

FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, SINNERS

Friends, Neighbours, Sinners demonstrates the fundamental ways in which religious difference shaped English society in the first half of the eighteenth century. By examining the social subtleties of interactions between people of differing beliefs, and how they were mediated through languages and behaviours common to the long eighteenth century, Carys Brown examines the graduated layers of religious exclusivity that influenced everyday existence. By doing so, the book points towards a new approach to the social and cultural history of the eighteenth century, one that acknowledges the integral role of the dynamics of religious difference in key aspects of eighteenth-century life. This book therefore proposes not just to add to current understanding of religious coexistence in this period, but to shift our ways of thinking about the construction of social discourses, parish politics, and cultural spaces in eighteenth-century England.

CARYS BROWN is a Research Fellow at Trinity College, University of Cambridge. She has published articles in *The Historical Journal, British Catholic History, Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, and *Cultural and Social History*.



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN BRITISH HISTORY

SERIES EDITORS

MICHAEL BRADDICK
Professor of History, University of Sheffield

KRISTA KESSELRING
Professor of History, Dalhousie University

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM Professor of Modern History, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Emmanuel College

This is a series of monographs and studies covering many aspects of the history of the British Isles between the late fifteenth century and the early eighteenth century. It includes the work of established scholars and pioneering work by a new generation of scholars. It includes both reviews and revisions of major topics and books which open up new historical terrain or which reveal startling new perspectives on familiar subjects. All the volumes set detailed research within broader perspectives, and the books are intended for the use of students as well as of their teachers.

For a list of titles in the series go to www.cambridge.org/earlymodernbritishhistory



FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, SINNERS

Religious Difference and English Society, 1689–1750

CARYS BROWN

University of Cambridge







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009221337

DOI: 10.1017/9781009221375

© Carys Brown 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022 First paperback edition 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-I-009-22I38-2 Hardback ISBN 978-I-009-22I33-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Figures Acknowledgements Note on the Text		<i>page</i> vi vii
		ix
List	t of Abbreviations	X
	Introduction	Ι
I	Reframing Religious Difference	30
2	Public Religion	69
3	Politeness and Hypocrisy	109
4	Drinking, Dancing, Talking	151
5	Neighbours, Friends, Company	194
	Conclusion	231
Bil	bliography	244
Index		280



Figures

I.I	The Fetter Lane Loyalist or a Description of a True Sonne	
	of Rome (London, 1681).	page 38
1.2	The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade (London, 1680).	40
1.3	The Procession or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph	
	(London, 1745).	43
I.4	An Historical Emblematical Fan in Honour of the Church	
	of England (London, 1711).	45
1.5	Dr Sacheverell – An Emblematic Fan (England, c.1710).	45
2.I	Plan of area for proposed church and churchyard in	
	St Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, 6 November 1711.	89
3.I	Woodcut from A Comical Sonnet on Chs Blue Bonnet	
	(Dublin, 1729).	116
3.2	Woodcut illustration of the cloak referred to in A Merry	
	New Joke, on Joseph's Old Cloak (London, 1729).	117
3.3	The Turncoats (London, 1709–10).	119
3.4	John Smith, A Lady at Confession (London, 1691).	145



Acknowledgements

The research upon which this book is based was first undertaken for my PhD thesis, which would have been impossible without the generous support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and St John's College, Cambridge. I have been subsequently very fortunate to hold a research fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, which has given me the intellectual space and financial means to develop this research into a book. My gratitude goes to Cambridge University Press for the publication of this manuscript, and in particular to Ethan Shagan and Michael Braddick, whose comments were invaluable in helping me frame my argument as well as tackle the details. I am also very grateful to Liz Friend-Smith for cheerfully and patiently directing me through the publication process.

The archive and library trips that underpinned this research were made more productive and enjoyable by the expertise of the staff of the Angus Library and Archive, Berkshire Record Office, Bodleian Library, British Library, Cambridge University Library, Cambridgeshire Archives, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Coventry History Centre, Devonshire Archives and Local Studies, Dr Williams's Library, Essex Record Office, Gloucestershire Archives, Hertfordshire Archives, Huntingdonshire Archives, Hull History Centre, Lancashire Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, Library of the Society of Friends, Manchester Archives, Norfolk Record Office, Somerset Heritage Centre, Surrey History Centre, the John Rylands Library, West Yorkshire Archive Service, and Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre.

Gabriel Glickman's comments on early and late stages of this project were invaluable to both the PhD thesis and my subsequent rethinking of it. I am also grateful to my other examiner, Jonathan Barry, for his close and expert reading of my thesis. The audiences of seminars and workshops at Cambridge, Warwick, Newcastle, the Institute of Historical Research, Manchester, and Tübingen were generous in sharing comments and questions, and helped me to clarify my argument. I have benefitted greatly from



viii

Acknowledgements

the support and ideas of other scholars, including Jens Åklundh, Helen Berry, Pippa Carter, Simone Hanebaum, Charmian Mansell, Patrick McGhee, Jonah Miller, Anthony Milton, Adam Morton, Kate Peters, Naomi Pullin, Fred Smith, Alice Souliex-Evans, and Rebecca Whiteley. The ten months I spent at the University of Manchester working on the project 'Faith in the Town' with Hannah Barker, Jeremy Gregory, and Kate Gibson were of enormous intellectual value and were made very enjoyable by generous and supportive colleagues. At Trinity College I have been encouraged in my efforts by Alex Freer, Sachiko Kusukawa, Samita Sen, Richard Serjeantson, Hannah Shepard, Partha Shil, Jitka Štollová, George Roberts, Tessa Webber, and Luca Zenobi. Allison Neal and Tim Heimlich have been fantastic friends; I am so glad our arrivals at Trinity College coincided.

My biggest intellectual debt is to Alex Walsham, without whom I am not sure I would have pursued graduate study, let alone an academic career. It is difficult to exaggerate her generosity, patience, care, and immense insight, all of which have been instrumental not just when she was supervising my doctoral thesis but at every subsequent stage. Among the innumerable ways she has helped and supported me, I dread to think of the precious time she has spared to read not-quite-there iterations of the chapters of this book, and she has never ceased to encourage. I cannot thank her enough.

Harriet Lyon has contributed to this book through her intellectual insight and invaluable friendship in equal parts, and I don't know where I'd be without her. Ed and Rhoda Brown have provided both support and healthy scepticism about this academic tome; I'm sorry I didn't use any of your suggested titles. Sophie Brown, I can't say you contributed much in the way of intellectual content, but you are excellent. Fiona and Melvin Brown have gone above and beyond the call of parental duty in their interest in my project and have been relentless in their encouragement. They are both inspiring people.

Tom Smith has been, and will always be, wonderful both as a wise scholar and as an unspeakably great husband. I may be closing the cover on this book, but I'm looking forward to filling the blank pages of whatever comes next.



Note on the Text

Original spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation have been retained in all quotations, except that the use of i and j, u and v has been modernised. Standard contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded and superscript characters silently lowered. All dates given in this book are given in the Old Style (Julian Calendar), but with the year taken to begin on I January rather than 25 March.



Abbreviations

ALA Angus Library and Archive

BL British Library
Bod. Bodleian Library
BRO Berkshire Record Office

CA Cambridgeshire Archives

CALS Cheshire Archives and Local Studies

CHC Coventry History Centre
CUL Cambridge University Library

DALS Devonshire Archives and Local Studies

DWL Dr Williams's Library ERO Essex Record Office

Friends' Lib. Library of the Society of Friends

Gloucestershire Archives GA HA Huntingdonshire Archives HeA Hertfordshire Archives **HHC** Hull History Centre Lancashire Archives I.A Lambeth Lib. Lambeth Palace Library Manchester Archives MA Norfolk Record Office **NRO SHC** Somerset Heritage Centre **SuHC** Surrey History Centre

UoMSC University of Manchester Special Collections
WSHC Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre
WYAS West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield