

STUART ENGLAND

1603-1714

8. Life, Death and James II



Remember the Poor Prisoners
Ayez souvenance des Pauvres Prisonniers
Ricordatevi di far carita a Poveri Carcerati

Mauren delin:

P. Tempst exc:

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EZH3YWkx0zU&list=OLAK5uy_nVWFthxyoOn7AuDZCfZQnYistejNpcRaY&index=6
- “London’s Lottery”, performed by Euan MacColl (Broadside Ballads, 1600-1700)





The end of Charles II

In February 1685, Charles dies as the result of a stroke. On his deathbed, he apologises to his long-suffering queen, Catherine, and converts to Catholicism

- *What kind of society and politics does Charles leave to his brother, James?*
- *What problems face James?*

POPISH DAMNABLE PLOT

AGAINST

Our Religion and Liberties, lively Delineated in several of its Branches,

With an Account of the Manner of the Execution of

WILLIAM Viscount STAFFORD on Tovver-Hill.

29 Decr. 1601





THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
Rye-House Plot:
AND OF
MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.

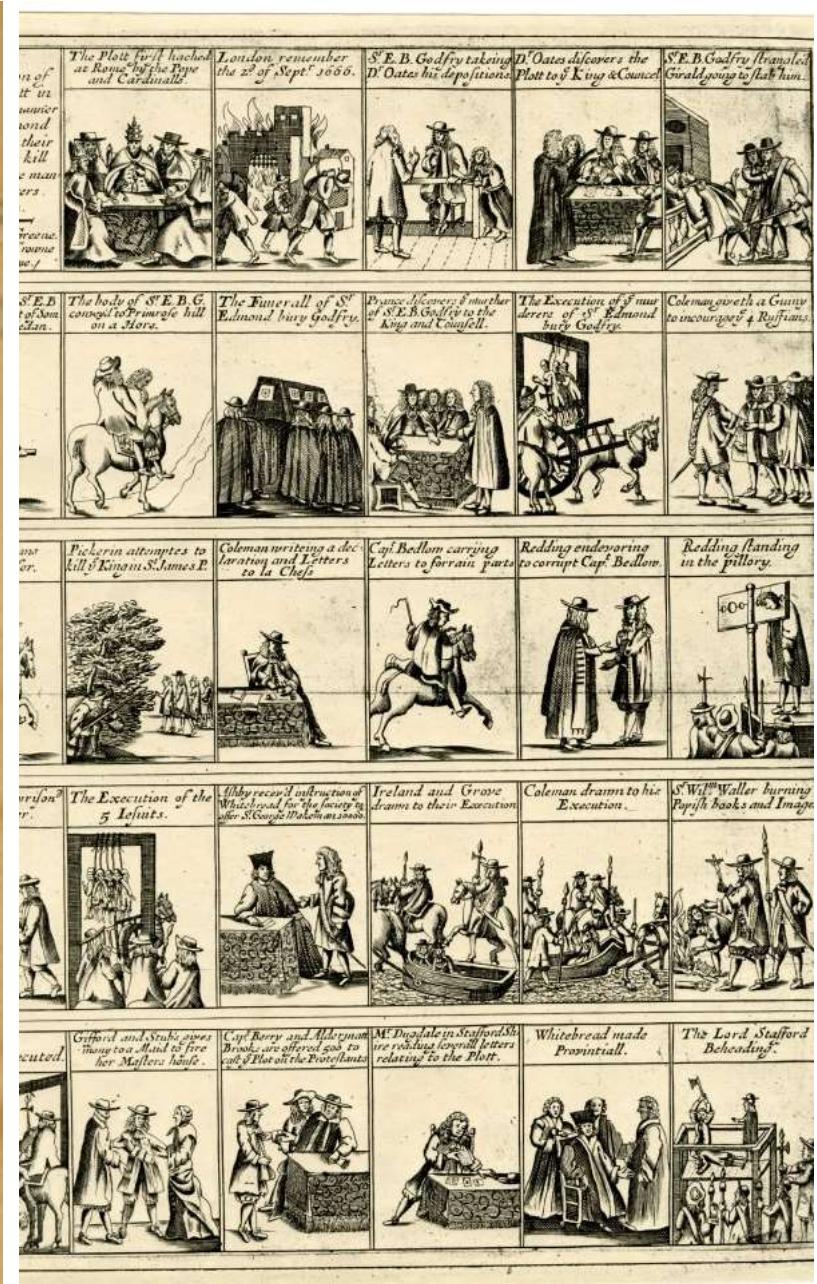
Written by

FORD Lord GREY,
In MDCLXXXV.

Now first Published from a Manuscript sign'd by
himself, before the Earl of SUNDERLAND.

LONDON:
Printed for ANDREW MILLAR, in the Strand,
MDCLXIV.

[Price Two Shillings.]



James, Duke of York

- Charles I's third child and second son, an able military commander
- Lord High Admiral, Governor of the Royal African Company, and decisive in the capture of New Amsterdam – renamed New York in his honour
- In charge of firefighting the Great Fire of 1666 ('indefatigable')...
- Exposed as an open Catholic since 1673 and Parliament's Test Act, preventing Catholics from holding public office
- The Popish Plot of 1679 unleashed anti-Catholic hysteria
- Parliamentarians leapt to exclude James from becoming king (the Exclusion Crisis), in favour of his illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth...
- Charles II had to continually dissolve Parliament from 1679 to prevent this



‘From popery came the notion of a standing army and arbitrary power [...] Formerly the crown of Spain, and now France, supports this root of popery amongst us; but lay popery flat, and there’s an end of arbitrary government and power.’

– Sir Henry Capel, MP (1679)





James II (1685-88) – struggles

- James is crowned quickly in April 1685. Initially, he's popular, with a £2m household income granted by a loyal Parliament, and no real opposition to his Catholicism
- Two weak rebellions are led by the Earl of Argyll in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth in Dorset, but both are unpopular and defeated easily
- James' reaction to these proves to be his undoing:
 - *Widespread and brutal punishment of the rebels, many hardly conspirators, by Judge Jeffreys in 'The Bloody Assizes'*
 - *Enlargement of a standing army, including a Catholic army in Ireland*
 - *1687 Declaration of Indulgence repeals all laws punishing Catholics and Puritans. Soon after, James fills many top roles with Catholic favourites in the army, navy and government*



The Glorious Revolution

- The ‘Whigs’, a new party within Parliament, were alarmed not only at James’ Catholicism, but his autocratic ways, imposing unpopular changes on England
- James had further offended many by imprisoning Seven Bishops for seditious libel after they opposed his Declaration. They would be acquitted in June 1688, a disaster for James’ government and reputation
- In June 1688, James’ son is born (also James), to his second wife Mary, a Catholic
- Prior to this, James’ heir was Mary Stuart, Protestant, married to William of Orange
- Anxious of a new Catholic dynasty, figures within government secretly request that William invade England and depose the king
- William, anxious of a possible Anglo-French Catholic alliance crushing the Netherlands, had already been preparing to attack...



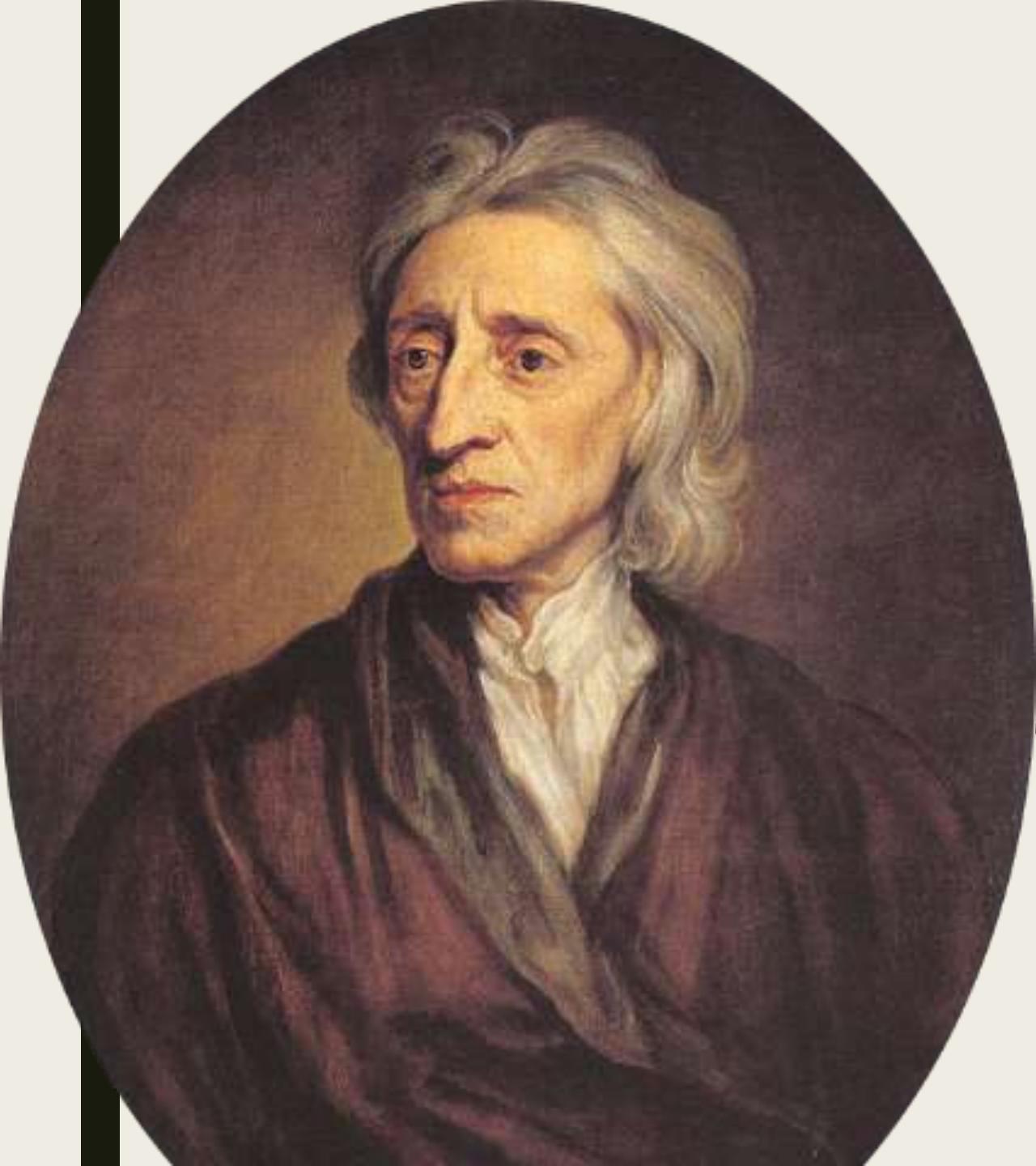


The Glorious Revolution

In the background, many English political thinkers were questioning the nature of tyranny and discussing new bases of political sovereignty...

Take a look at one of the two excerpts below by Algernon Sydney (executed in 1683) and John Locke

- *What view of politics emerges?*
- *How might it present a challenge to the older Stuart way of governing?*
- *Could we call these revolutionary ideas? If so, in what way?*





The downfall of James

‘We have great reason to believe, we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance ...

the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed.’

— invitation to William, from “*The Seven*”



William arrives, and James flees

- After ensuring sufficient political and financial support within England, William eventually arrives at Torbay in November 1688
- James dithers, anti-Catholic riots break out, large swathes of the army desert
- After defeat at the Battle of Reading in December 1688, James II and family flee
- He drops the Great Seal of Parliament in the Thames, without which Parliament cannot be called, and disbands the army and Navy without pay
- Rumours of an impending massacre by James' Catholic Irish Army lead to a mass panic in December ('the Irish Fright'), leading to amateur militia being formed in London and elsewhere, numbering tens of thousands
- Anarchy is taking over...







VANA SALVS DARNIS
MEMOR ESTO QVONIAM MORS NON TAL DAT ET TESTAMENTVM
INFERORVM QVIA DEMONSTRATVM EST TIBI TESTAMENTVM
ENIM HVIS MUNDI MORTE MORIETVR

OMNIA SVO PROVENIVNT TEMPORE ATQVE TRANSEVNT ECCLESIASTIC CAP. 11
ANTE MORTEM NE LADES HOMINEM QVENQVAM ECCLESIASTIC CAP. 11
QVONIAM IN FILIS SVIS AGNOSCITVR VIR.

PERCIVALLVS SMALPACE ARMIGER
OBIIT 2^o DIE FEBRARII A^o DNI
1558 R ELIZABETA REGNANTE
CVIVS QVIDEM CORPVS IVXTA
HVNC TVMVLVM HVMATVM
EXISTIT

AGNES VXOR EIVS ET FILIA
JOHIS TEBOWLD ARMIGERI OBIIT
TERCIO DIE SEPTEMBRIS A^o DNI
1588 R ELIZABETA REGNANTE
CVIVS QVIDEM CORPVS IVXTA
HVNC TVMVLVM HVMATVM
EXISTIT

LIBERI INTER EOS MICHAEL ET THOMAS
ADHVC VIVENTES QVI IN RELIGIOSA MEMORIA
OPTIMORVM PARENTVM SVORVM HOC
MONUMENTVM POSVERVNT

MORIENTI CV NCTA QVIESCVNT
BEATI QVI MORIUNTUR IN DOMINO



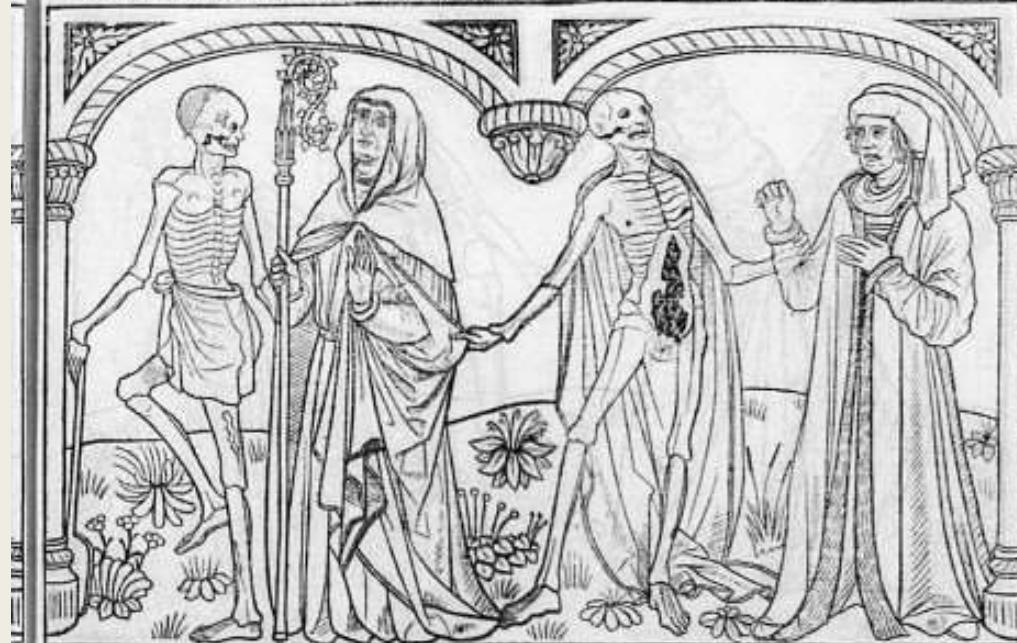
BEHOWLDE YOURE SELVES BY VS SUTCHE ONCE WERE WE AS YOU
AND YOV IN TYME SHALBE EVEN DVSTE AS WE ARE NOW

Memorial at St Bartholomew
the Great, 1588





L: The Dance of Death (1493) by Michael Wolgemut, from the Nuremberg Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel
 R: La Danse macabre (Abbot and Bailiff). Paris, Guy Marchant, (1486)



Le mort

Abbe: venez tost: vous fuyez;
 Hayez la la chiere esbave.
 Il connient que la mort suivez;
 Combien que moult lavez haye
 Commandez a dieul abaye:
 Que gros et gras vous a noutry.
 Tost pourririez a peu de aye.
 Le plus gras est premier pourry.

Labbe

De cecy nenne point enuie:
 Mais il connient le pao passer.
 Las: or nay ie pas en ma vie
 Gardez mon ordre sans casser.
 Garde vous de trop embrasser
 Vous qui viuez au demorant:
 Se vous voulez bien trespasser,
 On sauile tard en mourant.

Le mort

Bailly qui lavez quest inisce
 Et hault et bas: en mainte guise:
 Pour gouverner toute police.
 Venez tantost a ceste assise.
 Je vous adiourne de main mise
 Pour rendre compte de vous fais
 Au grant inge: qui tout vng pris.
 Un chascun porteras son fais.

Le bailly

De dieu: vecy dure iournee:
 De ce cop pas ne me gardoye
 Orest la chanse bien tornee:
 Entre inge hommeut auoye.
 Et mort fait raualet maioye:
 Qui ma adiourne sans rappel.
 Je ny voy plus ne tout ne voye,
 Contre la mort na point dappel.

‘About this Cloyster was artificially and richly painted the dance of Machabray, or dance of death, commonly called the dance of Pauls’ – John Stow, 1603

‘But if we not only here this word Death, but also let sink into our heartes, the very fantasye and depe imaginacion thereof, we shall perceive therby that we wer never so gretly moved by the beholding of the Daunce of Death pictured in Poules, as we shal fele ourself stered and altered by the feling of that imaginacion in our hertes.’ – Thomas More

The chapel was pulled down in 1549.

Growth of the monastic orders

- In the 13th century, new monastic orders arrived. From the 1220s the Montfichet keep housed the Dominican Black Friars (arriving 1221), and later the Carmelite White Friars (1241).
- These popular preachers were granted liberty from secular jurisdiction which lasted until 1697, and their 'liberty' became a haunt of outlaws and slums.
- The Franciscan Grey Friars (1223) were based in Stinking Lane, inside Newgate, alongside butchers. Greyfriars would become the second-largest church in medieval London, and later became Christ's Hospital, which took in underprivileged children
- The Austin Friars were established from 1253. The Crutched Friars, who wore a crucifix on their habit, were based from 1298 by the Tower.



Growth of the hospitals

- Orders set up hospitals, which doubled up as travellers' hostels.
- Funded by donations from aristocrats and aldermen, doing works for the poor
- By the 15th century there were up to 30 'hospitals' in London, which become increasingly specialised: St Bartholomew for the sick, St Thomas for the 'wounded, maimed, sick and diseased' and later the elderly, Greyfriars or Christ's Hospital for orphan children, Bridewell for 'the correction of vagabonds'
- St Mary's of Bethlehem, opened in 1247, began as a priory for the order of the Star of Bethlehem, used to collect alms for the Crusades, and later for the poor and needy...

‘Bedlam’

- 1403: nine inmates supervised by a master, a porter and his wife, as well as a number of servants. Numbers slowly grow
- Some were allowed to leave the ‘madman’s pound’ in order to wander the streets as mendicants; a tin badge on the left arm signified their status, and they were known as ‘God’s minstrels’ or ‘anticks’, shrouded in fear, superstition, pity and charity
- In the early 16th century, 31 were found to be crowded into a space for 24, where ‘the cryings, screechings, roarings, brawlings, shaking of chains, swearings, frettings, chafings are so many, so hideous, so great; that they are more able to drive a man that hath his wits rather out of them’
- Jacobean theatre theme: distinction between madness and reason
- Hospitals mostly closed following Henry VIII’s dissolution, 1536-41...



Tom o'Bedlam

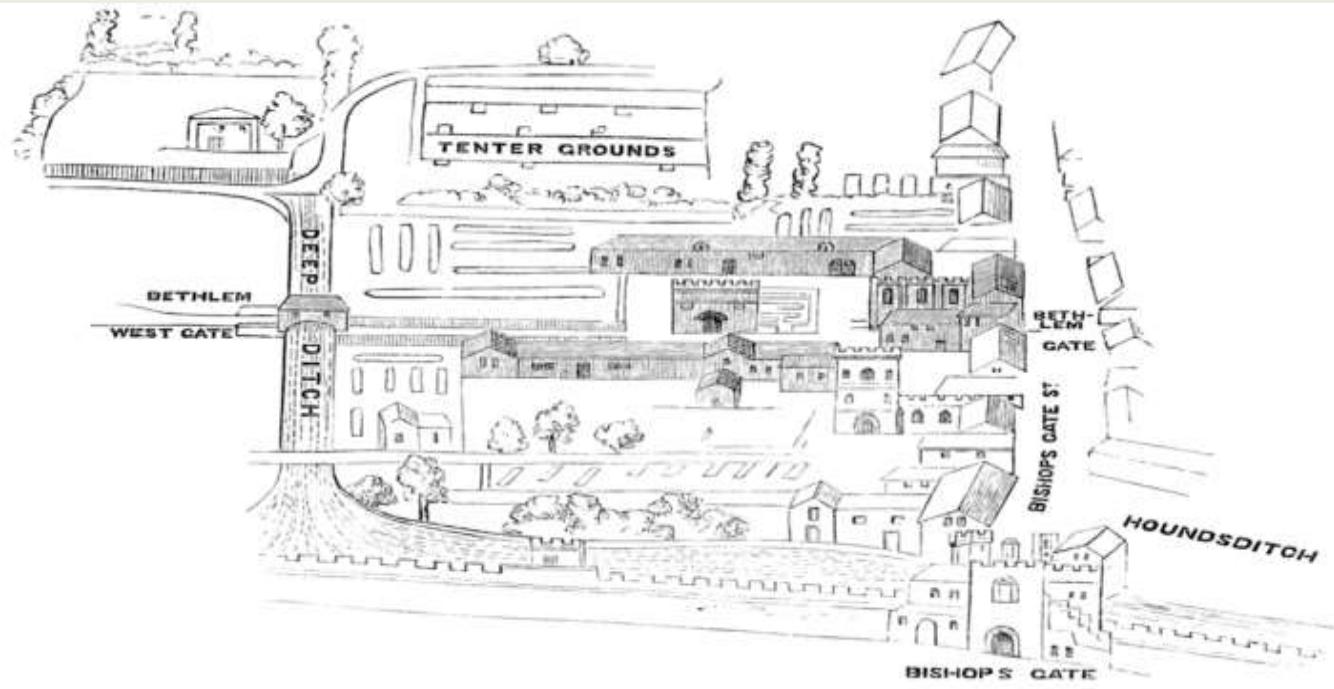
From the hag and hungry goblin
That into rags would rend ye,
The spirit that stands by the naked man
In the Book of Moons defend ye,
That of your five sound senses
You never be forsaken,
Nor wander from your selves with Tom
Abroad to beg your bacon,
While I do sing, Any food, any feeding,
Feeding, drink, or clothing;
Come dame or maid, be not afraid,
Poor Tom will injure nothing.

Of thirty bare years have I
Twice twenty been enragèd,
And of forty been three times fifteen
In durance soundly cagèd
On the lordly lofts of Bedlam,
With stubble soft and dainty,
Brave bracelets strong, sweet whips ding-dong,
With wholesome hunger plenty,
And now I sing, Any food, any feeding,
Feeding, drink, or clothing;
Come dame or maid, be not afraid,
Poor Tom will injure nothing.

Early 17th century anonymous ballad

Dissolution of monasteries

- On his deathbed, he permits the City to establish or renew five institutions, including St Bartholomew, St Thomas, Bethlem Hospital, Bridewell, and Christ's Hospital
- Though enlarged in 1667 to accommodate 59, the governors decided by 1674 that 'the Hospitall House of Bethlem is very olde, weake & ruinous and to[o] small and streight for keepeing the greater numb[e]r of lunaticks therein att p[re]sent"
- A new Bethlem Hospital is built in 1676, designed by Robert Hooke, just north, Guarded by two statues, Raving and Melancholy, the new structure was tall, grand and light, just north of the City wall



Bethlem Hospital,
first location



Bethlem Hospital,
1676



Bethlehem Hospital

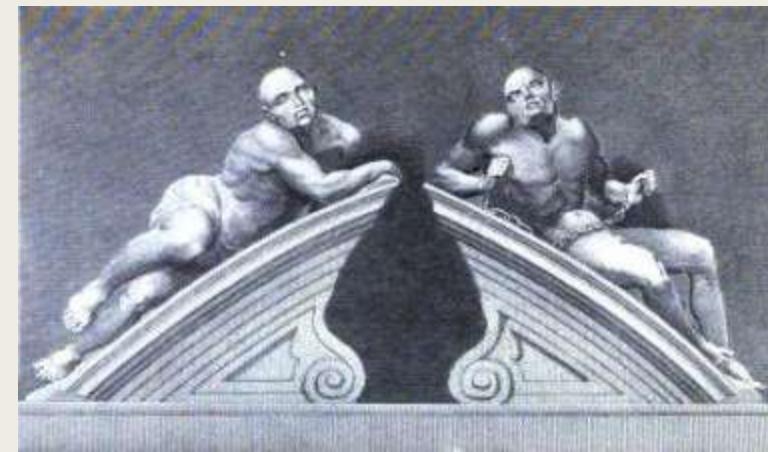
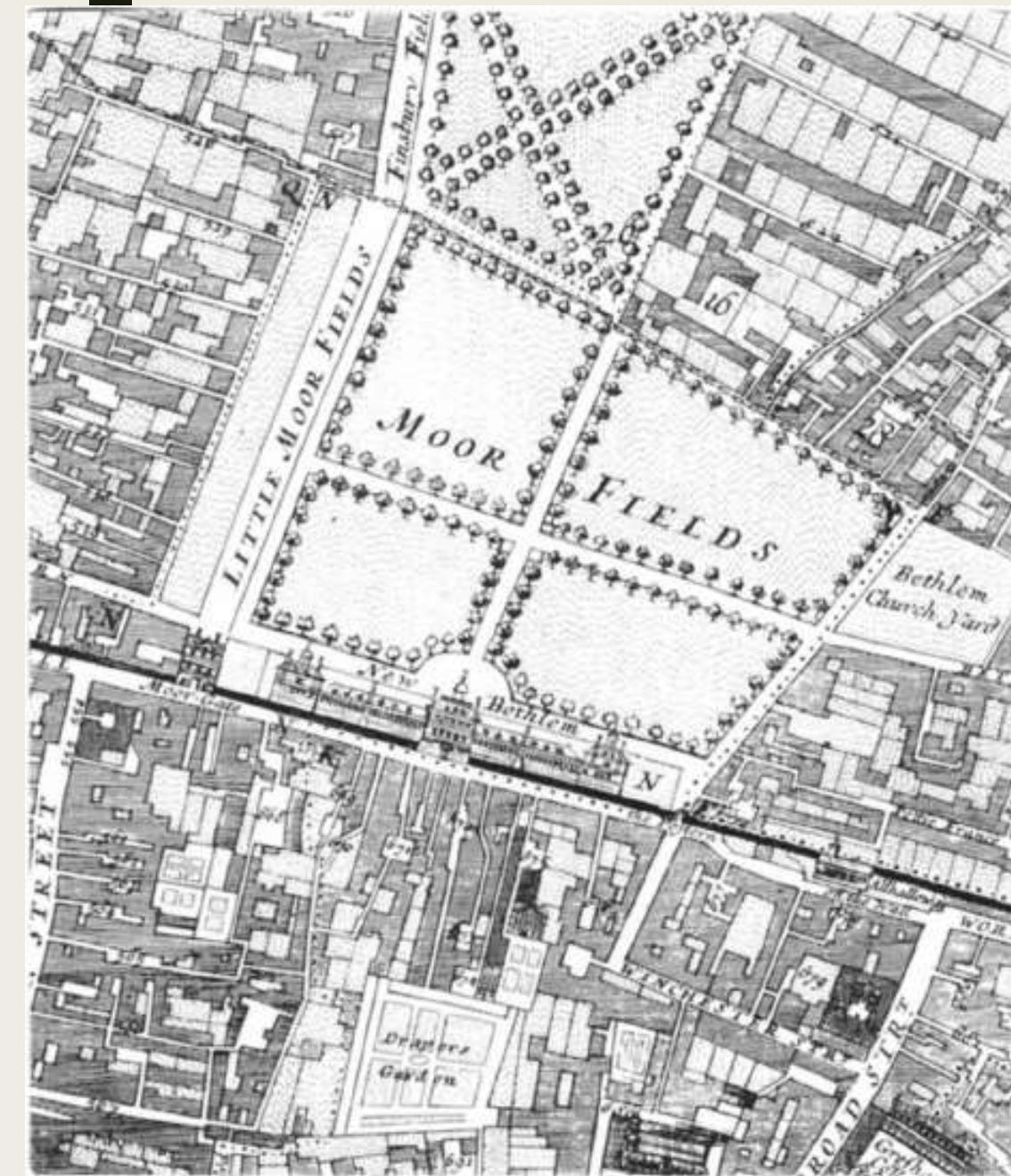


Printed & Sold by Carrington Bowles,

A View of the Hospital of Bethlehem.

N^o 69 St Pauls Church Yard, London.

Vue de l'Hôpital de Bethlehem.





1624

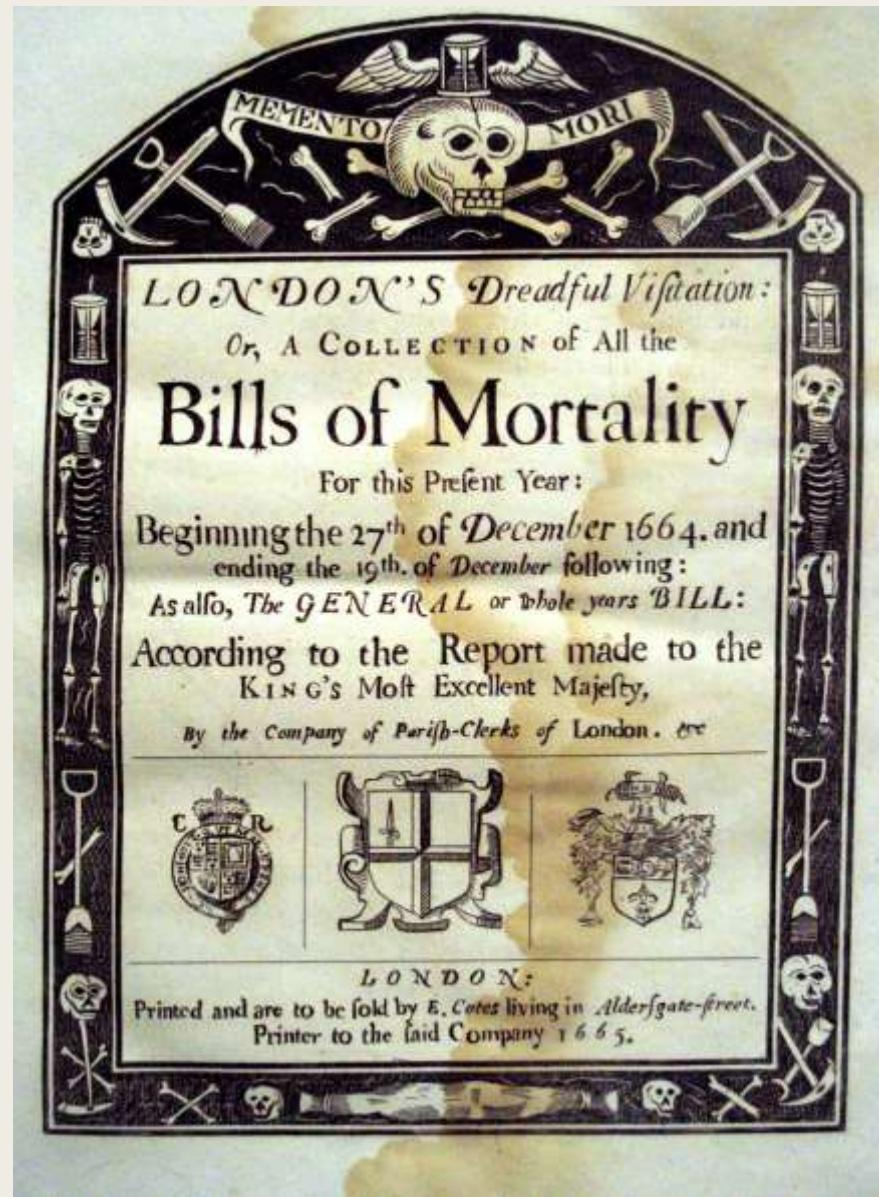
A Generall or great Bill for this Yeare, of the whole Number of Burials, which have beene Buried of all Diseases, and also of the Plague in certeane feareall Parishes within the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof: As also in the nine out Parishes adjoyning to the said Cittie; with the Pethouse belonging to the same. From Thuryday the 15. day of December, 1624, to

Thursday the 15. day of December, 1625. According to the Report made to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: Made by the Company of Parish Clerks of London.



LONDON	Bur. Plague	LONDON	Bur. Plague	LONDON	Bur. Plague
Allhallowes in Woodstreet	188	78	Gabriel Fen-church	71	54
Allhallowes Barking	3. 7. 263	38	George Batolp clerk	30	19
Allhallowes Breadstreet	38	14	Gregories by Paul	295	196
Allhallowes the Great	442	302	Holme within B shopygate	149	71
Allhallowes Hoyle-lane	18	8	James by Goltich-thorpe	186	100
Allhallowes the Leafe	159	205	John Baptill	122	79
Allhallowes in Lumberdise	85	49	John Evangelist	7	0
Allhallowes Staynnges	183	138	John Zacharies	147	97
Allhallowes the Wall	30	151	James Dukes place	16	16
Allhallowes Cogge-gate	240	90	Katherine Colenam	264	175
Andrew Hertford	146	101	Lawrence in the Iewite	98	173
Andrewes Whitechape	219	149	Lawrence Poumynt	265	129
Andrewes by the Wardrobe	37	291	Leonards Eauchurch	55	20
Ames at Alder-gate	193	218	Leonards Fotheringay	29	209
Ames Black-Friers	356	215	Magnus Parish by the Bridge	137	35
Ames the Parke	61	31	Margarets Locheburn	14	64
Ames Faulme	73	40	Margarets Morden	37	25
Brecklowne at the Exchange	52	24	Margarets new Fulbystrete	123	82
Bernets Finche	103	57	Margarets Parcous	77	59
Bernets Catechuch	48	14	Marie Ab-church	93	58
Bernets & Pauls Whate	266	131	Marie Aldermanbirc	246	79
Bernets Shehoge	24	8	Marie Bow	93	54
Bishop Belling-gate	99	66	Marie Botham	35	19
Cantons Churc Parke	612	374	Marie Colchuch	26	14
Cordelopers Parke	48	28	Marie at the Hill	132	82
Clements by Eauchiche	87	73	Marie Mountaw	76	58
Dame Back-churc	99	59	Marie Somerger	270	192
Damnes in the Hall	315	225	Marie Woolchuch	38	44
Emmons in Lumberdise	70	49	Marie Woolmote	84	50
Ethiownew within Blynggate	20	101			
Exe Fane	89	45			
Exe Foleys in Fotheringay	149	203			
Buried within the 97. Parishes without the walls, of all Diseases	14340	Winter of the Plague	9197		
Ames in Holborn	1390	1636	Bishop Belling-gate	2334	754
Bisham new in the Cittie	516	360	Bishop without Alder-gate	360	378
Bisham leane the Leafe	211	65	Damfanes in the Wall	800	394
Bishop's Parke	1481	1031	Georges in Southwark	1608	912
Bishop's Aigte	1723	1653	Giles without Shopygate	3988	338
Bishop's Prent	213	152			
Buried in the 16. Parishes without the walls, Rarding part within the Liberties, and part without: in Middlesex and Surrey, and at the Pethouse.	3	1692	At the Pethouse	194	189
Buried in the nine out Parishes					
Clementes Tempelhar	1284	755	Katherines by the Lower	993	744
Ciles in the Fiddes	1333	947	Leonards in Shoreditch	1695	1207
James at Arkenwell	1191	903	Martins in the Fields	1470	907
Buried in the nine out Parishes, in Middlesex and Surrey.		13953	Olaves in Southwark	3683	1609
			Summers in Southwark	2746	1671
			Sepulchres Parish	393	2410
			Thomas in Southwark	335	277
			Trinitie in the Minories	132	87
			At the Pethouse	194	189
The total of all the Burials of all Diseases, within the walls, without the walls, in the Liberties, Middlesex and Surrey: with the nine Out Parishes and the Pethouse.		51425	Marie White-chappell	3105	1272
Buried of the Plague, this present yearre.		51425	Magdalens in Bensendall	1127	889
			Saints Parish	270	170
			Olaves of the Plague	967	133

London, Printed by William Stansby, 1625.



Bills of Mortality

- In June of 1557 the registrar of a parish records the following causes of death within that one month—‘a swellynge ... ague ... consumption ... thought [cough] ... blody fluxe ... poches [pox] ... postum which brake ... browce [bruise?] ... famyne ... consumed away’.
- The bills of mortality, published every Thursday, include those who were ‘planet struck’, or suffered from ‘horseshoe head’ or ‘rising of the lights’, as well as those ‘killed in the pillory’ or who ‘died from want in Newgate’
- These Bills were produced by some City parishes from 1532, usually during outbreaks of plague, and was undertaken systematically from 1603 by royal charter to the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks
- They include cause of death from 1629, and by early 18th century, age of death

Bills of Mortality

- From St Katherine Creechurch:
- In the 1630s there were more than 1,600 people resident in the parish and that within this heavily populated area there were 325 or so houses and tenements, the majority of them probably occupied.
- According to the Bills of Mortality, between 1629 and 1636 there were a total of 576 burials in St. Katherine Creechurch.
- Together with 66 burials recorded in the Bishops' Transcripts for 1639, this produces a mean total of 71.3 burials per annum for these years
- = a large base of floating inhabitants, many single young males (vagrants, servants, apprentices, journeymen), together with more established householders who had lived in the parish several years

Bills of Mortality

John Graunt analyses these to estimate London's population and life expectancies from 1662

In two groups, take a look at one of the 4 extracts

- *What can we learn about life in London?*
- *What makes Graunt's method interesting?*

Natural and Political
OBSERVATIONS
Mentioned in a following INDEX,
and made upon the
Bills of Mortality.

BY
Capt. JOHN GRAUNT,
Fellow of the Royal Society.

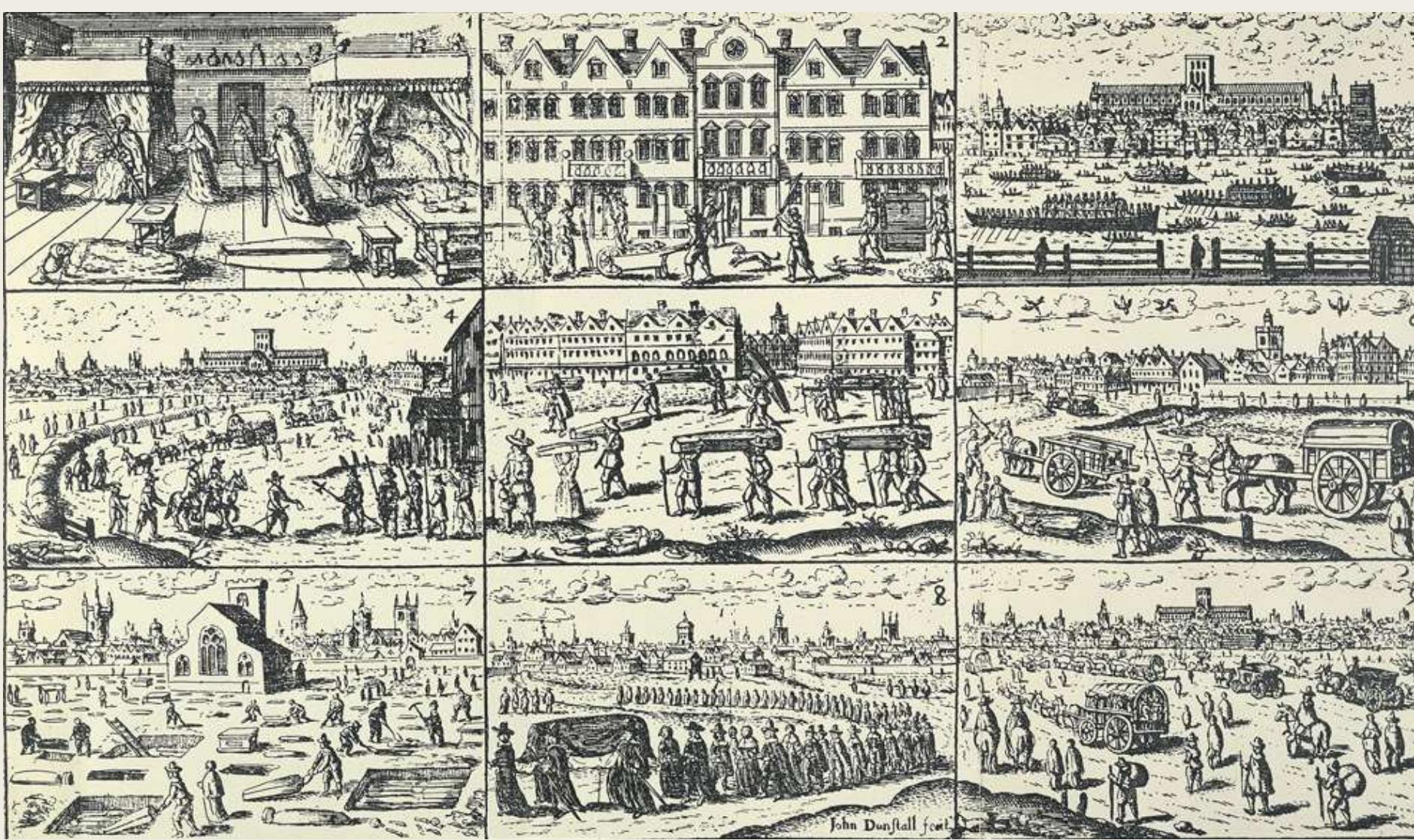
With reference to the *Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diseases, and the several Changes of the said CITY.*

— *Non me ut miretur Turba, labore, Contentus paucis Lectoribus.* —

The Fifth Edition, much Enlarged.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Martyn*, Printer to the
Royal Society, at the Sign of the Bell in St. Paul's
Church-yard, MDCLXXVI.

LBW



London, the great plague of 1665

Problem of burial

- ‘They died in heaps, and they were buried in heaps’ – Henry Foe
- ‘a piece of ground beyond Goswell Street, near Mount Mill ... abundance were buried promiscuously from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city’ – Defoe
- Huge burial pits across London, dug in haste and without record, including at what is now Hyde Park, Spitalfields, Southwark, Stepney and Knightsbridge, where the tube is diverted
- Some of the bodies ‘were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rags, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart’
- Pepys and Foe visited the massive plague burial pits at Moorfields and Aldgate

Grieving

- Out of despair, some of those grieving or sick flung themselves among the dead, as Henry Foe records
- He befriends a grieving man who watches his wife and child buried in the Pye tavern, close to the Houndsditch pit
- Some drunken apprentices in the pub began jeering at the grieving man who they had watched, encouraging him to jump in the pit
- Foe also noted some uttered ‘blasphemous expressions’ such as *There is no God or God is a devil.*
- One driver, Buckingham, ‘When he had any children in his dead cart could cry ‘Faggots, faggots, five for sixpence’ and take up a child by the leg’, and would undress women – later jailed
- By October-November 1665 the Plague recedes

The Prospect of Bridewell



Workhouses

- Paul Slack identifies five episodes in the histories of hospitals: the royal, civic, metropolitan, baroque, and voluntary from between 1505-1728
- In 1505, Henry VIII set up at the Savoy Hospital as a nightly lodge and asylum for beggars, travellers and pilgrims
- From 1552, the Bridewell Hospital – at times jointly administered with Bethlem – was a ‘house of labour and occupations’, and perhaps the first known workhouse
- Yet its functions were conflicted, and like the Savoy, often became used as ‘a nursery of rogues, thieves, idle and drunk persons’, a place to imprison undesirables
- The London Corporation of the Poor was set up in 1647 to centrally control social welfare and manage the new workhouses, but closed in 1660



A Bras's Pott or an Iron Pott to mend
Rabiller les Poelles les Marmites & les Chaudrons
Cucina caldere candeliere e Padelle

*P. Tempst ex
Comprivilo: Mauron delin:*



Four for Six pence Mackrell
Maqueroux quatre pour Six Sols
Quattro Sgrombi per sei Soldi

*P. Tempst ex
Comprivilo: Mauron delin:*



Knives Combs or Inkhornes.
Couteaux Peignes Ecritoires.
Colamori Pettini e Ciglielli.

*P. Tempst ex
Comprivilo:*

'A Brass Pot ... to mend', 'Four for six pence mackrell', and 'Knives combs or inkhornes', from Marcellus Laroon's series *The Cryes of London*, 1688



THE SQUIRE OF ALSATIA.

见于“中国科学院植物所标本室”



M. Lazon delin.

London Curtezan
La Putain de Londres
Corregiana di Londra

Tempest acc
Cum Privilegiis



Maurer's doc.

Remember the Poor Prisoners
Ayez souvenance des pauvres Prisonniers
Ricordatevi di far carità a Poveri Carcerati

PTemp at exc:

‘The Squire of Alsatia’; ‘London Courtezan’; and ‘Remember the Poor Prisoners’, from Marcellus Laroon’s series *The Cryes of London*, 1688

Reconstruction

- After the destruction of much of the City, and hospitals like Bridewell and Christ's, there was a great reconstruction programme
- Increasingly scientific principles of treatment and care were introduced and developed by the early 18th century, drawing on European examples
- Military-linked hospitals like Chelsea (1691) and Greenwich (1692)
- Reconstruction of Bethlem (1676), St Thomas' (1700s), St Bartholomew's (1720s)
- New hospitals like Guys' Hospital (1721), the Foundling (1739), and St Luke's Hospital for the insane (1751)
- Development of maternity hospitals, like the British Lying-In Hospital, Long Acre (1749), the General Lying-In Hospital (later Queen Charlotte's, 1752)
- The Lock Hospital for venereal cases (1746), patients receiving moral and religious instruction as well as medical care



Wednesday: Historical walk

- We're going to walk around the old City again, on a walk themed on life and death in early modern London
- We'll pass the old Bedlam site, plague burial pits, plus some other interesting sites like the Barbican and Bunhill Fields
- Meet at 2pm outside the Railway Tavern, opposite Liverpool Street Underground station.
- Full address: 15 Liverpool St, London EC2M 7NX).
- If you're coming by tube e.g. Central Line, look for the exit that says Old Broad Street
- Any problems: text 07784 084854 or taylorda@Lawrence.edu.

