⁵⁰ Ordinarily, a priest would have asperged Bolton's body while praying a psalm, prior to conveying her corpse to the church for prayer and Mass. Because a priest was not available, this laywoman performed a form of the ritual to aid her friend's soul.

The Blundell family of Little Crosby cared for the souls of many dead Catholics for over a century. Because Protestants often refused to bury Catholics in Protestant hallowed ground, William Blundell dedicated a burial ground on his own land in 1611. For well over a century, he and his heirs kept a burial register and recorded the names of every decedent interred in their plot, noting that each person had been denied burial by Protestant clerics. They recorded 131 Catholic burials.⁵¹ At the time of interment, members of the household most likely read the office of the dead, the prayers that are part of burial services, for the deceased when a priest was not available. In a 1665 letter, Blundell's grandson, also named William, disclosed that among his religious books, he owned one containing the office of the dead that he used. "I have already performed [for] your deceased friend," he told his correspondent, "the very best Office that my Book can show me."⁵² Although laypeople may recite these prayers at will for a specific deceased person, Blundell's ownership of the office of the dead combined with the burial site on his land leads to the reasonable speculation that Blundell read the office at actual burials if a priest was not available.

As such examples suggest, the relationship between Catholics with different religious roles – lay and clerical – and with the church was changing. Laypeople like Blundell and Montagu were confronted with a desperate need. They had to make choices: perform a role themselves or leave it undone, hold rituals in non-customary places and ways or leave them undone. The consequences of leaving something undone could be disastrous: the loss of a soul. But the reality of an almost 300-year dearth of sacred spaces, traditional Catholic devotions, and clerical counsel and aid meant that accommodations had to be made to comfort and serve believers, and Catholics in the British Isles made them.

As the number of priests and lay Catholics grew slowly but steadily in many areas in the 1700s, devotional opportunities became more abundant, particularly for Catholics living in urban or industrialized areas. By the 1770s, some Catholics, such as the London draper William Mawhood, enjoyed rich devotional lives filled with opportunities to hear Mass, confess, visit with priests, celebrate holidays, and play Catholic liturgical music.⁵³ They certainly possessed more opportunities than the majority of Catholics had in the previous two centuries.⁵⁴ Throughout the 18th century, some vicars apostolic, such as Richard Challoner in England, and the many Continentally educated bishops in Ireland, such as Lawrence Nihell, began to implement Tridentine reforms. Worship became a mix of the old and

⁴⁹ "The Examination of the Lord Viscount Montague before the Lord of Canterbury and the Lord Keeper taken this 22 May 1594," BL, Harleian 6998, fol. 141; Willaert, *History*, 30-35.

⁵⁰ Chester, Cheshire PRO, Visitation Correction Books, 1604, EDV 1/13, fol. 102v.

⁵¹ William Blundell to Thomas Blundell, 29 December 1686, and William Blundell to James Scarisbrick, undated, both in *Cavalier*, 244-46; Thomas Ellison Gibson (ed.), *Crosby Records: A Chapter of Lancashire Recusancy*, (Chetham Society) n.s., 12 (Manchester: 1887), xv, xviii-xx; F.O. Blundell, *Old Catholic Lancashire* (London: 1925), 32-37.

⁵² William Blundell to an unnamed friend, 1665, in *Cavalier*, 109. See also John Gage, *The Christian Sodality, or, Catholick Hive of Bees Sucking Hony of the Churches Prayers from the Blossomes of the Word of God blowne out of the Epistles and Gospels of the Divine Service Throughout the year. Collected by the Puny Bee of all the Hive, not worthy to be named otherwise than by these Elements of his Name: F. P.* (Paris: 1652), A4r-A6r, in which Gage advocated laypeople use what he called a "Trinity of Prayers" made up of three traditional prayers offered at Mass, some of them "the very same the priest then says."

⁵³ William Mawhood, *The Mawhood Diary: Selections from the Diary Note-Books of William Mawhood, Woolen-Draper of London, for the Years 1764-1790*, ed. E.E. Reynolds (Newport, Wales: 1956), 56-61, 64-66, 68, 70-72, 75, 134-38 160-61, 164, 169, 171, 210, 213, 215-16, 218, 230, 231, 252, 258, 260, 271-72, 276-80.

⁵⁴ However, Catholics in many rural areas, such as the Scottish Highlands and rural Wales, saw Catholicism stagnate during this time.

the new, a combination of Tridentine prescriptions and the devotional practices Catholics had been working with for the last three centuries, from traditional Irish burial practices to the continued popularity of pilgrimages to Saint Winefride's Well.⁵⁵

Although such developments might give the appearance that Catholics could practice their faith without difficulty, Protestant toleration of Catholic practices had its limits. Penal laws remained on the books, and Catholics still could not practice their faith without fear. On one hand, Catholics in the mid- to late-18th century had enough confidence in their government and neighbors' general forbearance that they invested in the construction of chapels that were not public churches but were still semipermanent locations in which to conduct liturgy and ritual. On the other hand, if Catholics became too visible, Protestant clergy typically demanded an investigation, resulting in arrests and convictions under the penal laws. For example, as a 1776 Protestant report out of Dundee, Scotland, explained, the authorities knew about "a congregation of papists or those of the Church of Rome who have a priest" worshipping in their city. Such a situation, of course, was not tolerated, the report's authors insisted, yet instead of the authorities sending in pursuivants to arrest the lawbreakers as would likely have happened in William Weston's time, the report noted that since these Catholics practiced their illegal faith behind closed doors, "they are winked at." Although few Catholics in 1776 likely kept a sword at the ready, as Weston's layman did in the 1580s, or rioted in the streets, as Dublin worshippers did at Christmas in the 17th century, the penal laws were still in force. Just because neighbors winked at Catholics' illegal worship one day did not mean Catholics could count on them doing so in the future. New crises and unexpected changes in public or governmental tolerance did sometimes spawn new persecutions, from the Popish Plot of the 1670s to the Gordon Riots of the 1770s. Even this toleration of a less-than-secret community of Catholics worshipping in Dundee was threatened three years later when an upswing in anti-Catholic public attitudes provoked fears of rioting.⁵⁶ This is why Catholics fought for full emancipation and the formal repeal of all penal laws, a goal achieved by 1829.

Yet after 1829, what then? Catholic devotional life in the British Isles could no more return to late-medieval religious customs than it could suddenly mimic 19th-century Catholic norms of worship. Too much had happened. The long-term consequences of almost three centuries of modifications to traditional Catholic practices was that, over time, Catholics in the British Isles understood their relationships to clergy, the sacraments, the Catholic Church, and even to God in new ways. By the early 18th century, the discussion had broadened to include not only *whether* the laity would participate in fulfilling traditional clerical roles but also in defining *how* they participated.⁵⁷ They often exercised greater autonomy in their interactions with the clergy, took on more roles in ritual, and gradually gained confidence in their ability to work toward their own salvation in greater partnership with clergy and church. Again, these Catholics were not trying overtly to renegotiate doctrine or replace priestly mediation, but through their underground devotions – as ritual moved outside of churches and out of the physical presence of priests – laypeople became more active partners in the economy of salvation and shifted the boundaries between lay and clerical roles and responsibilities.

It is unclear to what extent the clergy consciously shared in this process of transformation. Paradoxically, as in most mission fields, the Catholic Church needed to court laypeople's loyalty at the same time it emphasized its God-given authority over them. Just as priests were important for the salvation of souls, laypeople were indispensable for the salvation of Catholicism in the British Isles. Clergy and laity thus worked together to meet Catholic needs for priests, churches, and sacraments as best they could, using the resources still available, and it would be difficult to turn back the clock on these changes.

⁵⁵ Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 159-61, 165, 182-85.

⁵⁶ Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 179-80. See also Gabriel Glickman, "The Politics of Coexistence: Dissenters, Catholics, and Jacobites 1714-45," in *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent and the Hanoverian Succession, 1714-1760*, eds. Nigel Aston and Benjamin Bankhurst (Oxford: 2019).

⁵⁷ For examples, see Thomas Lawson, *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, with other pious practices, devout prayers, and instructions for the use and convenience of Christians in general* (Bruges: 1765); Lucy Herbert, *Several Excellent Methods of Hearing Mass* (Bruges: 1722).