

The Pope-burning of November 17th, 1677: Public Political
Display in Restoration London

Jackson Vassar Riley Moore

April 8th, 2025

University of Colorado—Boulder

College of Arts and Sciences, History Department

History Honors Thesis

Professor Paul Hammer, History, Thesis Advisor

Professor John Willis, History, Honors Council Representative

Professor Dianne Mitchell, English, Outside Reader

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
I: London Under Siege.....	11
II: Politics of 1677	40
III: November 17th, 1677	56
IV: Conclusion	87
Bibliography	108

Acknowledgments

- Thank you, Prof. Hammer, for being available to advise me on the thesis by pointing me to some sources to investigate, discussing the topic to gain a better understanding of certain elements of the period, translations, and most importantly deciphering my ramblings throughout my drafts to make it more coherent.
- Thank you, Prof. Willis and Prof. Mitchell, for being willing to serve on my defense committee.
- Thank you to the History Department here at Boulder, and the faculty and staff thereof, for providing me with the skills, knowledge, confidence, methods, etc., to be able to create this thesis.
- Thank you, Prof. Paradis, who got me started on this wacky journey when I wrote a research paper on the use of cats in this Pope-burning (see pg.79-88) and encouraged me to expand it into a thesis.
- Thank you to the folks at the University Library, the National Archives of Belgium, and the British National Library who were able to have several manuscripts scanned and sent to me.
- Thank you, to my roommate Jose Molina, who translated the Spanish documents for me.
- Thank you to all of the friends with whom I was able to talk to about this thesis and let me bounce ideas off them.
- And finally, thank you to my mom for being able to put me through college and supporting me throughout despite all that we have been through, and are going through.

Introduction

In 1677 on November 17th, a large Pope effigy was paraded through the streets of London. This Pope effigy had signs on him displaying political messages relevant to the events of that year and elements that are representative of the same, such as a necklace of oranges or the effigy being stuffed full of live cats. The procession eventually arrived at Temple Barr, which demarcates the border between the City of London and Westminster, where the Pope was thrown into a bonfire. The large crowd that formed to witness the Pope-burning was provided with alcohol and thoroughly entertained by the spectacle and the screams of the cats burning being burnt alive.¹ The 1677 Pope-burning showcases the conspiratorial culture of late restoration London and how the political movement, that would later be known as the Whigs, which was opposed to the crown was starting to become more organized. London was on edge, making it the perfect breeding ground for a conspiracy culture. Ultimately culminating in the hysteria of Popish Plot which was a fabricated Catholic plot to kill the King, made up by Titus Oates in 1678.

The period of the hysteria around the Popish Plot subsequently led to the politically turbulent period of the Exclusion Crisis as the Whigs capitalized on the anti-Catholic hysteria to gain power and attempted to exclude the King's brother James, the Duke of York, from the line of succession. The crisis lasted from 1679-1681 and during that time much larger and more extravagant and expensive Pope-burning pageants were held. The years of the Exclusion Crisis marked a turning point in English parliamentary politics and as such it has received a great deal of historical analysis. The Pope-burnings of 1679, 1680, and 1681 are often used in the

¹ See ch. III.

historiography of the Exclusion Crisis to show popular political display during the period and how the pageants were used and organized by the Whigs to rally support for the exclusion policy. In recent decades a historiography has been formed around the Pope-burnings during the restoration period with a new look at how they fit into the culture of popular London politics and civic tradition. However, Pope-burnings were an annual tradition in 1670s London and the historiography of Pope-burnings only using those that occurred prior to 1679 to illustrate the already established tradition of burning Pope effigies. The 1677 Pope-burning has not received an extensive analysis as it was overshadowed by its larger cousins of the Exclusion Crisis and occurred in a period that is often given little analysis due to it being a time when tensions were rising. The 1677 Pope-burning has hardly been given the analysis it deserves by the current body of historical work. The 1677 Pope-burning can be used to show more than just evidence of the English tradition of burning Pope effigies prior to the discovery of the Popish Plot. It has several unique elements that differentiates it from the Pope-burnings in 1679, 1680, and 1681 alongside demonstrating that what would become the Whigs was growing in power and becoming a unified force prior to its commonly stated start date of 1679. Such points can be shown by using several sources on the 1677 Pope-burning brought to light by the historian K.H.D. Haley which has not been used in the historiography of the larger Pope-burnings. This thesis aims to bridge the gap in the historiography of the Pope-burnings and use the 1677 Pope-burning as a window into how volatile London was prior to the more famously chaotic periods of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis.

The four most important works on the Pope-burnings in the late 1670s and early 1680s are the articles by O.W. Furley, Sheila Williams, Odai Johnson, and Kathleen Lynch. Those four's works are the most important in the historiography around the Pope-burnings in England.

Other works use them to bridge the gap between the Pope-burnings and the events happening contemporarily in England.

Furley and Williams were the first significant part of the historiography with their articles being released in 1959 and 1958 respectively.² Furley's analysis of the burnings is done from a political perspective to find the source of who was responsible. Williams' article is similar in trying to uncover the identity of who was responsible, but uses a different methodology from Furley, the analysis of iconography mostly, and doubts the influence of the Green Ribbon Club. Both articles focus on the politics around the Pope-burning in Restoration London and created the start of a historical analysis of the Pope-burnings using fewer sources than available today. Later works would build on Furley's and Williams' articles to tie the Pope-burnings into larger contexts.

Johnson's book *Rehearsing the Revolution* is an adaption of his PHD dissertation and is an analysis of the Pope-burnings as being a form a street theater.³ It fits best with the historiography of theater in London although it does look at how the Pope-burnings were political in nature. The book details how the Crown controlled theater rights and how the Whigs had to find ways showcase their message without explicitly criticizing the Crown. The book looks at other contemporary theater shows and their connection to politics in order to illustrate that the Pope-burnings were just a form of public theater that morphed prior existing civic traditions.

² O. W. Furley, "The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," *History* 44, no. 150 (1959): 16–23; Sheila Williams, "The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1/2 (1958): 104–18.

³ David-Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (University of Delaware Press, 2000).

Lynch's article is the most recently published, appearing in 2022, and has the advantage of building on the previously mentioned works, alongside the works that tie the Pope-burnings into larger contexts.⁴ As a result, Lynch is able to re-evaluate the Pope-burnings of 1679, 80, and 81 from a different perspective. She does so by examining the processions as a "pseudo-civic ceremony" in order to offer an analytical framework that differs from the prior political ones the burnings are shown in. She argues that the Pope-burnings were examples not of the politics of contemporary England but of the culture of English protestants and their united front against Catholicism. Importantly Lynch ties the Pope-burnings into the culture of the English and gives a voice to the average person as being an autonomous actor with their own opinion. Showing how integral and important anti-Catholicism was in late Stuart English society. She also manages to compare civic ceremonial aspects of the Pope-burnings to a rising sense of nationalism of the English. As such my thesis on the 1677 Pope-burning will prove that it can be included in such a context using primary sources that Lynch did not utilize. However, my thesis will not focus on such an analysis or argument but instead build on it.

Other contributions to the historiography of Pope-burnings can be found in works that are on the general history of late Stuart England and London. The Pope-burnings are typically mentioned in the context of using the crowd in politics and showing people opinions. In those works, they are integrated into the context of what was happening in England. As such there is a plethora of works that fit such a description each varying in how they use, depict, and add to the historiography of the Pope-burnings. Most significant are the works from Tim Harris, John

⁴ Kathleen Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade': Burning the Pope in London," *The London Journal* 47, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): 103–26.

Miller, John Spurr, and David Cressy.⁵ Each of these individuals has done extensive work as it relates to Restoration England that it would be difficult to fully elaborate the extent of their contributions to the general historiography. When it relates to the Pope-burnings they built upon the work of Furley and Williams, with Lynch building on theirs.

Notably the analysis of the 1677 Pope-burning has yet to integrate it into the context of late Stuart England. This is largely the result of historiography of the Pope-burnings being made before the inclusion of several key sources on the 1677 Pope burning, leaving it excluded. Mainly because the support of any given argument within a work can be made with the other Pope-burnings, giving little need to analyze the one in 1677. An example is how John Miller only needs to use the larger Pope-burnings to show the relationship between the politics in England and Popery. He would only need to talk about the 1677 Pope-burning in relation to the politics of popery if he is talking about it in 1677.

The exception to the lack of analysis of the 1677 Pope-burning are works on contemporary English foreign policy, especially those relating to the Dutch and William of Orange. When it comes to the general historiographies of domestic vs foreign politics in 1677 England, the domestic side is bland and lacking whereas the foreign side had more going on. As such more effort into research related to England's 1677 foreign affairs has created the environment for the Pope-burning that year to be more thoroughly evaluated in such a context. Most significant to such frameworks around the 1677 Pope-burning is from K.H.D. Haley whose focus is on England and Dutch history. He only briefly touches on the event in a couple of his

⁵ Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge University Press, 1987); John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge University Press, 1973); John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age'* (Blackwell Publishers, 2000); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (University of California Press, 1989).

works, but significantly he views it through the relationship between it and the recent marriage of William and Mary that occurred on November 4th. By doing so and using different sources in the form of letters from foreign ambassadors to London, he reveals new elements of the Pope-burning and shows its relationship to the state of mind of Londoners in regards to the wedding. Any author that does touch on the marriage of William and Mary and the ensuing Pope-burnings always derives their information from Haley's works.⁶ He frames the burning in the context of English fear and conspiracies around Catholicism and popery (fears that later culminated in the Popish Plot). Haley's works does largely center around the relationship between the English and Dutch, which was most vigorous in the mid 1670's culminating in 1677 with the prior mentioned wedding and the Glorious Revolution in 1688 which brought William and Mary to power. Not to say nothing happened between those two events in English and Dutch relations, or that Haley claims so, but the two events being so important and separated by length meant that the 1679, 1680, and 1681 Pope-burnings were not included into such a context. Thereby further dividing the 1677 Pope-burning from its siblings since its political historiography is related to foreign politics whereas the three later burnings political historiography are included in context of domestic affairs. As such despite the two frameworks developing around the same time they did so separately and rarely intersected.

There are several important aspects of London politics and culture in the 1670s that are important to understand the 1677 Pope-burning. Unsurprisingly, the root of the Pope-burning comes from the anti-Catholic culture present in London. However, the Pope-burning also came from the deep xenophobic nature of the City and its connection to independence. London was the

⁶ K.H.D. Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," *The English Historical Review* 73, no. 289 (1958): 614–48; Haley, "'No Popery' in the Reign of Charles II," in *Britain and the Netherlands: Volume V Some Political Mythologies*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1975), 102–19.

heart of English politics and the City's crowd had grown to become a political force in itself, especially during in the 1640s and 1650s. Parliamentary politics had become significant as Parliament's role in England in the 1640s and 1650s had it go from an institution that was occasionally summoned to a vital political entity in English Politics, especially the Commons with its relationship with popular politics. The citizenry of London was incredibly politically conscious during the period with coffeehouse politics and Charles II's government's inability to regain control of the presses once censorship was lifted during the Interregnum allowing for a plethora of political opinions to be spread. Parliamentary politics also changed in the 1670s with it becoming more partisan over the years as it became divided between the minority opposition Country party which would later become the Whigs and the royalist Court party which would later become the Tories. The parliament that lasted from 1661 to 1679 was called the Cavalier Parliament due to most of its members being royalist, which greatly affected the politics of England as the anti-royalist Country party was unable to accomplish their goals.

Relevant then is the historiography of domestic politics in 1677. There are the previously mentioned works of Tim Harris, John Miller, John Spurr, and many others as a result of the increased focus on restoration of England since the 1980s. More specifically though are works that focus on London and court politics. Examples being David Allen's article "Political Clubs in Restoration London" which goes into detail on the political clubs and Haley's magnum opus *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* which is a bibliography of Shaftesbury and does go into detailed information on the happenings in England in 1677.⁷ But again, there is a lack of work on the domestic side of English politics in 1677.

⁷ David Allen, "Political Clubs in Restoration London," *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 3 (1976): 561–80; Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Clarendon Press, 1968).

In 1677 the largest concerns of Londoners were Charles' attitude and stance on Catholics, the heir to the throne being a known Catholic, the growing absolutist powers of the Crown, and France winning in a war against the Netherlands. Then in November William of Orange had married James' daughter Mary which was both celebrated and feared by English Protestants. Such political messaging is seen in the other Pope-burnings, but they do display the same message as they were occurring during the height of the Popish Plot.

The Pope-burning itself was insignificant in the grand scheme of things but does provide insight into the state of affairs in London prior to the Exclusion Crisis. The tension of the City was on the verge of boiling over and only did not do so in 1677 because that year lacked a proper spark to ignite it, such as the death of Edmund Godfrey in 1678 to mark the start of the panic around the Popish Plot, and the proto-Whigs were unable to make any progress through the proper channels of Parliament. The Pope-burning was large enough that it had to have been funded, organized, and created by some group or individual. The most likely culprits were the Whig-affiliated Green Ribbon Club, which is commonly cited in older works as being responsible for the later Pope-burnings. However, the club's power and influence until recently has been over-exaggerated and the Whig movement would not grow in power until the following year. As such, this event illustrates the Whigs' growing power prior to the Popish Plot and their separation from the Country Party, the main opposition party at the time. Their goal was to exclude James the Duke of York from the line of succession and to undermine the largely Royalist parliament and cabinet. A manner for the opposition to gain support from London's crowds and possibly use them to gain power.

There are only four letters that we know of that describe the 1677 Pope-burning. Two of the letters are from foreign ambassadors present in London and possibly did not see the burning

themselves.⁸ One of the letters is an unpublished manuscript and the other was later published in a book of letters in the nineteenth-century. Those two letters were the sources that Haley brought into the historiography due to his focus on foreign relations between the Dutch and England. The other two letters are from two English men that were a part of royalist faction. Again, one of the letters was later republished in a book and the other is a manuscript. These authors knew each other and most likely witnessed the event together. The English letters were also addressed to the same person. Other primary sources that are important vary. Most of the sources that describe the Pope-burnings in other years are typically contemporary prints that were meant to be distributed around London. The most famous of which that is often used in the historiography are the broadsides that describe the 1679 and 1680 Pope-burnings. There are other forms however such as a poem that describes the 1679 Pope-burning or pamphlets that describe the 1676 and 1678 Pope-burnings. There are also several reprinted letters, diary entries, and accounts taken after the fact that describe Pope-burnings.

There are also the sources used when detailing the state of England when building the context in the early chapters of this thesis, before describing the Pope-burning itself. The first chapter will describe the general state of London cultural politics prior to 1677. This includes the role London crowds in politics, anti-Catholic and xenophobic sentiments of Londoners, civic traditions of the city, events that affected Londoners, their opinions on politics, Charles II's government and policies, and the forms propaganda that were used. Due to the wide area of topics that this initial chapter will cover it will utilize the extensive historiography of Restoration London that has form following the 1980s and thereby connect it to the 1677 Pope-burning. The following chapter will focus on what happened in 1677. This chapter is split into two sections;

⁸ See ch. III

the first section being on foreign affairs, especially focusing on the marriage of William of Orange and Princess Mary, and the second section focusing on domestic affairs with parliamentary politics and shows the state of country party politics. The third chapter will describe the 1677 Pope-burning itself. The chapter will provide information on the context for the Pope-burning tradition and describe some of the different elements present in the Pope-burning and what they mean, such as the location, the date, and even what the cats meant. The section on cats will also describe the cultural history of cats in England up to the early modern to provide context and further show their symbolic meaning since the historiography on cats in early modern England is lacking. The final chapter will focus on the politics of the Pope-burning and talk of who or what group possibly organized or played a role in organizing the spectacle.

I

London Under Siege

The population of London, in contrast with the rest of the country, was very politically conscious and knew of their role in politics during the Revolution and the Interregnum. In the 1660s, England had just restored the monarchy to power and thereby ended the chaos of the Interregnum. By 1677 that optimism could not be found and in its place was a widespread conspiracy culture where London and Protestantism were under constant threat by enemy agents. That culture is represented in the Pope-burning of that year. To understand conspiracy culture, it is important to examine the generational beliefs that had been passed down by Londoners and how they collided with the Restoration. According to Harris there were three main concerns that had been passed down from generation to generation by Londoners; they are “a strong attachment to the independence of the City government; a deep-seated hostility towards Catholicism; and an antipathy towards foreigners.”⁹ The hostility of Londoners seen in the late 1670s and 1680s against Charles and James are come from those concerns.

The couple of decades before 1677 were quite eventful for London. The kingdom was brought to civil war which allowed radical Protestants and a military junta to control England for over a decade before restoring the monarchy. The City’s inhabitants were well aware of the previous generation’s role in those events. Under Charles I, England was brought to civil war over issues of the powers of the crown and parliament, chiefly over rights of taxation and religion. People had grown wary of Charles I with fears of him being manipulated by his Catholic wife to steer England into popery and rely on arbitrary governance, which royalist

⁹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 29.

would call Divine Right. Charles I, like his father, was a proponent of absolutism with the idea of governance resting solely with the monarch. Protestant radicals also critiqued Charles and the Anglican Church for being too similar to the Catholic Church. Charles from 1629-1640 ruled without calling parliament. In that time Protestant fears of England slipping under the influence of Rome grew. Which was further fueled by Charles' toleration for Catholics and his appointment of William Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud began cracking down on radical Protestants which was seen as a threat caused many to believe him to be too popish as he had a harsh treatment of non-Anglican Protestants.¹⁰ Charles during his sole rule raised money through legal loopholes such as using ship money for the personal use of the crown not as an emergency way of raising money to build ships in case of an invasion.

Eventually however, when Scottish Covenanters rebelled in 1640 over having the Anglican Church imposed on them starting the Second Bishops War, Charles called for a new parliament in order to grant him funds to raise an army to fight the Scots. This parliament was called the Short Parliament as it was dissolved after only three weeks due to it focusing on raising grievances that it had with the crown. The issues of Scotland did not go away however, and Charles called another Parliament that would become known as the Long Parliament due to it technically lasting from 1640-1660. This new Parliament began leveraging Charles' need for money in order to pass some acts that would limit the power of the crown, ensure that England held an anti-Catholic footing, guarantee the rights of Parliament. The following couple years saw Charles make several concessions to parliament such as having Laud arrested and Earl of Strafford executed. However, the relationship between Parliament and the crown remained tense.

¹⁰ Anthony Milton, "Laud, William (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

The London crowd, as it has been referred to, is a catch all term to describe large groups of Londoners of lower standing. The crowd is not one unified mass with one shared goal as each of its individuals can hold a different opinion. However, contemporaries would label them as the unruly “rabble” and by the Exclusion crisis in the late 1670s the derogatory term of “mob” was used.¹¹ The power London’s crowd held started to grow in the build up to the Civil War from annual apprentice riots against brothels to instead being used for the political means of Parliament.¹²

From 1640-1642 the crowds were largely in support of Parliament and the House of Commons.¹³ In 1641 a crowd formed around Parliament to protect it from a supposed royalist military coup.¹⁴ Charles I, in 1642, was dissatisfied with parliament in the infringe upon, what he saw, as his birth right to govern England as he saw fit. In January of that year Charles led a contingent of soldiers to parliament in order to arrest five MPs. The five members were warned ahead of time and able to avoid capture leaving Charles in an awkward position as he had military infringe upon Parliament with nothing to show for it. After which Charles and his court had to flee to Oxford where he established his court which was the seat of royal power for most of the Civil War while London was the seat of Parliamentary power. The stage was set for one of the bloodiest episodes in English history with the royalist Cavaliers in Oxford and the parliamentary Roundheads in London.

London had the largest number of Parliamentary supporters with the City’s armed militia, the trained bands, being an important part of the Roundhead army in the initial stages of the

¹¹ Roger North, *Examine; or, an Enquirey into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History* (London, 1740), 50-1, 66, 70, 574.

¹² John Walter, “Crowds and Popular Politics in the English Revolution,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 339.

¹³ Walter, “Crowds and Popular Politics in the English Revolution,” 340.

¹⁴ Walter, “Crowds and Popular Politics in the English Revolution,” 339.

war.¹⁵ The City would rally together to defend itself by building an extensive defense network around the outskirts and halted Prince Ruperts march on the capital in 1642 by having the trained bands form to meet Rupert in battle.¹⁶ Parliament eventually in 1664 decided to create a professional standing army that has been dubbed the New Model Army which turned the war in favor of Parliament.

The economic burden on London from the wars continuation as well as having armies plundering the countryside was not well received by the public causing growing numbers of Londoners to desire an end to the war.¹⁷ Further issues arose with radicals such as the Puritans and the Levelers, who thought to make an equal and leveled society, began to take more prominent roles in politics. Censorship of the press was lifted in the 1640s causing a flood of new prints to be created. Religion was also in flux as the only consensus that radicals and the not so radicals could agree on was that the episcopal Anglican Church had to go, but they could not agree on what should replace it. By the late 1640s the London crowd was divided with some crowds carrying green banners in support of the Levelers or those who sided with the Presbyterians in Parliament who thought to establish a constitutional Monarchy.¹⁸

Following the end of the First English Civil War in 1646 following Charles' surrender to Scottish forces, who then handed him over to Parliament, the issue of a post war England was being discussed. After Charles incited rebellion in the kingdom starting the Second English Civil War in 1647, the Army came to the conclusion that Parliament could not be relied upon to

¹⁵ Ian Gentles, "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642–3*," *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 2 (May 2007): 141.

¹⁶ Gentles, "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street," 140–1; No battle occurred as Rupert withdrew knowing that an engagement would delay them and allow for the Parliamentary army to catch up with them and that killing many of the City's inhabitants would not be received well in London.

¹⁷ Walter, "Crowds and Popular Politics in the English Revolution," 340.

¹⁸ Harris, *London Crowds*, 34. 40; Ian Gentles, "The Struggle for London in the Second Civil War," *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 2 (1983): 281–3.

govern, because from the Army's perspective it had grown too Popish. After the Army was able to successfully defeat Charles in August of 1668, Colonel Thomas Pride led a contingent of soldiers in December to Parliament and purge it of members that were perceived as being hostile to the Army with the remaining parliament being called the Rump. The Army and the Puritans were effectively in charge and Charles was put on trial for treason and executed on January 5th, 1649.¹⁹

During this time the political landscape of London was greatly divided on opinions on the radicals and the Army's intervention in politics. The public began to become more hostile to the Rump as it had become more radical than what the public had desired in the 1642-43 and they wished to return to a sense of normalcy. They set about closing the brothels and theaters of the City along with banning certain holiday were not very popularly received. In 1653 Oliver Cromwell, in what is effectively a military coup, dismissed the Rump and established a military junta called the Protectorate which ruled England until 1659. Under the rule of the Lord Protector Cromwell the situation of England was stable as Cromwell used the army to hold the realm together and prevent it from slipping into another civil war. Both the more conservative and radical elements seen in England were dissatisfied with the Protectorate.²⁰

When Cromwell died in 1659 and the role of Lord Protector fell up his son, Richard. The Protectorate soon fell apart as Richard proved unable to handle the situation England was in. Both the conservatives and the radicals in London saw it as an opportunity to gain power. The army again stepped in and deposed Richard and reinstated the Rump in May of 1659. The newly

¹⁹ Parliament also wanted to have the army disband as it was costing too much but the army, being the ones with guns, thought differently and so it remained, David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics In the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1971); Gentles, "The Struggle for London in the Second Civil War," 283-4.

²⁰ Harris, *London Crowds*, 40.

reformed Commonwealth was unable to control its capital, causing the Rump and the Army to rule with the sword in the City.²¹

The City of London has a deep connection to its own independence and disdain for authoritarian rule being imposed upon it. Traditionally, this had the City protecting its independence from the Crown located on the periphery of the City in Westminster through physical means, such as walls, and with economic independence with the Livery Companies and their royal monopolies within the City. However, in 1659 this threat came from the Rump and the Army, but the same grievances held by the City about royal involvement still applied. The Army and Rump began to involve themselves with the City's company politics; combined with economic burden of providing the upkeep for the army while it was stationed in London, caused the City to quickly become hostile to the new government.²² The heads of the Army in London, seeing that the Rump was unable to handle the quickly escalating situation, and was somewhat stoking it, turned on the Rump. Power in England transferred from the Rump to the Army with the Committee of Safety which, having just forwent the veneer of civilian government, took a hands-on approach to controlling London as it had the trained bands disbanded and replaced by army troops to maintain order.²³ Mixed with old religious tensions between the army, Parliament, and the different sects in the City, London was at a boiling point with its independence under threat.²⁴

By November Londoners made their opinions clear with demands to have new elections to end the tyranny of the Army.²⁵ On December 5th a riot broke out in the City where apprentices

²¹ De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge University Press), 19-20; Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 348-9.

²² Harris, *London Crowds*, 40-2; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 21-4.

²³ Harris, *London Crowds*, 41-3; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 28-30.

²⁴ Harris, *London Crowds*, 41.

²⁵ Harris, *London Crowds*, 42-3.

clashed with some army cavalry. The ensuing violence escalated when a reinforcing detachment of foot arrived. Both sides began to suffer with Pepys saying that a soldier “was very near having his brains knocked out with a brick flung from the top of an house.” Eventually the soldiers fired into the crowd killing at least half a dozen.²⁶ The Rump soon returned to replace the Committee of Safety but the damage was done as Londoners were furious, holding mock trials and executions of the perpetrators in January after the commanding officer was acquitted of any wrongdoing.²⁷ Londoners had proven their resolve at maintaining their city’s independence. Too many it seemed that England might fall into another Civil war.

In January 1660 the head of the Army stationed in Scotland, General Monck, upon hearing of chaos ensuing in London decided to prevent another civil war by taking his army and marching it on London to reimpose order while declaring loyalty to the Rump.²⁸ Monck had his army camped just outside Westminster while he began negotiations with the Rump and City officials. Soon after Monck arrival the Rump had a dispute with the City government and ordered Monck to enter the city and strip it of its defenses and remove the mutinying soldiers that were still present in the City following the breakdown of the army command.²⁹ Monck

²⁶ This series of events comes from a letter sent by Pepys to Montague and goes “the soldiers were all, horse and foot, drawn into the City... the shops throughout London were shut up, the soldiers as they marched were hooted at all along the streets, and where any straggled from the whole body, the boys flung stones, tiles, turnips etc. with all the affronts they could give them; some they disarmed and kicked, others abused the horse with stones and rubbish they flung at them; and when Colonel Hewson came in the head of his regiment they shouted all along ‘A cobbler, A cobbler;’ in some places the apprentices would get a football (it being a hard frost) and drive it among the soldiers on purpose, and they either durst not (or prudently would not) interrupt them; in fine, many soldiers were hurt with stones, and one I see was very near having his brains knocked out with a brickbat flung from the top of an house at him. On the other side the soldiers proclaimed the proclamation against any subscriptions, which the boys shouted at in contempt, which some could not bear, but let fly their muskets, and killed in several places (whereof I see one in Cornhill shot through the head) six or seven, and several wounded. About four of the City trained-bands were up, but nothing passed between the soldiers and them but sour looks.” quoted in, C.H. Firth, “The Early Life of Pepys,” *Macmillan’s Magazine*, no. 69 (November 1893): 35.

²⁷ Harris, *London Crowds*, 45.

²⁸ Monck had a falling out with the Army leaders after he dissolved the Rump in October 1659, Harris, *London Crowds*, 48; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 29, 40, 42-3, 47.

²⁹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 48-9; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 45-8.

initially complied with the orders he was given but soon switched allegiances to side with the City and marched his troops on Parliament and forced it to hold new elections and dissolve itself.³⁰ Thereby bringing an end to the Long Parliament. Celebration of the news was seen throughout the City with great shouts by the crowd at Monck's arrival, a great number of bonfires, and effigies of the Rump being paraded around.³¹ The next Parliament that replaced the Rump was responsible for the Restoration of Charles as King since it was viewed as being the best way to maintain stability and prevent another civil war.³²

* * *

The anarchy that ended with Charles II's return to England was welcomed by Londoners as it meant a return to stability and normalcy. Much of the strict Puritans laws were lifted with the brothels and theaters being reopened.³³ However, the overall reception to the return of the monarchy was lukewarm as the people, although initially celebrating with great fervor,³⁴ were still worried about the monarch and what he would do. Many of concerns that people had of Charles came from the politics of religion in England with Charles being a Popish agent with it being made illegal to call Charles as such in 1661.³⁵ Suggesting that people prone to comparing him to Catholic and concerned of him being one, or at least tolerant of them. Charles' mom was a French Catholic and people knew little about the new king as he had spent eleven years living on the continent in exile.

³⁰ Harris, *London Crowds*, 48-9; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 48-53.

³¹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 49; De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 51.

³² De Krey, *London and the Restoration*, 45, 60-4.

³³ Harris, *London Crowds*, 54-5.

³⁴ Harris, *London Crowds*, 38-9

³⁵ Haley, "No Popery," 107.

The English had a long tradition of hating and fearing the Catholics which caused much friction between Charles his subjects over the course of his reign which helps understand some of the later develops we see in the 1670s and 1680s. Understanding in the anti-Catholic tradition present in England will need to be explained to better help understand not only the Pope-burnings but, the Restoration period as a whole. Those fears were easily exploited in the contemporary political language used by all political groups found in England. The main fears of the Catholicism came in the form of Popery.

The word “popery” became a catch all term to describe tyranny and other terms associated with the Catholic Church, but it was typically used to describe political rivals. The main concern as it related to Protestants was that the reformation was trying to break free from Popery and so differing groups labeled each other as being “popish” for not shedding certain influences.³⁶ With even the Puritans being labeled being popish because they sought to undermine the monarchy and the Church of England.³⁷ The use of rhetoric surrounding English sentiments about Catholics was still the most favored of political currencies in the later part of the Restoration which can be seen in the propaganda from the period.³⁸ Popery had come to be represent the Catholicism in the imagination of English Protestants as it described not just Catholic practices but absolute monarchy as a result of England’s rivals, mainly France.

Any threat that there was against England or London was perceived to be of Papal origin. These long-standing fears held by English Protestants dates back to the reign of Mary with the tyranny of her rule being portrayed in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, which was made printed still

³⁶ Adam Morton, “Anti-Popery,” in *The Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism, Volume II*, ed. John Morrill and Liam Temple, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press Oxford, 2023), 173.

³⁷ Morton, “Anti-Popery,” 173.

³⁸ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 88-9, 144.

commonly read in the 1670s.³⁹ Other Catholic atrocities that were commonly used drum up fear amongst English Protestants of Catholicism were to be reimposed on England was the Dutch of Alva's Council of Blood and St. Bartholomew's day massacre.⁴⁰ The accession of Elizabeth I brought reassurance to English Protestants and to them was the beginning of a new Protestant golden age for England.⁴¹ Despite that, fears of Catholics and Popery continued over the following decades throughout the entirety of the Stuarts reign.

What is strange about those growing fears is how the Catholic population in England had been shrinking. Modern estimates of Catholic population of England in the 1670's range from 5% to 10% at the largest, with the majority being in the country since the estimated Catholic population residing in London was around 10,000-12,000.⁴² Yet by the Restoration the commonly held image English Protestants had of Catholics largely remained unchanged since the Elizabethan period.⁴³

The reason that image remained was because of the form of those fears came from outside England. Catholicism in England was minuscule but outside of England it was still a powerful force.⁴⁴ The common held belief was that the Papal forces abroad were conspiring with English recusants to reimpose Catholicism on England which, for the prior stated reasons, was something the English detested.⁴⁵ The foreign Catholic influence is what led to many in England and London having a besieged mindset. The origin of that stance comes from the memories of

³⁹ Haley, "No Popery," 106; Harris, *London Crowds*, 30.

⁴⁰ Haley, "No Popery," 105.

⁴¹ See below pg. 74-5.

⁴² Hailey, "No Popery," 111-2. Most of whom lived in the western part of the city in Westminster, typically working or at least revolving around foreigners, typically ambassadors. The only areas they could go to mass were at the private chapels of elites such as the ambassadors of Spain and France, that of Queen Catherine, Queen Henrietta, the Duchess of York, Lady Castlemaine, Lord Clifford, etc. Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 21-5. 64-5

⁴³ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67.

⁴⁴ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67.

⁴⁵ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67, 70.

prior generations, especially from Elizabeths reign, with events like the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, the Spanish Armada in 1580, the many plots against Elizabeth during her reign, the Gun Powder plot in 1605, and the Irish Rebellion of 1641.⁴⁶ As such the English were confident that papal forces were out to subjugate the remaining Protestant lands and take away their freedoms by war or through assassination, like the regicides of William of Orange in 1582 and Henry IV of France in 1610.⁴⁷ Fears not out of the realm of imageability because, according to Professor Kenyon, “when the Thirty Years’ War ended, Protestantism had been driven out to the periphery of Europe,” with the remaining Protestant strongholds being in Northern Germany, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and Britain.⁴⁸ The English believing confidently that Popish forces were set on imposing Catholicism on the whole of the continent with methods similar to how the maintained control in France during the French Wars of Religion, the Thirty-Years War, and attempted to do during the Dutch revolution against the Spanish.⁴⁹

The fears of Popery became inflated with England’s foreign enemies because of the propaganda machine of Elizabeth and later the Stuarts.⁵⁰ During Elizabeths reign, the main imposing figure of fear was the Spanish, but over the course of the seventeenth-century France, under Louis XIV, replaced Spain as being the champion of Catholicism in Europe.⁵¹ The Irish were also recipients of the English’s fears of Popery. With Ireland being so close to England and

⁴⁶ Morton, “Anti-Popery,” 170; Haley, ““No Popery’,” 103, 104.

⁴⁷ Morton, “Anti-Popery,” 174.

⁴⁸ J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (Heinemann, 1972), 2.

⁴⁹ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67.

⁵⁰ Charles II was especially adept at using those fears of Catholics to garner support against foreign advisories which later backfired during the Exclusion Crisis. Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67-90

⁵¹ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 67; Harris, *London Crowds*, 30-1; The Spanish were still seen as being a Catholic threat and were still despised by the English, the French just became a bigger problem. Evidence of the English distain of the Spanish is seen in the November 5th, 1668, when a crowd celebrating the failure of the Gunpowder Plot attack the Spanish ambassador’s carriage and chased him to his doorstep which is when the crowd was dispersed by the city militia or to celebrate the same in 1683 a crowd besieged the Dutch ambassador’s carriage. C[alendar of] S[tate] P[apers] Ven[etian] 1666-8, 321; Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical relation of state affairs, from Sept. 1678 to Apr. 1714*, 6 Vols. (Oxford University Press, 1857), 1:287 (hereafter Luttrell).

isolated from the powerful Catholic powers on the continent it meant that they were the ones to receive English military action against popery; since England had the ability to do so, unlike on the continent, leading to a cycle of war of reprisals which reinforced to either side why they must crush the other. It did not help that the wars there caused many Irish refugees to move to England which only created more anti-Irish sentiment there.⁵² The large Francophobic sentiment in England came about as a result of the growing power of Louis XIV. France had become centralized under the absolutist monarch and began expanding its borders. It had grown to become more than a regional power as it became involved in most conflicts on the continent.⁵³ With the Thirty-Years' War in the Holy Roman Empire, Louis was able to seize territory west of the Rhine. After which point in the late 1660s Louis began looking north to Flanders which the Spanish, whose power and influence had been on the decline for decades, was losing control over and made Flanders vulnerable to French conquest.⁵⁴ France was the preeminent power on the continent and many in England feared having such a powerful catholic state as a historic rival be so close to England. Francophobic fears had effectively merged fears of Catholicism to make the two indistinguishable from each other.

Not even England's main Protestant rival, the Dutch, were able to escape being labeled as Papists. English aid to the Dutch in the Seventy Years' war is what allowed the Protestant Dutch successfully gain their independence from the Catholic Spanish. However, of the course of the seventeenth-century the relationship between the Dutch and English began to fray of economic consideration; especially considering Dutch maritime dominance pushing the English out of certain markets. The main source of bitterness is seen with the competition between the English

⁵² Tim Harris, "Hibernophobia and Francophobia in Restoration England," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 41, no. 2 (2017): 8-9.

⁵³ Harris, "Hibernophobia and Francophobia," 14-5

⁵⁴ Clare Jackson, *Devil-Land: England Under Siege 1588-1688* (Allen Lane, 2021), 403-5, 415.

East India Company and the Dutch East India Company with the apex being the Amboyna Massacre in 1623.⁵⁵ As the economic rivalry between the two nations grew anti-Catholic language was used by the English to describe the Dutch. In the typical English xenophobic manner, conspiracies stated that Dutch Protestantism was a shroud for Popery or at the very least had to many Catholic influences.⁵⁶ An irony only seen by the Puritans during the English Revolution since they labeled the Anglican Church of Charles I as having too many Popish influences.⁵⁷ During the 1650's the puritans sought to alter the Church of England and remove the Catholic influences within.⁵⁸ However, they too were described by their rivals as being too "popish" which goes to show broadly it was used and not just for refereeing to Catholicism but also to describe Protestants.⁵⁹

In the early 1660s the main rallying points were centered around xenophobia, specifically against the Dutch and French, but it combined with the anti-Catholicism to create a combustible mix. The xenophobia had a great deal of overlap with anti-Catholicism because of its perceived threat to England. However, some in England did have more material reasons for their hate, such as journey men who began to lose out on work to cheap migrant labor creating an atmosphere of animosity towards outsiders.⁶⁰ This led to the use of traditionally anti-Catholic festivals and events, such as those seen on November 5th and 17th, to be used to display England Protestant enemies as well.⁶¹ To the English, their Catholic and Protestant enemies were one and the same.

⁵⁵ Harris, *London Crowds*, 198-9; Alison Games, *Inventing the English massacre: Amboyna in history and memory* (Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁵⁶ S. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–68* (Cambridge: 1996), 129, paraphrased in Catriona Murray, "An Inflammatory Match? Public Anxiety and Political Assurance at the Wedding of William III and Mary II," *Historical Research* 89, no. 246 (November 1, 2016): 734.

⁵⁷ Morton, "Anti-Popery," 172.

⁵⁸ Morton, "Anti-Popery," 172.

⁵⁹ Morton, "Anti-Popery," 172-3.

⁶⁰ Harris, *London Crowds*, 32.

⁶¹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 31.

This created the popular support that can be seen at the start of the Second Anglo-Dutch war in 1672.⁶²

Despite the English's blatant despol of Catholicism, Charles was fairly tolerant of Catholics early on in his reign alongside cracking down on radical Protestants believing them to be a larger threat.⁶³ That being the case, many people were understanding of such a policy. Anti-Catholic rhetoric had grown stale as a result of its overuse in the Commonwealth and the suppression of non-conforming Protestants was accepted largely due to them being seen threat on par to Catholics because of a failed uprising by one radical Protestant sect. The Fifth Monarchist were radical Protestant that were opposed to the return of Charles, believing that it prevents the fifth monarchy (that being of Christ) from ruling England. In January of 1661 in London a group of around 30-50 men led by Thomas Venner rebelled and managed to occupy several key locations within the City and repel several attacks by the City's trained bands and royal troops.⁶⁴ Although the rising ultimately failed it did raise concerns of radical protestants and made the public more amenable to cracking down non-conformists. Venner's failed rebellion and the fears surrounding it also led to the creation of the permanent 3,000 strong force of royal lifeguards that would be under the command of the crown.⁶⁵ Meaning that Charles had what his father did not, a permanent military force loyal to him in Westminster.

Early in the Restoration much of the literature was heavily in favor of the return of the monarchy as a result of a royalist propaganda campaign. When Charles returned to England there was a need to gain some control of the crowd that was not through the means of traditional hard

⁶² Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 103; Harris, *London Crowds*, 31-2.

⁶³ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 102-3.

⁶⁴ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Mathew (University of California Press, 1970-75), 2:9-11; *C.S.P. Ven. 1659-61*, 239, 272.

⁶⁵ N.H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 95.

physical power. Since the “world turned upside down” during the revolution Charles had to reorient it back to how it was prior to 1642.⁶⁶ The royalist presses began pumping out works that displayed the restoration as a return to normalcy and emphasized the divine right of the king. The newly resorted monarchy saw it best to reshape the image of the crown after the Revolution. However, it did so by largely repeating much of the same mantra as before the Revolution.⁶⁷ With the largest difference being that instead of mere declarations they were now being assertive.⁶⁸

Much of the population of London was literate in the 1670s with around 70% of men being able to read.⁶⁹ Meaning that the widespread use of presses was an effective way to rally support amongst the masses. This is seen in the quantity of political pieces being written and published from the Revolution to the Glorious Revolution. England did have a long history of censorship which was effectively employed by the Tudors by combing statues against subversion with those that brought royal oversight to the printing trade. During the revolution censorship and crown control over the presses was lifted. A flood of pamphlets swept through England sharing many thoughts, ideas, and opinions to many. After the restoration, Charles II had trouble regaining crown control over the presses. But in 1662 the Licensing Act was passed which gave the crown the ability to regulate and give licenses to approved publishers and works.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Paul Hammond, “The King’s Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II,” in *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain 1660-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester University Press, 1991), 15-7; “The world turned upside down,” in this context comes from a royalist 1646 ballad and 1647 pamphlet, Unknown, *The World is Turned Upside Down. to the Tune of, when the King Enjoys His Own again*. London: 1646; John Taylor, *The world turn'd upside down: Or, A briefe description of the ridiculous fashions of these distracted times...* (London: printed for John Smith, Jan. 1647).

⁶⁷ The propaganda of the time many talked about the institution of the monarchy itself instead of Charles II, mainly because people knew very little about him and there were not many good qualities or stories to tell. It is hard to make a compelling and heroic tale of Charles’ flight from England following his defeat to Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester in 1653, Hammond “The King’s Two Bodies,” 18.

⁶⁸ Hammond “The King’s Two Bodies,” 13.

⁶⁹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 27.

⁷⁰ Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 152.

* * *

The grace period of leniency granted by the public to Charles at the start of his reign did last forever as once again having a king became normalized and a series of unfortunate events turned the public on the crown. The unease and despair of the late 1660's created an environment of hostility to Charles and his government that morphed with the English's traditional anti-Catholic sentiments and fears. But as they entered the 1670s, Londoners growing concerns of Popery and Catholics turned to align with the traditional xenophobic tendencies of the English and the disdain for authoritarian rule imposed on the City. This large shift in the public atmosphere can be traced back to 1666. London that year had just experienced the worst outbreak of the plague since 1348 and was currently at war with France and the Dutch.⁷¹ Then on September 2nd during a windy night a fire started on Pudding Lane which soon spread out of control.⁷² By the time the fire was contained on the 6th it had destroyed most of the old medieval section of the city within the city walls.⁷³ The City was devastated with 100,000 residents having suddenly become homeless over a course of a couple days.⁷⁴ Large destructive fires are a traumatic experience with the chaos of fire itself and the eerie calm in wasteland left in its wake, reminiscent of winter with the ash snow.⁷⁵ To process their trauma Londoners defaulted back on their prior beliefs and created a scapegoat.

It is now well known that the fire started as an accident at a bakery. Londoners however, sifting through the hellscape that was the rubble of what used to be their homes, would not

⁷¹ Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 398-9.

⁷² Walter George Bell, *The Great Fire of London in 1666* (John Lane, 1920; repr., Greenwood Press, 1971), 21-53, 54-91, 92-161. Citation refers to Greenwood edition.

⁷³ Bell, *The Great Fire*, 164-72.

⁷⁴ Bell, *The Great Fire*, 37.

⁷⁵ This comes from my own experience in the 2025 Eaton wildfire.

accept that the fire was merely an act of God.⁷⁶ The City thought of itself as a bastion of Protestantism and as a check against the growing power of the King.⁷⁷ To them the fire could be nothing less than a targeted attempt to undermine the City in that bastion role. Theories were wide spread of the fire being started by Papist trying to destroy London and the king to make way for a Catholic England; Or that the fire was started by foreigners, specifically the French and Dutch who were both at war with England; Or that it was royalist, republicans, or Fifth Monarchists trying to weaken the city to make way for the crown to occupy the City.⁷⁸ The City now truly felt that it was besieged by opponents from within and without. This mentality after the fire manifested in assaults on foreigners by armed citizens either as a reprisal or the belief of self-defense, causing some soldiers who were fighting the fire to be redirected to break up the mobs and reimpose order.⁷⁹ Eventually a scapegoat was found in a French immigrant named Robert Hubert who falsely confessed to being part of a Popish conspiracy to fire the City and was subsequently found guilty and hanged despite the lack of evidence.⁸⁰

The immediate concern by the government in the aftermath of the fire was the rebuilding of London.⁸¹ London was the economic center of England and its destruction greatly burdened the economy. As such the Crown was keen on returning the city to normalcy and so Charles gave the City a great deal of funds to support the reconstruction.⁸² The City wanted to improve some aspects of the City that would have been difficult before the fire due to the already existing

⁷⁶ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 103-4.

⁷⁷ Emily Mann, "In Defence of the City: The Gates of London and Temple Bar in the Seventeenth Century," *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 93.

⁷⁸ Bell, *The Great Fire*, 73-6

⁷⁹ Bell, *The Great Fire*, 73-6, 121-2; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 103; Harris, *London Crowds*, 79.

⁸⁰ Hubert was not Catholic (he was a French Huguenot) and he was on a ship when the fire started, Bell, *The Great Fire*, 191-5.

⁸¹ For an in depth look on how they rebuilt it see D'Maris Coffman, Judy Z. Stephenson, and Nathan Sussman, "Financing the Rebuilding of the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666," *The Economic History Review* 75, no. 4 (2022): 1120-50.

⁸² Bell, *The Great Fire*, 216, 253-4, 289,

structures. Several plans were proposed on how the City should be rebuilt. Most notable of these plans are from Christopher Wren and John Evelyn.⁸³ Some inspiration was taken from Paris, which itself was being built along a city plan to improve aspects of the city but also to imbed royal authority with the spaces of the city itself. There Louis XIV had ordered for the city walls to be torn down and replaced by promenades and the gates turned into large triumphal arches.⁸⁴ Charles, ever wanting to emulate the monarch across the channel, used the opportunity presented by the Great Fire to reshape London by rebuilding destroyed structures, that were originally symbols of the City's independence, as symbols of royal power.⁸⁵

Temple Barr is one such important structure that was replaced after the great fire and would later be the spot where the Popes were burnt in effigy. The City's gates were especially targeted as they were both symbolic symbols of independence and physical barriers of control. The destruction and damage to the walls of the City also meant that it was vulnerable now and lacked the traditional bargaining chip of being able to physically defend itself from a royal incursion.⁸⁶ Hugh May's was one of the commissioners appointed for the rebuilding of the City he advocated for the full removal of the gates. May referred to the gate as being a hindrance to the crown's authority saying that they were "a bit in his mouth and a bridle upon his neck" but that their full destruction and removal meant that troops loyal to Charles could easily storm the city since there was "no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force."⁸⁷ Charles ignored the advice to completely rid the City of its largest symbol of independence, instead he rebuilt them to be reminders that royal authority. This is best put by Emily Mann saying that the

⁸³ Bell, *The Great Fire*, 230-9.

⁸⁴ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 79.

⁸⁵ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 85, 89-90, 93.

⁸⁶ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 82, 85, 89.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Stephen Porter, *The Great Fire of London* (Stroud, 1996), 88.

rebuilding of City's gates were reconstructed to remind the City that their independence was "not unconditional, but bestowed by, and entirely dependent on, the benevolent authority of the king."⁸⁸ Charles put forth funds to replace the city's gate and pressured the City to conform to his architectural wishes for the gates.

Temple Barr, the location of the Pope-burnings, was one such gate that was rebuilt in the wake of the fire. Temple Barr was a large arch that stretched across the street that demarcates the western limits of the city from Westminster, the seat of the monarchy. The gate was originally built as an extension of the City's borders of privileges to demark trade, sometime in the mid fourteenth-century.⁸⁹ The gate and its surroundings survived the great fire in 1666 and is stated as being the bulwark against the western expanse of the fire.⁹⁰ Despite the old wooden structure surviving unharmed, Charles gave the city funding to replace the gate as a gesture of goodwill. The City council was opposed to the Crown involving itself in City matters they eventually gave in to pressure and rebuilt the Temple Barr in collaboration with the Crown.⁹¹ Charles wanted to have some influence on the gate's symbolization of City independence especially since while the relationship between the Crown and the City was fluid, the gate was permanent and could emasculate the City long past his era.⁹²

The new Temple Barr was made of limestone to make it resemble a Roman arch and contained imagery of both the City, such as having two dragons on either side of the raised archway on the story, and the monarchy. At the center of the City side of the gate there was the coat of arms for the City of London and on the opposite side there was the royal coat of arms.

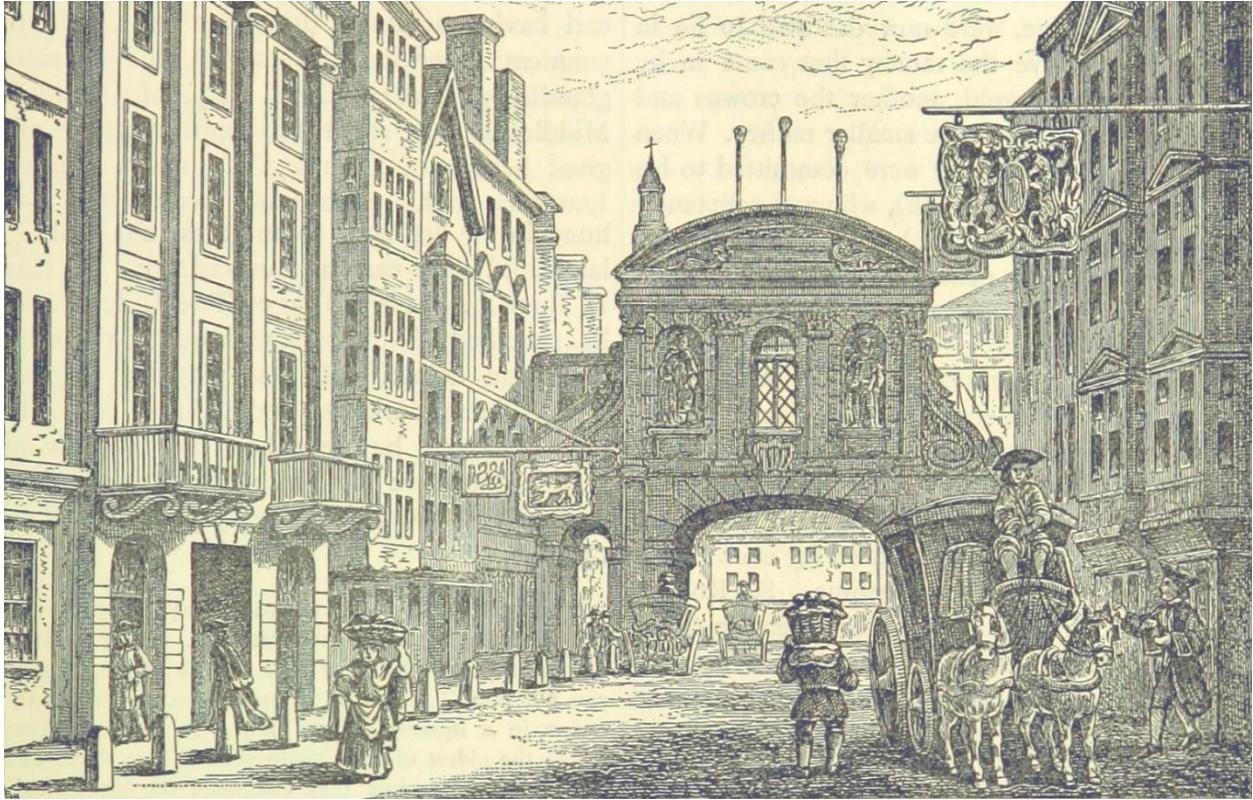
⁸⁸ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 89.

⁸⁹ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 75.

⁹⁰ Mann is quoting a nineteenth century newspaper article to show how the gate is remembered, Mann, "In Defense of the City," 83.

⁹¹ Mann, "In Defense of the City," 85-9.

⁹² The City was eventually successful in removing Temple Barr and its royal symbolism in 1878 due to the industrial revolution and the need to widen the streets, Mann, "In Defense of the City," 85, 88-9.



(Fig. 1) An 1873 illustration by Walter Thornbury depicting Temple Bar sometime in the eighteenth-century.

The most striking feature of the new gate were the statues of the Stuart dynasty that were on either side of the coat of arms and commanded a view of the street. There are a total of four statues with a pair on both the west and east sides of the gate. Facing west on the court side are the statues of Charles I and Charles II. The latter is interestingly dressed like that of a Roman conquer but still wearing a periwig. On the City side there is a stature of James I who is wearing Tudor era clothing, and the other statue is of a woman that is most likely meant to represent either James I's wife, Queen Anne of Denmark, or Queen Elizabeth.⁹³ The identity of the statue as intended by the designers is not all that important since what matters is who the people interpret the statue to be. They believe that it was Elizabeth overlooking the City. The crowds

⁹³ To see the argument for the statue either being Anne or Elizabeth see Mann, "In Defense of the City," 86, 88, 93; Lynch, "We Protestants in Masquerade," 115, 125 n. 48.

during the Pope-burnings believed, or at least state, that the statue was of Elizabeth.⁹⁴ The new Temple Barr was fully completed in 1673.

The unease of the City in having its independence from the crown become under threat was not eased by the growing absolutist tendencies of the new monarch. Charles was keenly aware of the downfall of his father and sought to avoid a similar fate. As such he began to follow the growing trend amongst monarchs in the seventeenth-century of centralizing power around the monarchy. Although it should be noted that what Charles was doing was more of a return to how the monarchy governed prior to the Civil War, which to him was his birth right.⁹⁵ Many people still were worried about an arbitrary government and that Charles would turn England into an absolutist monarchy, like his father and grandfather had attempted to do. That being the case, the government's early restoration efforts were focused on those who opposed the return of the monarchy and in ensuring that there were means in place for preventing or snuffing out any dangerous opposition. Charles's taking the former powers of a king and taking revenge on those responsible for his father's regicide was not surprising; it was a return to calm and an end to unpopular laws of the commonwealth.⁹⁶ The literature of the time was in favor of the Restoration but in the ashes of their city, not even royalist presses could placate Londoners growing fears.

Charles had invested in having a force that could be called upon without the need of Parliament. In London the crown had control of the City's trained band following a statute in 1662.⁹⁷ a private militia that was loyal to the Crown. Unlike the City's prior militias which were

⁹⁴ Elkanah Settle, *Londons Defiance to Rome a Perfect Narrative of the Magnificent Procession and Solemn Burning of the Pope at Temple-Barr, Nov. 17th, 1679...* (London: 1679); *A Poem on the Burning of the Pope being Solemnly Performed on Queen Elizabeths Birth-Day this Instant November the 17th, 1679* (London: 1679); *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1679* (London: 1679); *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1680* (London: For I. Oliver (engraving) and N. Ponder (broadside), 1680).

⁹⁵ Keeble, *The Restoration*, 32-5, 78-83.

⁹⁶ Harris, *London Crowds*, 36-40, 52-3, 54-5.

⁹⁷ David Allen, "The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1681," *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (1972): 303.

loyal to Parliament and fought against Charles I during the Civil War.⁹⁸ Charles was keen on avoiding the short comings of his father such as losing control of London's crowds.⁹⁹ Having personal oversight of the city's militias and trained bands meant that the crown had a physical safety net to not lose control of a riot or to enforce the crown's rule in a desperate worst-case scenario.

In the immediate aftermath of the fire, the order brought by the Restoration began to become alarming to the City. London had always been an obstacle for English monarchs as they could never fully control it. The fire gave the Crown the opportunity to gain control of it, not just physically but also symbolically. With the walls and gates of the City no longer able to be relied upon to defend the city in combination with the growing ability of the crown to enforce its rule through military like that seen in the 1650s, Londoners began to grow more concerned over what will become of their City.

* * *

Nearly a year after the fire, anxieties of a foreign invasion increased when news of the English navy's destruction while docked at the Chatham Dockyard by the Dutch.¹⁰⁰ The loss of the fleet opened up the possibility of the Dutch navy sailing up the Thames for a direct attack on London. Further, Charles was openly criticized for allowing the attack to happen and for his lack

⁹⁸ Allen, "The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis," 303.

⁹⁹ Harris, *London Crowds*, 21-2

¹⁰⁰ Charles believing that they held the upper hand in the war and that the fleet would be safely protected at Chatham Dockyard with it being located up the Medway River and having a large chain across the river, ordered the fleet to dock there and had the crews dismissed. Over the course of three days thirty ships were scuttled by the few Englishmen stationed there, the Dutch destroyed thirteen ships and captured two including the pride of the English navy HMS Charles (previously the Naseby), Don Jordan, *The King's City: A History of London During the Restoration: The City That Transformed a Nation* (Pegasus Books, 2018), 245-6; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 405.

of response over the four-day long raid and in defending London.¹⁰¹ Fears were rampant that a French army would come to occupy City. Pepys records that “people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly: as, that we are bought and sold, and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French.”¹⁰² To the people, London had narrowly avoided invasion by a foreign enemy with the crown doing little to alleviate the situation.¹⁰³

A new ministry was made that has been called the Cabal ministry due to the key members’ names, Lord Clifford, Earl of Arlington, Duke of Buckingham, lord Ashley-Anthony Cooper, and the Duke of Lauderdale being an acronym that forms the word cabal. This new ministry was formed to alleviate fears of the growing powers of the crown, but it was disorganized with it being split into differing factions.¹⁰⁴

Tension amongst Londoners and the crown grew and in the 1670s conspiracies began to grow about the Charles and James being secret Catholics, French puppets, or that they were trying to turn England into an absolutist state.¹⁰⁵ Ironically despite having little evidence to support such conclusion, the conspiracies were somewhat correct as the real Popish Plot of the decade was not a Catholic conspiracy to kill Charles, but a secret treaty signed between Charles and Louis. The Secret Treaty of Dover, as it is called, was signed in 1670. This treaty came about as Charles began seeking options outside of Parliament to consolidate his rule, and Louis sought ways to consolidate France’s foreign position. Charles’ sister Henrietta, who was married to

¹⁰¹ Charles on the first night of the attack was partying with one of his mistresses. Realizing that he had to do something with London in a panic and invasion seemingly imminent, Charles ordered the sinking of several barges along the Thames to act as a barrier, something the Dutch navy could have easily overcome, Jordan, *The Kings City*, 246.

¹⁰² Pepys, *Diary*, 8:269-70.

¹⁰³ The reason the Dutch fleet did not attack London was because the commander of the fleet was not aware of the true state of London’s defenses and would have attacked if he was aware; Jordan, *The Kings City*, 247.

¹⁰⁴ John Spurr, "Cabal (act. 1667–1673)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (25 May. 2006).

¹⁰⁵ Dutch Propaganda played a role in growing this conspiracy. Miller, *Popery and politics*, 130-1, 133.

Louis' brother, played a significant role in suggesting an alliance between Charles and France from 1668-1669.¹⁰⁶

The treaty had England and France enter into an offensive military alliance against the Dutch. In 1672 a couple of days after France invaded the low countries, Charles declared war on the Dutch.¹⁰⁷ The treaty had Charles send several detachments of troops to serve under French command and England would lead the war effort at sea.¹⁰⁸ The alliance had Louis send subsidies to Charles, meaning that he would be less reliant on Parliament for money. Upon signing the treaty Louis provided £1 million advance with an annual £600,000 subsidy for the duration of the war with a £200,000 addition to that subsidy once Charles converted to Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ The treaty stated that Charles was to convert to Catholicism when the opportunity in England presented itself and that if need be French troops would be sent to secure Charles reign if the backlash became too great.¹¹⁰ The Duke of York at this point had already convert to Catholicism. Another part of the Treaty would have Charles be more tolerant of non-Anglican religious groups, including both Catholics and non-conforming Protestants.¹¹¹ This resulted in the 1672 Declaration of Indulgence which, despite it ending the persecution of dissenters was widely unpopular with the public.

The alliance was the work of the Cabal ministry although not all of the members knew all of the treaty's clauses. Arlington and Clifford both took part in the negotiations that created the treaty and so they knew of all of its clauses. Another version of the treaty that left out the parts of

¹⁰⁶ R. Hutton, "The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1668–1670," *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 2 (June 1986): 301.

¹⁰⁷ Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 421.

¹⁰⁸ Hutton, "The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover," 303.

¹⁰⁹ Hutton, "The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover," 302-3; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 415.

¹¹⁰ Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 415. The exact detail on this on sketchy as it is unknown if Charles had simply lied about planning to convert or the extent of military preparations to secure his reign for if he did declare himself to be Catholic. Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 119

¹¹¹ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 116-8.

Charles converting to Catholicism was presented to the rest of the Cabal with them all signing it for varying reasons. Ashley, for instance was more skeptical of the closeness of Charles and Louis but signed it anyways due to economic concerns around the Dutch and the want for toleration of non-conforming Protestants.¹¹²

Due to the treaty being kept a secret, the sudden declaration of war against the Dutch alongside France came as a shock to people and was greatly unpopular as the English disdain for the Dutch was far outweighed by their hatred of France.¹¹³ There were conspiracies abound that the war was going to introduce Popery and absolutism to England and the Netherlands, like that seen in Louis XIV's France.¹¹⁴ Charles allowing Catholic to live in England unmolested, and when combined with his initial persecution of dissenters at the start of his reign, Charles was seen as becoming an absolutist Popish monarch like that of France. Eventually Parliament, out of spite, passed the Test Act in 1673 which required officials to swear that they do not believe in transubstantiation, something a Catholic would not be able to do and effectively prevent them from working in the government. This had the effect of revealing many government officials to be Catholic such as Clifford. But when the Duke of York resigned from his post as Lord Admiral to avoid taking the oath, it all but confirmed that the next in line to the English throne was a Catholic. Later that year James married a Catholic woman, with the public response to that being the burning of a great many Pope effigies throughout the City on November 5th of that year.¹¹⁵ In combination with James military carrier and rumored tendency to prefer military solutions to

¹¹² Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 282-5, 296-7; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 108

¹¹³ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 117.

¹¹⁴ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 130-1.

¹¹⁵ Charles Hatton, in *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Camden Society, 1878), 119 (hereafter Hatton); *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1673-1675*, 44.

political problems and Londoners were worried about “*the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England.*”¹¹⁶

After all that London had experience, the revelation of James being a Catholic seemed to many Londoners to be evidence that Popery was on the rise in England and would soon engulf the City. The Cabal broke apart in 1674 as a result of the revelation of James religion and some of its members, notably Ashley who in 1672 was elevated to the Earl of Shaftesbury and Buckingham, joined the growing opposition Country party in parliament. Those fears becoming the main unifying point of the County Party. The party sought to curb the rise of Popery and was largely a thing from 1675-1678 during the Cavalier Parliament. As the name suggests, that parliament had a majority who were more pro-royalist or otherwise referred to as the Court party. As a result of the backlash of the war with the Dutch and of James’ marriage, Charles did have to change how the government publicly handled Popery and so began enforcing laws targeted against Catholics that were prior to largely unenforced. However, such measures had little effect on appeasing Londoners since after the humiliation of the 1660s, the revelation that James was a Catholic became too much for Londoners.

* * *

After 1673 voices of opposition to the crown began to get harder to ignore with their utilization of the growing fears of Popery and absolutism.¹¹⁷ As the opposition to the Crown’s stance on Catholics grew so did the propaganda against it as the 1670s saw an increase to the amount of anti-crown propaganda being produced. The King went from being viewed as more

¹¹⁶ Haley, “No Popery,” 110; Andrew Marvell, *An account of the growth of popery and arbitrary government in England...* (Amsterdam: 1677; London: 1678); John Miller, *James II* (Yale University Press, 2008), 70-1.

¹¹⁷ Hammond, “The King’s Two Bodies,” 24; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 130-1.

divine and with God's ordainment to being seen another mortal with tales of his promiscuity being widely printed.¹¹⁸ The 1662 licensing act would not lapse until 1679, which would allow Whig presses to print freely and explains the large influx of anti-royalist literature during the Exclusion crisis.¹¹⁹ Still, during the time when the act was in effect, anti-royalist sentiment still existed and works still made. They were just done secretly. An example of this being done is seen with the later mentioned John Harrington, an agent and kin of Shaftesbury, who in early 1678 helped to printed Marvel's *Growth of Popery* in secret by hiding the sounds of the press behind a silk weaving shop.¹²⁰ It was still dangerous to create works that besmirched the king and his family causing many to hide their involvement in producing such works.¹²¹ Most literary works were smaller in scope and in their reach or being published with aliases if a name is provided at all. For example, in 1675 a pamphlet was widely circulate that was called *a Letter from a Person of Quality...* which is a propaganda piece that in essence states that Danby was leading a conspiracy to have Charles use a standing army to oust Parliament and enact popish policies.¹²² The pamphlet was published anonymously but many then and now believe it to have been written by Shaftesbury due to the amount of detail provided about intimate conversations and the way Shaftesbury is depicted in the pamphlet.¹²³ They largely spread in coffeehouses and political clubs of London.

Coffeehouses during the reign of Charles where the hotbeds at which illicit political activities, discussions, beliefs, and ideas festered. They became the replacement for the press trade while it was suppressed. The coffeehouse was the place at which Londoners would go to

¹¹⁸ Hammond, "The King's Two Bodies," 23.

¹¹⁹ Weber, *Paper Bullets*, 158-9, 162-71.

¹²⁰ *C.S.P.D. 1678*, 70.

¹²¹ Hammond, "The King's Two Bodies," 24.

¹²² [Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury], *A Letter from a Person of Quality to His Friend in the Country* (London: 1675).

¹²³ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 390-3.

become informed of the happenings of the country and the continent since the only newspaper allowed at the time, the *London Gazette*, gave the crown's version of events.¹²⁴ The first coffeehouse in London opened in 1652 around the Royal Exchange after an English merchant and his Turkish servant returned from the Ottoman Empire bringing the drink back with them.¹²⁵ After which, the amount of coffeehouses in London exploded as by 1675 with "all the neighborhood swarm [to the coffeehouses] like bees, and buzz there like them to."¹²⁶ The coffeehouse was a keen target of Charles' government and in 1675 they tried to pass laws to counter Londoners' growing love of caffeine.¹²⁷

The other important part of the political culture found in London were the political clubs that met at coffeehouses, inns, taverns, etc. The clubs were more exclusive and became the places where more like-minded people could meet to discuss politics and become more organized. Most figures involved in politics at the time had affiliations with a club which is how factions coordinated. Shaftesbury was a prominent member of the club that met at the Nag's Head Tavern along Cheapside and Buckingham was a part of the club that met at the Salutation Tavern.¹²⁸ Clubs were not exclusive to the opposition however as the Tories had their own clubs across the City.¹²⁹ The most famous of which was the Green Ribbon Club which met at the Kings Head tavern on the corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane and is most known for playing a large part in the organization the Pope-burning of 1679 and 1680. However, the club's influence and labeling as the headquarters of the Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis has been

¹²⁴ Weber, *Paper Bullets*, 158.

¹²⁵ See Markman Ellis, "Pasqua Rosee's Coffee-House, 1652-1666," *The London Journal* 29, no. 1 (2004): 1-24.

¹²⁶ *The Ale-Wives Complaint Against the Coffee-Houses* (London, 1675), 2, Quoted in Pincus, "Coffee Politicians Does Create," 811-2.

¹²⁷ The ban on coffeehouses was repealed shortly before it went into effect in Jan. 1676, Weber, *Paper Bullets*, 161.

¹²⁸ Allen, "Political Clubs in Restoration London," 571.

¹²⁹ For a full description of Tory and Whig Clubs in Restoration London, see: Allen, "Political Clubs in Restoration London."

over exaggerated by contemporaries and later historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹³⁰ That being said, the club became a center for the Whigs more vocal elements with many of its members being involved in the Rye House Plot and the Monmouth Rebellion. It also had a significant number of lawyers and attorneys as members partially due to its location being across the street from the Kings Bench.

The most effective way the opposition in the 1670s used as propaganda is in street politics. Their ability to effectively reach the masses using traditional means was limited by the crown's control of the theaters and the printing trade. Meaning that the opposition had to result to more creative ways of delivering their messages en masse to the public. Those means came in the form of public spectacles such as the Pope-burning possessions. They had effectively adopted some of London's traditional practices and altered them to deliver their messages. This is seen in the 1677 Pope-burning with its political messaging that aligned with the stance of, what would become, the Whigs relating to the events of what was happening that year.

¹³⁰ North, *Examine*, 570-2; George Sitwell, *The First Whig: An Account Of The Parliamentary Career Of William Sacheverell The Origin Of The Two Great Political Parties And The Events Which Led Up To The Revolution Of 1688* (Scarborough, 1894); J.R. Jones, "The Green Ribbon Club," *Durham University Journal* 59, no. 1 (December 1956).

II

Politics of 1677

The best word to describe the English in 1677 is stressed. The English in 1677 had many anxieties that were causing this stress, chief among them related to Catholicism. As mentioned in the historiographical analysis section of this thesis, England in 1677 was dominated by foreign affairs which shows in the Pope-burning procession that year. There are several key reasons why that is and are important in trying to understand the 1677 Pope-burning.

The main issue of foreign policy in 1677 England relates to the Franco-Dutch war which was in its fifth year of fighting. England had dropped out of the war, but the possibility of England reentering was in the air. What England should do was a decisive matter as the Netherlands was seen as a major economic rival of England and Charles was more sympathetic to France. The Third Anglo-Dutch war had just ended in 1674 with England allying itself to France to fight the Dutch. On the other hand, France was a major geopolitical enemy of England and most of the English public supported the protestant Dutch in their fight against the Catholic French, which is best put by Miller saying, “if the Dutch were not much liked, the French were liked even less.”¹³¹ Despite England officially dropping out of the war Charles still had English troops serving under the French. Such a controversial policy was abhorred by the opposition members of Parliament.¹³²

To clarify the context for the foreign political state of affairs for England in 1677 that in Western Europe along the North Sea there was a threefold rivalry between England, France, and

¹³¹ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 117.

¹³² Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 381-2, 389, 398, 407; Haley, “Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement,” 618; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 427-8.

the Netherlands. The three balanced each other out and if one side became too powerful then then the other two would counter. The Spanish controlled Flanders between the Netherlands and France, which the latter had been vying to control for some time and tip the balance of power to itself. In the late 1660s England as a result of the disastrous wars that decade saw growing public skepticism towards the crown. Charles began seeking options outside of Parliament to consolidate his rule and to more effectively handle the three-way rival between England, the Dutch, and France. Initially in 1668 England became a part of the Triple Alliance with the Netherlands and Sweden to counter the French. However, this alliance was not long-lasting as issues of economics flared up. The Triple Alliance was pushed by Parliament but Charles from 1668-1670 instead sought closer relations with Louis, culminating in the secret 1670 Treaty of Dover. The alliance had England and France work together in a war against the Dutch. For Charles, it provided him with a last resort lifeline and was a way to curb Dutch power. For Louis the new relationship with Charles effectively made the English monarch a puppet as he became reliant upon French money to stay afloat, and it broke apart the Triple Alliance while turning England against the Dutch. Now two of the three powers in the Western Europe turned on the third, along with the Swedish power in the north, with the English having experience fighting the Dutch at sea and the French fighting the Dutch on land. In March of 1672 Louis declared war on the Dutch and Charles, without informing Parliament, did the same starting the Franco-Dutch War and the Third Anglo-Dutch war respectively.¹³³

Initially the war went well for France who had a 120,000 strong army that was reinforced by Münster and Cologne invade the Low Countries and caused the Dutch to refer to 1672 as “the year of disaster.”¹³⁴ However, England did not have the same levels of success as the naval

¹³³ Hutton, “the Secret Treaty of Dover,” 300-1; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 409-15.

¹³⁴ “Rampjaar,” Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 421.

conflict turned into a stalemate. In 1673 Charles opened a new session of Parliament in order to raise funds for the war. Parliament, not happy about Charles' declaration of war without their approval, and the King's Declaration of Indulgence, did not approve the King's request for war funds.¹³⁵ Charles, in the hopes of securing parliamentary funds, withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence and approved of a new Test Act that Parliament had passed in order to curb the rise of Popery,¹³⁶ and was somewhat out of spite to Charles. The Test Act had the consequence of revealing the Duke of York to be a Catholic which, along with his subsequent marriage to Mary of Modena, caused the English government to become occupied with domestic affairs as the Cabal ministry broke apart.¹³⁷ Shaftesbury as a member of the minority Country party became a leading figure of the party and as such worked to prevent any measures that the King wanted from being passed by Parliament.¹³⁸

As a result of Parliament being unable or willing to raise funds for the war, the growing Francophobic sentiment in England, the quick escalation of the conflict with Spain, Denmark-Norway, Brandenburg, and the Holy Roman Empire joining the war on the side of the Dutch and Sweden on the side of France, England's continued involvement in the war became untenable. This resulted in England pulling out of the war in 1674.¹³⁹ Such a peace came about in part due to the efforts of the Dutch and Spanish who began meddling in Parliamentary politics in order to put pressure on Charles to negotiate a peace with them.¹⁴⁰ Although officially no longer being in the war, some English troops would remain on the continent under the command of the French

¹³⁵ Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 422-3.

¹³⁶ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 320-5.

¹³⁷ The Cabal broke apart largely because of the revelation of James' conversion and England's inability to swiftly win the war against the Dutch causing crown to become more financially reliant on Parliament. The different members from the Cabal were dismissed for different reasons if at all. John Spurr, "Cabal (act. 1667–1673)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (25 May. 2006).

¹³⁸ See Haley, *Shaftesbury*, Ch. XVII.

¹³⁹ Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 424-6.

¹⁴⁰ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 627; Jackson *Devil-Land*, 424; See also below pg. 53-4.

which was controversial in England.¹⁴¹ Charles would try to attain funds from Parliament in the following years in the hopes of fully rejoining the war but was unsuccessful due largely in part to the efforts of Shaftesbury. As a result, England would remain neutral in the conflict until 1678 when it joined on the side of the Dutch.

The ministry that replaced the Cabal was headed by the Lord Treasurer, the earl of Danby. Danby was a royalist and sought to increase the power the crown without relying upon France. Danby was aware of how the crown could capitalize on Francophobic sentiment and was a critic of the alliance with France, instead suggesting an alliance with the Dutch.¹⁴² Doing so would not only curb French power on the continent but also force Charles to end his alliance with Louis. However, Danby was unable to convince the king to abandon the French alliance willingly.¹⁴³

Danby not only had to manage Charles but also had to counter the Country party and Shaftesbury in Parliament in order to instate his foreign politics. Danby supported the raising of funds for an army, just not for an army that would fight with the French against the Dutch. His logic was that having an army fight against the French would garner more favor for the Crown from parliament and the people as well as being able to possibly use the army of enforce authoritarian rule through military rule.¹⁴⁴ However, Parliament was effectively in a dead lock with the loud minority being able to prevent any effective measures from being passed. The majority of peers were loyal to the crown, but Danby was unable to consolidate them into an organized Court party in order to drown out the “rabble” of the opposition that mainly wanted to

¹⁴¹ Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 619-20.

¹⁴² Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 616, 619

¹⁴³ Danby was not privy to the details of the Secret Treaty of Dover and so he did not know of the constraints it put on Charles, Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 615-6, 620.

¹⁴⁴ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 434, 449.

exclude the Duke of York from the line of succession.¹⁴⁵ However, they lacked the means to effectively do so and instead opted to being a nuisance by undermining Danby every chance they could get. They were able to effectively deadlock parliament despite their small numbers through effective political maneuvering.¹⁴⁶ Charles and Danby sought to consolidate their power in the current Parliament and not risk a Country majority in a new Parliament, so they opted to prorogue it whenever things turned against them. The longest of which lasted from November 1675 to February 1677.

During that time Danby had sought to handle the issue of succession, which he was wary of James' Catholicism but still loyal, and to create an alliance with the Dutch. This would come in the form of having James' oldest daughter marry her cousin the Dutch Stadtholder William of Orange. William's power in the United Provinces grew as a result of the republicans' failures in 1672 causing an Orangist take over.¹⁴⁷ William saw some success early on in the war against France but by 1676 it was clear that the only way for the Dutch to be able to reclaim the territory it had lost in 1672 was with English intervention.¹⁴⁸ In 1676 the Duke of York's oldest daughter Mary, who was raised as a Protestant, was fourteen which was a suitable age to be married. William saw the opportunity of a marriage to the princess as being able to form an alliance with England and gain their aid in the war or at least end their aid to France. Charles, although not wanting to break with the alliance with France, was concerned about its expansionist goals in the Spanish Netherlands and wanted to arbitrate a peace between Louis and William.¹⁴⁹ Thus in 1676 Charles, despite effort from Danby, cast aside his nephew's inquiries into the possibility of

¹⁴⁵ North *Examine*, 50; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 73.

¹⁴⁶ See Haley, *Shaftesbury*, Ch. XVII.

¹⁴⁷ Murray, "An Inflammatory Match?," 735.

¹⁴⁸ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 626.

¹⁴⁹ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 620-1.

marring Mary.¹⁵⁰ By mid-1677 William had suffered a series of defeats to the French with his failure to retake Maastricht in 1676 and the French campaign in early 1677 leading to the capture of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer and the defeat of the Dutch-Spanish army under William at the Battle of Cassel. William was now under more pressure and so he was willing to accept his uncle's arbitration in the war in order to marry Mary and thereby possible force Charles' hand to intervene in the war. Danby, now even more concerned with French expansion following their success in the Spanish Netherlands, began pressuring Charles to negotiate the marriage between his nephew and niece.¹⁵¹ Charles was also concerned with the French victories but he also interpreted them as making William more open to negotiating a peace.¹⁵² Danby's efforts as Lord treasurer also meant that the crown had more funds and could possibly break away from being financially reliant on Louis to stay afloat which made Charles more willing to risk the French alliance by holding talks with William.¹⁵³

Parliamentary politics had also swung to Danby's favor in 1677 and so several pieces of legislature were able to be passed. However, the debates over whether or not to grant money to the crown in order to build ships, but not enough to raise an army, were on going in the House of Lords whilst the Commons was demanding that England join on the side of the Dutch.¹⁵⁴ The opposition did not trust the King with an army so they resisted granting him one, even though most of the peers were open to the idea so long as it was used to fight the French.¹⁵⁵ Parliament was adjourned due to domestic considerations, foreign involvement in parliamentary politics

¹⁵⁰ Peace talks at Nijmegen had started in 1676 although they did not lead to anything until the end of 1677 with the marriage.

¹⁵¹ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 627-8.

¹⁵² Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 635-6.

¹⁵³ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 618, 628-9, 633.

¹⁵⁴ Anchtell Grey. *Debates of the House of Commons From the Year 1667 to the Year 1694* iv (London: D. Henry, R. Cave, J. Edmonson, 1763), 181-204 (hereafter Grey); Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 618, 626

¹⁵⁵ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 442-3.

(mainly the Spanish), and wanting to be able to quickly recall it in case of a drastic need to raise funds.¹⁵⁶ Danby quickly entered into negotiations with William in order to secure an alliance with the Dutch and appease Parliament. At the same time, he tried to convince Charles to begin negotiating with William.

With the onset of winter bringing the military campaigns of 1677 to a close, William was set on personally negotiating with Charles and came to England in October. Charles had informed the French ambassador, Barillon, that he was attempting to persuade William to be more in line with the French position and reassured Barillon that he would not break with his special relationship with Louis.¹⁵⁷ Charles instead began negotiating terms on behalf of France for a possible peace treaty and the marriage. Eventually Charles on October 20th, seeing that talks would not go anywhere until they hashed out the marriage, acquiesced and gave stated that William “shall have his wife” and informed James about the marriage, while forcing him to consent to it.¹⁵⁸ James, most likely unhappy with this arrangement, the following day informed his daughter that she would be marrying her cousin. Mary “wept all that afternoon and the following day” upon hearing that she was to marry a stranger on such short notice.¹⁵⁹ The marriage occurred on November 4th in Mary’s bedchamber and was a small affair with only a few attending.¹⁶⁰ Mary’s tutor, Dr. Lake recounts the gloomy atmosphere of the ceremony with

¹⁵⁶ Grey iv. 343; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 426-7.

¹⁵⁷ Barillon to Louis XIV 13/23 and 17/27 September, 24 September/4 October, Archives des Affaires Étrangères: Correspondance politique: Angleterre, 8CP/124 and 125 (hereafter cited as Barillon and the date of the letter); Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 639, 641.

¹⁵⁸ Charles convinced him with the argument that having his daughter marry a protestant would ease some of the public concerns of his Catholicism. Miller, *James II*, 84.

¹⁵⁹ Edward Lake, *Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Exeter, chaplain and tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, daughters of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second: in the years 1677-1678*, ed. George Percy Elliot (London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1846), 5.

¹⁶⁰ Otto von Schwerin to the Great Elector, November 6/16, 1677, in *Briefe aus England über die Zeit von 1674 bis 1678*, Ed. Leopold von Orlich (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1837), 162-3.

Charles, most likely inebriated trying to uplift the mood.¹⁶¹ The soon-to-be newlyweds also did not appear well as William was agitated by the ongoings of what was happening in the Netherlands and Mary was fatigued by days of weeping which showed on her face.¹⁶² What did not help was that smallpox was sweeping through the court causing several people to be unable to attend including Mary's sister Anne and her governess. In any event the ceremony continued with Charles handing Mary over to William, notably not her father, and was solemnized by the bishop of London which would have normally been done by the Archbishop of Canterbury but he also had the pox and subsequently died five days later.¹⁶³ The fifteen-year-old Mary, married her twenty-six-year-old cousin.

However, there were still many who were unhappy with the marriage. The most obvious group were the French, with Barillon not learning that the marriage had occurred until he saw the bonfires and bellingings in London in celebration of the marriage.¹⁶⁴ According to the English ambassador to France, Louis reacted to the marriage "as he would have done of the loss of an army" and Louis even wrote to James saying that he "had given his daughter to the greatest enemy."¹⁶⁵ Charles was willing to endanger the French connection as he was desperate for more funds from Parliament, Danby's efforts as Lord Treasurer in being able to ease the burden on the crown's coffers, the anti-French sentiment in Parliament was too great, and Charles thought that Louis' demands were too great so the marriage might pressure him into a more reasonable

¹⁶¹ Lake, 6.

¹⁶² Lake, 6, 8.

¹⁶³ Schwerin, Nov. 6/16, in *Briefe aus England*, 163; Lake, 6, 7.

¹⁶⁴ Louis XIV to Barillon November 10th 1677, "les premiers avis qu'il avait eus de la conclusion de ce mariage etaient par les feux de joie qui s'en etaient allumes dans Londres." In Mignet, *Negociations relatives d la succession d'Espagne...*, vol. iv (Paris: 1852), 510-11.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Clyde Leclare Grose, "The Anglo-Dutch Alliance of 1678," *The English Historical Review* 39, no. 155 (1924): 350; Bishop Gilbert Burnet, *History of his own Time*, Vol. II, *Containing the Reign of King Charles II; From 1670 to 1685* (London: 1725), 726.

settlement.¹⁶⁶ Barillon in a letter to Louis indicates that Charles and James were still personally open to the French alliance but that the English public's hatred of France was so great that Charles could not go against the clamor else risk losing his throne and so he was forced to endanger the relationship with France.¹⁶⁷ The main belief was that it was Danby who was responsible for convincing Charles to abandon the French alliance in order to capitalize on the anti-French sentiments. From the French perspective, if Danby was removed and Charles had enough funding to govern without Parliament then England would return to being under French influence.¹⁶⁸

The other main group that was not satisfied by the marriage was the opposition group in Parliament. The day after the wedding, the traditional celebrations on the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot on November 5th were also celebrating the marriage. However, those celebrations were dampened by the news of the Duke of York having a son born on the 7th, which meant that Mary had lost her spot in the line of succession and brought about the possibility of Catholic dynasty in England.¹⁶⁹ The opposition was also still suspicious of William and he was unable to quell their concerns when he met with them.¹⁷⁰ They had grown to distrust the crown and so believed the alliance with the Dutch to be a ruse and worried that the marriage would convince Parliament to grant the King funds he requested to raise an army.¹⁷¹ The opposition was also not pleased to see Danby have a win. Danby was given credit for the successful negotiations. Even James congratulated Danby on his success.¹⁷² Roger Morrice in his

¹⁶⁶ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 645; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 249; Grose, "The Anglo-Dutch Alliance of 1678," 351.

¹⁶⁷ Barillon to Louis XIV, Nov. 19/29.

¹⁶⁸ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 443-4; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 250, 253.

¹⁶⁹ *C.S.P.D 1677-1678*, 451, 452, 454; Hatton, 154; Lake, 6-7.

¹⁷⁰ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 648.

¹⁷¹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 442.

¹⁷² Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 250.

entering book provides a response to the marriage saying, “the Earle of Danby is Prime Minister of state, And hee alone hath done all this.”¹⁷³

* * *

The reasons why Danby and Charles were able to make such easy progress in the relationship with the Dutch with little concern for the opposition is due to the domestic situation of England. A goal of Charles and Danby domestically was the smothering of any large opposition before it could escalate into a situation like that which Charles I faced in the 1640s.

With Charles’ grip on power there grew an opposition movement that sought to undermine him. This movement would later be known as the Whigs when it was at the height of its power during the Exclusion Crisis. However, in 1677 they were not known as such and were by that point just a faction within the Country Party.¹⁷⁴ They were at this point at best a loose coalition of like-minded individuals who were opposed to Charles and Danby, typically on the grounds of anti-authoritarianism. Their main goal was the limiting of the crown’s powers and the removal of James from the line of succession.¹⁷⁵ The country party, or even proto-Whigs, were not a unified movement and had many different groups within it, with Shaftesbury was just the most influential.¹⁷⁶ With the largely Tory Cavalier parliament the opposition could do little and was largely a nuisance by getting in the way of what the crown wanted.

The Whigs’ short-term goal was to gain more power in order to enforce their plans for England. There were several ways they planned to do this, the first was the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament and the creation of a new one that would be filled with more of their allies.

¹⁷³ Roger Morrice, P 58, in John Spurr, ed. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice: The Reign of Charles II, 1677-1685*, vol. II (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 37.

¹⁷⁴ Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 66, 68, 77-9, 242; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 379, 383, 400-1, 405, 416.

¹⁷⁵ Harris, *London Crowds*, 91-4.

¹⁷⁶ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 349-53.

In February of 1677 a new session of Parliament was called during which Shaftesbury attempted to have it dissolved and hold new elections on the grounds that the current parliament was not legally in session which.¹⁷⁷ Prior to the 1677 session Shaftesbury's party had been growing in power and gaining more support. sought that the time was right to force a vote and dissolve the current Parliament. During the winter of 1676 and 1677 Shaftesbury began crafting a plan to dissolve the current parliament during its next session.¹⁷⁸

On February 15th a new session of parliament was called and soon after the opening speech by Charles, an ally of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Buckingham, arose from his seat in the House of Lords and gave a lengthy speech arguing that according to several statutes of Edward III the current parliament was legally non-existent because of the fifteen-month long prorogation.¹⁷⁹ In response several of Danby's allies countered with their own speeches that threatened to have any supporters of the motion sent to the bar and then opened the House up to discussion. The threats and counter arguments worked and were enough to steer any members of the House that could have been open to supporting Buckingham, leaving only Shaftesbury, the Earl of Salisbury, and Philip Wharton in support. A similar situation was also play out in the House of Commons with the only supporters there being Sir John Mallet, Sir Philip Monckton, Lord Cavendish, and William Russell. When news of the failed motion in the Commons was brought to Danby, he finally ended the discussion and had the motion squashed after letting the debate rage on for several hours.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Grey iv, 63-77, 81-95; Andrew Marvell, *An Account on the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England...* (1677), 70-74; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 416-20; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 242-3.

¹⁷⁸ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 409; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 242.

¹⁷⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 417; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 242.

¹⁸⁰ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 418; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 243.

Shaftesbury had overestimated his support, especially from those in the Country party, and the supporters of the motion were so few that they did not attempt to force a vote.¹⁸¹ Danby had wanted to prevent a repeat of the last two Parliamentary sessions where Shaftesbury had hampered them from functioning as Danby or Charles wished. As such Danby had known of Shaftesbury's plans and allowed them to be carried out knowing they would fail.¹⁸² Now Danby had an opportunity to effectively neuter the opposition by having Shaftesbury isolated from politics.

As a result of the four men in the House of Lords refusing to ask for a pardon for their dissent, they were sent to the Tower of London for being in contempt of House. Shaftesbury had hoped that popular demonstrations against his imprisonment by the public would dissuade Danby from sending him to the Tower. Although Shaftesbury did receive a large degree of sympathy from the public, the only demonstration held in response to his imprisonment were bonfires set by the Bear Tavern in celebration of it.¹⁸³ The men's stay in the Tower was that which as suitable to their rank, but visitors had to receive permission or be turned away by the Tower guards in order to fully control the men's isolation from politics.¹⁸⁴

They expected not to be held for long since normally they would be held for no more than a month and that the session would soon end as well, which would also release them.¹⁸⁵ However, Danby maneuvered to keep them in the Tower and had their petitions denied and instead of having the session prorogued was adjourned until May. Any MP's that raised the issue

¹⁸¹ Grey iv. 81-95; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 416-8; In 1676 the pamphlet "Pacquet of Advices" were released that painted the image of the country peers being under the command of Shaftesbury which those peers wished to disprove and distance themselves from Shaftesbury, *A Pacquet of Advices and Animadversions, Sent from London to the Men of Shaftesbury...* (London: 1676); *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 226-7.

¹⁸² Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 416.

¹⁸³ *H[istorical] M[anuscript] C[omission]*, Verney, 468.

¹⁸⁴ Only the men's wives were allowed to visit freely; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 420.

¹⁸⁵ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 421, 426-7

of the four men's imprisonments being overly harsh risked joining them, leaving the only way for the men to be freed, that being permission from the House of Lords, in the hands of Danby who now effectively controlled the House.¹⁸⁶

Danby set to work on capitalizing on the absence of the leading opposition members. The 1677 session was able to accomplish a great deal for the Crown. Prior to the adjournment Parliament allocated £600,000 to Charles for the building of new ships, which was double that which was in 1675.¹⁸⁷ Fears began to grow about the growing influence of the Crown and its ministers. Concerns were raised about how more funds were being granted to Charles, allowing him the possibility to grow an army and govern without the need for Parliament. Those fears not being wholly unfounded as the crown, out of fear of London, did keep a personal guard and "trained bands" to ensure physical control over the city.¹⁸⁸ Exasperating those fears was the lack of success the country party had following the imprisonment of several of its members. Their bills either lost in vote or were suitably neutered as to be ineffective.¹⁸⁹

The most contentious subject was the issue of the King's brother and heir being a Catholic. Danby responded to those concerns, and wanting to capitalize on the widespread anti-Catholic sentiment, by proposing and passing an anti-popery bill that would protect the Anglican Church from a Catholic monarch. This bill was little more than a distraction as it was *inutile* and would, in reality, not limit the powers of a Catholic king.¹⁹⁰ That bill was easily seen for what it was by the opposition members.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 426; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 243.

¹⁸⁷ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 422

¹⁸⁸ Allen, "The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis," 288.

¹⁸⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 422-4

¹⁹⁰ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 423-4. The bill stated that a Catholic king could only select Bishops from a list of three made by other bishops in the region and that the king's children would be educated by the bishops.

¹⁹¹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 423. The main concern of the opposition was that the bishops would remain loyal to crown and not bind him, citing the bishops under prior monarch who did not interfere in what the crown desired.

The other main topic of concern was the French bias present in foreign policy. The French string of victories in their war was of great concern not only to the opposition as even Charles acknowledged the gravity of the situation and what French control over the Spanish Netherlands would mean for England.¹⁹² The opposition pushed several points largely centered around the withdraw of English soldiers serving under the French. However, on March 6th when news of the French victory at the Siege of Valenciennes arrived Commons unanimously decided to ask Charles to militarily intervene in the conflict against the French.¹⁹³ Charles was hesitant to break with his French connections and the uses it provided but was open to the possibility of providing some financial support. Parliament was skeptical of raising taxes for the king, while not actively fighting in a war. Danby, who was very open to supporting the Dutch and Spanish to capitalize on the popular anti-French sentiment, decided to adjourn the session and meet sometime after easter in order to keep the possibility of granting funds open “upon emergencies.”¹⁹⁴ However, as mentioned earlier Danby also adjourned the session to keep Shaftesbury in the Tower.

The Spanish, like the Dutch, had grown annoyed with Charles’ French leaning neutrality and saw the pro alliance sentiment in the Commons as a means of applying pressure to him. In March Scottish troops sailing to join the French army were intercepted and captured by Spanish privateers. Two of the men were sent to the Spanish embassy in London and instead of being handed over to the government were instead given to a John Harrington and Robert Murray. Both men were close associates of Shaftesbury (especially Harrington but his story will be detailed later). The two heard the Scots stories and supposedly forced them to sign a deposition

¹⁹² Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 619, 628-9; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, 428.

¹⁹³ Haley, “The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677,” 626; Spurr, *England in the 1670s*, 243.

¹⁹⁴ Grey iv. 343.

on the Scottish government's collusion with French recruitment of unwilling conscripts. They wanted the Scots to present their story to the House of Commons in order to destabilize Danby. However, before that occurred agents of the Secretary of State, Williamson, foiled the plot and had Harrington and Murray arrested and interrogated. In front of the privy council Harrington refused to answer any questions and was sent to Tower. The Commons then refused to take up the case since Harrington was in contempt of the Privy Council, possibly coerced the Scots to sign a falsified affidavit, and was colluding with foreign agents.¹⁹⁵

There is no evidence that Harrington or Murray had been told by Shaftesbury to do what they did.¹⁹⁶ However, they were close enough to the Earl to be able to act independently in accordance with the earl's goals. This near scandal reinforced the belief in Charles and Danby that the release of Shaftesbury and the other Lords would lead to more similar plots occurring. With Danby's main priority being the issue of France, he could not afford to be distracted by dealing with Shaftesbury and resolved to keep him confined to the Tower.¹⁹⁷

Over the course of the following months the four imprisoned Lords would make several petitions to Charles and the Privy Council to be released. Only Wharton was successful in his pleas as he cited his old age, failing health and family matters to appeal to Charles' compassion, who allowed him to stay at his own estate.¹⁹⁸ The other men also sent their own petition but early they neither acknowledged nor apologized for any wrongdoing causing their pleas to be rejected. But in May when Commons met after the adjournment for only a week before being adjourned again until October the Lords knew that if they wanted out, they would have to appeal to

¹⁹⁵ *C.S.P.D 1677-8*, 12-7, 21, 22, 27-9, 233, 318-9, 329, 413; Schwerin, Mar. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 103-5; Grey iv. 255-83; Marvell, *Growth of Popery*, 84; *H.M.C. 7th Report*, i, 469, 470.

¹⁹⁶ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 426.

¹⁹⁷ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 426.

¹⁹⁸ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 427

Charles.¹⁹⁹ Salisbury, not long after Wharton's release, was allowed to return to Hatfield for a month and Buckingham, after a great deal of pleading and outside help, was allowed to inspect a new house for a couple of days in late June.²⁰⁰ By late July Wharton and Salisbury were fully released and Buckingham was given a month's parole.²⁰¹ Shaftesbury's similar attempts to leave the Tower were rejected, as although he had brought similar issues of health and family he did not conform to the government's accusations.²⁰² Charles had now seen that it was not possible for any reconciliation with Shaftesbury.²⁰³ In response to a plea from Shaftesbury citing the ill air in the Tower Charles responded by saying "if my Lord thinks this an ill air, the King will think of some other prison in a better air," suggesting that he could be moved to a different prison where he would there to be unable to participate in politics.²⁰⁴ Despite being seen as a martyr by the public, Shaftesbury would remain in the Tower until February of the following year.²⁰⁵ During his time there he received news of what was happening outside and soon after receiving news of William and Mary's marriage Shaftesbury forewent his stance of being a steadfast martyr that was unjustly imprisoned to trying to get out as soon as possible.²⁰⁶ He realized that he could do more outside of the Tower than inside it. Outside of the Tower, Londoners had their own opinions on the current political state of England abroad and at home.

¹⁹⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 428.

²⁰⁰ *C.S.P.D 1677-8*, 166, 205.

²⁰¹ *C.S.P.D 1677-8*, 260, 261-2, 290.

²⁰² *C.S.P.D 1677-8*, 282.

²⁰³ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 431.

²⁰⁴ *Committee of Foreign Affairs: journal, etc. 1676 Jan 01-1677 Nov 18*. MS SP 104/179 f.1, Records Assembled by the State Paper Office. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). 179.

²⁰⁵ *C.S.P.D 1677-8*, 226, 233; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 429.

²⁰⁶ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 435. There are three undated and most likely unsent letters written by Shaftesbury between October 26th and Decembers 3rd 1677 to Charles II, the Duke of York, and one some unknown lord, published in John Locke, *Works of John Locke* (London: 1823; repr., Darmstadt, Germany: Scientia Verlag, 1963), 9:282-4.

III

November 17th, 1677

The mood of the City had shifted upon the news of the marriage between William and Mary alongside James gaining a son. News of a rebellion in Scotland had reached the City and the day before the recently deceased Archbishop of Canterbury was buried,²⁰⁷ bringing back memories of how the Civil War started. The City was wary of what the future had in store. Charles and his entourage proceeded to the Duke's Theater, located in the City's Temple ward. The king was there to see a play called *Sir Popular Wisdom or the Politician*. We do not have the details of the play but we do know that it had royal patronage and was a satire of the Country party politicians. Outside of the theater on the streets a different political theatrical performance was being displayed, with a large Pope effigy being paraded through the city until it was thrown into a large bonfire.

What we know of this Pope-burning comes from four letters. The letters come from the Spanish ambassador the Marquis de Borgomanero, the Brandenburg ambassador von Schwerin, and two English private correspondents of Richard Langhorne, and Charles Hatton.²⁰⁸ From these letters we get an image of what occurred during the Pope-burning, such as the effigy had "Chayne of Oranges" hanging around the Pope's neck like a necklace.²⁰⁹ There were also several messages on the Pope. A placard on the Pope's chest read "what the duke of Alva could not do

²⁰⁷ Robert Hooke, *The Diary of Robert Hooke 1672-1680*, ed. Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams Hooke (Wykeham Publications, 1968), 328 (hereafter *Hooke Diary*); Barillon 19/29 November; Lake, 9-10.

²⁰⁸ Due to the delay in time for communication between London and Madrid the Spanish ambassadors would typically write to either the governor of Spanish Flanders or the Spanish ambassador in Amsterdam, in this case Borgomanero was writing to the Governor of Flanders, the Duke of Villa Hermosa. Von Schwerin was writing to the Great Elector, Frederick William, in Berlin. Both Langhorne and Charles Hatton were writing to Christopher Hatton.

²⁰⁹ Richard Langhorne to Christopher Hatton, November 20th, 1677, Add. MSS 29556, fo. 272, British library, f. 12.

will be done by the skirt of a women” and in one hand the Pope held a paper that had written on it “the king of France will second everything” with below that being the inscription “projet de paix / project of peace.”²¹⁰ The effigy also had two devils that were whispering in his ear and live cats stuffed into its belly. The effigy was “caryed by four persons in divers habits” and paraded through the city along an unspecified route.²¹¹ Borgomanero writes that “this statue was carried all over London and then [they] burned it.”²¹² The location of where it was burned was at Temple Barr where supposedly a crowd of thousands witnessed it being burned in a large bonfire. The cats in the belly “squawled most hideously as soone as they felt the fire; the common saying all y^e while, it wase y^e language of y^e Pope and y^e Divel in a dialogue betwixt them.”²¹³ A tierce of claret, which is 42 gallons, was provided to the crowd to drink and enjoy the spectacle.²¹⁴

Altogether this pageant shows a political display that was unique especially in the context of the other large Pope-burnings during the period. The burning of a Pope effigy itself was not unique, but the overt political messaging does cause the 1677 Pope-burning to differ from those that came before. This specific event, although seeming to be of spontaneous origins, does suggest that there was a degree of oversight in its organization, and it was possibly a precursor or test run of the large Pope-burnings during the Exclusion Crisis. This change of a civic tradition is shown by Langhorne and Charles Hatton including it in their letters since they saw it was worth informing Christopher Hatton, whom both of their letters were addressed to of what occurred. Although in Charles Hatton’s letter most of it is devoted to informing Christopher of the

²¹⁰ “auf der Brust diese Inschrift gesetzt: ‘Was der Herzog von Alba nicht thun kann, wird noch durch eine Frau geschehen.’ In der einen hand hielt bie Figur ein Papier mit der Inschrift: ‘Projet de paix,’ und darüber; der König in Frankreich wird Alles secundiren.” Schwerin, Nov. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 168-9.

²¹¹ Hatton, 156-7.

²¹² “Esta estatua la llevaron por todo Londrs y luego la quemaron,” Marquis de Borgomanero to the Duke de Villa Hermosa, November 19/29, Archives-Generales du Royaume at Brussels, Letters to the Duke of Villa Hermosa, vol. 491 (hereafter cited as Borgomanero followed by the date of the letter).

²¹³ Hatton, 157.

²¹⁴ Hatton, 157.

muddled process of selecting a new Archbishop of Canterbury after the previous one died on November 9th.²¹⁵

Richard Langhorne was the Hatton Family's lawyer and Charles Hatton was the brother of the contemporary head of the family Christopher Hatton. The Hattons are what we would label as being Tories as during the Exclusion Crisis they were staunch supports of the King and opponents of the Whigs.²¹⁶ Both brothers were vehemently anti-Catholic despite the fact that Langhorne, their lawyer, was a Catholic. In 1679 Langhorne was implicated in the Popish Plot where he would become a Catholic martyr after being tried and executed for treason.²¹⁷

Langhorne being Catholic does not mean that he could not be loyal to the English crown and his protestant patrons, the Hattons, which explains why they had a Catholic lawyer. The reason the Hattons supported the King during the Exclusion Crisis was mostly because the Hattons, like the King and many other elites, believed the plot to be designed by rivals in order to gain more power.²¹⁸ They also feared being indicted in the plot themselves, especially as their lawyer was fatally caught up in it. Throughout the correspondences between the Hatton brothers, the impression is given that Charles was acting as his brother's representative in London, where he was reporting on the happenings in the city. Charles' letter largely serves to inform Christopher of the commotion caused by the issue of the selection of a new Archbishop of Canterbury and how the Protestants and Catholics were arguing for the appointment of their own bishops. It is in the last paragraph of the letter that Charles details the Pope-burning saying:

²¹⁵ Hatton, 157.

²¹⁶ H. D. Turner, "Charles Hatton: A Younger Son," *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 3, no 6 (1965): 258.

²¹⁷ Turner, "Charles Hatton," 258.

²¹⁸ Jeffrey Collins, "The Popish Plot: A Case Study in the Political History of Fear," *Journal of Modern History* 95, no. 1 (2023): 24-5.

Last Saturday [November 17th] y^e coronation of Qⁿ Elizabeth wase solomnised in y^e city wth mighty bonefires and y^e burning of a most costly pope, caryed by four persons in divers habits, and y^e effigies of 2 divells whispering in his eares, his belly filled full of live catts who squawled most hideously as soone as they felt the fire; the common saying all y^e while, it wase y^e language of y^e Pope and y^e Divel in a dialogue betwixt them. A tierce [42 gallons] of claret wase set out before y^e Temple gate for y^e common people. M^r Langhorne sath he is very confident y^e pageantry cost 40^l.²¹⁹

Charles most likely included this anti-Catholic display in the letter to show how the Protestants of London responded to the issue of selecting a new Archbishop of Canterbury. The reason for this is because the two topics appear in the same letter since it makes sense that Hatton would not waste ink and paper on talking about something fun he took part in over the weekend.

Langhorne on the other hand has less to say about the Pope-burning. His correspondence with his patron is largely centered around the financials of the family. But in a letter dated to November 20th, he goes over the usual financial affairs but in the last couple lines he says “Our Prince & Princesse are gone. Wee had on Saturday night In honor of Queen Eliz The Pope Burnt At the Temple Gate in Effigie With a Chayne of Oranges hanging about him.”²²⁰ Unlike Charles, Langhorne’s letters seems to make the connection between the Pope-burning and the recent marriage of William and Mary. The first line is in reference to the newly wedded couple, but following up that message with the description of the oranges around the Popes neck indicates that he at least saw the effigy as being a challenge to the wedding.

The two ambassadors both provide the rest of details of the Pope-burning. Borgomanero had only just arrived in London on May 24th, meaning that is possible that he was unaware of the

²¹⁹ Hatton, 157.

²²⁰ Langhorne to Christopher Hatton, November 20th.

City's Pope-burning tradition hence why he devotes good amount of ink to describe the event that shocked him. Schwerin had been there for a longer period of time but he still does describe the burning in similar detail to Borgomanero. It is possible that both men were not in attendance and merely told what happened at the same time by someone who did witness it. As such both men were probably trying to relay the information they had received of the public response to the marriage and the possible conclusion of the war to the recipients of their respective letters. Both Spain and Brandenburg were involved in the war on the side of the Dutch and tasked their respective ambassadors to have England join their side or at least keep them neutral.²²¹ The latter task meant trying to end Charles II's support of France and was something that Schwerin spent a great deal of time pursuing. Borgomanero instead put effort into becoming familiar with the opposition in an attempt to keep Charles too occupied handling domestic affairs to support the French. Whether or not either man personally bore witness to the event is unclear as they could have been reporting on what they had heard from other, especially since both men speak of the same detail. It is especially doubtful that Borgomanero was in attendance that evening, since if the crowd realized that who he was then the crowd probably would have greatly harmed his person in response to his intrusion upon their drunken, anti-Catholic, xenophobic celebration of Elizabeth accession day. It is possible that Schwerin did personally see the effigy as the crowd would not have been hostile to him and because he was possibly with Charles at the Duke's Theater.

In his letter, Schwerin makes several interesting statements, saying that the Pope-burning occurred "while the king was in the city at the comedy" and that "because the king did not think

²²¹ The other two important ambassadors in London were French, Barillon, and the Dutch Klop both of whom did not write on the Pope-burning. The former spent most of the month communicating with Louis about how the marriage happened and what it meant, the later was busy dealing with William which can explain why both did not write of the Pope-burning.

it advisable to watch this spectacle on the way back, they returned to court by water.”²²² These statements indicate that Schwerin was at the show since he knew that it was a satire and that the king avoided the spectacle by taking the river. He also states that the Pope effigy was supposed to represent the Duke of York, a conclusion that he would have most likely had to arrive at if he personally at the event and not something someone told him.²²³ However, someone with the King could have told Schwerin, and likewise Borgomanero, of what had occurred once Charles returned to Whitehall. In the last sentence of his letter Schwerin says “the authors of this thoughtful entertainment is said to be known to the king, but it is not considered advisable to examine the work.”²²⁴ Indicating that it was someone other than the king who told Schwerin about the king knowing who was responsible for spectacle.

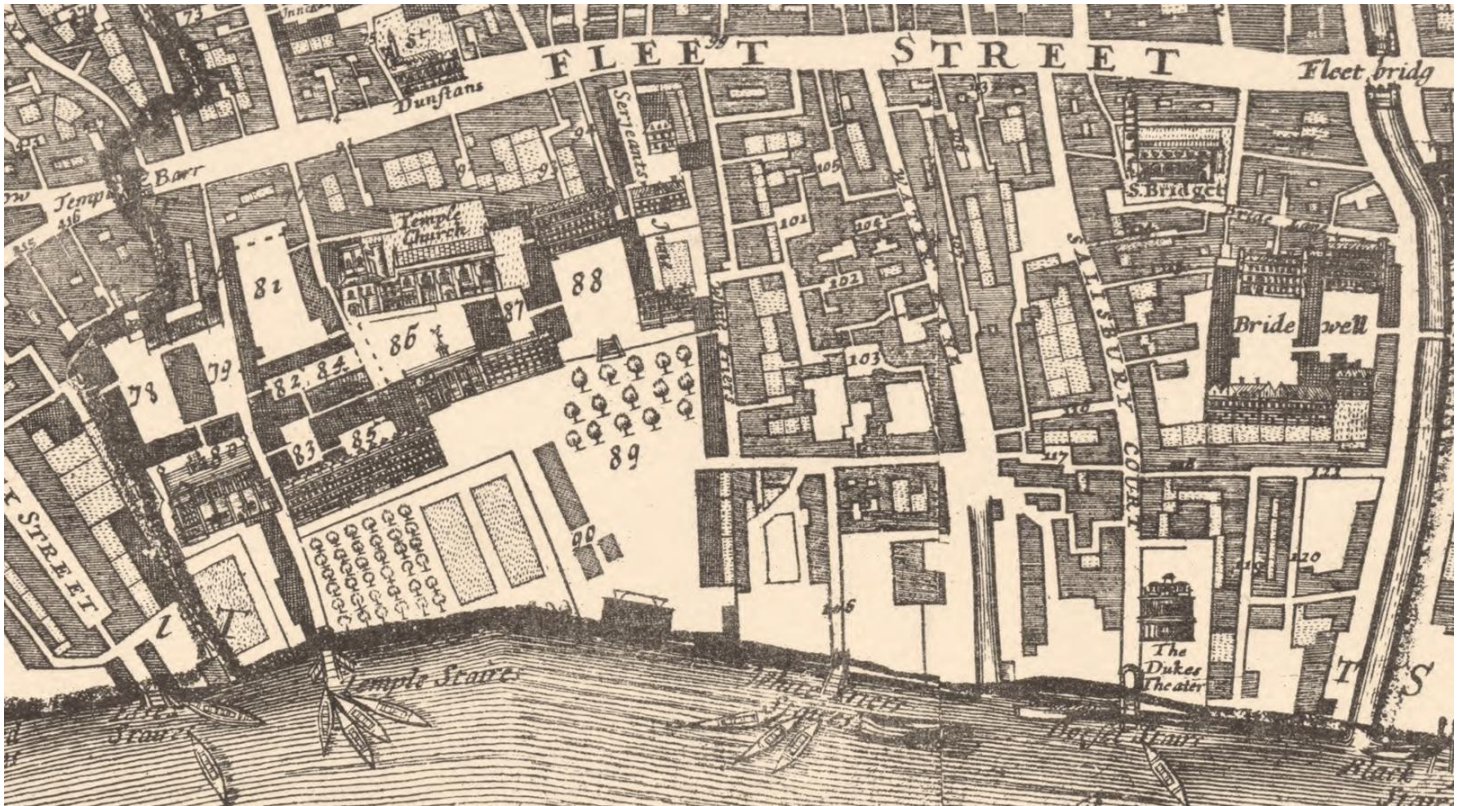
As for the show Charles was attending, the only information about the play comes from a letter from Andrew Marvell to Sir Edward Harley dated to November 17th, that says “to-day is acted the first time *Sir Popular Wisdom or the Politician*, where my Lord Shaftesbury and all his gang are sufficiently personated. I conceive the King will be there.”²²⁵ This gives us little to work with but from that sliver of information we know that it was the crown that was at least publicly supportive of this propaganda piece against the proto-Whigs. During the Restoration theater companies had to have royal approval in order to perform and in 1677 there were only two companies that had such support; one company was the King’s company located at the

²²² “Als der König am verwichenen Sonnabend in der Stadt in der Comödie gewesen ... Weil der König nicht rathsam fand, dies Spektakel auf dem Rückwege mit anzusehen, so ist man zu Wasser wieder nach Hofe gefahren.” Schwerin, Nov. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 168.

²²³ “hat man in einer Straße mit einem Mann in Form eines Pabstes - welches den Herzog von York bedeuten soll – figurirt/ in the streets there was a man in the form of a Pope – which is supposed to mean the Duce of York - was depicted.” Schwerin, Nov. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 168.

²²⁴ “Die Urheber dieser nachdenklichen Kurzweil sollen dem Könige zwar bekannt sein, aber es wird nicht rathsam gehalten, das Werk zu untersuchen.” Schwerin, Nov. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 169.

²²⁵ Andrew Marvell to Sir Edward Harley, Nov. 17, 1677, in *H.M.C., 14th Report, Appendix, Part 2, Portland MSS*, vol. III (1894), 357.



(Fig. 2) A 1682 map showcasing the relationship between Temple Bar and the Duke's Theater with the former in the upper left and the latter near the bottom right along the river (the large black line on the right side that runs through Temple Bar is the border between Westminster and the City of London), William Morgan, et al, *London & c. Actually Surveyed* (London: 1682).

Theater Royal on Drury Lane, and the second was the Duke's Company located at the Duke's Theater next to Dorset stairs. It can be inferred from the two that Charles was at the Duke's Theater that night. The reason being that the Royal Theater is located in Westminster and is inland while the Duke's Theater has a waterfront location along the Thames, and to go from Whitehall to the Duke's Theater one must go through Temple Barr.

The show happening outside the theater at the same time as the play's performance did not kowtow to the crown's forced narrative of events being presented within the theater. Instead, the street performance displayed the anxieties and concerns of the populace of London as well as giving anti-royalist political messages. The performance had altered the traditional civic displays and traditions that were common in London, such as the celebration of Elizabeth's accession day with bonfires and the Lord Mayor's Show.

The Lord Mayor's show is one of the most important public displays of the City's independence which occurred in late October, indicating that time of year to be London's period of pageantry. The loud pageant saw the newly elected Lord Mayor of one of the City's Livery Companies go to and from Westminster abbey, where the incoming mayor would swear allegiance to the king. The pageant was meant to proudly show the City's rights and the power of its guilds as well as its loyalty to the crown. The shows started in the early 13th century but during the Civil Wars the shows had been impeded but did continue just without having to swear to King due to his absence.²²⁶ The Great Fire however did drastically affect the show as it not only destroyed most of the route that the pageant normally took but also the cost and boisterousness on display was lowered since they thought it impractical and in bad taste with the City being in ruin.²²⁷ The amount of people in the pageant was limited to just the incoming and outgoing mayors' companies and the traditional river procession was scrapped with instead the participants riding by horseback to Westminster.²²⁸ As the City rebuilt the show began to become larger in order to show that rebuilding and to reaffirm its independence. By 1671 the show had returned to its pre-fire costs and contained all of the traditional elements of the pageant.

The mock Pope processions were a direct inversion of the Mayor's Show since where the latter was a civic display of loyalty to the Crown, the former was a civic display of disloyalty to the Crown.²²⁹ As the Schwerin had mentioned in his letter, the Pope was not meant to solely represent the Pope, but instead it was meant to display the Popery of the crown, especially the

²²⁶ Ian W. Archer, "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show, c. 1550–1700," in *Civic Performance: Pageantry and Entertainments in Early Modern London*, ed. J. Caitlin Finlayson and Amrita Sen, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2020), 98.

²²⁷ Archer, "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show," 99.

²²⁸ Archer, "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show," 99.

²²⁹ Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 120.

Duke of York. The Pope-burning was meant to be a way to indirectly speak out against the crown while having plausible deniability to prevent suffering the consequences of doing so.

There is no mention of who attended this Pope-burning. It can be assumed that members of the Green Ribbon Club were in attendance as the burning occurred just outside the tavern they met at and because they might have funded the ordeal. It is also perhaps possible that Robert Hooke and Ralph Montague were in attendance. Hooke's diary entry on November 17th states that he missed meeting Montague that night, but the next day's entry simply reads "Montagues draughts. D[ined] H[ome]. Jonathans. Much disturbed. Head aaked with drinking beer and ginger last night," meaning that he was hung over from the previous night's drinking.²³⁰

* * *

What differentiates the 1677 Pope effigy from the ones in the years before is the imagery used to display a political message other than the normal anti-Catholic sentiment. The first point worth mentioning is the necklace of oranges around the Pope's neck. Three of the four letters that talk of the 1677 Pope effigy mention him having oranges around his neck. This was probably meant to be a reference to the House of Orange, which William came from. The exact meaning behind the oranges by themselves is unclear. The oranges could be seen as a collar that is entrapping the Pope. The necklace could also be interpreted as the pope is wearing the necklace to show support for the House of Orange. And if the Pope supports it then it must be bad.

The oranges themselves are of interest since England is known for its orange industry. The only way to grow oranges in England's climate was to build special greenhouses called

²³⁰ *Hooke Diary*, 328-9. Jonathan's was a famous coffee house located at Exchange Alley and Hooke frequented it often including the 17th.

orangeries where the orange trees could be carted inside during the winter. This meant domestically produced oranges could only be grown by those with a modicum of capital to construct an orangery. Oranges could still be imported from abroad from places that have warmer climates more hospitable to oranges but that would increase the price of the fruit to ship it to England. either way the presence of oranges suggest that somebody, or somebodies, with access to a decent amount of wealth provided or paid for the oranges present around the Pope effigy's neck. There is also the possibility that some people stole the oranges.

The messages of “what the duke of Alva could not do will be done by the skirt of a women” is a direct reference to the Duke of Alva's bloody campaign to subjugate the Dutch in the 1560s. But it is saying that now that subjugation will be completed by the marriage of Mary and William.

Having the Pope-burnings held at Temple Barr also has significance since the gate rest between the City and Westminster, being stuck in a liminal position as it marks where the rights of the city starts and the privileges of the crown end.²³¹ That is why from 1676-1680 all of the Pope-burning processions had their climax at Temple Barr.²³² We know that the 1677 Pope was also burned down in a large bonfire at Temple Barr from a letter by Langhorne, saying “Wee had on Saturday night In honor of Queen Eliz The Pope Burnt At the Temple Gate in Effigie With a Chayne of Oranges hanging about him.”²³³ Using the other Pope-burnings as a reference it can be deduced that 1677 Pope-burning occurred on the Inner Temple side of the gate. This is shown in the broadsides for the 1679 and 1680 Pope-burnings which are shown as being on the City

²³¹ Mann, “In Defence of the City,” 75, 82, 83.

²³² The 1681 effigy was burned at Smithfield but did visit Temple Barr on its journey. The procession followed the same route as the year before but when it reached Temple Barr it turned north on Chancery Lane to Holborn Street, then visited Newgate, and then north to conclude at Smithfield. Furley, “Pope-Burning Procession of the Late Seventeenth Century, 22.

²³³ Langhorne to Hatton, November 20th



(Fig. 3) 1679 broadside depicting the Pope-burning of that year. Visible is Temple Bar on the left and between the smoke and flying devil is the King's Head tavern with its balconies filled, *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1679*.

side of the gate. The Green Ribbon Club at the King's Head tavern is reported to have allowed people to buy space to view the burning on the balcony of the tavern with Roger North writing that "the Balconies of the Club were ready to crack with their factious Load."²³⁴ The tavern was on the corner of Fleet and Chancery Lane which means that it could not view the burning had it been on the Westminster side of the gate. The broadsides also show the bonfires as occurring in front of the tavern with the balcony filled with people so it stands to reason that the burnings had occurred right outside the tavern,²³⁵ although such a connection cannot be confirmed nor connected to the other Pope-burnings.

²³⁴ North, *Examine*, 578.

²³⁵ *The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope...*, 1679, broadside.

Temple Barr is a constantly used by contemporaries as a reference point when talking of locations in the City. For instance, in 1673 Charles Hatton uses Temple Bar in letter to describe the Pope-burnings on Guy Fawkes Day saying, “Y^e Pope and his cardinals were, in Cheapeside and other places, hung up and burnt in their effigies. One told me he counted 200 bonfires between Temple Barr and Algate.”²³⁶ Pepys in 1666 uses the nearby Temple as a reference when describing the area affected by the fire saying “a sad sight to see how the River looks: no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped.”²³⁷ The gate was also the traditional royal entry into the City as it was main passage from the court to the city. On November 24th 1588 Queen Elizabeth rode through the City “imitating the ancient Romans” in a grand celebration of the defeat of the Spanish Armada a few months prior.²³⁸ Before entering the City Elizabeth was greeted at Temple Barr by musicians, the livery companies, and the Lord Mayor who gave her the sword of the city.²³⁹ By the reign of the Stuarts the gate acted more as a symbolic threshold to demarcate the border, with only a chain being stretched across the width of the street being the only form of a barrier.²⁴⁰ Ludgate, located further down Fleet Street, acted as the City’s true defensive barrier from the court. Still the area outside of the city walls between Temple Barr held the same rights and privileges as the area within the walls but was stuck in a liminal space of being independent but vulnerable. The processions ending at the gate shows that the burning of Pope effigies was more than just protestants displaying their loathing of Catholicism but also showed their distrust of the Crown.

²³⁶ Hatton, 119.

²³⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, 7:278.

²³⁸ Quoted in Roy C. Strong, “The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1–2 (January 1, 1958): 92.

²³⁹ Elizabeth returned the sword later that evening, Carole Levin, “Elizabeth’s Ghost: The Afterlife of the Queen in Stuart England,” *Royal Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (October 3, 2014): 2.

²⁴⁰ This Chain was removed when General Monck was ordered by the Rump to strip the City of its defenses. Only the chain was removed because Monck did not see it necessary to destroy the whole gate. Mann, “In Defence of the City,” 80.

The conclusion at Temple Barr is symbolic because of its association with the Crown and not because of an association with the Pope. The crowd was sending the Pope into hellfire before it could reach sanctuary in the sympathetic realm of the Crown. The Pope-burnings almost acted as a warning to any Papist seeking to enter the City from Westminster. The conflation of Popery and authoritarianism is seen by their directing of the pageant to the western entrance to the City from Westminster and not another location.

The area around Temple Barr is also important to consider as it held not just symbolic significance but practical political capital as well. Inner temple was one of the main areas in London that had a large concentration of Whig clubs.²⁴¹ The area acted as a layover between the court and the City making it a prime spot for political meetings. Notably the area of inner Temple was known for being the hub of the printing trade of London as many printing workshops, both legal and illegal, could be found in the area.²⁴² The area was also a judicial hub with the Inner Temple Court is located in the area and the Lincoln Inn Court is not far as well. The area also had many areas for political meetings such as taverns, inns, and coffeehouses. The second oldest coffeehouse to open in the City was the Rainbow coffeehouse which opened in 1657 and sat on Inner Temple.²⁴³ Important as well is that the meeting location of the Green Ribbon Club was located at the King's Head Tavern, located at the corner of Chancery Lane and Fleet Street. During the larger Pope-burnings in 1680 and 1681 the club would charge £10 to be able to view the spectacle from the balcony of the tavern.²⁴⁴ The club played an important role in the funding and organizing of the pageants and the tavern was most likely responsible for providing the alcohol for the crowd. The club would have its members all contribute a specific

²⁴¹ Allen, "Political Clubs in Restoration London," 565.

²⁴² Allen, "Political Clubs in Restoration London," 567.

²⁴³ Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (Secker & Warburg, 1956), 33, 36.

²⁴⁴ Harris, *London Crowds*, 105

sum of funds to finance the pageants.²⁴⁵ The procession ending in by the club may have been coincidence at first but as the years went on the club might have become more involved until they became the main patrons of the pageants in 1679.

Another important part of the gate itself was one of the statues on it being of a queen with the crowd believing it to be of Elizabeth. In 1679 the statue was “adorned with a Crown of Gilded Laure” and a golden shield that had written on it “the Protestant Religion, Magna Charta.”²⁴⁶ With the crowd chanting “We do not fear at all / For lo! before Queen *Besses* Feet.”²⁴⁷ The 17th was the anniversary of when Elizabeth ascended to the throne in 1558 and so the memory of her was incorporated into the festival.

* * *

It is important to understand the London tradition of burning effigies of the Pope in November to understand the role the 1677 burning had in the politics of that year. The instance of this tradition came on November 5th, 1673, as a result public outrage in London about the marriage of James to a Catholic. The burning of Pope effigies was probably something that had occurred before but the public disdain for the duke of York’s Catholic marriage was so great as a result of the built-up anxieties over the years meant the bonfires that night were something that contemporaries thought important enough to note. Charles Hatton mention that there were more than 200 bonfires throughout the city.²⁴⁸ One person sarcastically writing about Pope-burnings on November 26th 1673 (one of the few instances we have of a Pope-burning occurring not on the 5th or 17th) that welcomed the new Duchess of York to England, saying that the effigies

²⁴⁵ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 185

²⁴⁶ *The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope...*, 1679, broadside

²⁴⁷ *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1679* (London: 1679).

²⁴⁸ Hatton, 119

were made “with such zeal that one would guess they would bind their children apprentices to the trade.”²⁴⁹ One bonfire that night was of a French man and was shot by a firing squad before being burnt, which shows that the xenophobia of Londoners was also very much present and merged with the anti-Catholic sentiment around the marriage and the recent alliance with the French.²⁵⁰ In this instance the Pope-burnings were unorganized phenomena done on the local level by individuals. Over the course of the following years this remains mostly true of the burnings that occurred on the 5th of November whereas those that occurred on the 17th of November were typically more organized.²⁵¹ The latter’s organization was because of it being Elizabeth’s accession day which could be used to criticize the Stuart monarchs, unlike the 5th which only commemorated the Gunpowder Plot.

There is no recorded evidence of Pope-burnings in 1674. For the following year all we have is a brief mention in an entry of Robert Hooke’s diary which goes “Friday, November 5th, [1675] — Extraordinary much bellringing... Went to see Tombs ill. Stayd with him till 7 at night. Saw mock Pope carryd in procession. None at Garaways —.”²⁵² There is no mention of a Pope-burning occurring on November 17th that year. The 1676 Pope-burning does show signs of organization of Pope-burning processions on November 17th which is shown in a pamphlet that mentions how unique that is for such an event.²⁵³ The sudden presence of organization in 1676

²⁴⁹ *C.S.P.D. 1673-1675*, 44.

²⁵⁰ The French effigy’s execution was a direct response to the French navy’s failure to engage the Dutch navy in battle. Harris, *London Crowds*, 93.

²⁵¹ The only account of a large, organized Pope-burning procession occurring on the 5th is in 1678. For the other years we see more Pope-burnings but each being smaller than the ones seen on the 17th. See *The Manner of the Burning the Pope in Effigies in London on the 5th of November, 1678 with the Manner of Carrying Him through several Streets in Progression to Temple-Bar...* (London: 1678).

²⁵² *Hooke Diary*, 191–2. Garraway’s was a famous coffee house located at Exchange Alley which ran between Cornhill and Lombard Streets. Most likely Hooke saw the procession on his way to Garraway’s along Cornhill.

²⁵³ *The Pope Burnt to Ashes, Or, Defiance to Rome being a Perfect Account how...* (London: 1676).

also happens to align with time the Green Ribbon Club was most likely created.²⁵⁴ This procession seems to be very ad hoc with minimal effort put into it by its creators. The reason being that the pamphlet mentions that it was made of pasteboard and that there were several Popes, not just one large pope in the procession, much like the Pope-burnings that are commonly seen on the November 5th celebrations.²⁵⁵ However there does seem to be one center piece for this processions but there happened to be multiple other unassociated creators of the different effigies that just so happened to have their creations included.

The November 17th, 1676, Pope-burning apparently did not contain overt political messaging like the one the following year, but most likely had the same organizer. The Pope that year was made of pasteboard, “painted calico,” and had a crown decorated “with fine gold.”²⁵⁶ This Pope seems to be grander than the ones that came before as it warranted a pamphlet being created to talk about just how unique it was. The pamphlet even saying that “it was judged by most to have cost a considerable Sum for materials and workmanship.”²⁵⁷ It is possible that this Pope was smaller than those that came after it since the Court of Alderman in 1677 had all of the scaffoldings along the Cheapside taken down since the Mayor’s Show had trouble getting through them.²⁵⁸ This suggests that the 1676 Pope had to be small enough to navigate the scaffolding present along its route whereas in 1677 the scaffolding had been removed for the Mayor’s show. There are several elements that the 1676 and 1677 Pope-burnings share The first was the was the location as both had their processions finish at Temple Barr. Another similarity

²⁵⁴ Jones, “The Green Ribbon Club,” 18; Furley, “The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century,” 16.

²⁵⁵ *The Pope Burnt to Ashes*, 3; Harris, *London Crowds*, 180.

²⁵⁶ *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 3.

²⁵⁷ *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 3.

²⁵⁸ From the Records of the Court of Alderman *October 23rd, 1677*, quoted in Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline* (Cambridge Harvard University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, and Oxford University Press, 1920) 2:55.

between the 1676 and 1677 Pope-burnings was the presence of alcohol for the crowd to consume. The 1676 pamphlet and a 1677 letter both mention specifically that there was a tierce of claret present, and both allude to it being supplied by people of high status.²⁵⁹ The 1676 procession seems to also be the first of major processions to include an actor, in this case a devil whispering to the Pope. The pamphlet throughout a devil communicating with the Pope effigy and on behalf of it, even pleading to not burn him.²⁶⁰ The pamphlet does suggest that the devil burned along with the Pope saying “they cast Pope, Devil, Chair and all into the midst of the Fire.”²⁶¹ Since the Pope was in a dialogue with the devil then both could have been effigies that the crowd was feeding words. The 1677 Pope-burning is likewise not specific about whether the two devils whispering in his ears are actors or effigies. The people carrying the Pope in 1677 however are visible and dressed up to be part of the spectacle, whereas in 1676 they are hidden away.²⁶²

With those connections it stands to reason that some of the people involved in the 1676 pageant were also involved in 1677 Pope effigy’s procession and burning. They could have been simply supportive of the show and provided some of things involved, like a wealthy man or men giving out some alcohol. However, in 1677 those similarities are used to display Whig aligned messages to the public like a theater performance. It stands to reasons that the Whigs were either behind both burnings or were inspired by the 1676 burning to become involved in 1677. The first possibility is that they were slightly involved in the 1676 burning and supported it. This

²⁵⁹ The Pamphlet says explicitly that it was provided by “some Persons of quality.” The Hatton letter alludes to the same conclusion for the 1677 Pope-burning by saying that alcohol was provided for “ye common people” suggesting that it was people of higher status. Additionally, the 1677 letter only mentions the claret whereas the 1676 pamphlet mentions a barrel of beer and a barrel of ale also being present alongside the claret. *The Pope Burnt to Ashes*, i, 4; Hatton, 157.

²⁶⁰ *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 4.

²⁶¹ *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 4.

²⁶² “thus being bourn up by men underneath unseen, as Pageants are carried...” *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 3; “caryed by four persons in divers habits,” Hatton, 157.

reasoning comes from comparing the state of the Whigs in 1676 and 1677. The second possibility is that the 1677 organizers were inspired by the prior year's procession and hired the same individuals or paid them to include several of their own messages.

* * *

The celebration of Elizabeth I's accession to the throne held a special value to the English as it was a celebration of the queen that English protestants had grown to idealize. November 17th also marked the day that Mary I died, which to Protestants was something to celebrate. Elizabeth's accession to many protestants marked the end of the popish rule of her Catholic half-sister Mary and the beginning of a protestant golden age.²⁶³ The new queen had stayed a Protestant through the whole of her sister's reign and revived a national Protestant Church soon after her accession.²⁶⁴ During her rule the public held mixed feelings of her but with her survival of the numerous plots against her and the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 that remained in the collective English memory.²⁶⁵ Towards the end of her reign people had grown displeased with her, on account of string of misfortunes that England experienced in the 1590s and at being ruled by a women for half a decade.²⁶⁶ However, Elizabeths legacy as a the model queen became solidified over the course of the Stuart dynasty's reign. It would be the Elizabeth that gave the speech to her troops at Tilbury that proved to be the queen that people thought of when reminiscing of her reign. That half-a-decade was looked at nostalgically by the English Protestants and they often compared her rule to that of the Stuart monarchs. Where Elizabeth had brought prosperity to the realm, Charles I brought civil war to the realm; where Elizabeth had

²⁶³ Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," 102-3; Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 53-4, 109, 133, 172.

²⁶⁴ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 53-4, 109; Levin, "Elizabeth's Ghost," 4.

²⁶⁵ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 118-9, 123-7, 133, 139.

²⁶⁶ Levin, "Elizabeth's Ghost," 3.

supported Protestants on the continent, such as the Dutch, in fighting wars against Catholic power, Charles II allied with Catholic France to fight the Dutch; where Elizabeth had defended England from a foreign invasion and even had her Catholic cousin Mary queen of Scots executed, James II converted to Catholicism.

November 17th, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, had grown to become a Protestant holiday by the 1670s. It a day that memorialized "Gloriana" and all that she represented. The celebration of a monarch's accession day and birthday was common in England, with the occasions being celebrated by *Bells and Bonfires*.²⁶⁷ In Elizabeths case however, she accession day would continue to be celebrated after her reign to memorialize her and all that she represented.²⁶⁸ When James succeeded the throne in 1603 the celebrations moved to his birthday and accession day. However too the annoyance of James, the celebrations on November 17th soon picked up once again at least by 1620 and would continue to be celebrated in the decades to follow.²⁶⁹ Elizabeth, by the 1640s being seen the patron saint of England, was used by the Long Parliament with them claiming that she would side them and to strengthen that connection the House of Commons on celebrated November 17th 1640 by fasting.²⁷⁰ With the increase of anti-Catholic sentiment and fears amongst the English during the reign of Charles II, the celebration of Elizabeth and the cult that had grown around her would be further expanded.

It is no wonder then why the largest of the Pope-burning processions were held on the November 17th and not the 5th since it meant that the pageants had the double meaning of criticizing Charles. The November 17th, Pope-burning in 1677 containing political imagery and

²⁶⁷ Hence the title of Cressy's book. See Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, ch. 5; J.E. Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History* (St Martin's Press, 1958), 9-21.

²⁶⁸ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 130-40.

²⁶⁹ Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History*, 9-21, Strong, "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I," 103; Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 132.

²⁷⁰ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 139.

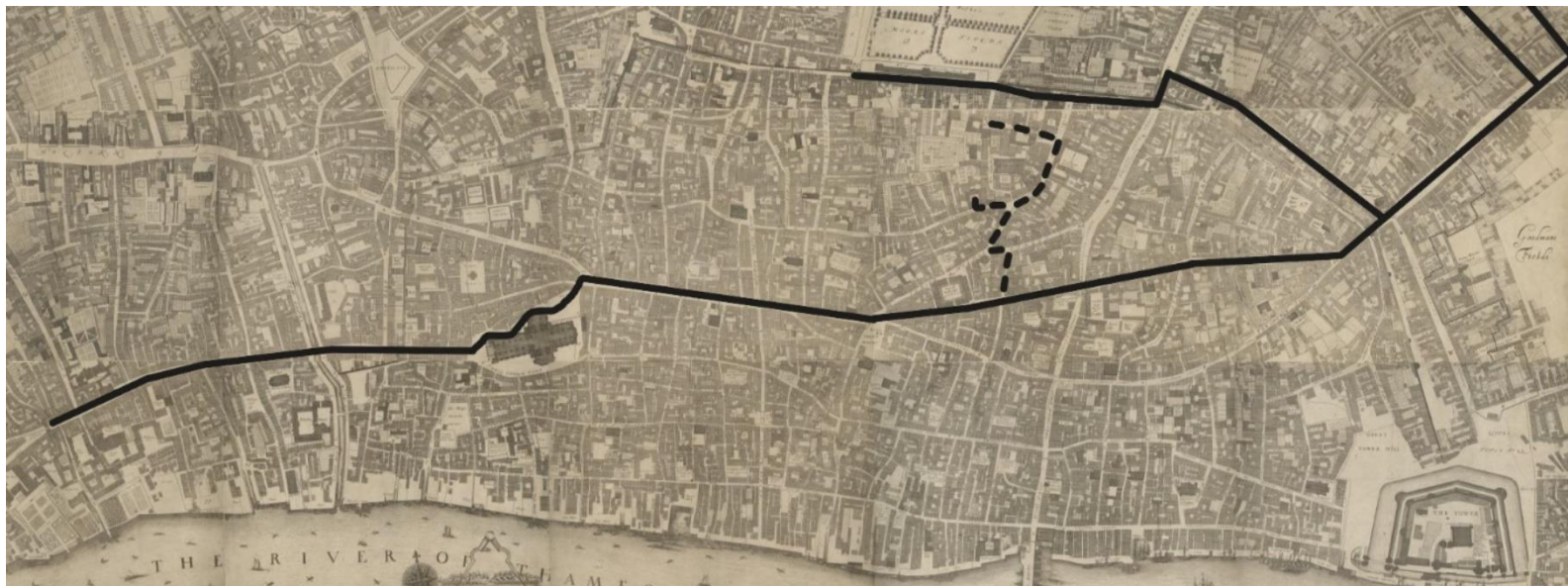
being larger in scale than in prior years is evidence that the organizers of this processions were politically motivated. They had decided to adopt an old tradition and used it for their own benefit. It shows that, prior to the Exclusion Crisis, those who would become the Whigs were making an effort to grow their support base. In this case by enhancing the celebration of Elizabeth's accession day thereby attaching themselves and their movement to the idol of English Protestant worship while also using those celebrations as a way to avoid repercussions from the crown.

Another means of looking at the goals of the organizers is by looking at the route that the procession possible could have taken. None of the sources for the 1677 Pope-burning mention the route that the procession took just statements suggesting that it did have procession through the city. However, a guess can be made as to what the route was by examining the other Pope-burning processions in the years before and after. All that we know of the November 5th celebrations in 1675 is that there was a procession and that it did not go through Exchange Alley but was in the area of Cornhill.²⁷¹ The 1676 pamphlet states that the procession's Pope effigy was brought "forth into the open street, in *Broad-street*" and then moved down to Cornhill via Finch Lane where it had a performance with a bonfire next to the Royal Exchange.²⁷² The procession then preceded down Cheapside and Fleet Street to Temple Barr where it was burned.²⁷³ The 1678 November 5th celebrations had the typically mass Pope-burnings occurring but a pamphlet speaks of one especially large one that had a procession which moved from "the *Royal-Exchange to Temple-Bar*, and visiting most Streets, Courts, and Alleys as he walkt

²⁷¹ All that we know for Pope-burnings in 1675 comes from the entry of Robert Hooke's diary quoted above, *Hooke Diary*, 191–2.

²⁷² *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 2, 3.

²⁷³ *The Pope burnt to Ashes*, 3-4.



(Fig. 4) John Ogilby and William Morgan's 1677 map of London with marked in black on the routes of the 1679, 1680, and 1681 Pope-burnings, with 1679 being the one above the dashed line and the other two starting in the up right hand corner, the possible routes of 1676, 77, and 78 Pope-burnings along Broad Street as dashed lines to the Carpenters and Drapers respective guildhalls (not shown is the portion of the 1681's procession that went from Temple Bar to Smithfield).

along.”²⁷⁴ The 1679 procession started at Moorgate and moved along the City's wall to Aldgate, then proceeded to Cheapside where it then matched the route of the 1676 procession. The processions in 1680 and 1681 started in parallel alleys off Whitechapel and move to Aldgate to then match the other processions, with the 1681 processions having an additional length to its route since it did not finish at Temple Barr.²⁷⁵

All of the processions during their journeys used Cheapside and Fleet Street meaning that the 1677 procession also most likely travel along that path. It makes sense then for the 1677 to go along a similar path as well since it was the traditional throughfare in London and there is no sufficient evidence of any other procession traversing through the City any other way.²⁷⁶ That route went through the areas populated by communities that were most supportive of Exclusion,

²⁷⁴ *The Manner of the burning the pope in effigies in London on the 5th of November, 1678*, 5.

²⁷⁵ *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1679* (London: 1679); *Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1680* (London: For I. Oliver (engraving) and N. Ponder (broadside), 1680); Harris, *London Crowds*, 120-1.

²⁷⁶ The 1681 procession did have an extra length to its journey.

mainly Protestant dissenters.²⁷⁷ It was also the main through fare of the City and passes by several important landmarks such as the Royal Exchange and St Paul’s Cathedral.²⁷⁸ This is why the Lord Mayor’s Show also passes along those streets. However, unlike the Lord Mayor’s show the mock procession went to conclude at Temple Barr since it was, as put by Kathleen Lynch, “anchoring the most prominent land passage from City to Court.”²⁷⁹

* * *

There is also the inclusion of cats, which is an oddity as only Charles Hatton says that cats were included in the 1677 Pope-burning. As for the other Pope-burnings only a couple of lines in a poem about the 1679 Pope-burning mention cats saying “Then howling *Priests* made a more hideous Mew / Then all the Squawling *Pope-burnt-Cats* do now” and “Whilst *Squalls of Burning Cats*, their *Requiem* Sing, / And *Cracking Squibs*, do *Powder-Treason* Ring.”²⁸⁰ There is no reason to believe that the inclusion of cats was a falsehood fabricated by Charles Hatton or that poem only said cats as an allusion to Catholics since the killings would make sense in the context of the period. Whether or not cats were a part of the 1677 Pope-burning, Charles’ writing of their inclusion speaks volumes of how his contemporaries saw and used cats. Charles does not give any insight as to why cats were included in the occasion, instead talking about their inclusion with an indifferent attitude which mirrors that of the crowds. Instead, Charles expects his intended audience to already know, or at least infer, why cats were burned in the Pope effigy.

²⁷⁷ Harris, *London Crowds*, 120-1.

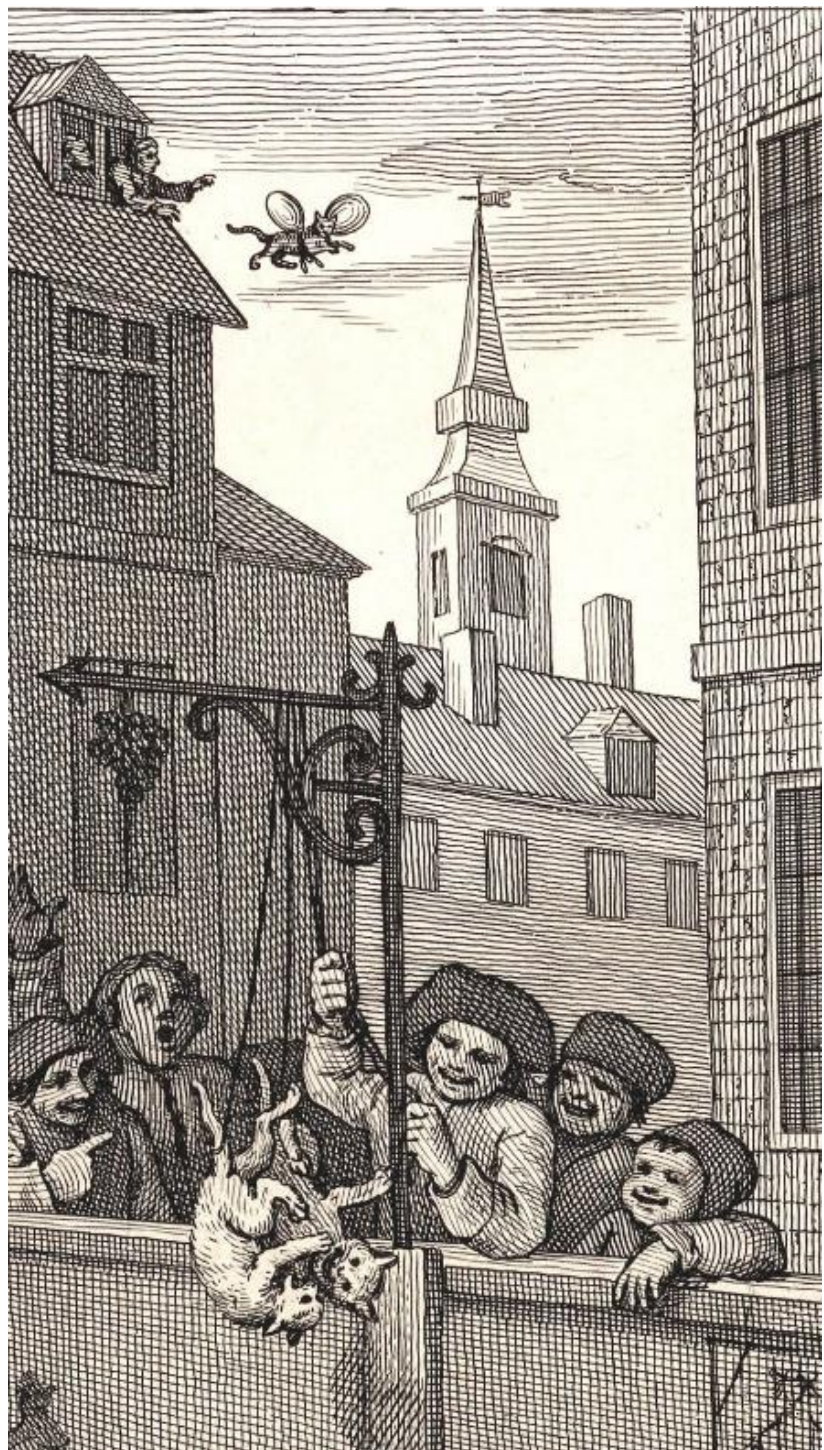
²⁷⁸ Of note is that 1676 Mayor’s Show had to alter its route because St Paul’s was repairing damages suffered from the Great Fire which caused the traditional route from the river to the cathedral to be “obstructed by great Quantities of Stone.” From the Records of the Alderman *October 17th, 1676*, in *English Pageantry*, 2:55. It is possible that the stone could have meant the Pope procession of 1676 and 1677 had to avoid St Paul’s. although it is unlikely as it appears that it was Paul’s Wharf that was cluttered with masonry equipment.

²⁷⁹ Lynch, ““We Protestants in Masquerade,”” 115.

²⁸⁰ *A Poem on the Burning of the Pope being Solemnly Performed on Queen Elizabeths Birth-Day this Instant November the 17th, 1679.*

The immediate guess as to why cats were burned alive in the 1677 Pope-burning is that it served as a sadistic form of entertainment. Cruelty towards animals was not unique to early modern England as such displays can be seen as far back as in the Roman Colosseum.²⁸¹ In England, animal cruelty as a form of entertainment was common during the early modern period. Spectacles such as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and dog-fighting are a few examples of events that were commonly enjoyed by the English.²⁸² Part of the reason for early modern England's lack of sympathy for animals has to do with the philosophical separation of man and beast that the Church put forth in the Middle Ages.²⁸³

Cats were also tormented as a sadistic form of entertainment during the period. An example is how in 1555 London a Protestant, in order to mock the Catholic church, “hanged



(Fig. 5) A 1751 engraving by William Hogarth titled *The First Stage of Cruelty: Children Torturing Animals* (London: 1751).

²⁸¹ James Serpell, *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships* (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1986), 177.

²⁸² Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 177.

²⁸³ Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 127.

a cat on the gallows at Cheapside, its head shaven like a priest's and its body enveloped in mock vestments."²⁸⁴ In this case, a cat was killed as entertainment, but cats were also the victims of English fears stemming from the Reformation. The Protestants used a cat as a substitute for a condemned Catholic priest to highlight what they thought of the Catholic Church. This display, much like the 1677 Pope-burning, didn't need a cat to get the message across. Instead, the cats served as a further insult due to their negative connotations.

To understand why cats were used in the 1677 Pope-burning it is vital to know how and why they carried a symbolic supernatural weight. In the ancient world, cats were seen as sacred, such as with the Egyptian cat goddess Bastet and in the cults of Isis and Dianna. The Romans brought these views of cats to Britain. The myths surrounding cats mixed with Celtic culture and the sacrality of cats led to notions of them being supernatural.²⁸⁵ In areas of Britain that were not overrun by Germanic tribes, it is still possible to find traces of the unaltered view of cats. In Wales there is a belief that certain parts of cats can be used as medicinal cures, one example being the belief that three drops of cat blood on a wart will remove it.²⁸⁶

Cats being sacred led to their inclusion in white magic rituals. One common ritual practiced in England and Northern Europe was the installation of dried mummified cats into newly built homes. Due to the varying age of the cat skeletons, this ritual is believed to have been an old custom originating from the Romans and continued on well into the 18th century.²⁸⁷ This form of white magic had the sacrificed cat act as a protective charm for the home to ward

²⁸⁴ C.S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1976), 299.

²⁸⁵ Katharine Mary Briggs, *Nine Lives: Cats in Folklore* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980), 9-10.

²⁸⁶ Briggs, *Nine Lives*, 72.

²⁸⁷ Margaret M. Howard, "252. Dried Cats." *Man* 51 (1951): 149-51.

off evil spirits.²⁸⁸ It was the commonly held association of cats and the supernatural that led to such a practice.

The perception of cats went through further change as a result of the church in the Middle Ages. Because of cats' association with pagan gods, beliefs, and customs, the Church saw cats as demons, or at least agents of them. This concept is best summarized by the folklorist Katharine Briggs saying, “the persecution of an animal is often a sign that it had once held the status of a god.”²⁸⁹ The Church’s attempt to stamp out the old paganistic beliefs led to cats being associated with Satan. In 1233, Pope Gregory IX made the first association between cats and Satan in the *Vox in Rama*, a papal bull. The *Vox in Rama* is made up of four documents, the first of which describes a cult that worships a black cat. The document insinuates that the cat is an agent of Satan.²⁹⁰ This was the earliest association of cats and the devil. How influential this specific document was to the people of England, or even the entirety of Europe, is not known. However, the idea of the association between cats and the devil continued to grow.

The contemporary philosophical belief that man is superior to beasts, combined with the association of cats with the devil, caused the persecution of cats. During the Middle Ages, the Church pushed forth the philosophical belief that man is superior to animals.²⁹¹ The Church believed that animals were made to be of service to man since it was man that was made in God's image, not beasts.²⁹² This is part of the reason why the torture of animals was a common form of entertainment, since such displays weren't considered immoral. The only role cats were

²⁸⁸ See: Howard, “Dried Cats”; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (Basic Books, 1984), 94-5; Donald W. Engels, *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat* (London: Routledge, 1999), 164.

²⁸⁹ Briggs, *Nine Lives*, 9.

²⁹⁰ Engels, *Classical Cats*, 183-8.

²⁹¹ Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 127.

²⁹² Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2022), 4-5; Aubrey Manning and James Serpell, *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1994), 61.

supposed to play was that of a mouser. Such beliefs of human superiority would not be challenged until the 18th and 19th centuries.²⁹³ During the 1670s, such beliefs were still mainstream, explaining why Charles Hatton and the crowd were indifferent to or enjoyed the spectacle of cats burning alive in the 1677 Pope-burning. Cats were still kept around, however, due to practical reasons such as using cats as mousers or as companions. William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 until his arrest by the Long Parliament in 1640, was said to be a “great lover of Cats” and had bought several cats from Cyprus that were £5 each sometime in 1637 or 1638.²⁹⁴

One of the most important aspects of how cats were viewed in England during the 17th century was the believed association that cats had with witches.²⁹⁵ In England, following the passing of the Witchcraft Act of 1563, witchcraft was a crime to be tried in the regular judicial system.²⁹⁶ One of the common pieces of evidence used in the trials was the keeping of a familiar, an aspect of English witchcraft trials that differed from those on the Continent. Essentially, the law framed the keeping of a pet as a suspicious act that could be evidence of witchcraft.

Cats were commonly seen in the trials as being a witch's familiar, mostly in eastern England because of the lack of Gallo-Roman ties to the old view of cats.²⁹⁷ Another aspect that differed from the Continent was how most of the accused were women, typically elderly

²⁹³ Rebecca Gordon, “From Pests to Pets: Social and Cultural Perceptions of Animals in Post-Medieval Urban Centres in England (AD 1500 – 1900).” *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2017).

²⁹⁴ Aubrey’s Brief Lives: Edited from the Original Manuscripts, ed. O. Lawson Dick (London, 1949), p. xxxvi, in Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 28.

²⁹⁵ The first significant connection of cats as a witch’s familiar is in the *Malleus Maleficarum*; Henry Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers (1486, 1928), part 2, ch. IX.

²⁹⁶ Mary Douglas, *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations* (London; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1970), 12-3; Christina Hole, *Witchcraft in England* (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1947), 27. There were three Witchcraft acts, the first act was passed in 1542 and repealed in 1547. The second was passed in 1563 and was later broadened by the third act in 1604 which was repealed in 1736; Douglas, *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations*, 49-50; J.A. Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 14, 78-80; Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 302; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 147.

²⁹⁷ Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 48; Engels, *Classical Cats*, 163.

antisocial widows.²⁹⁸ The reasons for both cats and socially outcast women being commonly seen in witch trials can, in part, be explained by the precedent set during the 1566 trial of the Witches of Chelmsford.²⁹⁹ In this trial, one of the central pieces of evidence used against the witches was their supposed use of a cat as their familiar. The three women accused were Elizabeth Francis, the widow Agnes Waterhouse, and Agnes's daughter Joan Waterhouse.³⁰⁰ The white-spotted cat was supposedly given to Elizabeth by her grandmother who instructed her in how to use witchcraft and take care of the cat.³⁰¹ Allegedly, the cat spoke to Elizabeth in a deep voice, was called Satan (sometimes spelled Sathan), and was fed with drops of blood.³⁰² After fifteen or sixteen years, Elizabeth gave the cat to Agnes, in exchange for a cake.³⁰³ Elizabeth instructed Agnes on how to use witchcraft and take care of the cat just as her grandmother had done with her.³⁰⁴ Agnes was accused of using the cat to kill cattle, causing the illness and death of her neighbors, as well as harassing a twelve-year-old girl that annoyed her.³⁰⁵ The twelve-year-old's testimony was the main piece of evidence leveled against Agnes and her daughter, despite the vast degree of blatant embellishment in the girl's story.³⁰⁶ Agnes was found guilty and executed by hanging on July 29th, 1677, two days after her trial.³⁰⁷ Elizabeth was executed seven years later during an unrelated witch trial, and Joan was acquitted.³⁰⁸ One interesting thing worth noting is how on the day of her execution, Agnes gave her last confession where she said that

²⁹⁸ Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, 38; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 18; Barbara Rosen, *Witchcraft* (New York: Taplinger, 1972), 32; Briggs, *Nine Lives*, 77.

²⁹⁹ Ronald Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History* (London: Muller, 1974), 74.

³⁰⁰ Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-75.

³⁰¹ Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50.

³⁰² Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82; Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 302-8; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50. The cat also changes to into a toad and a dog at different points in the story.

³⁰³ Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 305.

³⁰⁴ Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 305.

³⁰⁵ Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50; Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 306.

³⁰⁶ Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*. 75; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72.

³⁰⁷ Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82.

³⁰⁸ Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82.

Satan, the cat, forced her to only pray in Latin and not in English.³⁰⁹ According to this account, it would appear that Satan the cat was a Catholic. Although the confessions from the accused were not gathered under torture, they still may not be fully reliable. The reasons why the women confessed are not fully understood. One possible reason as to why Agnes confessed is so all the blame could fall on her and Joan could be spared.

Many of the stereotypes of witches, such as being old women, come from the 1566 Witches of Chelmsford trial, as it was the first of its kind to have pamphlets about it be widely circulated throughout England.³¹⁰ The cat, being a central figure during the trial, became a precedent for future witch trials in England where cats were commonly seen as witches' familiars and used as evidence. This is not to say that this case was the sole or even largest reason that cats were associated with witchcraft. There are plenty of other cases of people accused of being witches because of a relationship with a cat, even as minute as having a cat jump through their window.³¹¹ The most influential writing on witchcraft in England is Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, which does talk about how witches' familiars can take the form of cats.³¹² Later, the Witchcraft Act of 1604 would specifically mention animal familiars, leading to a new legal basis to try witches for having a familiar.³¹³

The belief that cats had a connection to witchcraft was so ingrained in the public consciousness that plays from the period mentioned cats in such contexts. One example is seen in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* where one of the three witches calls to her familiar saying "I come, grimalkin [gray cat]!"³¹⁴ There is also the use of cats as ingredients in witches' charms as

³⁰⁹ Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 308.

³¹⁰ Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 303.

³¹¹ Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 48.

³¹² Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft ...* (London: By William Brome, 1584), 7.

³¹³ Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 87.

³¹⁴ William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Thomas Marc Parrott (New York: American Book Co, 1904), 1.1.9.

represented in Ben Jonson's 1609 play *The Masque of Queens*.³¹⁵ The depiction of cats incorporated into the practice of witchcraft illustrates the cultural belief that cats had supernatural qualities. Contemporary plays mentioning cats with witches do not show how the two were associated with each other. Instead, it highlights the public's belief of the two being associated.

The association of cats with witchcraft is one of the most significant things to consider when discussing cats in 17th-century England. In a way, the Protestant crowd during the 1677 Pope-burning was accusing the Pope (or who the Pope represented) of being a witch. This interpretation rests on the concept in English witchcraft that animal familiars were agents of the devil that were given to witches. Hatton's letter states that the crowd interpreted the screams of the burning cats as "ye language of ye Pope and ye Divil in a dialogue betwixt them."³¹⁶ This suggests that the Pope was using the cats as familiars. The crowd, therefore, was burning the evil Pope alongside his evil cat familiars. Seeing as how both were seen as agents of the devil, to the crowd it made sense that they burn together.

When discussing the large cat massacre, it is important to mention how such massacres can be found in Christian customs. Many Christian holidays borrowed qualities from pagan holidays which included the killings of cats. Some examples are Lent and St. John's Day, where at both it was common to see large amounts of cats killed.³¹⁷ In the case of the latter, people killed cats in a manner similar to the 1677 Pope-burning, in that they burned them alive in bonfires. During St. John's Day, cats were rounded up and thrown or lowered into bonfires. St. John's Day replaced the pagan holiday of Midsummer's day and as a result borrowed pagan

³¹⁵ Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 334-345.

³¹⁶ Hatton, 157.

³¹⁷ Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164

aspects from it including the placing of live sacrifices, human or animal, into bonfires.³¹⁸ These killings acted as a form of white magic, in which the cats were a sort of sacrifice that would cleanse the town of its sins. But since many by this point saw cats as evil, they performed the killings so that the screams of the evil cats would scare other evil spirits away.³¹⁹ There's also the aspect that these mass killings acted as a form of sadistic entertainment to the onlookers. The 1677 Pope-burning's inclusion of cats possibly could have been a result of the Protestant Londoners deciding to replicate the St. John's Day bonfires' inclusion of cats where the cats could have been seen as a way to cleanse the onlookers of their sins. However, the more probable interpretation is that the bonfire was meant to cleanse the cats and Pope of their sins. Either way, the practice of burning live cats was a custom that was familiar to Londoners in 1677.

The specifics about the cats in the effigy aren't a point of discussion in Charles's letter, but some speculations can be made. One such speculation is that the cats burned in the effigy belonged to the same colony, based on how the event took place towards the tail end of kitten season. It would make sense that there could be a colony of stray, juvenile cats around that time of year, and that the colony lived near Temple Bar or, more likely, in the area where the Pope was built. Another line of reasoning is that the cats were included in an impromptu manner. The crowd might have spotted or already known about the colony, leading to a collective, inebriated, decision to round up the cats and incorporate them into the festival. If the colony was located in one of the nearby courtyards, then they easily could have been herded into any number of choke points. This process might have played out as a sort of game in a manner similar to the cat

³¹⁸ Owen Davies and Ceri Houlbrook, *Building Magic: Ritual and Re-enchantment in Post-Medieval Structures* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 27; Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164.

³¹⁹ Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164

massacre described by Darnton that took place in Rue Saint-Séverin, Paris.³²⁰ Maybe the cats were mousers of one or more local Catholics and the Protestant crowd was targeting their cats due to anti-Catholic sentiment.

Cats being ubiquitous meant that they were an easily acquired addition to the anti-Catholic spectacle. Despite the connotations that surrounded cats, people still kept them as mousers. However, this fact alone does not explain their inclusion as opposed to dogs and rats, which were also common in London but not a part of the burning. Cats had more symbolism and supernatural associations surrounding them, which is likely why they were the ones burned. It was the fact that they were associated with the devil that Londoners burned them alongside the Pope. The Londoners were setting out to send a message to the elites and the king by burning cats with the Pope, all the while having fun. In the eyes of the Protestant crowd, both cats and the Pope were servants of the devil. The only thing that the cats did wrong was inhabit an area whose human residents viewed them as being evil demon familiars, for which they were none the wiser. As a result, the cats' final moments were experienced in a plight saturated with agony, for which they were powerless to understand the forces that had brought this upon them; with the violent ordeal only ending after succumbing to asphyxiation and smoke inhalation.

³²⁰ Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 76-7, 103.

IV

Conclusion

It is clear that there was a shift in the messaging of the procession between 1676 and 1677. Where the 1676 Pope-burnings seems like an annual tradition that had received more funding, the 1677 pageant contained political messages in support of the opposition party. Most interesting is the explicit placards that relate to the French alliance and to the marriage of William and Mary. Following the announcement of the marriage popular celebrations were held in response on November 5th in conjunction with the anniversary of the discovery of the Gun Powder Plot. However, the celebrations seen on this Gun Powder Treason day were larger than those in the past since the trained bands were sent out to patrol the streets, which shows that the marriage was popularly received by a quantity of the public.³²¹ The marriage meant that Mary had more of a chance to succeeding her father to throne and opened up the possibility of England intervening in the Franco-Dutch war to fight the French. But the Pope-burning on the 17th is not a celebration of gaining a victory over Popery. Instead, we see it present a conspiracy theory of William being a secret Papist working with France. The reason for the disconnect between the two moods lies in the pessimistic attitude of Londoners towards the state of affairs and the politics of the proto-Whigs.

There was still a great deal that Londoners were worried about. The marriage also did not solve the problem of Charles being inclined to want to become an absolute monarch, nor the issue of James being the next in line for the throne. James having a son born on the 7th which created the possibility of a long-term overtly Catholic line of succession for the English

³²¹ *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 446; Lake, 6.

throne.³²² Trouble was also brewing in Scotland with the Duke of Lauderdale being sent North to deal with some covenanters.³²³ That issue would soon grow into the 1679 Covenanters Rebellion. In 1677 the issue was small but did act as reminder to the Civil War with the first domino to fall that led to the conflict's start came from Scotland.³²⁴ The death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, on November 9th could have also been seen as a foreboding omen as just before the Civil War started Parliament had the Laud arrested.³²⁵

A possible reason for the political messaging to appear naturally without any outside political organizers is understanding the possible views of William held by Londoners. The conspiracy culture of London during this time played a role in framing William as a Papist. For one, William was not doing great in the war against France by this point and some people prone to seeing the worst in things might interpret Williams defeats as being deliberate.³²⁶ That is to say that William was working with France to subjugate Holland and possibly Spanish Flanders under Louis XIV. That theory reinforced to the more skeptical by William actions at Queen Catherine's birthday ball on the 15th giving more attention to the Catholic Queen than to his own wife.³²⁷ It is also important to consider that England and the Dutch had just been at war with each other, and so it is possible that many saw the marriage with skepticism along that lines of the Dutch being a rival nation. William was also viewed as being an absolute monarch by some.

³²² The child died five weeks later on December 12th. Although Lake believes the child died do to being "miss managed" by his caretakes the infant most likely died as a result of being exposed to smallpox, with the most possible culprits being his mother, the servants, or the future Queen of England Princess Anne. Lake, 14, 15.

³²³ Barillon November 19/29.

³²⁴ Barillon November 19/29.

³²⁵ The selection of who would replace Sheldon quickly became political with the King in January 1678 selection the Dean of St. Paul's, William Sancroft, over many of the higher-ranking members of the episcopate. Hatton, 157; R.A.P.J. Beddard, "Sancroft, William (1617–1693), archbishop of Canterbury and nonjuror," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004.

³²⁶ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 640, 647-8.

³²⁷ Haley, "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677," 647; Murr "An Inflammatory Match," 733. William was very uncaring for wife and instead was more concerned with what was happening in Holland while he was away in England.

The Netherlands was a republic and their views on William came from a belief that he wanted to become a monarch.³²⁸ Whereas the English didn't view him as a Stadtholder in a republic but as a monarch who was now stretching his power into England.³²⁹ The fate of William's political rivals had an ominous precedent in the form of the de Witt brothers which did offer any reassurances to the English.³³⁰

Several contemporary letters illustrate the conspiracy.³³¹ To pick one as an example, Richard Langhorne in a letter dated as October 16th to Christopher Hatton says "how coldly our malecontents looke upon and how malitiously they speake of that Prince. The whole may be wound upp in this short Character that he is a Papist and will certainly declare himself to be so whenever the French King shall give him his direceons [sic] for that purpose."³³² Many of the figures within London at the time record the people's suspicion of William.³³³ There was a constant fear amongst Protestants that there were secret Papists that would hide their faith to await order from the Pope.³³⁴

It is much more likely that the pageant's message was created by those who were against the marriage. This group could be described as the proto-Whigs. A 1677 reprint of a 1673 pamphlet titled *News from Rome* was being circulated. The pseudonym used by the publisher is Martin Marpoppe, which is an allusion to the Marprelate Controversy under Elizabeth in the late

³²⁸ Murray, "An Inflammatory Match?," 734–35.

³²⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 435.

³³⁰ The maiming and cannibalism of the two statesmen's bodies was carried out by a mob of Organist supporters but was not ordered by William.

³³¹ Borgomanero, October 15/25; Barillon, October 25/November 4 and October 29/November 8; Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde, September 18, 22, and 25, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, iv. 376-7.

³³² Langhorne to Hatton, October 20th, 1677, Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 29556 fo. 243, quoted in Murray, "An Inflammatory Match?," 733; Haley, "'No Popery' in the Reign of Charles II," 102–3.

³³³ See: Murray, "An Inflammatory Match?"

³³⁴ Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade,'" 111; Harris, *London Crowds*, 112.



(Fig. 6) Image on the cover of the 1677 ed. of *News from Rome...*

1580s and shows a knowledge of English Protestant history.³³⁵ The pamphlet is a satire that describes a conversation between the Devil and the Pope which was common at the time. With the Pope adhering to the Devils commands. They talk of topics ranging from the interregnum, the failed plot to destroy the City with fire, but complains that when all was going well for their plans opposition grew and his “*Sacred person*” was “*Burnt by the Hereticks in Effigi.*”³³⁶ This may be a reference to the increase in Pope-burnings seen in 1673. The pamphlet then list several orders given out to those “*facilitating the Re-establishment of Popery, in Heretical Countries.*” The second and final orders listed are of note. The second order states that the Papist should “*conceal [their] Religion.*”³³⁷ The final order states that “*Forget not our primitive policy in*

³³⁵ Joseph Black, “Marpelate, Martin (fl. 1588–1589), pamphleteer,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 23 (Sep. 2004).

³³⁶ *News from Rome being a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil at a Late Conference...* ([London]: Martin Marpoppe, 1677); *Room for news, or, News from Rome being a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil at a Late Conference* ([London]: Martin Marpoppe, 1673), 5. Page numbers are the same for both editions.

³³⁷ *News From Rome...*, 6.

Tempting *Eve* first... There is no Devil to the *Shee-Devil*, [Women] long since brought the *Strongest* of men to *Ruine*, and the *Wisest* to *Idolatry*.”³³⁸ Those two passages can indirectly relate to the marriage of James in 1673 when the pamphlet was first made. It was most likely written sometime around November 20th of the year and printed in London soon after as the. The reappearance of this pamphlet in November of 1677 means that whoever was printing it thought it was relevant once more. Since the main concern of the pamphlet is that of the marriage between James and a Mary of Modena, the reprint makes the connection between that marriage and the one between William and Mary in 1677.

With the pamphlet being against William’s marriage, it is unlikely to have come from Netherlands and was probably printed in secret within London. The Whigs were against the marriage of Mary to William, despite him being a protestant, because the Dutch were rivals to England and the marriage meant that the Franco-Dutch war might end. The Whigs wanted to join the Dutch in their fight against the Catholic French while Charles wanted to use the marriage to try and broker peace. At that point in the war France had just had major military successes in capturing strategically important cities and if the war ended then those lands would be given to France and increase its power in the region. A potential war with France also meant that Charles or James could not be supported by the French as a last resort if the crown’s ability to suppress opposition failed. Charles did see the relationship with France as being a crucial lifeline seeing as the Whigs began to grow bolder. The war would also not only exhaust French troops but also the English crown’s troops. This meant that Charles’ ability to govern via physical means would be lessened, alongside the security that the military provided, leaving open the possibility to the Whigs to gain power through force. Which seems to suggest that the Whigs’ fears of Charles

³³⁸ *News From Rome...*, 7.

governing through military force was projection, which helps to explain much of the rationale of the proto-Whigs.

Whigs were certainly willing later to use force when they were pushed against the wall in 1683 with the Rye House Plot and in 1685 with the Monmouth Rebellion. The Country party as a whole was left out of the loop when it came to the King's foreign policy and as such the war was their largest concern.³³⁹ Meanwhile the opposition was still neutered as Shaftesbury was still locked up in the Tower for the foreseeable future. This meant that the de facto head of the opposition was unable to personally communicate with William to ascertain his stance on matters important to the opposition.³⁴⁰ The only time Shaftesbury and William interacted was when the latter last visited England in 1670 at the age of 20. Shaftesbury and by extension his party were therefore unable to accurately gauge the full extent of his character as he was still young.³⁴¹

The Pope-burning was a way for the proto-Whigs to deliver their message publicly. Since the crown controlled the theaters they had to resort to using public spectacles rooted in civic tradition and that celebrated a previous monarch in order to avoid punishment. The Pope-burnings were a way to attack the crown without suffering the consequence of doing so. The Pope was a representation of the popery of the crown. This is best put by Odai Johnson in his book *Rehearsing the Revolution*, in which he notes that the challenge for the creators of the pageants is "to say 'Pope' and mean 'King,' to draw Roger [L'Estrange] and burn York, to read royalist and act radical."³⁴² That way the creators could avoid being punished for besmirching the Crown. The same idea applies to the 1677 Pope-burning with contemporaries speaking of the

³³⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 442-3.

³⁴⁰ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 435.

³⁴¹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 435.

³⁴² Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 140.

same with Schwerin in his letter saying that the Pope was “supposed to mean the Duke of York.”³⁴³

* * *

One point of interest that should be brought up is the possible origins of the Pope effigy. The processions in 1676, 1678, and 1679 all seem to originate from the City’s Broad Street Ward. The 1676 burning is specifically mentioned to have been brought out into Broad Street, the 1679 one started at Moorgate and the 1678’s start is at the Royal Exchange. The 1676 effigy was said to have been brought down to the Royal Exchange and then moved on to Temple Barr, so it is possible the author of the 1678 pamphlet only talked about when the procession officially started or they were not present for when it was brought out. Moreover the 1679 Pope could have been built in the ward and moved to Moorgate to meet with the rest of the precession since it had many more floats and actors in it than just one Pope. The area was also closely situated to other well-known Whig clubs, including the clubs that Shaftesbury and Buckingham were known to have frequented.³⁴⁴ Both clubs were the headquarters for their respective factions within the Whig movement.³⁴⁵ The Green Ribbon Club was the front line of the movement with it being openly situated next to the courts and at the border of the City and Westminster. The club could act more overt in its actions and act as screen for the Whigs by proudly flaunting their Green Ribbons during the Pope-burnings,³⁴⁶ green being the color of the Levelers during the

³⁴³ “welches den Herzog von York bedeuten soll” Schwerin, Nov. 20/30, in *Briefe aus England*, 168.

³⁴⁴ Shaftesbury’s club was at the Nag’s Head Tavern along Cheapside and Buckingham’s was at the Salutation tavern along Lombard Street; Allen, “Political Clubs in Restoration London,” 571.

³⁴⁵ Allen, “Political Clubs in Restoration London,” 571.

³⁴⁶ North, *Examine*, 572.

Revolution.³⁴⁷ But the days before the Popish Plot they could have been acting as instigators for the opposition movement that sought to avoid attention. Since in 1677 it could be dangerous for one's own health to be overtly responsible for rallying the crowd of London in fashion that could be interpreted as being anti-royal. The Whigs did not yet have a dead justice Godfrey to exploit. The crown was aware of how the gathering could easily escalate and had the trained bands keeping watch on the Pope-burnings on the 5th with newly commissioned Francis Chaplin writing to Williamson saying "I had my scouts all over the City... A great quantity of people gathered together about the Monument. I had a guard there to watch them. They only burnt the Pope and so went home."³⁴⁸ Indicating that the at least those responsible for the security of the crown saw the Pope-burnings as disconcerting and as possible threat. The proto-Whigs at this time were not in a position of power to bring about the government's fears while avoiding the full consequences of doing so. As such, the Green Ribbon Club could only grow support for their movement and mask their involvement in the Pope-burning by outsourcing it.

The most likely place in the ward where the effigy was constructed was wither the Drapers hall or the Carpenters hall which were both situated there.³⁴⁹ Both guilds were important in the company politics of the City and in creating the floats for the Mayor's Show.³⁵⁰ That is to say that the guilds were was experienced in the world of London pageantry politics and public display. The Drapers were responsible for the clothes in the Show and notably a Draper was

³⁴⁷ By 1676 the color green had come to be associated with those who wanted a new parliament to be called and in the following years it became associated with the Whigs, Edward Legon, "Bound up with Meaning: The Politics and Memory of Ribbon Wearing in Restoration England and Scotland," *Journal of British Studies* 56, no. 1 (2017): 34.

³⁴⁸ *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 446.

³⁴⁹ The Royal Society, headed by Robert Hooke was located at Gresham College along Broad Street. Further, on the 14th and 17th Hooke met with Secretary of State Williamson and on the 16th he discussed with several society members about regulating the society. The specifics of this conversation are not mentioned but it could be that he was worried about them building a Pope effigy, or complicit with those that are, might put the Society in danger. Hooke was probably a bystander for this event as he was focused on managing the society. *Hooke Diary*, 328.

³⁵⁰ Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 119.

Lord Mayor in 1675, 1676, and 1679. The Green Ribbon Club's 1680 Committee to Burn a Pope had two members that were in the Drapers guild and one known associate of the club was a famed carpenter. This makes it possible that they could have been the ones responsible for building the effigies. Unknown apprentices or freemen could have also been responsible for the construction of the Pope. As has been shown, they were known for being a nuisance to the government with riots being common. But since they are by nature unknown the following section will focus on several individuals whose names are available to us today.

What we know from Pepys' transcription of the Green Ribbon Club's minutes is that the club funded the creation of the procession similarly seen in the Mayor's Show.³⁵¹ Some of the club's members were a part of the drapers guild which just so happened to be responsible for the Lord Mayor's Shows in 1675 and 1676 so they probably brought the same methods to the Pope processions.³⁵² It is important however to not put too much emphasis on the Green Ribbon Club. Instead, the club outsourced the project to others and most likely helped finance the Pope's construction and they were probably the "persons of quality" that provided "ye common people" with alcohol.³⁵³ Charles Hatton in 1679 tells us that "they of y^e clubb have contributed 10^{li} a peice for his effigies to be burnt, w[hi]ch will cost 100^{li}."³⁵⁴ The minutes for the club does indicate that the club had some role in the procession that year which is shown in the November 1st entry:

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this club that a Pope shall be burnt according to custom, the 17th of this instant November, being the day observed for the honoring of the

³⁵¹ The club's minutes were given to Pepys by the King who had received them from Robert Peyton who was a member of the club that defected from the club. There is no digital version of the Club's minutes and so I will be relying upon what others have written about it.

³⁵² Archer, "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show," 100.

³⁵³ *The Pope Burnt to Ashes*, 4; Hatton, 157.

³⁵⁴ Hatton, 203.

famous Protestant Queen, Queen Elizabeth; and ordered that the preparation of this matter be referred to a committee of five of this Society.”³⁵⁵

The club most likely wanted to have a more organized procession in 1679, hence the creation of a committee which suggests that in the years before the club only acted as a patron for the makers of the effigy. There is also good reason to believe that there were more than five key figures in the 1679 Pope-burning because the following year’s Pope-burning had several important organizers that were not listed as being members of the committee.

Unlike the 1679 committee, we have the names of the members of the Green Ribbon Club’s 1680 committee to burn a Pope and the people who contributed their abilities to help create the pageant. Most of them were opposed to the authority of the crown, for one reason or another, and were apart of conspiracies or plots against it, demonstrating the type of individuals involved in the Pope-burning trade. There are seven members and those that are relevant to this paper are John Harrington, Ezekiel Hutchinson, and Daniel Blake.³⁵⁶ Three additional individuals who were not members of the club are known to have been heavily involved in the

³⁵⁵ Pepys’ Library, Magdalene College, Misc. V.ii, 2875, quoted in Furley, “The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century,” 20.

³⁵⁶ The other four members are Colonel Henry Starkey, Hugh Speke, Thomas Percival, and Thomas Hooper. Starkey came from a family involved with the Whig movement and is probably how he became involved with the club. He was known to have stockpiled munitions for the club and was tried for treason multiple times. Speke came from a family of Commonwealth republicans with his older brother, John, becoming an MP in 1679. The family was banished to Holland for its involvement in the Monmouth Rebellion, except for Hugh who was in jail at the time for sedition. Being the younger brother Hugh was sidelines and involved in shady antigovernment affairs. Under James II he became a double agent worked to install William as king. Following the revolution in 1688 Hugh was given an office by William. Percival was an attorney whose father was a muster-master under Cromwell. He was involved in bribery, election racketeering, and by 1681 the Secretary of State and Scottish Council had him under surveillance. In 1683 Percival had under his employment William Hone (Stephen College’s apprentice) who was arrested for the Rye House Plot while ridding Percival’s horse. The last record of Percival is in December of 1685 when a warrant is put out for suspicion “of dangerous practices.” Hooper was a gentleman of the inner temple that had connections to Shaftesbury and was a Monmouth rebel. In 1686 he is found guilty of treason for his involvement in the rebellion but in November of that year his is pardon. He later served as a captain under William until 1696 when he was dismissed for taking bribes. Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 123-5, 126-9; *C.S.P.D. 1681*, 165; *C.S.P.D. 1685*, 425.

creation of the pageants with Stephen College being worth mentioning as he could have had a role in early Pope-burnings.³⁵⁷

John Harrington (sometimes called Dr Harrington and who used two known aliases, Benson and Wilson) was a shady character that was involved in the more underhanded business of the Whigs. As mentioned earlier he had connections to foreign agents as he became involved with the Spanish embassy which resulted in him being sent to the Tower in 1677. Harrington's main role seems to revolve around the acquisition of witnesses and tampering with them. He would collect testimonies, finance, and suborn witnesses on behalf of the Whigs, either to protect them in trials or to attack rivals.

The most notable case that Harrington was involved with was the manufactured trial against Pepys in 1679 when Harrington had regular meetings with the witnesses in the case with the most important being Colonel John Scott. In the winter of 1678-1679, prior to Scott's arrival in England, Scott was in Paris meeting Harrington, who was under the alias Benson but recognized as the Shaftesbury's "cousin."³⁵⁸ Pepys hired a John Joyne to tail Scott in an effort to disprove the claims made by him. Joyne followed Scott through London and where he witnessed him having frequent meetings with Harrington at taverns. Joyne spent a great deal of effort tailing Harrington where he, under many aliases, met with other witnesses in the trial. One of the

³⁵⁷ The two other talents involved were the priest hunter William Waller, and the playwright Elkanah Settle. Waller gained power in the wake of the Popish Plot and investigated many Catholics. Following raids on Catholics Waller would seize their relics and garments which would then be used in the Pope-burning processions. Settle was a famous contemporary playwright that was not involved with the Whigs. But according to his biographer, Shaftesbury hired Settle in 1679 to organize the Pope-burnings processions. The broadsides describing the Pope-burnings are also believed to be written by Settle. Following the Tory reaction Settle renounced having the Whigs and distanced himself from having anything to do with them which allowed for him to continue on as normal under the reign of James. Under William III, Settle was appointed as the City Poet and would design the Lord Mayor's shows from 1691-1708. F.C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works* (University of Chicago Press, 1910), 61-2; Sitwell, *First Whig*, 101; Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 122-3.

³⁵⁸ *C.S.P.D.* 1677-8, 22; H.M.C. *Lindsey*, 404; final accounts from Shaftesbury at the time state small payment to "my cousin at Paris," quoted in Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 521 n 1.

last bits of Joyne's journal states that he will try to "Gain Intelligence of Harrington."³⁵⁹ In 1681 Harrington became involved in the Fitzharris case where he would often meet with Mrs. Fitzharris and successfully suborn her into having her testimony retracted and along with Mrs. Peacock testimony who went the extra step of also accusing the court of forcing her to make a false testimony.³⁶⁰ When Shaftesbury was again imprisoned in 1681 Harrington was involved with the tampering with witnesses and at one point led an armed mob to attack a tory coffeehouse.³⁶¹ During all this time the government had been keeping an eye on him.

Harrington was also deeply involved in the illegal print trade of London. Around Christmas in 1677 Harrington met with a Benedict Browne around Temple Barr where Harrington gave him a pamphlet titled *Harrington's Case*; Benedict put the paper in his pocket and then later gave it to a Mr. Tyler who seemingly disappeared along with the pamphlet.³⁶² We do not know what was in the pamphlet, since all we have is a title. However, it presumably addresses the trial of Harrington for his collusion with the Spanish in attempting to expose Charles' support of France in their war against the Dutch. Harrington being able to produce such a pamphlet at this period indicates that he was involved in the illicit trade. Further in early 1678 we get a better account of the Harrington's printing operation with an investigation into the printing of Marvell's *an Account on the Growth of Popery* within London.³⁶³ The investigators

³⁵⁹ *Diaries of the Popish Plot*, 83, quoted in Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 125.

³⁶⁰ *C.S.P.D. 1680-1*, 432, 499.

³⁶¹ *C.S.P.D. 1680-1*, 547-9, 583-4.

³⁶² *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 683

³⁶³ The investigation was done by the Stationers Guild and led by the guild's treasurer John Leigh. Interestingly a John Leigh became a member of the Green Ribbon club on Nov. 8, 1679, however this has in the past been assumed to be the MP John Leigh who became an MP that year. It is possible that is the stationer John Leigh however since the account on the investigation into Harrington was vague and possible the true results of which were kept secret. Harrington was not one of the club members that endorsed the Leigh that joined the club. Still the MP Leigh's brother-in-law was a member of the club, and he did not endorse the Leigh in the club. *C.S.P.D. 1678*, 69-70; Mark Goldie, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice: Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, vol. I (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 539.

were told that “Harrington was in the business of *the Growth of Popery*” but were unable to catch Harrington since, as the investigators believed in hindsight, that the press was located in a basement under a silk press. That way the silk press would “damp the noise” of the printing press.³⁶⁴ Both these cases show that Harrington was under surveillance by the government since these accounts, are from government records, and that Harrington had access to paper outside of the Stationers company. Paper that could have been used in the creation of the Pope effigies and the paper that the Pope is holding in 1677.

In 1683 a warrant was put out for Harrington in connection to the Rye House Plot. What happened to Harrington after that is unknown since he was never caught, despite much effort from officials. From 1683-1688 Harrington only gets mentioned in the context of officials trying to track him down. The next time his name appears in any notable fashion is in 1688 when his name is listed as being part of the general pardon.³⁶⁵

Harrington had proven himself to be involved in several businesses for the club and Shaftesbury, while being the link between them. Harrington was released in July of 1677 on the orders of Charles who assumedly did not want the case to become more public.³⁶⁶ Harrington did go to trial at the Guildhall on December 3rd, but he was most likely still active in November.³⁶⁷ Harrington also had access to a great deal of funds as is seen by his bribery in court cases. Assumedly this money was coming from his kin Shaftesbury. Harrington also had many connections seeing as how he was able to find witnesses for trials and able to incite mobs. In relation to the 1677 Pope-burning Harrington might have acted as a sort of personnel manager that brought the creators of the effigy together with each other and the club. He could have also

³⁶⁴ *C.S.P.D. 1678*, 70.

³⁶⁵ *C.S.P.D. 1687-9*, 323.

³⁶⁶ *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 233.

³⁶⁷ *H.M.C. Seventh Report*, i, 469, 470; cf. *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 318.

been the one to fund the Pope-burning that year since it was more expensive than previous one but less expensive than the ones during the exclusion crisis which was funded by having all members of the club give a certain amount of money. Shaftesbury's investments in the Carolinas were beginning to see returns while he was in the Tower.³⁶⁸ Shaftesbury being in the Tower would be a good enough incentive for Harrington to see to further the Earl's agenda and raising support to have him released. He was able to act independently that year while Shaftesbury was in the Tower. Harrington being a member of the clubs committee to burn a Pope is strange on the surface since his apparent skillset does not align with that which is needed in creating a Pope-burning pageant. However, if Harrington had been involved in the 1677 Pope-burning, or at least with those who created it, then including him as a Pope-burning veteran that managed human resources makes sense.

Hutchinson is the only member of the 1680 committee to not have any legal troubles with the government. He seems to have lived a quieter life than his peers in the club. Which begs the question of why he was a part of the committee? A possibility is that he was the person who created the Pope effigies prior to 1679 and that was what led to him becoming a member of the club. Clearly Hutchinson wanted to see a change in the government since he was a member of the club but there is no record of him taking part in any drastic actions to make a change, only the dressing up of Pope effigies. Hutchinson was a member of the Drapers Guild which is where the 1676-1679 Pope-burnings started and suggest that he may have been the architect of them. However, we simply have very little information on Hutchinson.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 433.

³⁶⁹ He only appears in Pepys' transcription of the Green Ribbons Club's minutes, a lawsuit against the Lord mayor in 1682, and later as one name amongst many who supported a fellow draper that was accused of coining. Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 129-30.

Daniel Blake is another draper that, unlike Hutchinson, was known and tracked by the government but was apt at covering his tracks leaving little information for us to work with. He mainly worked around Covent Garden and the first mention of him comes in 1678 when Secretary of State Williamson writes in his notes “Query who Blake is?”³⁷⁰ Williamson gained an interest in Blake when he was one of the individuals that was frequenting Titus Oates’ residence in the fall of 1678. After that point he began popping up around major advocates for Exclusion such as Edward Fitzharris and Algernon Sidney when Blake supported both men in their trials. In 1683 Blake and Harrington would have a warrant put out for their arrest, but Blake soon after is listed as having visited a prisoner in the Tower so it is unknown what came of his arrest or if he was arrested at all.³⁷¹ Eventually Blake joined with the Monmouth rebels and was captured but manages to escape to Holland. In 1686 he returned and was pardoned. After the Glorious Revolution, Blake found a position in Williams government as commissioner for hackney coaches.³⁷²

Stephen College (also known as “the Protestant Joiner”) was a carpenter who has been described by Tory sources as the person who constructed of the Popes used in the Pope-burning Processions in 1679 and 1680. College was greatly involved in the coffee house politics of the era with him frequenting many known Whig aligned establishments. Although a carpenter, College delved into the anti-royalist literary world and is what is best remembered for. College would often write pamphlets, ballads, and poems that overtly were against the crown and the

³⁷⁰ *C.S.P.D.* 1678, 426.

³⁷¹ *C.S.P.D.* July 1-September 30, 1683, 425.

³⁷² Luttrell, 3:469-70, 4:220.

Duke of York. His loose lips are what eventually led to his downfall as after his second trial for high treason he was hung, drawn, and quartered in July of 1681 at Oxford Castle.³⁷³

After his death College became a sort of Protestant martyr. A poem was made about the “Protestant Joyner” and who could possibly replace him. One line of the poem states that “he made Seven Popes, in his time to our knowledge.”³⁷⁴ The poem associates seven Pope effigies as having been created by College. Traditionally, however, only the effigies in 1679 and 1680 are associated with him leaving five Popes unaccounted for. Assuming College made one Pope a year for the Elizabeth’s accession day, then he could have made the Pope effigies for 1673-1680. If he made two a year for both the 5th and 17th, then from 1678-1680 two effigies made by College were burned with one spare for 1677. It is hard to fully rely on the poem figure of seven to definitively say that is the number of Popes made by College; however it does give a general idea that he made many Popes outside of the ones during the Exclusion crisis. As such it is possible that College also made the Pope effigy in 1677. He was not a member of the Green Ribbon Club, but he could have been employed by the likes of Harrington or supported by him or the club. The Carpenters Guild Hall is also located along Broad Street and so he could have made the Pope there or work with Hutchinson and or Blake in the area that the procession started. His involvement in the literary world could have also contribute to the messages used in

³⁷³ College was charged with treason when, after Parliament moved to Oxford, he was caught riding up to Oxford wearing armor and having weapons. His rhetoric against Charles and a condemnation from Edward Fitzharris during his own trial led to the government seeing as potential danger to the King in Oxford and wanted to use the trial to attack Shaftesbury. The first trial was held in London, but the Jury was stacked by the Whigs leading to verdict of *ignoramus*. The second trial was held in Oxford which did find him guilty, and he was hung drawn and quartered on August 21st, 1681, Krey, "College [Colledge], Stephen (c. 1635–1681), poet and political activist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004.

³⁷⁴ “A new Song on the Death of College, the Protestant Joyner” [c. 1681] in N. Thompson, ed., *A Choice Collection of One Hundred and Eighty Loyal Songs*, 3rd edition (1685), 64-5, quoted in Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution*, 121.

the 1677 Pope-burning, although we do not know College's thoughts on the marriage of William and Mary.

Although Charles allegedly knew who was responsible for the Pope-burning, he took the stance of ignoring it in order to not draw any more attention to the event and its message. Attempting to crack down on the event would have led to a backlash from the London's crowd since they would not take kindly to the crown disrupting an annual celebration. It would have rallied more people to the proto-Whigs cause. The Pope-burnings in the years prior did not lead to anything so why would this one? The government was also in strong position and seeking to amend its relationship with Parliament and the people by making an alliance with the Dutch against the French. This policy was too little too late because although the Country party was willing to grant funds to Charles to fund an army, the crowds were still skeptical.

* * *

When the bonfire eventually ran out of fuel and was extinguished the crowd returned to their homes and the following day they awoke to deal with their hangover before going about their regular daily tasks. On the 19th William and Mary left London on a barge down the Thames to Gravesend where the HMY *Mary* and the HMY *Katherine* waited to take William and Mary to Holland. James' second wife, Mary of Modena, was Princess Mary's stepmother despite only being a few years older than her, tried to comfort the weeping newlywed talking about her experience coming to England in 1673 without having ever met James. Mary responded by saying "but madam, you came into England; but I am going out of England."³⁷⁵ Due to bad weather the newlyweds were unable to leave England until November 28th when they set sail

³⁷⁵ Lake, 10.

from Gravesend.³⁷⁶ It would be just over a decade until Mary next saw her homeland when in February of 1689 she landed at Gravesend as Queen of England.

Back in London Charles had a new set of issues created by the marriage as the French had also grown wary of England. The French objective was to destabilize Charles by removing Danby from power since he was responsible for the crown's improved financial situation and advocated for breaking the French alliance while being the one responsible for the marriage.³⁷⁷ As a result Barillon began making contact with members of the opposition such as Buckingham, Denzil Holles, and Lord Russel.³⁷⁸ Both the French and the opposition sought to destabilize Charles and remove Danby from power.³⁷⁹ If Charles' ability to maintain his power became threatened then he might return to the arms of Louis, and the Whigs might be able to grow their power. Danby was the main linchpin that brought the French and proto-Whigs together as both of their long-term goals for England required the removal of the Lord Treasurer. In that regard France did the most as they were able to work with Ralph Montague and some of his letters to turn the court against Danby. Montague had such a level of cooperation with the French that he was frequently seen with French agents and even possibly attended the 1678 Pope-burning at Temple Barr with Barillon. A letter from Brisbane to Danby states:

“I'll not omitt a Frolick of Mr. Barrillon's (for he was still one amongst them [Montagues' crew] more than before, if possible). It was the next Pope-burning Day, he made me promise to shew him the Burning of the Pope: I did... He came with a Gentleman, that spoke English pretty well to the Palsgrave-Head Tavern at Five, where I

³⁷⁶ *C.S.P.D. 1677-8*, 460, 461, 467-8, 472, 473, 475, 476.

³⁷⁷ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 443.

³⁷⁸ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 443-5.

³⁷⁹ Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 443.

stayed for him, and carried him within Temple-Bar, to a Friend's House of mine; where he saw all the Shew."³⁸⁰

The letter continues on saying that Barillon, drunk at this point, thought that somebody had recognized him and that "he might have been in some Danger; for had the Mob had the least intimation of him, they had torn him to Pieces" and that after being told that the "mob" had not vandalized the city and instead went home after a couple hours Barillon says that "it would not have been so in Paris."³⁸¹ Whether the "Pope-burning Day" was on the 5th or 17th of November is not specified nor who the "Gentleman that spoke English pretty well" was. Since Montague was working as a French agent at this point, and because most of the letter is about Montague, it is possible that Montague was in attendance with Barillon. In any case Barillon seems to be acting as a tourist in wanting to see the famous and uniquely English Pope-burnings. The incriminating letters that Montague revealed to Parliament in December of 1678, in combination with the revelation of the Popish Plot, which was accentuated by the Whigs, led to Danby being impeached in late 1678.³⁸²

The witch hunt that was the Popish Plot that was first revealed in the summer of 1678 and dominated the politics of England in the following couple of years. James and Charles were now isolated as the next Parliament was more hostile to the monarchy and Louis had stopped providing subsidies. James when asking Barillon for funds to raise an army to secure him and his brothers reign was told no by the French ambassador pointing out that he was essentially asking

³⁸⁰ Brisbane to Danby, undated ~1679, in *Copies & Extracts of Some Letters Written to and from the Earl of Danby...*, ed. Thomas Osborne Duke of Leeds (London: 1710), 121.

³⁸¹ *Letters to and from Danby*, 121-2.

³⁸² Haley, *Shaftesbury*, 487; Mark Knights, "Osborne, Thomas, first duke of Leeds (1632–1712), politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 (Sep. 2004); Edward Charles Metzger, "Montagu, Ralph, first duke of Montagu (bap. 1638, d. 1709), politician and diplomat," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 (Sep. 2004).

for France to fund an army to attack France.³⁸³ The Whigs capitalized on the fear mongering to grow in power and when the Cavalier Parliament was dissolved in early 1679 the new parliament was more in favor of excluding the Duke of York from the line of succession. Shaftesbury led this new Parliament however they were unable to successfully pass an exclusion bill. The Whigs set about to try and undermine Charles once more but more brazenly this time. The Pope-burning processions of 1679, 1680, and 1681 were much larger than the one seen in 1677. They would consist of several floats with many actors dressed as priest to imitate a catholic procession through the streets. They too contained political messaging largely around the Popish Plot and James.

When the fears of the Popish Plot began to wane the influence of the Whigs was diminished. The main points of the decline of the Whigs are seen with the imprisonment of Shaftesbury in 1681, the Rye House Plot in 1683, and the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685. The Tory Reaction can be seen in the Pope-burning processions as well however as, although the organizers were careful to not explicitly criticize the crown, Charles sought to bring an end to annoyance after 1680 and had the City's trained bands doubled in size.³⁸⁴ During the Pope-burnings in 1681, Tories ambushed several processions seizing several effigies and even attacked the Green Ribbon Club at the King's Head tavern.³⁸⁵ During the November 5th celebration a riot broke out causing the trained bands to be called in to suppress the crowd. The command of the City's trained band had proven difficult for the Whigs to coerce and so the bands remained loyal to the crown. On November 10th the crown banned Pope-burnings to celebrate Elizabeth's accession day. On the 17th the trained bands patrolled the City to prevent any bonfire from being

³⁸³ Barillon to Louis XIV, Nov. 17/27, Dec. 12/22, 1678, Jan. 9/19, 1679; England by this point joined the Franco-Dutch war on the side of the Dutch on account of a new alliance due to the marriage of William and Mary.

³⁸⁴ Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 185.

³⁸⁵ Harris, *London Crowds*, 180.

made and in a warehouse just outside Bishopsgate, unfinished “monsters,” or pope effigies, were discovered.³⁸⁶ Pope-burnings did not disappear but were rarer since James II had banned them.³⁸⁷

The next largest celebration we see large Pope-burnings is in 1688 with the Glorious Revolution.

The marriage of William and Mary would come to be pivotal for England. England in 1678 formalized its alliance with the Dutch and reentered the war on their side. The war ended that year with the Treaty of Nijmegen. More importantly, William in 1688 would invade England with an armada larger than that which the Spanish used to attempt to overthrow Elizabeth a century earlier and usurp the throne from James in favor of himself and his wife. English Protestants welcomed William and forced James to flee to France. Parliament enacted several limitations on the powers of the crown and had William and Mary rule as co-monarchs. The common memory of William is that of a savior of English Protestantism which is best reflected with the Orangists of Northern Ireland. A great contrast to the fears of William displayed in the 1677 Pope-burning. The 1677 Pope-burning did not change or alter the political situation of London, it only illustrated it.

³⁸⁶ North, *Examine*, 580.

³⁸⁷ Furley, “The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century,” 23; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 186-8.

Bibliography

Primary:

Manuscripts:

Barillon, Paul. *Correspondance politique: Angleterre*. Archives des Affaires Étrangères. Paris, 8CP/125.

Borgomanero, Marquis de. *Letters to the Duke of Villa Hermosa*. Archives-Generales du Royaume at Brussels vol. 491. November 1677.

Langhorne, Richard. November 20th, 1677. *Langhorne to Lord Hatton*. British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS 29556, fo 272. November 20th, 1677.

State Papers Foreign. *Committee of Foreign Affairs: journal, etc. 1676 Jan 01-1677 Nov 18*. The National Archives Kew. MS SP 104/179.

Printed:

Burnet, Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury. *History of his own Time*. Vol. II, *Containing the Reign of King Charles II; From 1670 to 1685*. London, 1725.

Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series: 1673-1689. Public Records Office.

Calendar of State Papers Venetian: 1659-61 and 1666-8. Public Records Office.

Grey, Anchitell, ed. *Debates in the House of Commons*, 10 vols. London, 1763.

Hatton, Charles, in *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704*. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. London: Camden Society, 1878.

Historical Manuscript Commission:

7th Report, Report and Appendix, Part 1, *The Verney MSS*. London: 1879.

14th Report, Appendix, Part 2, *The Portland MSS*, Vol. III. London: 1894.

14th Report, Appendix, Part 9, *The Lindsey MSS*. London: 1895.

New Series 4, The Ormonde MSS. London, 1906.

- Hooke, Robert. Edited by Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams Hooke. *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672-1680, Transcribed from the Original in the Possession of the Corporation of the City of London (Guildhall Library)*. Wykeham Publications, 1968.
- Lake, Edward. *Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Exeter, chaplain and tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, daughters of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second: in the years 1677-1678*. Edited by George Percy Elliot. London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1846.
- Locke, John. *Works of John Locke*, Vol. 9. Darmstadt, Germany: Scientia Verlag, 1963. Originally published in 1823 London.
- Luttrell, Narcissus. *A brief historical relation of state affairs, from Sept. 1678 to Apr. 1714*. 6 Vols. Oxford University Press, 1857.
- The Manner of the Burning the Pope in Effigies in London on the 5th of November, 1678 with the Manner of Carrying Him through several Streets in Progression to Temple-Bar, Where at Length He was Decently Burned: Also a Particular of several Bloody Massacres done by the Papists upon the Bodies of English, Irish and French Protestants*. London: 1678. (Wing / M463A)
- Marvell, Andrew. *An Account on the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England...* (1677).
- Mignet, M. *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV; ou, Correspondances, mémoires, et actes diplomatiques concernant les prétentions l'Avenement de la maison de Bourbon au trône d'Espagne*. Vol. iv. Paris, 1852.
- Morgan, William, Philip Lea, Robert Morden, John Ogilby, and London Topographical Society. *London & c. Actually Surveyed*. London: 1682; London: London Topographical Society, 1904. Map.
- News from Rome being a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil at a Late Conference: Consulting the most Effectual Expedients for Promoting their Joint Interest and Designs in the Present Juncture of Affairs: With their Instructions Concluded upon to be Sent to their Emissaries in all Parts to that Purpose*. [London], Martin Marpope, 1677. (Wing / N994A)
- North, Roger, *Examine; or, an Enquirey into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History*. London, 1740.
- Ogilby, John, William Morgan, and Wenceslaus Hollar. *A Large And Accurate Map Of The City Of London: Ichnographically Describing All the Streets, Lanes, Alleys, Courts, Yards, Churches, Halls and Houses &c. Actually Surveyed and Delineated*. London: J. Ogilby, 1676/7. BL Maps Crace Port. 2.61.

Osborne, Thomas, the Duke of Leeds. *Copies & Extracts of Some Letters Written to and from the Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) in the Years 1676, 1677, and 1678. With particular Remarks Upon some of the them.* London, 1710.

A Pacquet of Advices and Animadversions, Sent from London to the Men of Shaftsbury which is of use for all His Majesties Subjects in the Three Kingdoms : Occasioned by a Seditious Pamphlet, Intituled, A Letter from a Person of Quality to His Friend in the Country [Letter from a person of quality to his friend in the country.]. London: 1676. (Wing / N400)

Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. 9 Vols. Edited by Robert Latham and William Mathew. University of California Press, 1970-75.

A Poem on the Burning of the Pope being Solemnly Performed on Queen Elizabeths Birth-Day this Instant November the 17th, 1679. London, 1679. (Wing / P2688)

The Pope Burnt to Ashes, Or, Defiance to Rome being a Perfect Account how the Exact Image of His Holiness was Solemnly Carried in Procession through the Greatest Part of the City of London, and at Last Exposed to the Flames of a Stately Bonfire Near the Temple-Gate in Fleet-Street, on Friday the 17th of Novemb. 1676. London: printed for B.H., 1676. (Wing / P2918)

Roger Morrice, P 58, in John Spurr, ed. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice: The Reign of Charles II, 1677-1685*. Vol II. Boydell & Brewer, 2007.

Room for news, or, News from Rome being a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil at a Late Conference: Consulting the most Effectual Expedients for Promoting their Joint Interest and Designs in the Present Juncture of Affairs: With their Instructions Concluded upon to be Sent to their Emissaries in all Parts to that Purpose. [London]: Martin Marpope, 1673. (Wing / R1926)

Schwerin, Otto von. *Briefe aus England über die Zeit von 1674 bis 1678.* Edited by Leopold von Orlich. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1837.

Settle, Elkanah. *Londons Defiance to Rome a Perfect Narrative of the Magnificent Procession and Solemn Burning of the Pope at Temple-Barr, Nov. 17th, 1679 (being the Coronation-Day of that Never-to-be-Forgotten Princess, Queen Elizabeth) with a Description of the Order, Rich Habits, Extraordinary Fire-Works, Songs, and General Tryumphs Attending that Illustrious Ceremony.* London: 1679. (Wing / L2923)

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper First Earl of. *A Letter from a Person of Quality to His Friend in the Country.* London, 1675. (Wing / S2897)

Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1679. London, 1679.

Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope... November the 17, 1680. London, For I. Oliver (engraving) and N. Ponder (broadside), 1680.

Taylor, John. *The world turn'd upside down: Or, A briefe description of the ridiculous fashions of these distracted times...*, London, printed for John Smith, Jan. 1647. (Wing 2nd ed. / J1072A)

The World is Turned Upside Down. to the Tune of, when the King Enjoys His Own again. London, 1646. (Wing 2nd ed. / W3588)

Secondary:

Allen, David. "The Role of the London Trained Bands in the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1681." *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (1972): 287–303.

Allen, David. "Political Clubs in Restoration London." *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 3 (1976): 561–80.

Archer, Ian W. "The Social and Political Dynamics of the Lord Mayor's Show, c. 1550–1700." In *Civic Performance: Pageantry and Entertainments in Early Modern London*, edited by J. Caitlin Finlayson and Amrita Sen, 1st ed. Routledge, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315392707>.

Bell, Walter George. *The Great Fire of London in 1666*. Greenwood Press, 1971. First published in 1920 by John Lane.

Briggs, Katharine Mary. *Nine Lives: Cats in Folklore*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980.

Brown, F.C. *Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works*. University of Chicago Press, 1910.

Burke, Peter. "Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London." *The London Journal* 3, no. 2 (November 1977): 143–62. <https://doi.org/10.1179/ldn.1977.3.2.143>.

Caras, Roger A. *A Perfect Harmony: The Intertwining Lives of Animals and Humans throughout History*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Coffman, D'Maris, Judy Z. Stephenson, and Nathan Sussman. "Financing the Rebuilding of the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666." *The Economic History Review* 75, no. 4 (2022): 1120–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ehr.13136>.

Collins, Jeffrey. "The Popish Plot: A Case Study in the Political History of Fear." *Journal of Modern History* 95, no. 1 (2023): 1-37. <https://doi.org/10.1086/723594>.

Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*. University of California Press, 1989.

- Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Davies, Owen, and Ceri Houlbrook. *Building Magic: Ritual and Re-enchantment in Post-Medieval Structures*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- Davies, C. S. L. *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558*. Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1976.
- De Krey, Gary S. *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Douglas, Mary. *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations*. Tavistock Publications, 1970.
- Ellis, Aytoun. *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses*. Secker & Warburg, 1956.
- Ellis, Markman. "Pasqua Rosee's Coffee-House, 1652-1666." *The London Journal* 29, no. 1 (2004): 1-24. doi:10.1179/ldn.2004.29.1.1.
- Engels, Donald W. *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat*. Routledge, 1999.
- Firth, C.H. "The Early Life of Pepys," *Macmillan's Magazine*, no. 69 (November 1893): 32-6.
- Furley, O. W. "Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," *History* 44, no. 150 (1959): 16-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24403789>.
- Games, Alison. *Inventing the English massacre: Amboyna in history and memory*. Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Gentles, Ian. "Parliamentary Politics and the Politics of the Street: The London Peace Campaigns of 1642-3." *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 2 (May 2007): 139-59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-0206.2007.tb00689.x>.
- Gentles, Ian. "The Struggle for London in the Second Civil War." *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 2 (1983): 277-305.
- Goldie, Mark. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, Vol. I. Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*. Boydell & Brewer, 2007.
- Gordon, Rebecca. "From Pests to Pets: Social and Cultural Perceptions of Animals in Post-Medieval Urban Centres in England (AD 1500 - 1900)." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.5334/pia-478>.

- Grose, Clyde Leclare. "The Anglo-Dutch Alliance of 1678." *The English Historical Review* 39, no. 155 (1924): 349–72.
- Haley, K. H. D. "The Anglo-Dutch Rapprochement of 1677." *The English Historical Review* 73, no. 289 (1958): 614–48.
- Haley, K. H. D. *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*. Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Haley, K. H. D. "'No Popery' in the Reign of Charles II." In *Britain and the Netherlands: Volume V Some Political Mythologies*, edited by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, 102-119. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1975.
- Hammond, Paul. "The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II." in *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain 1660-1800* edited by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, 13-47. Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Harris, Tim. "Hibernophobia and Francophobia in Restoration England." *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 41, no. 2 (2017): 5–32.
- Harris, Tim. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Hole, Christina. *Witchcraft in England*. N Scribner's Sons, 1947.
- Holmes, Ronald. *Witchcraft in British History*. Muller, 1974.
- Howard, Margaret M. "252. Dried Cats." *Man* 51 (1951): 149–51. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2794702>.
- Hutton, R. "The Making of the Secret Treaty of Dover, 1668–1670." *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 2 (June 1986): 297–318. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X00018756>.
- Jackson, Clare. *Devil-Land: England Under Siege 1588-1688*. Allen Lane, 2021.
- Johnson, David-Odai. *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration*. University of Delaware Press, 2000.
- Jones, J.R. "The Green Ribbon Club," *Durham University Journal* 49, no. 1 (December, 1956): 17-20. https://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=bookreader/DU_Journals/DUJ49/duj49METSfile.xml
- Jordan, Don. *The King's City: A History of London During the Restoration: The City That Transformed a Nation*. Pegasus Books, 2018.

- Keeble N.H. *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*. Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Kenyon, J.P. *The Popish Plot*. Heinemann, 1972.
- Kors, Alan Charles and Edward Peters. *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Legon, Edward. "Bound up with Meaning: The Politics and Memory of Ribbon Wearing in Restoration England and Scotland." *Journal of British Studies* 56, no. 1 (2017): 27–50.
- Legon, Edward. "The Lord Mayor's Show and the Politics of London's Clothworkers' Company in the Mid-Seventeenth Century." *The London Journal* 47, no. 3 (September 2, 2022): 241–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03058034.2022.2106679>.
- Levin, Carole. "Elizabeth's Ghost: The Afterlife of the Queen in Stuart England." *Royal Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (October 3, 2014): 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.21039/rsj.v1i1.8>.
- Lynch, Kathleen. "'We Protestants in Masquerade': Burning the Pope in London." *London Journal* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 2022): 103–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03058034.2021.1972537>.
- Mann, Emily. "In Defence of the City: The Gates of London and Temple Bar in the Seventeenth Century." *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 75–99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40033818>.
- Manning, Aubrey and James Serpell. *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*. Routledge, 1994.
- McKenzie, Andrea. *Conspiracy Culture in Stuart England: The Mysterious Death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey*. Boydell & Brewer, 2022.
- Miller, John. *James II*, Yale University Press, 2008.
- Miller, John. *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*. Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Morton, Adam. "Anti-Popery." In *The Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism, Volume II*, edited by John Morrill and Liam Temple, 1st ed., 170–88. Oxford University Press, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198843436.003.0010>.
- Murray, Catriona. "An Inflammatory Match? Public Anxiety and Political Assurance at the Wedding of William III and Mary II." *Historical Research* 89, no. 246 (November 1, 2016): 730–50.
- Neale, J.E. *Essays in Elizabethan History*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1958.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 60 vols. Prepared under various editors. Oxford University Press, 2004. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/>

Parish, Helen. "'Paltrie Vermin, Cats, Mice, Toads, and Weasils': Witches, Familiars, and Human-Animal Interactions in the English Witch Trials." *Religions* 10, no. 2: 134 (2019): 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10020134>.

Pincus, Steve. "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture." *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 807–34.

Porter, Stephen. *The Great Fire of London*. Stroud, 1996.

Rosen, Barbara. *Witchcraft*. New York: Taplinger, 1972.

Salisbury, Joyce E. *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 2022.

Serpell, James. *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

Sharpe, James. *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Sitwell, George. *The First Whig: An Account Of The Parliamentary Career Of William Sacheverell The Origin Of The Two Great Political Parties And The Events Which Led Up To The Revolution Of 1688*. Scarborough, 1894.

Strong, Roy C. "The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1–2 (January 1, 1958): 86–103.

Spurr, John. *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age.'* Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

Turner, F.C. James II. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948.

Turner, H. D. "Charles Hatton: A Younger Son." *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 3, no. 6 (1965): 255-261.

Underdown, David. *Pride's Purge: Politics In the Puritan Revolution*. Oxford University Press, 1971.

Walker-Meikle, Kathleen. *Medieval Pets*. Boydell Press, 2012.

Walter, John. "Crowds and Popular Politics in the English Revolution." In *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, edited by Michael J. Braddick, 330-46. Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Weber, Harold. *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II*. The University Press of Kentucky, 1996.
- Williams, Sheila. "The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1-2 (January 1, 1958): 104-18. <https://doi-org.colorado.idm.oclc.org/10.2307/750489>.
- Withington, Robert. *English Pagentry: An Historical Outline* Vol. 2. Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1920.
- Wolloch, Nathaniel. "Animals in Enlightenment Historiography." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2012): 53–68. <https://doi.org/10.1525/hlq.2012.75.1.53>.
- Zeuner, Frederick Everard. *A History of Domesticated Animals*. London: Hutchinson, 1963.