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London and the Restoration, 1659–1683

Articulate and restless London citizens were at the heart of political and religious confrontation in England from the Interregnum through the great crisis of church and state that marked the last years of Charles II's reign. The same Reformed Protestant citizens who took the lead in toppling the Rump in 1659–60 took the lead in demanding a new Protestant settlement after 1678. In the interval, their demands for liberty of conscience challenged the Anglican order, while their arguments about consensual government in the city challenged loyalist political assumptions. Dissenting and Anglican identities developed in specific locales within the city, rooting the Whig and Tory parties of 1679–83 in neighborhoods with different traditions and cultures. *London and the Restoration* integrates the history of the kingdom with that of its premier locality in the era of Dryden and Locke, analyzing the ideas and the movements that unsettled the Restoration regime.

GARY S. DE KREY is Professor of History at St Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. His previous publications include *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688–1715* (1985).

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LONDON AND THE
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1659–1683

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St Olaf College



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For my parents

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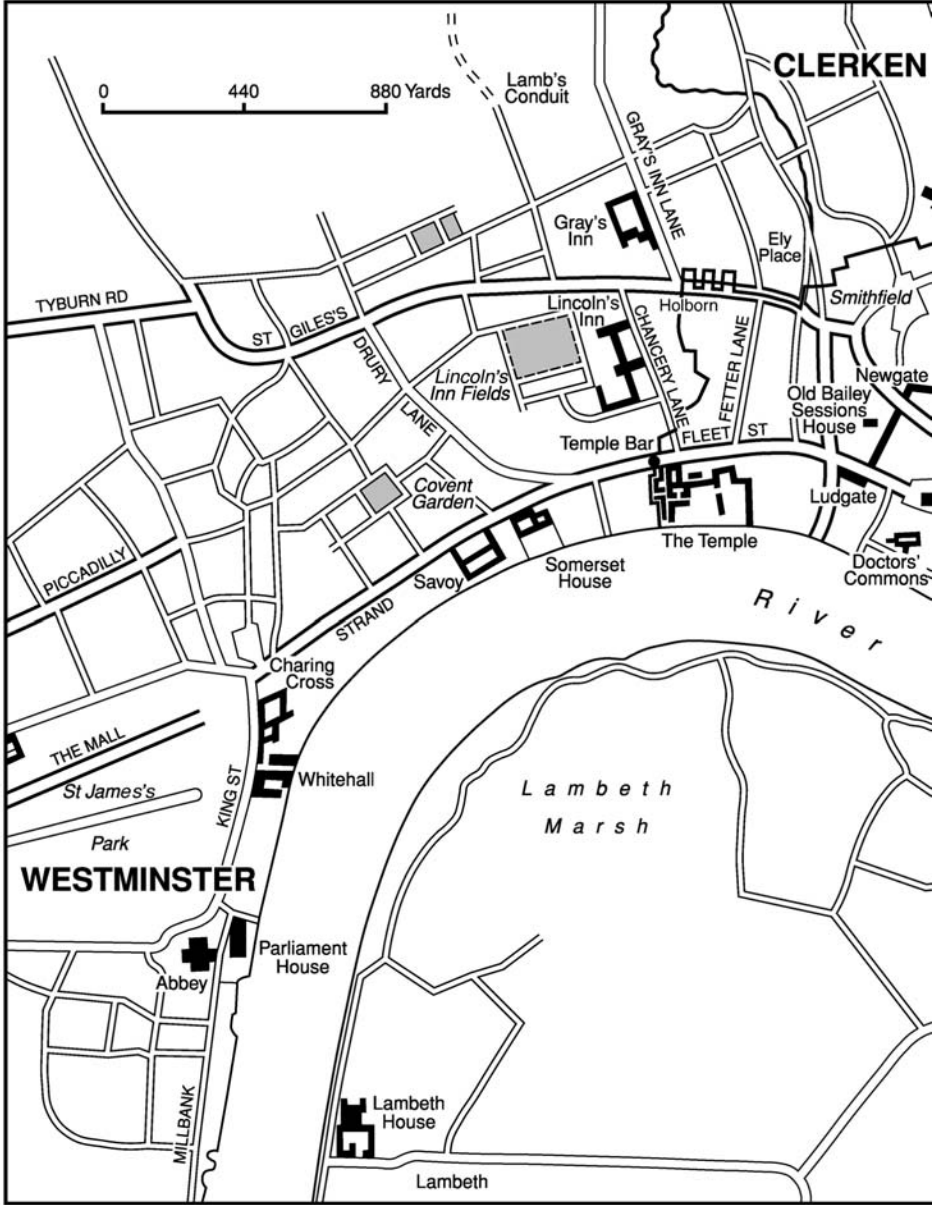
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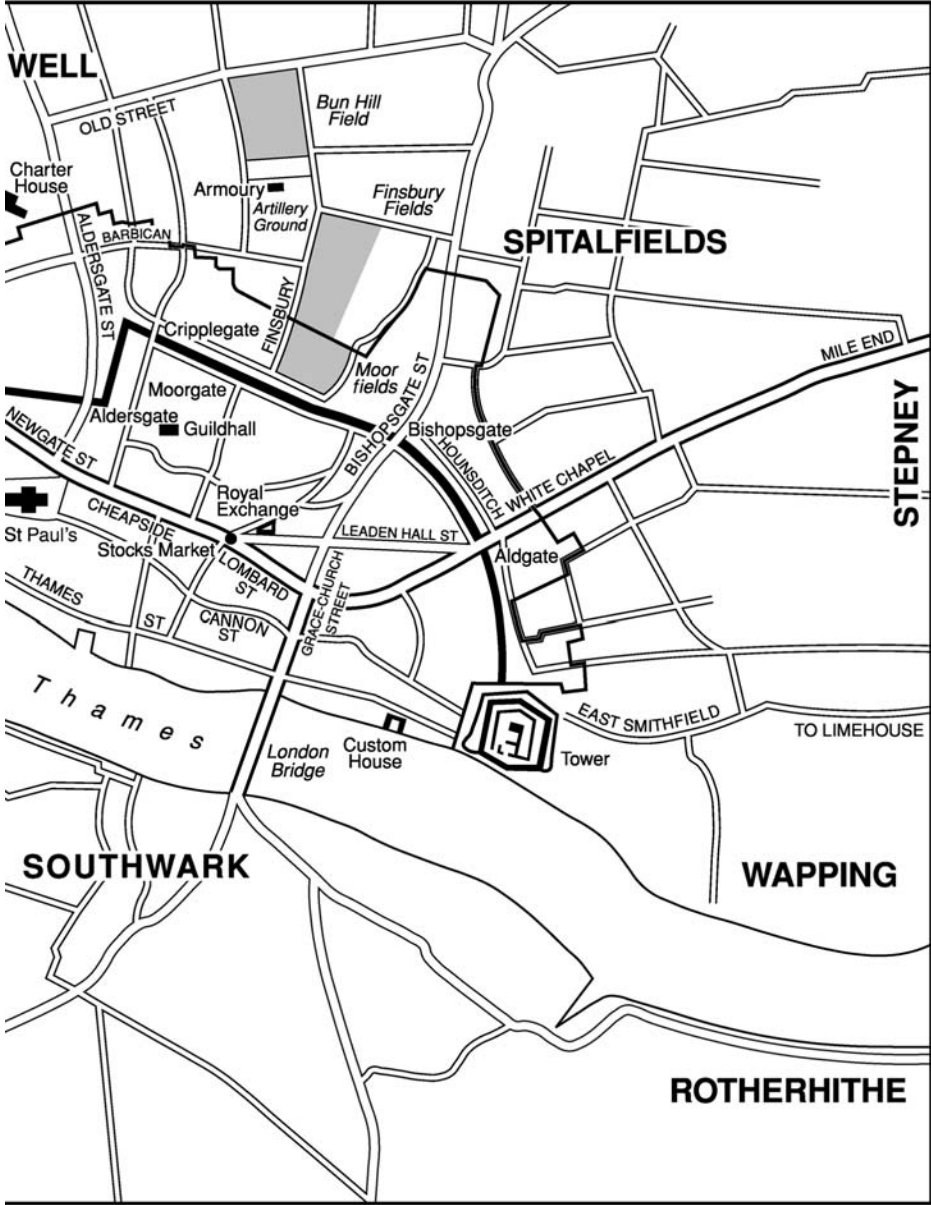
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London in the late seventeenth century

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PREFACE

When I started this study I intended to produce a short second book that I thought could be quickly researched and written. That was almost twenty years ago. The Restoration then seemed to be a fairly straightforward and relatively neglected field of English history. But since the early 1980s the period has attracted many creative and intellectually ambitious historians, while the old field of Tudor and Stuart English history has been transformed by a variety of revisionist approaches to Early Modern Britain.

London and the Restoration is my response to the new historical writing about the Restoration and to the transformation of the broader historical field. It could not have been written without engaging, both personally and professionally, with many other scholars at every stage of their professional work and with a few no longer living. I have disagreed about important questions with some of them, but I can think of no one with whom I have disagreed from whom I have not also learned a great deal. If I acknowledge only a few scholars, colleagues, and friends by name here, I hope that others will find my engagement with their work reflected in what follows. Henry Horwitz and Lois Schwoerer each took an interest in my work at an early stage; and they have, in their different ways, contributed to my understanding of the Restoration. They have provided countless recommendations and evaluations of my scholarship over the years, and I am deeply grateful to each of them. Tim Harris, Mark Knights, and Mark Goldie have shared some of their ongoing work with me over the years and have responded helpfully to my own. John Morrill was encouraging about this project as it began to take shape. Robert Bucholz and Newton Key have been good friends in the Midwest Conference on British Studies and supportive professional colleagues. I also want to thank Arthur Smith, who shared the results of his own research on the topic with me, and Tim Whipple, whose student work for me is reflected in some of the figures and interpretations in Chapter 6.

After I began this book, I changed jobs and locations, though not in directions that I could have predicted. I am happy to acknowledge the support I have received at St Olaf College from deans and colleagues involved

in providing institutional grants, released time, and sabbaticals. The work could not have been completed without this assistance. I thank my long-time St Olaf friends Bob Nichols, Doug Schuurman, Jack Schwandt, and Pamela Schwandt for their active interest in my work and for their company and conversation. My departmental colleagues have responded generously to colloquium presentations over the years, while my colleague in the St Olaf Archives, Jeff Sauve, has indirectly contributed to the completion of the book by supporting other projects and work so professionally. The St Olaf librarians, especially those at the inter-library loan and circulation desks, have extended multiple courtesies to me. Sarah Entenmann was a wonderful help with the index.

I was fortunate to hold several fellowships and grants that permitted me to take the time and to undertake the research required for this study. It has been supported financially by the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the Folger and Newberry Libraries. The staffs of the Folger and Newberry were most helpful, as were the staffs of all the record offices and archives listed in the bibliography, especially those at the Corporation of London Records Office.

Finally, and most importantly, I want to acknowledge the love and care of those who have lived with this book as long as I have, my wife Catherine and my son William. Thankfully, other matters have been at the center of our relationships, and we have grown together as a family in spite of the book's long gestation. The work is dedicated to my parents, Lester and June, from whom I acquired the patience necessary to complete it and my interests in books and learning.

ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MS	Additional Manuscripts, British Library
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
BDBR	Greaves, R. L. and R. Zaller. <i>Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century</i> , 3 vols. (Brighton, 1982–4).
BIHR	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
BL	British Library
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library
Bulstrode Newsletters	Newsletters of Richard Bulstrode, 1667–89, at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin
CJ	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>
CalCSP	<i>Calendar of Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library</i> , ed. F. J. Routledge <i>et al.</i> , 5 vols. (Oxford, 1872–1932).
MS Carte	Carte Manuscripts, Bodleian Library
MS Clarendon <i>Clarke Papers</i>	Clarendon Papers, 1659–63, Bodleian Library <i>The Clarke Papers. Selections from the Papers of William Clarke</i> , 4 vols. (1891–1901).
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
CLSP	<i>State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1767–86).
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
CSPVen	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venetian</i>
CTB	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DWL	Dr Williams's Library
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Evelyn, <i>Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , ed. E. S. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955).

List of abbreviations

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GHL	Guildhall Library
GLRO	Greater London Record Office
Grey, <i>Debates</i>	Grey, Anchitell. <i>Debates of the House of Commons from the year 1667 to the year 1694</i> , 10 vols. (1763).
<i>Hatton Correspondence</i>	<i>The Correspondence of the Hatton Family</i> , ed. E. M. Thompson (1878).
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HT	<i>History Today</i>
JBS	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
Journal	Journal of the Court of Common Council
JEcH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
LC	Library of Congress
Luttrell	Narcissus Luttrell, <i>A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs</i> , 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857).
Morrice	Roger Morrice, Ent'ring Book, Doctor Williams's Library
Newdigate	Newdigate Newsletters, Folger Shakespeare Library
OPH	<i>Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England</i> , 24 vols. (1760–3). [Old Parliamentary History]
<i>Oxford DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Pepys, Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970–83).
POAS	<i>Poems on Affairs of State; Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714</i> , ed. G. deF. Lord [<i>et al.</i>], 7 vols. (New Haven, 1963–75).
PRO	Public Record Office
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
Repertory	Repertory of the Court of Aldermen
<i>Savile Correspondence</i>	<i>Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq.</i> (1959).
<i>Somers Tracts</i>	<i>A collection of scarce and valuable tracts . . . of the Late Lord Somers</i> , ed. Sir W. Scott, 13 vols. (1809–15).
SP	State Papers, Public Record Office
ST	<i>A Complete Collection of State Trials</i> , ed. T. B. Howell and T. J. Howell, 34 vols. (1811–28).
<i>State Tracts</i>	<i>State Tracts in two Parts: the first being a Collection of several Treatises relating to the Government</i> , 2 vols. (1689, 1692).
TCHS	<i>Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society</i>