Treason, Passion and Power

in England, 1660 - 1685

By

Elsa Reuter

B. Sc. (Hons), B. Int. St. (Hons)

A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Adelaide

School of History and Politics

December 2013

Word Count: 77, 659

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT

General rejoicing greeted the Restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660; however the twenty-five year reign of the "merry monarch" was to become one characterised by division and dissent. This thesis analyses the passions of the period, which, although hitherto underexplored by historians, played a key role in Restoration politics. Emotions not only defined individual and national identity, but also framed the bond between subject and sovereign. This study illuminates the foundation of this relationship by tracing public expression of the passions in political and print culture surrounding treason trials, from the first decade of the king's reign to the infamous plots of the Exclusion period. The connection between the king and his people became increasingly fraught as a result of the decreasing popularity of the Stuarts, in conjunction with a changing concept of the English nation, in which the person of the king was seen as distinct from the concept of kingship and the office of the crown. Seventeenth-century individuals and communities revealed themselves to be more than capable of using emotion to both communicate political desires and to renegotiate the balance of power between the supporters and opponents of the king. By establishing that the passions were central to civic and political behaviour, rather than the antithesis of reason, as later perceptions would suggest, this study contributes both to the history of emotions and to the history of politics in Restoration England.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

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

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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

_____

Elsa Reuter,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *The Tryall of William Howard Ld Viscount Stafford in Westminster Hall,* London, 1680, 38.

2. *Iam redit Astraea, Redeunt Saturnia regna, Iam nova progenies, caelo Demittitur alto* (Now a new generation is let down from Heaven above), London, 1660, 87.

3. Frontispiece to *The Second Tome of An Exact Chronological Vindication and Historical Demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman and English Kings Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,* London, 1665, 112.

4. *A Prospect of a Popish Successor*, London, 1681, 147.

5. *The Committee; or Popery in Masquerade*, 1680, 181.

6. *The Solemn mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Iesuits, fryers, nuns &c. exactly taken as they marcht through the citty of London, November ye 17th,* 1680, 241.

ABBREVIATIONS

Burnet, *History*	Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time,* ed. H. C. Foxcroft, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.
CJ	*Journals of the House of Commons*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*
CSPVen	*Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice,* 38 vols., ed. Allen B. Hinds. London: Institute of Historical Research, 1935.
Evelyn, *Diary*	John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, London: Oxford University Press, 1959.
Isham, *Diary*	Thomas Isham, *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport,* Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1971.
Josselin, *Diary*	Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683,* ed. Alan Macfarlane, London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
Luttrell	Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs,* vol. 1 of 6 vols., Oxford, 1857.
Morrice	Roger Morrice, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice 1677-1691,* vol. 2 of 6 vols., ed. John Spurr, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.
Oxford DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Pepys, *Diary* — Samuel Pepys, *Diary,* ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. 1970-83.

Salisbury — *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. Marquess of Salisbury*, 24 vols. London, 1883-1976.

SL — *The Statutes At Large from Magna Charta to the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, inclusive,* ed. Charles Runnington, 14 vols. 1786.

ST — *A Complete Collection of State-Trials, and Proceedings for High Treason, and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours; from the Reign of King Richard II. to the End of the Reign of King George I,* 6 vols. London, 1730.

Vaughan's Reports — *The Reports and Arguments of that Learned Judge, Sir John Vaughan, Kt.* London, 1706.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS OF PASSION AND TREASON

> The next daye I was brought as a delinquent to the parliament barr, and there mett with an accusation of treason and the stile of a traitor, an attribute too lytle expected and too lytle deserved that I cannott but confesse that name joyned to my naturall inclination moved some passion in mee. But I must confesse that I was never less ashamed of any passion, ffor the hearte which shall not be warmed with an undeserved accusation of disloyaltye and treason cannot but bee voyde of all honor and honestye.[1]

In 1626, while incarcerated in the Tower of London, John Digby, first earl of Bristol, confessed to the passions raised in him in response to the charge of treason. He acknowledged that his overt expression of such emotion contravened social norms; nevertheless, Bristol was adamant that, in the pursuit of justice, the passions he experienced and articulated were worthy and legitimate. He was not alone in this conviction. Three decades later, treason remained a subject, which inspired various passionate responses on the part of the alleged traitor, the Crown, the judiciary, parliament and the public, particularly when English justice was perceived to be subverted. During the Restoration period, emotional responses to treason reveal much about the power of passion in seventeenth-century politics; in the bond between subject and constitution, the way in which it shaped individual and national identity, and its ability to effect political change.

---

[1] John Digby, "John, Earl of Bristol, to the King, 16 August 1626," SP 16/524 f.144.

The perilous consequences of uninhibited human passions comprised a common theme in seventeenth-century perceptions. However, although this attitude was evident, it was tempered by an awareness of the political and social value of the passions, which has been largely ignored in secondary accounts of early modern politics. This introduction begins with an analysis of those early modern perceptions, followed by a consideration of contemporary interdisciplinary theories of emotions, and concludes that there is far more congruence between the two than previous studies have led historians to believe. It also describes the seventeenth-century charge of treason, which is particularly useful in understanding the power of the passions in Restoration politics, and ends with the methodological approach employed in this thesis.

1 – Early Modern English Passions

The term "passion" was an all-encompassing one. It was variously used to refer to anger, desires and drives, and as a general term for expressions that could be perceived as analogous to modern emotions. Traditionally, the English use of the word emotion maintained a direct relation to political upheaval, the definition originating from the French term. Historians have contended that, by the seventeenth century, there was a gradual transition from the conception of the passions as movement of the spirit or sensitive and rational halves of the soul, to emotion as the movement "of an unquiet conscience".[2] The terms passion and emotion are consciously used interchangeably in this thesis, as the political resistance that is the chief subject of this paper was conceived by contemporaries as the drives, desires, and self-regarding interests, all of which were integral to seventeenth-century conceptions of the passions, to oppose perceived injustice and oppression. Most recently, *The Seventeenth Century* published an account of the

---

[2] Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience in All Her General Measures* (London, 1660), 526.

changing nature of the definition of passions and emotions in early modern discourse by David Thorley. Thorley argued that "emotion during the seventeenth century was a term whose meaning was in flux" precisely because its usage oscillated between, and sometimes simultaneously referred to, political agitation and physical, or physiological movement, something akin to "strong feeling or passion".[3]

As he noted numerous historians of emotion have raised concerns with the tendency to use the terms passions and emotions interchangeably. This is based on the conviction that the two words held very different meanings in the medieval and early modern periods. This linguistic ambiguity, coupled with the modern perception that early modern philosophers' notions of the passions were founded on the theory of the humours, has made early modern theories vulnerable to criticism. However, as Thorley notes, the sense of motion was, and remains, an integral component in conceptions of the passions and emotions.[4] An exploration of seventeenth-century theories and perceptions is therefore necessary for a thorough understanding of the ways in which contemporaries conceptualised the passions during this period. The seventeenth-century understanding coupled with the indistinct nature of the term "passions" is what enabled seventeenth-century individuals to articulate the complexity of a phenomenon in which desire was often inseparable from drive and in which, in the political context at least, anger was often inseparable from both.

Although often dismissed for their adherence to the humoural theory, seventeenth-century philosophers of the passions had a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the physical and cognitive aspects of emotion

---

[3] David Thorley, "Towards a History of Emotion, 1562 – 1660," *The Seventeenth Century* 28, no. 1 (2013): 5.
[4] Thorley, "Towards a History of Emotion, 1562 – 1660," 15.

than many historians of the field acknowledge. The first English theorist of the passions published in the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic priest Thomas Wright, described the emotions as both functions of the intellect and "drowned in corporall organs and instruments".[5] Wright's *The Passions of the Minde* was first printed in 1601, and multiple reprints in the early half of the century suggest that his work was of considerable influence on the literate public. Wright argued that there were three types of action; the "internall and immateriall" which manifested in the "wits and the wils"; the "externall and materiall" which he defined as the physical senses; and the "internal, material" actions which were the "passions, and affections or perturbations of the mind".[6] Echoing Aristotle's division of passions into instincts of inclination or aversion, Wright stated that the passions were "certain internall acts or operations of the soule, bordering upon reason and sense, prosecuting some good thing, or flying some ill thing, causing therewithall some alteration in the body."[7]

The intertwined nature of mind and body in Wright's work was developed in *A Treatise of the Passions,* written by Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich. Reynolds' work was first printed in the middle of the century and remained a common undergraduate text at Oxford by century's end.[8] His three categories of emotion consisted of the mental and rational passions, intrinsically linked to wit and will, and the sensitive passions, which were as evident in beasts as in humans. His category of the "sensitive" passions was based on Seneca's philosophy which argued that these passions were not affections, but characters and impressions; "the risings, forces, and impulsions of nature" based on "the Fancie, Memory, and Apprehensions of the common Sense, which we see in brute

---

[5] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde* (London, 1630), 8-9.
[6] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, 7.
[7] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, 8.
[8] Ian Atherton, "Reynolds, Edward (1599-1676)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

beasts".[9] In contrast, the "mental" passions were "those high, pure, and abstracted delights . . . of the supreme part of the understanding" and were "grounded first on an extraordinarie Knowledge, either of Vision and Revelation, or of an exquisite naturall Apprehension".[10] Finally there existed the "rationall passions" which, although not "in themselves Acts of Reason", were dependent on reason as a result of "their immediate subordination in man unto the government of the Will and Understanding."[11]

In the work of both Wright and Reynolds, the passions were seen through the lens of God's design to stimulate man to action. One of the earliest English works on emotion from a predominantly secular perspective was Thomas Hobbes' *Humane Nature*, printed first in 1650 and reprinted in 1684. He defined the passions as "conceptions and apparitions [which] are nothing really, but motion in some internal substance of the head; which motion not stopping there, but proceeding to the heart".[12] According to Hobbes therefore, the passions were the medium through which the mind affected the body.[13] In addition to a basic Aristotelian division between pleasure and pain, Hobbes categorised early modern emotions as either corporeal or intellectual. This dichotomy was further refined through the three tenses; the present was defined by immediate sense, the past by remembrance of experience, and the future by expectation.[14] Hobbes' simple categories facilitated the explanation of what were otherwise complex phenomena traditionally only explicable through God's omnipotence. In this way, pain was corporeal passion, while grief was its mental counterpart. Common to all early modern theorists including Hobbes,

---

[9] Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions* (London, 1658), 37-38.
[10] Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions,* 36.
[11] Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions*, 38.
[12] Thomas Hobbes, *Humane Nature* (London, 1650), 69.
[13] The most detailed seventeenth-century description of the link between mind and body was that of French philosopher Rene Descartes. In *The Passions of the Soule,* however Descartes argued that contrary to common belief that "all the motions of our body depend on the soul," the soul was dependent upon the heat of the body and the proper functioning of the organs, Rene Descartes, *The Passions of the Soule* (London, 1650), 2-4.
[14] Hobbes, *Humane Nature*, 70.

was the perception that, while matters of instinct and prone to unruliness, passions could be controlled. The passions were subject to the conscious rational soul and therefore open to influence and manipulation.[15] The ability to manipulate one's own passions and those of others confirmed the importance of the passions in the practice of seventeenth-century politics.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, philosophers of the passions were not the only members of English society convinced of the dangers of allowing emotions to issue forth unchecked by reason. Evidence from kings and courtiers, parliamentarians and judges, and the "middling sort", all demonstrate a thorough awareness of the dangers, merits and malleability of the passions. The civil worth of the passions in particular was a matter of much debate among contemporaries throughout Europe. Writing of the collision of the English and Dutch fleets in the North Sea in 1666, the Venetian ambassador in France, Marc Antonio Giustinian, contended that the sailors were"[i]nspired by fury, drunk with hate and the smoke, both sides blinded by passion, no longer men but wild beasts, they left it to inhumanity and desperation to do their worst in that conflict".[16]

In 1603, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, became Secretary of State to the new king, James I. Cecil's vast collection of manuscripts preserved at Hatfield House contain a wealth of information on early seventeenth-century attitudes to the passions and their place in "civilised" society, which were held by some of the most influential men of the period. His letters to peers and petitioners alike suggest an unwavering opinion on the

---

[15] This debate on the consciousness of thought in the production of emotion is covered in detail in Part V: Perspectives on the Conscious-Unconscious Debate in *Emotion and Consciousness,* ed. Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal, and Piotr Winkielman (London: The Guilford Press, 2005)*;* see in particular Jesse Prinz, "Emotions, Embodiment, and Awareness," in *Emotion and Consciousness*, ed. Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal, and Piotr Winkielman (London: The Guilford Press, 2005).
[16] Marc Antonio Giustinian, "Venice - 16-30 June 1666," *CSPVen,* vol. 35, 15.

dangers of the emotions of others and the merits of his own. From Cecil's perspective, his own passions were worthy enough to be presented to the king, evinced by his letter to James I in which he wrote "to be silent had been more than too absurd, though oft times greatest passions speak not at all".[17] In his opinion however, the passions of other less able men held no such value, and Cecil was adamant that no man's passion would sway him from the right course. [18]

Despite Cecil's belief in his own powers of emotional control, many were as convinced as the Venetian ambassador had been that the chief dangers of the passions lay in their propensity to cloud judgment and to divert an individual's course from rational action; the "fogge of passion", as diplomat Sir Thomas Roe put it, could not be trusted.[19] Even Cecil admitted that he never decided on any matters of great importance, such as "the change of former friendships (knit upon honest grounds) whilst passion governs, because that time is unfit for such resolutions."[20] In a copy of a letter allegedly found at Whitehall and printed a year before the outbreak of Civil War, courtier and poet Sir John Suckling warned Charles I of the dangers of being advised by men who allowed their passions to dictate their counsel, "which is a kind of setting the sun by the dial. Interest which cannot err by passions, which may in going about to shew the king a cure, but a man should first shew him the disease."[21]

Although such sources suggest that the seventeenth-century courtiers understood the link between emotion and self-preservation, some were unequivocally of the opinion that passions would not cease at the limits of the rational. Edward Sackville, fourth earl

---

[17] Robert Cecil, "The Earl of Salisbury to king James, 23 Jan. 1607," in *Salisbury*, vol. 19: 1607, 20
[18] Robert Cecil, "Earl of Salisbury to Sir John Smythe, 1607" in *Salisbury,* vol. 19: 1607, 467.
[19] Thomas Roe, "[Sir Thomas Roe] to [Sir John Finet], 17 July 1631," SP 16/533 f.86.
[20] Robert Cecil, "Sir Robert Cecil to the Master of Gray, 1603" in *Salisbury,* vol. 15: 1603, 63.
[21] John Suckling, *A Coppy of a Letter Found in the Privy Lodgeings at White-Hall* (London, 1641), 3.

of Dorset wrote to William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, "self-preservation is to be allowed to all the world and so much your Lordship must pay unto yourself, but let no passion or evil counsel transport you beyond it, nor be not an actor or admirer in extreme courses that will set all on fire and burn the authors in their own flames first or last".[22] The monarch was no more immune to the "tyranny of the passions" than his subjects, despite James I's assertion that "so far we protest are we from any wilful, obstinate, or pre-occupied passion".[23] The king's passions played a particularly prominent role in his disputes with wayward subjects. [24]

The danger of pandering to the passions, whims or desires of the king lay in the risk that the he would sacrifice or disregard all else to attain their satisfaction; "thus flattery measures private passions, compromising rulers, destroying kingdoms and exterminating subjects."[25] For outside observers, such as the Venetian diplomats or spies, the dangers that the passions could pose to the English state were most clearly demonstrated by the often intemperate conduct of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham. The death of James I in 1625 and the coronation of the young Charles I paved the way for what contemporary sources often perceived and portrayed as the rule of the favourite by Buckingham. As yet unwilling to lay blame at the feet of the monarch, there were many within parliament who blamed Buckingham and his lack of emotional restraint for the increasingly tumultuous relationship between the king and the people's representatives.

---

[22] Edward Sackville, "The Earl of Dorset to the [Earl of Salisbury], 21 August1640,"*Salisbury,* vol. 22, 1612-1668, 318

[23] James I, "The king to Sir Thomas Parry, 1603," in *Salisbury,* vol. 15, 299.

[24] One of the king's advisors noted James I's "passion and bitterness" towards the scholars of Cambridge who had apparently slighted the sovereign causing him to be "the more inflamed because of the contempt used toward him," Thomas Lake, "Sir Thomas Lake to the Earl of Salisbury, 13 Oct. 1609," in *Salisbury,* vol. 21, 1609-1612, 140.

[25] Alvise Contarini, "Venice: 1-10 September 1627," *CSPVen,* vol. 20, 348-365.

The costs of Buckingham's anger and lust for revenge were highest during the Anglo-French conflict between the duke and erstwhile ally Cardinal Richelieu. The loss of an estimated 5000 soldiers on the island of Ré from July to November of 1627 was attributed to Buckingham's compulsion to privilege emotional satisfaction over pragmatic political and strategic concerns. Venetian Secretary in Savoy, Marc Antonio Padavin wrote "the interests and passions of these two favourites dye red the swords of the two young kings, who allow themselves to be ruled by them".[26] Although the battle at Ré was ostensibly a defence of the Huguenots, it is clear that contemporaries formed a very different opinion of the cause of the war. In a dispatch to the Venetian Ambassador in France, his counterpart in England, Contarini, wrote "England does not lay claim to anything for the Huguenots, and if it had not been necessary to cloak Buckingham's passions, they might never have been mentioned".[27]

Such sources indicate the prevalence of the conviction that the passions were harbingers of an anarchic wilderness of confusion and debasement. Nevertheless, belief in the merits of early modern emotional experience and expression persisted; and the negative perception of the passions was tempered by an awareness of their political and social importance. In an apology to parliament, George Digby, son of the first earl of Bristol, excused the offence he had given the House of Commons in his speech in response to the bill of attainder for the earl of Strafford. He portrayed the expression of emotion as a natural response to a grievance and attributed to his passions an impetus for action.

> To this parliament I was sent . . . and trulye if I brought any passion or affection
> thither with mee it was my former warmth improved against those pressures and

---

[26] Marc Antonio Padavin, "Venice – 21-31 August 1627," in *CSPVen*, vol. 20, 331-348.
[27] Alvise Contarini, "Venice: 26-29 January 1629," in *CSPVen*, vol. 21, 499-511.

the persons who begatt those pressures which were grievous to the people, and against these I will without vanity say, that I brought as great a resolution to discharge my conscience and my dutye as any man in that assembly.[28]

Numerous other contemporary sources suggest that passions were often considered of greatest worth when they arose from a perception of injustice and facilitated a resolve to put it right.

In a letter to the Admiralty in 1658, one Thomas Shewell confirmed the link between injustice and the experience of constructive passion, and as John Digby had twenty-six years earlier, Shewell admitted to passions inspired in him by injustice. He wrote, "I must confess I was in great passion to see poor men who had hazzarded their lives and lost their limbs in the service of the state to bee soe little regarded, which forced me to write as I did".[29] For Shewell as for George Digby, the experience and expression of passion was legitimate as it became a stimulus to action in the service of justice; for Shewell's "poor men", his action meant that "now something [would] be done for them."[30] The admissions of Shewell and the earls of Bristol are redolent of the passion of Christ, the ultimate model, for a seventeenth-century Englishman at least, of sacrifice for the salvation of others. Whether it was this example or the experience of anger in response to injustice, passion was portrayed, if not perceived, as a powerful driver of political behaviour. Belief in the merits of the passions notwithstanding, there remained an ambivalence with which they were regarded in seventeenth-century England, an ambivalence, which has also had an enduring influence on modern perceptions of the passions.

---

[28]George Digby, "Apology of George Lord Digby, [1646]," SP 16/514/2 f.195.
[29] Thomas Shewell, "Thos. Shewell to the Admiralty Commissioners, 2 February1659," SP 18/201 f.14.
[30] Shewell, "Thos. Shewell to the Admiralty Commissioners," 272.

As with the value of the passions themselves, the methodology best employed in writing a history of emotion is a subject of continuing debate in the contemporary historiography of the field. Even the act of defining emotion is itself an interdisciplinary challenge. Most modern theories of emotion emphasise, as Hobbes had done, the superior role of cognition in the experience and expression of emotion. This cognitive approach argues that emotions are the products of thought stimulated by the perception of an object.[31] From this perspective, "emotions are cognitive habits that can be learned and unlearned in interaction with the surrounding culture, rather than biologically pre-programmed responses".[32]

Evolutionary and biological theories of emotions rely largely on Charles Darwin's mid-nineteenth-century theory of natural selection and survival through adaptation, and as such bear a marked similarity to the adaptive interpretations put forward by Reynolds and Hobbes. In these theories, emotions act as "regulators of attention; stimuli to learning; memory formation and retrieval; regulators of self-awareness and identity formation; mechanisms by which most role-taking and role-making occur; motives for action; and signals to others."[33] Viewing emotions through the lens of adaptation therefore encompasses the various functions of emotions, which facilitated the integration of the individual into social groups. In his early twentieth-century work on religious life, Emile Durkheim explored the way in which society was dependent on an emotional order in which religious rituals inspired emotion in participants. Indeed the intense expressions of

---

[31] Randolph Cornelius, *The Science of Emotion: Research and Tradition in the Psychology of Emotion* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996), 116.

[32] Willemijn Ruberg, "Interdisciplinarity and the History of Emotions," *Cultural and Social History* 6, no. 4 (2009): 508.

[33] Jonathan Turner, "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments," *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 343-44.

emotion in relation to various rituals not only explicitly identified individuals as members of a social group, but also bound them more closely to that society.[34]

Neurobiological approaches have been criticised by those who contend that they ignore the effect of society and environment on the individual.[35] However, as the evolutionary or adaptive theory of emotions suggests, proponents of the neurobiological approach do not dismiss the influence of societies on individual expressions of emotion. Antonio Damasio has argued that the close relationship between mind and body supports the theory that emotions, although initially biological phenomena, are nevertheless conducive to reason.[36] With the increase in size of the human brain, the more complex development of human emotions "enhanced fitness by strengthening and attachments to moral codes", this in turn facilitated social behaviour.[37] As "impulsions of nature", to use the seventeenth-century turn of phrase, the passions were grounded in the biology of the evolved human.

Twenty-first-century medical and technological advances in cognitive neuroscience also support a combined biological and social approach. These have demonstrated that a complete biological distinction between cognition and emotion is improbable as both processes rely on complex interactions between the sub-cortical structures of the limbic system, particularly the amygdala most commonly associated with emotion, and the cortex, responsible for cognitive processing.[38] The greatest

---

[34] Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), esp. chapter 5.

[35] Ruberg, "Interdisciplinarity and the History of Emotions," 511.

[36] Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York: Avon, 1994), 124.

[37] Turner, "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments," 344.

[38] C. Daniel Salzman and Stefano Fusi, "Emotion, Cognition and Mental state Representation in Amygdala and Prefrontal Cortex," *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 33 (2010): 176; Elizabeth Phelps, "The Interaction of Emotion and Cognition," in *Emotion and Consciousness*, ed. Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal, and Piotr Winkielman (London: The Guilford Press, 2005), 55, 63.

divergence from purely biological theories of emotion is the theory of social constructionism in which emotions, rather than being innate, are socially constructed responses to events that are defined as significant by a given society; a theory with which the emphasis of early modern theorists on the malleability of the passions is entirely compatible.[39] Social constructionism has a significant impact on the way emotions are perceived and judged; for example, "if an emotional display seems "extreme", that is itself a perception from within a set of emotional norms that are socially determined."[40]

Social constructionism has been the primary approach adopted by historians of emotion. The work of sociologist Norbert Elias on medieval German knights contended that their status and social custom allowed the knights to revel in conduct that Elias argued would be considered uncivilised in modern Europe. Elias' work *The Civilizing Process* has had a significant influence on both sociologists and historians of emotion. Elias' primary thesis was that, from medieval to modern times there was a transition from the relatively unrestrained barbarity of the upper classes of European society, to a state of civilisation, which expressed "the self-consciousness of the West".[41] Elias' aim was to trace this transition from accepted and even codified behaviours of pre-modern European societies, to proscribed behaviours in the modern period. He argued that far from being rational and planned, the gradual civilisation of Western societies was nevertheless influenced by social organisation and "the more animalic human activities were progressively thrust behind the scenes of people's communal life and invested with feelings of shame". This led to the internalisation of restraint as "the regulation of the

---

[39] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), 14-15.
[40] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 15.
[41] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Revised ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 5.

whole instinctual and affective life by steady self-control became more and more stable, more even and more all-embracing."[42]

Despite its enduring influence, current historians of emotion have raised concerns with Elias' thesis, in particular with a theoretical framework that assumes a progression from uncivilised to civilised, and a perceived lack of understanding of the complexity and subtleties of historical emotional conduct.[43] However, the influence of the social constructionist framework has endured. Its emphasis on the role of social or cultural norms in the creation and expression of emotion is particularly evident in the work of historian, Peter Stearns, and psychiatrist and historian, Carol Stearns, on "emotionology". The Stearns coined the term in the mid 1980s to describe the study of historical emotions through the analysis of social norms or "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains towards basic emotions and their appropriate expression" including the study of the way in which "institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes".[44] Stearns and Stearns argued that the study of sources such as conduct manuals allowed historians to identify these attitudes and their manipulation by social institutions. From their perspective, a focus on emotionology not only allowed a distinction between experience and expression of emotions, but also minimised the risk of findings being influenced by the researcher's own emotionology.[45]

---

[42] Elias, *The Civilising Process,* 365.

[43] William Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions," *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009). Barbara Rosenwein in particular has raised concerns with Elias' portrayal of medieval knights as uncontrolled and barbaric; Barbara Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002); Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 10.

[44] Peter Stearns and Carol Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813.

[45] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 824. The effective application of emotionology as a theoretical tool can be seen the Stearns' numerous works on modern American emotions; Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emtoional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Peter Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Peter Stearns, *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Peter Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).

The key criticism of theories of both individual and collective emotions which draw on the framework of social constructionism, is relativism. This has come most notably from Martha Nussbaum, who believes that scholars can ask normative questions of emotional expression, and from historian of emotions William Reddy. [46] Reddy argued that, from the perspective of anthropological theories of emotion, constructionism produced "conceptual obstacles" preventing the critique of any pattern of local emotional behaviour by providing it with the excuse of being nothing more or less than a construct of that particular society. [47] For Reddy, the transformative potential of performative emotions (emotives) conferred valence, a "conscious felt subjective experience" of the positive or negative nature of an emotion, which has been portrayed by many psychologists as "the single most important dimension of affective experience". [48] In contrast, historian Barbara Rosenwein has argued that in attempting to ascribe a value to emotional states, emotions become decontextualised, which can lead to an anachronistic interpretation. [49] However, the positive and negative values placed on emotion were evidently of concern to seventeenth-century individuals. While this thesis supports Rosenwein's argument that attempting to ascribe *modern* values to *historical* emotional states would be inappropriate, in the realm of politics at least, emotional valence was an "important dimension" of early modern "affective experience".

---

[46] Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press, 2001), 11-12; William Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (1997): 327-28.

[47] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 54.

[48] T. A Fossum and Lisa Barret, "Distinguishing Evaluation from Description in the Personality-Emotion Relationship," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26, no. 6 (2000): 679; Louis Charland, "Emotion Experience and the Indeterminacy of Valence," in *Emotion and Consciousness*, ed. Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal, and Piotr Winkielman (London: The Guilford Press, 2005), 234.

[49] See in particular Rosenwein's work on *furor* (anger) and *caritas* (love) in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 193-94.

As Peter and Carol Stearns, Rosenwein, and other historians of emotion have demonstrated, there is a danger in assuming that modern theory is commensurate with historical emotion. Indeed the historiography of emotion suggests that one of the most significant temporal changes in the history of emotions was the increasing individualism from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. While emotions were ascribed to individuals in the eighteenth century, it has been argued that emotional experience and expression in the sixteenth century was often communal rather than individual. Gail Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson argued that "a too persistent focus on the passionate individual may also overshadow the early modern investment in emotional expression as either a generic marker of social status or the sentient matter of communal bonds".[50] In addition, the notion of the "porous" individual of the renaissance and the reformation meant that individuals "did not regard feelings they experience as necessarily their own". Therefore, sixteenth and seventeenth century emotional expression should not be confused with "our modern inclination to script passions as individual and proprietary [which] leads us to miss those feelings that come from the outside."[51] Histories of emotion that have followed either of these two paths, the collective or the individual, have tended to overlook the interface between the two. Despite the contention of historians of emotion that early modern passions were the result of shared experience, seventeenth-century perceptions generally held the passions to be individually felt, while simultaneously open to external influences. This thesis contends that seventeenth-century expression resulted from a combination of individual and communal experience.

It would be as misleading to represent pre-modern people as lacking in individual emotions, as it would be to suggest that collective emotion does not play a significant

---

[50] Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds., *Reading the Early Modern Emotions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 12.
[51] Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, *Reading the Early Modern Emotions,* 13.

role in modern societies. This thesis attempts to marry the two to provide a more complete understanding of the way in which seventeenth-century political emotions reflected and influenced the relationship between "the people" and the nation. It is important to note here that this thesis is concerned primarily with emotion expressed rather than experienced. To make claims that the former mirrored the latter is to neglect the political and emotional landscape of Restoration England, and to underestimate the ability of seventeenth-century individuals to navigate that space. Nevertheless, it is equally dangerous to suppose that all emotional expression was necessarily insincere. In the trial for treason during the reign of Charles II, finding a balance between the two was quite literally a matter of life or death.

3 – PROSECUTING TREASON AND CASE STUDIES

Literary scholars John Barrell, Karen Cunningham and Rebecca Lemon have explored the discursive construction of treason in early modern England and its relationship to national identity and concepts of sovereignty.[52] Karen Cunningham in particular has considered the role of truth and subjectivity in relation to the construction of treason and national and individual identity during the English Renaissance. In her examination of the literary genre of the trial, Cunningham expands on the interplay between subjective and national English identities and contends that "developing forms of Englishness" were constructed through "competing discourses in which fluid categories of "legitimate" citizenship are redefined and reassociated with equally fluid forms of evidence".[53] Although such works have made an important contribution to the understanding of

---

[52] John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Karen Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals: Subjectivity and the Discourses of Treason in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[53] Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals,* 3.

treason in this period, their emphasis has been on the conceptualisation of treason as a "textual phenomenon" and as such, they have not considered the affective dimension of the crime.[54] Public responses to treason trials provide historians with an invaluable window into the relationship between politics and emotion in seventeenth-century England. As treason was a charge based more often on politics than the commission of a crime, it inspired overt expression of emotion that, in lesser cases, would contravene emotional norms. Although the targets of political passions often portrayed these expressions as destructive, individuals repeatedly proved themselves willing to defy convention in their attempts to redress perceived injustice. Unlike John Digby or Thomas Shewell, Restoration individuals appeared to feel no need to confess their passions, but rather declared them openly. The usefulness of treason cases therefore lies in their tendency to illuminate not only the political climate of the period, but also the way in which individuals and groups used the passions to plot a course through the dangerous waters of Restoration politics.

Some understanding of the legal history of treason is necessary in order to contextualise the passions that arose in response to the prosecution of treason during the reign of Charles II. In the trials of the latter half of the seventeenth century, Statute 5 of 25 Edward III was the one according to which most defendants were charged. This statute contended that high treason had occurred

> When a Man doth compass or imagine the Death of our Lord the king, or of our Lady his Queen, or of their eldest Son and Heir; (3) or if a Man do violate the king's Companion, or the king's eldest Daughter unmarried, or the Wife of the king's eldest Son and Heir; (4) or if a Man do levy War against our Lord the king

---

[54] Lemon, *Treason by Words,* 2-4.

in his Realm, or be adherent to the king's Enemies in his Realm . . . (5) And if a Man counterfeit the king's Great or Privy Seal, or his Money; (6) and if a Man bring false Money into this Realm . . . (7) and if a Man slea the Chancellor, Treasurer, or the king's Justices of the one Bench or the other, Justices in Eyre, or Justices of Assise, and all other Justices assigned to hear and determine.[55]

By the seventeenth century, the charge of coining had been separated into its own category of royal offences and while no less important to the security of the nation than treason, it is not a charge on which this thesis focuses. The main charges laid against alleged traitors in the cases under consideration here were those of imagining or compassing the death of the king, levying war and supporting enemies of the Crown. John Bellamy argued that these statutory developments of 1352 were an attempt on the part of royal judges to "extend the common law of treason" in order to increase the security of England, made necessary by the frequent absences of the king.[56]

In theory, common-law treasons were ill-defined; they were "custom-derived" offenses consisting of acts posing a threat to the monarch or the realm that had existed prior to 25 Edw. III but had not been covered by the statute. In practise, common-law treasons included any act perceived as a threat to the monarch, and recourse to charges of treason under the common law was particularly prevalent during times of crisis.[57] In 1352, there was an attempt to restrict the power to define treason in the salvo clause, which stated that any case brought before justices and not specified in the 1352 statutes, could not be adjudged treason until "this Cause be shewed and declared before the king

---

[55] *SL,* vol. 1, 25 Edw. 3, St. 5, Ch. 2, 311.

[56] John G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 100.

[57] Bellamy, *The Law of Treason,* 101.

and his parliament whether it ought to be judged Treason or other felony."[58] However, D. Alan Orr contended that this clause facilitated the development both of parliamentary attainder, in which a defendant was judged and condemned by parliament instead of the law courts, and of further common law treasons.[59]

The English law of treason underwent a number of intense periods of expansion during the Tudor period, primarily in response to the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII, the Counter-Reformation under Elizabeth I, and the subjugation of Ireland.[60] In addition to "constructive treasons", or those defined by often liberal interpretations of 25 Edw. III st. 5, new Tudor legislation, for example the statutes of 28 Henry VIII, were designed both to cement Protestant Tudor succession and to demolish the authority of the pope.[61] Henry VIII's act of succession in 1534 first declared slander and libel against the king as treasonable offences. Initially lawyers defined seditious speech in the absence of any written record as misprision, or concealment, of treason, the early modern equivalent of an accessory charge. As the Reformation progressed and rebellion grew, Bellamy argued "the penalties for misprision . . . were having insufficient effect", resulting in the treason act of 26 Henry VIII c. 13. [62]

> [I]f any person or persons . . . do maliciously wish, will or desire, by Words or
> Writing, or by Craft, imagine, invent, practise or attempt any bodily harm to be
> done or committed to the king's most Royal Person, the Queen's or their Heirs
> apparent, or to deprive them or any of them of their Dignity, Title or Name of
> their Royal Estates or slanderously and maliciously publish and pronounce, by

---

[58] *SL,* vol. 1, 25 Edw. 3, St. 5, Ch. 2, 312.

[59] D. Alan Orr, *Treason and the state: Law, Politics, and Ideology in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13.

[60] Orr, *Treason and the state,* 16-17.

[61] See especially *SL,* vol. 2, 26 Henry 8, Ch. 13 and 28 Henry 8, Ch. 18.

[62] John G. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979), 31.

express Writing or Words, that the king our Sovereign Lord should be Heretick, Schismatic, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper of the Crown . . . then every such person and persons . . . shall be adjudged Traitors, and that every such Offence . . . shall be reputed, accepted and adjudged High Treason.[63]

The extension of treason law to cover treasonable words has been portrayed as the main contribution made by the Tudor monarchs to treason law, however, Geoffrey Elton argued that someone accused of treasonable words "stood approximately three times as good a chance of being dismissed without any consequences as of being brought to his death". [64] Elton suggested that this was a sign that the Crown adhered to the letter of the law more closely than had previously been assumed. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, at least in the cases under consideration in this thesis, the treasonable words statute was not the one upon which the prosecution explicitly relied. Nevertheless, the executions of individuals such as Stephen College and Algernon Sidney demonstrated that the construction of writing or speech as treason was a lethal legal innovation, regardless of the statute under which alleged traitors were tried.[65]

Elizabethan legislation extended the Henrician act against the Pope, and by 1570 seeking "to change the established religion" was increasingly prevalent in charges of treason. Bellamy has argued that this "showed a new close association in the minds of the Crown's lawyers between treason and papal sympathies", an association which resonated with prosecutors and public alike in Restoration England.[66] He also contended that the proliferation of Tudor treason legislation "is explained by the fact that many

---

[63] *SL,* 26 Henry 8, Ch. 13, 204-205.
[64] Geoffrey R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 391.
[65] Samuel Rezneck demonstrated much the same in his examination of "treacherous words" legislation in the fifteenth-century England, Samuel Rezneck, "Constructive Treason by Words in the Fifteenth Century," *The American Historical Review* 33, no. 3 (1928): 551.
[66] Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason*, 67.

Tudor acts were the by-product of royal concern over the succession to the Crown and the king's ecclesiastical supremacy".[67] He posited that the Tudor monarchs were not confidant of the ability of "judicial construction based on existing statutes" to serve the monarch's goals. In contrast, the prosecutors and judges in treason cases of Restoration England proved themselves more than capable in this regard.

As with treason during the Tudor period, the most extensive construction of treasons occurred in the latter half of the seventeenth century during times of concern over royal succession and ecclesiastical supremacy. This construction faced the greatest challenge from the English people when it was perceived to infringe upon the Englishman's birthright to "liberty under law", a phrase, which acted as the banner for the "Ancient Constitution" and its relationship to English identity. The idea of an ancient constitution, described in modern historiography by John Pocock, was a powerful one in seventeenth-century England.[68] Edward Coke and like-minded contemporaries believed, or at least purported to believe, that antiquity was synonymous with legitimacy particularly in a legal system in which law was based on precedent. However as David Underdown has stated, "the gentry were not alone in appealing to law and custom when they felt abused" and has argued for the "convergence of interest and outlook between the gentry and lesser folk" surrounding the idea of the Ancient Constitution.[69] For such people in the seventeenth century, the Ancient Constitution was their shield against the horrors of "arbitrary imprisonment, unparliamentary taxation, and the toleration of 'popery and Arminianism'".[70] Underdown could have modified his list to include the

---

[67] Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason*, 12.
[68] J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[69] David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996), 52-53.
[70] Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, 55.

"arbitrary imprisonment" of Protestants, as the problem that plagued the treason trials of the latter half of the seventeenth century was not merely the struggle to preserve ancient liberties, but to do so without compromising the political and religious security of England.

In examining the politics of emotion in the trial for treason, this thesis focuses on public responses to three events; the Bawdy House Riots of 1668, and the Popish and Protestant Plots from 1678-1683. These cases have been selected for their notoriety, which largely arose from debates over the legitimacy of the charges, or the veracity of the plots, and as a result have generated copious sources on the emotional responses in and to these cases. The riots began in Poplar, a London parish, on Easter Monday, 23 March 1668. By the second day they had spread throughout the nearby parishes of St Andrew's Holborn, St James' Clerkenwell, St Leonard's Shoreditch, East Smithfield and Moorefields, finally ending in Moorfields on 25 March. On the first two days, the "tumultuous assemblies" amassed between three and five hundred people "arrayed and armed in a warlike manner, to wit, with iron barrs, poleaxes, long staves and other weapons".[71] At Holborn, the multitude of people headed by Thomas Limerick who "led them as their Captaine with a club in his hand . . . assembled themselves upon pretence of pulling downe Bawdy Houses".[72] The rioters who gathered at Clerkenwell were found to have gone to the New Prison to "brake open the prison doors and let out foure prisoners two whereof were committed thither for felony, and the other two for other offences: And that then and there being charged to depart they replyed that they had been servants long but now they would bee masters".[73]

---

[71] "Middlesex Sessions Rolls, 23 March 1668," *Middlesex County Records,* vol. 4: 1667-1688 (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1892), 6-12.
[72] "Middlesex Sessions Rolls."
[73] "Middlesex Sessions Rolls."

At Shoreditch witnesses reported the rabble, represented at the trial by Edward Cotton, demanding liberty of conscience and issuing the threat that "they would come and pull downe Whitehall".[74] At Smithfield, the rioters were led by Richard Beasley, armed with a "naked sword", and Peter Messenger, bearing a "peice of greene apron on a staffe, which he flourashed as colours in the head of the Company". [75] On the final day, the rioters collected again in Moorefields faced by a mounted force that they mistook for the king's Lifeguard and the Duke of York. In the transcript of the trial at the Old Bailey, the same demand for liberty of conscience associated with the rioters at Shoreditch was attributed to the rabble at Moorefields. One witness reported "there came a Troop, and they thought it had been the Duke of York's Troop, and they ran with Brickbats in their Hands to them, and said, That if the king did not give them Liberty of Conscience, that May-day must be a bloody Day."[76] The leader of the troop, Sir Philip Howard also reported "the People look'd upon us so contemptibly, that they told us we should quickly be unhors'd . . . and stood as if they did not fear us".[77] A little more fear may have gone some way towards their self-preservation, for on 4 April fifteen of the rioters stood before Lord Chief Justice Kelyng, on trial for treason.

In the case of the Bawdy House Riots, although Easter was synonymous with riotous behaviour from apprentices during what Tim Harris has termed "carnivals of misrule", 1668 was different.[78] Demands for liberty of conscience at the tumults in Shoreditch and Moorfields suggest that at least some of the company saw the riots as a

---

[74] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, April 4 1668* (London, 1715), 20. See also Middlesex Sessions Rolls, 24 March 1668.
[75] Middlesex Sessions Rolls, 24 March, 1668; Tim Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668," *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 3 (1986): 541. That green was the colour also associated with the radical Leveller movement of the 1640s and 1650s did little to assuage the concerns over what the riots represented.
[76] *The Tryal of Several Rioters,* 21.
[77] *The Tryal of Several Rioters*, 20.
[78] Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots," 555.

means of furthering religious and political goals. This is supported by the work of Harris, the most extensive on the riots, in which he argued that they were "an explicitly political protest, motivated by grievances both against the Court and against the policy of religious persecution".[79] The riots certainly contravened Charles II's act against tumultuous petitioning issued by parliament in 1661. This act forbade the "disorderly solliciting, and procuring of hands by private persons to Petitions, Complaints, Remonstrances, and Declarations . . . for alternation of matters established by Law".[80] Fifteen alleged ringleaders of the riot were charged with, and four convicted of, high treason, largely a result of the newly restored regime's insecurities, which are explored in more detail in chapter Two. As Harris has noted, the unruliness was atypical in both size and duration, factors which also played a large role in the responses that the riots generated.

A decade later, England was perceived to be under threat once again, not by nonconformists, but by a force considered by many to be far more dangerous; popery. John Pollock's 1903 history has covered in great detail the trials, characters and context of the Popish Plot. As with the Bawdy House Riots, the justification for pursuing the treason charge was, according to Pollock, not so much the murder of the king, but rather "in the designs which [the defendants] had formed to alter the established course of government and religion, as settled in the kingdom."[81] The alleged Popish plot against the king's life was first brought to the attention of the monarch by Christopher Kirkby early in August 1678. On 6 September Titus Oates, who had first met with Kirkby four days earlier, presented his information to magistrate Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. On the same day that Oates left a copy of his information with Godfrey, the magistrate was

---

[79] Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots," 537.

[80] "An Act against Tumults and Disorders" in *Anno Regni Caroli II. At the parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Eighth day of May, An. Dom. 1661* (London, 1661).

[81] John Pollock, *The Popish Plot* (London: Duckworth and co., 1903), 305.

secretly visited by Edward Coleman. Although by this time Coleman had been dismissed from his post as secretary to the duke of York and then to the duchess, throughout his employment he had been the subject of complaints arising from his authorship of "seditious letters to rouse discontent in the provinces against the government."[82]

The importance of the plot to English society of the period was such that it reigned over the first page of the first volume of Narcissus Luttrell's *A Brief Historical Relation of state Affairs.* Luttrell described the events in London in September of 1678; "About the latter end of this month was a hellish conspiracy, contrived and carried on by the papists".[83] Diarist John Evelyn reported the impact the discovery of the plot had on English society that he observed on a trip to London.

> The parliament being now alarm'd with the whole Nation, about a conspiracy of some Eminent Papists, for the destruction of the king, & introducing Popwery; discovered by one Oates and Dr. Tongue . . . This discovery turn'd them all as one man against it, and nothing was don but in order to finding out the depth of this.[84]

The veracity of the plot is not the chief concern of this thesis; however it is important to note the relationship between public fear and belief. In 1675, as Pollock has argued, Coleman had attempted to "extirpate the religion established in [England], and to introduce the Pope's authority by combination and assistance of foreign power".[85] Unaware of these designs at this time, the public demonstrated little evidence of the intense fear of popery that dominated the emotional climate after the treason charge had

---

[82] Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 31.
[83] Luttrell, 1.
[84] Evelyn, *Diary,* 255-256.
[85] Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 46-7.

been laid some three years later. Although contemporary sources and historical accounts all attest to an increasingly intense and pervasive fear of Catholics throughout the 1670s, evidence suggests that the impetus behind Coleman's design had waned in the intervening years.[86] The incongruent relationship between fear and real danger posed by the plot indicates that from 1678, public emotion was the stronger driver of behaviour.

The force of this fear was of sufficient magnitude that the existence of a genuine threat was irrelevant; evidence for an imagined danger could be found. Two days after his visit to Godfrey in 1678, Coleman was arrested and less than a fortnight later Godfrey was declared missing. The ambiguity surrounding the cause of death when Godfrey's body was discovered served to exacerbate the climate of anti-Catholic anxiety. As Kenyon stated, "[w]hile Godfrey's corpse was brought back for an elaborate lying-in-state which lasted ten days, London was gripped by the kind of panic not seen since 1666," the year of the great fire of London, thought at the time to be the work of Catholics.[87] It was clear to all, according to Evelyn at least, that the death of Godfrey was a further demonstration of the danger in which England found itself.

> The barbarous murder of Sir Edmund Bery-Godfry, found strangled about this time, as was manifest by the Papists, (he being a Justice of the Peace, and one who knew much of their practises as conversant with Coleman, a Servant of the [duke of York], now accused) put the whole nation in a new fermentation against them.[88]

---

[86] Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 49.

[87] John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: Heinemann, 1972), 78. See also Frances Dolan, "Ashes and "the Archive": The London Fire of 1666, Partisanship, and Proof," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 2 (2001): 383.

[88]Evelyn, *Diary,* 256.

During the parliamentary impeachment of William Howard viscount Stafford on 3 December 1680, the prosecution stated that "had not the Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey followed in the Neck of [Oates' discovery], the World as it was asleep [to the presence of a plot] would have lain so, but that awaked us."[89]

Implicated in the plot were a number of Catholic peers whom Oates alleged had "made substantial donations . . . to the fund to finance the king's assassination."[90] According to Oates' co-informant Bedloe, five of these peers, Arundel, Belasyse, Petre, Stafford and Powis, were to be appointed by the Pope to run the government once the plot had succeeded.[91] Of the five aging Lords charged with treason, William Howard, viscount Stafford was according to Kenyon "the most likely to be mixed up in something rash and shady", being a frequent visitor to France.[92] After a three-day trial by parliamentary attainder, Stafford was sentenced to execution by 55 of the 86 peers who attended his impeachment (Figure 1).[93] The turning point in the plot came with Lord Chief Justice William Scroggs' contentious acquittal of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician who was alleged to have agreed to poison the king and three Jesuit priests on 18 July 1679. Although there were more convictions following Wakeman's trial, the increasing uncertainty in public opinion of the plot's veracity gave the Crown the opportunity to regain control of judicial proceedings.

---

[89] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford (*London, 1680), 8.
[90] Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 82.
[91] Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 94.
[92] Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 40.
[93] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford*, 211.

Figure 1. *The Tryall of William Howard Ld Viscount Stafford in Westminster Hall,* London, 1680.

By 1680, the ability of Popish plotters to excite fear in the jury had waned. However, the revival of the use of treason as a means for removing political opposition experienced a resurgence three years later, in what Whig historians have traditionally labelled the Tories' act of vengeance, the Rye House Plot and other alleged Protestant conspiracies. The prelude to the prosecutions of Protestants vocal in their opposition to Popery in general and the succession of the Duke of York in particular was evident as early as July 1681, with the incarceration of Stephen College, the "Protestant Joiner". College's case, it has been argued, was a test run for the impeachment of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury, also charged and committed to the Tower on 2 July.[94] College, author of numerous vitriolic libels against Charles II, which would clearly have constituted treasonable words had he been tried under 26 Henry VIII c.13, was charged instead with compassing the death of the king and tried on 17 August by a session of Oyer and Terminer at Oxford.

After the precedent of acquittal set by the trial of Sir George Wakeman, there was a prevailing assumption that Londoners were more likely to acquit while county trials were more likely to end in a guilty verdict. This certainly proved true in College's case. Although the Grand Jury in London found the bill of indictment *ignoramus,* in Oxford both the Grand Jury and the Trial Jury were more accommodating, convicting College of treason and sentencing him to be drawn on a sled to the place of execution, hung and quartered.[95] Despite College's best attempts to convince the jury that his trial was evidence of a design against Protestants, the prosecution proved more convincing, and at

---

[94] Gary S. De Krey, "College, Stephen (C. 1635-1681)," *Oxford DNB.* See also Morrice, 281.
[95] "The Trial of Stephen College at Oxford, 17 August1681," *ST,* vol. 3, 357.

three o'clock on the morning of 18 August, it took the jury only half an hour and two bottles of Sack to return a guilty verdict.[96]

Although the Crown was eventually successful in convicting College, the earl of Shaftesbury was never indicted, a London Grand Jury finding the bill against him *ignoramus*. However, the Protestant plot was still to claim its victims; most prominent among them the Whig leaders, Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney. In March 1683, a group of conspirators was alleged to have plotted for the coaches of Charles II and the duke of York to be stopped at Rye House farm in Hertfordshire, and for the king and the duke to be shot. The treachery never eventuated as the king and his party left Newmarket a week earlier than planned.[97] Independently, the Council of Six, the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, Lord Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney and John Hampden, were allegedly planning an uprising. They had drafted a manifesto, which outlined "parliament's control of the militia, the right of counties to elect sheriffs, annual parliamentary elections, liberty of conscience, and the degrading of those nobles who had acted contrary to the interest of the people."[98] These demands were contemporaneous with the development of political theories concerning the right of resistance by John Locke and Algernon Sidney, the treatises on which were not yet printed but which according to Tim Harris "were clearly written as justification of the resistance that the radical Whigs were planning in 1682-3."[99]

---

[96] "The Trial of Stephen College," 407.

[97] Peter Hinds, "Roger L'Estrange, the Rye House Plot, and the Regulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London," *The Library* 3, no. 1 (2002): 5-6.

[98] Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2006), 312. See also "Information of Zachary Bourne" in T. B. Howell (ed.) *A Complete Collection of state Trials,* vol. 9 (London, 1816), 416.

[99] Harris, *Restoration,* 312. See also Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 313.

The various judgements meted out to the conspirators in the Council of Six illustrated the difficulty of trying treason, and in particular of procuring two witnesses to the crime. Monmouth and Howard turned informants, although Monmouth's repeated reversals and public protestations that he had no role in convicting the other traitors, served to confirm public suspicions that the Protestant Plot was fictitious. Hampden, without Monmouth's evidence was fined 40,000 pounds, which effectively imprisoned him for life, while Essex died of a slit throat in prison. Lord Chief Justice Jeffries used Essex's apparent suicide as evidence of the veracity of the plot. However, the injuries, and virulent gossip, suggested that Essex had been murdered to fake such evidence, which once again supported the opinion that the plot was a fabrication created to avenge the deaths of the Popish plotters. Of all of those involved in the Protestant plots, the executions of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney fuelled the greatest public, and in particular Whig, anger against a government it saw as arbitrary and unjust.

The trial of Lord Russell in July 1683 was an interesting one from the perspective of treason law. Although it occurred thirteen years before the passage of the Treason Trials Act of 1696, which would guarantee basic legal rights for defendants, Lord Russell was, to all intents and purposes, aware of the charge against him and the jury pool at least a week before his trial. In addition, he was allowed counsel before and during the trial, although, as was standard practice, during the trial his counsel was only allowed to argue on points of law.[100] However, such concessions were not sufficient to save him from the persuasive powers of George Jeffries, then Attorney-General. By November of 1683, when Algernon Sidney was brought before the bar to answer the charge of treason, Jeffries was now acting as Lord Chief Justice. Here again the ambiguity of treason law

---

[100] "The Trial of Lord William Russell, 13 July1683," *ST,* vol. 3, 630-633.

was used to convict a man who was unlikely to be literally guilty of the charge of levying war. In his defence, Sydney highlighted the use of fear, not of the jury but of the witnesses, in the execution of the law. The key witness both in Lord Russell's trial and in Sydney's was the voluble Lord Howard, whose testimony avoided specificity, despite running on at length. Sydney argued that Howard, who was himself implicated in the alleged treason of a Protestant plot, was "under the Terror of those Treasons" and "could not get his Pardon . . . till he was past this Drudgery of Swearing".[101] Sydney's extensive arguments were in vain. Jeffries did the prosecutors' job for them in his directions to the jury, refuting each of Sydney's points, again it took them only half an hour to return the guilty verdict. Jonathan Scott has contended that Jeffries' use of unpublished writing to condemn Sidney became, in Whig historiography, "one of the greatest excesses of Stuart tyranny"; it certainly did little to endear many to the fragile Stuart regime.[102]

4 – METHOD AND APPROACH

Although the treason trials are the centre of this thesis, they are but the foci around which public opinions, passions and political interests crystallised. As such the sources used are far more varied than the accounts of trials, which while important, give only a partial insight into the passionate world of Restoration politics. In addition to trial transcripts, the sources upon which this thesis relies include printed books, pamphlets, ballads, correspondence, diaries, and government documents.[103] It is important to note the social bias of these sources as they were exclusively composed by individuals who were literate and often members of the royal court, or parliamentary or judicial elite. Nevertheless,

---

[101] "The Trial of Colonel Algernon Sydney, 21 November1683," *ST,* vol. 3, 722.

[102] Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis*, 313

[103] This thesis has not focused on sermons. Although they were undoubtedly a powerful medium for the dissemination of ideas, behavioural and emotional norms, churches have their own emotional climate, one which deserves to be considered in depth, an undertaking beyond the scope of this project.

they are still revealing about the actions and emotional expression of a broader subsection of society. The growing importance of the press in reporting and influencing Restoration politics has been thoroughly demonstrated by historians such as James Sutherland, Tim Harris, Mark Knights and Lois Schwoerer.[104] The rise of the press both exacerbated the insecurity, which was a driving force behind the actions of the Stuart monarchy, and gave the Stuarts and their opposition access to "public sentiment", which was perceived as integral to political stability and a prize sought by those intent on achieving or maintaining power. In his analysis of early modern state formation, Michael Braddick has contended that "the state did not want or do things" rather "there were patterns in the ways in which the state was used". In contrast to Braddick's focus on state formation, the emphasis of this thesis is on "the purposeful actions of individuals or groups" and the attempts at nation, rather than state, building at which those actions aimed.[105]

This thesis is concerned predominantly with expression, rather than experience, and the emotions that individuals and groups wanted to display, making it easier to discern emotion from the printed word. The evidence for political passions is derived predominantly from the written word, nevertheless, early modern treason law was itself unequivocal about the power of words to effect political action, a phenomenon, which was particularly evident during Charles II's reign. Changing attitudes towards governance and authority during the Restoration appear to have resulted in far greater licence for emotional expression, which ran counter to the norms desired by the restored

---

[104] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Ingenious Mr. Henry Care, Restoration Publicist* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001); James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[105] Michael Braddick, S*tate Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Stuarts, than displays of support for the monarch or the threat of treason charges would suggest.

The expression of political emotion during this period was largely aimed at influencing public behaviour; it was a performance for the people. The expression and influencing of political passions were integral components of early modern political rhetoric. As Richard Cust has demonstrated in his study of the role of honour in early modern politics, the value of rhetoric is in the themes chosen by its authors to make an argument attractive to its audience, thereby providing historians with an insight into what was considered by contemporaries as "acceptable or unacceptable behaviour".[106] In addition to illuminating normative standards for behaviour and emotion, the study of rhetoric can be used to understand the role of emotion in influencing political behaviour. The ability of the emotions to persuade was an integral component of political rhetoric.

Just as Wendy Olmsted contended that handbooks on social rhetoric created or reflected "categories that shape emotions and influence evaluations of them," political rhetoric during the Restoration period concerned itself with the civic virtue of particular passions expressed in particular contexts.[107] Victoria Kahn contended that seventeenth-century men and women were concerned with divining "which passions could authorize or legitimate political obligation".[108] Drawing on the traditions of Aristotle and Cicero, the task of seventeenth-century individuals intent on influence politics was to create "plausible fictions". This thesis contends that the persuasive power of these rhetorical

---

[106] Richard Cust, "Honour, Rhetoric and Political Culture." In Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds.) *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 85.
[107] Wendy Olmsted, *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton and their Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 4.
[108] Victoria Kahn, *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England 1640-1674* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 85.

devices lay in the effective deployment and manipulation of passions, in particular anger, fear, pity and shame. These all played an integral role in the construction and conception of political obligation to one's sovereign or nation, the latter of which may have been understood variously as England or as a narrower geopolitical and cultural entity, such as the city of London.

It is also important to note that my thesis is underpinned by a theoretical framework, which posits that "the people", national identity and indeed the nation itself are constructed by discourse. As scholars such as Edmund S. Morgan have suggested, "the people" was an imagined construct, in the same way that nations were "imagined communities".[109] In their study of the construction of contemporary Austrian identity, Ruth Wodak, Rudolph de Cilia and Martin Reisigl have developed this theoretical framework to include the assumption that national identity implies "a complex of similar conceptions and perceptual schemata, of similar emotional dispositions and attitudes, and of similar behavioural conventions, which bearers of this 'national identity' share collectively and which they have internalised through socialisation".[110] Such an approach is particularly pertinent to an examination of the relationship between emotion and identity in this period.[111]

---

[109]Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York: Norton, 1988); Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2006). First published in the late 1970s, Edward Said's *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1995) was a watershed text on the construction of identity through discourse.

[110] "Introduction," in Ruth Wodak, Rudolph de Cilia, and Martin Reisigl (eds.) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 3-4.

[111] The political and social histories of the development of English and British identity are examined in depth in chapter three. The role of literature in the discursive construction of the English or British nation has received as much attention as politics. See in particular Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Andrew Escobedo, *Nationalism and historical loss in Renaissance England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). One of the most detailed considerations of emotion and national identity is Evan Gottlieb's *Feeling British: sympathy and national identity in Scottish and English writing* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007). As with many studies of sympathy, Gottlieb's study is chiefly concerned with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

Judith Richards has demonstrated in her analysis of the Stuart national identity in the wake of Elizabethan rule, that the construction of this identity was a complex affair. She has argued that "from 1559 in particular, across the socio-political hierarchies, a peculiarly Elizabethan synthesis of international Protestantism, vehement anti-Popery, xenophobia and adulation of the monarch had become entrenched in the dominant public discourse".[112] The socially constructed nature of "the people" and their national identity does not diminish their importance in Restoration politics any more than it did in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.[113] The expression of emotion during the Restoration was, more often than not, a performance for this imagined audience in an attempt to create real political communities and allegiances. By examining the setting, cast, staging, costumes, and plot of this performance in turn, this thesis is structured to reflect the dramatic, audience-centric nature of seventeenth-century political passions.

With its focus on the emotional landscape of Restoration England, chapter two sets the stage for this early modern passion play. It begins with an exploration of the emotionology of the Restoration and the role played therein by the legacy of the Civil War and Interregnum periods. It then examines the formation of an emotional community around the idea of the "Englishman's birthright", the ancient constitution and trial by jury. It argues that the passion for justice and the bond between seventeenth-century Englishmen and their parliaments formed the cornerstone of constitutional patriotism in early modern England. The third and fourth chapters examine the *dramatis personae*, and explore the relationship between emotion, identity and power. In particular, chapter three examines seventeenth-century English patriotism and nationalism, and analyses the

---

[112] Judith M. Richards, "The English Accession of James VI: 'National Identity', Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England," *The English Historical Review* 117, no. 472 (2002): 513.

[113] For an detailed discussion of the political construction of "the people" see Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 99-108.

extent to which these phenomena were capable of uniting English society across political and social divides.

The emotion of shame takes on a particular significance in this chapter, which it carries through to the conclusion. Shame, this thesis argues, is one of the most important passions in promoting state constructions of national identity to "the people", and equally important in challenging traditional structures of authority. While one might expect these phenomena to be more closely aligned with constructions of national and individual honour, as chapters three and seven demonstrate, the behaviour of alleged traitors, and increasingly the state, is considered deviant. The underlying assumption therefore is that honour is absent, and appeals to national or individual honour are ineffective in eliciting normative behaviours or emotions. In contrast, the belief in the power of shame as a tool for behavioural modification was as common to Restoration England, as it is to modern systems of justice.[114]

Chapter four analyses the political passions expressed during the Restoration period to determine whether evidence can be found for distinct sub-national emotional communities. As powerful tools for communicating political desires, emotions could not afford to be lost in translation between various social, political and religious communities. This chapter argues that patterns of expression during the 1660s support the existence of distinct emotional communities between religious nonconformists and those who were loyal to and identified with the Stuart court. However, during the

---

[114] In modern criminology shame has been viewed as having both stigmatizing and reintegrative dimensions; John Braithwaite, "Shame and Criminal Justice," *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 42, no. 3 (2000). However, David Karp has argued that the judicial use of shame is "meant to satisfy the retributive impulse"; David R. Karp, "The Judicial and Judicious Use of Shame Penalties," *Crime and Delinquency* 44, no. 2 (1998): 279. For further criticism of Braithwaite's theory see Ekaterina V. Botchkovar and Charles R. Tittle, "Crime, Shame and Reintegration in Russia," *Theoretical Criminology* 9, no. 4 (2005).

Exclusion Crisis and Popish and Rye House Plots of the 1670s and 1680s, there was far more emotional similarity between political communities than Restoration rhetoric would suggest. As a result, while there were divided political groups, which employed fear and anger with impunity to inspire loyalty in support of, or in opposition to the king, there is little evidence to support the existence of distinct emotional communities along these lines.

This is further supported by chapter five, which focuses on the often derogatory term "jealousies and fears", and the way in which it characterised the contest for power between political communities. Jealousies and fears were part of a shared emotional language deployed by opposing political communities. The striking similarities between the expression and use of jealousies and fears by loyalist and opposition groups indicate that there is insufficient difference to posit discrete emotional communities. Nevertheless, the language of jealousies and fears was used to both describe and promote distinctive sets of normative emotions and practices, or emotional regimes, designed to influence allegiance and consolidate political authority. As such, chapter five argues that "jealousies and fears" were inseparable components of a phenomenon of far greater political significance than the term's usage would suggest; a phenomenon that holds the key to understanding not only the patterns of political ascendancy between supporters of the king and his opponents, but also the weakness of the restored Stuart regime.

Chapters six and seven analyse the practice of emotional expression through consideration of the staging and costuming of the passions, demonstrating the power of performance in promoting emotional norms, and in manipulating the emotional climate of Restoration England. Chapter six focuses on state performances of the passions and on the guises in which emotions were displayed. Individuals across the social strata

expressed concerns that insincere emotion disguised subversive political aims; however, the fraught emotional climate and the use of the seemingly all-encompassing treason law, ensured that public expressions of emotion were often determined by the need to conform to state-sponsored norms. Although the fear of insincerity was not always justified, in some cases emotional disguise was indeed the result of the need to divert attention from "secret hearts", as poet Laureate John Dryden termed them.[115] Chapter Seven depicts the struggle for emotional supremacy in the attempt to influence political behaviour, through the examination of the use of the passions in acts of political resistance. Unofficial performances of the passions often commandeered state displays, subverting them to support their own goals in opposition to the Crown.

Three key themes weave these chapters into an analytical narrative of Restoration passions, their civic importance, and their integral role in the politics of the period. The first is the political expedience of "social truth" or emotional disguise reflected in public expression of the passions throughout the reign of Charles II. This thesis demonstrates that fears of emotional dissimulation were insufficient to counter the predominant recourse to pragmatism when expressing the passions. As a result, although the emotional expression analysed in the subsequent chapters may have been insincere, this artifice conveys social and political realities of Restoration England. The second and third themes of this thesis concern the relationship between state and subject, and are intrinsically linked. Evidence of decreasing popularity of the king, suggesting a decline in deference, or more particularly a rejection of the idea that loyalty to the nation, or even the crown required submission of the individual to the sovereign, went hand-in-hand with the changing concept, in public discourse at least, of the nation. At Charles II's restoration,

---

[115] John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (London, 1681).

the concept of England was portrayed as inseparable from the sovereign. By the end of his reign, this was no longer the case; the nature of the nation and of the passionate attachment that bound the subject to England was no longer dependent on the person of the monarch. Karen Cunningham has demonstrated that in the legal and dramatic literature of the sixteenth century, one can identify a conceptualised "challenge posed by subjects' unauthorized imaginings" to the all-encompassing authority of the sovereign.[116] For the Stuarts, unauthorised passions would pose more than a conceptual challenge to their sovereignty.

---

[116] Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals,* 143.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPE OF RESTORATION ENGLAND

When Charles II landed in England at the end of May 1660, public joy was the predominant emotional response reported. After eleven years of the Interregnum, the relief and gratitude expressed by the English population at having a Stuart king once more at the helm might have appeared boundless. This chapter contends otherwise. Although joy, gratitude and loyalty dominated overt expression, the emotions that drove popular and parliamentary politics throughout Charles II's reign were the darker legacy of the decades preceding the return of the king. Fear and anger, which pervaded high and low politics, were, in popular discourse, the inheritance of the Civil War and Interregnum periods. From the perspective of the newly restored Stuart state, they were the most dangerous gifts bequeathed to the English people by decades of political and social upheaval. This chapter analyses the emotional legacies of the 1640s and 1650s in Restoration perceptions. The English passion for parliament and for justice underpinned many of the responses to politics during this period and, in particular, the staging of those politics in treason trials. English identity and its attendant patriotism were no longer solely reliant on the monarch, and institutions such as parliament and the law courts were ready to play more than the king's understudy in the quest to influence public affections.

In his examination of the political and religious concerns of the Restoration, Ronald Hutton stated that at the time Charles II was proclaimed king in London on 8 May, the first of the Restoration Settlements, the Declaration of Breda, had been "three weeks in the making, propelled by fear".[1] The settlement that grew out of this fear was

---

[1] Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 125-6.

one that attempted to achieve a balance between popular desires and state security, and thus was aimed as much at an emotional settlement as a political one. The initial settlement of the Convention parliament involved changes in legal procedure, the disbanding of the New Model Army, redistribution of property, the creation of a national church "of flexible principle and practice", and the raising of revenue for the king's coffers.[2] The settlement was not solely designed to pacify public emotion however; it also intended to school the public in obedience to the Crown. The clearest example of this was the juxtaposition of the execution of the regicides with the Bill for Indemnity and Oblivion, drafted by the Convention parliament and later passed by the Cavalier parliament. The emotional consequences of the Bill's passage are discussed in more depth in later chapters; however it is important to note here the "carrot and stick" approach Charles II and his advisors used to demonstrate to an uncertain public the manner in which they intended to govern.

For the successor to the Convention parliament, a fundamental concern was "how far . . . local autonomy and individual rights [might] be sacrificed to ensure the security of a frightened government."[3] The anxiety of the Cavalier parliament over safeguarding the Stuart state against a potentially dangerous populace was evident in two key acts, which "controlled public displays and expression".[4] The *Act for the Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government* (1661) redefined treason, drawing upon Elizabethan treason law to declare as traitors anyone who did by "writing, printing, preaching or other speaking express, publish, utter, or declare any words, sentences, or other thing or things, to incite or stir up the people to hatred or dislike of the person of

---

[2] Hutton, *The Restoration,* 143.
[3] Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 131.
[4] N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. , 2002), 93.

his Majesty, or the established Government".[5] In its attempt to consolidate its security during the Restoration period, the government later also enacted legislation against tumultuous petitioning. The *Act against Tumults and Disorders* (1661) outlawed rebellious forms of public protest "upon Pretence of preparing or presenting publick Petitions, or other Addresses to his Majesty or the parliament", on pain of imprisonment and a one hundred pound fine.[6] The act against tumultuous petitioning initially appeared to meet with the desired order of "controlling public expression", until the latter half of the decade, when recurring incidences of rebellion engendered concern from the royal court. In 1665, for example, naval officer Sir John Mennes wrote to the Commissioner of the Navy expressing apprehension that the king might be "troubled with sad petitions from a crew of tumultuous women".[7]

While the Restoration Settlement attempted to mitigate political and religious concerns, it was clear that these were inextricably linked to emotional tensions left over from the 1640s, which had not yet been addressed. As this chapter demonstrates, the emotional landscape that the settlements had to navigate was perilous, and seen in this light, the settlements achieved a definite measure of success. However, the greatest failure of the Restoration settlements from the perspective of a history of emotions was their inability to address the legacy of the Civil War and Interregnum periods. Instead, by declaring the Long Parliament and the Rump illegal, the Stuart state clearly hoped the problem would disappear. Although they papered over the cracks effectively during the early decades of the Restoration, by the late 1670s, the crisis in public opinion from the

---

[5] "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts," in *Anno Regni Caroli Ij at the Parliament Begun and Holden at Westminster May 8* (London, 1661).

[6] "An Act against Tumults and Disorders, Upon Pretence of Preparing or Presenting Publick Petitions or Other Addresses to His Majesty or the parliament," in *Anno Regni Caroli Ij. At the Parliament Begun and Holden at Westminster May 8* (London, 1661).; *CJ,* vol.8, 11 July 1661.

[7] John Mennes, "Sir John Mennes to the Navy Comrs, 17 July 1665," SP 29/127 f.28.

beginning of the Popish Plot in 1678 to the Exclusion Crisis (1680 – 1681) made it clear that the state's decision to ignore changes in popular attitudes to politics and authority would have dangerous consequences.[8]

1 – THE CIVIL WAR LEGACY

During the early years of Charles II's reign, an intense fear of renewed rebellion pervaded the English emotional landscape. However, from the time Charles II set foot on English soil, there was a concerted effort to promote joy as an emotional norm. The memory of the Civil Wars and the desperation to avoid a repeat of the 1640s, coupled with the king's willingness to compromise, meant that the English people were initially disposed to comply by expressing joy. The state's attempt to consolidate the normative nature of public joy was evident in parliament's response to the Declaration of Breda, which affirmed its support for the king and set an example for the people to follow. The House of Commons was prompt in expressing joy at the king's attempt to solve some of the political and religious issues that had characterised the lead up to the Civil Wars. The session on 1 May 1660 resolved as follows,

> That an Answer be prepared to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful Sense of this House of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty Thanks to his Majesty for the same; and with Professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that this House will give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals.[9]

---

[8] Although often associated with the entire period of the Popish Plot from 1678 – 1681, my thesis adopts Mark Knights' more specific definition of the Exclusion Crisis as the rejection of the bill in the House of Lords in November 1680 and the dissolution of the Oxford parliament in March 1681," Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4-5.
[9] *CJ,* vol. 8, 1 May 1660, 4-8.

The reporting of the Commons' response to the king's declaration in *Mecurius Civicus,* a news sheet printed by order of the Lord Mayor and the court of Aldermen of London, ensured that the public was apprised of the reestablishment of the bond between the king and parliament.[10] The prominence of the role played by the breakdown of that bond in the lead up to the Civil Wars of the 1640s meant that, in order to compose the emotions of the English people, the public needed to know that the government of the 1660s was a far more cohesive unit. In addition, continuing popular support for parliament made this demonstration imperative for the consolidation of monarchical authority.

Public expression of joy notwithstanding, the insidious nature of the Civil War legacy, with the conflict in living memory of anyone over the age of thirty, meant that fear of rebellion was evident even in Commons' responses to that joy.[11] The expression of this fear by the parliamentary elite suggests that the nature of the power relations between rulers and subjects had been affected by the English Civil Wars. The dominance of this fear was particularly evident in responses to treason trials throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. In the case of the Bawdy House riots just eight years after the monarchy had been restored, the fear of renewed rebellion pervaded the emotional responses to the rioters.[12] At the trial of the ringleaders, Lord Chief Justice Kelyng attempted to persuade the court of the danger the rioters posed to England; "if this thing be endured who is safe? . . .if every man may reforme what he will, no man is safe: this thing is of desperate Consequence".[13] For Kelyng, as for most of his fellow judges, the right verdict was the one which would satisfy the state's need to use the rioters as a potent example of the consequences of breaking the king's peace and attempting to challenge

---

[10] *Mercurius Civicus,* no. 4, 1 – 8 May 1660, 3.

[11] This supports the proposed link between emotion and memory propounded by Reynolds in *A Treatise of the Passions,* and by Hobbes in *Humane Nature,* see chapter 1, section 1, 13-14.

[12] For the events of the riots see "Introduction," section 2, 22-24.

[13] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason,* 14.

royal authority. "The Judgement of the Judges", a document appended to printed copies of the trial transcript, constituted a justification of the court's pursuit of treason charges in response to misgivings articulated by then Lord Chief Baron Matthew Hale. In "The Judgement of the Judges", Kelyng made his perspective of the trial of the fifteen men before the bar on 4 April 1668 clear.

> I was well satisfy'd in my own Judgment, that such assembling together as was prov'd . . .was High Treason, because they took upon them Regal Power, to reform that which belong'd to the king by his Law and Justices to correct and reform; . . . therefore as it tore the Government out of the king's Hands, so it destroy'd the great Privilege of the People.[14]

The chief fear of popular disorder was that it was a prelude to revolution. The Devil, according to Kelyng, always appeared in the guise of reforming religion and law, which were the main aims of Interregnum parliaments, and it was clear that a public example had to be made of the rioters.[15]

This apprehension was no mere courtroom construction designed to achieve the correct verdict; but resonated outside the law courts. A letter to Commons MP Sir Robert Carr seemingly confirmed the danger, reporting that the correspondent could "not but find by general discourse that there is a real design on foot, and that the rabble of the prentices were but the pander to it; thousands of countrymen appear at the wrestling every night." Carr's correspondent reported on the divided opinions over strategies to deal with the rabble, picked up from coffee-house conversation; "Some of the sober wish there was an order . . . for all masters to keep in their servants from rambling; others conclude that

---

[14] John Kelyng, "The Judgement of the Judges," in *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason*, 35.
[15] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason*, 14.

they cannot restrain their servants in their recreation, for fear of brooding greater mischief

. . . that if any one of the prentices should be taken off, it would be of bad consequence."

However, since there were "3 or 4 apprentices to one master throughout the City", little

could be done to control the apprentices, even by trained soldiers. [16] Evidently there were

doubts that the anger expressed by apprentices could be controlled externally; a fact made

all the more concerning by the lack of demonstrable loyalty to, or at the very least, fear

of the king.

Were this not sufficiently threatening, there was a rumour that the apprentices

were in league with erstwhile Cromwellians. The "abundance of old Oliver's officers and

soldiers in town upon the account of work, and a whispering of some dabbling with the

old soldiers" was reported to have greatly pleased the "generality of secterians".[17] The

threat of escalation of the riots into full-blown insurrection, and the republican-inspired

undertones, struck at Charles II's court, and were compounded by a feeling of

helplessness to act in a way that would control the unrest without inflaming it. Among

those dependent on Charles II for their status, expressions of fear suggest that the riots

generated as much apprehension for the future of their individual and collective social

standing as they did for their personal safety. At the king's court it was said "how these

idle fellows . . . did ill in contenting themselfs in pulling down the little bawdy-houses

and did not go and pull down the great bawdy-house at White-hall."[18]

Since their exile, the close connections between the Stuarts and Catholic France

engendered considerable concern among their English Protestant subjects. Although

Charles II was careful to avoid overt demonstrations of any religious sympathies, which

---

[16] H. H., "H. H. to Sir Rob. Carr, 27 Mar. 1668," SP 29/237 f.94.
[17] H. H., "H. H. to Sir Rob. Carr"; see also Richard L. Greaves, "'Let the Truth Be Free": John Bunyan
and the Restoration Crisis of 1667-1673," *Albion* 28, no. 4 (1996): 597.
[18] Pepys, *Diary,* 132.

might alienate his subjects, the same could not be said of his younger brother James.[19] In the minds of many Englishmen who had, for better or worse, been influenced by the Puritan ideas ascendant during the Interregnum period, even the hedonistic behaviour that characterised the court of the "merry monarch" carried Popish connotations. During the Bawdy House riots, Pepys noted the courtiers' response as news spread of the rioters' goals for "Reformation and Reducement":[20] "This doth make the courtiers ill at ease to see this spirit among people, though they think this matter will not come to much; but it speaks people's mind."[21] The rioters' catch-cry was guaranteed to inspire anxiety throughout restored court, which the rioters perceived as indulgent and Popish.

The fear of rebellion united not only the royal, parliamentary and judicial elite, but also those among the wider population terrified of a repeat of the 1640s. Since the beginning of Charles II's reign, both Londoners and the inhabitants of regional communities had been beset by fears of popular republican uprisings. The inhabitants of Dover for example, signed a petition requesting the town's garrison be maintained as they were afraid of a repeat of a rebellion during the "late distractions", in which supporters of the king had been kept adjacent to the garrison "in continued slavery" by the republican enemy.[22] The petition stated they had "cause to feare that there are too many who Retaine their rebellious principles and should make use of any oppurtunity for the like surprise to secure themselves until they could act further Mischiefe."[23] Such concerns did not abate quickly, as evinced by an incident in Newcastle in the following January, which led William Delavalle to write begging that the king be apprised of the danger that they were

---

[19] Evidence of the duke of York's religious allegiance is discussed further in the following chapter.
[20] The cry for 'reducement' was a demand by the rioters for economy at Charles II's court, arguably as great an impertinence as the insistence on religious reformation.
[21] Pepys, *Diary,* 132.
[22] John Looms, "Petition of John Looms, mayor, and numerous Inhabitants of Dover, to the king, 7 May1661," SP 29/35 f. 29a.
[23] Looms, "Petition of John Looms."

in as "a treacherous partie of 150 horse [had] appeared at severall ports in designe to surprise the towne, and to destroy the kings friends." Delavalle contended that the threat would not diminish until "there be a garison to subdue the treasonable interest within these walls." This was not a danger to be dismissed lightly, for according to this particular correspondent, the Newcastle rebels "disperse infinite quantities of powder & shot" into the northern English counties and Scotland, and few were likely to have forgotten Scotland's role in the first Civil War.[24]

However, fear did not blind all Londoners to the justice of the rioters' cause, despite the conviction that the passions obscured reason. Although *The Whores Petition to the London Prentices* used it to mock, the line "sad was the omen of their furious hope" captured perfectly the emotional palette of public responses to the riots.[25] Many hoped that the king would still make good on his promise of "liberty to tender consciences", despised the leniency shown to brothels, responded furiously to what they perceived as religious persecution, and accordingly expressed pity and sadness for the defendants at the bar. Richard Greaves has contended that in dissenting circles at least, the rioters' cause enjoyed considerable support.[26] The perspective of the more radical nonconformists among the rioters was understandable in the context of the proclamation against conventicles issued a few weeks before Easter 1668. On 10 March, Charles II had issued a proclamation stating that "such notorious contempts" of the king and his laws as "unlawful assemblies of papists and nonconformists" would no longer "go unpunished".[27]

---

[24] William Delavalle, "Wm. Delavalle to Edw. Grey, London, 10 Jan. 1661," SP 29/28 f.74.
[25] *The Whores Petition to the London Prentices* (London, 1668).
[26] Greaves, "Let the Truth Be Free," 597.
[27] *A Proclamation for Inforcing the Laws against Conventicles* (London, 1668).

In his work on radicals and nonconformists in Restoration England, Greaves stated that the rioters "took out their hostility on bawdy houses, in part because of their association in people's minds with a promiscuous court, and in part because they, like conventicles, were illegal but were not yet suppressed."[28] The proclamation against conventicles had been born out of Charles II's attempt to satisfy the Act of Uniformity (1662) in religion, passed at the insistence of the House of Commons and the Anglican clergy.[29] It was not well received in the increasingly anti-Episcopalian climate, particularly since discontent with the power of the bishops had been one of the issues which had fractured relations between Charles I and the Long parliament. If, as many believed, the demand for religious uniformity in favour of Anglicanism had contributed to the outbreak of the Civil Wars, it was again becoming an insurmountable obstacle which, according to Gary De Krey, precipitated the "first Restoration crisis".[30] The danger that the riots posed in principle, if not in practice, is supported by Tim Harris' claims that they were evidence of the "nature of political disaffection in the reign of Charles II as a whole".[31] According to Harris, the Bawdy House riots were emblematic of "the collective (political) agitation of this period" and they "should be seen as an attempt by ordinary Londoners to defend what they perceived to be their rights and liberties."[32]

Harris' contention of the populist nature of the riots is supported by Kelyng's apparent need to justify publicly the outcome of the trial. Kelyng sought to reassure the people of the necessity of the executions of four of the rioters "because we our selves

---

[28]Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain 1664-1667* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 195.

[29] Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, 86-87.

[30] Gary S. De Krey, "The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-1673," *Albion* 25, no. 4 (1993): 567.

[31] Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668," 541.

[32] Harris, *London Crowds,* 37.

have seen a Rebellion rais'd by gathering People together upon fairer Pretences than this was . . . [and] they will not stick to go further, and give the Law themselves, and destroy all who oppose them."[33] Kelyng's defence of the verdict and sentence was intended to ensure that the wider public, despite their potential identification with the rioters' cause, were aware that the intrinsic principles of retributive justice, punishment and deterrence, had to be satisfied in order to secure England against an imminent threat. Whether or not Kelyng's pleas played a role, public pity for the rioters was insufficient to inspire widespread protest against the trial and execution of the ringleaders. Indeed, there is little evidence of public resistance to the execution of justice as lauded in *The Citizens Reply;* "Let insurrections have the *Tiburn* swing, We for our parts doe cry, *God save the KING.*"[34]

James Grantham Turner and Melissa Mowry have sought to explain why the Stuart regime was so insistent on portraying the actions of the rioters as the prelude to a second English Civil War. In his analysis of Lord Chief Justice Kelyng's judgment, Turner has suggested that Kelyng's constant references to "the danger of a 1640-style rebellion starting up again under the cover of a slight and moral-seeming cause" were evidence of his "paranoia" leading the Chief Justice to "abandon the usual evidentiary requirements".[35] Mowry's analysis of the riots, in particular, contradicts the work of Harris and Greaves by suggesting that neither individual rights nor religious concerns were central to the riots. She has argued that the "vehement insistence" [during the trial] that the alleged apprentices were re-enacting the "rebellion of forty years earlier" was facilitated by the fact that "[f]or Kelyng, and many others, there was no useful distinction

---

[33] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason,* 36.
[34] *The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer* (London, 1668).
[35] James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 177.

to be made between apprentices and Civil War veterans."[36] Mowry contended the

perception of the riots was one of "republicanism's inadequacy to organize and regulate

England's internal economic relations, not an encrypted site of religious conflict."[37] This

would suggest that the fear of republican resurgence was not related to the potential for

renewal of religious persecution, but rather stemmed directly, and perhaps solely, from

the belief that a republican regime would not govern effectively.

This present chapter contends that religion, economy, and politics were

inseparable throughout the reign of Charles II; fear was generated as much by current

religious conflict as by political memory. While Mowry and Turner note the importance

of fear in shaping behaviour, to suggest Kelyng's response was excessive or misguided

is to misunderstand the emotional climate of Restoration England. Fear of a renewal of

republican rebellion played an important part in public perception. Public responses to

the riots suggest that civil unrest in general was often perceived to have the potential to

escalate to full-scale conflict, arguably a result of the unsettled emotional climate left

over from a devastating series of Civil Wars. Although there is little evidence that many

outside the royal court saw the brothel riots as a deliberate attempt by old republicans to

destroy the Stuart monarchy once again, the predominant belief seems to have been that

England could not afford to allow any threat to monarchical authority to go unpunished.

The fear of the consequences of weakening the Stuart state and the potential for

widespread rebellion permeated all levels of society, garnering public support for the

monarch's cause, to the detriment of the rioters. One pamphlet described the tactics that

should be employed against those who instigated the riots, "[t]is good to crush the

Serpents in the Eggs, Before such mischief stands too firm on legs".[38] The probability of

---

[36] Melissa M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 57.
[37] Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714,* 56.
[38] *The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer.*, 1.

apprentices in league with old republicans overthrowing Charles II's monarchy was perhaps as likely as legs on a seventeenth-century serpent. Nevertheless, the pervasive nature of the conviction that the Easter rioting had the potential to lead to much worse suggests that, even by 1668, the unsettled passions of the Civil War period and the overriding fear of a reoccurrence of conflict had yet to be addressed.

2 – A Passion for Parliament

From the perspective of this study, the greatest legacy of the Civil War and Interregnum periods were the changes in popular attitudes towards authority, which undermined the traditions of deference or, at the very least, obedience to the monarch, and underpinned much of the public and political expression of emotion in response to treason trials during the reign of Charles II. Declining obedience to the monarch, marked by distrust of the king and increased faith in and/or reliance on institutions, such as parliaments, to protect against the excesses of absolutist or arbitrary authority had its origins in English politics well before the execution of Charles I. Although this chapter is not concerned with a history of democratic or republican thought, early modern perceptions of republicanism suggest changing perspectives of sovereignty, involving a transference of deference from the king to the office of the crown.

Andrew Hadfield has described English republicanism "as a faith in the power of institutions to circumscribe the authority of the monarch, allied to a belief that such institutions – parliament, the law courts, local and national government – had the means to make individuals more virtuous and so better able to govern".[39] This, Hadfield argues, was distinct from a "native 'commonwealth' tradition" which, although similar in its

---

[39] Andrew Hadfield, "Republicanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Britain," in *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500 - 1800*, ed. David Armitage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 112.

goals, placed a greater emphasis on limiting the royal prerogative than on the prominence of other English institutions.[40] My thesis suggests that, for many individuals, political ideology was a mix between Hadfield's two definitions; a commonwealth in which parliament, law and local government provided the checks and balances on the Stuart monarchy. After the 1650s, a republic was far from the minds of many. Nevertheless, expressions of emotion in response to the treason trials of the 1670s and 1680s strongly defended the virtues of the English institutions of parliament and of the law. Indeed the transference of deference from the person of the king to the idea of kingship and the office of the crown theoretically allowed action that the Stuarts might have considered treasonable without undermining the institutional deference necessary for constitutional monarchy.

Parliament itself was not shy about displaying emotion, especially when the goals of particular factions were thwarted. Parliamentary passions in the form of both anger and desires were, unsurprisingly, perceived by the Stuarts and their supporters as a grave threat to political stability. During James I's reign Secretary of State, Ralph Winwood, wrote of the recently dissolved "Addled Parliament", that he had "never [seen] so much faction and passion as in the late unhappy Parliament, nor so little reverence of a king or respect of the public good."[41] Charles I echoed James I's impatience with parliamentary passion throughout his reign. Charles considered himself most inconvenienced by "the disordered passion of some members" who, in the king's eyes at least, did not have the England's interests at heart, and were directly responsible for blocking the subsidies that the king required. These obstinate passions in turn caused him to dissolve the parliament

---

[40] Hadfield, "Republicanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Britain," 112.
[41] Ralph Winwood, "Sir Ralph Winwood to Carleton, 16 June 1614," in *CSPD James I,* vol. 2, 237.

in 1626.[42] Two years later when Charles again felt it necessary to restrain parliament, this time by prorogation rather than dissolution, he professed himself surprised and disappointed at the passions displayed in the Houses of Lords and Commons.[43]

In terms of parliamentary passions, it could be argued that the increasing perception by parliamentarians of the legitimacy of their own emotional expression in parliament, mirrored the developments in theories of sovereignty. In *Wayward Contracts,* Victoria Kahn argues that the development of contract theory, the analysis of which she begins with Thomas Hobbes in the 1640s, was founded in the preoccupation of such theorists with the role of the "passions and interests" in the social conduct of man. For Kahn, at the heart of the contract lies the dichotomy between subjection by consent and involuntary servitude, a contract which was determined by the passions. She argued that the extent to which the individual's "subjection to a political contract" was voluntary was dependent on the "self-regarding passions" and whether they aligned with the norms demanded by the contract.[44]

The growing conflict between the king and parliament in the 1640s could be interpreted in part as the increasing opposition of the "self-regarding passions" on both sides, and of parliamentary factions unwilling to voluntarily subject themselves to a contract which they considered the king had breached. The emotional basis for this widening chasm between Charles I and parliament was evident the day after the House of Commons had prepared the "humble Remonstrance and Petition" presented to Charles I, who had breached parliamentary privilege.[45] According to contemporary observers, it

---

[42] Charles I, "The king to the Justices of the Peace in the several counties throughout England, 7 July 1626," SP 16/31 f.42.

[43] "Appendix: Charles I's Declaration on the Dissolution of parliament, 1628," in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of state*, ed. John Rushworth (London: History of parliament Trust, 1721).

[44] Kahn, *Wayward Contracts,* 67.

[45] Charles I was deemed by Commons to have breached privilege by "taking notice" of a bill concerning conscription of soldiers before it had passed both Houses and for expressing "his Displeasure against

was indeed a dangerous time for "most men [to be] governing themselves rather by passion than Judgement", particularly when growing factionalism was often directly attributed to the variation of "men's humours".[46]

Although the Restoration of Charles II may have suggested that the ideas espoused by pre-Restoration parliaments had become abhorrent to the English people after 1660, this was far from the case. According to Charles II, the Civil War and the Restoration apparently had done little to re-educate parliament in its duty to the king. If the king was to be believed, the emotions of members of parliament were as obstreperous in their "over-passionate and turbulent Way of Proceeding" in 1660 as they had been in the preceding decades.

> [T]he Mischiefs under which both the Church and state do at present suffer do not result from any formed Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows, but from the Passion and Appetite and Interest of particular Persons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other from those Affections, than would naturally rise from their Opinions. [47]

However, during the Restoration it was arguably this parliamentary passion, which inspired public declarations of a bond between parliament and people. In the 1670s, during the third Anglo-Dutch War, consummate Dutch propagandist Pierre Du Moulin, writing in the guise of a concerned English citizen, defended parliament. He questioned "whether the sacred authority of parliaments and the reverence due to so great and honourable an assembly is not in danger of being quite lost" through the influence of

---

some Persons, for Matters moved or debated in parliament during the Debate and Preparation of that Bill," *CJ,* vol. 2, 16 December 1641, 344-346.
[46] Thomas Smith, "Thomas Smith to Sir John Penington, 17 Dec. 1641," SP 16/486 f.138.
[47]"The king's Declaration Concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, 9 November 1660," *House of Lords Journal* 11, no. 1660-1666 (1660).

"Popish" courtiers.[48] Although Du Moulin was clearly attempting to garner support for those in parliament opposing the war, the popularity of his tract *Verbum Sapienti* indicates the resonance of his ideas among the English people.[49]

The events of the 1670s did much to increase the bond between parliament and the people, and both Houses of parliament saw themselves as defenders of Protestant England. As diarist and historian Roger Morrice noted, they were also quick to link the survival of parliament to the nation. Pamphlets arguing that a fifteen month prorogation of parliament in 1675 was tantamount to its dissolution, were considered "to be Traiterous" by both the Lords and the Commons.[50] In a letter to Hugh Speke MP, Ames Short wrote of the "mighty spirit of wisdom, courage, magnanimity and resolution God [had] poured on the representative of the despised and hated Commons". For Short, it was evidence of a "good omen that the Court parasites, evil counsellors and bad ministers are falling under that contempt of misery they have designed and attempted to cast upon others."[51] There were certainly pragmatic reasons for expressing one's attachment to parliament. By the end of the decade, and during the Popish Plot (1678 – 1681) in particular, that bond could quite literally be a matter of life and death.[52]

One of the five Popish lords to be convicted of treason during the Popish Plot, William Howard viscount Stafford attempted in vain to convince the members of both Houses, before whom he was impeached, of his loyalty. Stafford's speech echoed much of the patriotic sentiment expressed in loyal addresses to the king.

---

[48] Pierre Du Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti," SP 29/360 f.219.
[49] K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-1674* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 97-98.
[50] Morrice, 37.
[51] Ames Short, "Ames Short to Hugh Speke, [31 March] [1681]," SP 29/415 f.206.
[52] For the events of the Popish Plot, refer to "Introduction," section 2, 24 – 26.

> My Lords, I looked upon the House of Commons then (as I do now) as the great Representative Body of the Commons of England; and I confess, My Lords, to be accused by them was a load, especially being added to what lay before upon me . . . that I am scarce yet able to bear up under it. For I look upon the House of Commons as the great and worthy Patriots of this kingdom.[53]

It was clearly in the viscount's best interests to appear loyal to parliament, whether or not he actually felt so, in order to appease his judges and jury. However, whether genuine or not, Stafford's declaration indicates a shift in the balance of power at an emotional level during the Popish Plot. It had clearly become as important to express loyalty to parliament, as to the king, a significant departure from the early 1660s.

The passion for parliament was by no means confined to its members; the more widespread attachment to the institution was particularly evident during the Popish Plot. Despite the House of Commons' unpopularity with the king's court, the secretary of state, Sir Joseph Williamson received numerous reports of the public support for parliament, and the resulting precariousness of the emotional climate in London while parliament was prorogued or dissolved. However, as one of Williamson's anonymous informants acknowledged, it was difficult to know "how long the people will be pleased" even if their demands for parliament and prosecution were met.[54] Narcissus Luttrell reported of the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament on 8 March 1681 "some persons were much discontented at first at the news of the dissolution, and many rumours were spread abroad as if the King intended to have no more Parliaments".[55] When the king's declaration concerning his reasons for dissolving parliament was printed, Luttrell stated that "it was

---

[53]"The Trial of William Viscount Stafford, 30 November 1680" *ST,* vol. 3, 129.
[54] "——to Williamson, 10 Jan . 1679," SP 29/411 f.32.
[55] Luttrell, 72.

not very well relished, for it arraigns the proceedings of the former of those Parliaments [which had pursued Popish Plot prosecutions] as illegall and arbitrary".[56]

The plea to allow parliament to do its job in protecting the kingdom from the Popish menace was reiterated in 1681, as many believed that in the absence of parliament, the king and the courts were continuing to show too much leniency towards the traitors. In May, a Middlesex Grand Jury petitioned Lord Chief Justice Pemberton and his brother judges of the King's Bench with their concerns. In particular, the jurors wished the bench to be aware of

> the eminent dangers we all ly under . . . being exposed to the fury of the wicked
> and bloody designs of the Papists, whose horrid plot seems only stifled and . . .
> they are still restless to procure the destruction of us, our Religion and Liberties .
> . . all which evils may be easily and only cured by annual and effectual
> parliaments.[57]

Portrayed and often perceived as the people's champion, parliament was only too willing to prove that its continued existence was indispensible to English justice. The Popish Plot had caused a "great flame in parliament", a mixture of fear and anger, which was particularly evident in the case of parliamentary impeachments. Stafford was impeached before the House of Commons in December 1680 on the charge of high treason for being implicated in the Popish Plot. The Lord High Steward opened the trial, declaring to Stafford and the assembled members "You are not Try'd upon the Indictment of Treason found by the Grand Jury (though there be that too in the Case,) But you are Prosecuted

---

[56] Luttrell, 73.
[57] "The Grand Jury of Middlesex to Lord Chief Justice Pemberton and the other Justices of the king's Bench, [16 May] 1681," SP 29/415 f.358.

and Persued by the Loud and Dreadful Complaints of the Commons."[58] The formulaic language of the "loud and dreadful complaints" suggest that parliaments were capable of assuming for themselves the medieval mantle of *ira regis*. During the Restoration, righteous anger appeared to be as much the prerogative of parliaments as of kings.[59]

There were however significant obstructions in parliament's path to governing England as it would wish. In January 1680, frequent prorogations and dissolutions led Ralph Josselin to wonder whether the great institution itself was not subject to some divine form of retributive justice; "the Parl. Should have satt this day. its petitioned for. but if they may not sitt for gods interest he will stand up for it. Parl. broke Monarchy. perhaps god will have Parl. broken by Monarchicall."[60] This was compounded by the king's refusal to hear petitions, which according to Josselin meant "times sad", throughout December and January.[61] This sadness at the failure of petitions for the parliament was not universal. Roger Morrice wrote of "a night of great Joy in this end of the town" in response to the failure of a "Petition his Majestie for the sitting of the parliament . . . [which] was in the conclusion carried negatively".[62] Nevertheless, there remained considerable support for parliament.

The ban on petitioning was an attempt to prevent the publication of numerous calls from the counties for a renewed zeal in Popish Plot prosecutions. More dangerous to the Stuarts and their supporters in parliament however, was the support such petitions provided for the Exclusion Bill. On 5 December 1679, the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* had printed a petition from the freeholders of Suffolk desiring that their members

---

[58] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford,* 3.
[59] Gerd Althoff, "*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger," in *Anger's Past*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). The importance of 'royal wrath' is explored in detail in subsequent chapters.
[60] Josselin, *Diary,* 626.
[61] Josselin, *Diary,* 625.
[62] Morrice, 217.

of parliament would "vigorously prosecute the Execrable Popish Plot . . . [and] to the last, insist on a Bill for Excluding James Duke of York, and all Popish Successors, from coming to the Imperial Crown of this Realm."[63]Although petitioning the king had been banned, Protestant papers continued to print similar petitions ostensibly to members of parliament to support their aims throughout the Popish Plot.[64] By January 1681, the House of Commons demonstrated no reticence in presenting the sanctity of parliament and the safety of the kingdom as synonymous.[65] However, the Bill for Exclusion struck too close to the throne, and soon enough the spectre of a Protestant plot was raised by Tory propagandists, such as the king's minister for licensing and sedition Roger L'Estrange and his paper *The Observator,* a plot which Whig papers called "a Counter-Plot worthy of the joint Counsels of Hell and Rome".[66]

During the alleged Protestant Plots of 1683, the "jealousies and feares" of the late 1670s, discussed further in chapter five, crystallised around the convictions and executions of members of the House of Commons, Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney.[67] The latter's work on political theory was among the most prominent in terms of having been influenced by the Interregnum and the "commonwealth tradition".[68] Ultimately, it was Sidney's insistence on too republican a notion of government that lost him his head. Nevertheless, the very presence of such ideas in the circulation of political discourse underscores changes in the nature of deference to traditional authority in

---

[63] Henry Care, *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,* no. 22, December 5, 1679.

[64] See for example the petition from Surrey in *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence or News Both from City and Country,* Friday, 25 February 1681, Issue 100.

[65] The Commons resolved not only to withhold money from Charles II until the Exclusion Bill passed, but also that any who gave the king advice to the contrary were guilty of "tending to promote Popery, and subversion of the Goverment and are enemyes to the King and Kingdome," Morrice, 263.

[66] Care, *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,* no. 17, 31 October 1679; Care, *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,* no. 19, 14 November 1679.

[67] For the particulars of the plot, refer to "Introduction," section 2, 27-9.

[68]Blair Worden, "The Commonwealth Kidney of Algernon Sidney," *Journal of British Studies* 24, no. 1 (1985).

general, and the Stuart monarchy in particular. At Sidney's sentencing hearing, Lord Chief Justice Jeffries stated his position clearly in his riposte to the remark of one of the other judges that Sidney did not believe his actions constituted treason. According to Jeffries, Sidney's belief in his innocence was "the worst part of [his] Case; When Men are riveted in Opinion, that kings may be deposed, that they are accountable to their People, that a general Insurrection is not Rebellion, and justify it, 'tis high time, upon my Word, to call them to Account."[69] The perspective of men like Sidney was taken as clear evidence by Jeffries, and no doubt by the Stuarts, that a transference of deference away from the person of the king posed a grave threat to the English monarchy. The emotional basis of the decline in obedience and loyalty to the person of king from the Restoration in 1660, and the Stuarts' counter-moves are discussed further in chapter six; however, parliament was not the only beneficiary of this change in perception. The final section of this chapter explores further the emotional attachment of the people to the concept of English justice.

3 – A PASSION FOR JUSTICE

> For where a thing wanteth a true foundation in justice it cannot be long lived, let the authority be never so great that would give it countenance, and make it pass in the world.[70]

In 1999, professor of moral and political philosophy, John Deigh, posited that the law's authority over those subject to it is "conditioned on an emotional bond between the law

---

[69] "The Trial of Algernon Sidney," 737. Fortunately for Sidney, his brother's status as the earl of Leicester and the king's magnanimity, meant that he was allowed the luxury of beheading; rather than being hung and having his "privy members" cut off and burnt before his eyes, before being quartered.
[70] George Savile, "Halifax to Savile, 5/15th Feb 1681," *Savile Correspondence*, 179.

and its subjects."[71] Deigh argued that the authority of the law must be predicated on something more than the power of government to coerce obedience, which depended on subjects' "vulnerabilities to harm and capacities for fear"; rather, that authority was their "allegiance to law . . . [and their] willingness to subordinate their own ends to the ends that the law sets for them."[72] Although Deigh's contention rests on a philosophical rather than an empirical argument, the remainder of this chapter demonstrates that, in Restoration England at least, a strong emotional attachment to justice through the administration of the English common law did indeed exist. Furthermore, that attachment and its role in a phenomenon known as constitutional patriotism were integral aspects of English identity in the seventeenth century.

In contemporary studies of history, politics or law and sociology, the link between ideas of rights, guarded by the justice system, and national identity is termed "constitutional patriotism". First proposed by Jurgen Habermas as a means through which post-war Germany could legitimately express national identification and pride, constitutional patriotism is defined as "the idea that political attachment ought to center on the norms, the values, and, more indirectly, the procedures of a liberal democratic constitution."[73] However, patriotism is more than a political connection; at its foundation lies an emotional attachment. Although there has been a concerted effort to divorce political theory and practice from passion, as post-war British philosopher Roger Scruton noted, the polity "cannot stand so serenely above the loyalties that feed it".[74] This

---

[71] John Deigh, "Emotion and the Authority of Law," in *The Passions of Law*, ed. Susan A. Bandes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 287.

[72] Deigh, "Emotion and the Authority of Law," 295.

[73] Jan Werner Müller, *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1. See also Jan Werner Müller, "Constitutional Patriotism: An Introduction," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 6, no. 1 (2008): 67-68; Jurgen Habermas, *The Inclusion of the Other,* eds. Ciaran P. Cronin and Pablo de De Greiff (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998); 118, 132.

[74] Roger Scruton, "In Defence of the Nation," in J. C. D. Clarke (ed.) *Ideas in Modern Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 65. See also Patchen Markell, "Making Affect Safe for Democracy," *Political Theory* 28, no.1 (2000): 38-9.

passionate bond can be traced back to classical Rome. Constitutional patriotism was, according to Maurizio Viroli, comprised of love of the political philosophy of the ancient Roman republic and the precursor of modern liberal democratic constitutions. It is the constant reiteration of liberty as integral to patriotism in the works of Cicero, Augustine and others that led Viroli to conclude that "classical antiquity transmitted to modernity a political patriotism based on the identification of *patria* with *respublica*, common liberty, common good."[75]

Such perspectives have tended to overlook the potential presence of constitutional patriotism in periods between antiquity and modernity. In her study of eighteenth-century English identity, Kathleen Wilson stated that "love of country and the protection of the constitution and the much vaunted liberties it guaranteed composed the heart of the patriotic imperative".[76] Constitutional patriotism however, had its origins in earlier periods and has often been viewed both by historians and contemporary historical sources as a conscious construction to satisfy a political agenda. In *Shaping the Common Law*, Thomas Barnes argued that "if Magna Carta was to be mobilised and sent into battle against Stuart "despotism", its provisions and the history surrounding its origins would have to have been strongly impressed on the consciousness of the greater political nation."[77] As Linda Colley has demonstrated in the eighteenth-century context, the

---

[75] Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 19.

[76] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 123. The "ancient constitution" lay at the heart of the phenomenon of eighteenth-century "radical patriotism." See in particular Hugh Cunningham, "The language of patriotism" in Raphael Samuel (ed.) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (London: Routledge, 1987), 62; Philip Connell, "British Identities and the Politics of Ancient Poetry in Later Eighteenth-Century England," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2006): 190.

[77] Thomas Garden Barnes, *Shaping the Common Law: From Glanvill to Hale, 1188-1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 26.

invocation of patriotism was as much, if not more so, about gaining more widespread political support as it was concerned with "constitutional rectitude and citizens' rights."[78]

The work of Robert von Friedeburg indicates the power that constitutional patriotism had to mobilise individuals and groups in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany. In his examination of the early modern reception of rights of resistance, Friedeburg traced German constitutional patriotism to the ideas of philosophers such as Ptolemy who argued that love of country, zeal for justice, and the passion for civil benevolence were "among the three essential virtues that could flourish only under a legitimate and just government".[79] Friedeburg's research demonstrated the applicability of the concept of constitutional patriotism to the early modern period. He argued that, from 1530 to 1640, "governance in the Empire became bonded to a rule of law and increasingly, both scholars and bodies of territorial estates came to understand the emerging territories within the Empire as fatherlands, parts of the German Nation, the religion and laws of which they had, as true patriots to defend."[80] In this way "love of the fatherland" was not only a tool to secure political power, as was suggested in eighteenth century England by critics of patriotic expression, but also a means of ensuring that the territory was ruled in its own best interests rather than being subjected to the whims of a capricious monarch.[81]

The political nature of the charge, trial and execution of traitors meant that treason cases in Restoration England often elicited vehement declarations of the primacy of the law from a broad section of society. As the author of Viscount Stafford's elegy attested

---

[78] Linda Colley, "Radical Patriotism in Eighteenth-century England," in Raphael Samuel (ed.) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (London: Routledge, 1987), 170.
[79] Robert von Friedeburg, "In Defense of Patria: Resisting Magistrates and the Duties of Patriots in the Empire from the 1530s to the 1640s," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 2 (2001): 358-59.
[80] Friedeburg, "In Defense of Patria," 360.
[81] For eighteenth century English criticisms of patriotism see Francis Walsingham, in *The Free Briton* (London, 1733).

"if pitty could be unto Traytors due, The World would give it to your Age and You. But Justice for Example must be done, and Law like living streams, its course must run".[82] These attitudes were evident in printed responses to the Bawdy House Riots, during which such authors were determined to persuade the public that the course of justice must not be obstructed, regardless of any identification with the rioters' cause and pity for the ringleaders' fates. As *The Prentices Answer* stated, "for what so ere by such things you may hope, the final end of Tumults is a Rope."[83] The *Citizens Reply* was equally unequivocal about the course of justice, "[s]hould Justice chance to wink, tis tumults curse To punish Vice by that which is far worse; Tumults in time may to Rebellion come, Mischeifs doe after mischeifs swiftly run."[84] Even more impassioned pleas for the restitution of justice abounded when it was perceived as being subverted by the political machinations of various groups. This was particularly true a decade after the trial of the Bawdy House rioters in the Popish Plot, during which expressions of emotion in response to perceived injustice, namely the delay in prosecutions, were characterised by the desire for vengeance. Apothecary and physician, Matthew Mackaile, wrote of the Popish plotters from Scotland that he "heartily wish[ed] a full discovery and a remarkable punishment to the undertakers *in aliorum terrorem*". However, his desire for justice exacted through emotional retribution appeared to him destined to remain unsatisfied as "it seems nothing will terrify that anti-Christian crew, and no disappointment will put them out of hopes of recovering the ground they have lost since the rise of the Protestant religion".[85]

---

[82] *An Elegy on the Viscount Stafford, Beheaded this 29th Day of December, 1680 on Tower Hill,* London, 1680.

[83] *The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition* (London, 1668).

[84] *The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer*.

[85] Matthew Mackaile, "Matthew Mackaile to John Adams, [Oct] 1678,"SP 29/407 f.141.

In England, the populace was no less reluctant to express its anger and desire for the swift execution of justice. As it began to appear that there was no longer a guarantee that alleged Popish plotters would be prosecuted to the full extent of the treason laws, the crown ran the risk of inciting public anger from those who identified with the Whigs' desire to punish popery. An anonymous newsletter reported that "[p]ersons condemned for being guilty of the plot are not yet executed . . . the generality fancy it proceeds from meditations and solicitions [of Catholic courtiers] and cry out: If those persons be not brought to condign punishment, who shall?"[86] During the Popish Plot, the perceived inability of the crown to act in a manner which satisfied the principles of retributive justice and emphasised the imperative of national security, set a frightening precedent.

> [The English people] are well pleased to hear that the army is to be disbanded and would be better pleased to see the Plot prosecuted, the condemned prisoners executed, Sir Edmund Godfrey's stranglers brought to their tryall. They fear the prosecution grows cold since the prorogation and that this coldness proceeds from the zeal and activity of a great person. The parliament men are gone into the country dissatisfied and the more, because they are affraid there will be a further prorogation . . . on purpose to smother this damnable plot.[87]

According to several in the House of Lords who sought to address Charles when the fate of the king's third parliament hung in the balance almost a year later in December 1679, public fear could only be addressed by allowing the prosecutions of the Popish Plot to be pursued.

---

[86] "Paper headed 'Courant', 1679," SP 29/411 f.58.
[87] "——to Williamson, 10 Jan . 1679," SP 29/411 f.32.

The people may bee satisfied and theire feares removed by letting them see that nothing shall bee omitted which is necessary for their preservation which can onely bee by examining those designes and practices to the bottom; bringing the Contrivers of them and actors in them to condign punishments. [88]

It seemed that unsettled public passions were a direct result of the perceived obstruction of English justice through the delays in prosecutions of Popish plotters, compounded by the prorogation of the institution seen as the champion of that justice.

Regardless of whether one believed in the Popish Plot, all held, or purported to hold, the conviction that the truth, like the shameful nature of the traitor, could not remain hidden indefinitely and justice must triumph eventually. As the Lord High Steward attested in Stafford's impeachment before the House of Commons, where proof of treachery could be found, then the traitor "must Expect to Reap what [he had] Sown, for every Work must, and ought to Receive the Wages due to it."[89] Designs of treachery were therefore to no avail as the Whigs in parliament and among the people were determined that "truth" would triumph with or without official support, and thus would traitors "lap Ruine up, and guild [their] Crimes; But Vice destroys like Ivy, where it climbs."[90] The account of the trial of Stafford exemplified the relationship between justice and deception. One of the charges laid against Stafford in the indictment was that, in addition to attempting to murder the king and restore Catholicism as the national religion, the Popish plotters attempted to heap the infamy of their own crimes upon the Protestants.

---

[88] Morrice, 241.
[89] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford,* 4.
[90] *A Paradox against Liberty* (London: 1679).

"By many false Suggestions" the Popish plotters contrived to "escape the Punishments they have Justly deserved".[91]

Although the tables were turned in the Protestant Plot with the executions of those seen as the driving force behind the Popish Plot prosecutions, the intensity of the desire for condign punishment remained constant, and while the course of justice was repeatedly portrayed as inexorable, this did little to lessen public professions of the desire for retribution. In a ballad on the condemnation of Lord William Russell, the anonymous author declared "[a]nd all that do plot against him [Charles II] or the Heir, I hope that their Feet will be catcht in a snare: By this Conspiration your Ruine you've caught, And under a hatchet your head you have brought".[92] The desire for retribution and justice, often articulated as a passion for punishment, was integral to seventeenth-century conceptions of the English system of justice, which played so important a role in national identity. Ostensibly unwilling to prejudice the public against alleged Protestant plotters so early in the discovery, the author of *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot,* nevertheless made his desire for retributive justice plain. He wished "that all such as either in thought or deed attempt the hurt of His most Sacred Majesty, may undergoe the Punishment due to the worst of Traytors."[93] This passionate investment in the swift and true course of justice during the Popish and Protestant Plots was based, as it had been during the Bawdy House Riots, in fears for national security; whether of English subjugation by foreigners and Catholics, or of a return of civil unrest in the absence of rightful authority.

---

[91] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford*, 6.
[92] *A Terror for Traitors* (London, 1683).
[93] *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot* (London, 1683), 2.

Despite belief in the primacy of English justice, past experience demonstrated that, regardless of innocence, both Catholics and Protestants had everything to fear from the trial for treason during the Exclusion Crisis; a fact to which Anglican cleric Edmund Hickeringill, himself a frequent defendant in cases of sedition, attested.[94] His sermon *The Horrid Sin of Man-Catching* drew direct parallels between the text of *Proverbs* and the contemporary political and judicial climate; "These Men-catchers being called in the Text . . . [are] wicked Men . . . that commit the greatest Rapacities, Murders and Injustice, under the umbrage, pretence and colour of Law and Justice".[95] Certainly, the very real consequences for those caught within this new web of the Protestant Plot, despite scepticism concerning the veracity of the allegations, engendered fear from anyone upon whom the eye of justice happened to alight, and provided effective encouragement for alleged co-conspirators to sacrifice their principles for their lives.[96] Nevertheless, throughout the trials of the alleged Protestant Plotters, from the dress rehearsal of Stephen College's trial to the executions of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney, the most evident emotional response to this administration of justice was not fear of justice denied, as it had been during the Popish Plot. It was instead a combination of anger and compassion; a reflection of the sympathies of those concerned enough about the political use, or abuse, of the judicial system to express their sentiments publicly.

---

[94] No stranger to political and religious controversy, Hickeringill had faced the courts on charges of *scandalum magnatum* or slander, and Luttrell accused him of airing his "scandalous, erroneous, and seditious principles" in publication, with the Dean of the Court of Arches offering to burn Hickeringill's works, J. L. C McNulty, "Hickeringill, Edmund (*bap.* 1631, *d.* 1708)," *Oxford DNB*. See also Luttrell, 312. See also Justin Champion and Lee McNulty, "Making Orthodoxy in late Restoration England: The Trials of Edmund Hickeringill, 1662 – 1710," in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds.), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[95] Edmund Hickeringill, *The Horrid Sin of Man-Catching: Explain'd in a Sermon Preach'd at Colchester, July 10* (London, 1681), 8.

[96] This is exemplified by Sir John Fitzgerald's accounts of his treatment. John Fitzgerald, "Sir John Fitzgerald to Madame Jordan, 1 Oct1681," SP 29/417 f.4; John Fitzgerald, "Account by John Fitzgerald of his first coming into England, 8 February 1682," SP 29/418 f.185.

The verdicts handed out by juries throughout the seventeenth century repeatedly attested that justice was seen as the preserve of all "freeborn Englishmen".Juries such as that of John Lilburne in 1649, who agreed with the defendant that they were "judges of law as well as fact", often made a clear statement of their perspective on English justice.[97] During the Exclusion Crisis, this connection between Englishmen and justice was demonstrated by Stephen College's London Grand Jury. Although College was reported to have said among other things "that the family of the Stuarts was a cursed family; that the king intended to govern arbitrarily; with severall other desperate reflections against his present majestie, his father and grandfather", the jury withdrew and then proceeded to disappoint the king and his prosecutors, returning the bill *ignoramus nemine contradicente*.

> The same jury delivered to the court a petition, in which they humbly prayed them to represent to his majestie that the many shamm plots, which are from time to time putt upon the protestants, doe proceed from the great liberty permitted to the popish lords in the Tower, and the convicted priests and other papists in Newgate, and therefore desired that they might be executed, or removed farr from the citty of London. [98]

Vociferous though the radical Protestant faction may have been in favour of College's acquittal, as John Evelyn's report suggested, theirs was by no means the only opinion circulating through public discourse: "This verdict of *ignoramus* on the bill against hath

---

[97] "The Trial of Colonel John Lilburne, 24th, 25th and 26th of October 1649," *ST,* vol. 2, 69. The reaction to 'Bushell's case', in which the independence of the jury was threatened by Lord Chief Justice Vaughan who issued fines to jurors who refused to convict William Penne and William Mead, demonstrates just how important a place justice held in the early modern English imagination, *The Case of Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson and John Baily, citizens and free-men of London, stated and humbly presented to the honourable House of Commons assemb'ed in parliament* (London, 1670); "Case of the Imprisonment of Edward Bushell for alleged Misconduct as a Juryman: 22 Charles II. A. D. 1670," *Vaughan's Reports,* 135.
[98] Luttrell, 108.

occasioned great discourse about the town, many persons clamouring highly against the said jury."[99] The Grand Jury convened in Oxford to hear the evidence in College's case obliged the crown, finding *billa vera*, with the petty jury convicting him in a session of Oyer and Terminer at Oxford at the invitation of Lord Chief Justice Sir Francis North on 17 August 1681.

In the case of Algernon Sidney, the public audience in the court protested against the course of justice as administered by Sir George Jeffries. A proclamation had to be made requesting silence in the court when, at sentencing, Lord Chief Justice Jeffries rebuffed Sidney's declaration that writing could not possibly be considered a treasonable act.[100] Bishop Burnet's history recorded that in Sidney's trial the court "had not returned a fair jury, but one packed".[101] A great friend of Lord William Russell, Burnet's contention was however not merely the product of Whig historiography, but rather a reflection of the contemporary attitudes of a vociferous faction with considerable public support. Popular sentiment in response to perceived injustice perpetrated by the royal and judicial courts against Algernon Sidney still ran high some three months later in February 1684; "Mr. Wynn and Mr. Forth pleaded not guilty to an information against them for sayeing col. Sidney's jury were a loggerhead jury, and gave a verdict contrary to the evidence."[102] When he wrote of the execution of one of the Rye House plotters, Thomas Armstrong, for outlawry of treason without a trial, it became clear that even John Evelyn, supporter of the king although not always of the Restoration Court, held a disparaging view of the justice executed during the Protestant plot trials. When Armstrong's quarters were distributed among Temple bar, Westminster and to his constituency in Stafford;

---

[99] Evelyn, *Diary,* 108-109.
[100] "The Trial of Colonel Algernon Sydney, 21 November 1683," *ST,* vol. 3, 738.
[101] Burnet, *History,* 404.
[102] Evelyn, *Diary,* 301.

Evelyn questioned "how many quarters of the popish traytors were sett up? And quere, which of these fanatic plotters were not sett up?"[103]

Evelyn's perspective was shared by many Whigs and their sympathisers; nevertheless just as the Whig perspective of justice had dominated print during the Popish Plot, a Tory perspective, patently less moderate than Evelyn's, took precedence in print from 1682 to 1684. This opposing view was characterised by the perception, as Roger L'Estrange contended, that "a pack of Hot-headed Jesuiticall Puritans [were attempting to] blow the Contagion of Schism, Heresy, and Disobedience throughout his Majesties Dominions". He complained that one could not even request the Government to stop the clamours of such opponents of the Stuarts "for fear of stirring Ill Bloud in the Nation". L'Estrange was convinced that such individuals were "the Men of Tumult, that Oppose the Methods of the Law, and the Common Dictates of Religion, and Obedience." [104] Sympathy for Sidney and Lord Russell notwithstanding, by the time that the Protestant Plot was "discovered" there were many willing to believe that the radical faction among the Protestants was attempting to destroy the Stuart monarchy. Indeed the inflammatory rhetoric often employed by College, Lord Russell and Sidney provided copious evidence against them. Although each side claimed justice for its own, as a ballad entitled *A Terror for Traitors,* composed on Lord Russell's condemnation demonstrated, those supporting the Tory faction were as strongly attached to the idea of English justice and the concept of just deserts as the Whigs had been during the Popish Plot.

Your Lady may grieve, and lament for her loss,

To lose you for Treason it proves a great cross,

---

[103] Evelyn, *Diary*, 312. It must also be noted that although by no means a Whig, he was often critical of injustice and overindulgence on the part of Charles II's court from the early years of the Restoration, Douglas D. C. Chambers, 'Evelyn, John (1620–1706)', *Oxford DNB.*
[104] Roger L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue,* Wednesday, 7 September 1681.

But it was no more than what was your desert,

No reason but that he should taste of the smart . . .

The Laws of this Nation ye would have thrown down,

Then ye would have aim'd at the Scepter and Crown;

But Heaven I hope will all Plotting disclose,

And the Laws of the Nation shall punish the Foes.[105]

The conviction that justice must be allowed to take its course and the appeal for the execution of condign punishment echoed clearly across political and religious lines.

The rejection of deference to what the Stuarts perceived to be the established political and social order was seen by the newly restored monarchy as the greatest threat to stability. However, the fear of rebellion was also arguably the greatest tool, during the 1660s at least, in securing the status quo. Although the trial of the fifteen Bawdy House rioters for treason may have been legally tenuous, even for those who were sympathetic to demands for liberty of conscience, it was nevertheless politically and socially expedient. In terms of the balance of power between sovereign and subject, this fear of popular uprisings also strongly suggests that the "rude multitude" of dissenters had gained ground in the struggles for power that characterised high and low politics in seventeenth-century England. Restored by popular appointment though he may have been, Charles II had not returned to a nation where the person of the king commanded the level of obedience that his grandfather James I, with his theories of the divine right of kings, had envisaged. In the absence of an effective standing army, the stability of the newly restored regime relied upon the cultivation of parliamentary and popular passions that favoured the Stuarts and their policies. The merriment often associated with the

---

[105] *A Terror for Traitors* (London, 1683).

return of Charles II may have endeared the king to his subjects in a way that his father had not. However, it also seemed that the new Stuart regime had not been able to command the level of obedience required to completely secure its restoration, setting the tone for the relationship between king and subject throughout the twenty-five-year reign of Charles II. As a result, the balance of power between the king and his subjects was, by the end of the 1660s, open to negotiation; negotiations in which anger and fear were weapons wielded by both sides.

This is not to suggest that the English people were more inclined to a republican or even democratic form of government than they had ever been in preceding decades. They were equally wedded to order and national security, but not necessarily on the monarch's terms. For those who supported parliament in spite of (or perhaps because of) the 1640s and 1650s, if the monarch or his advisors could not be trusted to protect England from those chief dangers with which it was threatened, namely foreign popery and absolutist government, then it was the job of parliament to champion the people. The passion for parliament was intrinsically linked to the passion for English justice. The frontispiece to Giles Duncombe's *Scutum Regale* (Figure 2)*,* printed in 1660 as a celebration of the return of Charles II, clearly illustrated the importance of parliament and justice in perceptions of the nation from the beginning of the Restoration.

The intense emotional connections between English subjects, their parliament and their system of justice, which were often perceived as integral aspects of English identity, provide evidence that a form of constitutional patriotism existed in Restoration England. When understood in a contemporary context, the term "jealousies and fears", explored in greater depth in subsequent chapters, succinctly summarised this bond. Individuals, regardless of their political persuasions, feared for individual liberty and national security. Each camp perceived the relationship between the objects of their fears as

symbiotic rather than antagonistic, and jealously guarded the integrity of those institutions they saw as protectors of the same. For those who opposed the king, it was not only parliament, but also the office of the Crown and the very principle of kingship that was endangered by and required protection from an ill-advised monarch; while for the king's supporters it was the monarchy, the royal prerogative and the Stuart succession that were under threat from parliamentary passions deployed to instigate popular rebellion. For Charles II's supporters, the very distinction made by the opposition between kingship, the Crown and the king himself was treasonable.

Chapter four analyses the existence of these sub-national communities in greater detail, however as this chapter has hinted, and as the following chapter demonstrates, the national emotional community had a considerable influence on individual and collective political behaviour. The passion for justice is a prime example of a phenomenon that transcended political and social divisions. During the Restoration, defendants charged with treason, regardless of their political or religious persuasion, asserted their belief in English justice. The similarity of emotional expression across ideological battle lines indicates that although the changing winds of political allegiance may have swayed public opinion in opposing directions, the bond to English justice remained constant; a fundamental connection between subject and nation.
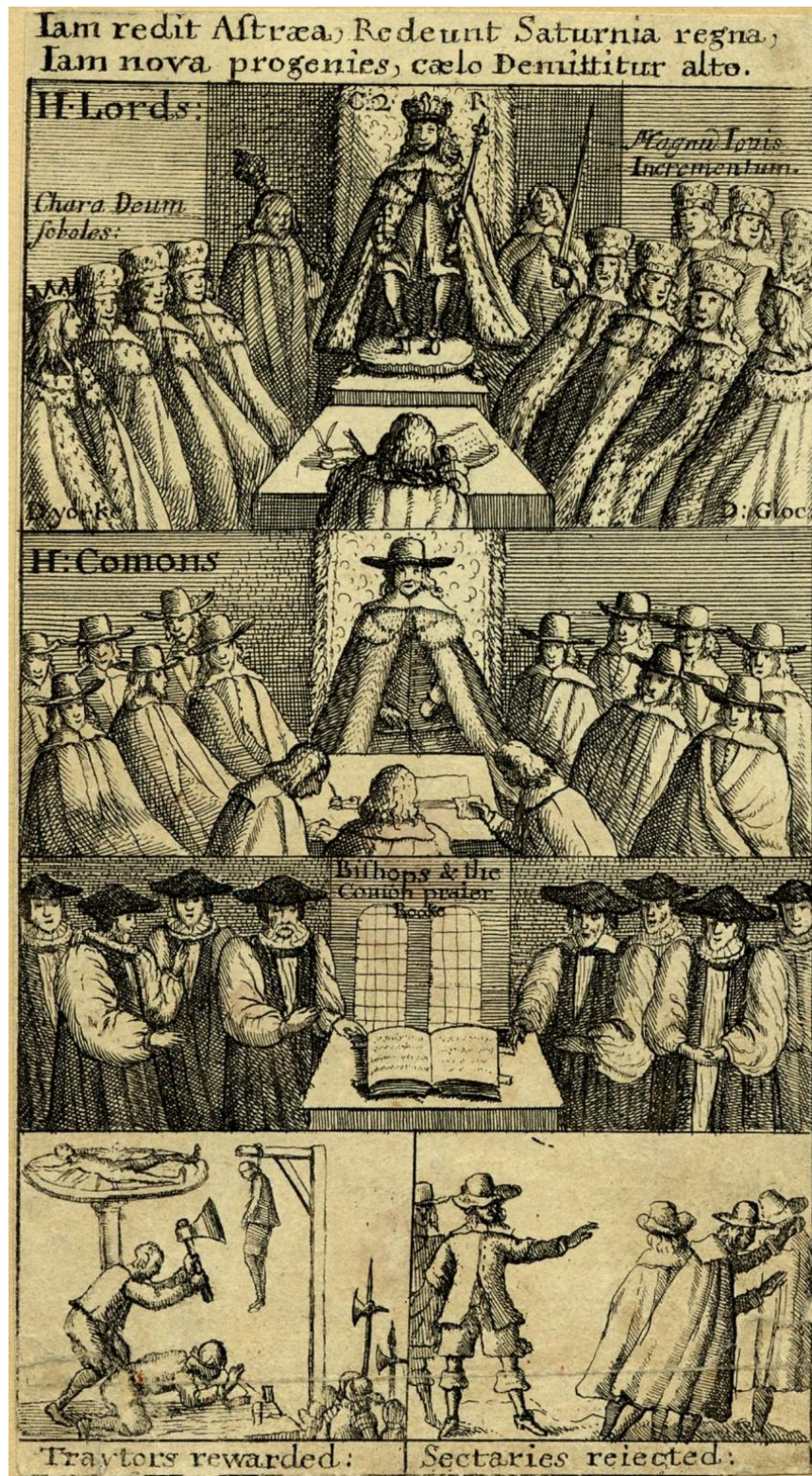
Figure 2. *Iam redit Astraea, Redeunt Saturnia regna, Iam nova progenies, caelo Demittitur alto* (Now a new generation is let down from Heaven above), London, 1660.

CHAPTER 3

PATRIOTIC LOVE, FEAR AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Even in the divided politics of the late seventeenth-century Restoration England, loyalty to the nation, as to English justice, transcended political battle lines; and subjects, regardless of political or religious affiliation, were fluent in the emotional responses that indicated national allegiance. Nowhere is this more evident than in the relationship between justice and English patriotism during the treason trials. The constitutional patriotism discussed in the previous chapter is but one aspect of the emotional bond between subject and nation. In the historiography, patriotism has often been overshadowed by nationalism, both have traditionally been located in the eighteenth century, and neither have been exposed to an in-depth analysis of their emotional foundation. This chapter seeks to redress this deficit by exploring the relationship between the passions and national identity during the Restoration, thereby providing insight into the complex nature of early modern English patriotism. Religion's use as a rallying point encouraged often-competing groups to employ it in attempts to solidify national identity and to inspire national allegiance. This was particularly evident in attempts from the early 1670s to brand Popery as foreign. National identity and the patriotic love and fear it generated coalesced around the treason trials of the Popish and Protestant Plots. The bond between individual and nation bore hallmarks of both the constructive and destructive forces associated with the modern definitions of patriotism and nationalism. As a result, this chapter contends that the tendency of some historians to treat patriotism and nationalism as distinct phenomena does not adequately reflect the political and emotional state of Restoration England.

According to Maurizio Viroli "the language of patriotism has been used over the centuries to strengthen or invoke love of the political institutions and the way of life that sustain the common liberty of a people."[106] Although the English word "patriotism" did not come into use until the early eighteenth century, primary sources indicate that the Latin *amor patriae* was in use in England from the mid-sixteenth century, while the terms "patriot" and "patriotic" were used extensively throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with various and sometimes opposing semantic interpretations.[107] However, the historiography of patriotism in early modern England is contentious and incomplete. From a modern perspective, the distinction between nationalism and patriotism is used primarily for critical purposes; either to dismiss patriotism as weak, or to condemn nationalism as destructive.

Eldad Davidov has distinguished the negative aspect of national identity, nationalism, from the positive aspect, "constructive patriotism". Nationalism was "blind, militaristic, ignorant, obedient, or irrational", while constructive patriotism was "genuine, constructive, critical, civic, reasonable, and disobedient", a mix of characteristics "based in questioning, constructive criticism, and dissent".[108] According to Thomas Blank and Peter Schmidt, modern nationalism, also known as "blind patriotism", is characterised by idealising the nation, feelings of national superiority, uncritical acceptance of national political authorities, suppression of ambivalent attitudes towards the nation, inclinations to define in-groups by descent, race, or cultural affiliation, and derogation of out-

---

[106] Viroli, *For Love of Country*, 1.
[107] Gillian E. Brennan, *Patriotism, Power and Print* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003), 7; Ronald Knowles, "The "All-Attoning Name": The Word "Patriot" in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Modern Language Review* 96, no. 3 (2001): see especially 625-27.
[108] Eldad Davidov, "Measuring Equivalence of Nationalism and Constructive Patriotism in the ISSP: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective," *Political Analysis* 17 (2009): 65.

groups.[109] In contrast they define constructive patriotism as being characterised by critical evaluation of the nation, support for the state system only while it is consistent with humanistic values, support for democratic principles and an advanced social system, rejection of an uncritical acceptance of state authority, and acceptance of negative emotions in relation to the state.[110] From this, Blank and Schmidt concluded, "nationalism supports homogeneity within society, blind obedience, and idealized excessive valuation of one's own nation, whereas patriotism supports heterogeneous structures within the society and a critical distance from the state and the regime."[111]

This conclusion is supported by Gillian Brennan's examination of patriotism in Tudor England, in which she argued that "patriots love their country despite its failings and do not have the nationalists' belief in the superiority of their own nation . . . patriots can love their homeland without it becoming an over-riding priority". In addition, Brennan argued, "the patriot tends to be less aggressive towards or resentful of foreign influences than the nationalist and is more likely to approve of patriotism in others." [112] Both Viroli's and Brennan's studies are consistent with the definition of constructive patriotism demonstrated by a commitment to humanitarian principles and an ability to maintain a "critical distance" from the state.

The contrasting perspective privileges modern historiography, which highlights the importance of nationalism and dismisses patriotism as "a mere primitive feeling of loyalty".[113] Jonathan Clark has argued that patriotism was a "far weaker ideology" that began in the eighteenth century, in particular in the 1720s, "to give shape to a claim by

---

[109] Thomas Blank and Peter Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test with Representative Data," *Political Psychology* 24(2003): 292.

[110]Blank and Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany," 292-93.

[111] Blank and Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany," 305-06.

[112] Brennan, *Patriotism, Power and Print*, 8.

[113] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 52-53.

the Whig opposition to superior public virtue". Clark contends that patriotism "involved a militant Protestantism, a rejection of public corruption, and an aggressive international stance based on naval power."[114] This perspective has resulted in considerable emphasis being placed on determining the origins of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalisms, origins which, according to eminent historians such as Eric Hobsbawm, are definitively located in the eighteenth century.[115] Momentous events such as the French Revolution, the influence of the German Kantian philosophy of autonomy and self-determination, and a "counter-enlightenment", led to the late eighteenth century being perceived as the watershed in the development of nationalism.[116] This school of historiography argued that before the modern period nationalistic tendencies were "limited to certain elite groups, subordinated to other identities, or confined to relatively small political units, and thus not fully national in one sense or another."[117]

However, a number of historians have posited a counter argument, which identifies nationalist ideology in earlier historical periods. Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities,* which traced the origins of national identity, has a considerable influence on these historians.[118] Anderson's theoretical premise of the nation as an "imagined political community", rather than one restricted by a modern statist perspective, enabled historians to examine the ideology of nationalism prior to the nineteenth century.[119] For example, historians of early modern England have found

---

[114] J. C. D. Clark, "Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (2000): 251.

[115] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).; Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

[116] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.

[117] Philip S. Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *The American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1431.

[118] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 5.

[119] Mark Stoyle, "English 'Nationalism', Celtic Particularism, and the English Civil War," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (2000): 1113.

evidence for literary nationalism in the sixteenth century, and for economic nationalism based on the intrinsic link between fiscal and trade policies and the national interest in the seventeenth century.[120] Arguments against the importance of early modern nationalism, such as those made by John Morrill that "most English men and women displayed a "'conventional protestant nationalism' that only went skin deep", have been repudiated by a number of historians who have highlighted the English engagement with international affairs and foreign policy.[121] Philip Gorski argued that the "primary catalyst" for an upsurge in nationalist sentiment was the Protestant Reformation and not the industrial and democratic revolutions of the eighteenth century as many modern historians claimed.[122] Gorski stated that "the Renaissance and Reformation, and the revolutions that followed in their wake gave rise to popular discourses and national movements which must be categorized as nationalistic by the modernists' own definitions and criteria".[123] In her study of the eighteenth century, Linda Colley has contended that rather than being "simple-minded deference, or blinkered conservatism", patriotism was "a highly rational response" to a political nation repeatedly challenged by conflict.[124]

Few studies of historical patriotism or nationalism have conducted a thorough analysis of their emotional bases or complexity. The existing literature has primarily limited its discussion to love; even then it frequently only refers to emotion as a rhetorical tool. Anderson however, has noted the association of patriotic sentiment with the

---

[120] David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens, "Introduction: Milton's Nationalism," in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 7.; Derek Hirst, "Bodies and Interests: Toleration and the Political Imagination in the Later Seventeenth Century," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (2007): 416. See also Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (London: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[121] John Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630 – 1650* (London: Longman, 1980), 20, 63; Steven Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5-6.

[122] Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment,"1429.

[123] Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment," 1458.

[124] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 5.

"vocabulary of kinship" which facilitated the view of patriotic love as a natural bond with the fatherland.[125] James Connor has also explored the instinctive nature of patriotic sentiment in terms of survival in *The Sociology of Loyalty*. He argued that national loyalty "can form part of the emotional existence of the actor, whose well-being can be closely tied to the fortunes of the nation."[126] Sociologist Mabel Berezin has also examined the role emotion plays in constructing political identities. She has contended that the difficulties in fostering emotional attachments to the polity arise from the separation of public and private spheres. Berezin does however note the importance of crisis in merging these two identities in contemporary politics.[127] The sources under consideration in this thesis suggest that political identities in this period transcended any distinction between public and private and, as this and subsequent chapters demonstrate, crisis certainly functioned to exacerbate expressions of the bond between the subject and the nation.

A more extensive study of patriotic emotion in an historical context is Glenda Sluga's analysis of patriotism and sentimentalism in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France. She argued that the "new historiography", with its emphasis on emotions "challenges not only the perennial status of patriotism but also prevalent historical contextualisations of nationalism."[128] Sluga focused on the philosophical works of Germaine de Staël in which a "distinctive national *esprit* was anchored in '*instinctive virtues,* pity, delicacy [and] pride.'"[129] In support of this argument, Adela Pinch contends

[125] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.
[126] James Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty* (New York: Springer Verlag, 2007), 77.
[127] Mabel Berezin, "Emotion and Political Identity: Mobilizing Affection for the Polity." In *Passionate Politics: Emotion and Social Movements*, James Jasper, Jeff Goodwin, Francesca Polletta (eds.) (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 2001), 83-84.
[128] Glenda Sluga, "Passions, Patriotism and Nationalism, and Germain De Staël," *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no. 2 (2009): 300.
[129]Sluga's approach to patriotism also enabled her to identify gendered patriotisms in nineteenth century France through the contrast of de Staël's portrayal of masculine patriotism with its manifestations of strength, courage, affection and honour, and her view of women as "passive and static embodiments of nationality" who should be excluded "from political and civil affairs," Sluga, "Passions, Patriotism and Nationalism, and Germain De Staël," 310 – 311.

that an "era of sensibility" existed from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century.

> Politically this long age of feelings is framed by the emergence of feeling as the center of civic identity in post-absolutist English political thought, the reformulations of questions about rights during the late eighteenth century revolutionary period, and the development of theories of relations to others and to objects necessitated by colonialist and commercial expansion.[130]

This and following chapters contend that emotion was indeed integral to civic and national identity, a relationship that was apparent from the return of the king in 1660. In seventeenth-century England, however, it was in the forging of a national religion that political passions played their most important role in English identity.

2 – Securing the Nation: The Patriotic Imperative

The legacy of the Civil War, discussed in the preceding chapter, and the indelible impression it had left on the minds and emotions of the English people, were most evident in the decade after the Restoration of Charles II. However, by the end of the 1660s it seemed that riotous behaviour directed against the Crown was again conceivable. A growing sense of security among the populace resulting from a relatively uneventful eight years since Charles II's return may have facilitated the outbreak of violence in 1668. Nevertheless, my thesis contends that the unrest was made possible by a progressive decline in deference to traditional monarchical authority. To counter the threat of dissent, both political and religious, in the case of the Bawdy House Riots, pamphleteers certainly strove to forge a direct link between the action of the crowds, demands for religious

---

[130] Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 11.

toleration, and the danger that both posed, in principle and in practice, to the king, the office of the crown and England. Both orthodoxy and heterodoxy were socially constructed, and as Justin Champion and Lee McNulty have demonstrated, "the contested projection of a dominant religious culture was one part of a complex set of manoeuvres that distinct and competing interests articulated in ideological and sociological discourses."[131]

Religion played an important role, not only in policy concerns of the king and the people, but also in the expression and perception of political emotion in relation to national identity. Benjamin Kaplan has contended that the bonds of "honor, loyalty, friendship, affection, kinship, civic duty, devotion to the commonweal . . . had themselves a sacred character that might reinforce or complicate a person's confessional allegiance."[132] Responses to treason cases during the Restoration suggest that loyalist and opposition groups were more often concerned with the way in which confessional identity might complicate political allegiance. Nevertheless, the passionate bonds described by Kaplan remained the key to influencing this allegiance.

During the Bawdy House Riots however, the religious nature of differences between the Stuarts and nonconformists received little mention in the flurry of pamphlets that sprung up after the riots and subsequent arrests. Although the ringleaders had dissented from the national church, they were Protestant dissenters. As a result, concern for the nation was expressed more often in terms of the reputation, than the religion, of the nation. This concern was succinctly summarised in *The Whores Petition*: "When you had ruin'd us, we soon should see, Others [Charles II's court] should in like manner ruin'd

---

[131] Champion and McNulty, "Making Orthodoxy in late Restoration England: The Trials of Edmund Hickeringill, 1662 – 1710," 248.

[132] Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 9.

be; And so this City (glory of our Nation) By this might have been brought to desolation."[133] *The Whores Petition* forged a satirical link between the "little" brothels and the "great Bawdy House" of the king's Court, the implications of which are discussed in more detail in chapter seven. However, the potential consequences of the destruction of the Stuart Court, if only in reputation, would not have been lost on the mid-seventeenth-century Englishman or woman. Many were convinced that political stability was only possible if subjects were subordinate to the monarch, and the Civil Wars provided clear evidence of the anarchy and violence that would ensue were this "natural order" to be subverted. In the aftermath of the conflict, social disorder was a genuine and terrifying threat, which conferred vital importance on uniformity of the passionate attachment to king and country and resulted in the encouragement of patriotism as a normative emotion that would cement the affective bond between the individual and England.

Ronald Knowles has argued that the meaning of and associations with the word "patriot" ranged between the two extremes of the "ethical ideal" and the "last refuge of a scoundrel". He concluded that the word patriot "remained . . . [a] 'reigning word' implicit in the language, history, and culture of England and Englishness" and that it "took shape as part of the ideological revolution of seventeenth century England".[134] This chapter looks at Restoration patriotism not through the term "patriot" but through the passions expressed in response to perceived threats against England. These emotions were the clearest signifiers of a bond between subject and nation. In the case of the Bawdy House Riots, this bond manifested variously as representations of love, fear for England's security and anger at the abuse of the characteristic English liberties, or subordination of

---

[133] *The Whores Petition to the London Prentices.*
[134] Knowles, "The "All-Attoning Name," 643.

the social hierarchy. Shame was the counter-emotion deployed to inspire behaviour modification when sufficient patriotism appeared to be lacking. The *Citizen's Reply* illustrates the intertwined nature of fear, patriotism and shame. It appealed to patriotic sentiment, albeit localised to London, by emphasizing the national shame that citizens of London should feel for allowing such a tumultuous rabble to blacken the great city's name. The reputation of London, the "prime for Civil Government" could only suffer as a result of its unruly citizens; as the *Citizens Reply* stated, "that a Rout under Prentices names Should act such things as those unto our shames". It continued "[s]ad may we think will prove that fatall day, When a rude rout takes on them to bear sway". However, the pamphlet contended that responses that identified with the rioters and their cause had to be tempered by the understanding that "such actions must needs shipwrack on the shelves" when England was under threat. [135]

Interestingly, pamphlets advocating love of country in response to the riots were wont to emphasise the glory of England or London, rather than mentioning the obligation of subject to sovereign. As chapters six and seven contend, the elevation of country over king suggests that the place of the monarch in seventeenth-century perceptions of the English nation had, by 1668, already lost some of the ground it appeared to have gained during the joyous celebrations of the return of the king in 1660. In addition, little mention of the demands to allow dissent from a unified national religion suggest that, from the perspective of the pamphleteers at least, Protestant disunity of religion was bearable. Just two years after the execution of rioters, another proclamation against Conventicles elicited responses which contested the Crown's authority over religion as explicitly, if less violently. [136] Although the riots failed in the short term, the election of dissenters to

---

[135] *The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer*.
[136] For protests against the 1670 Proclamation against Conventicles see in particular *The Christian Conventicle, or the Private-meetings of God's People in Evil Times (*London, 1670); *Some Seasonable*

civic offices a year later demonstrates that Protestant dissent was far more tolerable to the English people than Catholicism.[137] Indeed, while there is still evidence of threat perceptions related to Protestant nonconformism during the early years of the 1670s, these was soon overshadowed by the "Catholic menace".

It was at this point that the perception that the national religion was no longer safe in the hands of the Stuart monarchy began to spread. Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated that "while Caroline religious policy did not literally seek to reintroduce Roman Catholicism, it did represent a very serious threat to one potent vision of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestant heritage."[138] As expressions of patriotism reach their zenith when the nation is most threatened, the third Anglo-Dutch War some five years after the execution of the rioters should have elicited similar responses to that of the riots. Instead, emotional responses to the war strongly suggest what responses to the riots had only hinted; there was a growing distinction between the concept of nation and the person of the sovereign. The European fight for the "universal monarchy" coupled with the triple threat of Catholic France, Spain and Ireland meant that fear of foreign Catholicism was an important unifying factor, and an integral part of religious and national identity. This fear was to remain throughout Charles II's reign.

The first salvos of the Anglo-Dutch war involved a skirmish in the English Channel between English frigates and a heavily guarded Dutch merchant fleet. In addition

---

*and Serious Queries upon the late Act against Conventicles (*London, 1670). On the role played by Protestant dissenters in concerns for state security see also John Miller, "Public Opinion in Charles II's England," *History* 80, no. 260 (1995): 359-60.

[137] Gary S. De Krey, "London Radicals and Revolutionary Politics, 1675-1683," in *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, ed. Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 135.

[138] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 16. See also Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133.

to proving England's naval prowess, Charles II had intended to finance the war with the spoils of this opening gambit against the Dutch; however, as even the royalist *Gazette* noted, the most lucrative merchantmen either escaped or were sent to the bottom of the Channel.[139] Despite this failure, the report was closely followed by the announcement that "this day His Majesty was pleased in Councel to give order for the Publishing his Declaration of War", for which citizens of London, Westminster, Southwark and "other places adjacent" were expected to fast in order to implore "the Blessing of Almighty God on His Majesties Naval Forces".[140] Clergyman and diarist Ralph Josselin recorded the proclamation of war coinciding with a "season calme, and cold but good [while] the times lowring the hearts and lives of men bad, judgements strange and sins worse".[141] On 17 April, he wrote of the "fast on occasion of the Dutch warre, which all are against".[142]

Unsurprisingly, the *London Gazette* made little mention of the unhappiness of the English over the war. In terms of the relationship between the "ordinary" Englishmen and the Anglo-Dutch war, Steve Pincus contends that the domestic English concerns revolved around "the proper identification of the universal monarch".[143] In so doing, he makes a convincing argument about the basis of popular fear to counter the prevailing historiographical focus on domestic religious paranoia. Rather than fear of Catholicism accounting for the changing tide of public sentiment during the war, Pincus has contended "the panic about popery grew out of fears of a French universal monarchy rather than the other way round".[144] An alliance with Catholic France against the Protestant Netherlands

---

[139] With prodigiously good timing, an advertisment appeared a few issues later stating that one Edmond Curtis had been awarded the contract for "sole permission to take up all wrecks on His Majesties dominions" and Letters Patent for his "new way" of "taking up Guns, Goods, Merchandise, and Ships Furniture sunk at sea, or upon the coasts," *London Gazette,* 1 – 4 April 1672; no. 665, 2.

[140] *London Gazette,* 14 – 18 March 1672; no. 660, 2.

[141] Josselin, *Diary,* 562.

[142] Josselin, *Diary*, 563.

[143] Steve Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s," *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 2 (1995): 335.

[144] Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes," 351.

could do little but confirm fears of the advance of popery under Louis XIV's aspiration to universal monarchy. In the 1670s there appeared to be two claimants for absolutism; the Dutch republic and France. However by 1673, with the demise of the Dutch republic and the accession of the prince of Orange to the position of Staatholder, it was clear that Louis XIV was the only one of the two "seeking universal dominion" and therefore England's greatest threat. [145] From 1673, Kaplan has contended that "nothing could have provoked more acutely [the English people's] perennial anxiety about their national church being subverted by domestic enemies" than the knowledge of the duke of York's conversion to Catholicism.[146]

Pincus' emphasis on a change in public sympathies in 1673 notwithstanding, accounts such as that of Ralph Josselin indicate that anti-war sentiment was widespread from the beginning of the conflict. Even fourteen-year-old Thomas Isham, son of royalist politician Sir Justinian Isham, observed the fear that pervaded English society as a result of the war.[147] Commenting on the poor trade at a Northampton horse sale, Thomas Isham stated that he "believe[d] that the war with the Dutch has so filled men's minds with anxiety as to drive away practically all thought of horses and such things."[148] Others were equally convinced that the war was neither in England's interests, nor agreeable to God. John Evelyn evidently concurred, writing that in the opening skirmish "we received little save blows, & a worthy reproch, for atacquing our neighbours ere any war was proclaim'd". For Evelyn, the negative opinion of the war held by the English people arose

---

[145] Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes," 335.
[146] Kaplan, *Divided by Faith,* 338.
[147] Although a former member of the Cavalier Parliament, Sir Justinian Isham, like John Evelyn, disapproved of the dissolution of the Restoration Court, R. Priestley, 'Isham, Sir Justinian, second baronet (1611–1675)', *Oxford DNB.*
[148] Isham, *Diary,* 119.

primarily from the associated costs.[149] This was compounded by public dissatisfaction with press-ganging. Thomas Isham wrote that "recruits" were "being kept away from towns as far as possible, in case they desert up narrow alleys or lurk in hiding."[150]

Of greatest importance, however, was the danger that the French king's aspirations posed to the very existence of an independent England. One of the most influential publications of the period was *England's Appeal from the Private Caballe at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation*. A particularly accomplished piece of Dutch propaganda, *England's Appeal* was designed to influence the English public and their parliamentary representatives to support the Dutch rather than French cause. Kenneth Haley argued that this pamphlet, crafted by William of Orange's propagandist Pierre Du Moulin "did more than anything else to identify the French alliance in foreign affairs with the danger of Popery at home, and consequently to lead public opinion and the Country Party in parliament to turn against the war."[151] Du Moulin stated that "[i]t was undoubtedly above the reach of an ordinary understanding to imagine or suspect (in the least) that a Protestant kingdome, without being compelled to it by some urgent and unavoydable necessity, should ever fight with so much fierceness for the destruction of the Protestant interest".[152] This was evidence of a concerted effort to encourage the normative nature of fear of popery in general, and of the French in particular, some five years before the "discovery" of the Popish Plot. *England's Appeal* depicted these fears as

---

[149] According to Evelyn, the king was advised to take a course "which not onlely lost the hearts of his subjects, & ruined many Widdows & Orphans whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever . . . The Credit of this bank being thus broken, did exceedingly discontent the people." Evelyn, *Diary,* 190.

[150] Isham, *Diary*, 103.

[151] K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition 1672-1674,* 97-8. Far from demonstrating an engagement of the English public with foreign affairs, James Jones contended that effect of Du Moulin's pamphlet was a result of his focus on "the king's domestic policies, rather than on the war itself," James R. Jones, *Charles II: Royal Politician* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 112.

[152] Pierre Du Moulin, *England's Appeal from the Private Caballe at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation* (London, 1673), 1.

a clear indication of one's love of England. In the guise of an English patriot, Du Moulin suggested "it is now high time both for the parliament and all true *English-men,* to look farther then we have done yet . . . [f]or the Fire which both we and *France* have kindled, is like to consume all *Europe,* if we do not make hast to quench it."[153]

Du Moulin was clearly acting in the Dutch interest; however, he did little but echo nascent English fears. In May 1673, Sir Charles Harbord, a friend of Sir Justinian Isham, wrote to the latter "I fear in the destruction of our neighbour Nation [Holland] we lay the certaine foundations of our owne".[154] Sir Justinian responded that "God only knows but what ye success of this mighty Conqueror may produce . . . if in it such a thing as an Universal Monarchy should arise you know who must be his very humble Chaplain.[155] Ralph Josselin was of much the same opinion as the Ishams; on 16 June 1672 he wrote"[G]od afflicts the Dutch by French . . . sad with Holland and the French prevaile at land. God good in his word. He lives and he reigneth and he will turne all to good. Either raising them up a Savior, or by turning Frances armes against Italy."[156] In his sermon on 5 November 1673, Josselin preached from Psalms 107.2; "Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy".[157]

In his diary, Josselin followed the note on his sermon with the comment "Gods deliverances a hope to us he will deliver against the feares of popery at present in England", and it can hardly be a coincidence that Josselin's remark on "the Duke marrying Modena's daughter" followed hard on the heels of this hope.[158] As John Pollock stated, "despite all caution" including the Duke continuing to attend service at the royal

---

[153] Moulin, *England's Appeal from the Private Caballe,* 32.
[154] Charles Harbord, "To Sir Justinian Isham," reproduced in Isham, *Diary*, 210.
[155] Justinian Isham, "To Sir Charles Harbord, May 1673," reproduced in Isham, *Diary,* 211.
[156] Josselin, *Diary,* 564.
[157] Josselin, *Diary,* 571.
[158] Josselin, *Diary,* 573.

chapel, "enough suspicion was aroused by James' marriage at the suggestion of the French court . . . [i]t was a definite sign of his attachment to the French and Catholic interest, and paved the way for the correspondence which was afterwards [during the Popish Plot] so nearly to procure his downfall."[159] Even for those of a less radical disposition like the mild-mannered Josselin, the Modenese match was a considerable source of unease.[160]

The complexity of political emotion in public responses to the third Anglo-Dutch War was not restricted to diaries. To the tune of Packington's Pound one might for example hear a lesson in emotional diplomacy at the signing of peace with the Dutch in *The Triumphs of Four Nations*.

> God bless king and kingdom and send that our hate
>
> Unto one another in Church and in state,
>
> May be nullifi'd
>
> God keep us from Pride,
>
> Ambition, Wrath, Malice and Discord beside . . .
>
> By Truth, Love, and Friendship, delights to increase.
>
> The strength of a Nation is Plenty and Peace.[161]

Such a depiction of the relationship between emotion and patriotism is redolent of the definitions of patriotism and nationalism espoused by Blank, Schmidt, Viroli and Brennen as respectively constructive and benevolent, and destructive and malevolent. However, far from identifying two distinct phenomena, the ballad highlights both the disparity between ideal and reality, and the destructive side of seventeenth-century

---

[159] Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 30-31.
[160] Josselin, *Diary*, 573.
[161] *The Triumphs of Four Nations* (London, 1674).

English patriotism. It was indeed "ambition, wrath, malice and discord" which would mark the patriotic responses to the treason trials in the years to come, and the fate of the national religion was to loom large in the narratives of treason and the expression of political emotion. As parliamentary debates in 1677 demonstrate, the end of the war did little to diminish fears of French aspirations. An address to the king prepared by members of the Commons articulated the extent to which the people were "disquieted with manyfest dangers ariseing to your Majestys kingdome, by the growth and power of the French king".[162]As Alexandra Walsham contends "by the late seventeenth century Protestantism may have been too deeply entrenched and too closely interwoven with patriotism" to have allowed reimposition of Catholic uniformity, but European instability meant that the fate of England's national religion was still uncertain in the minds of the population.[163]

3 – THE UNIFYING POWER OF TREASON: POPERY, PANIC AND DISHONOUR

The commitment to England, a national Protestant religion, and justice, ensured that the prosecution of alleged Catholic treason in the guise of the Popish Plot would provide a unifying force which loyalty to the person of the monarch alone could no longer do. The optimism of *The Triumphs of Four Nations* notwithstanding, as the darker responses to the Anglo-French alliance made abundantly clear, the utopian emotional landscape of a nation characterised by "truth, love and friendship" could have little hope of enduring stability with the prospect of a Catholic monarch on the English throne. The *English Ballance* underlined the inevitability of Catholic superstition following Catholic victory. The pamphlet questioned whether "Popish Armes [could] prevail" without establishing

---

[162]*CJ,* vol. 9, 10 March 1677, 396. See also Morrice, 32.
[163] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred,* 16.

superstition which, if empowered, would "both prosper and persecute".[164] For those who might harbour some sympathies for persecuted Catholics, the *English Ballance* concluded that "[t]hese are consequences so natural, and evident, that it were superfluous, either to challenge one instance dissonant, from the thousands that confirme them."[165] The Protestant fear of Popish superstition manifested itself in descriptions of the "pernicious league", who had allegedly instigated the conflict. A publication entitled *Verbum Sapienti*, printed in January 1674 argued that the war which threatened English lives, and perhaps more importantly trade, was the direct result of "the dark and mysterious contrivances of a small Popish cabal", into which Charles II had been "traitourously ensnared".[166] In case Englishmen were apt to forget the Norman yoke, the publications, which highlighted superstition, also reminded their readers of equally dire consequences of the French oppression of English liberties. This was the "manifest hazard of the Protestant Religion, from the French Armes" from the English perspective, which had no reservations in wielding fear of French popery in order to defend English liberty of conscience.[167] The threat posed by Louis XIV's ambition was the "most oppressive yoke of that worse than Turkish tyranny". Pierre du Moulin's *Verbum Sapienti,* which clearly aimed to convince the English people of the wisdom of its words, questioned "whether the authors of this league [which engineered the Anglo-French alliance] are not guilty of the highest treason against the king and kingdom, and ought not to be proceeded against as traitors and public enemies of their country".[168]

Historians have long noted the attempt to ensure Protestant ascendancy in the religious, political and social worlds of early modern England, a story in which

---

[164] *The English Ballance* (London, 1672), 5.
[165] *The English Ballance,* 5.
[166] Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti."
[167] *The English Ballance,* 5.
[168] Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti."

Catholicism has almost invariably played the role of archenemy. Peter Lake, for example, has demonstrated the way in which the language of anti-popery became a tool to perpetuate such constructions, as the word "popery" became "a free-floating term of opprobrium".[169] In her examination of the relationship between Catholicism and gender in seventeenth-century England, Frances Dolan argued that "by identifying with and perpetuating early modern prejudices, scholars lose sight of the extent to which the formation of an English national identity is a history of fear and hatred, a history in which attitudes towards Catholics and Catholicism played a crucial role."[170] This national fear of Catholicism played an integral part in the normative power of English patriotism, and the involvement of the European aspirants to universal monarchy in these "hellish plots" was a constant underlying the fears of popery.[171] Ballad writers, such as that of *The Papists Lamentation,* depicted the Popish Plot as characteristic of the ambitions of France or Spain to European hegemony. As far as they were concerned however, the Pope could "Spend all his dayes in such designs, The Heavens will still find Countermines And blast such wicked bloody things As Massacres and killing kings."[172]

That Spain had become an equal participant in the plot, at least according to the print media, could suggest three things: that the authors of such portrayals were unaware of the political realities of England's position in Europe; that public fear had reached such a level that this distinction was irrelevant; or that the construction of a general fear of

---

[169] Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603 – 164,* ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longmans, 1989), 96.
[170] Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 4.
[171] The fears of popery and political instability also had a negative impact on economic concerns as one intelligence report to Williamson explained. The informant found among the people he observed "a more sober spirit . . . though most are filled with fears of Popery," nevertheless, they were reluctant to take financial risks and "they resolve[d] meanwhile to be quiet, not willing to meddle with trade more than they must, till their fears be removed, "Anon to Williamson, [Jan.] 1679," SP 29/411 f.54.
[172] *The Papists Lamentation for the loss of their Agent William Stafford (*London, 1680).

Catholicism was a deliberate goal of the authors.[173] The first option is unlikely given that Steven Pincus and Jonathan Scott have thoroughly demonstrated the engagement of the English people with domestic and foreign politics.[174] It is far more probable that the blurring of France and Spain into a common enemy resulted from a combination of the intensity of public fear and the desire to construct the threat in such a way as to strengthen the relationship between anti-popery and English identity. With these fears embedded in public discourse some five years before the Popish Plot, it is little wonder that historians have characterised the latter as a period of paranoia and panic.

At no point during Charles II's reign was the attempt to use the relationship between religion and fear as a unifying force more evident than during the Popish Plot.[175] In a nineteenth-century examination of Samuel Pepys' perspective of the plot during his time in the admiralty, Joseph Robson Tanner remarked upon the "traces of the tremendous excitement caused by the Popish Plot, which seems to have disturbed the routine of the navy almost as much as it agitated the parliamentary and political world."[176] The Popish Plot is arguably the best known and best studied example of collective fear during the Restoration period, and although the links between emotion and national identity made in the historiography have often been superficial, they do exist. In particular, it is in the consideration of the relationship between the English people and Catholicism that a history of fear and its integral role in early modern English patriotism emerges from a more traditional history of high politics. Drawing on the nineteenth-

---

[173] Jonathan Scott has argued that it was the "growing power of France" and not Spain that posed the greatest threat to England, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis*, 30

[174]Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes," 335; Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 307. For Jonathan Scott's confessional perspective see Jonathan Scott, "Radicalism and Restoration," *Historical Journal* 31, no. 2 (1988): 458-6; Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis,* 39-41.

[175] Dolan has contended that the plot was chiefly about "the power of stories to confirm, inflame, or create anti-Catholicism," Dolan, *Whores of Babylon,* 157.

[176] J. R. Tanner, "Pepys and the Popish Plot," *English Historical Review* 7(1892): 281.

century work by Leopold von Ranke, Pollock stated that "the odour of mystery and the fear of foreign assault which Catholic designs had for years aggravated had worked in the minds of Englishmen with so strong a ferment that, were there much or little of truth in the Plot, it needed only an opportunity for hardly concealed terror and hatred finally to burst restraint."[177] Kenyon's work, published some seven decades after Pollock and a century after Von Ranke, concurred with this analysis. He argued that, while the English were sure of their ability to foil direct foreign attacks, "it was obvious to them that their Protestant citadel could only be captured by a conspiracy from within." Kenyon continued "the danger here seemed a real and urgent one, for English Catholicism was closely associated in the popular mind with a whole series of plots and projected *coups d'etat,* some of which had come very near success."[178]

The fear and anger that had been expressed in relation to national security and national honour, culminated in the crisis over the succession of the duke of York, the dominant issue in the political foundation of the Popish and Protestant Plots. Narcissus Luttrell wrote of Charles II's attempts to redirect parliament away from the issue of succession in November 1678.

> On the 9th the king came into the house of lords in his robes, and sent for the house of commons up, and made a most gratious speech, thanking them for the greate care they took of his person; and that he was not unmindfull of their security, but came to assure them of his readinesse to comply with all the lawes that shall secure the protestant religion, and that not only during his time, but also of any

---

[177] Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, 197. See also Leopold von Ranke, *Englische Geschichte Vornehmlich Im Sechzehnten Und Siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 7 vols., vol. 5 (Leipzig: Dunder und Humblot, 1871), 233.
[178]Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 3.

successor, so as they tend not to impeach the right of succession, nor the descent of the Crown in the true line.[179]

The king was unsuccessful in his bid to turn parliament's course. As Luttrell noted, despite the many divisions within parliament, "yet did they all this sessions apply themselves earnestly to the prosecution of the Popish Plot, and went on now very unanimously, and came even to consider about excluding the duke of York from the Crown as a papist".[180]

The sheer volume of anti-Catholic publications peddling fear was insufficient to convince all of the danger that Popish plotters posed to the nation. An anonymously printed *Letter to a friend at Paris,* portrayed the perception of injustice held by those sympathetic to the Catholic cause.

> You may ask if the plot is chimerical and disproved, the witnesses infamous, the judges partial, the proceedings irregular, unjust and inhuman, why do all the English people believe the contrary? The quarrels of the ministers and the hatred against the Catholics predisposed them to believe everything of them. There was only wanting an impudent liar with a heart of iron and a face of brass, and then to shut the door by making out all those who endeavoured to justify the alleged criminals to be accomplices themselves.[181]

Disbelief in the Popish Plot grew when anti-Catholic attacks struck too close to the king. Oates' "presumptuous" winning streak was irrevocably damaged when he accused the Queen of intending to poison Charles II, the thought of which, Evelyn was adamant, "that

---

[179] Luttrell, 2.
[180] Luttrell, 3.
[181] "Letter to a friend at Paris, 1 March1679," SP 30/G f.664.

pious & vertuous Lady abhorred . . . [and] Oates his Circumstances, made it utterly unlikely". [182] Numerous expressions of scepticism notwithstanding, the stakes for England were too high for the plot to be dismissed. Despite a willingness to challenge authority, the emotional attachment to the person of the king, and in particular, the passionate investment in the albeit temporary barrier Charles II represented to a Catholic monarch on the English throne kept the fear of a Catholic plot to remove the king in favour of the duke of York alive until 1681.

For many publications there appeared to be little difference between English or French Popery, or any other kind. The horrors of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death were "the cursed fruits of Popery, the effects of Romish zeal and Charity; From which let all good Protestants with a just Abhorrence, ever pray to be delivered, and that God would still be pleased to preserve our most gracious king, and the Religion established, against all their Bloody plots and Helllish Conspiracies."[183] There were nevertheless publications, which placed greater emphasis on the evils of foreign Catholicism. Such pamphlets invoked the memory of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, for example, to highlight the specific danger to England. It was, according to the *Brief Narrative,* an uprising against English planters "wherein there were in all above Three Hundred Thousand Innocent Protestants destroyed, and this in a base Treacherous manner, without any provocation".[184]

---

[182] Evelyn, *Diary,* 257.
[183]*A Brief Narrative of the Several Popish Treasons and Cruelties against the Protestants*, (London: P.B., 1678), 6.
[184] *A Brief Narrative*, 4. Recent research by Charles Carlton has suggested that of the total estimate of 200,000 Irish casualties of the Civil Wars, 4000 Protestant civilian casualties is a far more realistic, if far less affective, figure; Charles Carlton, "Civilians," in *The Civil Wars*, ed. John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 278.

Pamphleteers of the Popish Plot were led inevitably to drawing historical parallels in order to show the public the true horrors of foreign Catholicism. English history certainly had its fair share of barbarous Catholics and "England, the Land of our Nativity, has suffered deeply under their Tyranny".[185] The Popish Plot was the manifestation of "the nightmare of every English Protestant, conjuring up images of the fires of Smithfield lit anew".[186] The Marian persecution of alleged Protestant heretics was a "massacre" which John Foxe's ever-popular *Book of Martyrs* would never allow Englishmen and women to forget.[187] The image of Foxe's martyrs occupied the centre of the frontispiece to the second volume of William Prynne's *An Exact Chronologicall Vincidation . . . of our king's Supreme Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction* (Figure 3), which depicted the government of Charles II and his parliament as the supreme form of government, juxtaposed to the tyranny of Popery.

---

[185] *A Brief Narrative*, 1.

[186] Kaplan, *Divided by Faith,* 338. Smithfield was the place at which Mary Tudor had committed 284 Protestant "heretics" to be burnt at the stake, Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 79.

[187] Foxe, John, *The Acts and Monuments of matters most special and memorable happening in the church* (London, 1641), book 10. *The Acts and Monuments* was republished in 1684; John N. king, *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 156.

Figure 3. Frontispiece to *The Second Tome of An Exact Chronological Vindication and Historical Demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman and English kings Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,* London, 1665.

However, the true danger, according to the *Brief Narrative*, was French Catholicism. The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris in 1572 was but one example in which "in one night above twenty thousand Protestants in that one City were barbarously Butchered without any provocation or warning, insomuch that 'tis said the streets of Paris ran with blood in several places."[188] If religious zeal alone was insufficient to create a national group, the shared fate that undoubtedly awaited all Protestants should help to define English identity, and encourage English patriotism, and the incidents of French and Irish barbarity towards Protestants provided ample proof. The emphasis on a shared Protestant identity was an attempt to create an apparently homogenous group, a national emotional

---

[188] *A Brief Narrative*, 3.

community, in the same manner as the reactionary responses to the third Anglo-Dutch War.

There is little doubt that expanding the threat served to heighten the fear; the defiance that the *Papists Lamentation* demonstrated towards Catholic plotters with its conviction that all such plotting would "be in vain" did not reflect the predominant public response to the plot. If the actions of the Bawdy House Rioters had possessed the Charles II's courtiers "as if the French were coming to town", the first trials of the Popish Plot in 1678 convinced many that the French were indeed on their way and planning to subjugate England. [189] Evidence in the trial of Edward Coleman, formerly secretary to the duchess of York, provided proof to the public that their fears were well grounded. The sergeant in Edward Coleman's trial, the second of the Popish Plot, reminded the jury that the "ruin" of England and the "slaughter" of its people were the desired outcomes of the plotters.[190] Scroggs' summation to the jury in Coleman's trial demonstrated the inseparable nature of national and religious fears. Indeed by November 1678 there was little distinction between Catholicism and treason in common law or public opinion; "[f]or I say that when our Religion is to be subverted, our Nation is to be subverted and destroyed".[191]

Although Coleman pleaded his case on grounds of religious toleration, in his trial, as in that of the Bawdy House rioters a decade previously, liberty of conscience was a dangerously destabilising weapon to wield against an insecure government. In addition, the wealth of other "evidence" against Coleman allowed Scroggs to be dismissive of calls for toleration. Scroggs' perspective of Popery was clear in his reasoning that Coleman

---

[189] Pepys, *Diary,* 129.
[190] "The Trial of Edward Coleman, 27 November 1678," *ST,* vol. 2, 658.
[191] "The Trial of Edward Coleman," 686.

must be a fine example of those "slaves of Understanding" begotten by the Church of Rome, for no "man of understanding" could, as Coleman had done, be converted from Protestantism to Catholicism. Scroggs implied that this alone was sufficient to prove the indictment against the defendant. The jury in Coleman's case was left in little doubt that the ends of the Popish plotters, namely the subjugation of England's religion and government, justified the means, the blood of all true Protestants after which "these priests", as Scroggs termed them, thirsted.[192] The prosecution in Viscount Stafford's impeachment reiterated these fears. The design of the Popish plotters was "a Massacre and a Slaughter of all . . . nay, not only to destroy our king, though that be the greatest Offence that our Law can take hold of, but to destroy our Religion, and to destroy us, because of our Religion."[193]

Official and unofficial sources, such as newsletters and pamphlets from London and the country complemented gossip of the plot, which was rife and served to heighten the emotions of an already fearful public. One report to Secretary of State and "defacto head of the Restoration government's intelligence service" Sir Joseph Williamson stated that the news they had from London was exclusively concerned with the plot. [194] These news reports stated "daily carts are loaded with arms found in Papists' houses and carried to the Tower, and that an absolute change of government was intended . . . that a model of that intended government was found among Coleman's papers."[195] The following excerpt from the substantial letter of Henry Layton, writing from the West Riding in

---

[192] "The Trial of Edward Coleman," 686-87.
[193] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford,* 9.
[194] Williamson himself was to become a victim of anti-Catholic fear as a result of a few injudicious counter-signatures; Alan Marshall, 'Williamson, Sir Joseph (1633–1701)', *OxfordDNB*.
[195] T. Aslaby. "T. Aslaby to Williamson, 17 Oct 1678," SP 29/407 f.46.

Yorkshire, to Williamson, demonstrates how effectively gossip acted as both a vector and accelerant for fear.

> On the breaking up of the great Popish plot the crack and noise filled us with great visions and the apparitions of armed men assembled and riding by night . . . and I, hearing of such rides, made my best inquiries, but could not find one word of truth in any of these reports . . . I hear divers gentlemen of our parts had writ to London on our first rumours and doubted not they writ terrors in them, which might lead their correspondents into errors. [196]

Neighbouring Derbyshire also suffered from an "Alarm of Papists" in 1678.[197] Nor were the southern counties immune to this fear. In Dorsetshire there was "a report of great numbers of men haveing landed in the Isle of Purbeck in Dorsetshire, which so alarmed the country, that they all rose immediately in armes; but, upon examination, it prov'd a mistake."[198] As Henry Layton suggested, tales of county terrors were swiftly transmitted to London, with the London presses all too willing to print reports of Popish barbarity. *Domestick Intelligence* printed a story from Devonshire wherein several Papists and one Protestant in a public house were engaged in an argument over the veracity of the plot. The broadsheet reported that "[t]he Papists finding themselves unable to answer [the Protestant's] Reasons, resolved to use the most *Invincible & Infallible Arguement* of the Catholick Church, and as we hear barbarously murdered the Protestant".[199] Such reports were not merely confined to public house gossip. *Mercurius Civicus* reported on the

---

[196] Henry Layton, "Henry Layton to Williamson, 9 Dec. 1678," SP 29/408 f.112. See also Morrice, 86.
[197] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford*, 87.
[198] Luttrell, 5.
[199] *Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country*, no. 3, 14 July 1679.

alleged attempt by Catholics to inspire a "rising of the Prentices, in order to a Massacre, and more particularly for the cutting off Sir William [Waller's] head."[200]

The anxiety concerning Popery was such that fear of domestic Catholic treason permeated the emotional landscape both of the metropolis and the countryside. However, outside London at least, a dearth of evidence supporting the contention that the countryside was filled with Catholic traitors meant that domestic fears gradually gave way to the fear of a foreign invasion. Henry Layton reported to Williamson of the West Riding, "[w]e here are since very much stopped in our rumours of dangers at home, nothing being found true of all our reports, but now our rumours run of foreign forces."[201] Having scoured the Riding for treacherous Papists and finding none, people of West Yorkshire then became obsessed with fear of rumoured invasions by the Spanish through Ireland, and the French through Scotland. Layton himself was well aware of the dangers of such rumours, particularly in their relation to the formation of militias for which the king had refused to pass a bill, exacerbating feelings of insecurity. "As these false rumours were the very *preludium* to the late successful rebellion, so are they exceeding dangerous for the present time and state of affairs, importing men ought to stand to and protect one another, not daring to rely on the Government for their safety".[202] Given the intertwined nature of anti-popery and English identity, such statements are arguably evidence of more than fears for personal safety. They indicate the presence of a concept of a nation requiring protection, but one which was not inseparable from Charles II's

---

[200] *Mercurius Civicus*, no. 6, 6 April1680. Sir William Waller was a fervently anti-Catholic parliamentarian and London Justice of the Peace who "discovered" the evidence of the Meal Tub Plot designed to convince the people of a Presbyterian plot, Alan Marshall, 'Waller, Sir William (*c.*1639–1699)', *Oxford DNB;* Morrice, 192. He was, according to Roger Morrice, the most popular candidate at the first Westminster elections held in preparation for the new parliament to be called on 6 March 1679; "at [the elections] all convess was the greatest attendance that ever was seen in England . . . Sir William Waller alone (its thought) had more followers then Sir Stephen, and Sir William Poulteney in conjunction," Morrice 104.
[201] Layton, "Henry Layton to Williamson."
[202] Layton, "Henry Layton to Williamson."

government. The news sheet, *Domestick Intelligence,* portrayed public fear and the resulting vigilance as the most reasonable response to the danger that treacherous foreign Catholics posed to England.[203]

The prosecution in Coleman's trial was more than able to confirm such fears. They claimed, "the first Onset, which was to be made upon us, was by a whole Troops of Jesuits and Priests, who were sent hither from the Seminaries Abroad, where they had been trained up in all the Subtilty and Skill that was fit to work upon the People." The comments by the prosecution and the judiciary suggest that public fear, while useful for conviction, was more importantly an integral part of the creation and maintenance of national identity, an inherent function of the trial for treason. As the trial of Coleman attempted to affirm, "No doubt but [the Jesuits &c] would have been glad, that the People of England had had but one Neck; but they knew the People of England had but one Head, and therefore they were resolved to strike at that."[204] During the Restoration, the trial for treason afforded the prosecution an unparalleled opportunity to reaffirm the association between national identity and the monarch, in a form to which the monarch could hardly object, no matter his objections to the prosecutions.

However, this opportunity worked in the Crown's favour when the tables turned during the Protestant Plots. Although the vast pamphlet literature on the Popish Plot suggests that Catholicism posed the greatest threat to the nation, that same nation was often portrayed as equally threatened during the Protestant plot. Stephen College, a prolific and vitriolic nonconformist pamphleteer and the first alleged Protestant traitor to be tried, was quick to realise when tactics employed in the Popish Plot were being used

---

[203] *Domestick Intelligence*, no. 2, 10 July 1679.
[204] "The Trial of Edward Coleman," 659.

against him. He interrupted the Attorney-General in his opening speech because he believed that unsubstantiated allegations against him would serve to "possess the jury".[205] In his own closing remarks, College begged the jury to hold fast against the affective strategies employed by the prosecution; "I must beseech you, be not frightened nor flattered; do according to your Judgements and your Consciences".[206] College attempted to make the case for "a most horrid Conspiracy to take away my life; and it will not stop here, for it is against all the Protestants in England."[207]

While there were undoubtedly many of College's opinion, the belief in the danger that a Protestant plot posed to England was also evident, not least because of attempts by the crown to ensure that belief. During Lord William Russell's trial, prosecutor Sergeant George Jeffries, soon to be the hanging judge of Bloody Assizes fame, was very effective at encouraging the link between radical Protestantism and danger to their future England. Jeffries presented the case to the jurors as a choice not only between Lord Russell and their king, but also between Lord Russell's honour and the future world in which the jurors would live. Recalling the example of puritan England under Cromwell, Jeffries urged the jury to "consider the Consequences if [Lord Russell's] Villany had taken effect. What would become of your lives and Religion? What would become of that religion *we* have been so fond of preserving?" As the Protestant Plot again posed a threat to both England's religion and security, on Jeffries' advice, the verdict that the jury must return was clear.

> [Y]ou have the Life of a merciful king, you have a Religion that every honest Man
>
> ought to stand by, and I am sure every Loyal Man will venture his Life and

---

[205] "The Trial of Edward Coleman," 352
[206] "The Trial of Edward Coleman," 400.
[207] "The Trial of Stephen College," 346.

Fortune for. You have your Wives and Children. Let not the greatness of any Man corrupt you, but discharge your Consciences both to God and the king, and to your Posterity. [208]

Lord Chief Justice Pemberton's direction to the jury was matter-of-fact, and the jury had little trouble in accepting Jeffries' construction of events.

The constructions within court were supported by those without, as propagandists employed national fears very effectively from 1681 to 1683 in their own "sham plot". The *Observator* was adept at demonstrating to the public the consequences of complacency concerning this Presbyterian Plot, a feat that required the forging of a chimera of Presbyterian and Papist, creating a "Pack of Hot-headed Jesuiticall Puritans".[209] Just as abhorrent as the havoc that such creatures would wreak on the nation however was the responsibility such traitors bore for the destruction of England's once-great reputation; "Ah! Wretched England! how are thou, The Worlds late Envy, made its Laughter now?"[210] Just as the Popish cabal had been the serpent leading Charles II from the path of the nation's interest, the Protestant plotters now became "like young Vipers" bent on the destruction of England. It was time, according to *A Pindarique Ode Upon the late Horrid and Damnable Whiggish Plot* for all Englishmen to defer once more to their king in order to save their nation; "At length, Unhappy Land thy Errors view; And give to Caesar, and to God their due". [211] The *Pindarique Ode* clearly articulated the supposed threat that the Protestant traitors posed to England.

---

208 "The Trial of Lord William Russell," 653.
209 L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue,* 7 September 1681.
210 *A Pindarique Ode upon the late Horrid and Damnable Whiggish Plot* (London, 1684), 3
211 *A Pindarique Ode*, 3.

Monmouth and Essex both were Stung, And many more by this [Shaftesbury's] Envenom'd Tongue; And strait they all began to Swell, From Sense and Reason strait they Fell; And Melancholly Fumes possess'd their Brain, And they would all be kings, and all wou'd Raign. Hence their disorder'd passion Springs, And spitting Venom on the best of kings.[212]

Evidence of the national threat may have been less during the Protestant Plots than a few years earlier; nevertheless, the constancy of national emotional appeals indicates the normative power of English patriotism during the seventeenth century. Regardless of the side one chose in the partisan conflicts of the Exclusion Crisis, the invocation of England's security and reputation was guaranteed to ensure some support. In pursuit of this goal, pamphleteers supporting the king depicted treason not merely as dangerous but as irrational, a product of "melancholly fumes", which possessed individuals to rebel against their sovereign and threaten their nation.

The historiography of patriotism and nationalism has generally considered the two as distinct phenomena. Patriotism is variously portrayed as weak or constructive and critical of the state, while nationalism is often perceived as a far more powerful and destructive force, and characterised by blind obedience. The evidence considered in this chapter strongly suggests that in Restoration England at least, patriotism and nationalism were not distinct; rather they co-existed on a sliding scale of the complex manifestations of fear and anger that consolidated the bond between individual and country. Connor characterised this bond particularly well when he argued that patriotism resulted in the conviction that the fate of the individual was tied to the "fortunes of the nation".[213] The

---

[212]*A Pindarique Ode*, 1.
[213] Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty,* 77.

emotional attachment to England was a fundamental aspect of individual identity during the reign of Charles II.

As responses to the Bawdy House Riots and the Popish and Protestant Plots indicate, regardless of one's political and/or religious affiliations, the powerful emotional attachment to England did not waver; rather we see a coherence of emotional expression that transcended political battle lines. When the nation was seen to be threatened, it raised the most basic of protective instincts resulting in expressions of fear and anger, in the same manner as the kinship-like bond proposed by Benedict Anderson. During the Bawdy House Riots, those who believed their personal safety or social status to be threatened by the rioters were united by their fears. However, fear of the danger the rioters posed to the English nation was an even greater unifying force, which acted at all levels of English society. This phenomenon was evident even in the divisive period marked by the Exclusion Crisis. Nevertheless, although the bond between subject and nation remained constant throughout the period, emotional responses indicate that conceptions of what constituted the nation did not.

During the first decade of the Restoration, responses to the Bawdy House Riots suggest that many considered the Stuarts synonymous with the English nation. The crown's construction of mob action against Stuart policy as treason was generally accepted, with pity for the rioters' fate subjugated to fear for England's peace and security. In the 1670s, the automatic identification of monarch with nation was sorely tested by the alliances of the Stuart brothers with France, during the third Anglo-Dutch war, and because of the Modenese match. This, in conjunction with evidence of Louis XIV's aspiration to universal monarchy, not only inflamed English anti-popery but also enabled parliament to re-establish itself as the champion of Protestant England. The

"imagined community" of the nation was no longer as dependent on the person of the monarch as responses to Charles II's Restoration a decade previously had suggested. This change did not undermine the attachment to England, which remained a powerful constructive force, but it did divide the nation along political and religious lines. The next chapter delves deeper into the destructive, or rather deconstructive, nature of the patriotic imperative, encapsulated by the "disorder'd passions" of the traitors and their supporters, as it examines the emotionology of sub-national communities during the period associated with the rise of the Whig and Tory parties.

CHAPTER 4

EMOTIONAL COMMUNITIES IN OPPOSITION?

Although national identity dominated seventeenth-century political rhetoric, the increasingly evident divisions between those loyal to the king and his opponents begs the question of whether there were distinct sub-national emotional communities in the politics of Restoration England. This chapter contends that in the first decade of Charles II's reign, religious divisions fractured political loyalties and facilitated the creation of emotional communities, which functioned to bolster distinct political identities. Benjamin Kaplan has contended that religious unity, of the kind Charles II attempted to create through the Act of Uniformity (1662), could only succeed "by maintaining publicly a single official faith but allowing dissenters to worship either outside the borders of the community or inside a newly defined public sphere".[1] Despite promises made even before Charles II's return to England, toleration for Protestant dissenters was fragile at best. Even preoccupation with the Popish Plot was insufficient to erase such divisions. Tim Harris demonstrated in his study of the crowd politics of London the "shared hatred" of Catholics was not capable of "smoothing over tensions within English Protestantism".[2]

It was against this background of simmering, and sometimes boiling, religious tensions that the battle for subjects' allegiance was fought between various political factions and the king. With few exceptions however, expressions of fear during the Restoration period could not be associated with deference to divine providence, which, it

---

[1] Kaplan, *Divided by Faith,* 12.

[2] Harris, *London Crowds,* 156. It should be noted that some scholars have expressed reservations with the applicability of the Habermasian concept of the "public sphere" to the early modern period. The nature of seventeenth-century politics, and indeed the semantic connotations of the term "private" make the public/private distinction particularly problematic in this period, Condren, Conal, "Public, Private and the Idea of the 'Public Sphere' in Early-modern England," *Intellectual History Review,* 19, no. 1(2009): 15 – 28.

has been suggested, characterised fear during the preceding centuries.[3] This chapter contends that late seventeenth-century expressions of both fear and anger are better understood as markers of loyalty not only to the nation, but also to particular political/religious groups.

In the latter decades of Charles II's reign, the identification of distinct emotional communities becomes more difficult within Restoration politics. Loyalist and opposition identities were a complex affair during the Restoration period. Gary S. De Krey has noted the caution with which recent historians have approached the writing of partisan political history during the early modern period in general.[4] Nevertheless both De Krey and Mark Knights have convincingly demonstrated that there were clear political and religious distinctions integral to the formation and function of the Whig and Tory parties.[5] However, neither the Whigs nor the Tories could be classified as homogenous groups on the basis of the political ideology of their constituents. In addition, this chapter contends that despite the rhetoric, the emotions expressed indicate that both those loyal and opposed to the king shared more in terms of their political passions than their political identities suggested.

1 – COLLECTIVE EMOTION THEORY AND EMOTIONAL COMMUNITIES

The modern perception of emotions as internalised and individual belies the importance that community plays in both past and present perceptions, experiences and expressions

---

[3] William Naphy and Penny Roberts have argued that "in a religious age it was perhaps inevitable that both fears and their remedies were perceived in terms of divine providence," fears which Jean Delumeau argued intensified from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, William Naphy and Penny Roberts, "Introduction," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 4. Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th - 18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990). For criticisms of this thesis see Peter Stearns, "Review: Sin and Fear," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 1 (1992): 157.

[4] Gary S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 272.

[5] De Krey, *London and the Restoration,* 331; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation,* 28.

of socially constructed emotions. The work of Gail Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson on the depiction of early modern passion in literature, and Susan James' work on early modern theories of emotion, suggest that passions were shared rather than private experiences during this period.[6] There are however modern theories of collective emotion and group formation, which are useful in formulating an understanding of the ways in which collective emotions functioned in early modern society. Collective emotion refers to the phenomenon of shared emotion within discrete groups and is defined as the way in which group membership influences emotional experience and expression, creating "similarities that would not be exhibited if the individuals concerned did not belong to the same group."[7] According to sociologist Helena Flam, "collective emotions and feeling rules are of interest not only because they expand our research horizon, but because they possess a great explanatory power." In her study of the emotions experienced and expressed by social movements, Flam argued that "collective emotions and feeling rules pertaining to movement collectivities produce significant action and structural consequences."[8]

This thesis is chiefly concerned with the ability of early modern emotions to influence behaviour and effect political change, therefore it is necessary to understand the "collectivities" or groups that constituted the key players in Restoration politics. Since the perpetrators, victims, prosecutors and spectators of treason were part of, and often acted in, distinctive groups, any exploration of historical passions related to the trial for treason must take into account collective emotions. Methods for defining groups are

---

[6] Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Paster, Rowe, and Floyd-Wilson, eds., *Reading the Early Modern Emotions*.
[7] Brian Parkinson, Agneta Fischer, and Antony Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations: Cultural, Group and Interpersonal Processes* (New York; Hove: Psychology Press, 2005), 87.
[8] Helena Flam, "Emotions' Map: A Research Agenda," in *Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Helena Flam and Debra king (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 20.

generally divided into intrinsic and derivative categories. The former includes self-categorisation, identifying a common fate shared by members, structural factors such as roles and status, and/or regular face-to-face interaction.[9] In seventeenth-century England, the national group explored in the previous chapter was an intrinsic one with which all individuals identified.[10] In contrast, the members of derivatively social groups "share a common attribute that is regarded by *others* as socially significant on the basis of certain arrangements, conventions or agreements".[11]

In the modern context, psychologists and sociologists have explored the nature of the relationship between emotional expression and group identity. Defining the group is important, as emotional convergence within groups may be a reflection of "emotional contagion", arising solely from the physical proximity of others expressing emotions, rather than a function of group membership.[12] In modern sociological theory, collective emotions transpire because "group membership leads to shared ways of interpreting and evaluating potentially emotional events and to shared norms that govern the appropriateness of experiencing and expressing emotions in particular contexts".[13] Parkinson, Fischer and Manstead posited a number of reasons for the existence of emotional congruence within groups. These consisted of exposure to similar "emotional objects and events"; the exertion of "mutual influence"; the likelihood of group members sharing particular norms and values; the likelihood that group membership forms a part of individual member identity; and the possibility that "a set of people might actually define itself around the notion of expressing-experiencing a particular emotion".[14]

---

[9] Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations*, 89.

[10] The political expedience of identifying oneself with the nation is discussed further in chapter six.

[11] Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations,* 96

[12] Emotional contagion occurs when "emotion spreads from person to person, the resulting shared behaviors and experiences [can] encourage the perception that the affected people constitute a group," Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations,* 91.

[13] Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations,* 92.

[14] Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations,* 87-88.

Cognitive theorists see emotion as arising from appraisals of the function of the group in individual member identity; "[group] emotions are ones that are experienced and expressed when social identities are at stake and when events occur that challenge or support these identities".[15] In addition, modern psychological research has shown that emotions expressed by groups can be exacerbated by "priming" group identity. This "priming" acts by reminding individuals of their group identity either explicitly or implicitly, resulting in heightening of the attendant emotional responses.[16] This chapter demonstrates that the priming of group identity was of considerable significance, particularly in the emotional strategies employed by Restoration polemicists, both opposition and loyalist, although it did not always achieve the intended outcome.

The work of Barbara Rosenwein on medieval European emotional expression supports the historical applicability of these modern theories of emotion. Rosenwein posited that people lived in "emotional communities", which were governed by "systems of feeling". These systems were determined by "what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bond between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore."[17] This definition is reminiscent of the theories of *annaliste* historians of mentalities, who argued that mentalities were defined as unconscious thought processes and conditioning which "cause a group or society to share, without the

---

[15] For example, it was posited that pride would result from achievement of group goals, sadness from loss of something that was important to the achievement of those goals, and anger would arise in the event of goals being challenged, Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead, *Emotion in Social Relations,* 97.
[16] Charles R. Seger, Eliot R. Smith, and Diane M. Mackie, "Subtle Activation of a Social Categorization Triggers Group-Level Emotions," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45, no. 3 (2009): 460.
[17] Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History," 842.

need to make them explicit, a system of representations and a system of values."[18] Where Rosenwein's approach differs is in the consciousness of her emotional communities, which did not depict individuals as the *annaliste* approach did, "as passive slaves to their own mental structures".[19]

This chapter contends that in terms of the "systems of feeling", which delineate emotional communities, a divide did exist between radical and royalist in the struggles between religious nonconformists and the Stuart court in the 1660s. In the case of the Bawdy House Riots, the Crown and radical religious nonconformists seemed in many instances unable to comprehend the emotional expressions of each other. Given that emotions are tools for communication, the fact that something was clearly lost in translation is evidence for the existence of discrete emotional communities. However, it is more difficult to argue that this division remained to the end of Charles II's reign. Although the objects of opposition and loyalist fears were often diametrically opposed, patterns of emotional congruence during the Exclusion Crisis suggest that both groups used very similar means of expression and both claimed to be driven by their love of nation and their fear for its security. This suggests that the political divisions of the latter half of Charles II's reigns were not a manifestation of discrete emotional communities.

2 – IDENTITIES IN OPPOSITION

Fear of persecution predominated in nonconformist emotional identity as religious dissenters often perceived themselves to be at the mercy of the king. However, the Charles II's inability to make good on his political promises in the Declaration of Breda

---

[18] Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History?," in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, ed. Dominic La Capra and Steven Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 23.
[19] Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History," 831.

(1660) meant that nonconformist fear quickly turned to anger as dissenters strove to renegotiate their relationship with the king.[20] The gratitude nonconformists were expected to show to Charles II because of his promise of liberty of conscience, quickly soured as a result of growing fears of religious persecution.[21] The problem from the perspective of nonconformists was simply stated in a letter to New England; "[a] toleration is expected since the king's declaration, but the bishops abhor it, as they only subsist by rigour and persecution, and would scarcely have any frequenters, if there were freedom".[22]

By the end of 1661, two years before the above letter was written, it was clear that the king's dedication to ensuring religious liberty was wavering, and over the next decade it would only become increasingly difficult for dissenters to practice their religion. Alexandra Walsham has contended that from the early modern perspective toleration was an "anathema, a recipe for chaos and anarchy . . . [a]ny country that permitted religious pluralism was thus committing corporate suicide."[23] For Protestant dissenters however, toleration was the only chance that they might be allowed to continue their forms of worship. Nonconformists from diverse counties printed a plea for Charles to provide "no more than what Your Majesty was pleased to promise from Breda".[24] While Charles II and his advisors may have hoped for or even expected gratitude and loyalty, the king's inability to keep the promise of toleration meant that nonconformists were more likely to

---

[20] Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668," 545-46. The theoretical work of Parkinson, Fischer and Manstead suggests that, where social identities are at stake and when group goals are threatened, anger is the collective emotion most likely to be expressed.

[21] This emotional norm was particularly evident in courtiers' responses to the riots, discussed further in chapter seven.

[22] "John to [William Hooke] Davenport, at Boston, New England, 2 March1663," SP 29/69 f.6.

[23] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred,* 2.

[24] *Humble Petition of Certain Baptized Christians (untruly called Anabaptists) of the Counties of Kent, Sussex, Bucks, Dorset, Lincoln and Nottingham* (London, 1661). See also SP 29/48 f.45.

respond with fear or anger. Some dissenters or nonconformist sympathisers begged for both toleration and moderation on reasonable grounds.

Writing to the Secretary of State, Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, John Rede begged to "suggest a plan to prevent the necessity of restraining persons of their liberty for conscience' sake." For although "[s]ome are taken for plotting at conventicles to stir up insurrections," Rede knew "many good people, who do not think it right to attend their parish church nor will be compelled by persecution; men should not be allowed to attack these at their devotions and take them to prison, except by warrant."[25] Rede's protestations notwithstanding, the conflict escalated because the protests for liberty of conscience that occupied most of the Crown's attention were irate demands or thinly-veiled threats rather than pleas on legal or humanitarian grounds. Indeed, it is in the threat assessments made by various political and religious communities that one can see the extent to which passions, and in particular fear, acted as a cohesive force.

By 1661, overt displays of anger were cracking the veneer of gratitude that had coated affective expressions in 1660. Numerous publications condemning the treatment of dissenters had begun to appear.[26] The issue was of such vital importance to many that increasing reports suggested thousands were willing to take arms, "to force the king to perform his promises made at Breda, grant liberty of conscience to all but Romanists," along with the ever-popular demands of removing "excise, chimney-money, and all taxes whatever".[27] Most complaints were made anonymously, however some carried the courage of their convictions to lengths, which threatened their lives. Charles Bayley

---

[25] J. Rede, "J. Rede to Lord Arlington, 5 Sept. 1665," SP 29/132 f.50.

[26] John Lovewel, *The Unjust and Arbitrary Proceedings of Some Souldiers and Justices against Some Sober Godly Persons, in and near London* (London, 1661); John Crook, *Liberty of Conscience Asserted* (London, 1661).

[27] "Information of Capt. Robt. Atkinson, 26 Nov. 1663," SP 29/84 f.85.

signed his name to a declaration purportedly from the king of Heaven to the king of England ordering Charles II "to open the prison doors for those who suffer for conscience' sake, and he shall prosper, but if he refuse, his enemies shall grow stronger and he weaker, and desolation come on his family and friends."[28] Although he claimed to bear the message in the spirit of peace and good will, the not-so-subtle threat was not viewed well by the Court.[29] Astrologer Peter Heyden, predicted that liberty of conscience "would be [restored] in time, and those who would lord it over the best subjects of the kingdom, and offer them up to slaughter like tame sheep, would find themselves deceived."[30] Both Bayley and Heyden found themselves committed to the Tower of London. The crown deemed it necessary to take measures to ensure that those responsible for potentially inflammatory publications, and prophesies, were prevented from plying their trades.

The great fire of London in 1666 only fanned the flames of apprehension that licked at Protestant conformists and nonconformists alike. One Captain John, reporting to a friend on the desolation that the fire had wrought both on London and on his soul, stated "Men differ about how it began, but all agree that it was the anger of the Lord for the sins of the people."[31] In nonconformist systems of feeling, the fear of religious persecution resulted in a concerted effort by some to lay the blame for the inferno at the feet of the "Popish party" at Charles II's court, which in turn did little to dampen the

---

[28] "A few words of good counsel and advice unto the King of England from the king of Heaven, May 1667," SP 29/202 f.92.

[29] Bayley contended in the declaration that he wished Charles II "to help the innocent, to remember his promises made in secret to the Lord, and in public to his people, and restore liberty of conscience; then there would be no plot nor conspiracy against him, as it would remove the very ground of evil surmisings, and the nation would be the happiest under heaven," "A few words of good counsel and advice unto the King of England from the king of Heaven, May 1667," SP 29/202 f.92.

[30] "Astrological predictions on the questions propounded to Peter Heyden, Feb. 1667," SP 29/192 f.185.

[31] "Capt. John to Phil. Pedder of Newport, 13 Sept. 1666," SP 29/171 f.130. See also Hugh Acland, "Hugh Acland to Williamson, 13 Sept. 1666," SP 29/171 f.116.

courtiers' fears of nonconformists.[32] Nonconformist expressions of fear in the case of the fire were characteristic of "scapegoating", a process which William Naphy and Penny Roberts have argued "indicates the ability of fear to act as a unifying factor, reinforcing solidarities between social groups, and encouraging co-operation."[33] For dissenters, fear of persecution acted effectively as a "unifying factor" within nonconformist groups, particularly when fuelled by the progressively harsher measures meted out by the crown to those who preferred alternatives to worship within the Anglican Church. As a result, expressions of fear also provide a thorough description of the power relations between the royal court and nonconformists from the perspective of the latter. Instead of expressing confidence in the Stuart monarchy's power to protect and improve the lives of its subjects as the Declaration of Breda had intimated, many nonconformists perceived themselves to be powerless in the face of an increasingly Catholic court. These fears would find expression in the brothel riots during the Easter holidays of 1668.

During the riots, it became evident just how successfully nonconformists could tip the scales to their advantage by employing anger, fuelled by disappointment at the failure of the king to make good on his earlier promise of toleration, which was compounded by the perception of an increasingly Popish court. Over the Easter holidays of 1668, the anger of the rioters was particularly effective in terrifying the courtiers. When, on the final day, the rioters were confronted by a mounted force they responded thus;

> [W]hen it was given out that Sir Philip Howard was the Duke of York, thinking
> thereby they would be appeas'd, they were enrag'd the more and declar'd, that if

---

[32] Naphy and Roberts, "Introduction," 3. J. Bentham, "[Dr.] J. B[entham] to [Joseph Williamson], 15 July 1667," SP 29/441 f.58.

[33] Naphy and Roberts, "Introduction," 3.

the king would not give them Liberty of Conscience, they would make May-day a bloody May-day.[34]

During their trial, the rioters attempted to defend themselves against charges of treason by claiming they were merely swept up in the riot. If true, this would indicate that the process of emotional contagion was at work, inspiring anger in the same way that it had elicited fear from courtiers while the rioters were abroad in the streets of London. Peter Messenger, for example, argued that he had been physically coerced into joining the riots; "my Lord, as I pass'd along by the Rout, they flung a Bottle at me, and had like to have knockt me down, and tore my Apron off, and charg'd me to carry it on a Pole; and I would fain have come away from them, and I could not."[35] In Messenger's case however, neither Kelyng nor the jury were inclined to accept his defence that he had only acted as standard-bearer under duress.

Public acceptance of emotional contagion may have influenced the "special verdict" suggested by the judges and accepted by the jury, which gave judges discretionary power over the sentencing of individual rioters; and in eleven of the fifteen cases, the judiciary were far more lenient than a charge of treason would traditionally allow. Nevertheless, for four of the rioters the judges agreed that the intent to threaten the monarchy was present. In particular, they pointed to the use of anti-Stuart slogans through which the riots' ringleaders actively encouraged collective anger among the crowd.[36] That the rioters on trial had been able to gather multitudes of people over several days, enough to outnumber troops brought in to contain them, testifies to the ability of righteous anger to engender collective violence.

---

[34]*The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason*, 30.

[35] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason,* 10.

[36] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason,* 24.

In his study of the Dutch Revolt in 1566, Peter Arnade demonstrated that, far from being "cauldrons of extreme emotion", the iconoclastic rioters of the Dutch Revolt used anger strategically.[37] He argued that "it expressed the iconoclasts' commitment to Reformed theology, positioned their actions within a broader context of the concurrent protest waged by the Grandees and Confederates, and gave voice to a social ethic particular to the small towns and villages."[38] A century later, violent expressions of collective anger were similarly used as strategic tools for political resistance. In the Bawdy House Riots, popular anger manifested in collective violence in order to renegotiate the king's authority over dissenters, and in particular to wring concessions of religious liberty from the Stuarts anxious to consolidate their power. Contempt and anger towards Charles II and the duke of York were also among the key emotions expressed on the street in response to the treatment of the rioters, both during and after the action. Some Londoners in particular identified themselves as supporters of the rioters' cause. On the second day of the riots, Pepys reported "some young men we saw brought by soldiers to the guard at White-hall, and overheard others that stood by say that it was only for pulling down of bawdy-houses. And none of the bystanders finding fault with them, but rather of the soldiers for hindering them."[39]

Rioting as an expression of collective anger has often been assumed rather than explored in detail.[40] However, Lauro Martines has demonstrated that there exists a

---

[37] Peter Arnade, "The Rage of "Canaille": The Logic of Fury in the Iconoclasm of Riots of 1566," in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th -16th Century)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Studies in European Urban History* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 101.

[38] Arnade, "The Rage of "Canaille," 111.

[39] Pepys, *Diary,* 129.

[40] Allard Feddes, Liesbeth Mann, and Bertran Doosje, "From Extreme Emotions to Extreme Actions: Explaining Non-Normative Collective Action and Reconcilliation," *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 35, no. 6 (2012). In the early modern context, studies such as that of Jessica Warner, Kathryn Graham and Edward Adlaf have recorded riots and even analysed the gendered nature of collective violence, but have not explored the emotional basis of rioting; Jessica Warner, Kathryn Graham, and Edward Adlaf, "Women Behaving Badly: Gender and Aggression in a Military Town, 1653 - 1781," *Sex Roles* 52, no. 5 (2005).

"phantom authority which violence *per se* may suddenly acquire, when it is sensational, successful, and goes unpunished".[41] Even in cases where the violence was punished by the Crown, the "logic of fury", as Arnade termed it, conferred emotional and political authority on opposition actors. The case of the Bawdy House Riots clearly demonstrates an analogous relationship between anger and collective violence. Anger on behalf of the rioters acted effectively to induct even those individuals not directly involved in the tumults into a community united by emotional expression. Of equal importance was the role of public anger in contesting the norms of authority and subordination to the king that the Stuarts attempted to encourage. As was the case with those directly involved in the riots, by finding fault with the soldiers, spectators were openly challenging the crown's authority manifested in the soldiers' efforts to keep, or rather restore the peace.

Intelligence received by Secretary of State Joseph Williamson demonstrates the success achieved by the nonconformists. From those supporting the courtiers' perspective of the riots, it was clear that leniency in the execution of justice posed a danger to the monarchy, the people and the nation. For example, the discharge of Quaker minister and leader Margaret Fell "from her easy imprisonment . . . encourage[d] the rabble of fanatics, and discourage[d] all magistrates acting against them". Three months after the riots, it seemed to one of the Secretary of State's informants that "it is now become a general policy to comply with the nonconformists, which much increases their number and confidence." [42] Williamson's informant was not mistaken in his assessment of the situation, as other intelligence suggests that the radical or nonconformist element within

---

[41] Lauro Martines, "The Authority of Violence: Notes on Renaissance Florence," in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th Century)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Studies in European Urban History (11-1800)* (Turnhout: Brepols 2005), 39.
[42] Dan Fleming, "Dan Fleming to Williamson, 21 Aug. 1668," SP 29/245 f.23.

English society was indeed encouraged by the riots.[43] Despite these predictions of revolution, the "general policy to comply" with dissenters also had its basis in a thorough and sensible understanding of seventeenth-century passions and their effectiveness as drivers of individual and collective behaviour, and of the support that nonconformists enjoyed.

Fear of nonconformist rebellion also had a unifying effect on the Stuart court during the Bawdy House Riots. The initial emotional response by Charles II and James, duke of York, is suggestive of an unequal balance of power between sovereign and subject, where the monarch would have little to fear from the rabble no matter how unruly. The royal brothers expressed either annoyance or amusement, which implies that they were convinced of their immunity from popular politics. Samuel Pepys, with his close connections to the royal court, wrote of the king's reaction to the news that the apprentices were destroying brothels; "they do give out that they are for pulling down of bawdy-houses, which is one of the great grievances of the nation. To which the king made a very poor, cold, insipid answer: "Why, why do they go to them then?", and that was all, and had no mind to go on with the discourse."[44] The duke of York could not contain his amusement at the destruction of one brothel in particular; "all with [York] this morning were full of the talk of the prentices . . . the Duke of York was mighty merry at that [destruction] of Damaris Page's, the great bawd of the seamen." [45] The nature of the responses suggests that, at the initial stage of the riot, neither Charles II nor James saw

---

[43] H. H., "H. H. to Sir Rob. Carr, 27 Mar. 1668" SP 29/237 f.94; see also Greaves, "Let the Truth Be Free," 597.

[44] Pepys, *Diary,* 129.

[45] Pepy, *Diary*, 132; The Duke of York's amusement however turned to irritation when he learned that two of his own tenants had been victimised.

the apprentices as a threat to either their persons or the hierarchical relationship between the king and his subjects.

The emotional responses of the courtiers indicate that they felt no such security. A description by Samuel Pepys suggests that fear was the primary basis of the courtiers' responses to the riots.

> [B]ack to White-hall, where great talk of the tumult at the other end of the town about Moorefields among the prentices, taking the liberty of these holidays to pull down bawdy-houses. And Lord, to see the apprehensions which this did give to all people at Court, that presently the order was given for all the soldiers, horse and foot, to be in armes; and forthwith alarmes were beat by drum and trumpet through Westminster, and all to their colours and to horse, as if the French were coming into the town.[46]

In part, this apprehension was a result of the courtiers' presentiments of danger to their physical security. Although it was highly unlikely that they would be confronted by the rabble, the unprecedented nature of the riots and resulting uncertainty were compounded by gossip among the courtiers, which served to exacerbate the fear for their personal safety.

The courtiers' apprehension was transmitted to Pepys who left the tavern before dark on the second night of the riots, a rare occurrence for him, "being in fear of meeting the prentices, who are many of them yet, they say, abroad in the fields."[47] Such evidence is suggestive of the phenomenon of emotional "contagion", in this case the transmission of fear through proximity to subjects already in its grasp. However, expressions of fear

---

[46] Pepys, *Diary*, 129
[47]Pepys, *Diary,* 133.

from those further afield indicate that one could view those loyal to the Stuarts as an emotional community. A letter by one of Sir John Williamson's country informants demonstrates that the trepidation felt by the elite at the actions of the rioters was by no means confined to those at the king's court. Richard Forster wrote to the Secretary of State from Newcastle expressing his apprehension at the "strange Report" of insurrection in the city.[48] This suggests the existence of a collective fear expressed among individuals who came together because of self-identification with the group most threatened by the rioters' demands.

From the courtiers' perspective, the riots posed a direct challenge to their identity and group goals for social and political security in a newly restored Stuart monarchy, threatened by the apparently subversive aims of the rioters. Expressions of loyalist fear therefore depict an inversion of the nonconformist perspective of power relations in Restoration England, which saw the Stuarts as the dominant partner. However, there was an effort to expand the group for which the Charles II's wellbeing was synonymous with that of the individual. Expressions of fear of rebellion are also suggestive of deliberate attempts to encourage that identification through the construction of emotional norms.

In the case of the relationship between the king and nonconformists, this is most evident in judicial expressions of fear both within the courtroom and without. Lord Chief Justice Kelyng had contended that "no man [was] safe" from the consequences of the rioters' attempts to reform Church and state, and in so doing encouraged the jurors and public audience to identify with the courtiers' assessment of the threat posed by dissenters.[49] Unlike the courtiers' expressions, which were often focused on the

---

[48]Richard Forster, "Rich. Forster to Williamson, 28 March1668," SP 29/237 f.111.
[49]*The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason,* 14.

individual, the judicial response to the riots suggests that the judges perceived public emotion as something that could be influenced for the greater good; even more so if the greater good happened to coincide with support of a regime upon which the judge's position depended.

However, there is evidence that not all accepted this construction of the rioters as a threat to national security. Roger L'Estrange clearly understood the extent of the support if not for the rioters, then for liberty of conscience. Consequently, L'Estrange was well aware of the risk that intensifying the anger and fear of persecution among the wider population posed for the stability of the monarchy. His responses to potentially subversive publications demonstrate his perception that public anger was something to be managed rather than suppressed, for the latter was more likely to exacerbate the situation. L'Estrange's comments on a pamphlet entitled *Liberty of Conscience* argued that it was "rather to be answered than punished, except as an unlicensed pamphlet." A more inflammatory publication, the *Saints' Freedom,* had "direct treason in it, and a little patience would have brought it home, but the alarm is now so hot that all are upon their guard."[50]

L'Estrange's comments over licensing, the pursuit of sedition and "treasonable words", suggest that he recognised the importance of moderation and pragmatism in response to dissent to ensure political stability. In the unpredictable emotional climate of the 1660s, he argued "[i]f you cannot make sure of destroying the offenders utterly, it will be better to let them alone till an opportunity offers of making them sure".[51] L'Estrange's astute perspective on the management of public passions not only

---

[50] Roger L'Estrange, "Roger L'Estrange to Williamson, 24 April1668," SP 29/238 f.231.
[51] L'Estrange, "Roger L'Estrange to Williamson, 24 April1668,".

demonstrates that Restoration politics, both high and low, was a matter for careful negotiation, but also suggests the increasingly evident nature of opposition to Charles II. Indeed Pepys was certain that the printing and distribution of such pamphlets must be evidence "that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the king or Court or Government."[52]

Anger was not the sole emotion that characterised the opposing emotional norms. The prudence of L'Estrange's approach is also borne out by the expressions of pity, the most common passion evident in pamphlets. This pity was generally related to the consequences of the riots both for England and for the rioters. [53] Pity for the rioters was the most dangerous from the perspective of the king, as it indicated that many of the public identified with the rioters' cause. Sir Robert Carr's informant, for example, reported that the coffeehouse chatter indicated there were some of the opinion that "if they [the rioters] meddle with nothing but bawdy houses, they do but the magistrates' drudgery".[54] The evidence in the case of the Bawdy House riots suggests that any pity expressed was based less on admiration of the rioters themselves and more on identification with their professed cause of liberty of conscience, the belief upon which radical identity was founded, and the punishment of immorality.[55] The author of *The Citizens Reply*, which was penned as the conservative answer to the riots and clearly condemned the riotous action, also expressed sympathy with the cause; articulating a clear distinction between the demands for liberty of conscience, and those "serpents"

---

[52] L'Estrange, "Roger L'Estrange to Williamson, 24 April 1668."
[53] *The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition*.
[54] H. H., "H. H. to Sir Rob. Carr, 27 Mar. 1668," 310.
[55] This is in contrast to Peter Linebaugh's and Andrea McKenzie's examinations of responses to eighteenth-century hangings in London, which have both identified sympathy for criminal defendants as a response predicated on admiration of those on trial. A visitor to the trial of a notorious robber or highwayman, for example, might "detect [the onlookers'] eager sympathy and the note of hero-worship for the defendants," Andrea McKenzie, "Martyrs in Low Life? Dying "Game" in Augustan England," *The Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 199; Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London; New York: Verso, 2003), 86.

"who by pretence of punishing of Whores Doe rob and steal from them their wealth and stores".[56] In emphasising this division, the authors of the various pamphlets were able to condemn the actions of the rioters and support the justice of the punishment meted out to them, without directly attacking the principles for which the rioters purportedly stood.

However, the lack of explicitly anti-court responses during the riots suggests that Crown's efforts were successful, if only at suppressing rather than eliminating opposition. The pamphlets that the trial of the rioters inspired support this contention. While all of the pamphlets refer to a sense of sadness at the defendants' fates, they placed greater emphasis on the rioters' misjudgement and the inevitable consequences. As *The Prentices Answer* counselled, "[l]et our advice to so much goodness win ye, As not to stirre unless the Devils in ye," for the swift and terminal execution of justice was portrayed, if not perceived, as the inevitable outcome of insurrection.[57] As chapter two has demonstrated, many appeared convinced that justice had to be severe to ensure that the public learned the lesson of the consequences of tumultuous behaviour. Nevertheless, patterns of expression of fear, anger, and pity suggest a divide between those who saw the riots as a clear threat and those who identified with the rioters' aims. This is consistent with the gap between the aims of loyalist and nonconformist groups widening with every attempt by the crown to reverse the perceived gains made for nonconformist toleration during the Interregnum.[58]

Although in the case of Whigs and Tories one might expect the same phenomenon to be at work, the evidence and the historiography suggest a less clearly defined situation

---

[56]*The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer*.
[57] *The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition*.
[58] Cath Harris, "Liberty of Conscience in Action: James Naylor and the Second Protectorate parliament, 1656," *Melbourne Historical Journal* (2001). See also John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 169-72.

during the Exclusion crisis. A number of historians have identified the rise of coherent political parties during the Restoration period. Scholars such as Andrew Browning, David Ogg and James Jones have argued that Whig and Tory parties came to fruition during the Exclusion Crisis, in the context of the growing prestige of parliament and the consummate party management of individuals such as Baron Clifford and the earls of Clarendon, Arlington, Danby and Shaftesbury.[59] In contrast, Paul Seaward, Jonathon Scott and Mark Knights have contended that there was nothing new in party management during the Restoration and that competing factions still primarily drove political groupings.[60] Scott and Knights in particular have argued that the structure of Restoration politics during the 1670s and 1680s "owed more to the bonds of ideology than to party-enforced cohesion."[61] There is certainly evidence that contemporaries intrinsically and explicitly identified themselves as members of distinct political communities. As Luttrell noted in 1681, many Londoners "have of late distinguisht themselves by wearing some red and some blew ribbons in their hats, the red signifying those that are for the duke of York, the blew those that are for the duke of Monmouth."[62]

This public display of collective identity was the most overt demonstration of a split along proto-party lines, which had become evident from the beginning of the Popish Plot in 1678. On 20 November 1678, the House of Lords had returned the Bill for Exclusion of the duke of York to the House of Commons with the proviso that the duke be exempt from taking either the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy or the Test,

---

[59] Andrew Browning, "Parties and Party Organisation in the Reign of Charles II," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30(1948); David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 606; James R. Jones, *The First Whigs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 9.

[60] Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*, 144; Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament*, 99; Scott, "Radicalism and Restoration," 458, 64.

[61] Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*, 144; Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683*, 11-14.

[62] Luttrell, 111.

preventing those who refused the Anglican sacrament from civil or military service.[63] Roger Morrice noted "the Commons past that Proviso about the Duke . . . by 2 voices 158 and 156. This was the first division, and the measure surely of all others".[64] However, this distinction did not extend to emotional divisions of sufficient divergence to delineate emotional communities. The remainder of this chapter demonstrates that the power of ideology to bind together individuals in political collectives, while in part dependent on collective emotion, was not sufficient to generate distinct emotional communities.

A decade after the Bawdy House Riots, a secure foundation for the reformed religion was still perceived as lacking by those who would by the end of the 1670s prove to be firmly opposed to the king and his brother and heir. The 1670s and 1680s were a period during which the king's opponents often deployed the hopes and fears of the English public as weapons in the struggle against the perceived inevitability of the succession of a Catholic monarch. The frenzy of the Popish Plot at the end of the decade had its basis in public concerns, which had been merely suppressed rather than allayed by the end of the preceding decade. Chief among them were the apprehensions surrounding the Anglo-French alliance and the succession of the duke of York. In the 1670s Charles II had yet to produce a legitimate Protestant heir, and his younger brother appeared poised to become England's first Catholic monarch since Mary I, whose favourite pastime, pamphleteers were wont to recall, included burning Protestants. The pamphleteers of the Popish Plot inevitably drew historical parallels in order to show the public the true horrors of Catholicism, claiming that "England, the Land of our Nativity, has suffered deeply under their Tyranny". [65] At the conclusion of the third Anglo-Dutch

---

[63] Andrew Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 146-147.
[64] Morrice, 82.
[65] *A Brief Narrative*, 1.

war, *Verbum Sapienti* had summarised the predominant concern, which remained at the forefront of Restoration politics until its resolution in 1688. The author questioned

> Whether it be not much more dangerous to have the Crown placed on a Popish head heareafter than to have the office of Admiral of England executed by a Papist now . . . Whether, therefore, it be not high time to consider of settling the succession of the Crown so as may secure us and our posterities from those bloody massacres and inhuman Smithfield butcheries, the certain consequences of a Popish Government.[66]

York's conduct did little to alleviate such fears. From Evelyn's perspective "[t]he truth is, The Roman C[atholics] were Exceeding bold, & busy every where, since the D[uke of York] forbore to go any longer to the Chapell".[67]

Despite seemingly discrete religious identities, the distinction between loyalists and their opponents was far from clear. In her examination of the pamphlet wars that characterised the period from 1678 to 1682, Elizabeth Clarke has argued that there was "a rhetorical struggle over the word 'loyal' and the word 'protestant'", and that any political activist must "represent himself as both genuinely protestant and loyal to the throne."[68] The term "True Protestant" in particular became a trope of "classic popular Whig opposition"; a hallmark of the political conflict between Catholicism and the reformed religion.[69] However, this thesis contends that it was a term, which, during the reign of Charles II, took on considerable significance in defining emotional identity within opposing groups, either derivatively as an insult used in Tory propaganda, or

---

[66] Du Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti."
[67] Evelyn, *Diary,* 256.
[68] Elizabeth Clarke, "Re-Reading the Exclusion Crisis," *The Seventeenth Century* 21, no. 1 (2006): 141.
[69] Clarke, "Re-Reading the Exclusion Crisis,"142.

intrinsically as an integral part of Whig identities. Although scholars have traditionally focused on the period of the Exclusion Crisis in their consideration of the rhetorical construction of factions, this chapter demonstrates that the "True Protestant" identity and its rebellious nature (at least from the perspective of Stuart loyalists) was evident from the beginning of the Restoration period.

That "True Protestant" identity contained elements of disobedience did not necessarily divorce it from mainstream popular politics. "Radical Whig ideology" as Melinda Zook has termed it was characterised by a "secular" and contractual theory of government, "which resonated with political sentiments, opinions, ideas and visions already in circulation and familiar to the public."[70] In her examination of Whig politics from the Exclusion Crisis to the "Glorious Revolution", Melinda Zook defined "radical Whigs" as those willing "to use and justify violence to obtain their ends", namely to exclude James from succeeding the English throne.[71] Although Zook distinguishes these individuals from non-violent Whig exclusionists, this chapter demonstrates that rhetorical violence characterised the passions expressed by most opposition pamphleteers. As a result, there was no pity for the Popish plotters; rather an admixture of fear and anger typified the emotional expression of the opposition community, in both print and perception. However, as this and the following chapter demonstrate, these political passions were as characteristic of loyalists as they were of the king's opponents.

In terms of moulding this fear into a normative force to inspire loyalty to the Stuarts, it was clear that unlike the case of the Bawdy House Riots, the monarchy was no longer able to control public emotion. Although the initial stirring up of fear was aided

---

[70] Melinda Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspirational Politics in Late Stuart England* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania state University Press, 1999), xiv.
[71] Zook, *Radical Whigs,* xiii.

and abetted by the royally appointed judiciary in general and the Lord Chief Justice William Scroggs in particular, the print media played a lead role in maintaining and exacerbating this fear. This is demonstrated by a catalogue of "stitch'd books and single sheets & c. Printed since the First Discovery of the Popish Plot", covering the period from September 1678 to June 1680. The catalogue identified over one thousand publications, the majority of which were concerned with shoring up belief in, and fear of, the existence of Catholic conspirators.[72]

Although the Crown might have wanted to shift the focus from English popery, the city of London did the opposite. The deliberate perpetuation of that fear served to consolidate and maintain the emotional identity of the Whiggish faction among the English populace. In July 1681, the city of London ordered an inscription on the monument to the fire of 1666 "that the fire in that citty was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the papists."[73] This conviction was illustrated by an image attributed to Stephen College (Figure 4), which unequivocally not only linked the fire and Popery but attributed the dangers facing Protestant England entirely to the prospect of a Popish successor, depicted in the central figure of a Janus-faced Pope. Publications such as *Domestick Intelligence* portrayed Catholic behaviour as typically ignominious.[74] From the perspective of a history of emotions, the Whigs' greatest success during the Popish Plot was being able to turn the radical "True Protestant" identity into a national one. In this respect, acts of Popish treason were used to great effect and portrayed as

---

[72] *A Compleat Catalogue of All the Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets Printed since the First Discover of the Popish Plot*, (London, 1680); *A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue*, (London, 1680).
[73] Luttrell, 115.
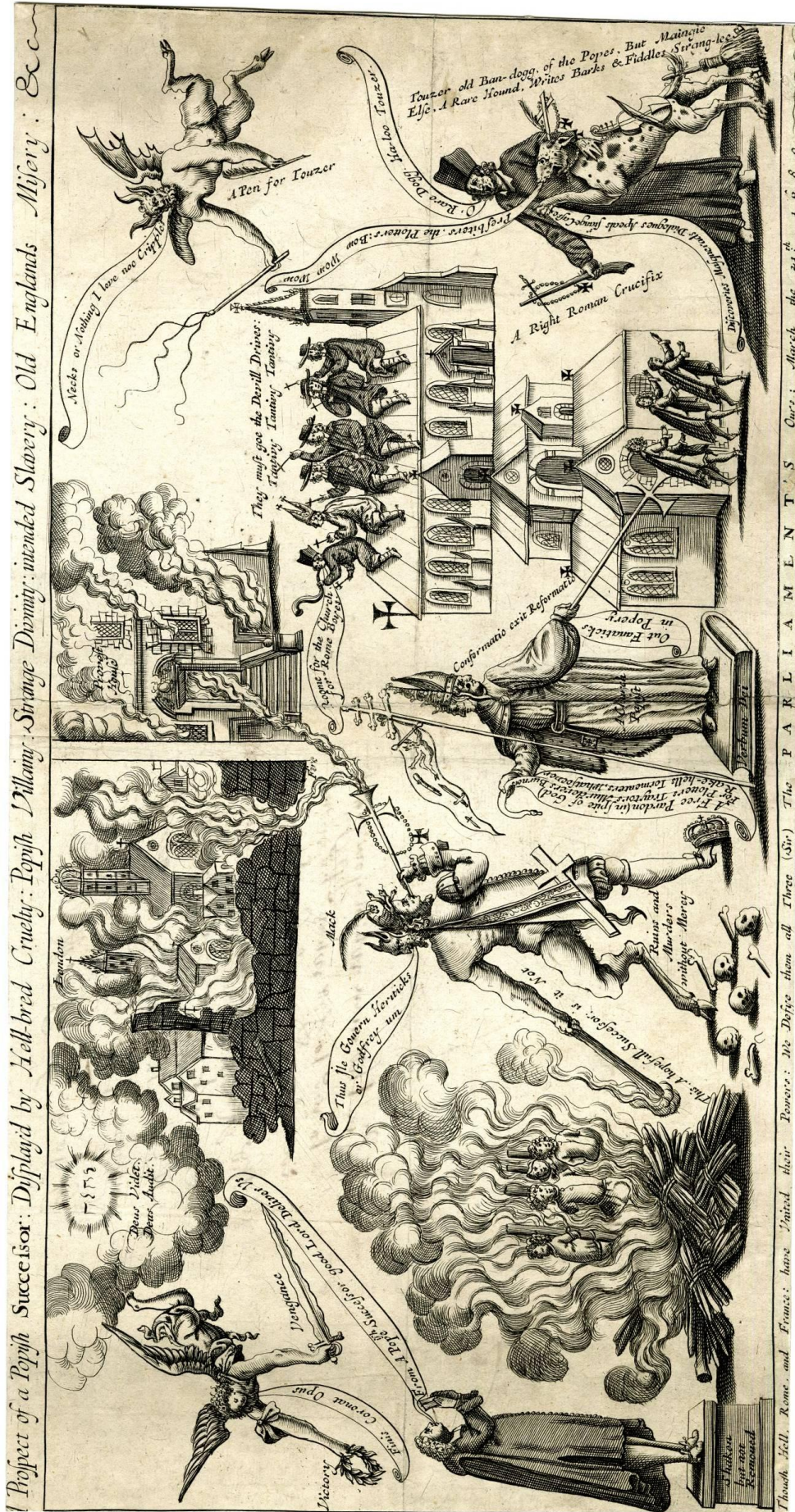[74] *Domestick Intelligence,* no. 2, 10 July1679.

Figure 4. *A Prospect of a Popish Successor*, London, 1681, 139.

> [T]he cursed fruits of Popery, the effects of Romish zeal and Charity; From which let all good Protestants with a just Abhorrence, ever pray to be delivered, and that God would still be pleased to preserve our most gracious king, and the Religion established, against all their Bloody plots and Helllish Conspiracies.[75]

The emphasis was on a shared Protestant identity in an attempt to create an homogenous group.

3 – THE RESTORATION OF ROYAL REPUTATIONS AND THE PROTESTANT PLOTS

By the end of the Popish Plot, opinion was divided over the national merits of this apparent religious and political homogeneity facilitated by the widespread influence of anti-Catholicism. Luttrell stated at the end of June 1682, "[i]t has been the endeavour of late of some persons to run things up to a strange height, creating fewds and differences, and dividing the interest of protestants: now no other names are known then whig and tory".[76] His lament suggests that even those who often identified with Whig ideology expressed concerns about the potentially destructive consequences to the English nation of exacerbating the fear of Popery.[77] A Whig community remained evident during the Protestant Plots, but the political success the Whigs had achieved through the use of fear and anger during the Popish Plot was now no longer certain. In his trial for treason, even opposition polemicist Stephen College, a master of emotional manipulation in his pamphlets, failed in his attempt to turn the tables on the prosecution by inciting fear among the Oxford jurors at the consequences of conviction. In the wake of the obstruction of the Bill for Exclusion and the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, it became clear

---

[75] *A Brief Narrative*, 6.

[76] Luttrell, 198.

[77] It should be noted here that historians are divided over the issue of Luttrell's political allegiances, as he retained connections with people and policies of both Whig and Tory persuasion. Henry Horwitz, "Luttrell, Narcissus (1657–1732)," *Oxford DNB*.

that the Stuarts and their supporters had commenced a concerted effort to restore the reputation of the royal court.Loyalists made their opinion of Whig emotional tactics as clear as College's Oxford trial jury had done. Roger L'Estrange's royalist *Observator* characterised the manipulation of passions as an attempt to corrupt the English people.

> Why what shou'd any man Understand, but the Fraternity of Fellow-Laboureres in the Common Cause . . . to lay Sedition and Rebellion home to the Consciences of the Heedless, and the Senceless Multitude; and to Fright them from their Allegeance, into Tumults, for fear of Popery and Damnation.[78]

Pamphlets ridiculed what they portrayed as the melodramatic nature of Whig rhetoric; "Now their Charter's gone, They sigh and moan, and keep a woundy clutter: Handing down their pensive ears, They mourn the sad disaster That fill'd their heads with causless fears Of Royal Charles their Master."[79] Their purpose to denigrate their political opposition notwithstanding, such pamphlets highlighted the influence of passions over politics, of which loyalists made as much use as their opponents.

Indeed the rhetoric of political passions deployed by the Stuarts' opponents was equally capable of priming loyalist identity. The author of a newsletter sent to the staunch Catholic family the Radcliffes of Dilston, Northumberland professed the view of many among the loyalists of the Whig claims of persecution by the Crown, there was "no ground for it in the world but scandal and malice".[80] The loyalist reaction was also heightened in response to the publication of Lord William Russell's last dying speech. In it the late member of Commons expressed his disbelief in a Protestant plot, and justified his involvement in, and the validity of, the Popish Plot prosecutions and the Exclusion

---

[78] L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue,* no. 73, 22 November1681.
[79] *The Whigs in Mourning* (London, 1683).
[80] "Newsletter to Madame Katherine Radcliffe, Dilston, [28] July 1683," *CSPD Charles II,* vol. 25, 215.

Bill. In addition, Lord Russell, or perhaps his friend Bishop Burnet who was alleged to be the author of the speech, also articulated his desire that "all our unhappy Differences were removed and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery as to lay aside their Heats, and agree against the Common Enemy".[81] Despite Whig attempts to persuade the public of the innocence of Lord Russell, many were of the opinion that "[t]he proofs of this plot are clear beyond contradiction," although "the factious party have the face to make a sham of almost every branch of it."[82] Evelyn too believed that most were convinced of the veracity of the Rye House Plot, despite their surprise at its discovery; "the councill sitts frequently concerning this plott . . . some persons believe it to be a shamm, tho' most the contrary: however, all persons are startled at it".[83]

Whether or not all believed in a Protestant Plot, the defacing of the City of London's monument to the fire of 1666 at the height of the Plot demonstrated that some at least believed it to be true.[84] A response to a publication entitled *The Protestant Reconciler* stated that the treason trials of Stephen College and other Protestant conspirators "ha[ve] proved it to be a Truth, that [Protestant dissenters] are, and will be as Dangerous, if not more, than the Papists."[85] Attempts to counter this campaign resulted in Charles II's declaration of the Rye House "conspiracy" which was "to be forthwith published and . . . read in all churches."[86] Ballads such as *The Old New True Blew Protestant Plot* also attempted to convince a sceptical populace of the dangers of

---

[81] *The Last Speech and Behaviour of William late Lord Russell, upon the Scaffold in Lincolns-Inn Fields a little before his Execution, on Saturday July 21 1683* (London, 1683), 2.
[82] *The Last Speech and Behaviour of William Lord Russell,* 2.
[83] Evelyn, *Diary,* 264.
[84] Luttrell, 313.
[85] David Jenner, *Beaufrons, or, a New Discovery of Treason, under the Fair-Face and Mask of Religion, and of Liberty of Conscience* (London: Charles Morden and Joseph Hindmarsh, 1685), iv.
[86] "Newsletter to Madame Katherine Radcliffe."

Protestant plotters, and that these were "not like our Plots of Old When Evidence swore

for Silver and Gold. These are no Armies under Ground, No Sham Magazines that never

were found . . . But open professed Traytors".[87] Such pamphlets and passions were typical

of those that were "daily spread about the city" in order to "force a belief" in a Protestant

plot.[88] L'Estrange's publications, and in particular his *Observator*, played no small part

in "disabusing" an uncertain public. The *Observator* professed its chief aim to be bringing

the sadly misled populace back to their wits; "the Undeceiving of the People: for they are

well enough Disposed, of themselves, to be Orderly, and Obedient; if they were not

misled by Ill Principles, and Hair'd and Juggled out of their Senses with so many Frightful

Stories and Impostures."[89]

L'Estrange's conviction surrounding the ability of emotional dissimulation to

deceive the populace was refuted by other pro-Court pamphlets, which reassured the

public that truth would out. *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot* contended that

"yet the Eyes of the Nation were too open to be deceived with Shaddows, Spectrums, or

Fantoms, when apparent Truth presented her self in her Native shape".[90] Whether such

assurances accorded with prevailing popular opinion is questionable; they were however

certainly in accordance with Stuart policy. One example, *A History of the New Plot* took

its description of the emotional norms expected of all good subjects directly from the

king's declaration concerning the plot.[91] According to *A History* the traitors

misrepresented Charles II "to the weaker, deceived sort of People", however the king's

loyal subjects had shown "great Courage, Duty and Affection," proving themselves ready

---

[87] *The Old New True Blue Protestant Plot* (London, 1683).
[88] "Newsletter to Roger Garstell, Newcastle, 23 July 1681," *CSPD Charles II,* vol. 22, 370.
[89] L'Estrange, *Observator in Question and Answer*, Wednesday 13 April 1681, 1.
[90] *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot* (London, 1683), 1.
[91] *His Majesties Declaration to all his loving subjects concerning the treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and government, lately discovered.*

"to defend His Majesties Royal Person and Government". Fortunately for England, "Gods Providence takes a special Care of the Safety of Princes, and he is immediately concerned to avenge their Blood".[92]

This belief that God would set all right in the end was however, less convincing to the Stuarts' opponents, who had seen their leaders executed by the crown and who were well aware of the ability of consummate propagandists such as L'Estrange to use the passions to manipulate popular opinion. Narcissus Luttrell, like many others, laid the responsibility for the dangers inherent in such tactics primarily at Roger L'Estrange's feet, stating that Charles II's minister of licencing "hath writt many things (as he pretends) for his majesties service, but they have caused most violent animosities amongst his majesties subjects, and will prove very destructive to the protestant interest."[93] For Luttrell, *The Observator*, along with L'Estrange's other publications, was composed predominantly of the "most bitter invectives against the house of commons of the two last parliaments . . . and [they] have been stuft with most bitter raylings against the dissenters".[94] However, information imparted to Secretary of State Sir Leoline Jenkins confirmed that despite L'Estrange's best attempts, popular sentiment was still running counter to the emotional norms the crown attempted to inculcate.[95] It was clear that not all were obliged to L'Estrange for his version of "undeceiving" the people, regardless of whether they expressed their opinion openly.

Although many were dissatisfied with the justice meted out to Lord Russell and Sidney in particular, this critical variety of discourses rarely appeared in print or in overt displays of emotion. There was little public defence of Sidney, despite Evelyn's

---

[92] *A History of the New Plot (*London, 1683).
[93] Luttrell, 39.
[94] Luttrell, 120.
[95] Peter Rich, "[Lieut.-col. Peter Rich] to [Sir Leoline Jenkins], 11 Oct. 1681," SP 29/417 f.86.

comments that "[s]o as though Mr. Sidny was known to be a person obstinately averse to government by a Monarch . . . yet it was thought he had very hard measure."[96] The presence of concealed compassion for convicted traitors was especially dangerous in a political climate where rhetoric could be used, as L'Estrange's *Observator* suggested, to frighten the people into loyalty to the opponents of the Stuarts. The "secret hearts" of the populace might be more inclined to believe exclusionist polemicists than the "truth" put forward by royalist writers.

The loyalists turned the judicial tables on the Whigs during the Rye House Plot and undoubtedly gained a popular following. However, while fear played an important role in influencing those "without doors", it did not, as early modern critics of the passions claimed, blind everyone to the political machinations of parliament, the Stuart Court and the supporters of one faction or another.[97] As Luttrell had pointed out when he commented on the wearing of red or blue ribbons, the people of London were divided as to their allegiances. On the day appointed for thanksgiving for Charles II's deliverance from the Protestant plot, Evelyn remarked that "[I]n some places the chief of their sermons were violent against the dissenters, commenting on several proceedings of those called the whig party, and running down the late houses of commons, as being the authors and abbettors of this plott."[98]

For propagandists loyal to the Stuarts however, their Protestant Plot rhetoric faced a considerably more cynical public than the Whigs had done during their "sham plot". There were many who remained staunchly loyal to the opposition's cause and as willing to demonstrate their allegiances in 1683 as they had been during the zenith of the Popish

---

[96] Evelyn, *Diary,* 302.
[97] *Religion Made a Cloak for Villan[Y] or, the Loyal Subjects Delight, Vvho Is Neither Wigg nor Tory* (London, 1683).
[98] Luttrell, 279.

Plot, much to the consternation of their political opponents. John Darby, printer of *The Lord Russells Speech,* termed by loyalists a "seditious libell", was an excellent example. For Luttrell it was "remarkable in the proceeding against Darby, first that he putt his name to it, and did it not in private". Darby clearly identified himself as an opponent of Crown attempts to engender hatred for Lord Russell, despite the dangerous consequences of such dissent from loyalist norms. However, Luttrell also makes it clear where his own loyalties lie, stating that "that there never was any prosecution of any person who printed the speeches of the popish traytors, tho' farr more scandalous then this".[99]

Despite a concerted effort, the Stuarts and their supporters would find it difficult to impose an unwelcome emotional norm upon a critical public. A newsletter sent in July of 1681 demonstrates the scepticism with which the Protestant Plot was received;

Those, who have industriously found means, whereby the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Howard stand now committed to the Tower for high treason, use all possible arts and engines to assassinate their reputation abroad and . . . endeavour to force a belief that there is a Protestant plot against his Majesty and the government, to which ends reports and pamphlets are daily spread about this city.[100]

One of Secretary of State Leoline Jenkins' correspondents demonstrated the determination of the Stuarts' opponenets to discredit the Protestant Plot. His informant contended that "the sheriffs would return such juries as they were sure would not find any bill against any of the prisoners and that, when once they had Lord Shaftesbury out, they would soon turn the face of things".[101] The eventual verdicts in the trials of the alleged Protestant plotters demonstrated this would not be the case for Lord Russell or

---

[99] Luttrell, 289.
[100] "Newsletter to Roger Garstell, Newcastle, 23 July1681."
[101] Peter Rich, "[Lieut.-col. Peter Rich] to [Sir Leoline Jenkins], 11 Oct. 1681."

Sidney. Nevertheless, such a conviction did speak to the mind and in particular, to the emotion of the people, just as the catch-cry of the Bawdy House rioters had done in the first decade of Charles II's reign. The contrast however, lay in the Stuart monarchy's inability to contain compassion for alleged Protestant plotters; a feat which they had managed with far greater success during the trials of the Bawdy House Rioters of 1668.

This chapter has not only demonstrated that seventeenth-century individuals effectively used the passions as markers of identity, but also that they can be employed as such by historians. As the case of the Bawdy House Riots demonstrated, emotional contagion was evident in Restoration England. However, emotional responses to treason were more often an expression of group identity. Unlike national identity, the categorisation of individuals into binary groups was a complex affair. Before the labels "Whig" and "Tory" became common, the term "True Protestant" appeared to satisfy both the principles of self-identification for the king's opponents and the loyalist need to give offense. The complex nature of the process of self-identification can be elucidated through the analysis of fear, anger and pity. However, the considerable similarities between particular groups in the use of anger and fear does not support the presence of distinct emotional communities.

The framing of emotional expression was similar across the political nation. Fear for the nation, anger against the threat, and pity or compassion for the perceived victims were common to opponents and supporters of the Stuarts. This similarity underscored the importance of emotions as tools for communication. More importantly however, it enabled the king's advisors to predict the expression of passion, and therefore to pre-empt displays that might undermine or even pose a threat to Stuart authority. The preparations for Lord Russell's execution exemplified the king's, or perhaps the Secretary of State's

ability to read and respond to the emotional climate. Burnet wrote that the condemned man travelled "with a most extraordinary guard of watchmen, and the train'd bands on each side of the coach and behind", evidently anticipating considerable opposition from Whig supporters.[102]

Despite overt political tension between communities, the mode of expression was an area in which opposition and loyalist passions coincided. In threat assessments, evaluations of others' emotions, and the affective bond within a group, the Stuarts' supporters and opponents defined themselves as distinct. This is particularly evident during the Bawdy House Riots, religious nonconformists saw the Stuart's attempt to impose religious uniformity as the greatest threat to their identity, while the courtiers and the judiciary perceived the danger to lie chiefly in the potential for rebellion by apprentices and old Cromwellians. During the period of the Exclusion Crisis, the opponents of the king and the duke of York's succession believed that the monarch, and in particular his heir, seemed increasingly willing to emulate and bow to the demands of absolutist France, and therefore threatened parliament, English independence and Protestantism. In contrast, loyalists were convinced that any threat to the Stuart monarchy and the succession of James, duke of York, was a prelude to a renewal of the 1640s and 1650s. The increasing factionalism in the Houses of Lords and Commons, and the widening of the gap between the king and parliament only augmented these fears.

That individuals were willing to express emotions identifying them with alleged and even convicted traitors attests that the passions could both demonstrate and support bonds within political groups. This was particularly salient in a period in which the Crown had no hesitation in using the charge of treason for the expedient removal of political

---

[102] Burnet, 270-271.

opponents. Affective ties within nonconformist and loyalist groups during the 1660s were evident in expressions of pity or compassion for the rioters or the Stuarts. During the Bawdy House Riots, pamphleteers acknowledged that many identified with the rioters' aims if not their actions; although they made it clear that pity could not be countenanced when the security of the nation was perceived to be at stake. During the 1670s and 1680s however, propagandists were in no mood to make concessions for passions that ran counter to the norms desired by dominant political groups. Advocates of the Popish Plot represented any pity or compassion for the plotters as another, equally dangerous form of treason; while during the Protestant Plots, torrents of scorn were poured upon Whig emotional expression in numerous pamphlets. The extent to which the perceived worth of pity or compassion differed between opposition and loyalist communities illustrates the way in which political groups uses the emotions to communicate their respective normative rules governing the experience and display of the passions.

The deployment of passions also facilitated the priming of group identity. Although it is a phenomenon described by modern psychologists, the evidence suggests that priming was a tactic deployed with impunity throughout the reign of Charles II, most obviously by propagandists on both sides of the Exclusion debate in the 1670s and 1680s. The notion of the porous individual is more often associated with preceding centuries; nevertheless, the growing influence of print media demonstrated that seventeenth-century Englishmen were also open to influence. Both those opposed and those loyal to the king lost no opportunity to inspire an emotional attachment to their cause by priming group identity, particularly through engendering fear for the group and for national security. John Dryden succinctly summarised the capacity for the combination of passion and factionalism to garner popular political support; "Good Heav'ns, how Faction can a

Patriot Paint! My Rebel ever proves my Peoples Saint".[103] However, as this chapter has demonstrated, while political communities attempted to use emotion to construct themselves as distinct from one another, there is little evidence to support the contention that distinct emotional communities existed. This is further supported by the work in the following chapter on the shared emotional language of jealousies and fears.

---

[103] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel,* 30.

CHAPTER 5

JEALOUSIES, FEARS AND POLITICAL ASCENDANCY

We have our Mercenary Pamphleteers at work in every corner, All hands aloft, my Masters! Now's the Time: Let the noise of 41 sound loud, amuse our Enemies with Jealousies and Fears of each other, Divide and Reign is our Motto.[1]

Political communities ostensibly sought to unite the English people behind a common cause whether in support of or in opposition to the Stuarts. As Tim Harris has demonstrated of Protestants at least, both "Anglicans and nonconformists used the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism to justify their opposition to each other."[2] However, in the case of those opposed to what they saw as an increasingly Popish court, it appeared that their chief goal was to divorce the people from their allegiance to the Stuarts and the idea that Stuart succession was synonymous with national interest. In the same manner, loyalist authors attempted to drive a wedge between the people and those who opposed the king. As *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* suggested, both supporters and opponents of the king sought to divide in order to conquer, and what they sought to conquer was the bond between the subject and the king by controlling the subject's "jealousies and fears". This phenomenon has received the greatest attention from historian Scott Sowerby. He has argued that during the 1670s and 1680s "'fears and jealousies' became a common meme: a phrase by which an author could refer to the concept of 'anti-popery' in an era when the term itself was not in common use."[3]

---

[1] Care, *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, no. 10, 12 September 1679.
[2] Harris, *London Crowds,* 156.
[3] Scott Sowerby, "Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England," *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 35.

Although a regular part of "pre-Civil War polemic", its connection with Popery gave the phrase "greater currency" during the Restoration period.[4] The phrase's tumultuous historical associations intrinsically linked jealousies and fears to the potential for rebellion.

Sowerby has focused primarily on the derogatory use of the term, which was made particularly clear when popular fears and jealousies were juxtaposed to the desired calm required for political stability. He argues that this allowed the phrase to be employed in attempts to target not Popery itself, but the fear of Popery. As a result, the phrase "jealousies and fears" was seen as a useful tool for influencing public emotion with the aim of manipulating political and religious ideology. This chapter contends that more than polemic, jealousies and fears were political passions, which played an important role in consolidating the power of emotional regimes, defined by William Reddy as "a normative order for emotions."[5] These regimes were composed of a "set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them".[6] Jealousies and fears played an integral role in that order.

It could be argued that exclusive usage of a vocabulary of passions and characterisation of their moral legitimacy is necessary for the identification of an emotional regime. Nevertheless, this chapter contends that it was the divergent morality attached to a shared vocabulary of jealousies and fears that defined opposing emotional regimes in Restoration England; regimes which competed with each other to control public expression and to command political allegiance. As a result, jealousies and fears were not only directly correlated to collective identity; they also acted as litmus for

---

[4] Sowerby, "Opposition to Anti-Popery," 35.

[5] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, 124.

[6] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling,* 129. The implication of this concept for the politics of the passions in seventeenth-century England is explored further in chapter five, 159.

evaluating the strength of the emotional and political regimes of Restoration England. As such, they are arguably the best indicator of the balance of power in a given political moment, especially with their ability to turn "the Ague into a Frenzy" such that a considerable section of the populace could be controlled through fear.[7]

The word "jealousy" in particular requires a more detailed analysis. In early modern England, it often referred to anxiety and vigilance, zeal or vehemence for one's interests or against perceived threats. Publicly expressed jealousies in relation to parliament were, as Sowerby has demonstrated, most often linked to Popery, and in particular to the fear that Popish conspiracies would go unpunished, allowing Popery and absolutism to again flourish in England. In his last dying speech, Lord William Russell indicated the extent to which political stability could be threatened by political jealousies. In defending his part in prosecuting the Popish Plot and supporting the Exclusion Bill, Russell stated "I could not see either sin or fault in the [exclusion of the Duke of York] . . . but thought it better to have a king with his Prerogative, and the Nation easy and safe under him, than a king without it; which must have bred perpetual jealousies, and a continual struggle."[8] Since anger appeared to be a significant and legitimate component of early modern jealousies, Lord Russell's apprehensions of the deleterious consequences of exacerbating political jealousies were justifiable.

Nevertheless, the civic and moral component of seventeenth-century jealousy should not be overlooked. As intrinsically linked to both self-preservation and the preservation of objects of importance to one's identity, jealousy could therefore be a constructive, rather than destructive, passion. As this chapter demonstrates, jealousy was often perceived as the force motivating individuals to the right course of action, and in

---

[7] L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue,* no. 76, 30 November 1681.
[8] *The Last Speech and Behaviour of William late Lord Russell*, 3.

particular action that was in the common interest, and that upheld moral values. As such, jealousy was simultaneously a noble and base passion, the characterisation of which was often solely dependent on the perspective of the expresser and observer thereof. Regardless of the value ascribed to jealousy, it was a dangerous passion. Like fear, jealousy had the power to move individuals and groups to action, which countermanded emotional regimes.

In his work on revolutionary France, historian and anthropologist William Reddy developed the idea of emotional regimes, which arose from the concept of "emotional liberty". He defined emotional liberty as the "freedom, not to make rational choices, but to undergo conversion experiences and life-course changes involving numerous contrasting often incommensurable factors."[9] This liberty could be curtailed by the set of normative emotions, rituals and practices, which make up an emotional regime and which provide the "necessary underpinning of any stable political regime."[10] When the emotional standards are too rigid or demanding and resist change, citizens experience emotional suffering, which, in turn, may undermine the regime. In Reddy's analysis of revolutionary France, sentimentalism, the dominant emotional regime, led to suffering because it "was, in fact, a recipe for the formulation of emotives that would tend to heighten [natural feelings] . . . to extremes in many instances". This was exemplified by the amplified fear the citizens of France felt had to be suppressed because that fear was held to be unpatriotic. Reddy argued "sentimentalism's conception of liberty was so far from real emotional freedom that, in the end, the contrast was patent to all . . . it was wrong, and by 1794 most knew it was wrong."[11]

---

[9] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 123.
[10] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling,* 129.
[11] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling,* 209-210.

Rosenwein has posited a number of problems that exist with Reddy's thesis. She contends that his emphasis on emotional suffering, for example, ignores the comfort associated with emotional habits, suffering included; "on the whole, people adjust to the cultural constraints that surround them and feel, if not happy, then at least "at ease".[12] Rosenwein also stated that Reddy has not paid sufficient attention to the positive emotions that may be associated with suffering in some cultural groups, such as pride and honour.[13] The emotional response by the supporters of the king to the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* of cheerful forbearance explored in chapter six supports this aspect of Rosenwein's assertion. However, as the emotional resistance explored in chapter seven demonstrates, there were as many groups who were less than content to accept the normative conditions imposed upon them, particularly by the Stuarts.

The close ties between emotional regimes and power were also of concern to Rosenwein. From a medieval perspective, she argued that while some royal courts "fostered and privileged certain emotional styles", they could not be defined as regimes because they seemed only to "have represented the particular emotional styles of a momentarily powerful fraction of the population, an elite faction."[14] To overcome the problems she saw as inherent in Reddy's concept of emotional regimes therefore, Rosenwein developed the theory of emotional communities, examined in the previous chapter. This chapter however posits that rather than being a problem for the theory of emotional regimes, Rosenwein's contention about the transience of power supports it. From the perspective of Restoration politics, power was often vested in relatively small and arguably unrepresentative factions at different moments throughout Charles II's reign. This does not necessarily negate the ability of these factions to assert emotional

---

[12] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 20.
[13] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 22.
[14] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 23.

influence over a broad subset of society. Jealousies and fears were a foundational component of the emotional regimes, which the king's supporters and opponents alike attempted to instil in Restoration England.

As previous chapters have demonstrated, fear could act as a unifying factor. However, in concert with early modern jealousies, it often reflected and created divisions between political communities and the subjects that their respective emotional regimes attempted to influence and control, as they endeavoured to either maintain or gain political power. This was evident from the beginning of Charles II's reign, particularly in the monarch's dealings with parliament. According to Charles II, the Civil Wars had seemingly done little to re-educate parliament in its duty to the king. From his perspective, the angered passion displayed by members of parliament was as obstructive to the passage of legislation and as emotionally unsettling in their "over-passionate and turbulent Way of Proceeding" in 1660, as they had been in preceding decades characterised by division and conflict.

> [T]he Mischiefs under which both the Church and state do at present suffer do not result from any formed Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows, but from the Passion and Appetite and Interest of particular Persons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other from those Affections, than would naturally rise from their Opinions.[15]

The king at least, appeared convinced that it was passion more than ideology that influenced political behaviour during the Restoration. It is probable that Charles II used this claim to admonish parliament and encourage its members to be more accommodating

---

[15] "The king's Declaration Concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, 9 November 1660."

of his policies. Nevertheless, evidence from throughout his reign suggests that political interests would indeed exacerbate the prejudicial nature of the jealousies and fears.

Despite his desire, Charles II found little relief in his attempt to navigate parliamentary passion. If the monarchy's aim was for a kind of emotional equilibrium, a calm sea, which would favour the implementation of Stuart policy and the consolidation of monarchical authority, it would be sorely disappointed. The behaviour of parliament clearly ran counter to the emotional norms expected by the Stuart supporters, and it would set a dangerous precedent for popular politics. In his attempt to redress the problems of parliament, the king directed his ire at the parliamentary passions that occasioned the failure of the houses of Lords and Commons to reach a comprehensive settlement of the affairs of Church and state during the early years of the Restoration. As Charles II's reign progressed, the plague of political jealousies and fears would spread much further than the parliamentary elite, and by the king's death, he would bequeath to his younger brother a realm in which many subjects had become convinced that their greatest fears had been realised.

1 – CONDITIONING THE STUART COURT

Although the term "jealousies and fears" gained most popularity during the Popish and Rye House Plots, the role that they played was evident, if not articulated, in the first decade of Charles II's reign. From the early 1660s, there is evidence that these jealousies and fears not only shaped public involvement in politics, but also the very nature of the relationship between subject and sovereign. At this stage in the king's reign there is little evidence of a transference of deference away from the person of the king and towards the institutions that defined constitutional monarchy, the crown, parliament and courts of law. Nevertheless, popular jealousies and fears intimated that from his return in May of

1660, the king's ability to command his people would be conditional upon some measure of popular support for public passions and interests. Although joy was the ostensible emotional response to Charles II's return, as chapter six demonstrates, it was not necessarily the overriding reaction. While people were joyful, many groups expected something of the Crown in return for their support, and as the Bawdy House Riots would attest, nonconformists were often among the most vociferous. Tim Harris concluded that "[s]upport for the king was conditional upon his ability to solve specific economic, constitutional and religious grievances."[16] In other words, Charles II was expected to allay the people's jealousies and fears. As a result, although expressions of positive emotions, such as joy, conformed to behavioural norms, they were nevertheless dependent on Charles II's ability to satisfy political and religious demands.

Public joy expressed on the Restoration of the king required a price to be paid by the monarch; just as loyal subjects had a duty to be joyful at Charles II's homecoming, so the king had a duty to serve them in return. The elation to which MP Harbottle Grimstone referred was as much a warning to the king as an expectation of delight; "we [the parliament] . . . trust you will be the glory of kings and joy of your subjects".[17] Documents such as the address of the Ministers of Devon and Exeter also highlight the understanding of the contract implicit in the king's return. Referring to the Declaration of Breda, the ministers wrote in May 1660 that they were confident Charles II would remember his obligation to God and his people, which would reassure them that their Protestant religious liberty was safe, and alleviate their jealousies and fears.

---

[16] As Christopher Hill and Harris have both demonstrated, the response to the restoration was not homogeneously positive; rather it was coloured by the "different expectations people had of the monarchy," Harris, *London Crowds,* 61.

[17] Harbottle Grimstone, "Harbottle Grimstone, Speaker, on behalf of the House, to the king, 1 May1660," SP 18/221 f.14.

> [I]t seems to prevaile to the efficacy of that Grace which hath prevented you from
>
> putting forth your hands unto iniquity in sinfull complyance with the enimies of
>
> the protestant, and in disposeing of the hearts of your subjects to receave you with
>
> Loyalty and Affection . . . and we hope that you will still remember that salvation
>
> is of the Lord, and that it will be your principall study to endeavor to walke worthy
>
> of these mercys.[18]

The conditional nature of joy at the Restoration could be seen as a sign that popular politics was more likely to be influenced and controlled by jealousies and fears than by allegiance to the person of the king. If theories of absolutism reigned over those of constitutionalism in the 1640s, as some historians have contended, growing fears of the aspirations of Catholic France made the acceptance of absolutism increasingly unlikely during the Restoration.[19] Although there remained a "conviction that order could only be maintained by unity in obedience to the monarchy", it existed simultaneously with the conviction both that the monarch was, or at least should be, subject to constitutional constraint, and that there was a clear distinction between the person of the monarch and the office of the Crown.[20] Despite the contentions of royalist propagandists during the 1650s, as Caroline Boswell has demonstrated, even those disaffected with the Interregnum regime could not automatically be considered loyal to the restored Stuart king.[21]

---

[18] "Devonshire and Exeter ministers"; expressing their joy that with his zeal for the Protestant religion is joined "a pitiful heart towards tender consciences," May 1660," SP 29/1 f.53.

[19] Linda Levy Peck, "Beyond the Pale: John Cusacke and the Language of Absolutism in Early Stuart Britain," *Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 148. For the counter argument supporting the ascendancy of constitutionalism see Alan Cromartie, "The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England," *Past & Present* 163 (1999): 118; Joyce Lee Malcolm, "Doing No Wrong: Law, Liberty, and the Constraint of kings," *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 161-64.

[20] David Wootton, ed. *Divine Right and Democracy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.,1986), 27.

[21] Caroline S. Boswell, "Plotting Popular Politics in Interregnum England," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Providence: Brown University 2008) 13.

The latent existence of these ideas undermined the capacity of the Stuarts and their supporters to impose an effective and lasting emotional regime upon its subjects. This was evident even during the Bawdy House riots. By the end of the riots, fears of religious persecution held by nonconformists indicated a traditional subordinate relationship between subject and monarch, in which the power to control the life of the subject lay with the king. However, as the previous chapter demonstrated, fears of those subordinates highlighted just how tenuous Charles II's grasp on power over his people was perceived to be. As a result, the examination of jealousy and fear underscores the changeable nature of power relations between the king and nonconformists. The very fluidity of these power relations allowed nonconformists and their supporters to contest royal authority and forced the monarch to enter into negotiations of the balance of power.[22] Courtiers' expressions of anger were defensive and disciplinary. They sought to affirm the superior position of individuals, such as Charles II's mistress, the countess of Castlemaine, while simultaneously castigating their social subordinates who dared to contest the authority of the King's Court. Such efforts however, met with little practical success in the face of nonconformist anger. A pattern emerged in which nonconformist jealousy of religious liberty and fear of persecution stimulated political violence, resulting in jealousies and fears for the courtiers' social identity, in which their loyalty to the king, their understanding of the English nation and their status were inextricably linked.

Efforts to reassert what courtiers believed were traditions of deference to the king and the court could not suppress the attempts by the nonconformists to promote the

---

[22] The complexities of early modern power relationships have been explored by a number of historians. See for example Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, "Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society," in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds.) *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

ascendancy of an oppositional emotional regime through the press. Pity for the rioters, for example, was constructed as virtuous by pamphleteers who supported the nonconformist position on Protestant toleration. This was in stark contrast to the righteous anger at the rioters' insubordination, which characterised the normative order of courtiers' emotions. The danger that support for the nonconformist position posed to the authority of the loyalist regime was indicated by Roger L'Estrange's role as Charles II's minister for licensing and sedition. The position was an acknowledgement by the government that the potential for influencing the public in opposition to the Stuarts had grown with the development of the press.[23] It demonstrated the belief in a greater need to control the press and, through it, to manage public opinion. At the end of the first decade of Charles II's reign, the need for such control suggests that radical anger and its ability to inspire popular support and courtiers' fear was not limited to a "momentarily powerful" elite, indicating that emotional regimes could indeed wield the kind of political power that Reddy suggested.

The third Anglo-Dutch War demonstrated the growth of these jealousies and fears; nonconformists would no longer be the only English subjects convinced that a Popish royal court was opening the door to the destruction of English Protestantism. Proof of just how great the Catholic threat was to England during the 1670s became evident, at least to parliament, in the foreign relations with Holland and France. The Second Anglo-Dutch war had ended in July 1667 with the Treaty of Breda, which concluded that England and the Netherlands "should be and remain Friends, Confederates and Allyes" as a result of "a perpetual League of mutual Defence and Alliance".[24] The

---

[23] Beth Lynch, "Rhetoricating and Identity in L'Estrange's Early Career, 1659 – 1662," in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture,* 25-26.

[24] *A Perpetual League of Mutual Defence and Allyance between His Majesty, and the Estates General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries* (London, 1668), 3-4.

alliance, which also included Sweden, had been successful in ending the war of Devolution between France and Holland over the Spanish Netherlands in May 1668, less than a year after it began. It was a war that had been part of France's attempt to dismember the Spanish empire and which confirmed Louis XIV's ambition to create a universal Catholic monarchy to many outside observers.

The Protestant Alliance provided only temporary relief however, for by 1670 the secret Treaty of Dover had been signed between Charles II and Louis XIV, a treaty that "laid plans for a joint attack on the Netherlands and a division of the spoils."[25] Although the treaty was initially kept a close secret, not only from parliament, "but even from some of the members of the Foreign Committee"; no secret so momentous could remain well kept for long.[26] The alliance that Charles II had made with the French king was to have serious implications for the royal prerogative in England. The third Anglo-Dutch war and the subsequent "depth of popular feeling revealed in parliament in the autumn session of 1673", as Steven Pincus described it, demonstrated conclusively that "no English monarch could ever again go to war without first consulting parliament".[27] Parliament had demonstrated itself more than capable of jealously guarding the power and relative autonomy it had gained during the 1640s, and of harnessing popular jealousies and fears to wring political concessions from a Stuart king. It was a skill it would use to great effect during the Popish Plot. The third Anglo-Dutch War irrevocably damaged any chance of success that an emotional regime aiming to inspire allegiance to the Stuarts might have

---

[25] Harold A. Hansen, "Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War," *Journal of Modern History* 21 (1949), 97. Maurice Lee Jr. argued that the Treaty of Dover, which he has termed "the great blunder of Charles's reign," arose from Charles II's desire for a "close alliance with France which would help him to achieve his domestic political goal of virtual independence of parliament," Maurice D. Lee Jr., "The Earl of Arlington and the Treaty of Dover," *Journal of British Studies,* 1, no. 1 (1961): 60-61.
[26] Phyllis Lachs, "Advise and Consent: parliament and Foreign Policy under the Later Stuarts," *Albion,* 7, no. 1 (1975): 41.
[27] Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes," 335.

had, as long as fears of a Popish invasion remained. This was a gift to those determined that the fear of Popery and its designs on England would not be allowed to wane. Their success in disseminating and perpetuating this fear demonstrates their power to influence public passions.

Even the passions of a royally appointed judge like William Scroggs were ruled, if only temporarily, by the jealousies and fears of the oppositional emotional regime. Scroggs, in turn, perpetuated these fears in his summation at the first trial of the "horrid and damnable Designs" of the Popish Plot, clearly demonstrating that he had few qualms about using emotion in the courtroom to inspire fear in the jurors.[28] Scroggs' speech against Popery, which ended "they Print, Preach, Dispute, and Maintain otherwise, and thereby lead people to their own destruction and the destruction of others," can be seen as a product of the fundamental antipathy towards and beliefs about Catholicism that permeated both the politics and daily life of the period. In this climate, Scroggs' speech suggests what the analysis of seventeenth-century attitudes towards the passions in the second chapter highlighted: that the public expression of emotion was perceived as virtuous if the cause was just.

> Excuse me if I am warm when the Perils are so many, their Murthers so secret, that we cannot discover the Murther of that Gentleman [Sir Edmond Bury-Godfrey] whom we all knew so well, when things are transacted so closely, and our king in so great danger, and Religion at stake.[29]

Scroggs' perspective of the defendants' guilt was unequivocal; "with such pernicious and traitorous words and designs as these are; let such go to Heaven by themselves", as the

---

[28] "The Trial of William Stayley, 21 November 1678," *ST,* 652.
[29] "The Trial of William Stayley," 655.

Lord Chief Justice had no taste for a heaven "where Men are made Saints for killing kings".[30] At the beginning of the Popish Plot at least, Scroggs took a more passionate approach than he had recommended in the past.[31] This affirms the success of those opposed to the Stuarts in installing a regime that elicited fear even from those who did not necessarily support their politics. This fear was hardly an invention of the Restoration period, and the long history of fears of Catholic persecution and insurrection stretching back to Marian England worked in the favour of those critical of the royal court.[32]

The intertwined nature of fear and early modern English jealousy can also be seen in the many responses to the early trials of the Popish Plot, written by those who appeared as convinced by the clamours against Popery as Scroggs had been during the trial of Stayley. Of Coleman's conviction, Bishop Gilbert Burnet wrote "the nation was now so much alarmed, that all people were furnishing themselves with arms, which heightened the jealousy of the court."[33] The fear which inspired the public to take up arms against Papists had given rise to the concern within the king's court that their relatively recently restored status was far from secure. As with the Bawdy House Riots, courtiers' fear suggested to contemporary minds that opposition to the king had gained emotional, if not political, control. This was confirmed to many by the about-face of the legal courts, with Scroggs suddenly changing his mind as to the veracity of the plot. With the balance of emotional power held by the Stuarts' opponents however, this change in direction would only serve to cement emotional allegiance to the king's opposition.

---

[30]"The Trial of William Stayley," 655.

[31] "Speech of Lord Chief Justice Scroggs to the Lord Chancellor, [31 May 1678]," SP 29/404 f.54.

[32] The enduring influence of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* both reflected and created the preconditions for these fears; king, *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture*, 156. For the role of fears of Catholic rebellion see also Alexandra Walsham, "'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England," in David Lemmings and Claire Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England (*Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 42-43.

[33] Burnet, *History,* 178.

Jealousies and fears were as inseparable politically as they were linguistically. Those who aimed to renegotiate power relations between the royal and legal courts, and between the king and the opponents of York's succession, could use both passions to great effect. While firmly of the belief that the "pretended plot" was a fabrication of the government's enemies and "nothing but malice against the poor Catholics in general," the duke of York showed a keen awareness of the importance of jealousies and fears in steering the course of high and low politics. In a letter to the prince of Orange he wrote of the discovery of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's body;

> This makes a great noise, and is laid against the Catholics also, but without any reason for it, for he [Godfrey] was known to be far from being an enemy to them. All these things happening together will cause, I am afraid, a great flame in the parliament, when they meet on Monday, for those disaffected to the government will inflame all things as much as they can.[34]

The disaffected got their chance on 24 January 1678, with the feared dissolution of Charles II's second parliament. Luttrell contended "[t]his was at first very surprizeing news, and terrified most people, being at a time when such a hellish conspiracy was first discovered".[35]

Clearly more intimately acquainted with parliamentary politics at the time, Roger Morrice contended that the dissolution had been desired by many, who considered that a faction within parliament was preventing the institution from properly pursuing Popish

---

[34] James, duke of York, "The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, 18 Oct 1678," SP 8/3 f.137.
[35] Luttrell, 6.

plotters.[36] However, he argued that the king "would have secured all good men (as far as could be) from their fears" if he had consented to a paper guaranteeing that despite the dissolution, "worthy persons had the stay of the Plot commiteed to them with such powers as the parliament made up of persons of such great worthiness and of such public principles did confirm". The night before the presentation of this paper, Charles II declined to consent "to the inexpressible grief of all the persons concerned".[37] The now seemingly inevitable delay in prosecutions caused "many jealousies and feares".[38]

The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome feigned surprise at this reaction; "What ail the silly folks to stick up their Brissles thus against a Popish Successor, and like Don Quixot combate imaginary Windmils" and suggested that "if the peevish Chits will be bawling, they must have Rattles and Lullabies to hush them to sleep". However, it simultaneously confirmed "good Protestant" jealousies and fears, stating that once the fears had been lulled, "we'll wake them with a vengeance in time convenient, and scourge the credulous Coxcombs with Italian Scorpions."[39] Like Morrice, Luttrell contended that the dissolution saved England from a parliament "who would in a little time have given away all the nation was worth".[40] However, the king's unwillingness to allow the third parliament to choose its own speaker in the Commons against his wishes, or to last beyond July, merely affirmed in the eyes of some the place of the Whigs as champions of England and the people, and consequently supported their emotional regime. [41] This was verified by the discovery that the dissolution had been against the express advice and consent of the Privy Council.[42]

---

[36] Morrice, 102.
[37] Morrice, 95.
[38] "Paper headed 'Courant', [Jan.] 1679," SP 29/411 f.58.
[39] *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,* no. 10, 12 September1679.
[40] Luttrell, 6.
[41] Luttrell, 10.
[42] "Paper headed 'Courant', [Jan.] 1679," SP 29/411 f.58.

During the early years of the Popish Plot, L'Estrange attempted to control the ability of the Stuarts' opponents to exert influence over popular politics, as he had done with nonconformists during the Bawdy House Riots.[43] However, his efforts during the late 1670s were undermined by demonstrations of popular acceptance of the construction of national security, which came in the guise of petitions for a parliament. Mark Knights has demonstrated the importance that these petitions played in providing "an extra-parliamentary voice" for those loyal to the king and "critics of the Court". He contended that the bipartisan recourse to petitions and addresses "ensured that the struggle became one to represent the will of the nation in propagandist terms."[44] This was clear from the beginning of the Popish Plot. In 1679, the inhabitants of the county of Middlesex for example petitioned the king to allow parliament to sit in order to try the "principal conspirators" that it had impeached before being prorogued.[45] By February 1680, Luttrell reported that "[i]n and about this time many petitions have been presented to his majestie from severall parts of this kingdome, desireing him to call his parliament; but these kind of proceedings are not very gratefull to his majestie."[46] This lack of gratitude was a reversal of the emotional conduct of much of the populace in the early 1660s, and compounded the danger posed to the Stuarts and their loyal supporters by an emotional regime that could effectively harness popular jealousies and fears.

Circulating newsletters ensured that Charles II's court and parliaments were not the only ones apprised of the reason for the delay of Popish prosecutions; rather the conundrums that faced the royal court were often broadcast throughout English, and in

---

[43] Although "less crudely political" than a number of other newspapers of the Restoration, as an unlicensed publication even *Mercurius Civicus* suffered from the censorship of the press in May 1680; James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development*, 15.
[44] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain,* 360-361.
[45] "The Inhabitants of Middlesex to the king, [Dec.] 1679," SP 29/442 f.223.
[46] Luttrell, 36.

particular London, society. One newsletter entitled *Courant* explained the difficulties that Charles II faced over the stay of the execution of Jesuit William Ireland, who had been implicated early on Titus Oates' testimony of the Popish Plot.[47] The *Courant* stated that "the king had so much troubles on him [Ireland] that he could not tell which way to turn", to which the nobleman with whom Charles was conversing reportedly replied "his Majesty's surest way is to save England and lose Ireland (meaning the condemned priest)".[48] The jealousies and fears of the public caused by the king's prevarication on executions were among the gravest threats facing the restored monarchy, not least because the intent of the Stuarts' oppenents was allegedly to "to disaffect the king and his people".[49] Along with a bored army that would, when the money ran out, "be like tinder, capable of every evil fire, be it treason or felony", and a prorogued and angry parliament, the delay in retributive justice was becoming increasingly detrimental to England's political stability.[50]

Sowerby has demonstrated that even Sir Roger L'Estrange, despite his dismissal of radical uses of "jealousies and fears" to garner support for anti-popery, "was not averse to using the language of anti-popery himself when it suited his cause."[51] However, the success of loyalists in influencing popular fears and jealousies would not be evident until the prosecutions of the Protestant Plots in 1683. When the king dissolved parliament again and moved it to Oxford on 21 March 1681, Luttrell reported "[t]is thought the reason of calling the next parliament at Oxford is, to prevent the petitioning of the citty of London, and the caballing of them and the citty together."[52] The inability to secure the

---

[47] Thomas Seccombe, 'Ireland, William (1636–1679)', rev. Peter Holmes, *Oxford DNB*.
[48] "Paper headed 'Courant', [Jan.] 1679."
[49] Luttrell, 36.
[50] "Paper headed 'Courant', [Jan.] 1679."
[51] Sowerby, "Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England," 30.
[52] Luttrell, 64.

conviction of Stephen College in London in August 1681, confirmed the conviction that many Londoners were unwilling to help remove the loyalists' political obstacles through the courts, the way they had for the Stuarts' critics with the Popish Plot prosecutions. Although scores of Englishmen had been willing to join in the hue and cry for Papists allegedly out for Charles II's blood and throne some three years earlier, they were demonstrably more reluctant to mount the same action against Protestants. During the Popish Plot, local government and the public had taken it upon themselves to search out potential traitors; however, in the case of the Rye House Plot, it appeared that the king would have to resource the protection of his person himself. It seemed he needed to order Londoners to be at the ready, which had been unnecessary a few years earlier. [53]

In addition, although trials such as College's unequivocally demonstrated that those who responded with anger to the Stuart Court were treading a fine line between patriotism and treason, this did not prevent individuals from publicly demonstrating their jealousies and fears, and the courage of their convictions. Their willingness to face treason charges themselves underscores the extent of the influence of the emotional regime in opposition to the Stuarts. The evidence against Robert Lumbard and Thomas Allen for the following "traitorous words" is an excellent example of the power that supposedly unfounded jealousies and fears held, and their potential to command emotional allegiance and foment political change.

> Lumbard and Allen . . . say 'tis no plot but a trick to destroy the Protestants and cut off the principal men of the kingdom and of the Protestant religion and it is the king's and the Duke's design to bring in Popery as Henry VIII did the Protestant. Russell was an honest man and what he did was no treason and they

---

[53] Evelyn, *Diary,* 264.

did not dare to put him to death, for, if they did, thousands would lose their lives to vindicate him. God damn the judges and them that set them to work. . . . All this false pretence was but to stifle the Popish plot, but it would remain and be a Popish plot still. They will drink Monmouth's health in spite.[54]

Lumbard and Allen were not only willing to publicly assert their opinions in contradiction of the royal declaration concerning the Rye House conspiracy, but also to publicly demonstrate their rebellious intent by drinking to the health of the duke of Monmouth. In his evidence, John Gatton attested that Allen's intent was the subversion of the government stating that "Allen daily goes to the Bowling Green and hearkens to the discourse of the lords and gentlemen there and immediately reports all to the next he meets to the end of making his Majesty and government odious by always alleging the grand design is to set up Popery."[55]

Allen and Lumbard were certainly among the most radical, but by no means the only, example of English subjects who saw in deaths of the earl of Essex and Lord Russell authentication of their jealousies and confirmation of their fears. The account of one James Warner writing to Jane Harvey demonstrates that pity for and identification with the "victims" provided as strong a foundation for the jealousies and fears, which had not been extinguished, even if belief in the Popish Plot had wavered.

The noble Earl of Essex, who carried the Lords' petition to the king formerly, representing the nation's miseries, is now most barbarously dead in the Tower. Though a jury found he killed himself, we live too near to believe it, though their

---

[54] John Hutchens, "John Hutchens to the Duke of Albermarle, July 1683," SP 29/429 f.423.
[55] "Information of John Gatton, July 1683," SP 29/429 f.427.

own relation of it also to be cut from ear to ear leaving the key without in the door startled most who knew no more.[56]

In his epistle, James Warner included the "living yet dying speech" of "the truly noble Lord Russell, a born Protestant and Christian", evidence of his allegiance to the radical emotional regime.[57] Warner's letter outlined the networks via which such emotional norms were disseminated. He mentioned that William Payne, a member of the nonconformist conventicles Warner attended and acquaintance of Puritan theologian Dr John Owen, was to "perform in person" the trial of the Rye House conspirators Captain Thomas Walcott, confederate of Shaftesbury and former Cromwellian soldier, John Rouse and carpenter William Hone.[58] Re-enactments of the trials before an audience opposed to them undoubtedly functioned to exacerbate pity for the condemned and anger at their executioners, disseminating the normative order of passions that characterised the oppositional emotional regime.

In contradiction to the Crown's intentions, Lord Russell's execution stimulated public declarations of pity for him and support for the opposition's cause. Although there were clearly concerted efforts to stamp out such subversive emotions, information gathered by the Secretary of State on incidences of seditious words highlights the role of pity in undermining the emotional norms that loyalists attempted to privilege. Robert Withers, brewer of Great Yarmouth, expressed pity for the men executed for Protestant plotting; "it is a sad thing that Lord Russell should die, who had no hand in the death of the king or the Duke of York, and there was no evidence against the rest who were

---

[56] James Warner, "[James Warner] to Mrs. Jane Harvey, 24 July1683," SP 29/429 f.246a.
[57] Warner, "[James Warner] to Mrs. Jane Harvey."
[58] Warner, "[James Warner] to Mrs. Jane Harvey"; Richard L. Greaves, 'Walcott, Thomas (c.1625–1683)', *Oxford DNB*; Richard L. Greaves, 'Hone, William (d. 1683), *Oxford DNB*.

executed."[59] He was also alleged to have lamented, "[i]s it not a shame that the men, who were executed last week, died wrongfully? There is no plot against the king but after this rate they may take all the subjects and churchmen. They were not guilty, for whom should they believe but the dying men."[60]

The staging of Lord Russell's execution simultaneously inspired apprehension of insurrection in loyalists and supported the emotional regime of their opponenets. A close friend of Lord Russell, Bishop Burnet described the procession to Lord Russell's death.

Tillotson and I went in the coach with him to the place of execution. Some of the crowd that filled the streets wept, while others insulted. He was touched with the tenderness that the one gave him, but did not seem at all provoked by the other.[61]

Although it was in Burnet's interest to present such a picture, the security arrangements for Lord Russell's execution discussed in the previous chapter crown confirms the claim that there was considerable support for the convicted traitor, and clearly demonstrated that the king and his advisors were taking no chances that there would be any more obvious a display of support for Lord Russell than tears. If anything, such action reinforced the image of Stuart authority weakened by the emotional regime of the opposition and the political support it had managed to command through jealousy and fear.

Much of the historiography of the Restoration period, when it has considered emotion, has focused almost exclusively on fear. This chapter contends that it was the inseparable combination of "jealousies and fears", which held the greatest power to

---

[59] Thomas Medowes, "Sir Thomas Medowes, Thomas Gooch and Thomas Bradford to Secretary Jenkins, 27 July1683," SP 29/429 f.315.
[60] Medowes, "Sir Thomas Medowes, Thomas Gooch and Thomas Bradford to Secretary Jenkins."
[61] Burnet, *History,* 382.

influence the people and to effect political change during the reign of Charles II. As *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* suggested, that power did indeed lie in the ability of jealousies and fears to divide and conquer; for the Stuarts' opponents to divide the people from an unquestioning attachment to the king and his policies, and for the supporters of the king to divide the people from what the former perceived to be the latter's treacherous tendencies. In Restoration England, individuals and political communities jealously guarded their political "passions and interests", and threats to those interests were precisely what characterised the jealousies that shaped their respective emotional regimes. The inseparable nature of the relationship between jealousies and fears, passions and interests accords with the seventeenth-century broad use of the term "passion" to describe appetites, interests and emotions. In the political world of the Restoration at least, the three cannot be considered distinct phenomena, but were rather synonymous effects of experience and expression.

That the passions were inseparable from desires, interests and emotions in politics as well as in semantics, meant that the emotional bond between subject and sovereign or nation was provisional and even transient. Far from suggesting that seventeenth-century Englishmen were fickle or switched loyalties according to fashions or whims, this examination of emotional allegiance indicates that passion was synonymous with reason. Trust and loyalty needed to be won and it was the appeal to jealousies and fears, which gave political communities the greatest chance at winning support for their respective emotional regimes. The malleable nature of the emotional bond characterised the relationship between sovereign and subject from the Bawdy House Riots through to the end of Charles II's reign.

While fear described power relations, like political jealousies, it was cyclical. Fear experienced by those opposed to the king and his policies precipitated the formation of

jealousies and the expression of anger; this resulted in loyalist fear, which stimulated loyalist jealousies, returning control of these emotional drivers to the Stuarts' opponents. During the Exclusion Crisis, both supporters and opponents of the Stuarts may have been tilting at "imaginary Windmils"; nevertheless, these apparitions held as much power to influence popular emotion and political behaviour as the imagined community of the English nation. The extent of the emotional investment first in the Popish Plot, and then in the alleged Protestant plotters, demonstrates that the emotional regime opposing the Stuarts had the ability to press more vociferous representatives into service. This was evident in public willingness to commit themselves to arming England against the Popish menace, and then to sacrificing their liberty, and potentially their lives, to defending the reputations of men like Lord Russell. In comparison, it would appear that the loyalist emotional regime commanded no such popular enthusiasm or determination.

Reddy has contended that the strength of a political regime relies upon its ability to establish an emotional regime. In any contentious political climate the probability exists that there will be at least two emotional regimes competing for that which will facilitate their survival. In Restoration England, power therefore rested with the group that could command the greatest share of public sentiment and, as this chapter has demonstrated, exert the greatest influence over popular jealousies and fears. In the Rye House Plot, the Stuart's attempted a reassertion of their power over public emotion on a grander scale than they had in the Bawdy House Riots. As with the riots, the strategy met with only temporary success. Chapter six examines the way in which the success in inspiring or demonstrating allegiance to either the loyalist or opposition communities was played out in performances of political passions.

CHAPTER 6

STUART-SANCTIONED PERFORMANCES OF THE PASSIONS

Public displays of emotion were often seen as both integral to the preservation of royal authority and antithetical to the maintenance of order in Restoration England. Regardless of political allegiance, political passions were staged through print media and live events, in order to defy or to consolidate the emotional norms promoted by the Stuarts in its attempt to establish an official emotional regime. Although public performances of emotion were useful in demonstrating allegiances, establishing the authenticity of passions could be difficult. The oscillations between Stuart and oppositional political supremacy from 1660 to 1685 required participants to develop the ability not only to perform the passions in a particular manner, but also to disguise their "true" emotions. This chapter begins with the theoretical underpinning of "performative emotions", and the role of dramaturgical theory in the expression of early modern English passions. It then analyses contemporary perceptions of the sincerity of emotions. In a period in which the skill of masking one's passions was often imperative for survival, the dangers of dissimulation had to be weighed against political expedience, particularly when the injudicious expression of authentic passions could end in execution for high treason.

The need to mask emotions demonstrates the success of the crown at encouraging normative expression. However, it simultaneously limited the crown's ability to influencing the performance rather than the experience of political passions. Finally, this chapter examines the various performances, which attempted to create or consolidate these norms. The earliest staging of this was simultaneously the most merciful sublimation and the most violent expression of anger. However, it was anger rather than

compassion, which endured in Stuart-sanctioned performances of the passions throughout the reign of Charles II.

In the late 1970s, Theodore Kemper argued that there was a correlation between individual power, and positive emotions and cognitive states such as satisfaction and confidence.[1] He argued that emotions are the natural result of "outcomes of power and status relations".[2] However, despite his belief in the "universality", and hence ahistorical nature of this model, Kemper also acknowledged the role played by social conditioning.[3] By analysing the impact of performative passions, this chapter takes Kemper's coefficient of power one step further. Just as political or social power could determine emotional experience, the very ability to influence that experience in others conferred its own form of power. Political battles, and indeed lives, could be lost because of the inability to influence public passions.

During the impeachment of Viscount Stafford before the House of Lords in December 1680, the members of the House openly expressed their anger at Stafford's alleged treachery. When witness, Stephen Dugdale, stated "I heard every one [at a meeting of plotters at which Stafford was present] give their particular full assent [to the plot] . . . there was a great Hum" in the courtroom. The commotion in court led the Lord High Steward to protest, "[w]hat is the meaning of this? For the honour and dignity of Publick Justice, let us not carry it as if we were in a Theatre."[4] Despite the often-dramatic

---

[1] Theodore Kemper, *A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions* (New York: John Wiley, 1978), 73-74.
[2] Theodore Kemper, *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions* (Albany: state University of New York Press, 1990), 227-28. See also Theodore Kemper, "The Dimensions of Microinteraction," *American Journal of Sociology* 96, no. 1 (1990): 59-61.
[3] Kemper, *Research Agendas*, 224.
[4] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford,* 42.

nature of public passions, this is not a thesis about the theatre; it is therefore necessary to begin with a definition of performance that encompasses life off the Restoration stage.

An element of performance can be identified in most human actions; as such the performance becomes as much a tool for communication as the spoken word. In the late 1950s, sociologist Erving Goffman published *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* in which he examined the performative nature of social interaction. Goffman applied the term "performance" to "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers".[5] In her more recent examination of the power of speech, Judith Butler has argued that speech itself can often be "understood only in terms of the action that the speech performs".[6] The expression of emotion plays a leading role in this everyday performance, influencing interpersonal relationships and shaping power dynamics.

However, it must be noted that these performances do not need to influence others. Rather there is also an important inward dimension of everyday performance explored by Michel Foucault in his concept of the surveillance of the self.[7] Sociologist Arlie Hochschild further explored this inward aspect of these performances. In her work on twentieth-century America, Hochschild expounded the theory of emotional labour, and the unpaid variant "emotion work" which, she argued, "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper

---

[5] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 32.
[6] Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 72.
[7] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (London: Penguin Books, 1981), 367. See also Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton (eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18.

state of mind in others".[8] Sociologists such as Morris Rosenburg, Peggy Thoits, and Candace Clark have extended Hochschild's work on emotional labour, in their development of the keystone of dramaturgical theory. This emphasises the performative aspects of emotion or their representation to others, namely the individual's conscious manipulation of emotional expression for audience effect.[9] Dramaturgical theories of emotion place the emphasis on the strategic management of impressions in order to present "the appearance of conforming to the cultural script".[10]

Psychologists of emotion argue that the transformative potential of performative emotions, or what Reddy termed "emotives", conferred valence, a "conscious felt subjective experience" of the positive or negative nature of an emotion; an experience which has been portrayed by many psychologists as "the single most important dimension of affective experience".[11] This chapter demonstrates that the attribution of value to the expression of particular emotions is of fundamental importance to the formation and/or maintenance of norms, which allow the creator to exert a certain amount of power over individuals or groups. This is evident in the latter half of the seventeenth century, during which the king's advisors attempted to encourage adherence to emotional norms through considered performances of emotions designed to produce the "proper state of mind" in his subjects.

In studies of modern societies, scholars have identified significant costs associated with the physiological, performative or cognitive effort exerted in producing

---

[8] Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 7.

[9] Turner, "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments," 346-47.

[10] Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets, "Sociological Theories of Human Emotions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 32(2006): 29.

[11] Fossum and Barret, "Distinguishing Evaluation from Description in the Personality-Emotion Relationship," 679; Charland, "Emotion Experience and the Indeterminacy of Valence," 234; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 108-09.

emotions that were not felt.[12] Hochschild has argued that "the advanced engineering of emotional labor" resulted in problems that included over-identification leading to burnout, distancing from emotional performance associated with self-blame, leading to self-evaluations of insincerity, and distancing without self-blame resulting in "estrangement from acting all together".[13] In contrast, expression incommensurate with the experience of emotion was not always negative in historical contexts. As Rosenwein has demonstrated, even emotional commonplaces or formulaic expressions, such as those found in letters or epitaphs, could be "socially true even if they may not be individually sincere".[14] This chapter contends that the passions expressed, or not, by individuals and groups in the latter half of the seventeenth century need not even be "socially true" if they were politically expedient, or perceived as necessary for survival. Mere utilitarian pragmatism was not the only force at work in seventeenth-century England however. In order to comprehend the context and importance of emotion performances and masks, it is first necessary to understand the gravitas attached to sincerity in a society where performance and dissimulation were prevailing, if unacknowledged, normative behaviours.

1 – DISSEMBLING PASSIONS AND THE DANGER OF DISGUISE

Thus, in a Pageant Show, a Plot is made; And peace it self is War in Masquerade.[15]

In *Absalom and Achitophel,* John Dryden's poetic allegory for the period characterised by the Exclusion Crisis, the Poet Laureate captured not only the often-disingenuous nature of Restoration politics, but also the fears that such dissimulation engendered within

---

[12]Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, 13.

[13] Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, 187.

[14] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 193.

[15] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel,* 23.

the populace and the state. Scholars of the eighteenth century have suggested that the preoccupation with authenticity is a product of the modern period. Philosopher, Marshall Berman, posited "modern conditions created a moral imagination which could define authenticity as a problem". [16] He supported Jean Jacques Rousseau's contention that it was difficult "to discern there, behind so many prejudices and artificial passions, the true sentiments of nature."[17] This chapter demonstrates that concerns about emotional authenticity arising from the belief that authentic passions were the key to divining true individual and collective identity were by no means an invention of the eighteenth century. Treason trials provide ample evidence that emotional sincerity was of equal importance a century earlier. Emotional subterfuge often involved the deliberate expression of appropriate passions. However, it could also be achieved through the use of acceptable devices to divert attention from either passion that ran counter to emotional norms or from unpalatable sources of the passions. In the case of treason, the most evident manifestation of the logistics of emotional dissimulation was the relationship between joy and fear during the 1660s in particular, and between satire, anger and shame throughout the Restoration period.

The danger lay in the intertwined nature of passions and politics. The perception that lying was endemic in early modern English politics was prevalent and, as Mark Knights contends, "an inevitable consequence of party politics".[18] The role played by popular passions, with their malleable nature, in Restoration politics served to exacerbate the dangers of dissimulation. The concealment of the passions suggested the disguise of

---

[16] Marshall Berman, *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society* (London: Allen and Unwin, 2009), 158.

[17] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions,* trans. Angela Scholar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 534.

[18] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation,* 298. See also Conal Condren, *Satire, Lies and Politics: The Case of Dr. Arbuthnot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 125-6.

one's politics, at least to loyalists such as John Dryden, for whom potential subversion of the restored government was of perilous consequence. The concern for individuals such as Evelyn was that knowledge of the "secret hearts" Dryden described as being so open to emotional manipulation, was beyond mortal men; "God onely, who searches the hearts, can discover the Truth, & to him it must be left".[19]

The relationship between passion and knowledge was an ambivalent one in seventeenth-century perceptions. For the believers in the Popish Plot's veracity, those who were not convinced were, as Henry Savile writing to his brother contended, guilty of an emotional obduracy that at best reflected poorly on their characters. So convinced was Savile of "the reasonableness of it", to his brother he found it necessary to excuse his "earnestness in it, to which almost any man would be provoked by the horrid impertinence and obstinacy of all here as to their unbelief of our plott."[20] Savile's perspective is redolent of the conviction that passion blinded one to the truth. As *A Paradox Against Liberty* stated "Consent of Crowds, exceeding credit brings And seems to stamp Truth's Image on false things".[21] The numerous attempts to convince the people that the Popish Plot was genuine illuminated the powerfully malleable nature of public sentiment. However, these pamphlets also demonstrated the effectiveness that the fear of deception played in priming collective identity.

As the attempts at pre-emptive defence of the loyalty to England of Whig politicians suggest, royalists were equally adept at emotional and political dissimulation. It was evident to the Whigs that royalists "would leave no Stone unturn'd to blow off this Hellish Plot" and to "forge a Plot upon the Presbyterians, by Name; but in Truth to

---

[19] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 22; Evelyn, *Diary*, 276.
[20] Henry Savile, "Henry Savile to Viscount Halifax, 5 July1679," in *Savile Correspondence,* 105.
[21] *A Paradox Against Liberty* (London, 1679).

involve the most zealous and active Protestant Nobility, Gentry, &c." The goal of this deception was to make it "seem probable, that the last Years Plot was only their malicious Contrivance against the Catholick, who would then appear the king's best Subjects."[22]

It must be noted that anger was not always openly expressed, even during the Popish Plot when it seemed that the power to control emotional norms lay with the Whigs. A newsletter sent to Sir Francis Radcliffe attested that many viewed the concealment of public anger towards the king, particularly in response to his decision to move the parliament to Oxford, as imperative for escaping the charge of treason.

> The City frets and those about Westminster and Charing Cross are ready to eat their nails for anger that the parliament must meet at Oxford, but I believe there is none so foolhardy as to offer to rise. They lay their hands on their mouths and, it may be, wish well to a rebellion, but they dare not speak their thoughts.[23]

Concern surrounding the crown's misunderstanding of the "secret hearts" of the public was not merely a rhetorical device to frighten an already anxious public into emotional and political obedience. It was a reflection of the uncertainty and insecurity that characterised the relationship between the restored regime and its subjects. As the events of the Protestant plots would suggest, there was certainly grounds for concern.

During the trials of the Rye House and other Protestant plotters, L'Estrange and others demonstrated their aptitude for appropriating fears of insincerity and disguise.[24] As a result, they were able to use these fears to exacerbate emotional expression and

---

[22] *The Earl of Shaftesbury's Loyalty Revived* (London, 1680).
[23] "Dr Thomthy Halton to Sir Francis Radclyffe at Dilston, 20 Jan. 1681," *CSPD Charles II,* vol. 22, 139.
[24] For an examination of L'Estrange's perspective of the importance of authenticity in general see Peter Hinds, "'Tales and Romantick Stories': 'Impostures', Trustworthiness and the Credibility of Information in the Late Seventeenth Century," in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 89-90.

encourage closer identification with Charles II and the duke of York. The broadside

ballad, *The Committee or Popery in Masquerade* and its attendant image (Figure 5)

provided a master class for the literate and illiterate alike in the rhetoric surrounding the

dangers of deception. The image depicted a host of "covenanting people" aided by

rebellious and regicidal principles and persons, including the *Solemn League and*

Covenant, all of whom were purportedly sponsored by the Pope, wishing the Protestant

plotters "courage mes enfans".[25] Newspapers such as the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from*

Rome, were also at pains to point out the dangers of disguise; "[h]ere's a blessed

Reformation towards; the Old Whore resolves to dance you a Jig in Masquerade, and the

Pope swears by the Mass he'll be a Protestant . . . but beware a Nation be not Baptized in

Blood".[26]

Figure 5. *The Committee; or Popery in Masquerade*, 1680.

---

[25] *The Committee or Popery in Masquerade* (London, 1680).
[26] *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, no. 10, 12 September 1679.

The perception of public opinion held by Evelyn was that "[m]uch deplored were [the deaths of] my Lords Essex and Russell, few believing they had any evil Intention against his Majestie or the Church, & some that they were cunningly drawn in by their Enemies", namely the earl of Shaftesbury.[27] There were attempts by Whig polemicists during the Popish Plot to resurrect Shaftesbury's reputation in *The Earl of Shaftesbury's Loyalty Revived*. During the Protestant Plots however, Tory pens such as Evelyn's and Dryden's were preoccupied with Shaftesbury's deceptive nature. Evelyn referred to the earl as "the fox", indicating that Shaftesbury's cunning was what had led to the downfall of the earl of Essex and Lord Russell.[28] While in *Absalom and Achitophel,* Dryden portrayed Shaftesbury as Achitophel, who was "[i]n Friendship False, Implacable in Hate: Resolv'd to Ruine or to Rule the state." [29] As a result of Shaftesbury's political machinations, Monmouth became "[t]he Peoples Brave, the Politician's Tool; Never was Patriot yet, but was a Fool".[30] Whether or not Monmouth was merely Shaftesbury's tool, Dryden's assessment of the motives of Shaftesbury's feigned loyalty to the Crown was not necessarily mistaken or intentionally misleading.

Shaftesbury was often seen as the subversive version of an English Machiavelli. Throughout his trial for example, the earl proved himself eminently capable of disguise in the service of his own interests.

His lordship pleaded his innocence, and his stedfastnesse alwaies to his majesties interest, tho' in some things his judgement led him to take different measures from some more near his majestie, tho' they all tended to the same end; and his lordship told them that he thought they had not that opinion of him as to deal with Irish

---

[27] Evelyn, *Diary,* 296.
[28] *The Earl of Shaftesbury's Loyalty Revived*; Evelyn, *Diary*, 297.
[29] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 6.
[30] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 30.

men and papists for subverting the government, and that if he should doe such things he was fitter for Bedlam.[31]

As David Lederer has demonstrated, the connection between rebellion and mental illness was a common perception in early modern Europe.[32] However, the earl's shrewd co-option of this metaphor suggested he was indeed worthy of the vulpine epitaph bestowed on him by Evelyn. Shaftesbury and Monmouth were dangerous precisely because of their aptitude for engendering popular support through emotional dissimulation. Of Monmouth, Dryden wrote,

> Dissembling Joy, he sets himself to show: On each side bowing popularly low: His looks, his gestures and his words he frames, and with familiar ease repeats their Names. Thus, form'd by Nature, furnish'd out with Arts, He glides unfelt into their secret hearts.[33]

The Poet Laureate was suggesting, as Edward Hyde had done two decades earlier, that the greatest danger posed by the expression of insincere passions lay in the king overestimating public loyalty, and in the ability of "politick vipers" to manipulate public allegiance against the best interests of the crown.[34]

For the dominant voices during both the Popish and Protestant Plot trials, malice and ambition were the forces that drove people to dissemble in order to win the support of the populace, while disguising their true aims.

---

[31] Luttrell, 105-6.

[32] David Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the state in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 19-20.

[33] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel,* 22.

[34] The phrase "politick vipers" was used by Pierre du Moulin in *Verbum Sapienti* to describe those politicians he saw as plotting for the continuance of the third Anglo-Dutch war.

> Rebellion is fitly compared to the Sin of Witchcraft; a Rebel is a Witch in
> Politicks, a Witch a Rebel in Physicks; both act against Nature and the Law: Now
> we have a Medicine, called *Oleum Machiavellinum*, or the Tincture of
> Dissimulation, that shall transform not only Traytors into Martyrs, but
> Metamorphise the rankest Papist into the shape of a Protestant, as suddenly as the
> Ointment which Hags use to turn themselves into Cats.[35]

In one ingenious metaphor, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice to Rome* had articulated both
the political dangers and advantages of such disguises, which posed a grave threat to
national security not least because of the power they conveyed to command allegiance
away from England's natural and legal sovereign. Insincerity engendered anger and both
rhetorical and genuine fear and disgust. However, while the inevitability of receiving
one's just deserts was repeatedly asserted, there was equally widespread awareness of the
political advantages to be gained from masking emotions during the reign of Charles II.

Despite the importance attached, at least rhetorically, to sincerity and genuine
expression, various groups often intentionally masked the passions as a means of
expediting political goals. Mark Knights noted this discrepancy in his work on the tension
between representation and misrepresentation in political discourse in seventeenth- and
eighteenth-century Britain. He argued that the plots of the later seventeenth century
increased "concern about the duality and inventions of the world of partisan politics".[36]
Roger L'Estrange himself contended that in terms of public opinion "plausible disguises
and appearances, have with them the force and value of certain truths and foundations".[37]
Expressions of joy, the exaggeration and suppression of emotion were all useful tools for

---

[35] *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, no. 10, 12 September 1679.
[36] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 217.
[37] L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue. The Third Volume* (1687), 39.

disguise in the rhetorical arsenal of early modern individuals at sea in the dangerous waters of Restoration politics. However, the crown was not about to concede victory. Instead, it demonstrated its own aptitude for orchestrating performances of emotion to inspire and instruct its audiences.

2 – STAGING JOY AND COMMANDING LOYALTY

The staging of political emotion was operating in Restoration England even before Charles II had set foot on English soil. This was initially evident in the performance of joy at the king's return, expressions of which must be understood in the context of the normative emotion "script" of the Restoration. It was an emotion whose expression was expected as appropriate, if not codified, behaviour. It was prudent to convey, if not to experience, joy at the return of the king as it was a discernible marker of loyalty to Charles II. Parliament was quick to express its gratitude and "joyfull Sense" at the king's return to clearly demonstrate its loyalty, and the monarchy's immediate success at encouraging the normative status of expressions of joy among the wider public was evident in the responses to the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy on the streets.[38] Ronald Hutton has stated "[t]he culture was now being restored with the old political system, and the joy of the experience left an indelible impression upon the English folk-memory."[39]

In London, Charles' arrival in England was heralded by bonfires, maypoles and rejoicing that drowned out the ringing of the bells.[40] Expressions of delight at the king's coronation were profuse, and the peoples' exuberance was "infinite".[41] The joy of the people of Nottingham in their "congratulation and petition to the king" was

---

[38] *CJ,* vol. 8, 1 May 1660, 4-8.
[39] Hutton, *The Restoration*, 126.
[40] Tim Harris, *London Crowds*, 38.
[41] Edward Nicholas, "Sec. Nicholas to Jos. Kent, 2 [May] 1661," SP 29/35 f.6; "Mayor, &c., of Abingdon, Berkshire, to the king, 25 June 1660," SP 29/5 f.12.

"unspeakable".[42] Such evidence suggests that there can be little doubt the return of the king inspired the expression of positive emotions from a range of different social groups. However, Christopher Hill sought to contradict the prevailing historiographical argument that the return of the Stuart monarchy was universally beloved. In particular, he highlighted the role of the elite in orchestrating public responses.[43] However, Tim Harris countered that "even if some of the bonfires were sponsored by wealthy patrons, this does not necessarily mean that those who subsequently gathered around them were any the less enthusiastic in their support for the Restoration."[44]

Although genuine joy no doubt existed during the early years of Charles II's reign, individuals were equally aware that it was the public expression of joy, perceived as the clearest outward manifestation of loyalty to the king, which was of utmost importance. The new monarch was determined to learn from the mistakes of Charles I's untimely demise and, as a result, demonstrable devotion to the king was seen as necessary for a firm foundation for political stability during the 1660s. This norm was as important to courtiers as to commoners. In one petition, Laurence Hyde, earl of Rochester wrote that "had hee reflected on the fatall consequences of incurring your Majesties displeasure, he would rather have chosen death ten thousand times than have done it."[45] The fervent nature of such a declaration is not necessarily evidence of genuinely great passion; rather it is indicative of expressions of loyalty prescribed by behavioural norms. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, whose influence had been restored along with the king, cynically and

---

[42] 'Congratulation and Petition of the town of Nottingham to the king, 12 May1660," SP 18/221 f. 49.

[43] Christopher Hill, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 10-11.

[44] Harris, *London Crowds*, 38.

[45] Laurence Hyde, "Petition of the Earl of Rochester to the king, May 1665," SP 29/122 f.82.

probably realistically argued that "the joy was universal" because "whosoever was not pleased at heart, took the more care to appear as if he was".[46]

The same could be said of addresses of loyalty to the king in response to the alleged conspiracies of the Popish and Protestant Plots of the following decades, which mirrored the joy expressed at the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. There was however a variety of agendas underlying these addresses, despite their formulaic claims to be "expressing their joy for his majesties deliverance from the said conspiracy".[47] Luttrell observed that "in some of these addresses they desire his majestie to accept of their charters, and humbly lay them at his feet".[48] These, he contended were "inconsiderable" compared to "the greatest part of them", which "abhorr[ed] such devilish plotts and conspiracies, as well popish as fanaticall.[49] The work of Tim Harris has demonstrated that public opinion was quick to condemn the conspiracy, and even the king noted the "recent rise in royalist sentiment out-of-doors."[50] Although demonstrations of loyalty were often officially organised or sponsored, many people required little encouragement from the crown.

Although loyalty to the king was an emotional norm, expected of Charles II's subjects, the monarchy also made concessions in order to encourage that loyalty. In sublimating anger in the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* (1660), Charles II and his advisors proved their aptitude at "emotion labour", particularly at suppression of anger to produce the desired "state of mind", loyalty and gratitude, in an anxious public. The compassion of kings has been of great political importance from the medieval through to the modern

---

[46] Edward Hyde, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1760), 221.
[47] Luttrell, 269.
[48] Luttrell, 276.
[49] Luttrell, 277.
[50] Harris, *Restoration,* 317-318.

period, and was as much a demonstration of royal prerogative and control as evidence of genuine experience of pity and compassion. The *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* was a convergence of pity, compassion and anger driven by the reliance of the Crown on popular loyalty in a fragile political context. The Act, which guaranteed pardons to all but the thirty-three regicides involved in the republican government of the 1650s, was one of the clearest examples of the conscious design by the king and his advisors to achieve some form of emotional settlement for the English people in general and the parliamentary elite in particular.[51] It was also a public demonstration of the monarch's ability to eschew anger and vengeance in favour of displaying pity for, and extending mercy to, his formerly wayward subjects.

> And to the end that the Fear of punishment may not engage any Conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country in the Restauration both of king Peers and People, to their Just, Ancient and Fundamental Rights: We do by these Presents Declare, That We do grant a Free and General Pardon.

In addition to printing the Act, *Parliamentary Intelligencer* reported that the impetus behind it was the king's desire to ensure the emotional wellbeing of his subjects and to alleviate "the fear which keeps the hearts of men awake and apprehensive of safety and security", in return of course for their "Loyalty and Obedience".[52]

Among erstwhile enemies and the public in general, the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion portrayed Charles II as the gracious monarch who extended his mercy even to his enemies as his "Pity chose rather the Teares of Penitents, then the Bloud of Sinners."[53]

---

[51] Hutton, *The Restoration*, 132.

[52] "July 23 - July 30," *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, no. 31 (1660): 496.

[53] *An Humble Acknowledgment of His Majestie's Incomparable Grace Expressed in His Proclamation of Pardon* (London 1660), 4.

Printed sources were often effusive in their adulation of the monarch's evident concern for his subjects.[54] Sources that emphasise Charles II's "All-glorious Spirit of Forgiveness descended from Heaven, [which] stood between Apostasie and Hell", point to the king's magnanimity being all the more divine because the expectation, at least in terms of a world that revolved around the system of retributive justice, was that the king's retribution would "Equal the Unreasonableness of Sin with due Proportions of Just Misery."[55] Anger, one of the emotions integral to conceptions of retributive justice, appeared in such sources only to demonstrate the king's ability to overcome what was expected to be his natural emotional response to the nation's treatment of his father. The sublimation of anger served to facilitate the display of compassion and forgiveness, which supposedly enabled Charles II, and those who would follow his lead, to achieve a closer approximation to God by "Commanding [His] own, and others Anger to permit [Him] to imitate the most Merciful Deity."[56]

When one petitioner for Charles II's clemency appealed to be considered "rather an Object of His Justice, then his Mercy", the king's alleged response was represented as the archetype of a rational and divine form of affective expression.

> My courtesie shall leave nothing for my courage to perform, since our lives are momentary, it is no reason our passions should be immortal, or that men should glut themselves with revenge, whereof God hath forbidden the use, as the excess, nor shall my Passions so transport me, but that I will allwaies remain in the power of Religion, and enlarge, and enlarge the bounds of charity.[57]

---

[54] *An Humble Acknowledgment*, 1.

[55] *An Humble Acknowledgment*, 2.

[56] *An Humble Acknowledgment*, 3.

[57] *Good Newes for all Parties: Shewed in King Charles His Gracious Pardon* (Breda, 1660).

The petitioner in turn contended that Charles II was "very sensible . . . even to a compassion of 'how many have been transported with the specious pretences of some few persons, and those few persons were driven to such violences, and exorbitant actions'." Instead of expressing just anger and exacting retribution on his formerly wayward subjects, it would be the king's "constant endeavour to place his Throne upon the love of his Subjects, and his Subjects to place their happiness in the Wisdom of their Representatives, and the Legal Rule and Sovereignty of their Prince".[58] This suggests the attempt to create new framing rules, as Hochschild termed them; to provide a new interpretation of political anger; in which anger was sublimated for the good of the nation. Instead of anger, pity and compassion for the English people were Charles II's "Soveraign Graces, that delight the Soules of his loyal Subjects".[59]

The successful implementation of this norm, from the perspective of Stuart supporters at least, is indicated by constant references to it two decades later at the height of the Protestant Plot of the early 1680s. The Poet Laureate John Dryden reminded a potentially rebellious populace of the king's graceful mercy; "what Millions has he Pardon'd of his Foes, Whom Just Revenge did to his Wrath Expose? . . . His Mercy even th' Offending Crowd will find, For sure he comes of a Forgiving Kind."[60] Dryden was not the only one during the Protestant Plots who represented the king's sublimation of anger as an enduring emotional norm. *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot* reported that Robert West, a conspirator turned informer, "not daring to Approach such Innate goodness" was advised to "throw himself at the Feet of that Majesty, which in so High a Nature He had Offended".[61] During the 1660s, however, although those at the

---

[58] *Good Newes for all Parties*.
[59] *The Royal Chronicle* (London, 1660), 3.
[60] John Dryden *Absalom and Achitophel,* 11-12.
[61] *An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot* (London, 1683), 2.

receiving end of that mercy were undoubtedly sensible of their good fortune, particularly with the rotting corpses of the regicides, who had not escaped the king's wrath, on display, not all were happy to accept this new emotional norm.

Many of those who had supported Charles II and his cause through his exile deplored the alleviation of fear among the king's former enemies, which could not be reconciled with their desires for vengeance. From this perspective, the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion engendered anger at the frustrated expectations they had for restitution; lingering royalist resentment would also be used as evidence of disloyalty a decade later in the trials of five Catholic peers during the Popish Plot.[62] That the Act frustrated the desire for and expectation of vengeance was clear from the oft cited argument "that (in such an Oblivion) they did but too well remember our Enemies, and only forget Us."[63] Anger was therefore publicly articulated by some in the hope of regaining some of what they had forfeited during the Civil Wars, and the Protectorate.

The king himself had set the example of the sublimation of personal anger for the good of England, therefore even those supporters of the king who objected to his policies followed suit, veiling their ire. Instead, they professed or attempted to inspire pity for the "Martyrdome so honourable" of those who had formerly suffered, expounded upon in *An Humble Representation of the Sad Condition of Many of the King's Party*. The anonymous authors appealed to their readers' sense of justice in order to win sympathy for their alleged martyrdom; "[i]t may seem a hard piece of Justice, that the price of publick Freedome (when restored) should be the Ruine (only) of such, as, with their utmost perils (chiefly) asserted it".[64] That such portrayals were underscored by anger is

---

[62] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford* (London, 1680), 14.
[63] *An Humble Representation of the Sad Condition of Many of the kings Party* (London, 1661), 8.
[64] *An Humble Representation*, 5-6.

demonstrated by the fact that in their attempts to inspire pity, loyalist pamphleteers simultaneously condemned that pity as a miserable pittance compared to their just deserts. Thus, they saw the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion as so generous to those who had 'betrayed' the king's cause during the republic that it was only his supporters who "shall seem abandoned as worthy of nothing but pity from those that will vouchsafe it".[65]

Whatever the royalists might have felt, authors of the pamphlets took care to demonstrate their support for the principle of the Act, and these publications contained few overt expressions of anger or envy. Furthermore, the author's comment that "we . . . shall for publick good, as cheerfully Subscribe to the general Indemnity . . . as any that have Benefit thereby", suggests that cheerful forbearance played an important role in the range of emotional norms promoted during the period, particularly in accentuating the image of the martyred royalist.[66] The repeated representations of the king's pity and compassion in particular demonstrate the normative power of both emotions in Restoration England. That the emphasis on, appeals to, and praise for pity and compassion were common to the king, parliament, his supporters, and his former enemies, strongly suggest that the positive value attributed to these passions was shared by various systems of feeling that governed affective expression during the early years of the Restoration. Through his demonstration of compassion, Charles II was leading the English people by setting the emotional tone in the early 1660s.

3 – DISCIPLINING THE NATION: JUST ANGER AND VENGEANCE

In spite of what royal rhetoric might suggest about the normative power of compassion, vengeance played a vital role in the execution of Restoration justice. Even in the midst of

---

[65] *An Humble Representation,* 9.
[66] *An Humble Representation*, 8.

attempts to encourage loyalty to the king through the revelry of the early days of the Restoration, the fear of unruly behaviour and its potential to lead to rebellion was endemic to the period. As a result, the crown's passion plays soon became far more sober affairs, centred primarily on the expression of anger and its varied uses as a mechanism of social control. As numerous studies have demonstrated, while both classical and Christian behavioural norms deplored anger, its expression retained performative significance throughout Europe's past.[67] As with medieval *ira regis* or the wrath of the king, stuart-sanctioned employment of anger demonstrates that it was a particularly useful emotion for sending a disciplinary message to the riotous rabble and for defending the hierarchical nature of seventeenth-century English society.[68]

This was clearly performed for the public from the beginning of Charles II's reign, and exemplified by the execution of the regicides. As Hutton noted "the regicide itself had been a solemn and tragic ritual: these men [the regicides] died amidst the atmosphere of a bear-baiting."[69] This illustrates that the veneer of "civility" covered a deeper, more brutal conception of justice that characterised the trial for treason during the reign of Charles II. The act of publicly executing the convicted traitor was a particularly forceful performance of traditional power relations, and of desirable emotional norms. One anonymous pamphlet portrayed the republican impulses of the regicides as "the grand disease that bred, nature could not weane it, from the foot unto the head was putrifacted treason in it".[70] As a result, the execution of traitors was the outcome of the just anger of the king, which enabled him to punish the guilty and protect the monarchy. Where the

---

[67] Barbara Rosenwein, ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,1998).

[68] For the use of anger as a disciplinary tool in medieval Europe see in particular Althoff, "*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger," 73-74; Genevieve Bührer-Thierry, ""Just Anger" or "Vengeful Anger"? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West," 91, in *Anger's Past*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[69] Hutton, *The Restoration*, 134.

[70] *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors* (London, 1660).

Act of Indemnity and Oblivion had demonstrated the king's ability to show compassion for his subjects, the execution of the regicides made it clear to all that direct treason would incur his wrath and condign punishment. The desire for this was articulated in *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors*, which declared that "Being against the King and States, the Commons all condemnd'm, And their quarters on the Gates, hangeth for a Memorandum: Twixt the heavens and the earth, Traytors are so little worth, to dust and smoake wee'l send'm."[71] It is clear that the importance of sublimating personal anger notwithstanding, when politically expedient neither anger nor the desire for vengeance were excluded from the emotional palette of Restoration England.

Anger was an extremely versatile tool for educating the king's subjects about the behavioural and emotional norms desired by the monarch. The Cavalier parliament's treatment of the *Solemn League and Covenant* exemplified the effectiveness of anger as an expression of political desires. The Covenant's burning in 1661 was a deliberate public statement of the relationship between power and anger, justice and vengeance. Drafted by the Long parliament in 1643 to gain the support of the Scots in their dispute with Charles I, the Covenant had purported to guarantee the "true public liberty, safety and peace of the kingdoms" by protecting the reformed religion and the privilege of parliament, although not necessarily in that order.[72] One of the first steps taken by the Cavalier Parliament was to pass a new Treason Act abolishing the authority of the Long parliament and the Rump in an attempt to demolish the constitutional reforms undertaken from 1641 to 1654. The subsequent symbolic execution of the Covenant was one of the most public performances of the Cavalier Parliament's "clean slate" policy.

---

[71] *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors*.
[72]*A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honor and Happinesse of the king, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1643).

In early modern England, book burning was essentially a theatrical display of the crown's power, both punitive to author and/or publisher, and instructive to the public audience.[73] It became even more theatrical when the common hangman was introduced to the cast in 1634. Ariel Hessayon has suggested that the presence of the hangman was "a familiar aspect of a scene of street theatre designed to frighten onlookers" and that the burnings of books were akin to a Protestant form of the Inquisition's *auto-da-fé*.[74] In the case of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, anger rather than fear was the dominant emotion both required and elicited by the crown. A report to the earl of Winchelsea, who had been knighted for orchestrating a jubilant reception in Kent for Charles II on his return, recorded the Covenant's burning.[75]

> The parliament here have omitted no occasion of showing their zeal for his Majesty's service and the settlement of this nation as well in Church as state, having ordered that devilish engine of sedition, the Solemn League and Covenant, to be openly burnt at the most public places of this city by the common hangman, and that in a few days was followed by a rabble of its own spawn, the Act for calling his late Majesty to his trial, the Engagement, the Recognition of Cromwell and Instrument for setting up a Commonwealth, etc., all which are attended with the applause and general satisfaction of all good people.[76]

The extent to which this response was evidence of widespread support for Crown policy is questionable given the entertainment value attached to public executions and spectacles in general. However, in conjunction with published responses, this suggests that

---

[73] David Cressy, "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 371-72.

[74] Ariel Hessayon, "Incendiary Texts: Book Burning in England, C.1640 - C.1660," *Cromohs* 12 (2007): 23.

[75] Sonia P. Anderson, 'Finch, Heneage, third earl of Winchilsea (1627/8–1689)', *Oxford DNB*.

[76] "--- to the Earl of Winchelsea, [June] 1661," SP 29/440 f.134.

satisfaction of righteous anger and the desire for vengeance was an expression common to many. Such responses were vehemently in favour of the burning of the Covenant, as "the Law condemns a Witch to death by fire".[77]

The importance of retributive justice was such that the performance of burning a document could provide a similar sense of emotional satisfaction as the execution of a convicted felon. By describing the passions that were expressed by "all good people", Winchelsea's correspondent was also describing a clear example of an emotional norm encouraged among the seventeenth-century English public. Unlike the Act for Indemnity and Oblivion however, the treatment of the Covenant suggests little concern for settling the passions of an anxious public. It was instead a deliberate attempt to prime royalist identity by exacerbating devotion to the restored government as a normative sentiment, the experience and expression of which would shore up the monarchy. The responses to the Bawdy House Riots seven years later suggest that, in the short term at least, this attempt achieved some measure of success.

The support that the nonconformists won during the Bawdy House Riots can be seen as evidence of a marked decline in deference to the restored Stuart court; however, the political success of the radical emotional regime was, in the first decade of the Restoration, short-lived. Fear of nonconformists was rapidly replaced by resentment at the insubordination of the apprentices, and at the humiliation occasioned by pamphlets published in response to the riots. There was no suggestion that courtiers' anger denoted a lack of emotional control. On the contrary, angry reactions to the riots by courtiers were constructed as a deliberate and considered response to injustice, and an affirmation of legitimate structures of power. Not content with the munificence shown by the crown in

---

[77] *A Reply to the Funerall of the Good Old Cause or Covenant* (London1661), 1.

granting them time off at Easter, the "rude multitude" had exploited the generosity shown them; their riotous behaviour according to courtiers was a symptom of ingratitude. By rioting, the rabble were "taking the liberty of these holidays" according to Pepys, or "abusing the liberty given them these Holydays" according to the *London Gazette*.[78] However, this would be remedied when the rioters did "in time receive the just reward of their riotous and disorderly motions."[79] Although such expressions of anger can be reactions to earlier feelings of fear and powerlessness, they left the reading public in little doubt as to the balance of power between the king, his court and the apprentices; a direct rebuttal of the latter's claim that they had "been servants but would be masters now".[80] Attempts to address any decline in deference and to oppose the radical emotional regime ultimately had the last word of the 1660s. The crown employed an exhibition of righteous anger in the punishment of the rioters to instruct the public. On 9 May 1668, the monarchy had clearly regained the upper hand in its relationship with nonconformists, and "it was his Majesties pleasure . . . [to have] two of [the rioters'] heads fixed upon London Bridge" for "all spectators young and old to have a care of ill company, especially such an unruly tumultuous rabble as that was".[81]

The consolidation of loyalty to the Stuart regime gained an even greater sense of urgency during the 1670s and 1680s. Given that the tide of public opinion, or at least of the most vociferous, seemed to rally behind the Whigs and their attempts to exclude the duke of York and remove Charles II's Catholic supporters, it was of vital importance that the Stuarts legitimise their position. As it had been some years earlier, the performance

---

[78]Pepys, *Diary,* 129; *London Gazette*, no. 246, 23 – 26 March 1668, 1668.
[79] *London Gazette*, no. 246.
[80] *The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason*, 17. For a modern perspective on the relationship between powerlessness and anger see Thomas M. Carmony and Raymond DiGiuseppe, "Cognitive Induction of Anger and Depression: The Role of Power, Attribution, and Gender," *Journal of Rational-Emotive & Cognitive-Behaviour Therapy* 21, no. 2 (2003): 109.
[81] "Notes that Thos. Limerick, Edw. Cotton, Peter Messenger, and Rich. Baseley were this day drawn, hanged and quartered, 9 May1668," SP 29/239 f.258.

of passion as a means of priming royalist identity remained an important weapon in the public relations arsenal. Narcissus Luttrell commented on the attempt to consolidate normative loyalty through the church, the closest link that the crown had with the populace. He observed that "[e]ver since the discovery of this fanatick conspiracy, the pulpits for the most part have been busied with nothing but discourses against the dissenters, preaching up loyalty and passive obedience."[82] Although the theatre of the pulpit was useful for disseminating emotional norms to the English people, the act of public execution remained one of the most effective means of performing political passions.

During the Protestant Plots, Tory pamphlets demonstrated the role of righteous vengeance in Stuart-sponsored performances of normative emotions. Pamphlets such as *Whig upon Whig* lamented perceived delays to justice, remarking in particular on the London Grand Jury's finding of the bill against Stephen College *ignoramus*. Such aberrations were, however, portrayed as insufficient to stem the tide of English justice; "[j]uries (alas) are thus, There's no Ignoramus, But you'l have Justice done, To ev'ry Mothers Son and be Hang'd One by One".[83] Publications such as *The Whigs in Mourning* stated "To Justice bring all canting Rogues, Who teach the Rabble Notions, And at Tyburn let the Dogs Pay all their last Devotions."[84] In addition to encouraging the public expression of anger towards the traitors, some pamphlets made it clear that the execution of traitors could provide both the satisfaction of just anger and the fulfilment of hopes. *The Whigs Laid Open* stated "I hope they will have their Desert, and the Gallows will have its due, And Jack Ketch [the executioner] will be more Expert, and in time be Rich

---

[82] Luttrell, 278.
[83] *Whig upon Whig* (London, 1683)
[84] *The Whigs in Mourning*.

as a Jew".[85] In 1683, at the height of the Protestant Plot trials and executions, *A Congratulatory Pindaric Poem* was published justifying the executions of Lord Russell and Sidney; "[t]hus may all [rebels] sink from Earth to Hell, Like the damn'd false Achitophel, Who dare against th' Almighty, or their Prince rebel".[86]

However, polemical fury was not the only means through which the people could be persuaded. As numerous printed works reveal, satire was a subtler but equally effective vehicle for the dissemination and consolidation of desirable emotional norms. As Dryden noted in the preface of *Absalom and Achitophel,* "there's a sweetness in good Verse, which Tickles even while it Hurts: And no man can be heartily angry with him, who pleases him against his will."[87] The complex nature of early modern English satire has been emphasised by Conal Condren, who has examined in depth the difficulties in defining satire. He does note that elements of censure and "moral seriousness" appear to be common characteristics.[88] Humour and ridicule are not necessary elements; although ridicule along with irony, could allow the reader to "identify a satiric edge". More importantly perhaps is the transgression of "any bifurcation between serious and non-serious", which gives satire its power, a contention with which Dryden agreed.[89]

Condren demonstrates a growing abandonment of moral seriousness in favour of pure comedy from the sixteenth century.[90] More recently, in her analysis of satire in the "long eighteenth century", Ashley Marshall has contended that "precious few" of those satirists who proclaim themselves to be "society's moral guardians" practiced what they

---

[85] *The Whigs Laid Open* (London, 1683).
[86] *A Congratulatory Pindaric Poem* (London, 1683), 3.
[87] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*.
[88] Conal Condren, "Satire and Definition," *Humor: The International Journal of Humor Research* 25, no. 4 (2012): 378, 395.
[89] Condren, "Satire and Definition," 388-389.
[90] Condren, "Satire and Definition," 392

preached.[91] However, in the sources under examination in this thesis, the attempt to privilege the author's morality remains integral to the purpose of the publications. For the purposes of understanding the relationship between seventeenth-century satire and anger, this chapter considers satire as a "way of political conduct", as invective, and as an attempt to legitimise the author's moral position, and to persuade the reader, through the juxtaposition of moral earnestness and comedy.[92] In this respect, the value of satire as propaganda was considerable to its authors. Satire could be designed to moderate anger directed at the author, while simultaneously employing anger for its own devices. It was the means through which shame and anger, as tools for punishment and behaviour modification, were translated to the public.

During the Popish and Rye House Plots, it was newspapers more than pamphlets, which employed satire. *Heraclitus Ridens* for example, demonstrated that humour was a powerful weapon in the dissemination of "news". In a dialogue between Jest and Earnest, Jest the simple-minded, naive Whig supporter was "frighted out of [his] wits" as "all the Discourse was of Tragedies, Treason, Murders, Massacres, Tyranny, Designs, War, Fire, Sword", to which Earnest made a sharp reply.

> You might ee'n have been wiser than to keep such Company, this Popular Fears, and Mrs. Jealousies never came into any company in their Lives but they set 'em together by the Ears, and while they are quarrelling they pick their Pockets.[93]

Dryden's claim concerning the value of satire in diffusing anger is supported by Joad Raymond's contention that the "joco-serious vein [was] probably the most acceptable

---

[91] Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658 – 1770* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 40.
[92] Conal Condren, "The Perplexities of Satire," *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 22, no. 4 (2009): 441-42.
[93] *Heraclitus Ridens*, no. 6, 8 March 1681.

form of editorialising" during the Popish Plot.[94] However, humour was decidedly lacking

from what Narcissus Luttrell termed the "violent paper scuffle" between Whigs and

Tories, particularly towards the end of the Popish Plot.[95] The "modern Whig" was,

according to Tory polemic, "a Certain Insect bred in the Corruption of the late Rebellion,

and is . . . a Traytor *Ex traduce,*" while a Tory was characterised as "a Monster with an

English Face, a French Heart, and an Irish Conscience. A Creature of a Large Forehead,

Prodigious Mouth . . . and no Brains."[96] Such attempts to ridicule political opponents

testify to the importance of honour and the normative power of shame in Restoration

England. However, although such opinions found resonance among the English people,

it was with less permanence than the Stuarts would wish.

The evidence of this chapter indicates that the passions were as integral to power

relations in the latter half of the seventeenth century as ideas; and in many cases, passions

and ideas were inseparable. The masking of emotion was equally successful at subverting

crown attempts at emotional control. During the early years of the Restoration, joy often

overlay fear, while during the Exclusion Crisis demonstrations of loyalty to the king

could easily conceal discontent with Charles II's policies or his brother's practices.

Throughout Charles II's reign satire was a popular vehicle for unpopular passions, with

humour often accepted as a commonplace disguise, if thinly veiled, for anger and

disloyalty. The disguise of true passions arguably posed an even greater threat to the

---

[94] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 351.

[95] Luttrell, 124.

[96] *The Character of a Modern Whig* (London, 1681); *The Character of a Tory* (London, 1682). See also *The Character of a Through-Pac'd Tory, Ecclesiastical or Civil* (London, 1682); *The Charge of a Tory Plot Maintain'd in a Dialogue Between the Observator, Heraclitus and an Inferior Clergy-Man* (London, 1682). On the Tory side side of the vitriolic debate see also *The Advice of Tory to Whigg* (London, 1682); *An Excellent New Song of Unfortunate Whigs* (London, 1682); *The hypocritical Whigg displayed* (London, 1682). It should be noted that factious voices were by no means the only ones to be heard, as exemplified by pamphlets such as *The Condemnation of Whig and Tory* (London, 1681) and *The Character of a Good Man, neither Whig nor Tory* (London, 1681) . These attempts at dismissing divisive political identities were however overshadowed by the far more prolific factional print squabbles.

restored monarchy than those exacerbated through Stuart-sponsored performance; it heightened uncertainty and as a result, increased the probability for misunderstanding popular allegiance and therefore also the potential for renewed rebellion. However, in a period when public expression of emotion could quite literally be a matter of life and death, superimposing desirable passions over undesirable ones became an affair of survival. The overt and covert emotional performances analysed in this chapter suggest that individual emotional insincerity could indicate not only a "social truth", as Rosenwein suggested, but also, in this case, a political truth or an expedient lie.

Emotions functioned during the Restoration much as modern sociologists and social psychologists have suggested; to produce both audience effect and affect. Joy and anger, disparate though they may be in modern perceptions, were staged for the same ends; to encourage loyalty to the restored Stuart regime. The sublimation of royal anger was arguably the most effective performance of emotion; even the counter-reaction of Charles II's supporters was subsumed by their need to conform to display rules. This resulted in loyalty and cheerful forbearance overshadowing their resentment, at least in the expression of emotion. As Edward Hyde had done in 1660, Harris has suggested that this overt loyalty was to be expected, especially in counties or regions whose loyalist credentials were suspect.[97]

The efficiency of treason prosecutions certainly provided the public with an excellent incentive to demonstrate their allegiance to the Crown. Nevertheless, as Harris notes, "although royalists may have made all the noise, and in some of the more notoriously disaffected areas Whigs may have been keen to be seen to be loyal, we should not assume that partisan tensions were now dead or that most people had at last turned

---

[97] Harris, *Restoration,* 317-318.

Tory."[98] The crown's attempts to create and consolidate emotional norms met with variable success, especially as unofficial performances of political passions were often equally successful in challenging emotional norms, and attempting to privilege new ones. Even during the early years of the Restoration, when gratitude at the return of the king and fears of renewed rebellion were uppermost in the minds of the people, crown performances were liable to opposition. Counter-performances by opposition groups were the clearest evidence of this, demonstrating to the restored Stuarts and their public audiences that monarchical control over public sentiment was, at best, tenuous.

---

[98] Harris, *Restoration,* 321.

CHAPTER 7

SUBVERTING THE STUARTS: COUNTER PERFORMANCE

Although the king and his supporters might have wished for a longer reprieve, opposition to attempts to engender loyalty was evident almost from the beginning of 1660, despite the veneer of public joy. The people appeared to have readily accepted the example of emotional norms surrounding the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* during the early years of the Restoration. However, this performance was one of the few that did not generate emotional resistance of sufficient magnitude to overwhelm the crown's message. Many of these counter-performances were conscious mutations of Stuart-sponsored displays of loyalty, joy and even righteous anger, all of which were rapidly commandeered by opposition groups and staged for the people. Shame, festivities and the execution of the condemned were used to challenge the Stuart-sponsored emotional regime and its control over popular allegiance. As a result, public subversion of these performances confirmed that the passions were an important medium through which groups could renegotiate the balance of power in Restoration England. The enthusiastic adoption of opposition performances of political passions reflected both the decline in deference and the increasing separation of the person of the monarch from the concept of the nation.

1 – SHAME AND THE DEFENCE OF THE NATION

That individuals and groups were willing to heap shame on the Stuart court and the king's allies demonstrates both a lack of respect, and an increasingly widespread perception of the nation as an entity distinct from the king. Those opposed to the Stuarts deployed shame with impunity, in order to demonstrate to the people, the follies and dangers of Stuart policies and actions. In the context of the relationship between honour, shame and

identity, shaming was a particularly effective strategy for use against the nobility. As Markku Peltonen notes, the rules governing the honour of members of the nobility in Stuart England were such that death was preferable to a slight on a gentleman's reputation for "honour was lost as soon as a man lost the good opinion of the world".[1] Those in opposition to the king's court deployed emotional rhetoric very effectively to destroy if not the world's then at least London's opinion of their opponents.

During the Bawdy House Riots, the shaming of the licentious Stuart Court was a particularly effective weapon in the emotional arsenal of the radical regime, with published responses to the riots taking much pleasure in heaping humiliation upon Charles II's Court. The king's mistress, the countess of Castlemaine, became one of the main foci of popular resentment over the outcome of the trials.[2] A number of pamphlets purporting to be petitions for the countess' assistance from "poor whores", who had lost their houses in the riots, were published. The "poor whores" petitioned the countess because they practised a "Trade wherein [her] Ladyship hath great Experience, and for [her] diligence therein, [had] arrived to high and Eminent Advancement for these late years".[3] The pathos and humour of such pamphlets was a commonly understood satirical code for dissenting anger.[4] They were thinly veiled attacks on the moral flaws of the king and the duke of York, and the incompetence of the Restoration government. All were condemned for their failure to secure individual liberties while allowing brothels to trade unchecked.

---

[1] Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 42.

[2] Pepys, *Diary,* 154.

[3] "The Poor-Whores Petition, 25 March 1668," SP 29/237 f.62.

[4] It should be noted however that the satirical use of shame, particularly with respect to the king's perceived libertinism was as much a tool for wit and constructive criticism within the royal court as it was a marker of opposition; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II: 1660-1685* (Woodbrige, Suffolk: Boydell, 2010), 134-35.

The sublimated anger displayed in pamphlets supporting the riots was also a reflection of overt passion expressed by the rioters and spectators. As chapter six demonstrated, satire was a useful tool for expressing anger against a more powerful opponent without assuming the risks. The "poor whores", for example, with a "great sense of [their] present suffering" implored the countess of Castlemaine

> That some speedy Relief may be afforded us to prevent Our Utter Ruine and Undoing. And that such a sure Course may be taken with the Ringleaders and Abbeters . . . that a stop may be put unto them before they come to your Honours Pallace, and bring contempt upon your worshiping of Venus".[5]

The fear that the "poor whores" articulated was a weapon of irony, a performative emotional lie, employed as an expression of anger against a government, which arrested covenanters rather than bawds, and which tried for treason those who attempted to remedy the situation. Instead of the overt displays of anger that characterised the emotional expression of the "mob", the irony evident in the pamphlets suggests that it was an acceptable vehicle for expressions of anger against social superiors. As discussed previously, the use of humour and satire facilitated a positive reception of potentially inflammatory political arguments among the wider population. However, it also enabled the author to convey a response to the riots that ran counter to the emotional norms prescribed or encouraged by the crown, without running the risk of facing disciplinary action by Roger L'Estrange and the courts. Such evasive manoeuvres were of particular importance when pamphleteers designed a polemical attack on the king's Court, and clearly illustrate that public anger was employed in various guises to contest authority, or

---

[5]"The Poor-Whores Petition."

to renegotiate the balance of power between Charles II and his supporters, and the nonconformists and theirs.

The countess of Castlemaine was understandably "horribly vexed at the late Libell, the petition of the poor whores about the town whose houses were pulled down the other day", which Samuel Pepys thought "not very witty; but devilish severe against her and the king." Pepys wondered how such pamphlets "durst be printed and spread abroad". [6] The pamphlets published in response to the arrests of the riots' ringleaders engendered not only an irate response from courtiers but also a determination to suppress popular insubordination. There was an attempt, presumably on behalf of the countess, the duke or the king, to mete out punishment to the authors and publishers of *The Poor Whores' Petition*. However, Roger L'Estrange advised Secretary of State Williamson that he could "fasten nothing on the Poor Whores' petition that a jury will take notice of".[7] The obstacles to prosecution notwithstanding, there remained a concerted effort to rid the streets of such licentious material through the identification and prosecution of peddlers of such pamphlets.[8]

As previous chapters have demonstrated, the Stuarts did succeed in defending and exercising royal authority in the short term, thanks chiefly to their successful construction of the Bawdy House Riots as a potential prelude to a dreaded popular rebellion. However, although the lives of the riots' ringleaders were lost at Tyburn, their cause was not. The adventures of Easter 1668 proved just how effective a weapon anger could be in the struggle to win political and religious concessions from the king, particularly if the public was on side. A year after the Bawdy House Riots, organised opposition to the Conventicle

---

[6] Pepys, *Diary,* 154.
[7] L'Estrange, "Roger L'Estrange to Williamson, 24 April 1668."
[8] "Note that the clockmaker's man confesses selling 2 copies of the 'Poor Whores' Petition'," SP 29/239 f.10.

Act resulted in elections of dissenters to civic offices.[9] This non-violent opposition enabled nonconformists to gain a modicum of religious toleration and political representation, which seemed improbable during the Easter of 1668. The gains made by nonconformists also suggest that the Restoration government had not only learned the art of compromise, but the ability to manage public passions. However, the monarchy's skill in negotiating emotion would be sorely tested in the decades to come; and an encore performance by apprentices against bawdy houses during the Easter holidays eleven years later suggests that the monarchy achieved only a temporary settlement of public passions.[10]

During the 1670s, shame was an equally useful means through which the opposition could deploy anger as a tool for persuading the government to reconsider its alliance with France and Catholicism. Louis XIV's Declaration of war against Holland justified his actions through honour; "his Majesty cannot longer, without diminution to his own Glory, dissemble the indignation raised in him, by a Treatment so unsuitable to the great obligations which his Majesty and the kings his Predecessors have so liberally heaped upon them".[11] In his alliance with France, Charles II was once again attempting to impose an emotional regime in which the conduct of kings was noble and therefore just. However, the conduct of France with regards to the war with the Dutch was, according to many English eyes, neither honourable nor justified. As a result, the alliance risked alienating much of the populace, and Charles II would soon find it difficult to retain the upper hand in the face of increasing political opposition framed in emotional terms.

---

[9] De Krey, "London Radicals and Revolutionary Politics, 1675-1683," 135.
[10] Luttrell, 9.
[11] Louis XIV, *The Most Christian Kings Declaration of War against the States General of the United Provinces* (London, 1672).

According to *The English Ballance*, it was now deemed "boorish incivility" to question the war against the Dutch. [12] If this was an attempt by the Stuarts to establish an emotional norm, it seemed to hold little sway over parliamentarians, pamphleteers or the populace. *The English Ballance* stated that although "the advance of [Louis XIV's] Romish superstition" was one reason for the war, the author was more inclined to think that "the insolent Tyranny of these imperious Lusts, pride and avarice, that doth thus derobe a great Prince, of his solid glories, and pleasures, and in lieu thereof, with pain and hazard to himself, and injury to his neighbours, render him a slave to the motions of his insatiable appetit".[13] The personal dishonour of Louis XIV would have been unlikely to have posed a problem to English sensibilities had it not also infected his allies. The Norman yoke "entangled" the English in "an impious, dishonourable and destructive alliance" that could only be "maintained with the expense of so much English blood and treasure".[14] This dishonourable alliance, "highly scandalous to the Protestant religion" had turned England into the "now foolish associate in [the Anglo-Dutch] war".[15] Even those directly involved in the conflict, such as Lord Ossory, vice-admiral, were less than confident of the justness thereof; "My Lord Ossory several times deploring his being ingaged in it to me, & he had more justice & honour than in the least to approve of it," and those that did were, according to Evelyn, full of "avarice and ambition".[16]

Any power that the king and crown retained over the passions of English subjects was further weakened by the growing distrust of the duke of York. For Evelyn, York was the chief means of his friend Treasurer Clifford's political demise. Rumours of Clifford's suicide served only to darken Evelyn's perspective of the war: "This if true, is dismal,

---

[12] *The English Ballance* , 4.
[13] *The English Ballance* , 4.
[14] Du Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti"
[15] Du Moulin, "Verbum Sapienti."
[16] Evelyn, *Diary,* 215

and realy, he was the chiefe occasion of the Dutch Warr, & of all that bloud which was lost at Bergen, in attaquing the Smyrna fleede, & that whole quarrell".[17] As a commissioner for the sick and wounded of the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars, Evelyn's bitterness and melancholy at this turn of events is unsurprising. However, he was by no means the only one, for whom the king's younger brother was fast becoming a threat to England. The young Thomas Isham believed that even God was dissatisfied with York, lord admiral of the king's navy;

> They say after the last battle the Duke of York hoisted a red flag, wishing to engage, but that the movements of each ship were so obscured by fog that they seemed to be separated by Divine intervention; but after an hour or two the skies cleared miraculously and our Fleet bore down straight upon the Dutch. The Duke of York again hoisted a red flag, with the desire to engage, but again a dark cloud arose, so that I believe (nor shall I be ashamed to confess it) that God Himself was angry at the war.[18]

Whether or not God was angry at the war, many of the English people were indeed angry at the heir apparent. The duke of York's exclusion from the throne was to become one of the key issues, which demonstrated unequivocally that the Stuarts had lost much of the control they had gained during the 1660s. The manipulation of the passions by opposition to the Crown, whether deliberate or not, had a significant influence over the changing fortunes of the royalist regime. The decline in authority of the king's supporterswas correlated with the growing popular conviction of the English nation as an entity distinct from the person of the monarch.

---

[17] Evelyn, *Diary*, 225.
[18] Isham, *Diary,* 119 - 121.

Treason was clearly a breach of the behavioural norms of loyalty and patriotism; as the prosecution in Stafford's trial attested "'Tis a strange thing that *English*-men should contrive to have an Invasion of Strangers upon their own Country." Shame was the emotion most often deployed against the perpetrators as a form of punishment and deterrence, for "surely they are the worst Biggots in the World that were so zealous to destroy their own Nation".[19] The rampant attacks in print on the honour of traitors indicate that many were convinced that where fear of death failed, fear of dishonour could triumph. This not only emphasised the normative power of shame and its direct relationship with public anger, but also its use in converting the public to an emotional regime in opposition to the Stuarts. Those accused of treason were also keenly aware of the threat that public anger at their "crimes" posed to their reputations. Edward Coleman's posthumous reputation was the first to be besieged, and the shaming of the duke of York's former secretary was explicitly represented as being in the defence of England.

> 'Tis of Coleman I sing, who once was of Fame,
>
> And good Reputation, but now to his shame,
>
> Foul Treason has sullied his Nobler parts,
>
> And brought him to ruine, tho' just his deserts:
>
> 'Twas Popish Infection to Ruine the state,
>
> That wrought his Confusion, and hastned his Fate.

According to the author, Coleman's downfall was a result of his weakness in the face of Popish influence; for no sooner had the "buzzing" of "Rome's Triple Tyrant . . . Poyson'd

---

[19] *The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford,* 9.

his Loyalty, but he begins To start from Allegiance, and scruples no sins."[20] Satirical representations of alleged traitors were more vitriolic and less humorous than the printed attacks on the countess of Castlemaine during the Bawdy House Riots. A decade after the riots, shame retained its power to inculcate behavioural norms, albeit in different forms depending on the context within which it was employed. In addition, shame became a sharper weapon in the art of political negotiation in Restoration England.

Royal servants were not the only individuals to have their reputations publicly sullied by their "trait'rous shame"; noblemen and judges were also considered legitimate targets.[21] This use of shame was by no means an innovation of the Restoration. In 1626, George Digby, the earl of Bristol, had argued as much from the Tower of London; having been "brought as a delinquent to the parliament barr, and there mett with an accusation of treason and the stile of a traitor, an attribute too lytle expected and too lytle deserved."[22] In contrast to Bristol's case however, those accused during the Popish Plot had little opportunity to defend their honour, while numerous publications emphasised the ignominious infamy of their treasons. Viscount Stafford for example, might have been impeached in the House of Lords by a jury of his peers; his reputation however, was tried by "popular opinion" as constructed in the pamphlets, poems and ballads that kept printers busy from 1678 until his execution in 1680. In a debate on the legality of proceeding against the lords while parliament was prorogued, the Lord Privy Seal objected to allowing public sentiment to influence the political process; for "[a]ny without doors to hint [that a] judge determine of the jurisdiction of the parliament is a crime of a dangerous nature."[23]

---

[20] *The Plotter Executed* (London, 1678).
[21] *Paradox against Liberty*.
[22] John Digby, "John, Earl of Bristol, to the King."
[23] "Notes by Williamson, 31 Dec. 1678," SP 29/366 f.347.

However, the controversial nature of "out-of-doors" opinion in the proceedings of justice did little to negate its power. Although the opinion of many without doors was that parliament was the key to ensuring the smooth running of English justice, its prorogation was not about to impede public trial by shame. Stafford was perceived to have cut short his own life "by such ignoble ways" when he resorted to conspire against the life of the king.[24] According to an *Elegy on Stafford,* the viscount "fell, a piller of the plot, Whose Name must now as in a Dunghill rot, And blotted be with Infamy and Shame".[25] Tongue-in-cheek lamentations for the piteous traitor reinforce the perception that it was fear of dishonour rather than death that was perceived as the most effective deterrent for would-be traitors.

The shaming of Lord Chief Justice William Scroggs was a distinct exception to the growing prestige of the judiciary.[26] However, as such it provides an interesting example of both the emotional attachment to justice, and the extent to which the person of the king had been divorced from the concept of the nation. In the case of the latter, one had merely to be perceived as supporting the royal court's "popish" agenda to be declared traitor to England. The clearest examples of shaming and anger were not directed at the alleged traitors but at those who were perceived to be subverting that very justice they were sworn to uphold. This is particularly noticeable in public expressions of emotions in response to the conduct of Lord Chief Justice William Scroggs who, with the acquittals of Sir George Wakeman and three Jesuit priests, began to swim against the tide of public opinion. During his impeachment by the House of Commons in December 1680, the first

---

[24] *A Poem on the Condemnation of Viscount Stafford* (London, 1680).

[25] *Elegy on Stafford* (London, 1680).

[26] David Lemmings, *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 291. See also David Lemmings,"The Independence of the Judiciary in Eighteenth-Century England." In *The Life of the Law*, edited by Peter Birks, 125-49. London: The Hambledon Press, 1993.

specific charge laid at Scroggs' feet was directly related to the problem of succession; not only was "the Course of Justice stopt maliciously and designedly", in particular, "a Bill of Indictment against James Duke of York for absenting himself from Church . . . was prevented from being proceeded upon."[27] In addition to fining Protestants whilst being lenient on papists, Scroggs was accused of suppressing the press by refusing bail to printers on trial for sedition. This oppression constituted "a manifest Countenancing of Popery and discouragement of Protestants, an open Invasion upon the Right of the Subject, and an encroaching and assuming to themselves [the judiciary] a Legislative Power and Authority."[28] Worst of all however, Scroggs "did Traiterously and wickedly suppress and stifle the Discovery of the said Popish Plot, and Encourage the Conspirators to proceed in the same, to the great and apparent danger of His Majesties Sacred Life, and of the well-Established Government, and Religion of this Realm of England."[29] Scrogg's impeachment was a counter-performance in which the Whigs in parliament prominently displayed their role as the champions of English justice and security.

Although Stephen College's libels of the judge found sympathetic ears among his audience, such forms of insolence could not be tolerated. Two publishers were tried for the "scandalous libels" of *Scroggs upon Scroggs* and another condemnation of the Lord Chief Justice, *Tom Ticklefoot*. Both chose to show submission to the court and therefore, while found guilty, were recommended to the "pity and compassion" of Scroggs.[30] However, the deterrence value of such actions was questionable. In response to charges of seditious libel, *The Bellowings of a Wild Bull, or Scroggs' Roaring Lamentation*

---

[27] *Articles of Impeachment of High Treason, and other Great Crimes and Misdemeanors against Sir William Scroggs Chief Justice of the court of the King's Bench* (London, 1680), 163.
[28] *Articles of Impeachment*, 164.
[29] *Articles of Impeachment*, 169.
[30] *An Impartial Account of the Tryal of Francis Smith, and also of the Tryal of Jane Curtis* (London, 1680).

responded with a depiction of Scroggs that, although subtler than that of *Scroggs upon Scroggs* was no more complimentary.

> They murther'd my Name before, and wrote Scrggs, when they had some fear of me, but now they write plain SCROGGS, and set it in Capital Letters; they leave my Titles too, and seem to care no more for me, than for a Butchers-Brat in a Hand basket. Now shall I have more *Scroggs upon Scroggs,* Satyrical Poems, wicked Lampoons, odious New-years Gifts, damnable Looking-glasses, plaguy Memorandums, and such like bawled about the Town.[31]

The public anger at Scroggs manifested itself in more than murmurs and satirical pamphlets. Luttrell reported that "[t]he lord chief justice Scroggs in his circuit this assizes had severall affronts putt upon him: in some places, as he came by, they cryed a Wakeman, a Wakeman: in another they threw a dog half hanged into his coach."[32]

The act of shaming was only safe, however, when it did not attempt to turn against the tide of public opinion. The broadsheet *Domestick Intelligence* condemned one attempt to satirise the Popish Plot in order to encourage disbelief, and to demonise English justice.

> There being a scandalous Ballad publisht this week, turning the Plot into Ridicule . . . was complained of to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; who resented the same as so heinous a crime, that immediately the Court ordered the Marshals of the City and some other Officers to Inquire after the Author and Printer.

Against such individuals, and those vending the "scandalous Ballad", *Domesitck Intelligence* highlighted the prevalence of the desire that the laws be "executed in all

---

[31] *The Bellowings of a Wild Bull, or Scroggs' Roaring Lamentation*, 3.
[32] Luttrell, 19-20.

severity".[33] For opposite cases in which such satire was designed to shame and humiliate

papists however, the ineffectiveness of charges of libel to deter printers provides evidence

of the dominance of the radical emotional regime, at least at the beginning of 1681.

Although pamphleteers appeared happy to attack royal policy in print, there

remained a reticence when it came to demonstrating public anger towards the king and

his policies in person. This accords with the widespread understanding of the political

expedience of concealing one's emotions, analysed in chapter six. In England rebellious

courage such as that exhibited by "great compan[ies] of men" in Scotland was found

more often in print than in action. [34] This reticence rarely extended to print however, and

as one report suggested "[l]ibels are now crawling forth apace, *Vox Populi, &c., Scroggs

Bellowing* and a satire against Mr. R. L['Estrange] and many such things not worthy your

sight."[35] One printer declared from the King's Bench prison "he was printing a New

Year's gift to Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and other things, and would never give over

printing or writing till the Government was changed into a free state"; further evidence

of the inability of seditious libel laws to stem the flow of invective against Scroggs.[36]

The use of shaming also effectively echoed the monarch's use of *ira regis* to deal

out justice to the regicides, which would not have hurt in cementing the Whigs'

legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Ralph Josselin wrote on 20 July 1679 "news amasing.

Said Sr. G. Wakeman and divers Jesuites all cleard by a vast shout of the papists. Lord I

understand not the secret strings of this busines."[37] Others were less reticent when it came

to speculating what had prompted Scroggs' change of heart. In encouraging the jury to

---

[33] *Domestick Intelligence,* no. 22, 19 September 1679.
[34] Luttrell, 15-16. These riotous individuals "proclaimed the covenant" and their radical principles by burning "the act about the kings supremacy" among others.
[35] "Dr Thomthy Halton to Sir Francis Radclyffe at Dilston, 20 Jan. 1681."
[36] "Testimony of Charles Rea, [1681?]," SP 29/417 f.449.
[37] Josselin, *Diary,* 623.

acquit the Queen's physician, it was evident to many that Scroggs had been persuaded from the course of justice with a substantial bribe from the royal court. [38] The pamphlets destroying Scroggs's reputation also left the reader in little doubt as to the saviour of justice and the people; if the French faction at court held sway over the king, then it must be the task of parliament to come to the nation's rescue.[39]

These examples underscore a change in the balance of power between royalist and oppositional emotional regimes aided and abetted by the decline in obedience to the king and increasing unpopularity of the royal court. One instance was a verbal attack on Nell Gwynn; "the 26th, Mrs. Ellen Gwyn being at the dukes playhouse was affronted by a person who came into the pitt and called her whore; whom Mr. Herbert, the earl of Pembroke's brother, vindicating, there were many swords drawn, and a great hubbub in the house."[40] This demonstration evinces a marked similarity to the case of published attacks on the countess of Castlemaine already examined. As with Nell Gwynne, during the Popish Plot, the duchess of Portsmouth also filled Castlemaine's shoes in more than one sense, and her connection with the French court only served to exacerbate the danger she allegedly posed to England. Pamphlets expressed doubts as to Charles II's ability to ensure the right outcome of treason trials given the influence of French courtiers in general and the king's mistress in particular. One paper contended that "Ireland [one of the priests charged with treason] shall not die, for he is the Duchess of Portsmouth's confessor. She can do nothing without him in spirituals".[41] While the attacks on the

---

[38] Luttrell, 17 - 18. See also *A New-Years-Gift for the Lord Chief in Justice Scggs* (London, 1679), 1-3; *A Letter from Paris, from Sir George Wakeman to his Friend Sir W. S.* (London, 1681), 1. One "good Yeomanly Man of Essex" was imprisoned and fined two hundred pounds for declaring that Scroggs had been bribed, Morrice, 233.
[39] *The Bellowings of a Wild-Bull: or, Scroggs's Roaring Lamentation for being Impeached of high treason* (London, 1680), 1.
[40] Luttrell, 34-35.
[41] "Paper headed, 'It is bruited', [Jan.] 1679," SP 29/411 f.62.

duchess of Castlemaine went unpunished, rumour had it that this was not the case with the duchess of Portsmouth. The poet, author and playwright John Dryden was attacked by three men in Covent Garden and according to diarist Narcissus Luttrell, "'tis thought to be done by order of the dutchesse of Portsmouth, she being abused in a late libell called an Essay upon satyr, of which Mr. Dryden is suspected to be the author."[42]

2 - EXECUTION AND OPPOSITION: CONDEMNING ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN

The spectacle of execution was both a forceful demonstration of the obedience and loyalty to the king expected of the people, and an excellent vector for disseminating those norms among a wide audience, as attendance was a popular pastime. The mode of execution for men of lower status involved drawing to the place of execution on a hurdle, hanging and quartering, often including evisceration and castration. The public nature of execution meant that shame played a significant role, even, or perhaps particularly, for those of elite status, who had the great fortune of being subject only to decapitation. In seventeenth-century treason trials, shame was a valuable tool for stigmatization and deterrence and integral to retributive justice. The crown had readily demonstrated its preparedness to use such a tool for both deterrence and punishment. However, the act of execution was one which was as likely, if not more so, to engender opposition than to cement allegiance to the monarchy.

One of the earliest examples of emotional subversion is found in responses to the public execution of the *Solemn League and Covenant.* In one respect, the burning of the Covenant was successful; it was certainly more likely to exacerbate passion than settle it. This performance did not, however, have the desired effect of increasing allegiance by

---

[42] Luttrell, 30. This is an example of the way in which satire was used not only in opposition to the Stuart regime, but also as constructive criticism from the king's allies.

priming royalist identity, and the satisfaction at the document's execution, reported to the earl of Winchelsea, was by no means universal.[43] The Caroline government's effort to demand expression of loyalty was instead counterproductive in this case. The weakness of the Stuarts in attempting to impose an emotional norm was underlined by the presence of an angry reaction in opposition.

Pamphlets, which protested the burning, were published and circulated, despite the potential consequences to the authors and publishers. While they phrased their arguments against the government's actions in terms of public interest, they nevertheless weakened the attempt to unify the public through loyalty to the Crown. In the preface of *The Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant,* the publisher stated that although many desired that the Covenant "should have been buried in its own ashes . . . things of such publique concernment . . . cannot so soon be forgotten, but ought to be weighed with the good or evil consequences that have or shall accrew thereby".[44] *The Phoenix* appended the original Solemn League and Covenant, much to the annoyance of the new government trying to rid England of that "devilish engine of sedition". The extent of enduring support for the Covenant was evinced by the examination of one Thomas Creake before Secretary of State Sir Edward Nicholas, during which Creake testified that at least 660 copies of *The Phoenix* were published and distributed throughout London at the end of May.[45] Although there were undoubtedly many supporters of the Covenant's extermination, more contentious responses suggest that the memory of the Long Parliament could not be exorcised as completely as Restoration parliaments would wish.[46]

---

[43] For the report to the earl, see chapter six, 202.

[44] *The Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant* (Edinburgh, [1661]). For more evidence of the Scottish perspective see also *A Dismal Account of the Burning of our Solemn League and National Covenant (with God) and one another (*Edinburgh: 1662).

[45] "Examination of Thomas Creake of Little Britain, 29 June1661," SP 29/38 f.121.

[46] In the case of the Solemn League and Covenant, the debate over its worth resurfaced in 1663, with 70,000 English planters in Ireland planning to rise up in support of the covenant, and documents such as

One pamphlet purporting to be the speech of a Member of Parliament argued for, if not a "Reprieve of Sentence upon the poor despised Covenant" then "at least, an honourable Interment or silent Burial". He contended that "an honourable Interment" would be well advised, for the ignominious and public treatment of the Covenant by the authorities would "much trouble and disquiet the spirits of many honest persons, who were very instrumental in restoring to his Rights our Gracious Soveraign".[47] Public shaming played a crucial role in the execution of early modern justice, however, as Robert Shoemaker has argued, public crowds often have "their own sense of justice".[48] In the case of the Covenant, this did not always match official expectations. Where a "silent burial" of the Covenant might have laid to rest the poltergeists of Long Parliament legislation and settled public passions, the crown's attempt to inspire and consolidate widespread loyalty through the burning of the Covenant instead brought "much trouble and disquiet" to the emotional landscape of Restoration England.

During the Popish Plot, those loyal to the Whigs demonstrated themselves eminently capable of co-opting the Stuart-sponsored performances of execution in order to communicate their own idea of justice to their sovereign. This belief was celebrated most explicitly, albeit in a fashion more macabre than usual, in *Scroggs upon Scroggs,* a particularly vitriolic satire by Stephen College, soon to be himself at the mercy of a vengeful justice system during the Protestant Plots.

---

the *Grand Case* and the *Short Survey of the Grand Case* presenting again the central tenets of the covenant; "Information by Col. Slingsby, late deputy governor of the Isle of Wight, July 1663," SP 29/76 f. 145; *The Grand Case of the Present Ministry (*London, 1663); *A Short Surveigh of the Grand Case of the Present Ministry* (London, 1663).
[47] *The Funeral of the Good Old Cause* (London, 1661), 7-8.
[48] Robert Shoemaker, "Streets of Shame? The Crowd and Public Punishments in London, 1700-1820," in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500-1900: Punishing the English*, ed. S. Devereaux and P. Griffiths (London: Palgrave, 2004), 236.

Priests and Physician, thou didst save

From Gallows, Fire, and the Grave;

For which we can't endure thee . . .

But lest we all should end thy Life;

And with a keen-whet Chopping-knife,

In a thousand pieces cleave thee,

Let th' parliament first him undertake,

They'll make the Rascal stink at Stake;

And so like a Knave let's leave thee.[49]

Most pamphlets vilifying Scroggs did so with more subtlety or at least less overt violence than College's *A Satyr Against Injustice.* However, the pamphlet's recourse to such aggression suggests that although it may have been, and probably was, intended to shock readers, College must also have believed that this approach would resonate with an angry audience.

Indeed, in their attempts to redress perceived injustice, radical Whigs like the "Protestant Joyner" Stephen College, used polemical pamphlets to hijack the heightened emotional responses that the crown had encouraged through the performance of execution. The desire for vengeance was as common to Josselin and to the satirists who viciously attacked Wakeman's character, as it had been to the king in the case of the regicides. Josselin prayed that God would "Bring things to light, and let wickedness punish the wicked when it comes."[50] In a letter to MP Hugh Speke, Ames Short stated

---

[49]Stephen College, *A Satyr against Injustice or Sc--gs upon Sc—gs* (London, 1681), 2.
[50] Josselin, *Diary,* 623.

that he "rejoiced to hear that Scroggs was dismissed that bench, which he had made a seat of injustice" and wished that "he and his brethren in the same kind of iniquity have the full reward of their wickedness".[51] Such calls for punishment to be meted out to traitors underscore the relationship between legitimate public expressions of anger and the principles of retributive justice. Another satirical poem supported this belief providing a more violent, but nevertheless similar, echo of Short's perspective on condign punishment; "'Twas [Scroggs] that Villain Wakeman clear'd Who was to have Poyson'd the king, As plain to all but Twelve appear'd; For which he deserves to swing."[52]

In the spectacle of the execution, the use of shame in the consolidation of an emotional regime was not merely confined to print. In the case of peers, the physical defamation meted out to commoners was not possible as they were beheaded, a death sentence befitting their status. Nevertheless, in Stafford's case, one can see the successful propagation of normative anger nurtured by the Stuarts' opponents, as death alone was deemed insufficient a punishment for his crimes. The expression of public anger and the desire for vengeance manifested itself in the reports and responses to Stafford's execution, in particular in their emphasis on the iniquity of his death. His body, it was reported "stirred and wallowed to and fro . . . for about a quarter of an hour after the blow", which was the just deserts of the traitor who had "his own Blood justly shed, who did design to make Three kingdoms Swim in Blood".[53] Another report claimed that the opening and shutting of the disembodied mouth "seemed willing now in Deaths Convulsions to Proclaim the Plot: overflowing the Scaffold with his Blood, who would have made the Nation . . . [a] Field of Blood."[54]

---

[51] "Ames Short to Hugh Speke, [March] [1681]," SP 29/415 f.206.
[52] *A Satyr* (London, 1680).
[53] *The Manner of the Execution of William Howard, Late Earl of Stafford* (London, 1680), 3-4.
[54] *The Execution of William Howard, Late Lord Viscount Stafford* (London, 1680), 4.

During the Restoration, the display of courage in the face of death was considered normative behaviour. Andrea MacKenzie has demonstrated as much in her analysis of popular attitudes towards the "martyrs" dispatched at Tyburn.[55] In addition, the peers of England had the example of Charles I's meritorious conduct when he was himself subject to the justice of the parliament in 1649. The attempts to attack Stafford's reputation also emphasised his lack of courage on the scaffold, as a means of compounding his infamy.

> Where being come, he was helped up; then with heavy Cheer he cast his Eyes about, seeming much dejected and full of Sorrow for the Sins he had Committed; many of his friends flockt about the Scaffold, as near as it was permitted them. Much bewailing his sad End, the which when he beheld he could not refrain Weeping to bear them Company.[56]

The significance of such portrayals is highlighted by unpublished accounts of his execution, which describe a very different picture. A newsletter written to Newcastle of the goings on in London reported that "[b]eing ascended the scaffold, [Stafford] seemed to some fearless of death and in a cheerful unconcernedness read a paper.[57] The author of the newsletter was no friend of Stafford, stating "[t]hus fell this once great man unpitied by all save such as are in the same crimes or wish well thereto."[58] It is nevertheless an account of an honourable death and is consistent with Stafford's behaviour from the outset of his trial; Williamson's memorandum had described Stafford's conduct before the Lords as steadfast.[59] The discrepancy between Stafford's conduct and the portrait of him drawn by pamphlets, further underscores the affective power of shame and its

---

[55] McKenzie, "Martyrs in Low Life?"
[56] *The Execution of William Howard, Late Lord Viscount Stafford,* 3.
[57] "Newsletter to Roger Garstell, Newcastle, 30 Dec. 1680," *CSPD Charles II,* vol. 22, 111.
[58] "Newsletter to Roger Garstell."
[59] "Memorandum by Williamson, 8 Jan. 1679," SP 29/366 f.373.

normalized status as a means of expressing anger publicly. As one of the five "Popish Lords" and a member of Charles II's court, the ignominious accounts of Stafford's execution also demonstrate the effective subversion of the official spectacle of the execution of the condemned traitor in order to display opposition to the royal court.

In contrast, during the Protestant plots, loyalist attempts to shame prominent Whigs through the ritual of execution met with considerable opposition. *The Protestant Joyners Ghost* for example mocked those who went to the gallows protesting their innocence. However, as with Stafford, there was a marked discrepancy between the rhetorical portrayal of College's behaviour at his execution and the description recorded by witnesses such as Roger Morrice who stated that College's "carriage in Prison was eminently exemplary, sedate, composed, and suitable to his condition".[60] The ghost of College even admits as much when it says to Rye House conspirator William Hone "If I was catch'd, I made no pittiful howling Lamentation, or whining Confession, to the betraying of the Cause or the Brethren; I brazen it out to the last."[61] The prevalence and vitriol of attempts to shame alleged Protestant plotters suggests that their publication was an effort to check considerable opposition to the royalist perspective.[62] It was an endeavour that met with little success.

When the course of justice ran counter to public desire, expressions of anger, such as in the case of College, served the same purpose as jubilation at Shaftesbury's release. This anger clearly demonstrated to the Stuarts that the tide of public sentiment in favour

---

[60] Morrice, 286.
[61] *The Protestant Joyners Ghost* (London, 1683), 2.
[62] *A Letter Written from the Tower by Mr. Stephen Colledge (the Protestant-Joyner) to Dick Janeways Wife* (London, 1681). See also *A Letter from the Grand-Jury of Oxford to the London-Grand-Jury: relating to the case of the Protestant-joyner* (London, 1695); *Stephen College's ghost to the fanatical cabal* (London, 1681) ; *The Strange and wonderful apparition, or, The Advice of Colledge's ghost to the new plotters* (London, 1683).

of the Court had changed in the early 1670s, and was now in favour of the radicals. The predominant emotional response during College's trial was anger from those who believed that this was a "sham plot", and College's last dying speech played no small part in encouraging people to question the Stuarts.

> The last speech of Mr. College hath for some time afforded variety of discours; the court party doe give no creditt to it, yet the more sober sort of people are not altogether faithless as to his innocency. This is certain, he died with a very great resolution of spirit, not being in the least daunted at approaching death; and to the last he profess'd himself a protestant (and I believe he was a presbyterian), which allowes no principles of equivocation or mentall reservation, as the popish religion does: wherefore many doe really think the witnesses against him forsworn.[63]

The perspective of the "more sober sort of people" was seemingly confirmed during the later trials of the Rye House Plot, when the jury again demonstrated its ability to defy the will of the Crown. Of the verdict brought in by John Rouse's grand jury, Secretary of State Jenkins wrote "[t]he town and the country is full of the *ignoramus* brought in by the London jury upon Rouse's indictment. Never was anything more fully proved than the high treason against him. 'Tis not to be expressed how unsufferable their insolence was."[64] Despite the Secretary of State's outrage, there remained authors and printers willing to risk at the very least their livelihoods in order to promulgate their support for the alleged Protestant plotters.[65]

---

[63] Luttrell, 123.

[64] Leoline Jenkins, "Sir L. Jenkins to Henry Savile, Whitehall 20th/30 '81," *Savile Correspondance,* 231-232.

[65] *The Lord Russell's Speech Vindicated* (London, 1683).

As in the case of College, the executions of convicted Protestant plotters Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney there was clear evidence of opposition to crown-sponsored emotional norms. The conduct of the condemned was integral to public perceptions. Lord Russell's behaviour at his execution exemplified the importance of the public execution as a performance in which emotion played an integral part.

> And the next day was the Lord Russell decapitated in Lincolns inn fields, the Executioner giving him 3 butcherly strokes: The Speech he made & Paper he gave the Sherif, declaring his Innocence, the nobleness of the family, the piety & worthyness of the unhappy Gent: wrought effects of much pitty, & various discourses on the plot &c.[66]

Even Sidney's conduct at his execution was more likely to engender pity than disgust for, or anger at, the condemned. On 7 January 1684, Sidney arrived at the scaffold at ten in the morning "continued for near a quarter of an hour, during which time he made a short prayer, and then laid his neck on the block, and the executioner beheaded him at one blow." It was, according to Luttrell "remarkable that he had no minister with him, nor any of his relations, nor did he seem in the least concerned, and made no speech on the scaffold but gave a paper to the sheriff."[67]

Morrice's detailed account of the mourning conducted by Sidney's friends and family suggests that by 1684, Sidney's supporters were well aware, as few could not be, of the consequences of publicly demonstrating allegiance in opposition to the Stuart regime.[68] Luttrell wrote that the paper Sidney delivered at his execution was finally

---

[66] Luttrell, 298.
[67] Morrice expressed a different perspective stating that Sidney made no speech as it was sure to be interrupted, and was likely to have prepared for his death with "a Divine" before ascending the scaffold, Morrice, 418.
[68] Morrice, 418.

printed by the order of the sheriffs, although it "'twas said at first to be ordered to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman". This ignominy arose from Sidney's "diverse reflections on the witnesses against him, and the way and method of proceeding against him at his tryall, not sparing the judges themselves".[69] Both Lord Russell and Sidney however, proved that they were not about to bow to the shame that the crown expected them to experience through public execution. Nor would they allow the performance of the execution to reinforce the traditional power relations that the Crown was trying to reassert.

It would be a mistake to think that popular sentiment was all on the side of the Whigs. However, as Luttrell remarked, while some "inveighed both against this plott and the late popish plott" they also evidently noted "that there was no thanksgiveing day for our deliverance from that, tho' there was for this". In addition, not-so-subtle protests against the enforced gratitude expected of English subjects at the thanksgiving day for deliverance from the Rye House plot were issued in some of London's churches.

> You hypocrites, forbear your pranks
>
> To murder men, and then give thanks;
>
> Forbear your tricks, pursue no further,
>
> For God accepts no thanks for murder.

So dangerous was this ability to garner support for the cause of those opposed to the Stuarts that some pamphlets attempted to attribute Lord William Russell's downfall directly to the "Whiggish" lack of deference to Charles II and his Court.

---

[69] Luttrell, 293 – 294.

> We neither feared Law nor Right,
>
> Prerogative nor Fate;
>
> Impeached Queen and Duke for spight,
>
> to make the King afraid:
>
> We thought he durst not call to count
>
> our great Conspiring Heads;
>
> But now like me they all must mount,
>
> and fall into the Shades.[70]

The insolence of the plotters, and their supporters, was insufferable not least because it demonstrated conclusively that, although the Stuart's gained the legal advantage, the greatest ability to influence public passions clearly remained with the radical emotional regime.

3 – BELLS AND BONFIRES: CARNIVALS OF SUBVERSION

The subversion of Crown performances of emotional norms outlived the Popish Plot. During the Protestant Plots, the Tory pamphleteers proved equally adept at reappropriating the rhetorical power of vengeful justice, testifying that such performances of the passions were common currency in Restoration England. However, while it seemed during the Protestant Plots that the Tories controlled public opinion from the printing houses, they did not necessarily do so on the streets. During the reign of Charles II, street festivities were often used to display opposition to the Stuarts, and as a result, effectively inverted crown performances aimed at engendering loyalty to the monarch. Bells,

---

[70] *The Lord Russel's Last Farewel to the World. A Song* (London, 1683).

bonfires and the burning of effigies were therefore fraught with political danger for the Stuarts.

If it could not manifest as rebellion, the incendiary nature of public anger found other demonstrative outlets. The anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot was always a good occasion for public representation of allegiance to parliament. On 5 November 1679, seventy-six years after the Gunpowder Plot, Luttrell reported that "at night, being gunpowder treason, there were many bonefires and burning of popes as has ever been seen on the like occasion."[71] In 1680, a riot of apprentices (unrelated to the Bawdy House Riots, although also tried as high treason) attempted to burn the Rump, which, although ostensibly a demonstration of allegiance to the king over the former interregnum governments, was allegedly as a cover for more nefarious designs according to Luttrell. By burning the Rump on Charles II's birthday, it appeared that "severall apprentices and rascally fellos had formed a design" the "reall intent" of which "was to have made a hubbub and a tumult, and thereby an insurrection."[72] The crown had set the example by encouraging loyalty through festivities in general and bonfires in particular during the king's return in 1660. Two decades later however, it was clear they could no longer control public passions.

By 1681, the king was attempting to restrict such displays. In response to student rebellion in Edinburgh, Charles II issued "a proclamation ordering the gates of the College in Edenborough to be shutt up, and for banishing the students 15 miles out of Edenburgh, for entring into a combination for the burning of the pope, and for fireing Prestfeild the provosts house".[73] While the Crown may have achieved some measure of

---

[71] Luttrell, 29.
[72] Luttrell, 38.
[73] Luttrell, 65-66. See also *The History of the late Proceedings of the Students of the colledge at Edenborough* (London, 1681); *Scotland against Popery, or, Christ's Day against Anti-christ; or, An*

success in controlling the student body, there was little evidence that any lasting control of potentially subversive festivities could be exerted over the general populace. On 17 November from 1679 to 1681, annual commemorations of Queen Elizabeth cemented attendance at, and involvement in, performances such as the "solemn mock processions" of Catholic clergy, as irrefutable evidence of one's Protestant credentials (Figure 6). The performative nature of the passions during the pageant in 1681 was such that it is worth reproducing Luttrell's observations at length.

> [The commemoration] was celebrated with more than ordinary solemnity, ringing of bells and bonefires at night in severall places, and also the burning of the pope, the cavalcade of which was performed in this manner: the effigies of sir Edmundbury Godfrey on horseback, and held up by a Jesuite; then the effigies of the observator [L'Estrange's newspaper], severall fryers, Jesuites, popish bishops and cardinalls, in their proper habits; then the effigies of suborned persons; and lastly the pope, whose pageant was fastned on a sledge and drawn by four horses, in all his pontificalibus: thus they sett out from Whitechappell, attended with many thousands of people and some hundreds of links, through Aldgate, Leaden hall street, Cornhill Cheapside, Ludgate, to Temple barr, so up Chancery lane and down Holborn unto Smithfield, where the pope was burnt in a great fire prepared on purpose; and store of fireworks concluded the solemnity.[74]

The account of the same pope-burning by *Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country* constructed the burning as public justice, with the Popish faction determined to prevent the will of the people. According to *Domestick Intelligence*, the Popish faction seemed "to Reconcile you all to Rome And prevent Smithfield Fire"; "Smithfield Fire"

---

account of the ... burning of the Pope's Effigies upon Christmas Day last 1680 in the City of Edenborough (London, 1681).

[74] Luttrell, 144. See also *The Procession: or the Burning of the Pope in Effigie* (London, 1681).

in this case was a euphemism for popular rebellion. The paper continued that "[t]his last Act of His Holiness's Tragedy, was Attended with such a Mighty Shout of near Two Hundred Thousand People, which it was Judged were at the Solemnity, that we may hope it will frighten the Popish Faction, from proceeding in their Idle and Abortive Plots".[75]

Figure 6. *The Solemn mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Iesuits, fryers, nuns &c. exactly taken as they marcht through the citty of London, November ye 17th,* 1680 (Reproduced courtesy of the British Museum).

---

[75] *Domestick Intelligence,* no. 40, 21 November 1679.

As it had been during the third Anglo-Dutch War in 1673, the approbation of Monmouth was again staged publicly at the height of the Popish Plot when the duke, against his father's command, returned to England from exile in Holland. Despite Charles II refusing to see his son and forbidding him from entering the court "yet the people were well pleas'd at his comeing, testifyed by their ringing of bells and makeing of bonefires at night."[76] The significance of this echo of the public reception of the newly restored king in 1660 could not have been lost on Charles II, the duke of York, or the people. In 1680, even bonfires to celebrate the king's Restoration were banned; "[t]he 7th came out an order of councill prohibiting the making of any bonefires or fireworks on the 29th of May; this was to prevent the prentices &c. design of burning the rump, and the tumults that might happen thereby."[77] That the tumults might well have a politically subversive message was not explicitly stated, but could hardly be ignored, particularly at the height of the Exclusion Crisis.

These performances of political passions declaring popular allegiance to groups in opposition to Stuart policies were staged often during the Protestant Plots; the subversive intent of which was particularly evident in the public responses to the trial of the earl of Shaftesbury. On 24 November 1681, after Shaftesbury's grand jury returned the bill attempting to indict him on charges of High Treason, popular sentiment was made clear with what could be described as a re-staging of the Restoration of the king; "at night were ringing of bells and bonefires in severall parts of the citty." There was little doubt about the sincerity of both the joy at Shaftesbury's release, and anger at his prosecutors, at least in the minds of the prosecution witnesses and the court. When the jury found the bill *ignoramus* "there was a very great shout, that made even the court shake", and the

---

[76] Luttrell, 29.
[77] Luttrell, 40.

witnesses against Shaftesbury "were affraid to goe home, and therefore had, by order of the court, a guard from the sheriffs to see them safe home for fear of the rabble.[78] Roger Morrice confirmed Luttrell's account, adding of the bonfires that "its said 80 [were lit] between Aldersgate and Stocks Market &c."[79] Although acquitted, Shaftesbury and Howard were still required to pay bail during which "[t]here was great thronging at the court of the kings bench", for Monmouth was also being bailed, after having "incens'd the king's court more against him by his offering himself for bail for the earl of Shaftesbury".[80] "Some say", stated Morrice, "Shaftsburyes discharge upon Baile is owing soley to the Shoutes and Bonfires that were made."[81] Morrice's remarks demonstrate that some at least were convinced that the performance of public passions had a great deal of influence over politics and justice during the Restoration.

The Crown tried desperately to suppress public displays of loyalty for Shaftesbury and Monmouth; "the lord mayor issued out his precepts to the severall aldermen and deputies of the wards of the citty of London, to prevent the making of bonefires and ringing of bells; and the watches were ordered to be full that night." Such attempts however met with little success and Luttrell reported that "[l]etters from severall parts of this kingdome give us to understand the great joy that had been expressed for the enlargement of the earl of Shaftesbury, &c." [82] Indeed, Morrice contended that the order to forbid the festivities at Shaftesbury's release "made the matter much bigger and more conspicuous."[83] The Crown had good reason to want to curtail such displays as Sir Roger L'Estrange's narrative of bonfires and beatings outside the courtroom on 24 November

---

[78] Luttrell, 146.
[79] Morrice, 294.
[80] Luttrell, 147; 150.
[81] Morrice, 294.
[82] Luttrell, 147 – 148. Poems that rejoiced in Shaftesbury's acquittal were also published, see for example *A Loyal Congratulation to the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London, 1681).
[83] Morrice, 295.

demonstrated.[84] The violent rejoicing continued on the following day. George Evans informed Secretary of State Jenkins that "a great rabble together", in addition to menacing passers-by for money for the fire, "went to blows among themselves by the distinctions of Whig and Tory".[85] Physical expression of violent passions was by no means confined to uncontrolled behaviour of the riotous rabble in the streets. It was also an integral component of the spectacle of public execution, which was manipulated very effectively by opposition to the Stuarts.

This chapter has demonstrated that groups and individuals had no difficulty in subverting emotional norms and events, which the crown had used in its attempt to inculcate a loyalist emotional regime among Charles II's subjects. In addition, it appeared that, in many instances, the radical opposition's co-option of these norms was more successful than original performance. This is particularly true of the use of shame to destroy individual and collective reputations. Radical polemicists heaped humiliation upon courtiers, peers and judges alike, an undertaking invariably portrayed as defence of the nation. The status and royal connections of their targets demonstrate both the decline in deference, and a growing perception that the nation was a political, social and religious entity distinct from the monarch.

Shame was also an integral component in the spectacle of the execution, which, as with bells and bonfires, was successfully hijacked by the opposition. While the king's suppression of royal wrath in the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* had been gratefully received by a nervous public in particular, its encouragement through powerful displays of vengeance was not. Performances such as the execution of the regicides or the burning

---

[84] Roger L'Estrange, "Narrative by Roger L'Estrange of what happened in the City the night before, 25 Nov. 1681," SP 29/417 f.255.
[85] George Evans, "George Evans to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 26 Nov. 1681," SP 29/417 f.263.

of the *Solemn League and Covenant* were as likely to demonstrate the Stuarts' inability to control public anger once unleashed, as they were to exert royal authority. The failure to exercise emotional control through anger is consistent with Hochschild's observations on the cost of emotional labour. The irony in crown attempts to encourage "loyalty and passive obedience" through stirring up public anger against potential threats to Charles II and the duke of York is that the encouragement of excessive anger created an emotional climate that rapidly moved beyond the control of any particular political community.

This became evident when Stuart-sponsored performances were subverted by the Crown's opposition because of the perception that justice had been denied. This subversion was evident in two forms. Some public audiences expressed emotions counter to Stuart norms, such as pity for instead of righteous anger with the traitors; exemplified at the execution of individuals such as Lord William Russell, despite clear evidence of the crown's desire to the contrary. More than that however, opposition groups demonstrated their aptitude for mirroring Stuart-sponsored performances, in which they expressed similar emotions but reversed the object of their loyalty. In this latter strategy, the burning of the *Solemn League and Covenant* or the execution of traitors was transmuted to the burning of the Pope. While the bells that had rung and the bonfires that had flared for Charles II, were drafted into the service of the earl of Shaftesbury or the duke of Monmouth, much to the Stuarts' discontent.

What then do these various performances of the passions tell us about political power in Restoration England? This chapter has demonstrated that emotional norms were excellent indicators of political supremacy; he who controlled the worth of a particular passion could effectively create the desired behaviour in the target audience. In a climate characterised by fear of popular rebellion, this ability, no matter how illusory, conferred immeasurable power in seventeenth-century perceptions. Radical emotional resistance

was made all the more effective by the masking of emotions, explored in chapter six, which fulfilled more than the utilitarian need to ensure individual safety. The perception that "consent of crowds" conferred "exceeding credit" meant that emotional dissimulation could enable the dissembler to inspire or even command popular allegiance by cloaking his political goals in the "force and value of certain truths" as Roger L'Estrange had termed it.[86]

No expression of emotion could be considered as dangerous as insincere expression. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, few political observers interpreted suppression of emotion as stoicism. Rather it was perceived as a widening gulf of uncertainty between the king and subject; an abyss which opened the individual to pernicious influences with the potential to foster allegiances unsympathetic to the Crown. As contemporary commentators asserted, the role of passion in the struggle for power must not be underestimated. Nevertheless, like political supremacy, this power was fleeting and wave-like, with supporters and opponents of the king surfing alternate crests and troughs of emotional supremacy. Therefore the question becomes whether political emotion during this period was merely epiphenomenal; an artefact of "rational" adherence to political ideology. The prevalence of emotional performance and disguise throughout the reign of Charles II suggests that resistance to crown attempts to impose emotional norms and to compel passive obedience ran deep. Emotional resistance became a fundamental aspect of the struggle for political power and an important weapon in the war waged for popular allegiance in Restoration England.

---

[86] L'Estrange, *Observator in Dialogue. The Third Volume*, 39.

CONCLUSION

PASSION, POWER AND RESISTANCE

The strategies for manipulating political behaviour through the passions, explored in the previous chapters, aimed at renegotiating the balance of power between competing communities, which ostensibly manifested as a contest between the Stuarts and their political opposition throughout Charles II's reign. The English people in general and Londoners in particular showed little tolerance of attempts to impose conditions and loyalties which ran counter to public will, as it was constructed by various factions. As a result, the Stuarts were unable to establish a dominant emotional regime that could withstand the challenges constantly posed by a political opposition equally capable of influencing public passions. However, opposition groups were also subject to the changeable nature of popular sentiment; they too experienced the rise and fall of emotional supremacy that characterised the erratic victories of the Stuart regime. Nevertheless, political passions during Charles II's reign confirm the decreasing popularity of the Stuarts and the transference of loyalty and obedience from the monarch in 1660 to both the institutions of the constitutional monarchy, the office of the crown and parliament, and the instruments of justice. Through the examination of seventeenth-century emotions, historians are able to understand the way in which the passions, as tools for both communication and manipulation, were of fundamental importance to early modern individuals and their politics.

While there is evidence of considerable support for the king in May 1660, Charles II faced challenges in securing public sentiment and loyalty from the beginning of his reign. Although much of the joy expressed at the king's return was genuine, it was arguably also a reflection of the endemic fear of instability and rebellion, and the perception that Charles II

could deliver England from that danger. In addition, as contemporary observers such as the earl of Clarendon noted during the Restoration, even explicit expressions of loyalty could not be accepted at face value. The widespread belief in the importance of sincerity could not overshadow the equally prevalent awareness of the political expedience of emotional dissimulation. This was amplified by the use of the trial for treason to remove political opposition. However, while the "secret hearts" of the people remained a concern to the end of Charles II's reign, emotional expression in opposition to the king became increasingly overt.

Whatever Charles II had hoped for on his return to England in 1660, the balance of power between loyalists and opposition to the Stuarts had become a matter for negotiation. As William Reddy has contended, he who would wield political power must also endeavour to command the passions. The control over public expression became all the more important due to the increasing unpopularity of the king, coupled with a concept of the English nation, which, throughout Charles II's reign, became ever more bound up with the institutions of the crown and parliament, and the belief in the primacy of English justice, and less reliant on the person of the monarch. This posed a significant threat to the political stability of the restored Stuart monarchy.

In the case of the Bawdy House Riots, the behaviour of the rioters and their supporters suggests that nonconformists achieved some measure of success in attempting to constitute an emotional regime, which employed collective anger in an effort to renegotiate Stuart authority over religious liberties. The success of this regime was evinced by anger spilling over into the public audience of the riots on London's streets, who challenged the soldiers' authority to hinder the rioters from destroying brothels. Printed responses to the riots indicated however, that satire was a more effective and safer way of conveying anger at, and contesting the authority of, the monarchy. Expressions of pity coupled with humour and irony in the various pamphlets, which purported to condemn the rioters' actions, were particularly successful in

criticising royal policy towards religion and morality without incurring the punishment meted out to the ringleaders of the riots.

Political anger in late seventeenth-century England was used not only by the monarchy to discipline its wayward subjects, but also by those subjects for resisting and renegotiating the discretionary power of the Crown and its sympathetic judiciary over the dispensation of English justice. Anger, in particular, became the means by which the political communities could both communicate their particular emotional norms and dispense their own form of justice, which was done through public attacks on individual and communal reputations of members of the king's household and court. These acts of shaming confirm that the relationship between passion and identity in Restoration England exhibits similarities to that identified by contemporary sociologists. Thomas Henricks has demonstrated that an act which causes individuals shame "not only spoils our momentary standing but also spills outward to stain our identity in groups of concern".[1] Shaming in Restoration England appears to have been designed not only to discredit the individual within the group, but also to dishonour the entire political community. However, it did not hinder the crown in its execution of justice and the rioters.

During the early 1660s, as chapter six demonstrated, sublimation of anger towards his enemies and the privileging of pity and compassion may have been the hallmark of a "great Prince"; however, by the end of the decade it was public expression of that anger that conveyed the power of the royal court over subordinates. This employment of *ira regis* succeeded in convincing some that the Bawdy House rioters must receive their just deserts, and the reassertion of dominance of the Stuart court was evident even to those who identified with the rioters' aims. *The Citizens Reply* was unequivocal in its support of the official response to the riots; "[s]ad was the day although clear was the weather, when the rude rout against [the

---

[1] Thomas S. Henricks, *Selves, Societies, and Emotions* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2012), 126.

brothels] met together".[2] This clarity arose from knowing exactly which way the wind was blowing, and unfortunately for the ringleaders of the riots, at the end of 1668 it was in favour of the Stuarts. The reaffirmation of monarchical authority through the arrest and executions of the ringleaders confirmed the pragmatism of self-censorship through satire. The fears that radical displays of anger inspired in the courtiers were short lived, and had largely abated once the alleged ringleaders of the riot were brought to justice. Samuel Pepys, for example, managed only a passing note to report that he heard that eight men were condemned to die.[3] When the immediate threat had abated, anger replaced courtiers' expressions of fear as a demonstration of strength, and as a declaration of the superior position held by the loyalists in the balance of power between Charles II's court and nonconformist opposition.

However, that large numbers of the court had been in fear of their lives and their social standing as a result of the actions of a rabble of apprentices, did not portray an image of a class in control of its subordinates. Instead, it proved to both the government and the public that the former's grip on power was not as strong as Charles II would have wished. The rioters and their place in public opinion conclusively demonstrated the extent to which, by the end of the first decade of the Restoration, the stability of the monarchy was perceived to be reliant on popular good will. As Sir Roger L'Estrange pointed out, one had to be sure of destroying one's target utterly if such an inflammatory practice as public punishment was to be pursued. Public support of the nonconformists' principles made that a particularly difficult undertaking; and while the king appeared in control at the end of the 1660s, the radical emotional regime would once again dominate the employment of anger and shame in Restoration politics in the following decade.

---

[2] *The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer.*
[3] Pepys, *Diary,* 152. In the end only four men were executed.

Responses to the third Anglo-Dutch War were arguably the first overt signs that something was amiss with the royalist regime. During the early 1670s, the perceived blossoming of the relationship between Charles II and Louis XIV undermined any gains the crown had made in establishing a successful emotional regime in the preceding decade. The patriotic imperative was founded upon individual and communal identity intrinsically linked to the "fortunes of the nation". During the third Anglo-Dutch War, expressions of patriotic fear and anger demonstrated that the nation was no longer perceived as synonymous with the Stuarts. In a prologue to the later period of heightened insecurity surrounding the alleged Popish Plot, the war was seen as proof of the aspirations of Popery to destroy Protestantism, which was by design inseparable from English identity. Even though it was intended to unite English subjects against a common foe, the changing concept of the English nation, compounded by the decreasing popularity of the Stuarts, facilitated the division of the nation along the political and religious lines that characterised the latter decades of Charles II's reign.

The growing insecurities of a dynasty facing an exclusion crisis over the contested future succession of the Catholic Duke of York, coupled with the increasing boldness of writers, printers and preachers of opposition, further destabilised an already precarious situation. L'Estrange explicitly stated his perspective of the relationship between the press and public anger in *The Observator*; "tis the Press that has made 'um Mad, and the Press must set 'um Right again".[4] The opposition that the various publications sought to foment appeared to control the hearts, minds and courts during the Popish Plot. Although it is possible that individuals switched emotional allegiance, from opposition to king and back to opposition, in

---

[4] *The Observator,* no. 1, Wednesday, 13 April 1681. See also Peter Hinds, *'The Horrid Popish Plot': Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 107.

the space of four years, such an Orwellian malleability of popular opinion and sentiment is difficult to countenance, even in Restoration England.

It is more probable that opposition to the king had merely been submissive to the Crown during the late 1660s. The possibility of a French universal monarchy and the subsequent re-establishment of Catholicism as the English national religion, was perceived as a more immediate danger by more people in the 1670s than the suppression of conventicles had been a few years previously. It could be argued that some form of emotional liberty was operating here, allowing English subjects the freedom to "change goals"; however, it is more likely that opponents of the Stuarts were regaining supremacy. From this latter perspective, the third Anglo-Dutch war in 1673 became a valuable event for priming group identity, and stimulating support for the political agenda of the king's opposition, exclusion of the Duke of York. However, the use of the passions during the war paled in comparison to its deployment during the Popish Plot. Here was collective anger on a far grander and more organised scale than it had been a decade earlier. The expression and encouragement of anger demonstrated a decisive shift in the groups with sufficient influence over public opinion and passion. It was clear that if the restored monarchy had ever been in control of public passions during the early years of the Restoration, that was now no longer the case.

The king's opponents landed the first blow during the "violent paper scuffle" of the pamphlet wars. Public passions became as clear a marker of oppositional or loyalist identity as the blue and red ribbons that partisans began to sport during the Exclusion Crisis. As such, the passions were not only useful tools for communicating grievances, but also for monitoring the political temperature of the period. Opponents and supporters of the king were distinguished by their assessments of threats expressed as fear, their judgements of opposing emotional

expression articulated as anger, and the bonds formed within groups, which manifested as displays of pity or compassion for group members.

The deliberate deployment of these passions also served to prime group identity, reminding individuals of their political allegiances. This was particularly evident in performances of anger by the king, the royal court and opposition groups. While the sublimation of anger had been effective during the early 1660s, this norm was unable to trump a more fundamental belief in the importance of vengeance and retributive justice. In some cases, anger was linked to the personification of justice herself. In response to the execution of Viscount Stafford, it was argued that "[b]y this first grand Example, the Plotting Papists may see, that Justice is not afraid to strike at the Root of their Conspiracies and Home-Treasons, though she a while delayed the Angry stroke."[5] By associating their anger with Justice herself, the Whigs attempted to legitimise and privilege their emotional regime among the wider population. The staging of retributive justice also demonstrated how difficult it was to control public anger once it had been inspired.

The passions expressed by supporters and opponents of the king demonstrated the ability of emotional language to communicate negative judgements and political realities simultaneously. The most common examples of this, with arguably the greatest ability to divide and conquer, were popular "jealousies and fears". As an expression of emotional allegiance when individual and group identity was at stake, loyalist and opposition fears and jealousies fed off each other in a distinctive cycle of emotional and political ascendancy. For those who believed in the Popish Plot, the anger at what they perceived as the growing Catholic influence at Court was predominantly expressed in the language of national honour. If there was ever

---

[5] *The Execution of William Howard, Late Lord Viscount Stafford*, 4.

evidence to suggest that nationalism existed before the modern era, the passions expressed, particularly in print, during the Popish Plot would be it.

Shame became as successful as anger in consolidating radical norms. The mockery of the Stuarts and the royal court, through the subversion of loyalist performances of emotional norms, reflected the decreasing popularity of the Stuarts from the end of the 1660s, and the deployment of shame was as evident in the lead up to the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis as it had been in the responses to the Bawdy House Riots. During the 1670s and early 1680s, the opponents of the king consolidated the normative nature of the passions they expected, by making examples of individuals, just as the king had done with the regicides and the ringleaders of the Riots a decade earlier. Pamphlets, in particular, emphasised the normative power of shame, and used it with impunity to modify the behaviour of those who did not appear to whole-heartedly support the prosecution of Papists. The ignominious treatment of alleged traitors in print and in person unequivocally demonstrated that treason was a stain unto death and beyond, which, when applied even to previously well-regarded individuals such as Stafford and Scroggs, had the power to transform them into traitors and to inspire support for the hunters of Popish plotters.

During the early years of the Protestant Plots, loyalists also used shame in its attempt to counter opposition with the trials of College and Shaftesbury. However, the ability to shame alleged traitors depended largely on the power of the emotional regime, and unlike anger, shame often reflected rather than inspired emotional and political allegiances. As public responses to the trials of the alleged Protestant plotters demonstrated, although the Crown had regained judicial control, the balance of emotional power was still tipped in favour of the radicals. The mockery that the public made of the Crown in celebrating the acquittal of Shaftesbury, despite the apparent threat to the lives of the king and the duke of York that

Protestant plotters posed, further supports the premise that the level of deference to the king was markedly lower than it had been at his restoration to the English throne.

In his scaffold speech, Lord Russell had wished "well to him [Charles II] and to the Nation, and that they may be happy in one another". [6] The "great consternation" Luttrell described in London at the death of the king on 6 February 1685 suggested that even if the people had not been entirely happy with Charles II, they were devastated at his passing. This was likely compounded by the long-feared succession of James II. The historiography of the period from 1685 leading up to, and including, the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, would benefit from a future examination of the relationship between public emotion and politics, as the passions clearly continued to play a leading role in high and low politics. The new king attempted to portray himself as "pleas'd to declare that he would maintain the government as establish'd both in church and state; that he would preserve his prerogative and the rights and liberties of his subjects, and would endeavour to follow his brothers example, especially in that of his clemency and tendernesse." [7] This suggests that, rhetorically at least, James II was determined to perpetuate the emotional norms that his brother had successfully established at the beginning of the Restoration.

However, his subjects did not appear to be altogether convinced. This was evident in the rebellion led by the duke of Monmouth soon after James II's succession, and in particular the public responses to the duke's execution on 15 July 1685. The tears at the severing of Monmouth's head, rather than the shouts of jubilation the Stuarts expected, demonstrate that many still identified with the individuals who had figured largely in the political groups opposed to Charles II's policies and James' succession. [8] Despite the failure of the Monmouth

---

[6] *The Last Speech and Behaviour of William Lord Russell,* 2.
[7] Luttrell, 327.
[8] Luttrell, 353; Evelyn, *Diary,* 324-325.

Rebellion, reminders of radical emotional ascendancy during the reign of his brother continued well into James II's reign. Even the scores of convictions of traitors during the "Bloody Assizes", the contemporary soubriquet for the trials of the Monmouth rebels, could not provide the success that the Stuart regime desperately needed.

A letter written from Henry Savile to the Marquess of Halifax in 1686 illustrates the extent of the danger of discourse designed to further the conviction that Lord Russell and the other alleged Protestant plotters were unjustly executed. "We are very angry," wrote Savile, "at a paper, short pithy, and plain, proportion'd to the persons it was designed for, lately dispersed among the common souldiers and seamen, shewing them the danger of popery and ruinous consequences of it."[9] The paper to which he referred was *Julian the Apostate,* a libel written in 1682 by Samuel Johnson, chaplain to the late Lord Russell. The pamphlet declared its aim was to understand those Protestants who were willing to countenance a "Popish successor" whose "Religion it is, to persecute and extirpate theirs."[10] Outpourings of emotion at the death of Charles II in 1685 had demonstrated that the bond between subject and sovereign clearly remained. Nevertheless, as the events of James II's reign would confirm, this emotional attachment was neither invariable nor absolute.

A complete understanding of the way in which passions shaped politics and, in particular, the relationship between subject and sovereign throughout the seventeenth century requires further exploration. It would undoubtedly benefit from future studies of passion politics from the accession of James I in 1603, to the invasion by invitation of William of Orange, arguably even through to the end of the House of Stuart in 1714. Nevertheless, this thesis has illustrated not only the importance of seventeenth-century passions to

---

[9] Henry Savile, "Henry Savile to Marquess of Halifax, Windsor 29 May'86," *Savile Correspondance,* 290.

[10] Samuel Johnson, *Julian the Apostate: being a Short Account of his Life; the Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him (*London, 1682), iv-v.

contemporaries, but also the way in which historians can analyse them to gain a deeper understanding of the form and function of politics in this period. This examination of the trial for treason has demonstrated the power of passions, and the performance thereof, over contemporary politics. They were capable of influencing both allegiance and, in some cases, life or death. More importantly however, the passions had the power to define not merely the identity of the individual, but of the nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

National Archives of the UK – digitised manuscripts accessed from "State Papers Online: Early Modern Government in Britain and Europe"

SP16   State Papers Domestic, Reign of Charles I

SP18   State Papers Domestic, Commonweatlh

SP8/29/30   State Papers Domestic, Reign of Charles II

CORRESPONDENCE, DIARIES AND MEMOIRS

Burnet, Gilbert. *History of My Own Time,* edited by H. C. Foxcroft, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.

Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. de Beer. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Hyde, Edward. *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1760.

Isham, Thomas. *The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport,* Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1971.

Josselin, Ralph. *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683,* edited by Alan Macfarlane, London: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Luttrell, Narcissus. *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857.

Morrice, Roger. *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice 1677-1691,* edited by John Spurr, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.

Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1976.

Savile, Henry. *Savile Correspondence: Letters to and from Henry Savile,* edited by William Durrant Cooper. London: Camden Society, 1858.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS, PROCLAMATIONS, TRIAL RECORDS AND PUBLISHED STATE PAPERS

"An Act against Tumults and Disorders, Upon Pretence of Preparing or Presenting Publick Petitions or Other Addresses to His Majesty or the parliament." In *Anno Regni Caroli II. At the parliament Begun and Holden at Westminster May 8*, 21-24. London: The king's Printing House, 1661.

"An Act for the Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts." In *Anno Regni Caroli II at the parliament Begun and Holden at Westminster May 8*, 1-10. London, 1661.

"Appendix: Charles I's Declaration on the Dissolution of parliament, 1628." In *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, edited by John Rushworth. London: History of parliament Trust, 1721.

Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. Marquess of Salisbury, 24 vols. London, 1883-1976.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles II, 1680-1681. F.H. Blackburne Daniell, ed. Vol. 22: Sept 1680-Dec 1681. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles II, 1683. F.H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds. Vol. 25: July-Sept 1683. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1611-1618. Mary Anne Everett Green, ed. Vol. 2: *1611-1618*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858.

Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, edited by Allen B. Hinds. London: Institute of Historical Research, 1935.

A Complete Collection of State-Trials, and Proceedings for High Treason, and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours; from the Reign of king Richard II to the End of the Reign of king George I, 6 vols. London, 1730.

A Complete Collection of State Trials, edited by T. B. Howell. London, 1816.

Journal of the House of Commons. London: History of parliament Trust, 1802.

Journal of the House of Lords. London: History of parliament Trust, 1767-1830.

Louis XIV. *The Most Christian kings Declaration of War against the States General of the United Provinces.* London, 1672.

His Majesties declaration to all his loving subjects concerning the treasonable conspiracy against his sacred person and government, lately discovered. Dublin, 1683.

Middlesex County Records, vol. 4 of 4 vols., edited by John Cordy Jeaffreson. London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1892.

A Proclamation for Inforcing the Laws against Conventicles. London, 1668.

The Reports and Arguments of that Learned Judge, Sir John Vaughan, Kt. London, 1706.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honor and Happinesse of the king, and the Peace and Safety of the Three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. London, 1643.

The Statutes At Large from Magna Charta to the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of king George the Third, inclusive, ed. Charles Runnington, 14 vols. 1786.

PRINTED BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND BROADSIDES

An Account of the Discovery of the New Plot. London, 1683.

The Advice of Tory to Whigg. London, 1682.

Articles of Impeachment of High Treason, and other Great Crimes and Misdemeanors against Sir William Scroggs Chief Justice of the court of the king's Bench. London, 1680.

The Bellowings of a Wild-Bull: or, Scroggs's Roaring Lamentation for being Impeached of High Treason, London, 1680.

A Brief Narrative of the Several Popish Treasons and Cruelties against the Protestants. London, 1678.

The Case of Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson and John Baily, citizens and free-men of London, stated and humbly presented to the honourable House of Commons assemb'ed in parliament, London, 1670.

The Character of a Good Man, neither Whig nor Tory. London, 1681.

The Character of a Modern Whig. London, 1681.

The Character of a Through-Pac'd Tory, Ecclesiastical or Civil. London, 1682.

The Character of a Tory. London, 1682.

The Charge of a Tory Plot Maintain'd in a Dialogue Between the Observator, Heraclitus and an Inferior Clergy-Man. London, 1682.

The Christian conventicle, or the private-meetings of God's people in evil times. London, 1670.

The Citizens Reply to the Whores Petition and the Prentices Answer. London, 1668.

College, Stephen. *A Satyr against Injustice or Sc--gs upon Sc--gs,* London, 1681.

The Committee or Popery in Masquerade. London, 1680.

A Compleat Catalogue of All the Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets Printed since the First Discover of the Popish Plot. London, 1680.

The Condemnation of Whig and Tory. London, 1681.

A Congratulatory Pindaric Poem. London, 1683.

A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue. London, 1680.

Crook, John. *Liberty of Conscience Asserted*. London, 1661.

Descartes, Rene. *The Passions of the Soule*. London, 1650.

A Dismal Account of the Burning of our Solemn League and National Covenant (with God) and one another. Edinburgh, 1662.

Dryden, John. *Absalom and Achitophel*. London, 1681.

The Earl of Shaftesbury's Loyalty Revived. London, 1680.

Elegy on Stafford. London, 1680.

The English Ballance. London, 1672.

The Execution of William Howard, Late Lord Viscount Stafford. London, 1680.

An Excellent New Song of Unfortunate Whigs. London, 1682.

Foxe, John. *The Acts and Monuments of matters most special and memorable happening in the church.* London, 1641.

The Funeral of the Good Old Cause. London, 1661.

Good Newes for all Parties: Shewed in king Charles His Gracious Pardon. Breda, 1660.

The Grand Case of the Present Ministry. London, 1663.

Hickeringill, Edmund. *The Horrid Sin of Man-Catching: Explain'd in a Sermon Preach'd at Colchester, July 10*. London, 1681.

The History of the late Proceedings of the Students of the colledge at Edenborough. London, 1681.

A History of the New Plot. London, 1683.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Humane Nature*. London, 1650.

An Humble Acknowledgment of His Majestie's Incomparable Grace Expressed in His
Proclamation of Pardon. London, 1660.

Humble Petition of Certain Baptized Christians (untruly called Anabaptists) of the Counties
of Kent, Sussex, Bucks, Dorset, Lincoln and Nottingham, London, 1661.

An Humble Representation of the Sad Condition of Many of the kings Party. London, 1661.

The Hypocritical Whigg Displayed. London, 1682.

An Impartial Account of the Tryal of Francis Smith, and also of the Tryal of Jane Curtis.
London, 1680

Jenner, David. *Beaufrons, or, a New Discovery of Treason, under the Fair-Face and Mask of*
Religion, and of Liberty of Conscience. London, 1685.

Johnson, Samuel. *Julian the Apostate: being a Short Account of his Life; the Sense of the*
Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him. London,
1682.

The Last Speech and Behaviour of William late Lord Russell, upon the Scaffold in Lincolns-
Inn Fields a little before his Execution, on Saturday July 21 1683. London, 1683.

A Letter from the Grand-Jury of Oxford to the London-Grand-Jury: relating to the case of the
Protestant-joyner. London, [1695].

A Letter from Paris, from Sir George Wakeman to his Friend Sir W. S. London, 1681.

A Letter Written from the Tower by Mr. Stephen Colledge (the Protestant-Joyner) to Dick
Janeways Wife. London, 1681.

The Lord Russel's Last Farewel to the World. A Song. London, 1683.

The Lord Russell's Speech Vindicated. London, 1683.

Lovewel, John. *The Unjust and Arbitrary Proceedings of Some Souldiers and Justices*
against Some Sober Godly Persons, in and near London. London, 1661.

A Loyal Congratulation to the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. London, 1681.

The Manner of the Execution of William Howard, Late Earl of Stafford. London, 1680.

Moulin, Pierre du. *England's Appeal from the Private Caballe at Whitehall to the Great Council of the Nation.* London, 1673.

A New-Years-Gift for the Lord Chief in Justice Scggs. London, 1679.

The Old New True Blue Protestant Plot. London, 1683.

The Papists Lamentation for the loss of their Agent William Stafford. London, 1680.

A Paradox Against Liberty. London, 1679.

A Perpetual League of Mutual Defence and Allyance between His Majesty, and the Estates General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. London, 1668.

The Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant. Edinburgh, 1661.

A Pindarique Ode upon the late Horrid and Damnable Whiggish Plot. London, 1684.

The Plotter Executed. London, 1678.

A Poem on the Condemnation of Viscount Stafford. London, 1680

The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition. London, 1668.

The Procession: or the Burning of the Pope in Effigie. London, 1681.

The Protestant Joyners Ghost. London, 1683.

A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors. London, 1660.

Religion Made a Cloak for Villan[Y] or, the Loyal Subjects Delight, Who Is Neither Wigg nor Tory. London, 1683.

A Reply to the Funerall of the Good Old Cause or Covenant. London, 1661.

Reynolds, Edward. *A Treatise of the Passions.* London, 1658.

The Royal Chronicle. London, 1660.

A Satyr. London, 1680.

*Scotland against Popery, or, Christ's Day against Anti-christ; or, An account of the ...
burning of the Pope's Effigies upon Christmas Day last 1680 in the City of
Edenborough.* London, 1681.

A Short Surveigh of the Grand Case of the Present Ministry. London, 1663.

*The Solemn mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Iesuits, fryers, nuns &c. exactly taken
as they marcht through the citty of London, November ye 17th.* London, 1680.

Some Account of the Trials of the Five Popish Priests. London, 1679.

Some seasonable and serious queries upon the late act against conventicles. London, 1670.

Stephen College's ghost to the fanatical cabal. London, 1681.

*The Strange and wonderful apparition, or, The Advice of Colledge's ghost to the new
plotters.* London, 1683.

Suckling, John. *A Coppy of a Letter Found in the Privy Lodgeings at White-Hall.* London,
1641.

Taylor, Jeremy. *Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience in All Her General
Measures.* London, 1660.

A Terror for Traitors. London, 1683.

The Triumphs of Four Nations. London, 1674.

*The Tryal of Several Rioters for High-Treason at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, April
4 1668.* London, 1715.

The Tryal of William Viscount Stafford. London, 1680.

The Whigs laid open. London, 1683.

The Whigs in Mourning. London, 1683.

Whig upon Whig. London, 1683.

The Whores Petition to the London Prentices. London, 1668.

Wright, Thomas. *The Passions of the Minde*. London, 1630.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Care, Henry. *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,* 5 vols., pub. L. Curtis, December 1678 –
26 December 1679.

Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country, pub. T. Benskins, 7 July 1679 –
16 January 1681.

Heraclitus Ridens: Or, A Discourse between Jest and Earnest, pub. B. Tooke, 1 February
1681 – 22 August 1682.

L'Estrange, Roger. *Observator in Dialogue,* variously entitled *Observator in Question and
Answer,* pub. H. and J. Brome, 13 April 1681 – 9 March 1687.

London Gazette, pub. by authority, 1 February 1666 – 25 September 1792.

Mercurius Civicus; Or a True Account of Affairs both Foreign and Domestick, 4 March 1680
– 6 May 1680.

The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, or News both from City and Country, pub. B. Harris,
16 January 1680 – 15 April 1681.

parliamentary Intelligencer, 26 March 1660 – 24 December 1660.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Althoff, Gerd. "*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger." In *Anger's Past*, edited by Barbara Rosenwein, 59-74. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London; New York: Verso, 2006.

Arnade, Peter. "The Rage of "Canaille": The Logic of Fury in the Iconoclasm of Riots of 1566." In *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th -16th Century)*, edited by Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 93-111. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Barnes, Thomas Garden. *Shaping the Common Law: From Glanvill to Hale, 1188-1688*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Barrell, John. *Imagining the king's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793-1796.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bellamy, John G. *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

———. *The Tudor Law of Treason*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979.

Berezin, Mabel. "Emotion and Political Identity: Mobilizing Affection for the Polity." In *Passionate Politics: Emotion and Social Movements*, edited by James Jasper, Jeff Goodwin, Francesca Polletta, 83-98. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Berman, Marshall. *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society.* London: Allen and Unwin, 2009.

Blank, Thomas, and Peter Schmidt. "National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test with Representative Data." *Political Psychology* 24 (2003): 289-311.

Boswell, Caroline S. "Plotting Popular Politics in Interregnum England." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Providence: Brown University, 2008.

Botchkovar, Ekaterina V., and Charles R. Tittle. "Crime, Shame and Reintegration in Russia." *Theoretical Criminology* 9, no. 4 (2005): 401-42.

Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, "Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society." In *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland,* edited by Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 1-42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Braddick, Michael J. *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Braithwaite, John. "Shame and Criminal Justice." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 42, no. 3 (2000): 281-98.

Brennan, Gillian E. *Patriotism, Power and Print*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003.

Browning, Andrew. "Parties and Party Organisation in the Reign of Charles II." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1948): 21-36.

Bührer-Thierry, Genevieve. ""Just Anger" or "Vengeful Anger"? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West." In *Anger's Past*, edited by Barbara Rosenwein, 75-92. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Carlton, Charles. "Civilians." In *The Civil Wars*, edited by John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer, 272-305. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Carmony, Thomas M., and Raymond DiGiuseppe. "Cognitive Induction of Anger and Depression: The Role of Power, Attribution, and Gender." *Journal of Rational-Emotive & Cognitive-Behaviour Therapy* 21, no. 2 (2003): 105-18.

Champion, Justin and McNulty, Lee. "Making Orthodoxy in late Restoration England: The Trials of Edmund Hickeringill, 1662 – 1710." In *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland*, edited by Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, 227-248. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Charland, Louis. "Emotion Experience and the Indeterminacy of Valence." In *Emotion and Consciousness*, edited by Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal and Piotr Winkielman. New York; London: The Guilford Press, 2005.

Chartier, Roger. "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History?" In *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, edited by Dominic La Capra and Steven Kaplan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

Clarke, Elizabeth. "Re-Reading the Exclusion Crisis." *The Seventeenth Century* 21, no. 1 (2006): 141-59.

Clark, J. C. D. "Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832." *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (2000): 249-76.

Coffey, John. *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England.* Harlow: Longman, 2000.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837.* London: Pimlico, 2003.

———. "Radical patriotism in eighteenth-century England." In *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity,* edited by Raphael Samuel. London: Routledge, 1987.

Condren, Conal. *Satire, Lies and Politics: The Case of Dr. Arbuthnot.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997.

———. "The Perplexities of Satire." *Humor: International Journal of Humor Research* 22, no. 4 (2009): 437-47.

———. "Public, Private and the Idea of the 'Public Sphere' in Early-modern England."
Intellectual History Review, 19, no. 1 (2009): 15-28.

———. "Satire and Definition," *Humor: The International Journal of Humor Research* 25,
no. 4 (2012): 375-399.

Connell, Philip. "British Identities and the Politics of Ancient Poetry in Later Eighteenth-
Century England." *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 1 (2006): 161-192.

Connor, James. *The Sociology of Loyalty*. New York: Springer Verlag, 2007.

Cornelius, Randolph. *The Science of Emotion: Research and Tradition in the Psychology of
Emotion*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996.

Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in
Elizabethan and Stuart England.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989.

———. "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2
(2005): 359-74.

Cromartie, Alan. "The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture
in Early Stuart England." *Past & Present* 163 (1999): 76-120.

Cunningham, Hugh. "The language of patriotism." In *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking
of British National Identity,* edited by Raphael Samuel. London: Routledge, 1987.

Cunningham, Karen. *Imaginary Betrayals: Subjectivity and the Discourses of Treason in
Early Modern England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Cust, Richard. *"Honour, Rhetoric and Political Culture."* In *Political Culture and Cultural
Politics in Early Modern England,* edited by Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky.
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Damasio, Antonio. *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain*. New York:
Avon, 1994.

Davidov, Eldad. "Measuring Equivalence of Nationalism and Constructive Patriotism in the Issp: 34 Countries in a Comparative Perspective." *Political Analysis* 17 (2009): 64-82.

De Krey, Gary S. "The First Restoration Crisis: Conscience and Coercion in London, 1667-1673." *Albion* 25, no. 4 (1993): 565-80.

———. *London and the Restoration 1659-1683.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

———. "London Radicals and Revolutionary Politics, 1675-1683." In *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*, edited by Tim Harris, Paul Seaward and Mark Goldie. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Deigh, John. "Emotion and the Authority of Law." In *The Passions of Law*, edited by Susan A. Bandes. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Delumeau, Jean. *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th - 18th Centuries*. Translated by Eric Nicholson. New York: St Martin's Press, 1990.

Dolan, Frances. "Ashes and "the Archive": The London Fire of 1666, Partisanship, and Proof." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 2 (2001): 379-409.

———. *Whores of Babylon.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Duffy, Eamon. *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Durkheim, Emile. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1971.

Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Translated by Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Revised ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2000.

Elton, Geoffrey R. *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Escobedo, Andrew. *Nationalism and historical loss in Renaissance England.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Feddes, Allard, Liesbeth Mann, and Bertran Doosje. "From Extreme Emotions to Extreme Actions: Explaining Non-Normative Collective Action and Reconcilliation." *Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 35, no. 6 (2012): 432-33.

Flam, Helena. "Emotions' Map: A Research Agenda." In *Emotions and Social Movements*, edited by Helena Flam and Debra king. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.

Fossum, T. A, and Lisa Barret. "Distinguishing Evaluation from Description in the Personality-Emotion Relationship." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26, no. 6 (2000): 669-78.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality.* London: Penguin Books, 1981.

———. "Technologies of the Self". In *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault,* edited by Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton, 16-49. Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Friedeburg, Robert von. "In Defense of Patria: Resisting Magistrates and the Duties of Patriots in the Empire from the 1530s to the 1640s." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32, no. 2 (2001): 357-82.

———. "The Making of Patriots: Love of Fatherland and Negotiating Monarchy in Seventeenth Century Germany." *The Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 4 (2005): 881-916.

Gellner, Ernst. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Gorski, Philip S. . "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism." *The American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1428-68.

Gottlieb, Evan. *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Greaves, Richard L. "'Let the Truth Be Free': John Bunyan and the Restoration Crisis of 1667-1673." *Albion* 28, no. 4 (1996): 587-605.

———. *Enemies under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain 1664-1667*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. London: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Habermas, Jurgen. *The Inclusion of the Other*. Edited by Ciaran P. Cronin and Pablo de De Greiff. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998.

Hadfield, Andrew. "Republicanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Britain." In *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500 - 1800*, edited by David Armitage, 111-28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Haley, K. H. D. *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672 - 1674*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Hansen, Harold A. "Opening Phase of the Third Dutch War." *Journal of Modern History* 21, (1949): 97-108.

Harris, Cath. "Liberty of Conscience in Action: James Naylor and the Second Protectorate parliament, 1656." *Melbourne Historical Journal* (2001): 100-06.

Harris, Tim. "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668." *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 3 (1986): 537-56.

———. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

———. *Restoration: Charles II and His kingdoms*. London: Penguin, 2006.

Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Henricks, Thomas S. *Selves, Societies, and Emotions.* Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2012.

Hessayon, Ariel. "Incendiary Texts: Book Burning in England, c.1640 - c.1660." *Cromohs* 12 (2007): 1-25.

Hill, Christopher. *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.

Hinds, Peter. *'The Horrid Popish Plot': Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

———. "Roger L'Estrange, the Rye House Plot, and the Regulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London." *The Library* 3, no. 1 (2002): 3-31.

———. "'Tales and Romantick Stories': 'Impostures', Trustworthiness and the Credibility of Information in the Late Seventeenth Century." In *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, edited by Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, 89-107. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Hirst, Derek. "Bodies and Interests: Toleration and the Political Imagination in the Later Seventeenth Century." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (2007): 401-26.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. 2nd ed. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985

Hyde, Edward. *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1760.

James, Susan. *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Jenkinson, Matthew. *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II: 1660-1685.* Woodbrige, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2010.

Jones, James R. *Charles II: Royal Politician*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

———. *The First Whigs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Kahn, Victoria. *Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England 1640-1674*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Kaplan, Benjamin. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Karp, David R. "The Judicial and Judicious Use of Shame Penalties." *Crime and Delinquency* 44, no. 2 (1998): 277-294.

Keeble, N. H. *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. , 2002.

Kemper, Theodore. "The Dimensions of Microinteraction," *American Journal of Sociology* 96, no. 1 (1990): 32-68.

———. *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

———..*A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions*. New York: John Wiley, 1978.

Kenyon, John. *The Popish Plot*. London: Heinemann, 1972.

Kesselring, K. J. *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kidd, Colin. *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

King, John N. *Foxe's* Book of Martyrs *and Early Modern Print Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Knights, Mark. *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-1681*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Knowles, Ronald. "The "All-Attoning Name": The Word "Patriot" in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Modern Language Review* 96, no. 3 (2001): 624-43.

Lachs, Phyllis. "Advise and Consent: parliament and Foreign Policy under the Later Stuarts," *Albion,* 7, no. 1 (1975): 41-54.

Lake, Peter. "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice." In *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603 – 164,* edited by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, 72-106. London: Longmans, 1989.

Lederer, David. *Madness, Religion and the State in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Lee Jr., Maurice D. "The Earl of Arlington and the Treaty of Dover." *Journal of British Studies,* 1, no. 1 (1961): 58-70.

Lemmings, David. "The Independence of the Judiciary in Eighteenth-Century England." In *The Life of the Law*, edited by Peter Birks, 125-49. London: The Hambledon Press, 1993.

———. *Professors of the Law: Barristers and English Legal Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Lemon, Rebecca. *Treason by Words: Literature, Law and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Linebaugh, Peter. *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century*. London; New York: Verso, 2003.

Loewenstein, David, and Paul Stevens. "Introduction: Milton's Nationalism." In *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, edited by David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Lynch, Beth. "Rhetoricating and Identity in L'Estrange's Early Career, 1659 – 1662". In *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, edited by Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, 89-107. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Malcolm, Joyce Lee. "Doing No Wrong: Law, Liberty, and the Constraint of Kings." *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 161-86.

Markell, Patchen. "Making Affect Safe for Democracy." *Political Theory* 28, no.1 (2000): 38-63.

Marshall, Ashley. *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658 – 1770.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013.

Martines, Lauro. "The Authority of Violence: Notes on Renaissance Florence." In *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th Century)*, edited by Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 31-39. Turnhout: Brepols 2005.

McKenzie, Andrea. "Martyrs in Low Life? Dying "Game" in Augustan England." *The Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 167-205.

Miller, John. "Public Opinion in Charles II's England." *History* 80, no. 260 (1995): 359-81.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America*. New York: Norton, 1988.

Mori, Jennifer. "Languages of loyalism: patriotism, nationhood and the state in the 1790s." *The English Historical Review* 118, no. 475 (2003): 33-58.

Morrill, John. *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630 – 1650.* London: Longman, 1980.

Mowry, Melissa M. *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714*. Aldershot;: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004.

Müller, Jan Werner. *Constitutional Patriotism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

———. "Constitutional Patriotism: An Introduction." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 6, no. 1 (2008): 67-71.

Naphy, William, and Penny Roberts. "Introduction." In *Fear in Early Modern Society*, edited by William Naphy and Penny Roberts. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Newman, Gerald. *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Nussbaum, Martha. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press, 2001.

Ogg, David. *England in the Reign of Charles II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Olmsted, Wendy. *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton and their Contexts.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Orr, D. Alan. *Treason and the State: Law, Politics, and Ideology in the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Parkinson, Brian, Agneta Fischer, and Antony Manstead. *Emotion in Social Relations: Cultural, Group and Interpersonal Processes*. New York; Hove: Psychology Press, 2005.

Paster, Gail Kern, Rowe, Katherine and Floyd-Wilson, Mary eds. *Reading the Early Modern Emotions*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Peck, Linda Levy. "Beyond the Pale: John Cusacke and the Language of Absolutism in Early Stuart Britain." *Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 121-49.

Peltonen, Markku. *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003

Phelps, Elizabeth. "The Interaction of Emotion and Cognition." In *Emotion and Consciousness*, edited by Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal and Piotr Winkielman. New York; London: The Guilford Press, 2005.

Pinch, Adela. *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Pincus, Steven. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

———. "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s." *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 2 (1995): 333-61.

———. *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Pocock, J. G. A. *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Pollock, John. *The Popish Plot*. London: Duckworth and co., 1903.

Prinz, Jesse. "Emotions, Embodiment, and Awareness." In *Emotion and Consciousness*, edited by Lisa Barret, Paula Niedenthal and Piotr Winkielman. New York; London: The Guilford Press, 2005.

Ranke, Leopold von. *Englische Geschichte Vornehmlich Im Sechzehnten Und Siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. 7 vols. Vol. 5. Leipzig: Dunder und Humblot, 1871.

Raymond, Joad. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Reddy, William. "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions." *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (1997): 327-51.

———. "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions." *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 302-15.

———. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Reynolds, Edward. *A Treatise of the Passions*. London: Henry Cripps and Edward Farnham, 1658.

Rezneck, Samuel. "Constructive Treason by Words in the Fifteenth Century." *The American Historical Review* 33, no. 3 (1928): 544-52.

Richards, Judith M. "The English accession of James VI: 'national identity', gender and the personal monarchy of England." *The English Historical Review* 117, no. 472 (2002): 513-535.

Rosenwein, Barbara, ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

———. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2006.

———. "Worrying About Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821-45.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Confessions.* Translated by Angela Scholar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Ruberg, Willemijn. "Interdisciplinarity and the History of Emotions." *Cultural and Social History* 6, no. 4 (2009): 507-16.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* London: Penguin, 1995.

Salzman, C. Daniel, and Stefano Fusi. "Emotion, Cognition and Mental State Representation in Amygdala and Prefrontal Cortex." *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 33 (2010): 173-202.

Schoenfeldt, Michael. ""Commotion Strange": Passion in Paradise Lost." In *Reading the Early Modern Emotions,* edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, 43-67. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004

Schwoerer, Lois G. *The Ingenious Mr. Henry Care, Restoration Publicist.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Scruton, Roger ."In Defence of the Nation." In *Ideas in Modern Britain* edited by J. C. D. Clarke, 53 – 86. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Shrank, Cathy. *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Scott, Jonathan. *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

———. *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. "Radicalism and Restoration." *Historical Journal* 31, no. 2 (1988): 453-67.

Seaward, Paul. *The Cavalier parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Seger, Charles R., Eliot R. Smith, and Diane M. Mackie. "Subtle Activation of a Social Categorization Triggers Group-Level Emotions." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45, no. 3 (2009): 460-67.

Shoemaker, Robert. "Streets of Shame? The Crowd and Public Punishments in London, 1700-1820." In *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500-1900: Punishing the English*, edited by S. Devereaux and P. Griffiths, 232-57. London: Palgrave, 2004.

Sluga, Glenda. "Passions, Patriotism and Nationalism, and Germain De Staël." *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no. 2 (2009): 299-318.

Sowerby, Scott. "Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 26-49.

Stearns, Carol, and Peter Stearns. *Anger: The Struggle for Emtoional Control in America's History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Stearns, Peter N., and Stearns Carol Z. "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4(1985): 813-836.

Stearns, Peter. *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.

———. *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

———. *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America*. New York; London: New York University Press, 2003.

———. "Review: Sin and Fear." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 1 (1992): 156-58.

Stearns, Peter, and Carol Stearns. "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813-36.

Stoyle, Mark. "English 'Nationalism', Celtic Particularism, and the English Civil War." *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (2000): 1113-28.

Sutherland, James. *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Swatland, Andrew. *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Tanner, J. R. "Pepys and the Popish Plot." *English Historical Review* 7 (1892): 281-90.

Thorley, David. "Towards a History of Emotion, 1562-1660." *The Seventeenth Century* 28, no. 1 (2013): 3-19.

Turner, James Grantham. *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630-1685*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Turner, Jonathan. "The Sociology of Emotions: Basic Theoretical Arguments." *Emotion Review* 1, no. 4 (2009): 340-54.

Turner, Jonathan, and Stets, Jan. "Sociological Theories of Human Emotions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 32 (2006): 25-52.

Underdown, David. *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Viroli, Maurizio. *For Love of Country*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Walsham, Alexandra. *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

———. "'This Newe Army of Satan': The Jesuit Mission and the Formation of Public Opinion in Elizabethan England." In *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England,* edited by David Lemmings and Claire Walker, 41-62. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Walsingham, Francis. In *The Free Briton*. London: J. Peele, June 21, 1733.

Warner, Jessica, Kathryn Graham, and Edward Adlaf. "Women Behaving Badly: Gender and Aggression in a Military Town, 1653 - 1781." *Sex Roles* 52, no. 5 (2005): 289-98.

Wilson, Kathleen. *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England 1715-1785*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wodak, Ruth, de Cilia, Rudolph and Reisigl, Martin (eds.) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Wootton, David, ed. *Divine Right and Democracy*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1986.

Worden, Blair. "The Commonwealth Kidney of Algernon Sidney." *Journal of British Studies* 24, no. 1 (1985): 1-40.

Zook, Melinda. *Radical Whigs and Conspirational Politics in Late Stuart England*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.