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2018

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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“Poetick Rage” to Rage of Party:
English Political Verse, 1678-1685

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Leanna Hope McLaughlin

December 2018

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Thomas Cogswell, Chairperson

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2018

The Dissertation of Leanna Hope McLaughlin is approved:

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University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While saving the best for last may seem like a great idea, the acknowledgements are actually some of the harder words I have ever written. How does one put into words the boundless gratitude to the people and organizations that have made this book possible? Still, I must try. This dissertation simply would not have been possible without the patience, encouragement, and guidance of Dr. Thomas Cogswell. In addition to pointing me in the direction of the most delightful and scandalous sources in early modern England, Tom's help and advice helped me craft the larger argument and his laughter at the content fueled my drive. Thanks to Tom I will eternally move "onward and upward." I owe Dr. Randolph Head a great deal for his unending support, his uncanny ability to help me see the narrative flow and the bigger picture, and his dogmatic attention to questions of historical practice. Without Dr. Patricia Fumerton I would be lost. Her own work with ballads helped me to make sense of the rabbit's hole in which I found myself. She also graciously granted me permission to quote her forthcoming book *Moving Media, Tactical Publics: The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England*, to be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Simply put, Dr. Joseph Ward inspired me to start this labor of love. Dr. Marc Lerner and Dr. Jeffrey Watt gave me some of the most needed support at the most pressing moment of my life, and they taught me to love history for all of its weirdness and wonder. Dr. Susan Grayzel is who I aspire to be.

I am indebted to the University of California-Riverside Graduate Division and History Department for their untiring administrative and generous financial support. UCR taught me how to be a better historian and showed me how to be an even better instructor.

To Drs. Lynda Bell, Jonathan Eacott, David Gehring, and Vanessa Wilkie, thank you for giving me the opportunity to experience the vicissitudes of teaching. The administrative staff of the UCR History Department—Susan Komura, Iselda Salgado, Deisy Escobedo, and Alesha Jaennette—is unbelievably patient and helped me navigate my way through the entire doctoral process. My research and life experiences were also supported by the assistance of The Huntington Library and The William Andrews Clark Library. While in residence at these two institutions, I had the good fortune to deliver my first conference paper, attend my first colloquia, and engage in an interdisciplinary, bi-continental research group to study “Things: Material Cultures of the Long Eighteenth Century.” In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Steve Hindle for taking me under his wing in a moment of doubt, Scott Jacobs for helping me navigate manuscript research while feeding me chocolate cake (not at the same time), and Drs. Adriana Craciun and Simon Schaffer for their organization of “The Material Cultures of Knowledge, 1600-1830” through the University of California Multi-campus Research Group and Cambridge’s Centre for Research in Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities. The phenomenal people I met and the conversations I enjoyed are too numerous to mention. I could fill a hundred more pages with just the names of the people I would like to thank for these experiences.

I will always cherish the libraries and archives I visited in the course of completing this research. The work of librarians and archivists is so important, and I thank them all, but a few librarians cannot go unnamed: Mark Bainbridge, Assistant Head Library at Worcester College, Oxford, Allee Monheim formerly of the Huntington Library, and Diane Shepelwich at the University of Texas-Arlington; thank you.

The successful completion of this long journey is due to the love, comradeship, and support of my friends and family. I need to specifically thank Audrey Uffner-Lau, Heather Van Mouwerik, Stephen Teske, Jordan Downs, Rachel Purvis, Stephanie McKnight, Amanda Snyder, and Catherine Chou; I cherish you all. To my parents, Mom, Dad, and Micki, thank you for being proud of me. To my grandparents, James and Jewel Davidson, thank you for believing in me. Lastly, but certainly not least, to Lee Johnson, our entire journey has been defined by this endeavor. You have helped me in so many ways that to list them would be an injustice, because I know I would forget something. To all that you are and all that you do, from the bottom of my heart, thank you. I cannot wait to start a new chapter in our lives.

DEDICATION

To Rohan and Mia,

Keep being amazing humans.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“Poetick Rage” to Rage of Party:
English Political Verse, 1678-1685

by

Leanna Hope McLaughlin

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, December 2018
Dr. Thomas Cogswell, Chairperson

This dissertation examines the development of English partisanship and political culture from 1678-85 through the lens of political poetry and song. Verses enabled the creation of modern political parties and well-informed public spheres by aiding communication of partisan ideologies throughout the population of England. Historians of Britain have often underutilized this media format, but by exploring the competing narratives poets created, we can better understand what mobilized the population to engage in partisan activity. For two decades of Charles II’s reign, court factions jockeyed for power through highly sexualized manuscript satirical verse. But in 1678, the transformation of political factions into political parties began when explosive claims of a Popish Plot provoked a political crisis in Parliament. In the ensuing legislative upheaval surrounding Exclusion, the Licensing Act, which ensured prepublication censorship of print, lapsed quite unintentionally. The newly created Whig and Tory parties’ ideological platforms developed as they increasingly took to printed political verse to gain public support for their cause and denigrate their opponents. Both parties used libelous and seditious

rhetoric in political verse to comment on and inform the populace of the affairs of state. Concerned with the growing unrest, the government fought back in the same medium and challenged local authority when it neglected to prosecute radical rhetoric. Upon succession in 1685, James II directed his Parliament to reinstitute the Licensing Act. Despite trying to use verse to craft the narrative in his favor, political verse and song ushered James out in the Revolution of 1688. Ultimately this dissertation will reveal that poetry and verse aided in the emergence of public spheres through the power of an unchecked press, and helped foster a skeptical populace, who became alert to potential challenges to political sovereignty.

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List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bod.	Bodleian Library
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive
EL	Ellesmere Manuscript collection, Huntington Library
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue, British Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
POAS	<i>Poems on Affairs of State</i> , 1689-1710
POASY	<i>Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714</i> , 7 volumes, Yale University Press
Rawl.	Rawlinson Manuscript Collection, Bodleian Library
UCSB	University of California Santa Barbara

Days of the months are old style but all years are taken to begin on January 1.

The spelling and grammar from early modern sources have been kept in their original forms.

Introduction

In 1680, an anonymous poet penned the following lines:

What has our Law no limits for our words?
And shall our Pens cut like two-edged Swords,
And none shall regard them? Shall our Libels swarm,
And will no Judge take notice of the harm?¹

Rather than this *Car-Man's Poem: or, Advice to a Nest of Scriblers* being well-intentioned advice, it is a sneering complaint against the increasing numbers of printed political poems that “swarm about the City” and the “hireling Scriblers” who wrote them.²

Frustratingly, and ironically, for the anonymous versifier, the public could comment on the affairs of state thanks to the relaxation of press controls. On 13 March 1679, the Licensing Act of 1662 lapsed and did not renew until 24 June 1685. For six years, “common men,” as this poet scoffed, could “rail, abuse, contemn, despise, and jeer” against the government, using “Rhimes” to do so. The purpose of this study is to recognize the political and historical importance of printed political verses to English political development from 1679-1685, when England had an unregulated press.

The lapsing of the Licensing Act was an oversight. In August 1678, Titus Oates made his infamous disclosures of a Jesuitical plot to assassinate Charles II with the motive to hasten his Catholic brother's, James II, accession to the throne. Throwing the government into turmoil, the political fallout from these revelations put censorship of the press—or pre-publication licensing—into abeyance. With the government politically distracted, a torrent of versed political rhetoric that previously existed in manuscript burst

¹ Anon., *The Car-Man's Poem, or Advice to a Nest of Scriblers* (1680), ESTC Citation: R220142

² Ibid.

forth in print. From the first sexually explicit, scurrilous, and viciously *ad hominem*, printed verse quickly became a significant source of commentary that offered public awareness to the affairs of state. From 1679 to 1685, as all manner of poetic political commentary poured from inkwells and presses like blood from open wounds, the Caroline government could do little but react to it.

In the six years that an unregulated press existed in England, printed verse exposed ongoing debates regarding monarchical prerogative, ideological foundations of divine-right monarchy, and differing interpretations of the rule of law. These debates fostered the emergence of two modern political parties, Whig and Tories. These divisions occurred during a period in which the Stuart government combatted public hysteria surrounding allegations of a Popish Plot, three serious parliamentary attempts to alter the monarchical succession, bitter local elections, at least one authentic plot to assassinate the king, and one rebellion to overtake the throne. The actions and choices underlying the government's reaction to all of these events were up for debate in printed verse and song.

Through the rhetoric of political verse and song from 1679-1685, contemporaries saw their political opinions both reflected and molded. It is the thesis of this dissertation that partisan debate stimulated by verses helped foster a rupture in the political structure of England, thus encouraging wider audiences to favor one party over the other during the politically contentious years of 1679-1685. Partisans used satires, lampoons, songs, and other political verses to educate, engage, and challenge popular opinion about contemporary politics. Throughout the absence of press censorship, partisan poets and balladeers used crude language, scatological jokes, and sexual innuendo to degrade,

ridicule, and embarrass the other's political authority and to garner support for their own side. Authorship ranged from hack poets to literary geniuses. Most were anonymous. The poetry from this period crossed social as well as political barriers, allowing all members of society to participate in the conversation, regardless of station, access, or literacy. If verses were not read, they were heard. By drawing the populace into the heated debates on the political events of the decade, printed verse and song helped frame, form, and shape public opinion. They also helped create a climate that made political action a logical next step. These underutilized sources for historians can help determine what issues might have mobilized the population to engage in partisan activity. Drawing on political verse, this dissertation gauges the rhetoric available to wide audiences throughout the Popish Plot, Exclusion Crisis, Rye House Plot, Monmouth's Rebellion, and James II's accession.

I. Historiography:

Why was it necessary to engage in partisan activity if the government's primary goal for the 1660 Restoration was to create stability? The answer lies in the ways that Charles II and his parliament attempted to cultivate that security. Matthew Neufeld has demonstrated how the chaos of the English civil war and Interregnum weighed heavily on contemporary memory, informing nearly every political decision made.³ Where the knowledge of the English revolution "inoculated the political nation from further recourse to violence" in some cases, in others, "memories of the recent past could just as

³ Matthew Neufeld, *The Civil Wars after 1660: public remembering in late Stuart England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).

easily be catalysts for violence as for peace.”⁴ Charles II and his Cavalier Parliament’s quest for control and stability in religion and politics actually helped foster widening rifts.

Once described as a sleepy, intellectual “backwater,” the historiography of the later Stuart period recently has been full of energetic debate.⁵ Much work has been done in understanding the contemporary restructuring of the Anglican Church, the attempts to impose religious orthodoxy, the legacy of Puritanism, and the lives of Restoration dissenters.⁶ The divisions created by the Restoration religious settlements roughly coincided with the developing political divisions that marked the Restoration period: country and court, or as these groups developed, Whig and Tory.⁷ Dissenting groups tended to gravitate towards the country faction, which wanted to garner more parliamentary influence in domestic and foreign decision-making, while orthodox

⁴ Ibid., 248.

⁵ Gary de Krey, “Between Revolutions: Re-Appraising the Restoration in Britain,” *History Compass* 6/3 (2008): 738-773.

⁶ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); J.A.I. Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken: the Church of England and its enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie, *The Politics of religion in Restoration England* (Oxford [England]: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Grant Tapsell, *The later Stuart church, 1660-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Richard L. Greaves, *Delivers us from Evil: the Radical Underground in Britain 1660-1663* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals form the Popish Plot to the Revolution in 1688-1689* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: a Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Gary Stuart de Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Melinda Zook, *Radical Whigs and conspiratorial politics in late Stuart England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

⁷ J.R. Jones, *Country and Court: England, 1658-1714* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); J.R. Jones, *The first Whigs: the politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Anglicans tended to side with the court faction since the Restoration Church was married to the Restoration Monarchy.

While these are rough groupings, any divisions created by the strengthening of one would excite opposition from the other.⁸ One can assume that to speak about politics in this period, one necessarily also must hear the word “religion” behind it. Nevertheless, this dissertation will speak more to the development of political parties and ideologies than to the religious beliefs of the Stuart Restoration. Since J.H. Plumb’s seminal work, *The Growth of Political Stability in England: 1675-1725*, historians have referred to the period following the Revolution of 1688 as the “Rage of Party.”⁹ Plumb’s work provoked an extensive historiographical debate dedicated to definitional semantics, existence, and periodization of ‘party.’¹⁰ But in *Country and Court: England 1658-1714*, J.R. Jones insinuates that ‘rage of party’ better represents the years 1678-81 than after the Revolution due to the behavior each party demonstrated during the Exclusion Crisis.¹¹ Nevertheless, Jones demurred from characterizing Whig and Tory activity as the emergence of a party system; rather, he argues, “neither whigs nor tories would

⁸ Champion, *The pillars of priestcraft shaken*, 1992.

⁹ J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England: 1675-1725* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 129.

¹⁰ Geoffrey S. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967, rev. 2nd edn. 1987); W.A. Speck, *Tory & Whig: the struggle in the constituencies 1701-1715* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Clyve Jones and Geoffrey S. Holmes, *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1684-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes* (London: Hambleton, 1987); B.W. Hill, *The Growth of Parliamentary Parties, 1689-1742* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1976); Michael J. Moore, ed. “Order and Authority: Creating Party in Restoration England,” Special Issue, *Albion* 25 (1993); Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1714* (London; New York: Longman, 1993); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John Patrick Montaña, *Courting the Moderates: Ideology, Propaganda, and the Emergence of Party, 1660-1678*. Newark [De.]: University of Delaware Press, 2002. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10456412>>.

¹¹ Jones, *Country and Court*, 198.

acknowledge that the behaviour and principles of their opponents were legal and constitutional.”¹² Tim Harris agrees with Jones’s assessment arguing a more nuanced definition of party and explanation of how these entities behaved in *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1714*. Harris delineates “party” as a group’s “unity based on ‘professed principles’” who join together to “achieve their aims through the pursuit of political power” and who publicly profess their shared political principles “with the aim of cultivating public support for [their] cause.”¹³ Harris also elucidates that the “emergence of party politics was not an event but a *process*.”¹⁴ This dissertation uses these definitions to describe the conversion of court and country factions in Parliament, who attempted to advance their own self-interests, to the Whig and Tory parties, who increasingly sought public support for their ideologies.

The historiography detailing the transformation of these political rifts is as rich as the contemporary contests for ideological supremacy. Early political works, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay’s 1848 *The history of England from the accession of James II*, and G. M. Trevelyan’s 1904 *England under the Stuarts*, described late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century politics as dominated by the Whigs in their rejection of continental absolutism and establishment of liberal parliamentary supremacy through constitutional monarchy.¹⁵ Keith Feiling’s 1924 *History of the Tory Party* demonstrated

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 5-6.

¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹⁵ Thomas Babington Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James II* (1848); G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London: Methuen, first published 1904, 1965 edition).

that far from the progressive march towards Whig triumphalism, the Tory party had a vibrant political life as well.¹⁶ Moreover, Feiling argued that Whigs gave up crown and church to achieve their ideological goals. In 1931, Herbert Butterfield labeled this tendency to see Whig exceptionalism in Restoration politics in his titular work, *The Whig Interpretation of History*.¹⁷

From these robust interpretations emerged challenging the role of the religious impetus to political history in the later Stuart period. Some scholars outlined the economic, as opposed to religious, development of Restoration political history, and argued for the concomitant stability of the aristocratic settlement in the face of a rising, but disorganized gentry.¹⁸ K.D.H. Haley's *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* seemingly confirmed that parliamentary political divisions emerged from within the aristocracy, while the J.P. Kenyon and John Miller's works confirmed that it was from wider populace that anti-Catholic fears originated.¹⁹ The tacit argument was that the 'crowds' would align themselves along the parliamentary factions and had no agency of their own. Tim Harris challenged these ideas and demonstrated that vigorous political life in England extended beyond the aristocracy or even the gentry in his groundbreaking work,

¹⁶ Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

¹⁷ Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1959). <<http://books.google.com/books?id=JXMGAQAIAAJ>>.

¹⁸ David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934); J.P. Kenyon, *Stuart England* (Harmondsworth, Eng: Penguin Books, 1978).

¹⁹ K.D.H. Haley, *The first Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, (London: Heinemann, 1972); John Miller, *Popery and politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

*London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II.*²⁰ Following the publications of the English translations of Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1989, later Stuart historiography started focusing on whether or not the later Stuart period, apart from seeing the formation of modern political parties, saw the emergence of an informed political public.

Since Habermas's public sphere theory emerged, British historians have tried to utilize, disprove, or amend his assertion that the late seventeenth century saw the formation of a bourgeois public sphere, which allowed a rational-critical debate of politics to occur, and in which no subject was immune and secrecy was abhorred. Habermas's theories provoked a variety of inquiries into Restoration political culture, into the preferred medium of bourgeois public sphere formation, i.e. print, and still others continued the older debate of whether it was economic or religious division that allowed this public sphere to form.²¹ For late seventeenth-century England, Victor Stater and Paul Halliday's works on the interdependency of local and national politics in the lieutenancies and corporate governments both challenged Habermasian chronology by arguing that an informed public existed as early as the pre-civil war era, but that the civil

²⁰ Tim Harris, *London crowds in the reign of Charles II: propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis*. (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

²¹ Susan Dwyer Amussen, and Mark A. Kishlansky, *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: essays presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995); Robert Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English state, 1688-1783* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Peter Lake, and Steven C. A. Pincus, eds. *The politics of the public sphere in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Barbara Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012);

war itself helped launch an even more dynamic participatory government.²² Their works verify that a rational-critical political culture already existed; what changed in late seventeenth-century politics is the utilization of a wider group of people involved in issues of national significance.²³

Habermas claimed that the relaxation of print censorship was one of the main reasons why a public sphere formed in Britain. Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* and other previous scholarly work on literacy provided confirmation for Habermas's theories, and a whole new field of inquiry into print culture and book history formed as a consequence.²⁴ As the field grew, other scholars studied extensively the types of printed political communication (pamphlets, newspapers, tracts) and from there emerged inquiries into the role of censorship, secrecy, and slander within

²² Victor Stater, *Noble government: the Stuart lord lieutenancy and the transformation of English politics* (Athens [Ga.]: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Paul Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: partisan politics in England's towns, 1650-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²³ Elizabeth Eger, *Women, writing, and the public sphere: 1700-1830* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Harris, *London Crowds*; Joan B. Landes, *Women and the public sphere in the age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); James Van Horn Melton, *The rise of the public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Andy Wood, *Riot, rebellion and popular politics in early modern England* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2002).

²⁴ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Margaret Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); For history of the book see: Roger Chartier, *The order of books: readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1994); Robert Darnton, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995); Adrian Johns, *The nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998); David Zaret, *Origins of democratic culture: printing, petitions, and the public sphere in early-modern England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

the printed press.²⁵ Yet others scholars challenged Habermas's claims that print was the necessary method of publication to create a public sphere.²⁶ For example, Harold Love's work on manuscript circulation and clandestine satire in the later Stuart era indicates that contemporaries did not wholly abandon scribal publication in favor of print for a variety of reasons.²⁷ He confirms that scribes were continually employed for practical and sensitive reasons well after print became a popular medium.²⁸ Similarly, Adam Fox, in *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, provides a reminder that oral publication coexisted with print and manuscript; all three remained in powerful combination. Print did not diminish the strength of oral publication, or its potential to

²⁵ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and pamphleteers: propaganda during the English civil wars and interregnum* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004); Joad Raymond, *The invention of the newspaper: English newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, 1996); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Harold Weber, *Paper bullets: print and kingship under Charles II* (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); For censorship, secrecy, and slander see: Robert Griffin, *The faces of anonymity: anonymous and pseudonymous publications from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Lindsay Kaplan, *The culture of slander in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Geoff Kemp, Jason McElligott, and Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Censorship and the press, 1580-1720* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jason McElligott, *Royalism, print and censorship in revolutionary England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2007); John Mullan, *Anonymity: a secret history of English literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Marcy North, *The anonymous Renaissance: cultures of discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

²⁶ Peter Beal, *In praise of scribes: manuscripts and their makers in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1993); Noah Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the circulation of manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²⁷ Love, *Scribal Publication*; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 2000); Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee, *Ballads and broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁸ Love, *Scribal Publication*; *English Clandestine Satire*.

widen the public sphere.²⁹ Habermas's public sphere was not dependent on a specific form of media. Just as these scholars' efforts to call attention to other media were significant, the topics that the public discussed within the media are just as compelling.

Based on these scholars' research, it also became increasingly clear that there was no singular public sphere. From 2005-2010, the scholars involved in the Making Publics project sponsored by McGill University came to the conclusion that not only did multiple public spheres emerge and disperse repeatedly, but they were also "partial, ad hoc, unofficial, informal, and open associations of people."³⁰ Anything from a perceived unjust execution to a monarchical succession crisis could allow groups of people to gather in interest groups to discuss the issues which concerned them. These publics were sometimes just as ephemeral as the crises that brought people together, thus they were constantly in the "making." In *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, Peter Lake and Steve Pincus brought together religious, political, and social historians to demonstrate that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries public spheres emerged periodically relative to a variety of crises that had significant national impact. They also saw the midcentury civil wars as a demarcation point between religious and economic circumstances that allowed these public spheres to form. Indeed, they point to the 1680s as a period in which partisans were creating publics to provide competing

²⁹ Brian Cowan, *The social life of coffee: the emergence of the British coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); J. Hetet, "A literary underground in Restoration England" (PhD diss.: University of Cambridge: 1987); Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: public, private, and the division of knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

³⁰ Patricia Fumerton, *Moving Media, Tactical Publics: The Broadside Ballad in Early Modern England* (U of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming), introduction.

narratives over England's economic future.³¹ This line of argument thus puts public sphere formations in the hands of a merchant elite, where religious motivations were secondary concerns.

The historiographical debate of the 1680s thus became whether economic circumstances of rising capitalism or the ongoing religious divisions that followed the Reformation allowed these public spheres to form.³² Harris convincingly demonstrates that religious motivations were much more likely in *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*. He reveals that Whigs' and Tories' religious affiliation directly informed political partisanship, and their propaganda efforts cut across social and economic strata.³³ Each party used efficient rhetorical tropes in order persuade crowds to political action. Their arguments usually took on decidedly religious overtones, which often resulted in coffeehouse fights, apprentice riots, bonfires, and other popular demonstrations in support of, or opposition to, political action at Whitehall and Parliament.³⁴ Harris also adds a court and country dimension to the politics of the Whigs and Tories. By building upon J.R. Jones's *Country and Court: England, 1658-1714*,

³¹ Peter Lake and Steve Pincus. "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England." *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 270-92.

³² Peter Lake and Steven C.A. Pincus, *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

³³ Tim Harris, *London Crowds*.

³⁴ Cowan, *The social life of coffee*; Brian Cowan, "The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered," *Historical Journal*, 47 (March 2004): 21-46; Brian Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse," *History Compass* 5/4 (2007): 180-213; David Cressy, *Bonfires and bells: national memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and good fellowship in early modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014); Tim Harris, "The Bawdy House Riots of 1668". *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986; 3): 537-556; Harris, *London Crowds*.

Harris further argued that court and country beliefs cut across social lines making party divisions much more volatile than previously believed.³⁵ In a later edited work, *The Politics of the Excluded*, Harris receives support for his push to start understanding the social history of Restoration politics from several historians of popular culture and popular politics.³⁶ Collectively, the scholars in this edited work argued that the majority of the English people, conventionally seen as excluded from politics, actually did communicate political opinions and did actively participate in political processes. The authors justify the importance of popular politics by directing attention to how the political elite responded; they tried to control and suppress it, and failing that, channeled it through “appropriate” venues.

To prevent widening ideological gaps and thus prevent disunity, the Caroline state took pains to control and monopolize public access to knowledge.³⁷ Issuing pre-publication licensing, engaging in censorship and propaganda, promoting particular ideas of kingship and sovereignty, regulating royal and parliamentary access, and prosecuting post-publication slanderous or treasonous discourse, were just some of the methods that the Caroline state used to establish political and religious stability.³⁸ Attempts at

³⁵ Harris, *Politics under the later Stuarts*; Jones, *Country and Court*.

³⁶ Tim Harris, ed. *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Houndmills, Basingstroke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2001).

³⁷ William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and Thomas P. Slaughter, *Ideology and politics on the eve of restoration: Newcastle's advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984). By the Caroline state, I hold with Michael J. Braddick's definitions that it is a “mutuality of interests between crown and local elites,” in his *State formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

³⁸ Raymond Astbury, “The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its Lapse in 1695”. *The Library*. 5-XXXIII no. 4 (1978): 296-322; Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State & their Monopoly*

information regulation, however, did not always work, evidenced by clandestine pathways of access.³⁹ The existence and availability of competing narratives did exactly what the Caroline state feared: created political division and political crises.⁴⁰ Thus the Restoration period's major political conflict was between the establishment and stability of a monarchical state and the emergence of a more representative society and government.⁴¹ Arguably, this major conflict stewed for the better part of a decade before breaking out in the controversially titled, Exclusion Crisis, which lasted from 1679-1681.⁴² During this succession crisis, the Licensing Act lapsed, depriving the government of one form of information control.

Mark Knights, in 2005 *Representation and Misrepresentation in later Stuart Britain*, contends persuasively that it was during this lapse of the Licensing Act that the late seventeenth century saw a substantial shift towards a representative society that

of Licensed News, 1660-1688 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Kenneth Harold Dobson Haley, *William of Orange and the English opposition, 1672-4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Stepanie Koscak, "The Royal Sign and Visual Literacy in Eighteenth-Century London". *Journal of British Studies*. 55 (2016; 1): 24-56; Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and espionage in the reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Kemp et al, *Censorship and the press*; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: the Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the politics of access* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003)

³⁹ Thomas Cogswell, "Underground verse and the transformation of early Stuart political culture," in Amussen and Kishlansky, *Political culture and cultural politics*; Hetet, "A literary underground in Restoration England," PhD. diss.; Peter Hinds, 'The horrid Popish plot: Roger L'Estrange and the circulation of political discourse in late seventeenth-century London' (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2010); Love, *English Clandestine Satire*.

⁴⁰ Knights, *Politics and opinion in crisis*.

⁴¹ Alan Marshall, *The Age of Faction: court politics, 1660-1702* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁴² Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

simultaneously laid the foundations for the formation of modern political parties.⁴³

Knights also argues compellingly that at the center of later Stuart politics, two major parties—Whig and Tory—increasingly appealed to the people, the greater public, to be the arbiter of “truth” in their disputes, precisely *because of* the availability of partisan information. Many concurrent developments allowed the populace a voice in politics in unprecedented numbers. Frequent elections, a growing (if limited) electorate, and common use of political pamphlets made the subjects featured in rhetorical debate known to an increasingly wider audience. More and more, the expanding public debated over the nature of the state’s political and religious authority, and their obedience to it. The character of the debate, and its social breadth, created an atmosphere of anxiety as partisans had to accept the public’s ability to see past dissimulation and cant in propaganda rhetoric. Still at the same time, partisans believed that the public could not distinguish the “truth” between the competing opinions and versions of events.

Satire, verse, and song contributed to these competing narratives. Depending on the author, this genre could act as both oppositional criticism and government propaganda. The nature of these media forms also allowed messages to be received by wide audiences. In *Fear, Exclusion, and Revolution: the Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, Jason McElligott commented that the “vibrant culture of rhetoric, verbal assault, and invective” served only to make contemporaries more intransigent in their political views, that the “very act of trying to assuage men’s fears and persuade them to concur with particular government policies, could, ironically, serve to heighten tensions and anxieties

⁴³ Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: partisanship and political culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

by airing troubling matters and implicitly inviting a response from one's opponents."⁴⁴

Two parties attempted to communicate their political ideas to wide audiences using verse and song in an effort to garner more political support. Instead what McElligott suggests is that the parties created intractable support bases. Indeed, Whig and Tory poets accused each other contributing to the "poetick rage" which fueled their partisanship. Little wonder then that as the political crisis continued, both sides found recourse in mobilizing to political action.

From 1679-1685, when prepublication licensing lapsed, the populace was exposed to the rudeness of verse and song. As a result, the authority of the monarchy and the court steadily diminished in the eyes of a population. The impudence of the language within these poems and songs humanized the "divinely-ordained" monarchs and reflected a growing sentiment that cast the monarchy and the political elite as equals to the common man in human fallibility. At the same time, fighting against this uncontrolled dissemination of information, the monarchy sought to increase its royal power. In the eyes of the populace, it was less and less worthy of it. Verse and song helped foster tension between the populace and the court, which increasingly manifested in political action.

Historians have largely ignored these poems because they relied on the authority of Yale University Press's *Poems on Affairs of State*, a poetic anthology that was

⁴⁴ Jason McElligott, *Fear, exclusion and revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006).

intentionally circumscribed, to be described below.⁴⁵ This fundamental fact underpins this dissertation. By examining underrepresented political poetry and song, one can gain a greater understanding of what potentially galvanized political action against the Caroline regime. Verse libels delivered powerful and plain messages about the state of affairs to the populace, and in turn, informed their opinions. As many historians and literature scholars have made plain in their research on the cultural politics of the early seventeenth-century civil wars, poems played a major role in how the population understood the political development of the state, and how the populace could respond to it.⁴⁶ It is the ambition of this dissertation to re-construe the story of the English political climate from the Popish Plot in 1678 to the renewal of the Licensing Act in 1685, by using this new material and incorporating it into the existing narrative. By highlighting this neglected genre, one can analyze the ebb and flow of political partisanship, its potential influence on popular opinion, and how the confluence of both undermined the monarchy. By studying the “poetick rage” which existed from 1678-85, we can better understand what beliefs contributed to a “rage of party.”

⁴⁵ George deForest Lord ed. *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse*, vols. 1-7 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

⁴⁶ Alastair Bellany, “A Poem on the Archbishop’s Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference.” *Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 2 (1995); “Singing Libel in Early Stuart England: the Case of the Staines Fiddlers, 1627.” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2006); *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: news culture and the Overbury affair, 1603-1666* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Thomas Cogswell, “The Symptomes and Vapors of a Diseased Time: the Earl of Clare and Early Stuart Manuscript Culture.” *Review of English Studies* 57, no. 230 (June 1, 2006); “Underground verse” in Amussen and Kishlansky, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*; Pauline Croft, “The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century.” *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society* 1 (1991); Adam Fox, “Ballads, Libels, and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England.” *Past & Present* no. 145 (1994); *Oral and Literate Culture in England*; Jason McElligott, “The Politics of Sexual Libel: Royalist Propaganda in the 1640s.” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (2004); Andrew McRae, *Literature, satire, and the early Stuart state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); “The Literary Culture of Early Stuart Libeling.” *Modern Philology* 97, no. 3 (2000).

II. Background of Source Material

A. Preservation

This dissertation's focus is the printed political poetry and song published between 1679 and 1685. The quest to perpetuate the political power of these verses began immediately after the Revolution of 1688 that saw James II and his Catholic regime ousted. In 1689, the first *Collection of Poems on the Affairs of State* was published. By the end of that first year, this printed poetic miscellany had three volumes, and it spawned a rival compendium, *A Collection of the Newest and Most ingenious Poems, Satyrs, Songs, etc Against Popery*, which ran to four volumes of poems. These first anthologies had a Whiggish partisan bent and can be viewed as attempts to provide rhetorical justification of the revolution. By 1710, the original *Collection of Poems on the Affairs of State* simply became titled *Poems on Affairs of State*, and had gone through six editions, multiple volumes each, was extended temporally to include "Oliver Cromwell to this Present Time," had been pirated, and reissued with corrections several times. These later anthologies included poetry, which commented on the contemporaneous 'Rage of Party.' The quest to compile these poems ultimately ended in 1717. Eventually, there were approximately thirty volumes of poems, ranging from "national issues of the greatest consequences down to the most trivial incidents of life at court."⁴⁷ Publishing these poems seemed at the time to be an expression of loyalty to the new Williamite

⁴⁷ Lord, POASY, vol. 1: 1660-1678.

government after the Revolution. Following the successful Protestant succession of the Stuarts to the Hanoverians, however, the verses seemed to fade from cultural view.

In the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, several scholars attempted to preserve the history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ballad collections. The most significant preservers were William Chappell, Francis James Child, James L. Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, J. Woodfall Ebsworth, Sir Charles Harding Firth, Charles MacKay, Hyder Rollins, W.W. Wilkins, and Thomas Wright.⁴⁸ Wilkins, with his two volumes on *Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, however, was the only collector who attempted to preserve just the overtly political ballads. While more indicative of an antiquarian thrill of discovery than academic inquiry, he claimed, “they merit, if not our critical admiration, at all events deliverance from absolute oblivion.”⁴⁹ Still, he sniffed at the sexually explicit content of many of the entries, and included poetic verse rather than just ballads. For example, he degraded the poetry of George Villiers, the second duke of Buckingham, John Wilmot, the first earl of Rochester, and other “exalted personages” as “insipid” and argued they were likely not the best examples of

⁴⁸ William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time: A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads and Dance Tunes*, 2 vols. (London: Chappell & Co, 1855-1859); Francis James Child, ed. *The English and Scottish Ballads*, 5 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882-1898); James Ludovic Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of a Collection of English Ballads of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries Printed for the most part in Black Letter* (privately printed: University of Aberdeen, 1890); William Chappell and J. Woodfall Ebsworth, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 8 vols. (Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons, 1869-1901), *The Bagford Ballads: illustrating the Last Years of the Stuarts* (Hertford, 1878); Sir Charles Harding Firth, ed. *Naval Songs and Ballads* (Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1907); Charles MacKay, *The Cavalier Songs and Ballads of England, from 1642 to 1684* (London: Griffin Bohn, 1863); Hyder Rollins, ed. *The Pepys Ballads*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922); W. Walker Wilkins, *Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Annotated*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860); Thomas Wright, ed. *Political Ballads Published in England during the Commonwealth*, 3 vols. (London: Percy Society, 1842).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.

contemporary popular mindset. He cautioned that the contents in his volumes would likely offend readers as contemporaries were “less fastidious in [their] tastes and expressions than our own...[and] are not only faulty in construction, but also objectionable in matter.”⁵⁰ Excepting what he called the “ordinary rules of criticism,” he recognized their value and worth, but only as the “emphatic songs of a liberty-loving people...containing the out-pourings of unconquerable spirits, the unequivocal sentiments of resolute men”⁵¹ Wilkin’s Whiggish historical attitude aside, on one issue he is most prescient: these political poems and ballads were deserving of deliverance from absolute oblivion. They do provide insights into the contentiousness of the period and availability of the rhetoric that anyone could hear, regardless of literacy. These songs kept the basest porter, covered in muck, informed about the men, the policies, and the controversies ruling the nation. Other scholars focused on cataloguing the “august” literature of Andrew Marvell, Sir John Denham, Sir George Etherege, John Oldham, John Dryden, to name a few. Scholars did not necessarily view their works as being in communication with the basest ballads.⁵²

In the mid-twentieth century, some scholars renewed attention to political verse and song as “political instruments” worthy of meritorious inquiry alongside pamphlet

⁵⁰ Ibid., vii.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² G.A. Aitken, ed. *Satires of Andrew Marvell, Sometime Member of Parliament for Hull* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1901); Theodore H. Banks, Jr. *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928); H.F.B. Brett-Smith, ed. *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927); Robert Bell, ed. *The Poetical Works of John Oldham* (London: J.W. Parker & Sons, 1854); Sir Walter Scott, revised by George Saintsbury, *The works of John Dryden*, 18 vols. (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1808; 1882).

publication.⁵³ On the tails of C.V. Wedgwood's Clark Lectures in 1958, who boldly proclaimed that "poems, singly or in groups, illuminate the events and policies of the time and sometimes influence them," George deForest Lord made a passionate plea to take political verse seriously as polemical literature at a Folger Shakespeare Library conference in 1960. Soon thereafter Lord published his codification of Restoration poetry in a masterful work named after the original, *Poems on Affairs of State* (POASY).⁵⁴ This seven-volume poetic anthology became the standard on the state poems of the late seventeenth century. While this commanding work opened the doors for literature scholars into several new avenues of inquiry, historians over the decades have tended to view it as complete compilation of political poetry in this period. As comprehensive as Yale's *Poems on Affairs State* seems, it is, in fact, rather limited.

B. Problems of POASY

Its selection among the available poems is quite limited, thanks to the editorial process. First, Lord prioritized manuscript over print giving primacy to "manuscripts of single poems," before proceeding to "manuscript collections of poems," and finally "printed

⁵³ C.V. Wedgwood, *Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts* (The Clark Lectures, 1958; Cambridge University Press, 1960); George DeF. Lord, "Literature as a Political Instrument during the Restoration," *The Restoration of the Stuarts, Blessing or Disaster? A Report of a Folger Library Conference Held on March 12 and 13, 1960*, (The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960), pg. 61-67.

⁵⁴ Lord, POASY. As a matter of note, in Harold Love's *English Clandestine Satire 1660-1702* (2004), Yale University Press's *Poems on Affairs of State* was abbreviated to POASY to distinguish it from the *Poems on Affairs of State*, 4 vols. published from 1702-1707, which Love identified as simply POAS. This is based on a previous notation from his work, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (1993), where he identified the twentieth-century version as POAS (Yale) or POASY. He abbreviated it as z-POAS1-zPOAS4 in his compendium of clandestine satire. This dissertation has elected to maintain his POASY versus POAS distinction found in his last major work before his death, as both an homage to a preeminent scholar and as a note of whimsy. POASY is reminiscent of "poesy."

collections of poems.”⁵⁵ Printed single poems or broadside ballads were not included at all. Secondly, in the preface of volume 2 (1678-1681), five principles of selection were followed:

- (1) Poetic worth and political interest.
- (2) Representation of the most popular forms of verse satire.
- (3) Equal representation for Whigs and Tories.
- (4) Some representation of the great amount of social or Court satire.
- (5) Popularity of the poem, measured by the number of texts extant.⁵⁶

These selection criteria are flawed for historians in many respects. They do not inform the reader whether the poem included is of “poetic worth” to contemporaries or to scholars, nor do they give an adequate sense of the political vicissitudes in these politically charged three years.

Misunderstanding the limitations of POASY’s scope has led some historians to almost completely ignore the hundreds of other printed (and manuscript) poems of the period. Lord’s compendium seriously under-represents the quantity and quality of such poetry. For the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis (1678-1681), the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) has approximately three hundred individual printed pieces of poetic verse alone. POASY presents an additional seventy-six examples for the same period, bringing the total for this period up to approximately 375 titles. Using these numbers as an example of POASY’s inclusivity, one is led to assume that this supposed comprehensive anthology actually ignores approximately 80% of the printed political poetry for that particular period. For the “Tory Reaction” (1682-1685), the *English Short*

⁵⁵ Lord, POASY vol. 1, 442.

⁵⁶ Lord, POASY vol. 2, xxxi. The above is quoted with minor clarifications eliminated. For example, number 3 above had the following in parenthesis, “(especially in section four, *The Paper Scuffle*).” Thus, I have elected to omit that extraneous, clarifying information.

Title Catalogue (ESTC) contains nearly six hundred individual printed pieces of poetic verse, while POASY attempted to provide equal representation for each period, offering only seventy-seven poems. Instead of depicting this increase of political and poetic output, POASY for this period overlooks an alarming 86%. For each period that POASY offers poetic representation, in reality, it does not demonstrate variations in political and poetic production, nor attempts to offer a reason why these particular periods are more productive than others. These figures, additionally, underestimate the poetic totals entirely, as these are the approximate calculations for printed sources; there are many more poems that circulated only in manuscript. Therefore, it goes without saying that while POASY was an estimable achievement in the mid-twentieth century, historians and literary scholars can no longer rely on it as a sole representative of contemporary output.

As a representation of political verse, POASY does justice to the later Stuart period, but it does not fully illuminate the impact of these sources on political life. Reliance on POASY has blinded historians to the true worth of these sources. In some cases, it has misled historians. Within the first ten pages of volume 1, Lord maintains, “Since the government promulgated strong laws against ‘libels,’ and attempted to enforce them rigorously, very few of these opposition poems were printed before the downfall of James II in 1688.”⁵⁷ Lord argued that the few printed satires which existed prior to the Revolution were likely published by unlicensed presses, while the “rest circulated only in manuscript.”⁵⁸ Given that nearly approximately eight hundred poems and songs were

⁵⁷ Lord, POASY vol 1, xxxii.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

printed during the five years when the Licensing Act lapsed, POASY's word must be taken with a grain of salt.

This dissertation seeks to correct that oversight. Each chapter uses significantly more individual titles than POASY provides for the same period. For Chapter 1, only 8 of the more than 30 poems cited in the chapter are featured in POASY. Of the 78 poems used in chapter 2, POASY only includes 17 of them. For chapter 3, only 6 of the 53 poems discussed are from POASY. Of the 41 verses drawn upon in chapter 4, POASY publishes merely 5. Remarkably, chapter 5 has similar numbers to chapter 3. The conclusion began as balance between POASY and other printed and manuscript verse to demonstrate just how much historians could gain by equalizing what we know with what we ignore. The numbers of printed texts alone highlighted by this dissertation proves POASY's insufficiency.

C. The Immensity of Manuscript

Many more verses existed in manuscript as masterfully outlined by Harold Love in *English Clandestine Satire*. Even Love, however, recognized the limitations of his work. Despite his single-spaced, nearly 107 page long first-line index on pages 305-414 in *English Clandestine Satire*, he acknowledged that his impressive assemblage was merely the tip of the iceberg. Love also helpfully put seventy-six manuscript poetic collections on twenty-four microfilm reels.⁵⁹ In the course of research for this dissertation, this

⁵⁹ Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1704: popular culture, entertainment, and information in the early modern period* (Marlborough: Adam Matthews, 2006).

author uncovered an additional 356 manuscript shelf marks from a mere seventeen archives across United States and Great Britain. There are potentially tens of thousands (or more) of still undiscovered pages of political verse in private collections, public record offices, university libraries, national archives, and libraries. The sheer volume of material acquired in the course of research for this dissertation has demonstrated that there is much more out there for scholars to uncover. Similarly, the overwhelming numbers of manuscript verses means that this dissertation's focus will be on printed verse, with manuscript verse drawn on to demonstrate that scholars should be reading these publication mediums in tandem.

With the institution of the Licensing Act in 1662, manuscript publication became a standard part of political communication. In *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century England*, Love declares, “political documents—state papers, short polemical tracts, and reports of parliamentary proceedings—were copied in larger quantities than any other kind of scribally published text.”⁶⁰ Further, it was a well established practice that gentlemen, both city and country, received scribally produced political news.⁶¹ Although his main focus of scribal transmission and publication was not any of the aforementioned genres, he demonstrated that there was a very active and very lively social and economic system in place for producing scribal texts. He outlined the methodology, economic, social, and political intricacies of scribal publication and identified three forms of publication: author, entrepreneur, and user, with each having its own labor methods,

⁶⁰ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

structural apparatus, audiences, and purposes.⁶² All three coexisted, and thrived, with printed publication. In *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702*, Love demonstrated how this system of scribal publication worked within a specific genre, as indicated by his *magnum opus*'s title. It was within scribal, clandestine satire, or as Love prefers lampoons, that the shift from "faction" to "party" began. This dissertation sees a similar process unfold.

D. The Control of Print and the Role of Manuscript

The political transformation from 'faction' to 'party' originated in manuscript, but the conversion culminated in print. In 1662, the Cavalier Parliament passed "An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Books and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses," or more commonly known as the Licensing of the Press Act 1662 (14 Car. II. c. 33). Originally limited to two years, the act was renewed by the Cavalier Parliament until it was dissolved for the first Exclusion Parliament in 1679. The Treason and Seditious Act (13 Car. II. c. 1) bolstered censorship by making "any Printing Writing Preaching or Malicious and advised speaking" in which the death, destruction, injury or restraint of the sovereign may result, or deprive him of his "Stile Honour or Kingly Name" illegal.⁶³ Thus the government could control pre-publication and punish post-publication discourse. Those

⁶² Ibid., 47.

⁶³ "Charles II, 1661: An Act for Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious practices and attempts," in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 304-306. *British History Online*, accessed November 20, 2017, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp304-306>.

responsible for the enforcement of these acts were the Secretaries of State, the Libels Committee of the House of the Lords, and the Licenser of the Press Sir Roger L'Estrange. The zealous means by which L'Estrange performed the duties of his office meant that prior to 1679, scribes and court networks published and circulated much of the political poetry through a prolific "literary underground," which were means by which European contemporaries could subvert state censorship and fuel appetites for unauthorized mass media.⁶⁴

Contemporary ability to undermine the Licensing Act was one of Licenser of the Press L'Estrange's particular frustrations. In *'The Horrid Popish Plot: Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth-Century London*, Peter Hinds made a startling revelation: three years prior to the lapse of the Licensing act, L'Estrange told the House of Lords libels committee that manuscripts are "more mischeivous than prints; for they are so bitter and dangerous that noe one in forty ever comes to press, though, by the help of transcripts, they are well nigh as public." In his recommendations to curb manuscript libel, L'Estrange proposed that "the stationers should be ordered to...swear to have nothing to do with [manuscript] Libels"...and "any person receiving a [manuscript] Libel and not given notice thereof to a Justice [of the Peace] within a certain time, should suffer as an abettor of it; and, on failing to produce the person of whom he had it, he should suffer as the author of it." Hinds observes that in L'Estrange's view, this makes readers as culpable as authors, thus pushing the

⁶⁴ Thomas Cogswell, "Underground Verse," in Amussen and Kishlansky, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, 287; Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

government to censor reception of ideas as well as the production of them.⁶⁵ L'Estrange's thought, no doubt, was that if pre-publication controls were more stringent, disruptive ideas would not be circulated.

L'Estrange's observations confirm that while print cycled through periods of regulation, manuscript was less rigidly regulated. Scribally circulated texts are inherently paradoxical. Through the process of publishing a scribal text, in which "entrepreneurial stationers...obtain[ed] texts, arrang[ed] for them to be copied in whatever numbers were needed, and suppl[ied] them to public bookshops," a scribal publication could be widely distributed, yet still restricted in its availability.⁶⁶ The circulation of a scribal text could be restricted by the community of readership, but because membership could be relatively fluid, texts could escape the confines of trust placed on their restriction. For example, a manuscript poem could be initially intended for one person's immediate family, but one member might surreptitiously show a friend the poem, who then might remember parts of it, take the recalled portions to a scrivener and reproduce a copy of his own. The community networks to which this second person was privy then would have access to the verses. Scribal production and publication was thus restricted and widely distributed along social networks. And scribes made emendations to verses according to their buyer's personal views and party affiliation.

⁶⁵ Hinds, *The Horrid Popish Plot*, 134; footnote 71 for L'Estrange citation.

⁶⁶ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 37.

E. The Significance of Manuscript versus Print Publication

Manuscript and print performed in different ways. For example, manuscript verse was often tacked on the door of the person or institution the poem attacked. This method of publication of a manuscript libel often challenged the authority of the person or institution residing behind it, thus giving immediacy to the threat behind the rhetoric. In this manner, contemporaries used manuscript verse as an opening shot. It became an early practice of political or factional subversion. When manuscript rhetoric began to be printed, however, the immediate threat posed by manuscript verse dissipated only to be replaced by a more public form of undermining authority. In this way, manuscript could often be the low background thrum, whereas print presented issues to wide audiences and consequently kept issues more in the public's eye. Hinds' monograph on *L'Estrange* also highlights an important turning point in the relationship between manuscript and print in the late seventeenth century: the Popish Plot. The Popish Plot's political fallout led to the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1679.

From 1679-1685, both Whigs and Tories, England's first modern political parties, used the lapse of the Licensing Act to spread their political ideologies to wide audiences in print. The ensuing political contests, local and national elections, legal prosecutions and persecutions, reflected a population and a government coming to grips with the free communication of ideas. It came to no one's surprise, therefore, when one of the first acts of James II's first Parliament was to reinstate the Licensing Act in June 1685, thus throttling both the quantity and quality of print published and sold. Those years of political debate, however, were significant in two distinct ways: 1) the partisan ideas

expressed during these years revealed the deep divide in English politics, and 2) these ideologies were communicated to wide sections of the population thanks to the lack of pre-publication censorship.

During the six years of press freedom, scribal verse took a backseat. Comparatively, the number of printed poems from 1679-1685 exploded. During this period of deregulated press, more than eight hundred individually titled political verses, contained within collections and as published as individual sheets, were printed (and it is very likely that many more titles are extant in the archives). The printed sources that form the basis of this dissertation's research have been pulled primarily from the British Library's *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), UCSB's *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA), and Angela McShane's *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: a critical bibliography*. In 1679, when press regulation lapsed, 79 new political poems were printed; the next year saw 80 printed. In 1681, 113 new titles made their way to public audiences and in 1682, a remarkable 172 were printed. Even during the height of the 'Tory Reaction,' new verses were continually being published at 104 in 1683 and 76 in 1684. In the year that James II directed Parliament to renew the Licensing Act in 1685, 153 political verses were printed. The explosion in numbers of published printed poetry is hard to deny. These six years when the Licensing Act lapsed constitute an extraordinary experiment in press freedom. By the time Licensing was renewed in 1685, both parties had learned the power of appealing to publics for political support, and harnessed that power in the Revolution of 1688.

III. Methodology:

A. Definitions and Source Selection

Research into the genre of political poetry has demonstrated that there are many different subtypes. While much of the poetry is satirical, scholars are now defining and problematizing individual subtypes that fit within the genre.⁶⁷ To clarify what is meant by political poetry, first one must clarify what “poetry” means in this context. The sources used in this dissertation have the appearance of poetry; they contain verses and stanzas, rather than prosaic sentences and paragraphs. They sound like poetry; they are metered, and typically (but not always) rhythmic. They vary in length, from couplets to epics. They appear in many different genres; included are lampoons, libels, satires, ballads, elegies, panegyrics, squibs, litanies, lyrics, songs, tunes, and prologues and epilogues to plays. Each of these genres can take on a different form of expression—for instance, libels can be personal or seditious, panegyrics can be sincere or mocking. Satires also range in their mode of attack from burlesques, railleries, farces, invectives, *ad hominem*, parodies, to mock heroic, and so on.

The common unifying element to all of these disparate genres and modes is the content. Each one of them speaks to the political events, ideologies, and political culture in England from 1678-1685. The determination of which poems to include in the realm of “political” is entirely self-evaluative. In her work on *Political Broadside Ballads*, Angela McShane offers a useful definition of what can be considered “political:”

⁶⁷ Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

The term ‘political’ is interpreted...broadly to include ballads that commented on social justice or political mores; on questions of loyalty; on religious divisions; on state religious policy and on controversies over professions of faith (but not traditional ‘godly’ ballads, such as those discussed by Tessa Watt). In addition, a large number of military recruiting ballads have been included...because [soldiers] were always employed by political authorities...[but] sailors’ songs [are included only if they] relate in any way to naval campaigns [and not commercial enterprises].⁶⁸

In addition to McShane’s definition, the sources contained in this dissertation also include what the post-Revolution *Poems on Affairs of State* [POAS] (1689-1710) considered to be of political interest: the love affairs of kings and courtiers, court gossip, the concerns of Parliament, the personalities of government officials (both large and small) who influenced and upheld public policy, court cases, and the plotters and rogues who self-interestedly manipulated events for personal gain. Moreover, any verse that had the keywords ‘whig,’ ‘tory,’ or ‘trimmer’ are also included.

From 1679-1685, this dissertation’s analysis is based on approximately 800 *printed* poems. Within these works we see a wide range of authorial voices. Members of Parliament, civic administrators, the aristocracy, and even circumspectly, the monarch could use poetry and song as a form of propaganda.⁶⁹ As innumerable contemporary complaints indicate, members of the lower social orders also wrote verse as an outlet for criticisms, complaints, and anxieties. Rhymes, tunes, and other metered messages created a sort of common talking ground for all members of the body politic.

⁶⁸ Angela McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-century England: a critical bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), xvi; Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁶⁹ It is alleged that Charles II gave John Dryden inspiration for “The Medal,” a poem attacking Whig partisan activities.

John Dryden quipped, “If a poem have genius, it forces its own reception in the world.”⁷⁰ The reception issue is a real and significant issue with which this dissertation had to contend. The length of verse, literacy of audiences, accessibility of audiences to different types of verse all limits the potential impact of a verse. Broadside ballads or verses set to tunes naturally have a larger reach because they could be sung to large audiences. Longer and more sophisticated verses had a more reduced impact than ballads or tunes. That being said, nearly two thirds of the printed verses this dissertation discusses are ballads or set to tunes. Balladeer voices carried on the wind. While verses often relied on insider knowledge to make sense of the rhetoric, smaller and shorter verses used similar language indicating that contemporaries filtered down rhetorical complexity to make meaning more accessible. A vast majority of the printed verses considered in this dissertation are single sheets. Even if verses were not worth the paper they were printed on, contemporaries still read them and created publics to discuss the messages they contained. It was the huge swath of lesser poetry that oftentimes more succinctly communicated political ideologies, even if the publics they helped create and the verses themselves were often ephemeral.

B. Materiality of Printed Poems and Songs

With the lapse of the Licensing Act, printed poetry skyrocketed in production and outcome. The market flooded with new texts, new poems, new verses, and new songs. London was the epicenter for printed poetry; most were printed there. Less frequently,

⁷⁰ John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) POASY vol. 2: 1678-1681, 456.

some titles had colophons indicating they were printed in Edinburgh, Dublin, and even Boston.⁷¹ Depending on the title, a poem could have multiple editions and a decent sized print run. Tessa Watt's estimation for the size of a small ballad print run (200 copies) is still being used as the industry standard.⁷² So it was remarkable then, for John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* to have five editions in the first two years of publication, printed in both London and Dublin. According to the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), only 176 recorded copies still exist in the archives. The popularity of Dryden's poem certainly cannot be denied, and the large number of copies attests to the 'best seller' nature of *Absalom and Achitophel*. For other, lesser-known, poetic titles, extant copies in the archives can range from a single surviving print to upwards of fifty surviving copies. Strictly conservative estimations of the size of a print run (200) multiplied by the number of individual titles printed from 1679-1685 (800) indicate that 160,000 copies of printed political verse and song circulated around London, if not the Atlantic archipelago. If the least popular titles have one extant copy, but the most popular titles, i.e. *Absalom and Achitophel*, have nearly 200 surviving copies, it is more likely that hundreds of thousands if not millions of printed political verses circulated throughout the English capital and beyond. One can only wonder as to the popular titles that existed, but thanks to the cheapness of the print have no surviving copies. Printed poetry had a national audience.

A majority of the poems and ballads often were printed on a half-folio sheet. Some printers put three or four columns on one half-folio sheet, which therefore allowed easier

⁷¹ Anon., *The Plain case stated of Old--but especially of New-England, in an address to His Highness the Prince of Orange* (1689) ESTC Citation: W35552.

⁷² Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety*, 11.

concealment by folding along the columns without damaging the verses itself. The length and format of these shorter poems allowed anyone with a spare penny or two to purchase them. Narcissus Luttrell made extensive notes on the purchase price of many of these short poems. Price of a poem or ballad typically fell in line with the length, i.e. how much paper and ink were used in production. Gerald Egan and Eric Nebeker writing for UCSB's *English Broadside Ballad Archive* (EBBA) measured most of the broadside ballads at half the size of a broadside; these "half-sheet ballads tend[ed] towards 190 x 296 mm."⁷³ Nearly all of these shorter poems and ballads were purchased for one pence, according to Narcissus Luttrell. If a single half-folio sheet had further embellishments, such as sheet music, printed on it, the price increased. *Advice to the City, or the Wiggs Loyalty Explained* published in 1682, had sheet music and lyrics; Luttrell purchased it for two pence.⁷⁴ More half-sheets typically meant a higher price. *A Panegyrick on their Royal Highnesses, and congratulating his return from Scotland* was three folio sheets folded over to make a six page long booklet and cost threepence, while *The Pope's Advice to his Sons* was made of quartered folios, thus ten pages long and advertised as six pence bound.⁷⁵ Obviously, the price schema did not always follow this rule. For example, *A Dialogue between the D. of C. and the D. of P.* was two folded folio sheets, thus four pages long and only one penny.

⁷³ Gerald Egan and Eric Nebeker, "Other Common Papers: Papermaking and Ballad Sheet Sizes," *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, University of California, Santa Barbara, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/papermaking> [Accessed February 13, 2014].

⁷⁴ Anon., *Advice to the City, or the Wiggs Loyalty explained* (1682), ESTC no. R374.

⁷⁵ Anon., *A Panegyrick on their Royal Highnesses, and congratulating his return from Scotland* (1682), ESTC no. R216887; Anon., *The Pope's Advice to his sons* (1679), ESTC no. R8672.

Naturally embellishment, purchase price, rhetorical content, and length could indicate different intended audiences. The longest verses were easily John Sheffield's *An Essay Upon Satyr* at 88 pages, Samuel Colvil's *Mock Poem, or Whiggs Supplication* with 118 pages, and Benjamin Keach's *Sion in Distress* at 128 pages.⁷⁶ Length and price was still no guarantee that a poem remained in its targeted audience. Despite its length, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* generated a massive response, hinting at audiences beyond the initial purchaser. This was a consequence of poems and songs being read aloud or sung in coffeehouses, clubs, and pubs. Costly or modest, the price of poems often did not restrict their rhetorical content to an audience. Given the potential ubiquity and, for the most part, the cheapness of verses, both in the form of poems and songs, this genre was an effective means by which partisans could communicate political goals to wide audiences.

IV. Significance:

This dissertation argues that political verse and song profoundly shaped the political culture and enabled the creation of well-informed public spheres in late seventeenth century England. While Restoration factionalism often played out first in manuscript verse, it was in print that contemporaries received the catalyst for the creation of modern political parties. Thanks to the lapse in governmental censorship, verses and songs facilitated shifts in public and partisan perception of the existing political structures so that the very nature of government became a point of contention. By exploring the

⁷⁶ Samuel Colvil, *Mock Poem, or Whiggs Supplication* (1681), ESTC Citation No. R12941; Benjamin Keach, *Sion in distress or The groans of the Protestant church* (1683), ESTC Citation: R32997; John Sheffield, *An essay upon satyr, or, A poem on the times under the names of the golden age, the silver age, the brazen age, and the iron age : to which is added, A satyr against Separatists* (1680), ESTC Citation: R13552.

competing narratives created by this media format, historians can begin to gain a better grasp on how ideologies filter throughout the population and thus can widen the range of sources considered valuable for historical study.

V. Chapter outlines:

The Prologue addresses the political background of the period examined in this dissertation and the nature of political poetry just prior to the Popish Plot.

Chapter 1 discusses the immediate poetic reactions to the Popish Plot. In this chapter, the Restoration political factions begin to coalesce into parties. The Popish Plot was the spark for the later Stuart legislative crisis known as the Exclusion Crisis. This chapter will mostly address the nature of court manuscript poetry and how contemporaries shifted court rhetoric to print in order to communicate their factional stances to wider audiences.

Chapter 2 concerns the contributions of printed political poetry during the latter half of 1679 to the end of 1681. It will trace the development of political rhetoric as the second and third Exclusion Parliaments were called and dissolved. Significantly, the lapse in the Licensing Act will feature in this chapter as governmental crisis erupted, leaving an unregulated press. It is also during this chapter that the shift from faction to party began to accelerate.

Chapter 3 focuses on the first two years of the “Tory Reaction,” 1682-1683, and will explore the political arguments each party developed regarding the ‘rule of law.’ Rather than demonstrate the quietism of the Whig party under an increasingly active Tory

government seeking to suppress political rhetoric and propaganda, this chapter demonstrates that rhetorical output increased during these years. One sees that the Whig platform emerged in this period.

Chapter 4 centers on the last two years of the “Tory Reaction,” 1683-84, as the full force of the Tory poetic campaign against the Whigs came into sway. The impetus behind the materialization of the Tory platform, supporting divine right monarchism, was the failed Rye House Plot. Adopting similar propaganda and rhetorical tactics, Tory poets provided a government service by promoting its agenda to wide populations.

Chapter 5 highlights the first year of James II’s reign, 1685. It was during this year that press regulation was renewed. From a position of strength, James wielded his authority aggressively to pursue the creation of a new narrative surrounding his reign. Initially backed by a Tory-Anglican alliance, his legal, military, and rhetorical victories helped foster the belief that he could exercise his monarchical prerogatives in a manner inconsistent with previously understood English sovereignty.

The conclusion discusses James’s short reign. With the renewal of censorship, printed oppositional verse fell into abeyance. In 1688, during a moment of renewed crisis and governmental weakness, there was another explosion of printed verse. These verses and songs created an environment that allowed the populace to support the revolution that deposed James, and provides validation of how historians can use both print and manuscript verse in a major event to garner insight into the culture of public spheres.

The epilogue provides a short summary of the two-year period, 1693-5, in which the Licensing Act was, again, under consideration for renewal. Parliament allowed it to

lapse permanently, which speaks to the implicit lesson contemporaries learned in that censorship often fails. This epilogue is also an appeal to historians to elevate the poetic medium to a standard resource.

Prologue
“Of clapping fools, assembling:”
The Restoration and Political Factions

On 17 October 1678, Sir Edmundberry Godfrey’s body was found, murdered and dumped in a ditch at the foot of Primrose Hill, northwest of the City of London. His death, as described by J.P. Kenyon, was “political dynamite.”⁷⁷ Godfrey was the unfortunate magistrate chosen two months earlier by Israel Tonge to hear Titus Oates’s deposition regarding the so-called “Popish Plot.” Oates infamously alleged that a group of English Jesuits was conspiring to assassinate Charles II, thus assuring the succession of his brother, the catholic James Duke of York. With a French invasion of Ireland and a Jesuit-directed government in London, Catholicism could be reinstated as the established religion in England. The Popish Plot and Godfrey’s murder inaugurated the period of this dissertation’s focus.

In order to understand the significance of relaxed press controls from 1679-1685, one must grasp the political and media background of the English Restoration. For the previous eighteen years, Charles II’s reign had seen increasing partisanship over religious pluralism, escalating court factional behavior, and mounting anti-Catholicism. Similarly, sixteen of those years saw heightened press controls after the Cavalier Parliament’s passage of the “Licensing of the Press Act” (as it is more commonly known) in 1662. The convergence of these developments meant that when the Popish Plot became public, thanks to Godfrey’s murder, the government’s rein on publication relaxed, thus creating a

⁷⁷ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 78.

maelstrom of public partisanship that led to England's first age of parties. Political verse churned that turbulence and helped communicate partisan ideologies.

I. Political and Ecclesiastical Background:

The Restoration of the English monarchy in the first months of 1660 happened swiftly. In February, fearing the impending anarchy and chaos in a leaderless England, the Governor of Scotland, General George Monck marched south to London to support the Rump Parliament following Richard Cromwell's resignation. He ordered the reinstatement of the members of parliament excluded by Pride's Purge in 1648. The restored Long Parliament then dissolved itself and called for a new election, the first in nearly twenty years. While some hoped for a Presbyterian and Parliamentary return, the English people instead elected a body of men who were equally divided politically (Royalist and Parliament-supporting) *and* religiously (Anglican and Presbyterian). Since a monarch did not call this Parliament, it was a Convention Parliament, the second of its kind, with the first occurring in 1399. The Convention set out to decide what the nature of government would be after the exiled Charles II sent the Declaration of Breda from the Netherlands.

In this document, Charles issued a general pardon for the crimes committed against the monarchy during the Interregnum (excepting the men who signed his father's death warrant), resolved not to confiscate property acquired during the Interregnum, promised "liberty of tender consciences," and recommissioned the army into the crown's

service.⁷⁸ The Convention Parliament received the Declaration as it was intended, as an extension of forgiveness, an offer of reconciliation, and a means to moderate political and religious affairs. Most importantly, the conventioners recognized the most significant element of the remarkable declaration: Charles promised to rule *with* Parliament. In early May 1660, Charles received word that the Convention Parliament resolved to restore the monarchy, and invited him to return. On his 30th birthday, 29 May 1660, Charles Stuart made a triumphant return to London after a nine-year absence from the British Isles. It was a joyous affair. The air was full of promise. Celebratory songs were sung and enthusiastic verses were written. In less than a year, 23 April 1661 Charles II was crowned at Westminster Abbey; the English monarchy was restored.

Within eighteen years, that triumph and joy would transform into fear and anxiety, as political unity dissolved into heated political partisanship. Why? Essentially, Charles II's reign from 1660-1678, despite the soon-to-crowned king's pledging religious toleration, did little to accomplish it. Instead, Anglican orthodoxy became the legislative reality. The nature of Charles II's rule meant that power was centered around the court, not Parliament, and those with the most access to Charles himself enjoyed the most influence. The resulting court factionalism not only saw increasingly bitter and vicious rivalries within the court, but also saw rising political divisions against the court. Within the court, proximity to the king and biting wit meant that one enjoyed favor, power, and influence, regardless of one's religious identification. Indeed, many of Charles II's favorites were Catholics. The hypocrisy of allowing religious toleration at court but not in

⁷⁸ Charles II, *His declaration to all his loving subjects of the kingdom of England, Date from his court at Breda* (4/14 April 1660), ESTC Citation: R230944.

the countryside was not lost on those outside of the court, who often found themselves the targets of religious and social persecution.

Conflict began almost immediately with the creation of the Clarendon Code. After Charles II dissolved the Convention Parliament, the newly elected “Cavalier” Parliament, the longest lasting of Charles II’s reign, held its first session in May 1661. One of the chief goals of this parliament was to eliminate the religious pluralism of the Interregnum, which saw not only the predominance of Presbyterian power in England, but also the emergence of many other religious sects. Ranters, Fifth Monarchists, Diggers, Baptists, Muggletonians, and Quakers all developed during the Commonwealth and all had different ideas on the nature of government. Such sects, along with the socially radical groups such as the Diggers and the Levellers, led Christopher Hill to dub the Interregnum the “world turned upside down.”⁷⁹ Generally speaking, these sects became “dissenters” or “non-conformists” after the passage of the Clarendon Code.

Although its namesake, Edward Hyde, the first earl of Clarendon and Charles’s chief minister, actually disapproved of many of the laws in the Code, the Code set out to establish the Anglican Church and enforce religious conformity, in an effort to secure the newly restored monarchy. The Corporation Act of 1661 required all municipal officials to take Anglican communion, thus restricting political offices to those who believed in the monarchical settlement. The next year, the Act of Uniformity of 1662 imposed the new Anglican Book of Common Prayer and made its use compulsory in public worship. The resulting protest by more than 2,000 clergy was dubbed the Great Ejection after they

⁷⁹ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: radical ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

were deprived of their offices. The Act of Uniformity limited the access of the English populace to non-conformist messages and ensured their continued exposure to monarchical ideology. The Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade unauthorized meetings of more than five people not belonging to the same household for the purpose of worship, thus further limiting the access of the population to republican and nonconformist ideology. The Five Mile Act of 1665 prevented nonconformist ministers from entering incorporated towns and teaching in schools. With the government restricting the *kind* of information the population could access, it makes little wonder then they also tried to curb *how* the population could access information. In 1662, the Convention Parliament also passed the Licensing Act in an attempt to prevent nonconformists and dissenters from printing pamphlets, tracts, and sermons and thus spreading their beliefs through the published word.

Despite Parliament's attempt to enforce religious conformity and establish the Anglican Church, Charles tried to keep to his Declaration of Breda promises of religious toleration. In 1662, he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence. A protest in the House of Lords blocked the measure. Early in the Restoration, many Cavalier parliamentarians were still reeling from the chaos of the Interregnum and were not willing to grant religious license for fear of reawakening the republican spirit. Others saw a dangerous precedent being set in the indulgence. Tim Harris argues that the protestations the Cavalier Parliament used against Charles's first attempt "to issue a Declaration of Indulgence suspending the operation of the penal laws against nonconformists and Catholics" in 1662 presaged the very same arguments that would lead to James II's ouster

in 1688. Charles attempted to suspend or dispense with the law, superseding the procedures of Parliament, rather than work *with* Parliament as he promised he would in the Breda declaration. Still, Charles did not dissolve the Cavalier Parliament.

The longevity of Charles's Cavalier Parliament meant that Charles needed ministers who would be willing to manage members of parliament to achieve his political goals. As J.R. Jones argued in *Country and Court: England, 1658-1714*, as a "working politician...Charles followed, or at least created for himself...alternative and indeed contradictory lines of policy...[and he was] cynically and indifferently aware of the duplicities, dishonesties, and disloyalties of his ministers." This meant that he felt he could always design "insoluble problems for all [his] ministers," thereby leaving himself free from criticism.⁸⁰ He deliberately built up the power of the monarchy by sacrificing his ministers, leaving himself infallible. Clarendon's downfall in 1667 provides just such an example. Fearing France's growing power far more than the Dutch rival maritime economy, Clarendon opposed the second Anglo-Dutch War. Intriguingly, Charles was not supportive of the war either, as he owed much to the House of Orange for support during the civil war and his exile; he even negotiated a secret alliance with France against the Dutch to end the war. But when the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames in a surprise attack in June 1667, he blamed the loss on Clarendon whose largest critics argued he did not prepare for the English fleet's defense before it was destroyed at the Raid on the Medway. Charles set him up to be overrun by younger and more ambitious men.

⁸⁰ Jones, *Country and Court*, 11.

A group of five of those men replaced Clarendon as chief ministers. Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, and the Earl of Lauderdale, or the 'Cabal' (derived from the first initial of their respective names), divided the work of Charles's ministry among them. For Charles, the ideological divisions among them were a blessing. Ranging from Ashley's parliamentary idealism to Lauderdale's autocratic absolutism, their in-fighting fostered court factionalism, allowing Charles the opportunity to always blame his ministers. Likewise, he acceded to their requests to consistently prorogue Parliament and allowed them to rule independently, again contrary to his Breda promises. Charles's motivation, however, was to pursue pro-French policies without the scrutiny of Parliament. It was during the Cabal ministry that the "Country" faction began to develop in opposition to Charles's "Court" ministry.

Nascent partisanship in the early 1670s surrounded pivotal moments that hinted at Charles's true domestic and foreign policies. The 1672 Declaration of Indulgence revealed just how far Charles was willing to use his monarchical privileges to bring about religious toleration for Catholics: he was willing to suspend parliamentary law. When he attempted to issue a second Declaration of Indulgence in March 1672, the Cavalier Parliament was not in session. The Third Anglo-Dutch War began the very next month, and reflected the Anglo-French alliance engineered by the Treaty of Dover, signed in 1670. According to that treaty, Charles II and Louis XIV would divide the conquest of the Dutch empire between them. Unbeknownst to Arlington, Ashley, or Buckingham, a secret clause of the treaty granted Charles II subsidies from Louis XIV in exchange for announcing Charles's conversion to Catholicism; only Clifford and Arlington knew about

this clause. Charles used his ministry's own divisions to his advantage and, through the secret clauses of the treaty, attempted to force religious toleration for Catholics and a pro-Catholic alliance. Under the known parts of the Treaty of Dover supported by Buckingham, Ashley-Cooper, and Lauderdale, however, Charles's actions seemed to be aligned with parliamentary interests.

This second indulgence, however, shocked Parliament when it came back into session in February 1673. From Charles's first declaration to his second, English contemporaries feared he was not interested in religious toleration for Protestant nonconformists; rather, they suspected him of attempting to provide religious toleration for Catholics. These fears were confirmed in 1673 when the Cavalier Parliament, in response to Charles's second indulgence, passed the Test Act. The Test Act required all office-holders under the crown to receive Anglican Communion, take oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the crown, and forswear transubstantiation. Those who did not faced severe penalties. James, Duke of York and heir to the throne, resigned his position as Lord High Admiral of the Navy as a result of the Test Act, and within three months married a Roman Catholic Italian princess, Mary of Modena. Similarly, Thomas Clifford, the newly created first baron of Clifford, of the Cabal ministry, resigned from his post and within four months committed suicide. By October 1673, members of the House of Commons were protesting the Duke of York's marriage. The exposure of York and Clifford as Catholics forced contemporaries to reevaluate the political and religious policies of the last decade. For example, during the Third Anglo-Dutch war, Charles was openly pro-French in his wartime policies, and York's resignation from the High

Admiralty occurred a year into the war. Contemporaries had to question Charles's motivations for the war and York's commitment to it. Seen in the light of the Test Act's fallout, the war took on a more insidious tone when it put a cost burden on Parliament to keep supplying taxes for the maintenance of a standing army, feared as a tool of absolutist government.

These events caused the 'Cabal' to quickly fall apart. Buckingham learned of the secret clause of the Treaty of Dover in his travels to the Dutch Republic and began leaking it to other politicians. Arlington, who knew of the clauses, leaked confirmation when he joined the pro-Dutch faction in Parliament. Ashley, now the first Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, already suspicious of Charles's motivations, allied himself with the growing opposition "Country" faction out of concern that the heir to the throne was Catholic. As a result, Charles had him removed and replaced with Thomas Osborne, the Earl of Danby, a champion of High Episcopacy and an ardent supporter of strengthening executive and royal authority.

The "Court" and "Country" factions now had their respective champions. Danby's domestic policies included using the façade of religion to increase Charles's power. Although Charles was uninterested in shoring up the Anglican ascendancy, he thought such was a price to be paid for the security and increased power of his throne. In 1675, Danby proposed a "Test Oath" requiring sitting members of Parliament to declare that resistance to the king was a criminal offense. The Test Oath, and his proposal that Anglican bishops raise the royal family's children, were both rejected by Parliament. In December 1676, Charles issued a proclamation attempting to suppress the coffeehouses,

which he believed fomented sedition. It was withdrawn only after considerable parliamentary protest. Only his 1676 “Compton Census” proved successful; by counting the numbers of Anglicans, nonconformist and Catholics in the country, Danby demonstrated that nonconformists did not have the numbers to unite into a powerful legislative bloc. Thanks to the census, Charles realized that his largest threat was not the non-conformists in the country, or their republican ideologies, but growing parliamentary opposition.

Shaftesbury became increasingly influential to the “Country faction” in Parliament. Fearful of a Catholic heir, Shaftesbury “threw himself into the work of protecting [a] Protestant succession.”⁸¹ From incendiary speeches in the House of Lords to the publication of anonymous manuscript tracts possibly ghostwritten by his secretary John Locke, Shaftesbury allied himself with whomever and used whatever means he could forestall the accession of a Catholic monarch. His motivations were also to increase parliamentary power and to remove potential abuses of arbitrary power. To Shaftesbury, bishops could be as arbitrary as kings. To consolidate absolute power in the hands of either was, in his mind, detrimental to the English religious and governmental polity. Continued prorogation of Parliament made it ineffective, leaving free rein for the Anglican Church and Charles to augment their power at the expense of nonconformists and Parliament. The “Country” faction believed the only way to introduce laws that could provide religious toleration for nonconformists and prevent Catholicism’s expansion was to dissolve the Cavalier Parliament and elect a new body. Doing so would also favor a

⁸¹ John Spurr, “Shaftesbury and the Seventeenth Century,” in John Spurr, ed. *Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 17.

polity in which the king shared power with Parliament. The “Country” feared Charles’s growing monarchical power and grew anxious that the continued wars against the Dutch were mere justification for the presence of a continually readied standing army. In other words, the “Country” opposition feared that Charles II’s England would begin to mirror Louis XIV’s Absolutist France.⁸²

To be clear, the majority of the English population was as of yet unaware of these divisions. These factions formed amongst Parliament men in the Lords and Commons, civic magistrates, and religious leaders and then filtered out throughout the kingdom via personal and political networks. It was the Popish Plot that forced these factions to become public. When Titus Oates divulged the existence of a plot to assassinate Charles, he was initially dismissed, but as his stories became more grandiose, his confidence and grasp of details made him more believable to those that heard him. Not many believed his stories, though, until Sir Edmundberry Godfrey’s body was found strangled and mutilated on Primrose Hill. Godfrey’s murder was the catalyst that sent London into an anti-Catholic panic. Oates’s accusations leaked out to the city of London and the ground beneath the feet of both political factions shifted. Both the Court and Country factions entered into a form of crisis management, both giving legitimacy to the existence of the plot and using it to promote their agenda.

⁸² Harris, *London Crowds*; Jones, *The First Whigs*, 1961; Jones, *Country and court*, 1979; Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*; John Spurr, *England in the 1670s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 2000); Zook, *Radical Whigs*.

II. Political Poetry Prior to the Popish Plot:

A majority of the country lived in ignorance of most parliamentary debates thanks to pre-publication licensing. Parliamentary debates were private, and ministry actions were considered protected as *arcana imperii*, although that did not stop contemporaries from commenting on political speculation or court rivalries. Rather than occurring through print and thus available to a wide audience, most extra-parliamentary communication occurred in manuscript. Verse was often used as a preferred method of communication for this closed network simply because of the scurrilous and satirical nature of the rhetoric. The inside-joke essentially became the *modus operandi* of this early verse. Harold Love labeled this type of poem the “Court Lampoon.”

Charles II’s court reflected his libertine nature. By the time Charles married the Portuguese Catherine of Braganza in May 1662, he already had five illegitimate and recognized children. When his mistress at the time, Barbara Villiers, wife of Roger Palmer, the first Earl of Castlemaine, became pregnant again by Charles, he gave her rooms in Whitehall. Palmer then resigned his role as her official husband, since she was being cared for by her king. The resulting fracas over Castlemaine’s pettiness and manipulation during the marriage and arrival of Catherine led to the “Bedchamber Crisis.” Villiers forced Charles to make her Catherine’s Lady of the Bedchamber, thereby parading her obvious illicit relationship with the king in front of the Queen’s face and insulting her honor. In essence, Charles’s choice in this crisis was between a court and a marriage where infidelities happened surreptitiously, or a court and marriage where debauchery was openly acknowledged and celebrated. He chose the latter. The nature of

Charles's court varied based on which woman could influence his affections to achieve prestige, wealth, and power. Courtiers, courtesans, and politicians—foreign and domestic—manipulated Charles's mistresses for the same reasons. Much in the same way Charles used his ministers to protect himself against criticism; he encouraged the factional nature of his court as well. The resulting "Court Lampoons" reflect these court factions.

Dissemination of these scribal poems accounted for the labyrinthine nature of the Palace of Whitehall. The scribal poets of the court knew how to navigate around certain influential cliques and rival courts within the Court, recognizing myriad factors such as physical proximity to the king, gender, and religious affiliation, among others. For example, a poem vilifying Catholic mistresses would surely avoid the courts of the Duchess of Portsmouth (one of Charles's Catholic mistresses) and the Duke of York (Charles's Catholic brother) but would be passed around in the courts of Nell Gwynn (Charles's Protestant actress mistress) and the Duke of Monmouth (Charles's eldest, and Protestant, illegitimate son). Owing to the divisive nature of these courts driven by competition for position and for Charles II's attention and proximity, these "court lampoons" were biting, scurrilous, gossipy, and vulgar.

The most common topic of these poems was the sexual politics of the court factions, exemplified by perhaps the most scandalous lampoon, "Seigneur Dildoe." This lampoon, as Love describes it, not only featured an "joke at the king's expense put into the mouth of the Duchess of Portsmouth," but also sneered at "less favoured invitees to the [duchess's] bed" by commenting on the "crowded medieval town" nature of

Whitehall.⁸³ In the poem, the court ladies resorted to using the “Italian” invention to achieve their satisfaction when their paramours could not. The tongue-in-cheek insinuation was that each court lady had her own uses for “Seigneur Dildoe”; therefore, the poem is not so much about the titillating nature of the sex toy itself, but a larger commentary on the nature of court factions. For example, when Nell Gwynne became Charles’s mistress in 1669, she was popular both at court and in the city for not attempting to exert political influence over Charles as Castlemaine and Portsmouth had.

A “Court Lampoon” (1669) thus praised her:

Hard by Pall Mall lives a wench call’d Nell.
King Charles the Second he kept her.
She hath got a trick to handle his prick,
But never lays hands on his sceptre.⁸⁴

In Charles II’s court, the subject of sex *was* politics.

Charles’s allowance and enjoyment of a libertine court therefore made the manuscript poetry of the Restoration very scurrilous. Love highlights a chronological shift in these lampoons. Prior to the early 1670s, fewer manuscript lampoons exist than after. He believed that the reason “we do not have a richer harvest of court lampoons from the early 1660s may in part be owing to the absence at the time of any effective mechanism for collecting and recording scribally circulated clandestine satire.”⁸⁵ He also speculates that the uptick in manuscript lampoons by the late 1670s was the result of “professional copyists who prepared both single copies and anthologies of libels for sale, and by

⁸³ Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 38.

⁸⁴ British Library, Harleian MSS 7317, f. 21r.

⁸⁵ Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 45.

compilers of private commonplace books who would make copies for their personal records.”⁸⁶ From earlier discussions, we can agree that the “court lampoons were much more likely to be preserved, largely because they had come to be eagerly sought by collectors outside the court.”⁸⁷

Manuscript satire also communicated the political shifts of the early 1670s to those who were removed from the centers of government. As the “Country” party rose in opposition to Charles’s “court,” it became necessary for the lampoons to serve a dual function. Love acknowledged that the tone and rhetoric of the poetry altered as poets began to write for a “double audience.”⁸⁸ As the lampoons were being read “both inside the court, as in-house communication, and outside it as accounts of the circumstances under which the state was being ruled.”⁸⁹ In other words, the “Court lampoons” were becoming “State lampoons.” Love traced the first “outside” audience of the court lampoons to the Inns of Court. Barristers and other members then forwarded the poems on to their clients in the country. In these new state lampoons, Love notes that “none of the polish and playfulness that redeem the grossness of the true court lampoons” were present.⁹⁰ Rather, as these poems had “half an eye on the wider national audience,” the

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 46-47.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 50-51.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 1.

rhetoric was pointed so as to “strip the court of its glamour.”⁹¹ By the time Oates’s accusations of a Popish Plot made national news, all of the “Town,” the Inns of Court, and the universities had a steady stream of nationally focused court lampoons to whet appetites for scandal and insider news. Although this was still a fairly elite group, the very fact that these verses were leaving their intended target audiences within the court to social networks outside the court, and indeed outside of London, is significant. To demonstrate this shift, this prologue will now turn to the poetry itself.

III. Manuscript Verse Prior to the Popish Plot:

John Harold Wilson in *Court Satires of the Restoration*, Harold Love in *English Clandestine Satire*, and POASY all point to the 1670s as a significant watershed in how the authors of manuscript satires of the Restoration directed their criticisms. Indeed, Charles started to receive biting ridicule through satire and libel in the 1670s when ministerial factionalism began to widen to the entirety of Parliament. No longer did poets treat Charles as “God’s vicegerent and Defender of the Faith,” but rather as “merely the first gentleman of England” with all his inherent vices.⁹² John Wilmot, the Earl of Rochester’s famous bawdy assessments of the king demonstrate this rhetorical transformation. Rochester’s most famous lampoon, “Satyr on Charles II” (1673), was a stinging evaluation of how Charles’s allowed libertinism at court, claiming that:

⁹¹ Ibid., 51, 53. Robert Darnton’s *The Devil in the Holy Water, or the Art of Slander from Louis XIV to Napoleon* details similar occurrences of libelous poetry which helped demystify Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, thus conceptually creating permissions for revolution.

⁹² Lord, POASY vol. 1, xxxi.

His scepter and his prick are of a length;
And she may sway the one who plays with th' other,
And make him little wiser than his brother.
Poor Prince! thy prick, like thy buffoons at court,
Will govern thee because it makes thee sport.⁹³

During the Christmas festivities in 1673, Rochester allegedly “accidentally” handed the poem to Charles instead of the safer one he intended for the monarch. Rochester could have been immediately and harshly punished for this seditious libel. Instead, Charles only banished him from court temporarily and did not put him through a public trial. Too much of the poem rang true. In *Lord Rochester's Monkey, being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester*, Graham Greene describes the relationship between Charles and Rochester thus: [Rochester] can be compared with the medieval jester speaking bitter truths and receiving sometimes gold and sometimes cuffs.⁹⁴ The archives demonstrate Charles's jocularly regarding this type of court-circulated, manuscript lampoon. In response to Rochester's quatrain:

We have a pretty witty king,
On whose word no man relied on.
He never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one.⁹⁵

⁹³ John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester, “Satyr on Charles II,” (1673) POASY vol. 1, p. 45; British Library, Add. MSS 23722, f. 16, Harleian MS 7315, f. 23, Harleian MS 7317, f. 31; University of Oxford, Bodleian Library Don b. 8, p. 585, Rawl. D. 924, f. 310v, Rawl. poet. 173, f. 113v; University of Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library, MS 116, f. 16; Edinburgh University Library, MS Dc. 1 3/1 f. 79; Harvard University Library, fMS Eng. 636, f. 77; Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collections, MS Lt. 54, f. 73, MS Lt. 55, f. 29; Chetham's Library, Mun. A 4. 14, f. 7. National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 44. Princeton University Library, MS CO199, f. 10; MS Taylor 1, f. 23, MS Taylor 3, f. 65, MS Taylor 4, f. 8; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 43; Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, f. 49; Yale University Library, MS Osborn fb. 70, f. 11.

⁹⁴ Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 86.

⁹⁵ There are many versions “We have a pretty witty king” “Farewell my pretty witty king” “Epitaph” “God bless our good and gracious king.” Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library MSS 116, f. 23.

Charles reportedly replied, “’Tis true. For my words are my own, and my actions are my ministers’.”⁹⁶ He did not mind being the subject of bawdy poems and naughty claims. He recognized the wit and appreciated its political strategy.

Initially many of these lampoons were what in *English Clandestine Satire*, Harold Love called “Court Lampoons.” These were “satires written within the Court by a court author about court personalities for a court readership.”⁹⁷ Often their content encapsulated “concerns of status, factional striving for power and corporate style.”⁹⁸ Love notes the audience for court lampoons was limited to the specific community for which they were written, and were meant “to reinforce that community’s sense of exclusiveness.”⁹⁹ For the most part, these verses were handwritten, and often, but not always, scribally reproduced. Many of them were anonymous, although it was not unusual for an author to be known. The scribal production of them, however, is what made them “clandestine.”¹⁰⁰ They were not meant to be shown to anyone outside of the intended community.

Love also described “State lampoons,” which purposefully had a wider circulation than the court as they dealt with “national, political, and religious questions.”¹⁰¹ Although he made distinctions between the audiences of the two types of satire, the rhetoric within

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Love, *English Clandestine Satire*, 29.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 67.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 99.

these verses are actually both courtly and also dealt with larger, political issues. For example, in “Verses found under the Kings Plate att Dinner after the dissolution of the last Parliament” during the winter of 1678/9, court and state tropes perfectly combined:

You, your Brother, and your whore
Turn'd the Parliament out of doore,
Tell us now if it be so
Whither you're a Papist yea or no.¹⁰²

Court lampoonists were not restricted to non-State issues, and state lampoonists could use the context of the court lampoons to their own political ends. What made “State” lampoons different from “Court” lampoons was *intended* audience. Court lampoons could, and did, “leak” out of physical confines of the court; outside the court, they were met with a large and appreciative audience. The personal networks of individual audience members then allowed the poems to extend far beyond even Westminster or London’s city limits as they circulated as widely as the personal linkages permitted. “State poets” manipulated well-established tropes from court poetry and took advantage of Charles’s well-known leniency (a fault famously demonstrated when he pardoned a self-styled Irish colonel who attempted to steal the crown jewels!) to introduce courtly rhetoric to a wider audience. In one poem, the author declaims:

Tis therefore not enough when the false sense
Hits the false judgment of an audience
Of clapping fools, assembling a vast crowd
Till the throng'd playhouse cracks with the dull load
Tho even talent merits in some part
That can divert the rabble and the court.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Anon., “Verses found under the Kings Plate att Dinner after the dissolution of the last Parliament,” (1678/9) Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library, MSS 116, f. 22r.

¹⁰³ Bodleian, MS Rawlinson poet 19, f. 42

It did not matter if the content of the poem was true. The desire for wit and the clamor for talent meant that the court encouraged even false judgments. But this leniency became troublesome for the court when wit began to be put to political use beyond shifting court alliances.

Natural early targets for this type of manuscript lampoon were Catholics. Charles's civil war sojourns in Catholic Europe influenced the court he cultivated upon his return. He came back from "his travels" conditioned in the Catholic lifestyle, with Catholic tastes, mistresses, and after 1662, a Catholic wife. As long as Charles continued his ostensible support for the Church of England, having Catholics at court was a necessary part of being an international power. Over the course of the 1660s, however, anti-Catholic sentiment heightened. Following a particularly brutal plague year, the Great Fire of London of 1666 burned a huge portion of the city to the ground. A few days later, a French Catholic watchmaker Robert Hubert (simple-minded though he was) confessed to its arson, arguing that clandestine Jesuits hired him to destroy the city. This event amplified English xenophobia and renewed its virulent anti-Catholicism. It was in the years immediately following these disasters that Charles shifted his domestic and foreign policies to be more sympathetic to France and the Catholic minority in England, or so it seemed to outside viewers. As a result, Parliament passed its Test Act in 1673.

The mid-1670s division between "Country" and "Court" saw the court as the main point of discord. Country members believed that Charles's court had become too decadent and debauched. Protestant contemporaries would describe his court as catholic, in both senses of the word. The realization that Charles had no legitimate heirs, but plenty

of natural ones was a significant point of concern for the “Country” opposition. Charles’s crown would pass to his brother James, a known Catholic. Since 1673, when the Test Act revealed the Duke of York as a Catholic, opposition politicians tried to find ways to place legal limitations on any future Catholic monarch. In 1674, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, backed Country peers when they introduced legislation that would have provided for the Protestant education of York’s children. While the Bishops denied that particular attempt to craft the succession, the religious identification of England’s heirs would become a divisive issue over the next few years. After Shaftesbury’s removal from the post of Lord Chancellor, his replacement, Thomas Osborne, Lord Danby, co-opted the issue from the Country party and introduced a scheme that would limit any popish successor from making ecclesiastical appointments. His attempt also met with failure in Parliament. Succession was on everyone’s minds.

The moral issues that Charles’s behavior provoked extended to encompass economic, political, legislative, and foreign policy consequences. In the age of personal monarchies, this was a fundamental fact. The pre-Plot divisions between the Country and Court factions at court and in Parliament grew as the Plot expanded in scope. Factional differences once kept out of the public’s eye very quickly began to be leaked out into the city. More importantly, Charles’s sexual behavior, and the satirical and libelous poetic responses to it, allowed the actions of political faction to morph into party behavior when the Popish Plot provoked the introduction of Exclusion as a viable legislative pathway.

Prior to the first Exclusion Parliament, manuscript verse and song played on court knowledge, i.e. *insider knowledge* about the conduct of Charles and his court, and then manipulated that knowledge to encourage or preempt partisan action in Parliament. Such verses often reflected the two dominant political positions—Country opposition and Court support. As the next chapter will demonstrate, these two positions developed into England’s first political parties. The dissolution of one Parliament necessitated the elections for a new. In the process, the political factions of the Cavalier Parliament became political parties who had to manage the electorate. Both the Country and Court factions turned to poets and balladeers using crude language, scatological jokes, and sexual innuendo to degrade, satirize, and embarrass others’ political authority.

When these “Court lampoons” leaked out into the city, they inflamed the wider population. Poetry, then, became a means by which political aims could be communicated. Additionally, these poems increasingly made their way from manuscript to print, and by doing so, they helped to generate a maelstrom of rhetoric that further divided political actors into those who needed to dismiss and ridicule (in order to maintain political control), and those who desired to inflame and cast doubt in the minds of the populace (in order to wrest political change). The lapse of the Licensing Act, which we will see in the next chapter, created the circumstances, which propelled the criticisms seen in court lampoons to national audiences. Inadvertently, this legislative accident helped foster the transition of political factions into political parties.

Chapter 1
‘*Pandora’s Box, of Evils Hurl’d:*’
Popish Plot and the Lapse of Licensing, 1678-1679

In 1675, the Licensor of the Press, Roger L’Estrange advocated to the House of Lords Libels Committee that the legal definition of libels should extend to manuscript production as well as printed material. He justified this stringent recommendation by reasoning that “it is notorious that not one in forty libels ever comes to the press, though by the help of manuscripts they are well-nigh as public.”¹⁰⁴ As the person in charge of controlling seditious and libelous speech, L’Estrange worried about the ability of manuscript to elude authorities and the law. Just from the few examples in my prologue, one can see exactly why L’Estrange was so worried about the publication of manuscript libels. In the same manner that Love uses the word “publicized,” L’Estrange knew that the close confines of manuscript libel and satire publication were not as “closed” as authors originally intended. But when poets shifted to writing “State Lampons” they deliberately tried to reach wide audiences. As the Popish Plot and subsequent Exclusion Crisis began to be explored in the realm of print, it is especially important to keep this fact in mind. If manuscript *might* have a wide audience, print definitely did, which L’Estrange knew. Regulating printed works required a firm hand in order to prevent cant, dissimulation, heterodoxy, or republican ideas from filtering throughout the nation. At the very same moment, though, that poets of manuscript lampoons began to seek wider audiences than the court, the Licensing Act lapsed, allowing them to bleed court language out into the nation. Poets took to print to spread the rhetoric found in manuscript state

¹⁰⁴ HMC, appendix, 9th report, part ii, pg. 66, 11 November 1675.

lampoons and bring court factionalism to national audiences. In the process the nexus of print freedom and manuscript rhetoric ushered out a period of factionalism and ushered in the beginnings of party.

This chapter develops two major ideas through a narrative of verse directed at the developing Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. First, it will demonstrate the development of the Court and Country factions into proto-parties under the Cavalier Parliament. As the parliamentary crisis lurched forward, the factions coalesced into parties and the initial pejoratives ‘Whig’ and ‘Tory’ came to be used to describe partisans as they became bolder in their political stances. Second, one can see how each party chose to use political verse to communicate its ideological stance to a wider population. What this chapter will determine is that while the Tory party attempted to contain political rhetoric by using manuscript poetry, the Whig party first took the initiative in using printed verse to garner support and undermine their opponents’ positions.

I. Godfrey and the Popish Plot:

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was murdered on 12 October 1678. The discovery of his body five days later in a ditch on Primrose Hill launched Titus Oates’s claims of a popish conspiracy to assassinate Charles to national news. Until then, Oates’s allegations had been privy only to Charles, Danby, and to the Justice of the Peace who took Oates’s testimony: Godfrey. When Parliament reconvened from recess five days later on 21 October, they quickly took up the business of finding out what happened to Godfrey, by issuing proclamations requesting information and rewarding anyone for knowledge

regarding Godfrey's demise. The political reactions were almost immediate and a first outpouring of printed political verse began to surface.

Poets reflected and fed the fears generated by the widening knowledge of the plot's existence. Elegies expressed anger at the alleged anonymous Catholic murderers and reflected deep national mourning. Godfrey was a "State-martyr," "Rome's deadly enemy," "Nobel Knight," "the *State's* sacrifice," "LOYAL PATRIOT." Many of the poems responding to Godfrey's death exposed a larger belief that Jesuits had killed him in an effort to cover up plans to assassinate Charles. Since Godfrey had been the judge who took Titus Oates's deposition after all, he would have been the one most likely to discover the truth behind Oates's claims. The fact that he was brutally murdered seemingly solidified the belief that there was indeed a Catholic conspiracy in England. "O that this Day might never be forgot; / No, nor the Papists who did lay the Plot," implored one author; "Blest be that God who looked down from high / and set us free, who were condemn'd to dye."¹⁰⁵ While some poets led the way in mourning, some called for more than a reliance on God's Providence to address the heinous acts and plots. "Nee'r forget, nor it forgive them Knaves / while martyr'd *Godfrey's* Blood for vengeance craves," decried John Partridge in his "Advice to the Protestants of England."¹⁰⁶ Robert Wild, a nonconformist minister, sarcastically exclaimed, "Yes, Mighty *Charles!* At thy Command we'll run / through Seas of Rebels Blood, to save thy

¹⁰⁵ Well-wisher to the Protestant Religion, *Englands Memorial, or a Thankful Remembrance upon the present Never to be Forgotten Deliverance of Both King and Nation from the Bloody Popish Plot* (1678), ESTC Citation No. R226352.

¹⁰⁶ John Partridge, *Partridges advice to the Protestants of England*" (1678), ESTC Citation No. R7813

Crown.”¹⁰⁷ Poets called on the English to not only remain a stalwart against Catholicism, but they expected their monarch to do so as well.

Expressions from the parliamentary Country faction dominated these early verses. While many martyred Godfrey, darkly thanking him and God for deliverance from the plot, some Country poets produced pleas and warnings to Charles to heed the lessons learned from the magistrate’s death. Country poets implored Charles to allow Parliament to exclude Catholics from *every* office. *The Proclamation Promoted*, a poem printed in November 1678, argued:

Ye Lords and Commons joyn your speedy Votes
A Pack of Bloud-Hounds threaten all your throats
And if their Treason be not understood
Expect to be dissolv’d in your own Blood
O vote that every Papist (high and low)
To martyr’d *Godfry*’s Corps in person go.¹⁰⁸

Parliament became the driving force of Catholic persecution and exposure, with the Country party pushing to issue more proclamations for information.

Parliament swiftly issued a general fast in deliverance of the plot, ordered all popish recusants to depart London and Westminster, and published a reward for information relating to Catholics in the militia. Bolstered by the Country faction’s support, Oates made bolder accusations. He alleged that Sir George Wakeman, the Queen’s physician, and Edward Coleman, the Duchess of York’s secretary were involved in the plot, and when that revelation earned the horrified reaction he was looking for, he

¹⁰⁷ Robert Wild, *An Exclamation against Popery, or a Broad-side against Rome*, (14 November 1678), ESTC Citation No. R26479.

¹⁰⁸ Anon., *The proclamation promoted, or An hue-and-cry and inquisition after treason and blood*, (1 November 1678), ESTC Citation No. R19977.

accused five Catholic Lords—Arundell, Stafford, Powis, Petre, and Belasyse—as being complicit. It was a bold move considering these lords could exercise their aristocratic privileges against Oates.

Soon, more “witnesses” emerged to take advantage of Parliament’s offered rewards. William Bedloe, a notorious fraudster, was among them. Other witnesses include Miles Prance (craftsman and former servant of Catherine of Braganza) and Stephen Dugdale (a troublemaker and former steward). Parliament’s ensuing investigation, now bolstered by witness testimony, put more credence on the plot’s legitimacy in the eyes of the Country faction. As Oates and the witnesses made more denunciations and “uncovered” the veil of conspiracy, Country politicians became emboldened to act.

It just so happened that the Plot became public during a month of heightened anti-Catholicism. This fact was not lost on poets. November 5th was the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. November 17th was a special pope-burning day as it was the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth’s accession after “Bloody” Queen Mary’s death. Rife with anti-Catholic anxiety, poets reflected the hysterical fear felt in the city as Oates’s allegations began to be believed. One poet exclaimed in *A Cordial for England, or a character of True Britains, together with a narrative and recital of all Popish Plots in England since the days of Queen Elizabeth*, “We love our mony and we love our blood / We value neither for our Countrys good.”¹⁰⁹ Fear of possible Catholic uprising suggested

¹⁰⁹ Anon., *A cordial for England, or a character of true Britains [t]ogether with a narrative and recital of all Popish plots in England since the days of Queen Elizabeth. And a prophesie of Romes downfal, by a Loyal Britain* (1678), ESTC Citation No. R229632.

by Oates and the other informers led to the conviction of a Catholic goldsmith, William Stayley, for treason. He was executed as the first judicial victim of the Popish Plot. His crime was speaking French publicly. Another shocking execution swiftly followed his, which spurred the nation's fear into bloodlust because the victim was Mary of Modena's secretary Edward Coleman. He lost his life on 3 December 1678.

Country poets were aghast. How, they questioned, could the English people even trust in Charles's role of "*Faith's Defender*," if he allowed Catholics to remain in such close physical proximity?¹¹⁰ Not only did Charles endanger himself by admitting Catholic plotters to court, but he also put the country in danger as well. On 23 November, one self-identifying female poet predicted the lengths the Country faction would go to protect Charles's life:

Your Subjects view You with such Loyal Eyes,
They know now how they may their Treasure prize.
Were you oppress'd, 'twould move a generous strife
Who first should lose his own, to save Your Life:
But since kind Heaven these Dangers doth remove,
We'll find out other ways to express our Love.¹¹¹

In efforts to prosecute those allegedly involved in the Plot, the final acts of the Cavalier Parliament saw an already growing polemical divide become much more apparent.

Coleman's November trial allowed the Country party to force through a Second Test Act (30 Car.II. Stat.2. c.1), barring Catholics from sitting in Parliament. Having already been accused by Oates, the five Catholic Lords, Arundell, Stafford, Powis, Petre, and Belasyse, were ousted from the House of Lords and committed to the Tower of

¹¹⁰ Anon., *The Horrid Popish Plot Happily Discover'd* (2 November 1678), ESTC Citation: R39275.

¹¹¹ Anon., *A Poem to His Sacred Majesty on the Plot* (23 November 1678), ESTC Citation: R218925.

London. On the offensive, the Country faction began impeachment proceedings against Thomas Osborne, the Earl of Danby and Lord Treasurer, in December, to be discussed below. Instead of pursuing the plot in Privy Council, as Charles II and the Duke of York desired, Danby instead allowed Parliament to investigate Oates's allegations. By doing so, he inadvertently created the wedge driving parliamentary divisions. Such was the atmosphere of fear that Charles prudently advised his brother to retire to the continent until tensions died down.

II. Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament:

As if seeing the writing on the wall, Charles proactively gave a speech to both Houses on 9 November 1678 warning them against introducing legislation altering the succession. In retrospect, however, this was an ill-considered move by Charles. Since 1674, the Country faction, which was more concerned about the looming Catholic succession than the Court, had presented Charles with several options. Various Country members, including Shaftesbury, pressured him to divorce the Queen, and marry again to produce a legitimate heir. Another option proposed in Parliament was to establish a regency during the lifetime of a popish successor, and pass laws limiting a Catholic monarch's powers over the Church of England. Over the years, Charles strongly rebuffed all these propositions. The inability of the Country group to accept Charles's recalcitrance to change the succession caused the Court faction to consistently marginalize Country members in Parliament. Oates's disclosures then vindicated Country fears, whereas Danby's Court

supporters saw the Plot as a political manipulation to force the King's hand on the issue of succession. The political game was set.

Poets sounded the alarm over Godfrey's murder in print, but began to place political blame in manuscript. When Godfrey's murder seemed to confirm Oates's stories of Jesuit assassins sent to destabilize the Protestant establishment and thrust a Catholic on the throne, poets found it easy to blame Charles for the anti-Catholic hysteria that gripped the nation. The perception that Catholicism was growing in strength also influenced existing anxieties about Charles's promiscuity. In the 1678 poem, "Truth Brought to Light or Murder Will Out," Stephen Colledge, a joiner and opposition activist, alleged that the motive for Godfrey's murder was to prevent him from "daring to inspect the things / of Mother Church, of holy Pope and kings."¹¹² This inspection was especially dangerous to the Popish plotters because it would reveal one of their schemes, which was encouraging Charles to produce "bastards sans number at the nation's charge / for whom we have been taxed oft at large."¹¹³ Considering many of Charles's mistresses were Catholic, this was a two-fold insidious design against England. Not only would the numerous bastards that Charles fathered be a tax burden for their elevation and maintenance in the nobility, but the likelihood that many of them were raised Catholic was a very real concern in a country gripped in fear of popish subversion. The obvious problem, however, was that the threat of a Catholic heir came from the legitimate successor, not from one of the many bastards of Charles. Country members believed that

¹¹² Stephen Colledge, "Truth Brought to Light or Murder Will Out," (1681), POASY vol. II, 15, lines 70-71; Princeton MS Taylor 4, pg. 30.

¹¹³ Ibid., lines 78-79.

Charles was costing the nation by foisting his bastard children upon the nation's purse, and he was also cheapening the sacrifice of Godfrey's martyrdom by allowing his Catholic brother to assume the throne.

These manuscript poems reflected the Country faction's general anxieties about Charles's licentious court. In an earlier libel (1678), another poet warned Charles against being easily manipulated when "Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's Ghost" visited the monarch at night. The shade details to his earthly king that he has:

A Court...with luxury o'ergrown,
And all the vices in it are your own,
Where pimps and panders on their crutches ride
And in lampoons and songs your lusts deride;
Old bawds and slighted whores there tell with shame
The dull romance of your lascivious flame.¹¹⁴

The martyred magistrate beseeched Charles to:

Repent in time, and banish from your sight,
The pimp, the whore, buffoon, church parasite,
Let innocence deck your remaining days,
That after ages may unfold your praise:
So may historians in new method write,
And draw a curtain betwixt your black and white.¹¹⁵

The poet saw the potential wholesale change of Charles's nature as being a difference between night and day, or "black and white." Insinuating resemblance to reality, Charles reacted with careless indifference once his bedchamber page entered "hand in hand with

¹¹⁴ Anon., "Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's Ghost," (1678) British Library, Harley MS 7315, f. 120v, Sloane MS 655, f. 60; Chetham's Library Mun. A4.14, f. 41r-42v; Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library MSS 116, f. 29v-31v; Folger Shakespeare Library m.b.12; Leeds University Library, Brotherton MS Lt 54, p. 210-214, Brotherton MS Lt 87, f. 30v-32r, Brotherton MS Lt q 52, f. 43r; National Library of Scotland Adv. MSS 19.1.12, f. 53r-54r; Nottingham University Library, MS Portland PwV 40 p. 98-101; Princeton University Library, MS Taylor 1, p. 150-3, MS Taylor 4, p. 11-15; Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, p. 201-4; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 109r-110v; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 54, f. 1085-8, MS Osborn b. 371, f. 31v.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

whore / The King, though much concern'd twixt joy and fear / starts from his couch and bids the dam draw near."¹¹⁶ Members of the Country faction worried that Charles's whoring would distract him from the duties and responsibilities of statecraft, and some also suspected that he deferred them to his *whore du jour*.

Libels that included his mistresses pointed to the ability of women to sway Charles's good sense and ability to rule. In "A Satire," likely written by Colledge in 1680, the lampoonist voices his belief that a "French hag's pocky bum... / although it's both blind and dumb /...[now] rules both Church and State."¹¹⁷ The "French hag" in question was one of Charles's favorite mistresses, Louise K rouaille, the Duchess of Portsmouth. Fear about Portsmouth's influence over Charles stemmed not only from her well-known collusion with Danby, but also because of her connections with Louis XIV. Portsmouth used her position as Charles's favorite mistress to facilitate secret diplomacy between Charles and the French ambassador. Increasingly, she was even able to take part in these discussions.

Portsmouth's allegiance to Danby earned him a reputation as being a political manipulator. In "Godfrey's ghost" (1678), the poet argued that Danby's rumored bribery of parliamentary members usurped the monarch's power. The motive was create a closer alliance with France:

Witness that man who had for divers years
Paid the brib'd Commons pensions and arrears;
Though your Exchequer were at his command,

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Stephen Colledge, "A Satire," (January 1680) British Library Harley MS 7317, f. 20v-21r; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MSS Rawl. poet 159, f. 157; Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 1 3/1, p. 57; National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12., f. 7r.

Durst not before his just accusers stand;
His crimes and treasons of so black a hue,
None dared to prove his advocate but you.¹¹⁸

That Charles directed Danby to create the closer, and secret, relationship with France was yet unknown to the author. To any reader, however, these verses made Charles contemptible for backing his beleaguered minister.

Criticisms of Charles's court, therefore, were two-fold. The Country faction believed his court was too costly and provided so many distractions that treachery could go on undiscovered. The criticisms surrounding the costs of maintaining his mistresses and illegitimate children were particularly stinging because Parliament controlled the king's supply. Over the course of the Restoration, Charles ran out of money constantly paying for his court and the wars against the Dutch. Some Country opponents pointed to Danby's mismanagement of funds that allowed the continued maintenance of a standing army in peacetime, which in turn made them suspect Charles's motives for not ordering the disbandment the soldiers. It became a contentious enough issue that it contributed to the impeachment of Danby on charges of treason, a process begun in December 1678. One critic satirically stripped away the protection that Charles could have claimed of being unaware of his minister's actions, by mocking Danby in Charles's voice in a 1679 poem:

Farewell, my dear Danby, my pimp and my cheat,
'Twas for my own ends I made thee so great
But now the plot's out, and the money's all spent,

¹¹⁸ Anon., "Sir Edmundberry Godfrey's Ghost," (1678) Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS. Add. A. 48, f. 49v.

I must leave thee to hang, and myself to repent.
Our masters the Commons now begin to roar,
And swear they will have both thee and my whore.¹¹⁹

The poet accused Charles of having misplaced priorities and loyalties, arguing that he did not care that he cost the nation and overburdened the people with his ministers and bastards. He merely cared about whether he could maintain his sexual habits.

In reality, Charles was more astute than his critics portrayed him. As Parliament clamored for a widening investigation into the Popish Plot and, as a result, Country criticisms got louder, Charles expressed his general dissatisfaction with Danby by withdrawing his support. This meant that Danby no longer had the monarch's protection when a rival for his position, Ralph Montagu, first Duke of Montagu, uncovered Danby's secret support of France during the Franco-Dutch War of 1672-8. In the years leading to the outbreak of the Popish Plot, Danby publicly presented hostility towards France, but it was rumored that during the French hostilities against the Dutch in 1676, he bargained with French ambassadors for England's neutrality, which cost Louis XIV £200,000. Attempting to loosen Louis XIV's purse strings a little more is what caused Danby's ruin. Upping the price for England's amenability to the war, Danby successfully negotiated a £300,000 per annum subsidy for Charles for three years. Louis and his ambassadors felt Danby had become too much of a nuisance and schemed for his downfall. When contrary to Charles's wishes, Danby chose to pursue the Popish Plot via Parliament, he could not protect himself from Montagu's "accidental" release of the 1676 secret letters of

¹¹⁹ Anon., "The King's Farewell to Danby," (1679) POASY vol. 2, 111, lines 1-6; POAS (1703), pg. 47; British Library, Add. MS 23722, f. 46; Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library MS 116, f. 17; Bodleian Library, MS Don. b 8, f. 267; Princeton University Library, MS Taylor 4, f. 9.

negotiation—dated five days *after* Parliament passed an act raising money *for* war against France. These secret negotiations seemingly confirmed Danby as a French agent. In the wake of the Popish Plot, this was political dynamite.

The accusations in manuscript poetry that Danby colluded with the French through Portsmouth and created his Court majority in Parliament with bribery allowed the Country faction to gain enough support to file impeachment charges. They accused Danby of having “traitorously concealed, after he had notice, the late horrid and bloody Plot and conspiracy contrived by the papists against his Majesty’s person and government.”¹²⁰ In an attempt to forestall a conflict between the Lords, who refused to commit Danby, and the Commons, who clamored for his blood, Charles prorogued, and then dissolved the Cavalier Parliament. Charles also realized that his Cavalier Parliament’s focus was split between rooting out the plot, beginning impeachment proceedings against Danby, and ramping up legislation against Catholics. The Parliament would also be less and less focused on finances and taxation putting Charles’s own finances in jeopardy. The 24 January 1679 dismissal of this long standing Cavalier Parliament, which by this time had found a natural, if uneasy, equilibrium in its domestic and foreign policy, was disastrous for Charles. It would lead to the first Exclusion Parliament.

During the impeachment proceedings against Danby when the First Exclusion Parliament took them up, one particular song demonstrated the role of manuscript verse in communicating political divisions to audiences outside of the court and Parliament. In

¹²⁰ Quoted from Anchitel Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 10 vols. (London, 1769) in Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 131.

a 1679 widely circulated, manuscript ballad titled creatively “A New Ballad,” Danby’s impeachment highlighted the political divide between the Court and the Country factions. Part of what made it so widely circulated was the easiness of the tune, “Peggy Benson,” to which it was set:

Zoons what ails the Parliament
Are they so drunk with Brandy?
When they did think to circumvent
Thomas Earl of Danby?¹²¹

Ostensibly beginning in support of the beleaguered earl, it soon becomes apparent that whatever the motivation for his impeachment (receiving only Fiddler’s fare, for example), many welcomed the end of his reign. The song highlighted that the Country faction believed Danby’s impeachment meant the removal of a duplicitous, possible crypto-Catholic from the monarch’s side. Indeed, the song alleged:

The Commons trust him not a whit,
If you doe you will trapann’d be,
There’s not so false a Jesuite
As Thomas Earl of Danby.¹²²

For someone to trust Danby when the majority of the Commons did not, the author of this stanza argued, ran the risk of being naïve at best and mentally deranged at worse.

¹²¹ This particular beginning is found in Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS PwV 42, p. 41; other versions of this poem can be found: British Library Add. MSS 22640 f. 49, Harley MS 6947 f. 246, Sloane MS 1941, f. 5, Sloane MS 3516, f. 164; Princeton University Library MS Taylor 2, p. 30, MS Taylor 4, p. 38; Lincolnshire Archives MS ANC 15/B/4 p. 1; Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn b. 327, f. 2; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. c. 25, f. 55, MS Eng. Poet d. 152 f. 6, MS Douce 357 f. 112, MS Don. b. 8, p. 565, MS Firth c. 15 p. 39; University of Edinburgh MSS DC 1.3/1 p. 80; Leeds University Library, Brotherton MS Lt q 52 f. 44; Nottingham University Library, Portland MS PwV 640; National Library of Scotland MS 19.1.12 f. 54v.

¹²² Oxford University, All Souls College, Codrington MSS 116, f. 25.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, to be “trapann’d” meant to be beguiled.¹²³ A lesser-known meaning, of course, is the trepanation surgical procedure sometimes used to cure mental disorders. Another version stressed that by impeaching Danby even some members of the Court would delight in the possibility that Charles would reign again:

When the King and Parliament do close
He'l lay his long White Wand by
And the King restor'd again shall reign
Instead of Tom of Danby.¹²⁴

As the song was heard in the streets of London, the positions of the political factions became public.

Some Court supporters then amended the song to demonstrate their belief that Danby duped Charles. A Court version thus sang:

And now God bless his Majesty
And grant he never may stand by
Such arrant Villains as is
Thomas Earl of Danby.¹²⁵

This is a classic response by a monarchist; the fault lies not with the monarch, but with his advisers. In response, some Country supporters used the song to warn Charles that he could not shield himself. By supporting the plutocrat, a Country version criticized that:

King Charles will fynde [sic] unto his cost
What 'tis such knaves to stand by
When crowne & kingdoms boeth are lost
For Thomas Earl of Danby.¹²⁶

¹²³ "trepan | trapan, v.2". OED Online. June 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/205567?rskey=7RkjMi&result=4&isAdvanced=false> (accessed June 11, 2018).

¹²⁴ Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS PwV 42, pg. 44.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pg. 48-49.

In this version of the song, the poet is asking listeners to see beyond the platitudes of the Court faction's excuses. Charles made a deliberate choice to elevate Danby; the responsibility of any consequences that came from that support is ultimately Charles's. Regardless, nearly all versions, whether they are for Danby's deliverance or against, agreed that:

Now whether he will stay or goe
I think 'tis Handy Dandy
For if hee stayes here, hee'l be hang'd I trow
Thomas Earl of Danby.¹²⁷

Manuscript poems and song, then, became a significant factor in the development of a clear partisan system. It goes without saying that political opinion generally falls on a spectrum and is not divided clearly in two, yet in the circumstances of late seventeenth-century Stuart politics, the beginnings of two main political parties emerged from the factions created in the pre-plot period. The impetus of behind this division can be argued to have begun in Charles's bedchamber.

For the previous eighteen years, Charles needed only to manipulate his ministers, who in turn manipulated the factions within Parliament. When the second Parliament of Charles's reign finally sat, the game had changed. The speech Charles gave on 9 November 1678, rather than dispelling factional attempts to legislate on the succession, brought renewed attention to the issue.

¹²⁶ Oxford University, Bodleian Library MSS Don b. 8, pg. 567.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pg 566.

III. First Exclusion Parliament:

If the Popish Plot was true, then Charles's life was threatened; so too was the safety of the nation if he died prematurely. The succession, therefore, became a more pressing issue. Once Charles died, his brother would succeed as king. For the Country faction, this made the plot all the more ominous and they used the resulting atmosphere of anti-Catholic fear to legitimately seek legislative pathways to alter the succession. This legislative attempt to alter the succession by excluding the Duke of York from the line of succession was known as the Exclusion Act.

In the elections for a new Parliament in February 1679, new Commons members were overwhelmingly in favor of the Opposition. According to Tim Harris, Shaftesbury famously suggested that one third of the elected were Court supporters, but there were twice as many opposition supporters. He was doubtful of the positions of the rest.¹²⁸ To stave off a potential crisis, Danby resigned as Lord Treasurer with Charles's pardon. As Paul Seaward states, Charles put "the Treasury into commission, headed by the earl of Essex" and appointed a "new privy council with Shaftesbury, as lord president of the council."¹²⁹ Charles then appointed moderate Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State. Aside from Shaftesbury, Charles appointed advisers who were advocates of moderation. Bringing Shaftesbury in placated the Country opposition.

¹²⁸ Tim Harris, 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley, first earl of Shaftesbury (1621–1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6208, accessed 1 April 2018].

¹²⁹ Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5144, accessed 31 March 2018].

In his opening speech on 6 March 1679, Charles reminded Parliament that he sent his brother into exile, attempted to disband the army that had been raised to fight a defunct war against France, executed several men in connection with the Plot, and was ready to make new laws to protect the country against popery. He also emphasized the need for Parliament to pass monarchical supply and to heal. However, the Country faction's emphasis now was on neither supply nor healing, but on securing the monarchical succession against Catholics and barring success in that, shoring up Habeas Corpus against possible Catholic abuses. The Habeas Corpus Act (3 Cha. 2.2 1679) ensured that prisoners, with the exception of traitors or certain felons, could call for a judicial review of their detention and made it illegal to evade a writ of habeas corpus by moving prisoners from jail to jail.¹³⁰ This act was passed largely to protect against perceived future arbitrary abuses by a Catholic monarch.

Following Charles's speech, Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham and the Lord Chancellor, frustrated Charles's desire for a lucrative Parliament by demanding a governmental response to the dangers of Popish incursion. In a flowery speech, Finch interrogated his king:

Would you secure religion at home, and strengthen it from abroad, by uniting them in the interests of all the Protestants in Europe?

This is the time.

Would you let the Christian world see the King in a condition able to protect those who shall adhere to him or depend upon him?

This is the time.

¹³⁰ *An Act for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, and for Prevention of Imprisonment beyond the Seas 1679*, 31 Cha. 2. 2.

Would you extinguish all our fears and jealousies? Would you lay aside all private animosities, and give them up to the quiet and repose of the public?

This is the time.

Would you lay the foundations of a lasting peace, and secure the Church and state against all the future machinations of our enemies?

This is the time.¹³¹

Immediately Finch's speech was parodied and spread far and wide in manuscript. In all existing iterations, the lampoon begins:

Would you send Kate to Portugal,
Great James to be a cardinal,
And make Prince Rupert admiral?
This is the time.¹³²

Disseminating news of parliamentary proceedings in manuscript was not new; however, this parodied speech became widely known, far beyond mere political networks.

Opposition members and backbenchers immediately embraced the *Mock Song* and gleefully sung it in coffeehouses, public houses, and in the streets. The song was famously publicized, and rebutted, in Thomas Garraway's coffeehouse in Exchange Alley.¹³³ The success of this song was due in part to its catchy nature, its easily remembered lyrics, and its obvious delight in the perceived truth of its message.

¹³¹ Charles II, *His Majesties most gracious speech, together with the Lord Chancellors, to both Houses of Parliament, on this the 6th of March 1678/9*, (1679), pg. 17, ESTC citation no. R171254.

¹³² BL Add. MS 27407, f. 43, Add. MS 34362, Add. MS 61903, f. 30v, MS Harley 6914, f. 16, MS Harley 7315, f. 132, MS Harley f. 7317, MS Harley 7332, f. 253; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Add. A 48, f. 27v, MS Don. b 8, pg. 568, MS Douce 357, f. 143v, MS Firth c. 15, p. 42, MS Rawl. poet 159, f. 73; Oxford, All Souls College, Codrington Library MS 116, f. 26v; Edinburgh DC.1.3 p. 39; Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.276.2, f. 54, m.b.12; Huntington Library MS EL 8830; Leeds Brotherton MS Lt. 87, f. 16v-17v; National Library Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 95v; Ohio State Wentworth MS; Princeton MS Taylor 2, p. 33, MS Taylor 3, p. 262, MS Taylor 5 no. 87; Victoria & Albert Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, p. 204; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 110v; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 371, no. 38, MS Osborn b. 54, p. 1155; MS Osborn Poetry Box VI/10, MS Osborn Poetry Box VI/32. "Kate" was Catherine of Braganza, Charles's wife and Queen. The implication here is that Charles should divorce her and marry a fertile wife.

¹³³ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 110v-112v.

Playing on the style of the “Court lampoons,” the song brought to the forefront all of the behind-the-doors critiques of Charles:

Would you turn Danby out of doors,
Banish Italian and French whores,
Those worser sort of common shores,
This is the time....

Would you extirpate whores and panders
Disband ye rest of our Commanders
Send Mulgrave after Teague to Flanders
This is the time....

Would you one bless our English nation,
By changing of Queen Kates vocation
And find one fitt [sic] for procreation,
This is the time.

Would you lett [sic] Portsmouth try her chance,
Believe Oats, Bedlow, Dugdale, Prance
And send Barrillon home for France.
This is the time.¹³⁴

This court style of lampoon married with an overt political message that was widely disseminated, specifically for a larger, extra-Parliamentary audience. Not only did the song replay a moment in Parliamentary opposition to Charles to those not present, but also it gloried in the acceptance of said opposition. As more and more people became acquainted with the song, and the more it was re-sung, replayed, reheard, the more acceptable it became to challenge Charles on the issues it contained.

¹³⁴ Anon., “Mock Song,” (1679) Oxford University, All Souls College, Codrington MSS 116, f. 26r-27r. Mulgrave was John Sheffield, the third earl of Mulgrave. Teague is a deliberate slurring of the Irish name Tadhg, i.e. Timothy. Typically “Teague” is used to signify all Irish. Titus Oates, Stephen Dugdale, and Miles Prance were the “discoverers” of the Popish Plot. Barrillon was the French Ambassador to Charles’s court who was closely allied with Duchess of Portsmouth.

Charles's supporters, and disbelievers of the Plot, disdained the song and sought to fight it with their own version:

I wou'd be glad to see Kate going,
And great James to our Church returning,
And Prince Rupert Admiralling,
At any time.

But to turne Danby out of dores,
Or Joyn his name to Common shores,
None will say but sons of whores,
At any time.¹³⁵

The crudest sort of argument, to claim that only idiots or "sons of whores" would change the *status quo*, is not normally the style of Court supporters. Even a more nuanced line of reasoning later in the song felt forced:

'Tis God must blesse our English nation
He'l do't when whoreings out of fashion,
And pimps shall leave their old vocation,
I wish for happy procreation,
At this time.¹³⁶

Despite never being printed, the immense success of the original *Mock Song* proved that poetry and songs communicated political messages to London's public, and that partisans could use the public to pressure for change. Within this song was parody, news, and propaganda, and as a result, the new 1679 Parliament which first sat on 6 March, impeached Danby despite his pardon. Charles sent the Duke of York into exile, and Shaftesbury, the main Country leader, was named President of the Council.

¹³⁵ Anon., "Answer to Queries," (1679) Victorian and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, p. 206-208; other versions: British Library MS Harley 6914, f. 17r-18v, MS Harley 6915, f. 113v-135r; Princeton Taylor MS 1, p. 170-172; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 111v-112v. James is the Duke of York and Rupert is Prince Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Cumberland, and cousin to Charles II and James.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

All of these things occurred before the events that gave this Parliament its nickname: the First Exclusion Parliament. No longer able to manipulate parliamentary votes, Charles was forced to watch as Country partisans introduced a bill to the Commons on 15 May 1679 excluding the Duke of York from the line of succession. Although initially there was no candidate proffered to replace York as successor, it was well-known that there were two viable options: Mary and William of Orange, Charles's niece and nephew-in-law; or James, Duke of Monmouth, Charles's first born natural son. Given England's most recent wars with the Dutch, it was natural that many Englishmen's first inclinations were towards the popular Monmouth. Once Exclusion became a viable legislative option—and following Charles's pardon of his impeached first minister—it became necessary for Court politicians to deflect all arguments of Charles's liability in the political turmoil.

Periodically throughout the Exclusion Crisis, manuscript poetry, rather than deny Country accusations that their monarch was sexually licentious, immoral, expensive, and ineffective, embraced the allegations. This was actually a shrewd political and rhetorical move. Court poets consistently reminded any audience that it was exactly those things on which the County faction attacked Charles most often that made the entire issue of exclusion moot. Since Charles's illegitimate children were "sons of whores," there was always doubt whether the King was their true father. In the 1680 libel, "Rochester's Farewell," none other than Monmouth himself brought up the question of his parentage

when he calls himself “Proger’s bastard.”¹³⁷ Edward Progers was one of Charles’s grooms and a rumored possible candidate for Monmouth’s father. The inference, naturally, is that Lucy Walter could have been had by anyone. In another 1680 Court poem, “The Ghost of Tom Ross to his pupil, the Duke of Monmouth,” Tom Ross’s specter declaims Monmouth as the,

Shame of my life, disturber of my tomb
Base as thy mother’s prostituted womb...
The King’s betrayer, and the people’s slave...
You show us all your fathers but the King.¹³⁸

While this seemingly libels Monmouth and his mother, it nonetheless draws reference to Charles’s activities with Lucy Walter. In this manner, Charles’s supporters perform two political strikes against his critics using one rhetorical device. By highlighting Monmouth’s bastardy, they not only acknowledge, and dispel, criticisms of immorality at Court, but they also poke a hole in the argument that there is a *legitimate* alternative successor. These court poets used Charles’s sexual immorality, and choice of partners, to demonstrate that Monmouth could never be deemed legitimate, even if he sought the distinction. To be clear, Charles acknowledged all of his children, and maintained them

¹³⁷ Anon., “Rochester’s Farewell,” (1680) Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 371, no. 28, MS Osborn fb. 106(31), MS Osborn Poetry Box VIII, no. 5.

¹³⁸ Wentworth Dillon, fourth earl of Roscommon, “The Ghost of Tom Ross to his pupil, the Duke of Monmouth,” (1680), Avon, Badminton House, MS FmE 3/12 vol. 2, f. 369-70; British Library Add. MS 21094, f. 2v, Add. MSS 23722, f. 72v, Add. MSS 78233, f. 132, Add. MSS 69968A, f. 98, MS Harley 6913, f. 29r-v; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Don. b 8, pg. 627, MS Douce 357, f. 62v-63r, MS Ashmole 36,37, f. 300, MS Rawl. poet 173, f. 116; Chetham’s Library Mun. A4.14, f. 42v; Oxford University, All Souls College, Codrington MS 116, f. 45v; Folger Shakespeare Library MS m.b.12; Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Eng. 636F, f. 150; Leeds University Library, MS Brotherton Lt 87, f. 44v-45r, MS Brotherton Lt 54, pg. 61-63; Lincolnshire Archives MS ANC 15/B/4, pg. 19; Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV 38, pg. 55-56; Princeton University Library MS Taylor 3, pg. 64-65; Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43 p. 104-5; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 59v-60r; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 371, no. 5, MS Osborn b. 113, pg. 165-166, MS Osborn fb. 106(20), MS Osborn b. 327, f. 14v.

with titles and stations; he did not and could not elevate them above their legal status as bastards to be his inheritors. In 1680 “The King’s Answer” to “A Letter of the Duke of Monmouth to the King,” Charles reacts against the threat that Monmouth sought legitimacy:

Have I done all that a royal dad could do,
And do you threaten now to be untrue?
Oh! That my prick when I thy dam did fuck
Had in some turkey’s ass or cow’s been stuck!...
Alas! I never got one brat alone
My bitches are by ev’ry fop well known,
And I still willing all their whelps to own.¹³⁹

Given Monmouth’s circumstances of bastardy, the Court faction argued here that the Country faction could not argue that Charles was a bad father. He acknowledged Monmouth, gave him titles, position, and a comfortable living. This is a strikingly significant point in an era that regarded the monarch as father to his kingdom. Even if the country forsakes Charles or demands more of him than he can give, Charles will not abandon the country. By acknowledging that the merry monarch fathered bastards, this court poet diffused the potency of any libel that attempted to use this accusation against Charles.

What Court poets did not realize, however, was that their arguments were actually fueling the partisan outcry for an alternative heir, not dissuading them. As the libels

¹³⁹ Anon., “The King’s Answer,” (1680), Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. poet 173, f. 115v, MS Don. b. 8, pg. 628-629; All Souls College, Codrington MS 116, f. 46v-47r; Edinburgh University Library MS DC.1.3, pg. 84; Folger Shakespeare Library MS m.b.12; Leeds University Library MS Brotherton Lt 54, pg. 54-56; Lincolnshire Archives MS ANC 15/B/4, pg. 23; National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 97r-v; Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV 39, pg. 120-123; Princeton University Library MS Taylor 3, pg. 36-38; Victorian and Albert Museum Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, pg. 184-185; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090, f. 100r-101r; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 327, f. 15v-16r, MS Osborn b. 371, no. 12.

began filtering outside of the realm of the court and into the city, reaching popular audiences, some more prosaic Court poets repeatedly began to highlight the simple fact that Monmouth could not follow his father because he was a bastard. Furthermore, they argued, to suggest altering the line of hereditary succession by choice, rather than by necessity, would create a political situation that would devolve into revolution.

Court poets also responded to Country complaints over Charles's ineptitude by admitting to his corrupting influence. In 1679, "A New Ballad," one poet affected Charles's adoption of his debauched image, merrily singing:

I am a senseless thing, with a hey with a hey
Men call me a king, with a ho,
To my luxury and ease,
They brought me o'er the seas,
With a hey tronny nonny nonny no.

With a Court and a stage, with a hey with a hey
I corrupted the age, with a ho;
The nation once were men,
But now are slaves again,
With a hey tronny nonny nonny no.¹⁴⁰

The unsubtle argument here was that the English invited Charles to govern them. The English had to accept his unsavory behavior if they wanted the stability that a legitimate monarchical government ensured. Charles's light-hearted libertinism was infinitely better than the puritanical commonwealth that was the result of regicide, and which ushered in

¹⁴⁰ Anon., "A New Ballad," (1679), British Library MS Harley 6914, f. 6v, MS Harley 7319, Add. MS 23722, MS Sloane 655, f. 47v, MS Sloane 655, f. 48r, MS Harley 7315, f. 87v; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Don. b 8, pg. 567, MS Douce 357, f. 56r; All Souls College, Codrington MS 116, f. 17r; Leeds University Library MS Brotherton Lt 55, f. 35v-36r, MS Brotherton Lt 87, f. 15v-16r; National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 65v; Nottingham University Library MS Portland PwV 40, pg. 101; Princeton University Library, MS Taylor 1, pg. 113; Victoria and Albert Museum Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, pg. 50; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 14090, f. 31r; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn fb 140, f. 82.

religious pluralism thirty years before.¹⁴¹ Amongst the last stanzas of this ballad, Charles further undermined the Country position by explicitly drawing comparisons between himself and his father:

And though my father like a fool, with a hey, with a hey
Lost his life to save his soul, with a ho;
I'll not quit my present love,
For a martyr's place above,
With a hey tronny nonny nonny no.¹⁴²

Court poets charged that the quest for respectable morality was exactly the sort of Protestant fervor that led England to civil war in the mid-century. By attacking Charles's promiscuity and partners (as the Court poets implied), Country poets were implicitly embracing a course that could potentially resurrect the polarizing tensions of the pre-civil war period. Charles's own immorality would prevent this path of destruction. Naturally, the irony of this argument would be lost on partisans bent on demonstrating the wickedness of the king. Indeed, it would seem to confirm it.

Recognizing the political implications of altering the succession via legislative manipulation, Charles dissolved this Parliament a mere four months after calling it into session. As J.P. Kenyon pointed out in *The Popish Plot*, while:

The Exclusion Crisis technically began with the introduction of the Exclusion Bill into the House of Commons on May 15th, 1679,... what really got it under way was the dissolution of Parliament on July 10th. This was an act of provocation on the King's part, and a blatantly aggressive use of the prerogative.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 183.

Had Charles allowed the legislative process to commence, he might not have had anything to react against. The first Exclusion Bill eventually failed its second reading in the Commons with a 207 to 128 vote. On 27 May, he began proceedings to dissolve the Parliament by first proroguing it; it was finally dissolved while in recess on 10 July. Charles's expenditure of political capital a mere twelve days after the Exclusion Bill was introduced galled those opposition politicians and made them clamor for exclusion even more. In print, they began to become increasingly, and scurrilously, known as *whiggamors*, or Whigs, meaning a Presbyterian covenanter or cattle thief. This term harkens back to the 1648 Whiggamore Raid on Edinburgh. The Whiggamores were a radical Presbyterian faction during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. For members of the Country factions to warrant this derisive nickname spoke to how their Court opponents saw their religio-political stances, as radical outsiders attempting to eliminate hierarchy in both Church and State. For expediency's sake, from henceforward, this dissertation will identify those supporting Exclusion as Whigs. This initially derogatory name eventually evolved into being a self-identifier as pro-Exclusionists began to see it not as an insult but as a badge of honor.

What Charles overlooked in his quest to quell this first Exclusion Parliament was the fact that in the arguments over impeaching Danby, producing the Habeas Corpus bill, and haggling over granting the king's supply, what this Parliament did not do was renew the Licensing Act. Pre-publication censorship relaxed. Partisan poets now had the ability to print all these scurrilous, scandalous, and sexualized arguments against Charles and his court. Once these poems and songs reached the national scale, as Love described, the

rhetorical content of printed verses typically, but not always, reflected more complex ideological positions than “pocky bums.”

IV. Exclusionist Elevation of the Duke of Monmouth:

In print, it is clear that Charles’s dissolution of the First Exclusion Parliament launched Monmouth into the focus of Whig exclusionist ambitions. Previously, Shaftesbury and other Country partisans had pressured Charles towards an alternative successor using more conventional means; after this dissolution, he and other Exclusionist supporters particularly focused their attention and support on the Duke of Monmouth, Charles’s eldest illegitimate son. In *Restoration*, Tim Harris posits:

Whig attitudes towards Monmouth were, in fact, ambivalent. For most, he was not the ideal alternative to York: he lacked political experience, was not particularly intelligent, and was too eager to retain the favour and affections of his father... With the growing estrangement between Monmouth and his father from late 1679 onward, the Duke became increasingly identified with the opposition interest.¹⁴⁴

One can agree with Harris’s assessment here as many Court poets point out these very same limitations that made Monmouth an unfavorable candidate. Nevertheless, in Whig poems, waiting for the Prince of Orange and Princess Mary was very rarely touted as an alternative.

Most poems apotheosized Monmouth. They raised him from the king’s bastard son to the Savior of England, especially after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge on 22 June 1679 in which Monmouth led a successful campaign against rebelling Scottish

¹⁴⁴ Harris, *Restoration*, 161-162.

Presbyterian Covenanters. In a *New Scotch Ballad: call'd Bothwel-Bridge: or Hamilton's Hero*, all could hear how Monmouth was “now as *England's* Champions raings / ‘Tis he alone is born to rule.”¹⁴⁵ Once the order of the succession was challenged, the wording of many poems changed to reflect a more nuanced stance. Whigs emphasized that Monmouth too had royal blood:

Young Jamey was a lad
Of Royal Birth and breeding,
With every beauty clad,
And every swain exceeding.¹⁴⁶

Any accolades Monmouth could have, he should have, according to one poet in 1679, “May Heav’n and Earth both thy possessions be / and may thy Bliss last to Eternity.”¹⁴⁷ His victories on the continent and in Scotland at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge made him the English “*Pallaeon* Conqueror” and the “*Great Trojan Hector*.”¹⁴⁸ Whigs “were of *Joy bereft*” when Monmouth left England and rejoiced at his return.¹⁴⁹ England’s fate, according to Whig poets, rested with Monmouth: “Our safety can’t be lost but with His blood / He’s the Epitomy [sic] of all our good.”¹⁵⁰ Whigs used the Court’s opposition to

¹⁴⁵ Anon., *A New Scotch Ballad: call'd Bothwell-Bridge: or Hamilton's Hero* (1679), ESTC Citation: R35070.

¹⁴⁶ Anon., *A Most Excellent New Ballad* (1681) ESTC Citation: R227126.

¹⁴⁷ Anon., *Upon the Departure of His Grace, James, Duke of Monmouth* (1679) ESTC Citation: R5144.

¹⁴⁸ J.F., *Englands Lamentation for the Duke of Monmouth's Departure* (1679) ESTC Citation: R32950; Anon., *The Battell of Bodwell-Bridge* (1679) ESTC Citation: R32950.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.; J.F., *England's Over-Joy at the Duke of Monmouth's Return* (1679) ESTC Citation: R221048.; Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival of His Grace James Duke of Monmouth* (27 September 1679), ESTC Citation No. R221063.

¹⁵⁰ Anon., *News from Windsor being the Duke of Monmouth's Welcome: or a Congratulatory on His Return from Scotland* (1679), ESTC Citation No. R32324.

Monmouth as successor to elevate him further and drive home the goal of Exclusion in popular mindset:

Your *envy* makes him *Shine*,
Bucleugh and *Monmouth* we adore
And scorn the *Popish* line.
In *King* and *Monmouth* we delight,
And for their *lives* we pray,
It's *they* must do the *Free-born* right,
It's *they* and only *they*.¹⁵¹

“Bucleugh” referred to Monmouth’s wife, Anne Scott, 4th Countess of Buccleuch and Duchess of Monmouth. She held her Scottish titles in her own right and was vastly popular for her wit and beauty. Unlike Catherine of Braganza, Anne already had six children by 1679, with five still living, making her a perfect potential Queen. Not only did Monmouth’s progeny create a future stable succession, but he also possessed “*Virtue’s secret charms, a Nation’s Love...and by his Virtue did obtain a Crown.*”¹⁵² Only the Devil and his minions, Catholics and court supporters, could prevent Monmouth’s succession because “Heav’n rais’d thy *Grace* a Prop to *England’s* Throne / and all love *Thee* that would preserve their Own.”¹⁵³ Even so, in 1679 one Whig poet expressed such a deep devotion and confidence that in Monmouth that his:

Sword, if not his Name can Quel [sic],
And drive those Monsters, lately loos’d from Hell:
(And like *Pandora’s* Box, of Evils Hurl’d;)

¹⁵¹ Anon., *Monmouth and Buccleugh’s Welcome from the North: or the Loyal Protestants Joy for his Happy Return* (1678), ESTC Citation No. R180646.

¹⁵² Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival of His Grace James Duke of Monmouth* (27 September 1679), ESTC Citation No. R221063.

¹⁵³ Anon., *A Poem of Congratulation on the Happy Return of His Grace James Duke of Monmouth* (1679), ESTC Citation No. R35110.

To Plague the Civil Nations of the World
Down to the dreadful Place from whence they came,
And make them Plunge into their Primal Flame.¹⁵⁴

Only Monmouth's accession could save England from falling victim to the arbitrary Catholic rule that York's succession would bring.

While Whigs tended to be fundamentally pro-Exclusion, they embraced many issues that had plagued the Restoration settlement. They were dissenters, virulent anti-Catholics, and pro-Parliamentarians. As Tim Harris has argued, they treated the crown's intransigency in regards to the succession as a threat to reformed religion and, consequently, to the state.¹⁵⁵ Their antithesis were the Court supporters or, as they commonly became to be known, Tories. A tory was a Catholic Irishman dispossessed of his land, who became an outlaw when he robbed, plundered, and killed the Protestant English settlers who took his property. This epithet goes a long way towards understanding how members of the country faction saw the actions of the court. Initially, those court supporters who pitted themselves against Exclusion called themselves Abhorers as they "abhorred" the Exclusionist legislation. Overtime, like the Whigs, they adopted the derisive label Tory. In addition to their anti-Exclusionist stance, Tories stridently supported the Church of England as an institution and as a faith. Tories were just as anti-Catholic as Whigs were, but their seeming support of a Catholic successor undermined their position in the eyes of their partisan adversaries. Harris believes that the Whigs had an easier sell, as Tories had "the task of persuading people to accept a catholic

¹⁵⁴ Anon., *Englands Happiness Restored, or a Congratulation upon the Return of his Grace James Duke of Monmouth* (1679), ESTC Citation No. R40242.

¹⁵⁵ Harris, *London Crowds*, 109.

successor [and that task] was a formidable one.”¹⁵⁶ While in fact, Tories actually had the advantage when they argued for order and peaceful succession, regardless of who the successor was. The mid-century civil wars and revolution had led to regicide, the exile of Charles I’s successors, and the resulting republican chaos led to Cromwellian dictatorship. For those who lived through it, monarchical restoration was not assured. In fact, peaceful succession had not occurred in England since 1625. Governmental and monarchical continuity and stability was an attractive thing. The trouble the Tories had was in communicating this message efficiently in the early days of Exclusion.

V. Whigs and Public Poetry:

Many platforms existed for communicating partisanship to a wider public, and Whigs utilized the poetic media format in an unconventional manner, taking early advantage of the lapse in press restrictions. For example, songs and poems could be heard in the crowds of pope-burning processions, apprentice demonstrations, entertainments, and festivals. *Londons Defiance to Rome, a Perfect Narrative of the Magnificent Procession and Solemn Burning of the Pope at Temple Bar* (1679) helps establish how song and verse were essential components of party events. Whig poet and playwright, Elkanah Settle’s four-page narrative about this Opposition-organized expression of anti-Catholicism on 17 November 1679—Queen Elizabeth’s Coronation Anniversary— included a song that “was sung in parts, between one representing *The English Cardinal*, and others acting the *People*:

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 131.

Cardinal Norfolk:
From York to London Town we come,
To talk of Popish Ire
To reconcile you all to Rome
And prevent Smithfield fire.

Plebs:
Cease! Cease thou Norfolk Cardinal,
See yonder stand Queen Bess,
Who sav'd our Souls from Popish Thrall
O Queen Bess, Queen Bess, Queen Bess.

Your Popish Plot and Smithfield threat
We do not fear at all,
For Loe! Beneath Queen Besses feet,
You fall, you fall, you fall.
Now God preserve Great Charles our King
And eke all Honest men,
And traitors all to Justice bring,
Amen, amen, amen.¹⁵⁷

Cardinal Norfolk, Philip Howard, was an English Roman Catholic cardinal, from the noble Howard family. In 1679, Pope Clement X appointed him “Protector of England and Scotland,” making him an easy target for anti-Catholic sentiment. This song was part of the scripted part of the procession. Sung in a performance once the Pope’s effigy reached Temple Bar and was placed in front of Queen Elizabeth’s statue there, these verses were written before the parade began and represent the Whig position. A cacophony of chants, well-known refrains of other songs, “universal acclamations,” and repeated iterations of the scripted verse as the crowd sang along were likely also heard, which Settle alluded to at the end of his narrative.

¹⁵⁷ Elkanah Settle, *Londons Defiance to Rome, a perfect Narrative of the Magnificent Procession and Solemn burning of the Pope at Temple Bar, November 17, 1679* (1679), ESTC No. R19604.

This was a moment that directly linked political verse and a major political event in a coordinated manner. Whigs deliberately used verse as effective propaganda. This song allowed the crowd to be consolidated in feeling and purpose. It also fused the moment in the minds of the participants and viewers. The message was a simple one: Catholics were traitors, and English cardinals doubly so. The subtext was that the government could not be counted upon to protect Elizabeth's Protestant nation with "traitors" amongst its numbers. Whigs used poetic media throughout the Exclusion crisis. At the carefully orchestrated mayoral installation when Sir Patience Ward was elected in 1680, for example, verse became even more prominent in the partisan race. *London's Glory, or the Lord Mayors Show* provided the stanzas, sheet music, and lyrics of several speeches, panegyrics, exhortations, and litanies performed at the Whig pageant. Sir Patience "took an Oath that he will be / Loyal and faithfull to His MAJESTY [sic] / His Government, His Crown and Dignity," but the capitalized emphasis on "Majesty" was a glaring indication that Sir Patience had no intention of supporting the entire royal family, just the ones who demanded his allegiance.¹⁵⁸ All Catholic members of the royal court neither earned nor deserved such fealty. Audience members understood that Sir Patience would tighten the ties of London civic leadership with those parliamentary members who pursued Exclusion.

What is most significant about the verses in the Lord Mayor's Show, however, is the clear marriage of a certain type of anti-Catholicism and political planning. In *The Protestants Exhortation* (1680), two stanzas made this connection apparent:

¹⁵⁸ Thomas Jordan, *London's Glory, or the Lord Mayor's Show* (29 October 1680), ESTC Citation: R12856.

Let us with hearts and hands
Joyn all our forces
Against Romish Bands,
Their foot and horses;
For if they get the best
And over power us,
We shall ne're live at rest,
They will devour us;
We must in sad restraints,
Be plung'd in woes and wants,
Then let true Protestants,
Love one another.

Our unanimity
I'th' late Election,
Shew'd that we well agree
In our affection,
Where all Men did consent,
Without resistance:
Twas a good argument,
Of God's assistance.
When Men so well agree,
And so concord must be,
Tis a plain sign that we
*Love one another.*¹⁵⁹

Even as propaganda, Whigs appealed to the ideal that only when *all* Protestants were united would Catholicism be defeated, both in the hearts of men, and in elections. By excluding Protestant dissenters, the very nature of pro-Anglican Toryism ensured that a significant portion of the populace be excluded from this type of unity. Since this was the case, it appeared incumbent on dissenting non-conformists and Whigs to ensure the defeat of Catholicism in England, by preventing a Catholic succession.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

VI. Conclusion:

Charles's position regarding the alteration of the succession allowed Whigs to take the initial propaganda initiative. From March 1679 to 1681, Charles dissolved three Parliaments to stymie Whig efforts at Exclusion, increasingly allying himself with pro-Anglican Tories to thwart any alteration of the succession. As Charles prorogued and dissolved not one but three Parliaments whose main objective was to pass laws regarding a Catholic's ability to become monarch, many politicians realized that parliamentary methods were not enough to effect change. It also became apparent that partisanship and legislative efforts were relying increasingly on extra-Parliamentary support; verses and songs became a significant element of indoctrination.

Both factions partook in efforts to encourage particular behaviors in readers and listeners. Not all attempts to sway conduct were overtly political. Poetic calls for people to mourn, listen, seek vengeance, pray, rejoice, sing for the cause, take oaths, toast, be loyal, be silent, avoid faction and civil war, avoid Association, feel shame, and to remember were all featured in the bombardment of messages the populace heard. Some poems, however, were clearly written to influence political activities, such as vote casting, as demonstrated in *A Seasonable Memento for all that have Voyces in the Choyce of Parliament*. Written just before the Third Exclusion Parliament election on 21 March 1681, the Whig poet persuades his audience:

Would you be free from all the Yoaks of Rome?
And sit in Peace and quiet at your Home?...
Would you be Free-born Subjects as you are,
To whom you give your Votes, then have a care.
Beware of all Abhorrors, such as they,
Would quickly give three Kingdoms quite away....

Choose Solid sober Men, of good esteem,
That may our King from Ruine soon Redeem.
Choose such as hates the Pope, as much as Devil,
Choose such, and they will free you from all Evil;
Choose upright honest men, who will stand by you,
When Rome and French begin to creep too nigh you.¹⁶⁰

Whigs excelled at creating an atmosphere of action, and they were the first to utilize the lapse of press censorship in their efforts to communicate their platform. They were successful too, as they returned enough votes for Exclusion three times—in March 1679, October 1680, and March 1681—though Charles always obstructed their campaign.

Tories were aghast at how well Whig poets cultivated popular support for their political agenda through print. The explosion of these poems in print caused consternation for court supporters. Many remembered how an unregulated press inflamed the tumult and chaos during the mid-century civil war. Consequently, a political maelstrom unleashed when Tories realized that wide audiences had access to the comments of lesser poets when they printed their verses on the affairs of state.

¹⁶⁰ Anon., *A Seasonable Memento for all that have Voyces in the Choyce of a Parliament* (1681), ESTC Citation: R37238.

Chapter 2
“Revives old rotten rimes:”
Poetry and Propaganda, Late 1679-1681

Political poems, songs, and verse were instrumental in the coalescence of the Country and Court factions into proto-parties. Now known as Whigs and Tories, “the beginnings of [these] party conflict[s]...were in many respects superimposed upon...older religious tensions” that were leftover from the Protectorate, Tim Harris argues.¹⁶¹ England, and London in particular, was already rife with religious and political division. As Harris reminds us, religious persecution began to “divide communities between those who were sympathetic to the dissenters and those who were prepared to act against them.”¹⁶² This created a rich breeding ground for cultivating political partisanship for other issues. Prevalent throughout the Restoration were the critiques of the court regarding its moral degeneracy, but these existed primarily in manuscript while the Licensing Act was in effect, as the previous chapter demonstrated. With the lapse of the Licensing Act, these disapprovals became highly—and widely—politicized. The full power of printed poetic rhetoric will be seen in this chapter. Although there was a “dramatic rise in the output of inflammatory political literature, designed to arouse the political awareness of the London populace” in the mid 1670s, it was during the Second and Third Exclusion Parliaments that this literature took on the purpose of agitating the London populace to political action.¹⁶³ Tories initially bemoaned the democratic nature of these Whig poems,

¹⁶¹ Tim Harris, *London Crowds*, 63.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 92.

both in authorship and rhetoric, but during 1680-1681 they began to fully embrace the possibilities of having public support, as the Whigs did.

The unrelenting nature of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis expanded the disputes that both parties had not only with each other, but also with the nature of the political system as it currently stood. Increasingly, Whigs saw the value and necessity in legislating the succession through Parliamentary action. Tories viewed the Whigs as progressively republican in nature, and thus began to cultivate the latent monarchism they believed to be inherent in a people who lived in the memory of the civil war.

I. Tories Embracing Print:

The use of verse and poetry to promote a factional agenda was not *sui generis* to Stuart political culture, but the seeming ubiquity of amateur poets who did so excited much commentary. In 1680, one Tory poet furiously burst out:

Car-men turn Poets now, why may not I?
Then Horse, can Cart, and Whip, stand you three by: . . .
They swarm in ev'ry Street, in ev'ry Shop,
They are the Froth of ev'ry idle Fop.
He that has nought to do, takes Pen and Ink,
Calls for some Paper, and a Pot of Drink,
And then the Maggot works, and Noddle rings,
And they'l not spare the Best of *British Kings*.¹⁶⁴

According to Tory accusers, the “Scribbling *Rebels* of the Age” were “*Jesuits* in Masquerade.”¹⁶⁵ The amateur poets sought to subvert support of Charles “by Propping up

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *The Car-Man's Poem: or Advice to a Nest of Scriblers* (1680), ESTC Citation: 220142.

¹⁶⁵ Anon., *Scandal Proof, or an Heroick Poem on the Renowned Champions of the Good Old Cause* (23 July 1681), ESTC Citation: R12786.

the Sinking Damn'd *Old Cause* / which not prevented, ruins the King and Laws."¹⁶⁶ The "Old Cause" refers to the efforts of civil war republicans to abolish the monarchy. Despite anonymity being common, Tories accused Whig poet poets of writing anonymously for two reasons: "no name, because you can't write well?" and because their verses were targeted at the "apothecaries, barbers, shoo-makers, cobblers, taylors, upholsterers, vintners, haberdashers, brick-layers, coach-men, water-men, weavers, goldsmiths, and braziers" of the city.¹⁶⁷ These "'Prentice Poets" sang "Ballad-obscenity / the very zenith of [their] poetry."¹⁶⁸ One can read the obvious delight in one Tory libeler publicizing the cuckholding of famed Whig printer, Benjamin Harris: "Oh ye Tories look big, and rejoyce at this News / for Benjamin's Wife is made free of the Stews."¹⁶⁹ With Harris out of commission, perhaps the amateur verse would lessen.

Lessen it did not. With the formal lapse of the Licensing Act on 10 July 1679, Whig poets—high and low—took over the poetic landscape.¹⁷⁰ Tories saw only rancor, amateurism, and sedition:

Is this the rhet'rick of this canker'd age
 The fluent phrases of this florid stage?...
 This is the method of the modish times,
 Renews old songs, revives old rotten rimes....
 The devil has left his puritanical dress,

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Anon., *True Loyalty in its Collours: or a Survey of the Laudable Address of the Young men and Apprentices of the city of London to his Majesty* (1681), ESTC Citation: R5983.

¹⁶⁸ Anon., *The Boys Whipt Home: or a Rhythme upon the Apprentices Poem* (13 August 1681) ESTC Citation: R64.

¹⁶⁹ Anon., *The Protestant Cuckold: a new Ballad* (5 April 1681), ESTC Citation: R8245.

¹⁷⁰ Although the Licensing Act lapsed in 13 March 1679, the dissolution of the First Exclusion Parliament certainly put a formal end to its possible renewal.

And now like an hawker attends on the Press
That he might through the Town sedition disperse
In pamphlets and ballads, in prose and in verse.¹⁷¹

Regardless of whether or not Whig poetry reflected reality, their verses helped create public misgiving about the court's acceptance of responsibility for the health of the nation.

Initially, many Tory lampoonists treated these opposition verses with condescension or mirth. Once the national ubiquity of Whig print became apparent, however, they began to take them much more seriously. In *The Deliquium*, printed in 1681, one Tory poet expressed his frustration about the:

Hot-brain'd company, who make it their Vocation,
Wavering their own, to mind th' Affairs of the Nation;
Whose Noddles for these many Months have been,
Haters of Grievances unfelt, unseen;
Ill-manner'd fools, whose ignorance is hate
They understand not, therefore blame the state.¹⁷²

Print allowed these ideas to become much more widespread beyond London. Many of the political poems of this period were reprinted in Edinburgh and Dublin, and as far away as Boston in New England.¹⁷³ For a few pennies, *anyone* could have access to the turmoil

¹⁷¹ Anon., *The Character of Wit's Squint-Ey'd Maid, Pasquil Makers* (1681), ESTC Citation: R25749; Anon., *A New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times* (26 May 1679), ESTC Citation: R220339.

¹⁷² Anon., *The Deliquium: or, The grievances of the nation discovered in a dream* (1681), ESTC Citation: R20140.

¹⁷³ Some examples include: Anon., *The Ballad of the Cloak: or, The Cloak Knavery* (1679), ESTC Citation: R220165; Anon., *The present state of England: a pleasant new true ballad, to the tune of, The taylor and his lass: or, It was in the Prime, (of coucumber time)* (15 April 1681), ESTC Citation: R8399; Anon., *A panegyrick on Their Royal Highnesses, an congratulating his return from Scotland* (1682), ESTC Citation: R216887; Anon., *Poem upon the death of his late Highness Oliver, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland OR An elegy on the usurper O. C. by the author of Absalom and Achitophel* (1682), ESTC Citation: R13600; Anon., *Sion in Distress, or the Groans of the Protestant Church* (1683), ESTC Citation:

rocking the political foundations of the country. The mixture of court rhetoric with state purpose made the Whig poems all the more believable once they began to reach wider audiences. Realizing the danger this posed, Tory poets fought back in the same medium.

Soon the very issue of truth began to be touted by both partisan groups as exclusive to their particular interpretation of the political state of affairs. In *The Present State of England, a Pleasant New **True** Ballad* [emphasis added], the poet argues that the way the “*Damned Popish Plot*” has been treated by partisans “mads the poor *Rabble*, / and puts out of wits half the Nation.”¹⁷⁴ Rebukes by Tory poets seemingly only encouraged more Whig poets to comment on the affairs of state. One poet lamented that partisan lampoonists will not “dare to deny, but *one* single lye, / of the *Many* they swear on their credit.”¹⁷⁵ Hence, it became necessary to become involved in the verse wars and encourage “*True* Hearts [to] sing, Long live **Charles** our *King*/ the *Church* and the *State* to cherish.”¹⁷⁶ Verses battled not only for political change, but also for the credence of the population, as each and every poem claimed, “To speak bold truths poets and painters dare / Believe them, mighty Sir, believe, beware.”¹⁷⁷

Part of this battle for the faith of the nation involved denigration of opposing party members. Tories used many techniques and tropes to ‘correct’ the national mood; after all, they felt that, as Court poets, they had art on their side, and knew the rhetorical

R32997; Anon., *The Plain case stated of Old--but especially of New-England, in an address to His Highness the Prince of Orange* (1689), ESTC Citation: W35552.

¹⁷⁴ Anon., *The present state of England* (1681), ESTC Citation: R8399.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ British Library, Burney MS 390, f. 39.

techniques better than the Whig poets. Tories thus began to employ rhetoric to undermine the veracity of the “King’s Witnesses:” Titus Oates, William Bedloe, Miles Prance and Stephen Dugdale. These men were:

Of lowly social status in and in some case dubious backgrounds: Prance was a tradesman (a silversmith); Oates a disgraced priest and a [alleged] homosexual; and Bedloe was a thoroughly disreputable con man and thief who tried to turn his shady past to his advantage.¹⁷⁸

Court supporters foresaw how belief in these in what they perceived as lowly fraudsters might affect popular outlook on the Court. If the populace could believe that Charles’s court was full of ill-meaning Catholics, then there might be a push to purge court membership. Since Parliament had already purged the government of Catholics, it was not a long stretch to imagine Whigs attempting to purge Whitehall Palace. Any such attempt would thwart the prerogative of the monarch, as Tories viewed it. To forestall popular anti-Catholic panic directed at the court, Tories provided reminders of the disastrous Commonwealth period when the king had been stripped of his royal rights.

For Tories, it became imperative to undermine the forward momentum of the Popish Plot and especially those men who kept adding fuel to the fire. One court supporter, satirist Samuel Butler, retorted against what he saw as the “King’s Witnesses” breaking the hard-won post-Restoration ‘consensus’ in *The Geneva Ballad*, 1678:

I would as soon turn back to Mass
Or change my phrase to Thee and Thou
Let the Pope ride me like an Ass
And his priests milk me like a Cow:
As buckle to Smectymnuan Laws

¹⁷⁸ Hinds, *The Horrid Popish Plot*, 47.

The bad effects o'th' Good Old Cause
That have Dove's plumes, but Vultur's claws.¹⁷⁹

Other Tories attacked them in satire using *ad hominem* ridicule and also by questioning their accounts entirely. Tories relentlessly mocked Oates for claiming to have a Doctorate of Divinity from Salamanca; it apparently allowed him to make “false most damnable Oathes / and lying no Sin.”¹⁸⁰ Even when Bedloe died on 20 August 1680, Tories seized upon the opportunity to remind the public, “false Oaths on Oaths he laid, the Bulk did rise / into a *Teneriff* [sic] of PERJURIES.”¹⁸¹ According to the Oxford English Dictionary, “teneriff” likely refers to Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands. Both a white wine and a kind of lace are produced on the island, but the earliest reference to the wine as “Teneriffe” is 1791, and the earliest reference to the lace is 1907. Given the context, it seems more likely that “teneriff” in this instance refers to a lace, which could be a kind of web, i.e. “a web of lies.” On the other hand, Whigs continued to tout the authenticity of Oates and Bedloe. In Bedloe’s elegy, one Whig author claimed that Oates “lost a Friend that much did value you / Because like him, all you’ve said is true.”¹⁸² The Tory attacks against the Witnesses worked, however, and as a result, the prosecutions of the Plot slowed as skepticism began to set in.

¹⁷⁹ Samuel Butler, *The Geneva Ballad* (1678), ESTC Citation No. R4515. Smectymnuus is the acronym of five Puritan authors, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, who wrote during the English Civil War. They were instrumental in providing anti-episcopal leadership.

¹⁸⁰ Anon., *A Song upon Titus* (1680), ESTC Citation: R33650.

¹⁸¹ Anon., *The Epitaph of the most Renowned and Illustrious Capt. William Bedloe* (13 September 1680), ESTC Citation: R42486.

¹⁸² Anon., *An elegy upon the unfortunate death of Captain William Bedloe* (25 August 1680), ESTC Citation: R36126.

Problematically for the Whigs, the Tory challenge to the authenticity of the “King’s Witnesses” put their judicial and legislative agenda at risk. In July 1679, Lord Chief Justice William Scroggs acquitted Sir George Wakeman, the Queen’s physician, of treason owing in part to the inconsistencies of Oates’s and Bedloe’s testimonies. Tories praised Scroggs for seeing reason while ridiculing the:

Imperious *Bedlow*, and his *Oaten* Friend,
Will now begin to buckle or to bend:
Now I do plainly see that they are Fools
They find it dang’rous meddling with Edge-Tools.¹⁸³

The Whigs, however, were furious. In response, one Whig poet, foregoing print composed in manuscript, a “Lampoon on Lord Scroggs[,] Put on His Door,” accusing Charles’s Lord Chief Justice and judicial champion, placed in charge of reexamining the witnesses, of being a “butcherly knave, / Who Protestants do jail, but Papists do save.”¹⁸⁴ In later stanzas, the author denounced the Chief Justice not only for breaking the laws, but also for acting contrary to them. By placing the lines on Lord Scroggs’s door, the anonymous poet challenged public perception of the “official” proceedings of the government. Although it was not printed, this verse, posted in a public space and circulated in manuscript, acted as the mouthpiece for the author. It created a political dialogue and made an accusation that otherwise would not have existed forcing any reader to question court propaganda. The Tory printed riposte, *Innocence Unveil’d: or a Poem on the Acquittal of Lord Chief Justice Scroggs*, rebuts that Scroggs was only as

¹⁸³ Anon., *Innocence Unveil’d, or a Poem on the Acquittal of the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs* (1680), ESTC Citation: R16587.

¹⁸⁴ Stephen Colledge, “A Lampoon on Lord Scroggs Put on His Door,” (November 1679), British Library Add. MS 23722, f. 51; Add. MS 30162, f. 78; Oxford University, All Souls College, Codrington MSS 116, f. 23; Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS Osborne b54, f. 143.

harsh as the opposition made him to be; “*Justice* is sharp when it’s too much abus’d / *Justice* unjustly lately was accus’d.”¹⁸⁵ Doubt about the government’s motives, however, was already cultivated. To many, Lord Scroggs was not interested in discovering the truth of the plot, but rather in burgeoning monarchical power. For Scroggs’ part, the abuse he received from libelers led him to initiate a campaign against the “libelous and licentious press.”¹⁸⁶ With characteristic good timing, Charles used his severe illness in August 1679 as an excuse and seized on Scroggs’ increasing skepticism of the witnesses and anti-libel campaign to prorogue the Parliament that the general election had just returned. This was doubling frustrating for the Whigs, since the Parliament, due to sit in October 1679, had returned a large Exclusionist majority.

Perhaps because of the electoral results, many Tories began to publicize their support of the Duke of York in an effort to shore up his right to succeed despite his Catholicism. He was an “absent sun” during his temporary exile, and a “radiant luster of . . . virtue” when he was at home.¹⁸⁷ York was an “excellent prince,” “Great Britain’s guardian angel,” “Great Britain’s Genius,” and “our Mighty HERO.”¹⁸⁸ “How oft,” one poem exclaimed, “his Royal Person too expose, / Amidst (except your Selves) His

¹⁸⁵ Anon., *Innocence unveil’d* (1680), ESTC Citation: R16587.

¹⁸⁶ Sir William Scroggs, *The Lord Chief Justice Scroggs his speech in the Kings-Bench the first day of this present Michaelmas term 1679. Occasion’d by the many libelous pamphlets which are publish against law, to the scandal of the government, and publick justice* (1679), ESTC Citation: R32132.

¹⁸⁷ Anon., *On his Royal Highnesses Return* (1679), ESTC Citation: R228926; Anon., *To his Royal Highness the Duke* (1679), ESTC Citation: R37156; Anon., *A Farewell to his Royal Highness, James Duke of York on his Voyage to Scotland, October 20, 1680* (1680), ESTC Citation: R13920.

¹⁸⁸ Anon., *A Farewell to his Royal Highness* (1680), ESTC Citation: R13920; Anon., *On the Arrival of his Royal Highness the Duke into England, a congratulatory poem* (1680), ESTC Citation: R6842.

greatest foes?”¹⁸⁹ Courage and boldness was simply part of him in a way that many men could not understand. As one 1680 Tory poet had it, he inspired:

How oft our Mighty HERO did excel
In glorious acts! How oft His Warlike Arm
His enemies did Defeat, and Country charm!
But all his Godlike Acts no Tongue can tell,
For they're so great, they are ineffable.¹⁹⁰

Unlike many in the Whig faction, he was an obedient subject:

When from his Royal Brother came command,
That he forthwith should Quit his Native Land,
And to some Foreign shore himself convey,
Being all obedience, straight withdrew away.
Scarce was it spoke, but He forthwith obey'd;
Nor was there any Murmuring Question made;
But as the Meanest, Poorest Subject, He
His Duty show'd...¹⁹¹

Despite being like the “meanest, poorest subject,” York’s royal blood was always emphasized. York was the oft forgotten “martyr’s son,” the “King’s own Brother.”¹⁹² He was “Dear Brother of our KING,” “Royal Brother James.”¹⁹³ There were never any doubts about his status in the succession, until Exclusion.

¹⁸⁹ Anon., *On the Arrival of his Royal Highness* (1680), ESTC Citation: R6842.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Anon., *To his Royal Highness the Duke, upon his Arrival* (1679), ESTC Citation: R37156; Anon., *A Poem on the Happy Return of his Royal Highness from Scotland* (1680), ESTC Citation: R37100.

¹⁹³ Anon., *On the Arrival of his Royal Highness the Duke into England, a congratulatory poem* (1680), ESTC Citation: R6842.

II. The “Good Ole Cause” Revived?

A break in the Whigs’ unrelenting pressure against the Tories occurred in September 1679. When *ad hominem* attack did not suffice, on both sides, partisans undermined the other party by fabricating plots to stigmatize their opponents with conspiracy and scandal. Whigs easily blamed the Tories for complicity in the Popish Plot. They were, naturally, “riding tantivy [full gallop] to Rome,” by not supporting the rigorous prosecution of the plot.¹⁹⁴ In August that year, Charles fell ill and James came back to England to be at his brother’s side. The next month, Thomas Dangerfield, a general rogue and infamous forger imprisoned in the Tower of London, concocted a plot inspired by rumors of a Presbyterian uprising to prevent James’s succession once he arrived back home. Dangerfield alleged that papers detailing a Presbyterian Plot to overthrow the monarchy and reinstitute a commonwealth were concealed in tub of meal at Mrs. Elizabeth Cellier’s house. His relationship with Cellier seemed to be one of altruism; she was a notable Catholic midwife who, upon discovering him lying outside of Newgate, took him into her home. Something obviously went horribly wrong as he denounced her to the Privy Council.

Despite Dangerfield’s fame as being a fraud, the Privy Council privileged his revelations of this “Meal Tub Plot.” Why? Cellier was the Duchess of York’s midwife and if the alleged papers proved to be true, it would implicate Shaftesbury as the principle leader of the planned insurrection. The Privy Council ordered a search of Madam Cellier’s house and Sir William Waller (to be discussed below) discovered the Meal Tub

¹⁹⁴ Lord, POASY vol. 2, xxiv.

Plot papers. After being arrested for treason, it quickly became apparent that the papers were forgeries, but she was not acquitted until 11 June 1680. Dangerfield then, for reasons unknown, “confessed that the whole plot had been a sham to incriminate the leading Whigs in an abortive *coup d’état*, and at the same time [to] conceal the real designs of the papists, who were still hell-bent on murdering the King.”¹⁹⁵ In essence, he was to divert attention from the real Catholic conspiracy to a false one that discredited Shaftesbury and other prominent Whigs.

To the Whigs, the entire affair appeared to be a Catholic and Tory attempt to derail support for Exclusion right before the election for the next Parliament, which was supposed to sit on 17 October 1679, but was prorogued by commission to 26 January 1680. It did not sit until over a year had passed from the August 1679 election, finally sitting in October 1680. Whigs were frustrated by the long wait, which was coupled with such a blatant attempt to discredit them. When realizing the papers were forgeries, Whig poets went to work immediately, vigorously denying the Meal Tub Plot and reminding the public that Catholics had a long history of previous plots in England. Theirs now became a campaign for managing reputation. At the next Pope Day, 17 November 1679, *A Poem on the Burning of the Pope* celebrated the pontiff’s failure to rebuild a stronghold in England:

The Great *ELIZABETH*
Who the great *Romish Babylon* with her Breath
Threw to the Ground: *Romes* Daubers ne’r were able
Since her *Blest Reign* yet to Re-build their *Babel*.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 190.

¹⁹⁶ Anon., *A Poem on the Burning of the Pope* (17 November 1679), ESTC Citation: R37099.

This poet echoed Whig beliefs that new alleged efforts by Catholics to deter focus from the succession were particularly underhanded. In a November 1679 *Tale of the Tubs*, one Whig poet illustrated Jesuits praising the merits of the plot:

If Hell (for Heave'n we matter not) conceal
This bless'd intrigue, by all our gods the Meal
Shall have high honor on our altars that
Made into gods be worship'd smoking hot.¹⁹⁷

In the lower left hand corner of the engraving attached to the poem, the poet warned “Villains beware, a Parliament will Rout yee / they never yet have faild. POPE looke about yee.”¹⁹⁸ The poet made clear to any readers or listeners that the Meal Tub Plot would fail because God, with Sir William Waller under His guidance, was on the Protestants' side.

Waller was the Justice of the Peace for Westminster and a famed ‘priest-taker,’ who had by February 1679 seized more than 1500 popish books and burned cartloads of popish goods. Whig poets, such as the author of *Tale of the Tubs*, lauded his zealous involvement in uncovering the hidden Catholic conspiracy underlying the Meal Tub Plot. One poet praised him in 1679 by declaring that he was:

Zealous to support our Nation
And *Rome* has found you a severe vexation
Ten thousand times their old unerring Pope,
Has wish'd you *Godfrey's Cravat*, or a Rope.¹⁹⁹

Waller achieved almost legendary proportions in Whig poetry. To the poet he was:

¹⁹⁷ Anon., *A Tale of the Tub* (11 November 1679), POASY vol. 2, 299-304.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Anon., *Sir William Waller's Kindness to the Cities of London and Westminster Particularly Express* (1679), ESTC Citation: R220499.

A man whose sharp prodig'ous piercing Eye,
Can plainly see their utmost Treachery.
And knows full well with such great Knaves to deal,
Witness the Papers found in Tubs of Meal.
That *Roman* scarlet *Whore*, he now will maul her,
This we expect from good *Sir William Waller*.²⁰⁰

Some Whigs felt that Sir William's almost fanatical pursuit of Dangerfield and the Meal Tub plotters helped secure the 1680 October parliamentary sitting. Charles could have dissolved the 1679 August election results before allowing the Houses to convene and called for another election. If another election had been called and the Meal Tub Plot had not been exposed as a sham, the Whig exclusionists would not have had similarly favorable results. One Whig poet expressed his delight:

Hail Worthy *Citizens!* For what this Day
You've done so *Well*, not only *Wee* Repay
Deserved *Thanks*, but the *Next Age* shall Learn
By your *firm Steps* their *Duty* to Discern.²⁰¹

The very word "Citizens" was what Tories feared the most and they determinedly reminded the population that by supporting the Whigs they supported the "Good Old Cause."

Those three words evoked images of religious schism and chaos, civil war, and republicanism. In one 1679 piece, a Tory libeler took on the voice of a Whig and declared that:

This *Parli'ment* will give us Caution
As formerly, to mind ev'ry Motion;

²⁰⁰ Anon., *England's Remembrancer, for the Late Discovery of the Horrid Plot: found in a Meal Tub, by Sir William Waller, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for Middlesex* (1679), ESTC Citation: R36571.

²⁰¹ Anon., *The Protestants Congratulation to the City for their Excellent Choice of Members to Serve in Parliament* (7 October 1679), ESTC Citation: R3646.

But if th' *Old Cause* should be over-ruled
They must expect by the *Rout* for to be Schooled.²⁰²

Tories argued that the Whigs wanted to resurrect that black time in English history, and by cultivating crowd support to their cause they threatened social and political order. The only way, Tories claimed, that Whigs could enact change in the succession was by force. Legally they had no recourse except violence. One Tory poet in the 1679 *A Poem upon the Right of Succession to the Crown of England* pronounced:

Must all our ancient Laws then tumble down,
By turning this to an Elective Crown?
No lawful President you can disclose,
Whereby you power have Kings to depose.²⁰³

The poet then completed his poem by elucidating centuries of divinely ordained succession. Precedent of primogeniture succession, he claimed, far outweighed York's conversion; "It's sin, we think, to let a Papist reign, / but Perjury we'll piously maintain."²⁰⁴ In many poems, it was not unusual to see Tory poets accepting that a Catholic would succeed the throne if it meant that the rights of succession were upheld. For as many times as Whigs would have the public to "Remember QUEEN MARY'S reign, and the *Fifth day of NOVEMBER*," Tories reminded them that Catholics had not executed their monarchs. In *A Satyrical Poem on the Most Horrid and Execrable Jesuitish Plot* (1679) by "W.M.," 'Believe-All a Papist' argued with 'Jack a Presbyter:'

The thirtieth of *January*, th' other reply'd
We heard of't at *Rome*, which can't be deny'd

²⁰² Anon., *The Downfal of the Whiggs: or, their Lamentation for Fear of a Loyal Parliament* (1679), ESTC Citation: R41928.

²⁰³ Anon., *A Poem upon the Right of Succession to the Crown of England* (1679), ESTC Citation: R35114.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

Had *Jack* been Loyal then *Charles* had not dy'd
*Which no body can deny.*²⁰⁵

According to Tories, neither Catholics nor Presbyterians could be trusted with government, but as Catholics worked in secret, Presbyterians appealed to the rabble. In *Tom Tell-Troth, or a Dialogue between the Devil and the Pope about Carrying on the Plot*, John Oldham, a Tory poet, revived a 1648 anti-parliamentarian poem and depicted the Pope working with the Devil to “circumvent, / that many-headed Beast call'd *Parliament*” in the new iteration.²⁰⁶ Oldham declared Whigs will “wheedle which our Gown'd Imposters use, / the poor unthinking Rabble to abuse” and force Parliament to an opinion it ought not to even consider, i.e. altering the succession.²⁰⁷ It was partially because of an intense Tory backlash, of which Oldham was a part, that a Whig campaign to get London's citizens to petition Charles to allow Parliament to sit launched in December.

III. Monster Petition and the Dirty Campaign:

On 13 January 1680, thirteen days before Charles's third Parliament was scheduled to sit, a “Monster Petition” was presented to the king. Somewhere between 16,000-18,000 of London's citizens signed it. The promised Parliament, for which elections had been held

²⁰⁵ W.M., *A Satyirical Poem on the Most Horrid and Execrable Jesuitish Plot in 1678 for the Assassination of the King, subversion of the Government, destruction of Protestantism and introduction of Popery* (1679), ESTC Citation: R2667; Anon., *Geneva and Rome: Or, the Zeal of both boiling over* (1679), ESTC Citation: R215757.

²⁰⁶ John Oldham, *Tom Tell-Troth: or a Dialogue between the Devil and the Pope* (1679), ESTC Citation: R25654.

²⁰⁷ John Oldham, *Satyr Against Vertue* (1679), ESTC Citation: R5964.

in August 1679, had not yet been allowed by Charles to sit. London's population and the Court's critics saw the delay as unnecessary. In the wake of "the extravagant and extremely well attended" pope-burning processions in November, the "renewed anti-popish hysteria...whipped up" by the Meal Tub Plot, and the anti-parliamentary hints in Tory poetry, several Court critics hoped to force Charles to allow the members returned in August to sit and pursue Popish and sham Meal Tub plotters.²⁰⁸ In little more than five weeks from when the petitioning campaign was launched to its presentation to Charles, the petition to allow Parliament to "sit, to try the offenders, and to redress all other our most important grievances, no otherways to be redressed" was signed by tens of thousands of men. These large numbers were accomplished despite Charles's proclamation against it and an attempt to burn the initial 800 signatures in fear of governmental backlash.²⁰⁹ As Mark Knights argued, the Monster Petition was "an implicit denial of trust in the king's unaided abilities and inclinations.... [and] Charles took all this as a threat to his rights."²¹⁰ Infuriated, and interpreting the petition as a precursor to renewed civil war, Charles again prorogued the 26 January 1680 Parliament until 15 April, when the City calmed down.

Many Whigs were exasperated at this maneuver. Lamponists disparaged the court for meddling in parliamentary proceedings. On a handwritten slip of paper a "Bill Posted Over the Commons Door," an anonymous poet expressed deep frustration with

²⁰⁸ Mark Knights, "London's 'Monster' Petition," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Mar., 1993) pg. 41.

²⁰⁹ Huntington Library, MS HM 68; Knights, "London's Monster Petition," pg. 46.

²¹⁰ Knights, "London's 'Monster' Petition," pg. 44.

the way that Charles's ministers, and mistresses were perceived to manipulate Parliament. The verses take the form of an advertisement:

Here's to be lett, the Steward hath swore
By Portsmouth's bare-arse, he's shutt up the doore
Inquire at his lodging next door to the Pope,
Att Lauderdale's Head with Cravat at Rope.
And if you'l know further, how next he'l let it
If you'l pay th'other Rent you'll certainly get it
He holds it in Tayle [sic; entail] from his Father who fast
Kept it shutt many years, but pay'd for it at last.²¹¹

The threat was explicit: open Parliament and let business be done freely because the English people have beheaded one monarch already for refusing to allow Parliament to meet. The court knowledge exhibited in this poem made dangerous political circumstances more precarious. Likely due to the increased and incensed rhetoric circulating around London, Charles prorogued the 15 April 1680 Parliament as well. It did not sit until six months later on 21 October 1680. Charles prorogued the members elected a full year earlier no fewer than seven times before finally allowing them to conduct business. Charles prorogued his third Parliament on 17 October 1679, 26 January 1680, 15 April 1680, 17 May 1680, 1 July 1680, 22 July 1680, and 23 August 1680. A full year passed before the members elected in 1679 were allowed to sit. In the meantime, political turmoil continued to roil.

By June 1680, Whigs had to respond to the Meal Tub crisis once again when Elizabeth Cellier publicized her experience by writing a pamphlet entitled *Malice Defeated*, printed in the summer 1680. The pamphlet brought her to the King's Bench again on 11 September 1680 for libel, for making accusations that Catholic prisoners

²¹¹ Anon., *Bill on the Commons Door* (16 January 1679/80), Bodleian Library MS Don. b 8, f. 644.

were tortured for information regarding their activities in the Popish Plot. Her accusations obliged Whigs to once again separate themselves from the “sham-plot.” One Whig cried, “*Celier! Famous Celier! Whose Name at Rome / shall like the Sun shine to all Times to come,*” in an attempt to distance them from the circumstances of the plot.²¹² In heavy sarcasm, one libeler praised Madam Cellier thus:

Your Book, Madam, has convinc'd the Nation
And is one clear, entire demonstration
It shews the Meal-Tub Plot's an errand cheat!
For Tub is made of wood, and meal of Wheat.²¹³

For her vilifying pamphlet, the King's Bench sentenced her to punishment in the pillory, which she served on 10 December 1680 and another two times. She was “salute[d] with rotten eggs; / with stick and stones they beat off her legs.”²¹⁴

Cellier's pamphlet further reminded the Whigs of a serious fallout that the Meal Tub plot caused: the apostasy of Sir Robert Peyton. Sir Robert was a chairman and a founding member of the Green Ribbon Club, a London political club with strong Whig ties who identified members with a green ribbon, an old symbol of the civil war Levellers. Members of the Green Ribbon Club supported Exclusion, but their secretive habits made the government suspicious of their activities. Sir Robert's virulence against the Duke of York caused him to fear retaliation from the Court. In the autumn 1679, Peyton sought to make peace with James, but did not accept the “Duke's offer to put him

²¹² Anon., *Faux's Ghost: or Advice to Papists* (5 November 1680), ESTC Citation: R14338.

²¹³ Anon., *To the praise of Mrs. Cellier the popish midwife* (1680), ESTC Citation: R33690.

²¹⁴ Anon., *On Mrs. Cellier in the Pillory* (1680) Oxford University, Bodleian Library MSS Don. b. 8, pg. 620-621.

back into his commission of peace,” which he lost the previous year.²¹⁵ Other members of the Green Ribbon Club and many Whigs viewed this in no lesser terms than treachery.

This betrayal, however, was nothing to the Whigs compared to Peyton being accountable for the temporary admission of Dangerfield to the Green Ribbon Club. Dangerfield’s false testimony had been responsible for the Meal Tub Plot, the deliberate “Presbyterian sham-plot” that sought to discredit the Whigs, and specifically Lord Shaftesbury, in 1679. So bitter was the Whig response against Peyton that they believed that “Oh Peyton, thoudst better be hang’d at the gallows / with thy old brother padders and burglary fellows.”²¹⁶ He was “like a Wolf cloath’d in a white Sheeps Case” that by his perfidy would “make Protestants cut Protestants Throats.”²¹⁷ Whigs perceived Peyton’s disloyalty as cowardice and viewed his bad judgment as an act of apostasy; he “ceas’d to be God’s to become the Duke’s creature.”²¹⁸

As the Whigs recovered from Peyton’s vile treachery, they received a windfall. The Privy Council summoned Roger L’Estrange, former press censor and Tory pamphleteer, to account for his religious beliefs on 6 and 13 October 1680. This was the

²¹⁵ Lord, POASY vol. 2, 305.

²¹⁶ Anon., *A Ballad on Sir Robert Peyton* (1680) British Library MS Harley 7319, f. 58r-59r, Add. MSS 23722, f. 65r-v; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Don. b. 8, pg. 605-606, Ashmole MS 36,37, f. 299, MS Rawl. poet 159, f. 27; All Souls College, Codrington MS 116, f. 34r-35r; Edinburgh University Library MS DC.1.3, pg. 26; Folger Shakespeare Library MS m.b.12; Lincolnshire Archives MS ANC 15/B/4, pg. 5; National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 113v-114r; Victoria and Albert Museum Dyce Collection, Cat. No. 43, pg. 294-295; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 14090, f. 156v-157r; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn b. 54, pg. 1124-1126, MS Osborn b. 327, f. 4r-v, MS Osborn fb. 108, pg. 313-314.

²¹⁷ Anon., *The sheeps skin pull'd off from the wolf's back: or, The uncasing of the knight* (1680), ESTC Citation: R30140.

²¹⁸ Anon., *A Ballad on Sir Robert Peyton* (1680).

result of some successful accusations by Israel Tonge and Titus Oates against L'Estrange. They alleged that he bribed Tonge's son, Sampson, to defame Oates. Although acquitted of the charge, he fled the country in November 1680. Whigs capitalized on his self-exile with a series of verses against the famed Licensor and Libeler: "The Crack-fart of the Nation's fled / Who had so many Magotts bred / He saw it was not safe to stay / But wiser far to run away."²¹⁹ Whigs sought to deprecate L'Estrange in the same manner that the Tories embarrassed Benjamin Harris, but they did so with more bile:

Now take a view of Mack's sweet face
To whom the Tories all give place,
And hereby hangs a tale:
He buys a traitor's service dear
Who runs and hides his head for fear
When's plotting can't prevail.²²⁰

In the May 1681 Whig poem, *Dialogue betwixt H.Bs. Ghost and his Dear Author R.L.S.*, L'Estrange's deceased publisher, Henry Brome, warned him from returning to England: "They'l worser prove than your great Senates Vote / and thine own Words will serve to cut thy Throat."²²¹

It is clear that both parties excelled at dirty campaigning. Accusations of using unprofessional sources and reporters, *ad hominem* slurs, the taint of conspiracy and scandal all contributed to the mudslinging campaign these parties employed. While poetry and song was merely one facet of this early modern negative political strategy, it was effective at encompassing a huge portion of the population. Only a citywide

²¹⁹ Anon., *An Hue and Cry after R.Ls.* (1680), ESTC Citation: R662.

²²⁰ Anon., *Strange's case, Strangely altered* (1680) British Library Add. MS 27407, Add. MS 61903, f. 82.

²²¹ Anon., *A Dialogue betwixt HBs ghost and R.L.S* (20 May 1681), ESTC Citation: R20577.

rhetorical campaign could get so many dissenters, tavern goers, coffeehouse patrons, political club members (like the Green Ribbon Club), merchants, city officials, hawkers, artisans, skilled workers, livery companies, pamphleteers, and indeed *poets* to unite and sign a “Monster Petition” asking for Parliament to sit.²²² The rhetoric in political verse helped spread a similar message to a wide audience. Yet, political poetry and song were not limited to London’s city or suburban limits. They were national. While poets used rhetorical tactics to distract and scandalize the population, nothing could sidetrack partisans and their followers from the real issue at hand.

IV. The Oxford Parliament & the “Ra-Ree” Attack:

By early 1681, both parties were primed for a fight over the succession. Tensions were high and both sides mobilized their support. On 18 January 1681, Charles dissolved the second Exclusion Parliament and in March, he called for the new Parliament to meet at Oxford, in order to distance it from the clamor of Exclusionists in London. It began on 21 March 1681, but within a week, Charles dissolved it. Historians know now that Charles finally received the long-promised French subsidy that would allow him to rule without parliamentary support. But the suddenness of the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament occasioned much confusion and comment on both sides of the polemical divide. To make sense of the swift dissolution, one Tory considered it a victory: “Under 500 kings three kingdoms groan: / Go Finch, dissolve them, Charles is in the throne, / And by the

²²² Knights, “London’s ‘Monster’ Petition.”

grace of God will reign alone.”²²³ A Whig parodied him and claimed it was a resounding defeat: “The safety of the King and’s royal throne / depends on those 500 kings alone / those under whom some say three kingdoms groan.”²²⁴ Some Whigs believed the swift dissolution was a cover-up of some kind: “At length they agreed Dom. Com. [*Domini Communi* or Lords and Commons] Should disband / Lest Harris should tell what was done in the Strand, and show what monarch rules over this land.”²²⁵ At this some Tories advised Charles to “learn by your father not to trust to those / that in the end will prove confiding foes.”²²⁶

Despite the uncertainty the dissolution caused, Parliament’s meeting at Oxford proved fruitful for polemic libel. A Tory poet questioned London Whigs’ allegiances in “A New Ballad of London’s Loyalty,” but decided ultimately because of the dissolution “ev’ry loyal subject then shall happy be / nor need we care for London’s loyalty.”²²⁷ A rebuffed London Whig poet retorted with “loud laughter at [Oxford’s] late flattering her self with excessive trading... The Parliament is gone, their hopes now fail.”²²⁸ A conciliatory tone sounded in *Oxfords Lamentation in a Dialogue between Oxford and*

²²³ Anon., *The Parliament Dissolved at Oxford* (1681) British Library MS Sloane 3769, f. 23; Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Douce 357, f. 74v, MS Wood D. 19(2), f. 105, MS Wood F. 34, f. 159; Yale University, Beinecke Library MS Osborn c. 189, p. 107, MS Osborn Poetry Box VII/83, MS Osborn c. 171, pg. 2.

²²⁴ Anon., *The Tune to the Devonshire Cant: or an Answer to the Parliament Dissolved at Oxford* (1681) POASY vol. 2, 413-414.

²²⁵ Anon., *The Oxford Vision* (1681) POASY vol. 2, 416-418.

²²⁶ Anon., *The Waking Vision* (1681) POASY vol. 2, 419-424.

²²⁷ Anon., *A New Ballad of London’s Loyalty* (1681), British Library MS Burney 390, MS Sloane 2717, MS Sloane 921, f. 93v.

²²⁸ Anon., *Oxford in Mourning for the loss of the Parliament* (1681), ESTC Citation: R228493.

London; when an anthropomorphized Oxford cried, “I have Lovers pangs as well as you / Against me all my sisters will be bent / and ‘twill me of my short-liv’d Parliament.”²²⁹

Whatever the bewilderment of the two parties at the quick dissolution, the arrest and trial of Stephen Colledge swiftly replaced their worries, triumphs, and laughter.

Colledge, also known as The Protestant Joyner, was the famous Whig libeler recognized for his vicious satirizations of many Tories and their supporters. His libels had a distinctive style that garnered attention from important Whigs. When the Parliament in Oxford began, Colledge showed up “with arms and in the company of William, Lord Howard; William, Lord Paget; and the earls of Clare and Huntingdon, who were also armed.”²³⁰ Rumors floated about that he was actively stirring up sentiment in London by distributing “blue ribbons with the slogan ‘No Popery, No Slavery’” as well.²³¹ Charles might have been willing to overlook these actions once he received the French subsidy because he did not have to rely on Parliamentary support anymore, but Colledge arrived at Oxford armed the satirical ballad *A Ra-Ree Show* as well.

A Ra-Ree Show likened Charles’s decision to hold Parliament outside of London to a puppet master making fools of the English. In Colledge’s poem, Charles was Hobbes’s Leviathan ordering Parliament to:

Be quiet, ye dull tools, with a hey, with a hey,
As other freeborn fools, with a ho;

²²⁹ Anon., *Oxfords lamentation in a dialogue between Oxford and London* (30 March 1681), ESTC Citation: R11861.

²³⁰ Gary S. De Krey, ‘College, Stephen (c.1635–1681)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5906>, accessed 3 Oct 2010].

²³¹ *Ibid.*

Do not all gaping stand,
To see my sleight of hand?
With a hey trony nony nony no.²³²

To which Topham scathingly replied that if Leviathan continued to abuse his government that he could end up like “quaking King in hollow oak.”²³³ Furthermore because sons are so like their fathers, Charles as a:

Child of heathen Hobbes, with a hey with a hey
Remember old Dry Bobs, with a ho,
For fleecing England’s flocks
Long fed with bits and knocks
With a hey, trony nony nony no.²³⁴

Dry bob is English slang for coition without emission, or a blow that does not break the skin. It seems more likely in this context that the former is being used by Colledge to indicate that Charles I’s attempts to “fleece England’s flocks” were futile. These allusions to Charles I’s political impotence and his son’s puppet mastery were not sufficient to rouse the Leviathan’s anger, but the call ‘to pull down raree show’ in order to “hoot them hence away / To Cologne or Breda” and make room for a lawful government went too far.²³⁵ Charles had Colledge arrested on seditious libel charges. Following a long legal game throughout the summer of 1681, and a show-trial in August, he was executed for libelous sedition and conspiracy to rebellion on 31 August 1681. He was made an example by a government reasserting its authority.

²³² Stephen Colledge, *A Ra-Ree Show* (1681), National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 19.1.12, f. 65v, Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Douce 257, f. 56; All Souls College, Codrington MS 116, f. 103v; Huntington Library MS EL 8856; ESTC Citation: R36037.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

Tories seized upon his execution to stick a knife in the open-wounds of Whig chests. In a vicious, mocking tone, one Tory wrote a lamentation by taking on a Whig voice: “Brave Colledge [sic] is hang’d, the chief of our hopes, / for pulling down bishops and making new popes.”²³⁶ In the afterlife, one Tory claimed, Colledge would see his “Infant-*Libels* that in time may be / Fomenters of your *Fatal Jealousie*.”²³⁷ Another takes his mocking much further by ironically declaring through Colledge’s ghost:

I was an active *Puppet* and was proud
To squeak out *Treason* to the listning [sic] Crowd
Whilst *Shaftesbury* behind the curtain sate,
And taught my busy babbling tongue to prate.²³⁸

For Tories, it was clear that Shaftesbury was responsible for the entire Exclusionist upheaval and Colledge’s execution felt like vindication. But one Whig author reminded the public that “Popish Cruelty” was responsible for the present state of affairs. In a humble expression of mourning for Colledge, that Whig author published *A Letter from Mr. Stephen Colledge* that stated simply:

What I have done, I did with good intent,
To serve my King, my country and the laws,
Against the Bloody Papist I was bent,
Cost what it will, I’le ne’re repent my Cause.
Nor do I fear their Hell-devouring Jawes:
A Protestant I am, and such I’le dye,
Maugre all deaths, and Popish Cruelty.²³⁹

²³⁶ Anon., *The Whigs’ Lamentation for the Death of their Dear Brother Colledge, the Protestant Joiner* (1681) POASY vol. 2, 449-452.

²³⁷ Anon., *A Poem (by way of Elegie) upon Mr. Stephen Colledge, vulgarly known by the name of the Protestant Joyner* (18 August 1681), ESTC Citation: R17071.

²³⁸ Anon., *Stephen Colledge's ghost to the fanatical cabal* (1681), ESTC Citation: R23659.

²³⁹ Stephen Colledge, *A letter from Mr. Stephen Colledge to a person of quality* (15 August 1681), ESTC Citation: R33355.

Without the original plot against the king's life by Catholics, there would be no need to secure England's throne. Whigs believed that Catholicism was invading England from both without and within. Exclusion was the only way to buttress England against Catholic insurgency.

It was too late however for excuses and justifications. Colledge's execution put Whig blood in the water. Supported by the Tories, the government next sought Shaftesbury's head. On 2 July 1681, Shaftesbury was arrested on suspicion of high treason. From the Tower, he engaged in a long battle with the government to be brought to trial or bailed under the terms of the 1679 Habeas Corpus Act that he helped pass. Charles consistently refused Shaftesbury's requests, and his trial took place on 24 November 1681. The government's case hinged on an alleged Bill of Association "found" in Shaftesbury's home, calling Whig supporters and Radicals to swear a pledge vowing to oppose the Duke of York's succession "by all Lawfull meanes, and by force of Armes," and to "endeavour to subdue and destroy him, and all his Adherents."²⁴⁰ The government's case was weak, or more convincingly, his defense was effective and sympathetic Whig sheriffs packed the jury. He received a verdict of *ignoramus*, i.e. insufficient evidence to convict. By February 1682, prosecution against him was dropped.

V. Refocusing Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*:

Although Whigs were still reeling from Colledge's execution, they rallied in libels to combat what they perceived to be a wholesale attempt to destroy the Earl both in

²⁴⁰ British Library MS Egerton 2979, f. 189-90.

reputation and in actuality. It was during Shaftesbury's incarceration in the Tower that John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* appeared in print. It was an immediate hit. Within four months, London's print houses produced three more editions and it was also printed in Dublin. Although the first edition was anonymous, Dryden's rivals quickly uncovered Dryden's authorship. The satirical allegory provoked a flood of retaliatory responses from Whig authors, discussed below.

John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* was propaganda to sway Shaftesbury's jury. It appeared in print on 17 November 1681, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession to the throne, i.e. a popular Whig pope-burning date, and the same week as Shaftesbury's trial.²⁴¹ In the poem, Dryden designated himself as "only the historian" of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis and described the early circumstances of 1678 as such:

From hence began that Plot, the nation's curse,
Bad in itself, but represented worse.
Rais'd in extremes, and in extremes deci'd;
With oaths affirm'd, with dying vows deni'd.
Not weigh'd or winnow'd by the multitude;
But swallow'd in the mass, unchew'd and crude.
Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies,
To please the fools, and puzzle all the wise.²⁴²

Still Dryden did not hold to the ideal of objectivity as historians aspire to today. His prejudices were anti-Whig and anti-Exclusionist. The two main characters of his famous poem, Absalom and Achitophel, represent Monmouth and Shaftesbury, respectively.

Dryden highlighted Shaftesbury's role in the succession crisis by writing him as the

²⁴¹ Lord, POASY vol. 2, 453.

²⁴² John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), ESTC Citation: R490110, R227981, R29806, R29804, R1552, R19124, R233517, R579, F17574, R9543.

pernicious, faithless advisor Achitophel, who led Absalom, the dutiful son of David (Charles) to rebel against his father.

The importance of *Absalom and Achitophel* to the period is manifest. Five editions appeared within the year it was released, and it provoked a flood of opposition, with several different Whig libels attacking Dryden and his poem. They varied in content and form. One Whig libeler attacked in like form with loftier verse in an acerbic *Panegyric on the Author of 'Absalom and Achitophel'*; "In keen iambics 'gainst thy sov' reign lord, / thy pen was more successful than his sword."²⁴³ It was a reminder that Dryden's support of monarchy was not as strong during the commonwealth when he wrote *An Elegy in Praise of Oliver Cromwell*. In George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham's response *Poetical Reflections on a late Poem entitlued 'Absalom and Achitophel,'* he claimed the poem was "unworthy the denomination of *poesy*" and that Dryden "slit some Ears for Forgeries of sense / which Princes, Nobles and the Fame of Men, / Sought to bespatter by a worthless pen."²⁴⁴ This was a stark reminder of Dryden's past when his own nose was slit in an ambush in Rose Alley on 18 December 1679 by ruffians hired by the earl of Rochester and the Duchess of Portsmouth in revenge for an *Essay on Satire*. John Sheffield, the 3rd Earl of Mulgrave, actually wrote the poem, but it was assumed that Dryden was the author.²⁴⁵ It was also an insult to his verse, but it was nothing compared

²⁴³ Anon., *A Panegyric on the Author of 'Absalom and Achitophel'* (1681), POASY vol. 2, 501-504.

²⁴⁴ George Villiers, *Poetical Reflections on a Late Poem Entituled Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), ESTC Citation: R3196.

²⁴⁵ James Anderson Winn, *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 325-329.

to *Towser the Second, a bull-dog, or, A short reply to Absalon [sic] and Achitophel* that belittled Dryden, “which he:

Agreeing to, went presently to work
Open'd his head, saw where the Maggots lurk
Took many of them out, put them to Sut
Then added *Mercury* and *Nitre* to't
Mixt and infus'd them well, and after all
Distil'd them in a Limerick Comical.²⁴⁶

Not only did some contemporaries view *Absalom and Achitophel* with disdain, but they also understood that it symbolized the ‘official’ position of the monarchy. Many scholars believe that Charles II commissioned Dryden’s poem.²⁴⁷

If one extends the temporal concentration slightly and significantly broadens the valuation of these satirical pieces, then a different picture emerges. *Absalom and Achitophel* was just one of many libelous poems in these formative years of party. Rather than make it the focus of the poetry during these years, it is more helpful to situate it in the tradition of political verse so a more historically accurate analysis can occur. Despite the infamy of Dryden’s poem, his accusation that the “false Achitophel’s pernicious hate / had turn’d the Plot to ruin Church and State” seemed tame compared to other libelous attempts to slander Shaftesbury.²⁴⁸ One Tory libeler, identified only as J. Dean, likewise attempted to destroy Shaftesbury’s reputation before the trial:

Some call me *Tony*, some *Achitophel*;
Some *Jack-a-dandy*, some old *Machiavil*.

²⁴⁶ Henry Care, *Towser the Second, a bull-dog, or, A short reply to Absalon and Achitophel* (1681), ESTC Citation: R11698.

²⁴⁷ Lord, POASY vol. 2, 453.

²⁴⁸ John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) Oxford University, Bodleian Library MS Add. B. 8, f. 67, Rawl. poet 12, f. 70.

Some call me Devil, some his Foster-Brother,
And Turn-Coat Rebel all the Nation over.
Some call me *Hydra* with a hundred Heads,
And some a Monster, all of Matchless Legs;
Other the Scab, from whence the Infection breeds.²⁴⁹

If these epithets were not enough to sway any potential jury against the earl, then a reminder that the source of the nation's ills, like excrement, flowed from the tap of his "Canker'd Spleen" hopefully would.²⁵⁰ This Tory poet referred to the silver tap that was left in Shaftesbury's side following a procedure to drain a persistent cyst on his liver in 1668; a fact well used by Tory libelers. One other Tory maligner made it more explicit:

These are the Faculties of Soul and Mind,
And here his Body as compleat you find;
From's liquid Corp, distills a fleeting gore,
And the whole Carcass, makes one putrid Sore.
The better to emit this flowing Sap,
His Belly carries still a Silver Tap,
Through which black Treason, all its Dregs doth strein
At once, both Excrements, of Guts, and Brain.²⁵¹

So vile were his crimes against the nation, this Tory claimed, that he and all his Whig followers ought to be afforded the ignominious death by hanging at "near the sign of the Three-Legg'd Brand-Iron, call'd *Tyburn*."²⁵²

Whigs returned vicious *ad hominen* attacks similarly. In *Advice to the Painter: The Witness Against Shaftesbury*, one Whig poet assailed the witnesses brought forth against the Earl: "Paint them with pockets large, well lin'd with gold / (the price of

²⁴⁹ J. Dean, *A Badger in the Fox-Trap, or a Satyr on Satyrs* (9 July 1680), ESTC Citation: R8512.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Timothy Tory, *Sejanus: or the Popular Favourite* (1681), ESTC Citation: R14643.

²⁵² Ibid.

innocents' blood, bought and sold).²⁵³ A guilty verdict was impossible, Whigs argued, because “their testimonies plainly disagree.”²⁵⁴ Still, they held their collective breaths until the *Ignoramus* verdict was handed down. In a fit of heady excitement, one Whig offered his congratulations:

A Jury which upon Record shall stand
As worthy Patriots who had sav'd their Land;
Who by False Oaths would never be Trapann'd.
O! Let their Names for e'r Recorded be,
And let them shine bright to Posterity:
For precedents hereafter they'l be shown,
For wisdom and their upright Justice known,
A 'ong time after we are dead and gone.
Who by your hall alone did think to Lame us
Will Curse, Damn, and cry out on IGNORAMUS.²⁵⁵

Of course, those “worthy Patriots” were largely Exclusionists and Whig merchants from London, so the *Ignoramus* verdict was a seemingly foregone conclusion.

Tories naturally reacted in the opposite manner. There was an outpouring of disgust and rage at the verdict. The effluence of praise of those “worthy Patriots” was too much for one Tory author. In *Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song*, a Tory poet retaliated with equal emotion:

Old *Tony* Plotted,
Briminghams Voted,
And all the *Mobile* the Holy Cause promoted.
They preached up Treason,
At ev'ry season,
And taught the Multitude Rebellion was but Reason,

²⁵³ Anon., *Advice to the Painter: The Witnesses Against Shaftesbury* (1681), ESTC Citation: R34206.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Anon., *A Loyal congratulation to the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury upon the disappointment of his, the King and kingdoms enemies by the loyal grand juries finding the bill against him ignoramus: in a short poem* (1682), ESTC Citation: R36488.

With Breaches, Impeaches,
And most Loyal Speeches,
With Royal Bloud again to glut the thirsty Leeches.
*They sham us, and flam us,
And ram us, and damn us,
And then, in spight of Law, come off with Ignoramus.*²⁵⁶

It is clear that Whig verse frustrated Tories to the point of bitterness. Undoubtedly, Shaftesbury's trial was not the sweet relief and righteous vindication that the Tories sought. They felt some sense of satisfaction from Colledge's execution because it scared Whig authors into a more polite disdain, but they wanted Shaftesbury's head on a platter with his tap as a garnish.

As this, and the previous chapter, indicates, factions used manuscript political poetry to "privately" critique parliamentary members, civic magistrates, and members of the social aristocracy, but their message became overtly political and much more widespread when they attacked the monarch. Manuscript poetry aided in the development of faction into identifiable parties with partisans coalescing around one particular legislative issue; in this case, Whigs and Tories argued over exclusion. Printed poetry and songs, however, helped develop platforms and pursued political change. Both formats employed mockery, satire, sarcasm, irony, *ad hominem* lambasts, and the stigma of conspiracy and scandal to undermine the opposition while simultaneously gathering followers. During the four-year period that these first two chapters covered, verse cost countless people their credit and reputation, provoked the exile of many—including Charles's own brother—, sent many poets, publishers, and printers to the stocks, and led

²⁵⁶ Anon., *Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song* (1681), ESTC Citation: R4682. Brimingham were counterfeiters.

to the murder of at least one advocate. Political poetry was a dangerous game and it was one many were willing to play.

Poetry and song presented top-down partisan communication from Members of Parliament, civic administrators, the aristocracy, and even circumspectly, the monarch, since Charles II may have given John Dryden inspiration for *The Medal* (1682), a poem attacking Whig partisan activities to be discussed in the next chapter. As innumerable contemporary complaints indicated, members of the lower social orders also wrote verse as an outlet for criticisms, grievances, and anxieties. Rhymes, tunes, and other metered messages created a sort of common talking ground for all members of the body politic. And this was something Charles and his government could not allow.

Colledge's execution and Shaftesbury's *ignoramus* verdict represent the two sides of the Popish Plot's climax. Reaching the end of his patience with Whig effrontery, Charles decided to go on the offensive against them, but he realized there was an obstacle in his way: the City of London. In the government's eyes, juries could either deliver up a victory or a failure. Oxford's juries gave Charles a victory, while London's juries delivered up a defeat. The government's attention no longer was on following the rabbit hole of an alleged plot. It was now focused on establishing order by manipulating local laws and customs to deliver nationally significant results. The Popish Plot itself almost became an afterthought.

Chapter 3 'A Pois'ned Nation and deluded City:' Political Verse and the Rule of Law, 1682-1683

The years 1681-1684 are more commonly known as the “Tory Reaction;” this chapter focuses on the first two years of it. Historians typically see this period as characterized by an overwhelming governmental backlash to the Whig legislative upheaval following the Popish Plot. The most recent—indeed only—focused account of the “Tory Reaction” is Grant Tapsell’s *The Personal Rule of Charles II*, published in 2007. Most historians tend to gloss over the years following the Exclusion Crisis, while others have recognized this short period as full of political vibrancy. Tapsell argues that partisanship continued to fuel political development during the final years of Charles II’s reign, during which he ruled without a Parliament.²⁵⁷ Tapsell’s thesis is a welcome departure from the historiographical trope that in these post-Exclusion years, the Stuart brothers attempted to create an absolutist government.²⁵⁸ Charles’s “personal rule” also raises the question of what happened to party development—for both Whigs and Tories—begun during the Popish Plot frenzy, and how it manifested during a period of central government clamp down.

This much is certain; after Charles’s brusque dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, there was a systematic quest by the court to reassert control. Although the Licensing Act

²⁵⁷ Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681-1685* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).

²⁵⁸ James Daly, “The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England,” *The Historical Journal*, vol. 21 no. 2 (Jun. 1978), pg. 227-250; John Miller, *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1990); J. Miller, “The Potential for ‘Absolutism’ in Later Stuart England,” *History* vol. 69 no. 226 (1984), pg. 187-207; J.R. Western, *Monarchy and Revolution: the English State in the 1680s* (London: Blandford, 1972).

was not in effect, the court heavily pressured printers and publishers to prevent sedition. *Quo warranto* campaigns attempted to oust leading Whigs from political posts. The judiciary prosecuted leading Whigs more heavily than before. The Church persecuted dissenters so intensely that this period became known as the “Great Persecution.” The story from the top-down perspective has been told, in several iterations, but always with an eye to whether this transition in central government was “absolutist” or not. As Tapsell and others have helpfully reminded scholars, England’s governmental structure was participatory in nature. The “Tory Reaction,” which seemingly saw the decline of the “First Whig Party” and the ascendancy of the Tories in government, has caused historians to question whether true “parties” were created and how involved was the populace.²⁵⁹ These questions and arguments, however, do not address the partisanship and political development of the common and middling sorts.

Tim Harris’s body of work has continually kept an eye on the voices of those not in power. In his *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, he outlined the restlessness of the London crowds during the Exclusion Crisis, and how partisan groups effectively used propaganda to express that partisanship. During the “Tory Reaction,” he claims, “London, despite the economic difficulties, despite the legal recriminations, despite the attack on the Whig power-base in the City, and despite the efforts of political agitators, remained absolutely quiet.”²⁶⁰ Further, he states unequivocally, “By 1685, the first Whig

²⁵⁹ Jones, *The First Whigs*; Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*; Harris, *London Crowds*; Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*; Mark Goldie, “Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs,” in Harris et al, *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*; Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*; Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²⁶⁰ Tim Harris, *London Crowds*, 226.

party had been virtually destroyed.”²⁶¹ While understandable, given the prosecution and persecution many Whigs faced in these years, his claims of their destruction seem hyperbolic. He acknowledges that many “were forced to flee to the continent to save their necks,” and for the most part, Whigs had “retreated into a position of political quietism.”²⁶²

While it may be true that Tory voices were heard more loudly during the last years of Charles II’s reign, political verse validates that Whig voices were not silenced completely. Political quietism is not elimination and Tapsell laments this assumption:

Little criticism of the king’s action was publicly voiced...consequently, many historians have found it easy to imagine that partisanship went into limbo between 1681 and the sudden revival of strife that surrounded the Revolution of 1688-9.²⁶³

After the dissolution of the last Exclusion Parliament, Whig expressed frustration at the lack of progress in changing the succession at the national level. Throughout the Tory Reaction, they turned to voice their frustrations where they believed their participation was not as futile, in local governance. Where, according to Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward, “as many as one out of ten adult men...was active in local government.”²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Ibid., 223.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II*, 8.

²⁶⁴ Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: a social and cultural history, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 125.

This chapter will explore the rhetorical arguments made by each political party in poetry as each struggled to assert its version of the “rule of law.” Political poetry in the first years of the “Tory Reaction” addressed many hot-topic issues: Shaftesbury’s *ignoramus* verdict, Whig attempts at political organization and fundraising, the *quo warranto* revocations of local charters, and the shrieval elections and the riots they provoked. These verses include works of literary value, such as Dryden’s *The Medal*, but also include countless *ad hominem* attacks on Shaftesbury (especially after his self-imposed exile and death). Moreover, contrary to assumption, political poetry did not decrease during the “Tory Reaction.” Between 1682 and Charles’s death in February 1685, approximately 385 political poems were printed. These three years saw more individual titles and collections of verse printed than the highly contentious previous three. However, there was a decline in the number of titles printed, with 1682 at a peak of 193, followed by a year with 118, then the last full year of Charles’s life, 74. While many more poems circulated in manuscript, the majority of this chapter will focus on printed political poetry. Rather than seeing Whig dormancy, this material shows both parties fought viciously in verse to win popular audiences to their side.

Political poetry therefore can test the assumption that Tories were more active in these years and that Whig political participation declined as a result. It is important to remember that contemporaries did not know that Charles II would not call Parliament again in his lifetime. Many also acted under the assumption that the succession could still be altered. Significantly, however, one can argue that it was in these highly volatile years that the Whig and Tory positions moved beyond the single issue of Exclusion. A more

fully developed “platform” began to form. In other words, the “Whig” and “Tory” pejoratives became self-identifying nomenclature for two formal political parties during the post-Exclusion Caroline period. This chapter argues, then, that rather than dissipate under governmental pressure, the Whig party coalesced its ideology in the first half of the “Tory Reaction.” It was during the struggle to control London politics and the *quo warranto* campaign to subdue London’s charter in 1682-1683 that mature Whig ideology began to emerge.

I. To “make the law their guide:”

By the beginning of 1682, contemporaries lived a reality of political division. Tapsell’s argument that each party battled to “assert the best means to ensure unity within English society while also figuring out who was to blame for fissures,” aligns well with Mark Knights’ thesis in *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain*.²⁶⁵

Where Tapsell sees blame, Knights sees claims to truth. Based on the poetry produced during the last years of Charles’s life, Whig and Tory arguments also often reduced to a similar point of reference: whether or not altering the succession violated the rule of law. Semantically in poetry, the point of contention between the parties came down to which duke had the better claim to the throne. Tories supported York as the “right lawfully” descendent, whereas the Whigs buoyed Monmouth as the “right royally” descendent.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II*, 7, 17; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*.

²⁶⁶ Anon., *Old Jemmy: an excellent new ballad* (15 September 1681) ESTC Citation: R3281; Anon., *Englands Darling or Great Britains Joy and hope on that noble Prince Duke of Monmouth* (3 October 1681) ESTC Citation: R227126, BL Add. MSS 64060, f. 22v; Beinecke Library Osborn MS b 105, pg. 398-9.

York was inherently both lawfully *and* royally descended, but the dropping of the later adjective in Tory poetry is distinct and significant.

Tories believed that any attempt to modify the law in favor of a duke who did not have both appellations smacked of midcentury republicanism. In *A Congratulatory POEM, on his Royal Highness James Duke of York* (1682), a Tory poet denounced the Whig quest to “here tread down our wholesome Laws / Under the sham pretence o’th good old cause.”²⁶⁷ In *The first Earl of Shaftesbury*, Haley detailed an alleged conversation between Charles II and Shaftesbury where the earl beseeched the king to settle the crown upon the Duke of Monmouth. Charles allegedly replied, “Here is an expedient indeed, if one would trample over all laws of God and man.” This allowed Shaftesbury to counter, “Give me leave to make it as lawful as we can?” As Haley pointed out, Shaftesbury interpreted Charles’s reply to mean that Parliament would have the opportunity to amend the laws regarding the succession. This was despite Charles’s later insistence that by doing so would alter the religion of the realm to Presbyterianism, a religion that he alleged “that can make all things lawful.”²⁶⁸ Changing common law or enacting a new statutory law is a relatively straightforward process, but manipulating principle or challenging divine right, in contrast, undermined the entire religio-political system that Tories had come to appreciate after the commonwealth period. Further, altering the succession, as Charles and his Tory supporters believed, defied God’s will. Even though York was celebrated as a “right lawfully” descended royal, according to

²⁶⁷ Anon., *A Congratulatory POEM* (1682) ESTC Citation: R29316.

²⁶⁸ Haley, *The first Earl of Shaftesbury*, 634-635.

primogeniture, however they also feared the fact that the law could be changed. Whigs “would power all their goodness, and their zeal, / in hopes to gain another common weale.”²⁶⁹ Tories reviled the reoccurrence of such a political system.

Conversely, Whigs believed the Tories were ruining the nation by continuing to uphold divine right principles while supporting York’s accession. Affecting the Tory voice, a Whig poet sang: “What a Pox care we for Law, / Or for Religion, Church or State... We boldly dare out-face the Law / A Pox on future hopes.”²⁷⁰ By mentioning the law twice in one broadsheet, this poet’s clear message highlighted the belief that the Tories flouted the law simply by practicing a “religion [that] is the Popes.”²⁷¹ It was this fear of Catholicism that was the basis of the Whig political position. Whigs charged that Catholic monarchs historically persecuted the Protestant faith. In *The Medal Revers’d*, allegedly by Samuel Pordage, the author wrote, “For Persecution ever sides with power.”²⁷² Allowing a Catholic successor to achieve the throne would spiral the country back into a period of persecution, especially if the law allowed it. This is a major reason why the Whigs fought so vigilantly for altering the succession. The author, in later stanzas, claims:

When Rome had power here and sat enchair’d,
How cruel and how bloody she appear’d!
Our Church Dissenters then did feel the same;

²⁶⁹ Anon., *A Congratulatory POEM* (1682) ESTC Citation: R29316.

²⁷⁰ Anon., *The Bare-Faced Tories: a new song* (1682) ESTC Citation: R170446.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Samuel Pordage, *The Medal Revers’d* (31 March 1682) *Poems on affairs of state, from 1620 to this present year 1707*, vol. IV, pg. 393; transcribed copy in POASY vol. 3, 63.

Their bodies serv'd for fuel to the flame:
And can this Church now got into the chair,
A cruel tyrant like to Rome appear?
For bare opinion do their brothers harms,
Plague and imprison, 'cause they can't conform?²⁷³

Using the historical experience of Queen Mary's reign (as indicated by the 'she' in the second line) and the persecution of dissenters during the early Stuarts', Whigs knew the power of the conjoined head of Church and State without the added weight of being led by a Catholic:

But stay; our Church has law upon its side:
And so had Rome, that cannot be deni'd...
We soon shall see our Church receive its doom
And feel again the tyranny of Rome.
To bar succession is th' ungodly sin,
So often broke, so often piec'd ag'in:
O may it here in England never cease,
Could we but hope it would secure our peace!
But men with different thoughts possessed are;
We dread th' effects of a new Civil War.
We dread Rome's yoke, to us 'tis hateful grown,
And Rome will seem a monster in our throne.²⁷⁴

Whig efforts to prevent the Duke of York succeeding the throne, it is insinuated here, were not an attempt to plunge the country into civil war again, but rather to prevent a reoccurrence. A Catholic monarch would be torn, the author later alleged, between following the laws of England and the laws of the Pope. Beyond torn loyalties, a monarch cannot abuse his subjects:

Though kings themselves do sit above the law,
Justice still keeps their ministers in awe;
For if they do not make the law their guide,

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

Great as they are, by law they may be tri'd;
Else we should subject be to every ill,
And be made slaves to arbitrary will....
Kings can't be tyrants, nor the subjects slaves.²⁷⁵

Here, the first hints of natural liberty laws make their way into Whig poetry. Divine right patriarchalism, which Whigs alleged led to abuses of arbitrary power, is rejected in favor of a symbiotic relationship between monarch and the governed. Ultimately, most Whig poetry viewed the threat of a Catholic monarch as having the potential to destroy that symbiosis. To Whigs, Tory attempts to maintain the succession in favor of the Catholic James was an admission that further persecution and arbitrary abuses were looming.

For Tories, in contrast, arbitrary abuses would come from allowing the populace to have greater say in government. Their consistent references to the crowd as “the giddy rabble that illeterate [sic] *beast*,” “these poor Creatures of stupidity,” and “*Plebian* souls, who know no difference / Between a Peasant and a Prince,” among other critiques of the masses reveal trepidation with the prospect of giving the populace greater voice in the affairs of state.²⁷⁶ For Tories, the choice between taking a chance on the king abusing his power arbitrarily or allowing a multitude to wreak havoc through republicanism was no choice. They embraced the former, at whatever risk, in favor of continued monarchical rule. Thanks to Whig efforts during the Popish Plot to include larger portions of the country in political debate, the Tories found themselves in the odd and ironic position of

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem to the Right Honourable Sir William Pritchard Lord Mayor the City of London* (25 October 1682) ESTC Citation: R220445; Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem Dedicated to his Excellency, the Ambassador from the Emperor of Fez, and Morocco* (10 February 1682) ESTC Citation: R20805; Anon., *A Pindarique Ode on their Royal Highnesses Happy Return from Scotland after his Escape at Sea* (1682) ESTC Citation: R2544.

convincing the populace, whom they did not trust and disdained, to affirm the hereditary succession as practiced. Often they exacerbated fears of a renewed commonwealth by explicitly tying Whig political positions to chaos:

Was not Our *Martyr'd Sov'raigne, Church, and State*,
Strip't of their Rights, Prerogative, and Power?
Did *He* not fall a *Victim* to their Hate,
That would again *King, Laws, and Church* devour?
If *Murders, Treasons, and such Crimes* go free,
As they have done of Late, with great Applause;
What need they care, how wicked then they be,
So they can carry on the *Good Old Cause?*²⁷⁷

This was thus the stage of the continuing debate following Charles's dismissal of the Third Exclusion Parliament. Whigs, though frustrated by Charles's ongoing prorogations and dismissals, viewed the dissemination of their ideas and the populace's subsequent participation as successes. And indeed, Tories, the court, and the government saw a country on the verge of civil war, a populace in need of calming, and a political party in need of taming. The first attempts at breaking the Whig stranglehold over the country took the form of trying both Stephen Colledge and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the earl of Shaftesbury, with treason. Colledge did not escape the executioner; Cooper did with the help of an *ignoramus* verdict, i.e. insufficient evidence to convict.

II. Whig Juries and *The Medal*:

Following Shaftesbury's *ignoramus* verdict at his treason trial in November 1681, Whigs were jubilant. Shaftesbury's arrest and trial hinged on an undated, anonymous draft of

²⁷⁷ Anon., *A Poem to the Right Honourable Sir J.B. Knight &c* (15 September 1682) ESTC Citation: R23136; *A Collection of poems on state-affairs, several never before printed*, part 1 (1712), 17.

Association found in his closet. Lionel Glassey informs us that an association was “an oath which bound those who swore it to combine to resist the potentially disastrous consequences of certain defined eventualities, such as a foreign invasion, the assassination of the monarch, or the hypothetical succession of a Catholic.”²⁷⁸ Shaftesbury’s alleged Association stated, “Parliaments have been unreasonably Prorogued and Dissolved when they have been in hot pursuit of the Popish Conspiracies.” These prohibitions to the meeting of Parliament allowed the Duke of York to procure “the Garrisons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Soldiery, and Lands belonging to these three Kingdoms.”²⁷⁹ In response, the Association claimed, the Whig party “endeavoured in a Parliamentary way by a Bill for the purpose to Bar and Exclude the said Duke from the succession of the crown, and to banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland,” but had been unable to obtain “any real and effectual security.”²⁸⁰ Therefore, the document proposed “all true Protestants [form] an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of mutual defence and assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, His Majesties person and Royal State and our laws, Liberties, and Properties.”²⁸¹ The proposed pledge reads:

I will also, as far as in me lies, Maintain and Defend his Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and priviledg [sic] of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject against all Incroachments and

²⁷⁸ Lionel K.J. Glassey, “Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Crisis,” in Spurr, *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury*, 228.

²⁷⁹ *The Proceedings Upon the Bill of Indictment for High Treason Against the Earl of Shaftesbury*, printed for Samuel Mearne and John Baker, TNA SP 30 /G ff. 465-466r, 24 November 1681.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

Usurpation of Arbitrary Power whatsoever, and endeavor entirely to Disband all such mercenary Forces as we have reason to believe were Raised to Advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of London, to the great Amazement and Terror of all the good people of the Land...*I will never consent* [emphasis added] that the said J.D. of Y. or any other, who is or hath been a papist, or any ways adher'd to the Papists in their wicked designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England; but by all lawful means and by force of arms, if need so require, according to my abilities, will oppose him and endeavor to subdue, expel and destroy him.²⁸²

Although the Whig grand jury deemed the Association document inadmissible as evidence, the document gives insight into the desperation of Whig political thought in late 1681. They believed they were already under attack from Popish forces through the Duke of York's access to armaments and military accoutrement, which made the cessation of their efforts to alter the succession all the more dangerous. Further, one can clearly discern the nascent influence of John Locke's social contract theories, in which government can only work well if it has the consent of the governed. The pledge also makes clear that the main force of any association would be to defend and preserve Protestantism first, Charles and the monarchy second, then the current system of governance. By equating Catholicism with "Arbitrary Power," whoever wrote this Association pledge discounted the possibility that arbitrary abuses could come from the Church of England, the Protestant English Monarchy, Parliament itself, or indeed the people of England. The faith in the populace is made plain. If the populace can decide for themselves partisan arguments, inevitably they will side with the party that gives them a conduit for their voices, or so the Whigs believed.

²⁸² Ibid.

The government changed how it approached Whig intransigency and its propaganda efforts as a result of Shaftesbury's trial. As the government could not prove that the Association belonged to the earl, Shaftesbury's supporters crowed that a Tory plot had planted the treasonous document in the earl's house in order to discredit (or execute) him. In a 1682 poem, one Whig's exposition on the "definition of the word Tory," exclaimed, "those Papists, I may rather say Atheists, / was sent with a Sham to the Town, / to swear one Plot up and another Plot down."²⁸³ This poet believed Shaftesbury's trial to be a distraction from the real Popish plot. In addition to the many reports of bonfires, bell ringing, and torch light parades, Whig celebrants struck a medal commemorating Shaftesbury's release from the Tower on 1 December 1681. On one side of the medal, his profile was cast; on the reverse was a skyline of London, complete with crepuscular rays beaming down from a rising, shining sun and the word "LAETAMUR," calling on all Whigs to rejoice. One can imagine the self-congratulations of those bearing the medals, parading around London, smugly lording over their Tory adversaries the "justice" handed down by the London jury.

It is in this climate that one of the most famous alleged conversations between Charles II and Dryden took place as they strolled down Pall Mall in the winter of 1681/2, as was related to Joseph Spence by Dryden, and then conveyed to Alexander Pope. "If I was a poet," mused Charles, "and I think I am poor enough to be one, I would write a poem in the following manner."²⁸⁴ If true, the inspiration for Dryden's *The Medal*, a

²⁸³ Anon., *A New Ballad with the Definition of the Word TORY* (1682) ESTC Citation: R36935.

²⁸⁴ Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 28.

biting satirical attack on Shaftesbury and his supporters, had royal origins. It was because the Whigs unrelenting belief that they were the ones being victimized that Charles likely suggested that the Whigs should *actually* become the victims of their own absurdity. In giving Dryden inspiration for *The Medal*, if such was indeed the case, Charles took one more step in the governmental attempts to silence Whig opposition. The question arises, though, why did Charles feel it necessary to wade into the poetic partisan debate at this point? After three years of disputation and attempts to alter the succession, it would appear, Charles was no longer willing to deal with the Whigs *in Parliament*. But because the parties had no outlet for their vitriol in an institutional setting, they poured their efforts into manipulating public opinion and turned to widely disseminated verse.

After months of Whig jubilation after Shaftesbury's acquittal, Dryden's *The Medal* appeared in print on 16 March 1682. In the preface, Dryden asked:

What right has any man among you, or any Association of men (to come nearer to you) who, out of parliament, cannot be considered in a public capacity, to meet as you daily do in factious clubs, to vilify the government in your discourses and to libel it in all your writings?²⁸⁵

By asking, "what right"? Dryden challenged the very basis of Whig political thought, and echoed Charles's *quo warranto* campaigns to seize town charters that had begun months previously. Outside of Parliament, the Whigs had no rights to contest the law, so by whipping up public sentiment, Dryden charged that they engaged in libel, slander, sedition, and treason. He linked the Whig party, in his preface, to the murderous aspects of Protestant resistance theories by reminding readers of Theodore Beza's alleged hand in

²⁸⁵ John Dryden, *The Medal*, POASY vol. 3, 41

the assassination of Francis, Duke of Guise, and George Buchanan's justifications for "deposing and murdering kings of a different persuasion in religion."²⁸⁶ By setting Shaftesbury free, Dryden charged, the Whig jury denied kingly power and authority to prosecute traitors, and gave unnecessary authority to the populace:

He preaches to the crowd that pow'r is lent,
But not convey'd to kingly government,
That claims successive bear no binding force,
That coronation oaths are things of course;
Maintains the multitude can never err,
And sets the people in the papal chair...
Crowds err not, though to both extremes they run;
To kill the father and recall the son.²⁸⁷

When the "arbitrary crowd" gains more authority than the king, "the next headlong steep of anarchy" ensues. Dryden's *The Medal* criticized Whig euphoria at Shaftesbury's escape from death not only because it was the result of the first step into anarchy, but also because it let loose a dangerous advocate of resistance. Gone, claimed Dryden, was the "forgiving King" whom Whigs attempted to defraud at every turn:

They cheat the country first, and then infect.
They for God's cause their monarchs dare dethrone,
And they'll be sure to make His cause their own.
Whether the plotting Jesuit laid the plan
Of murd'ring kings, or the French Puritan,
Our sacrilegious sects their guides outgo,
And kings and kingly pow'r would murder too.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 43.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 50

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 54.

If Whigs feared the arbitrary power of a Catholic monarch, Tories dreaded the horrors of a “republic prelacy” born of Protestant resistance theory.²⁸⁹ Dryden ended his admonition with warnings justified from the commonwealth period:

The Presbyter, puff'd up with spiritual pride,
Shall on the necks of the lewd nobles ride,...
But short shall be his reign: his rigid yoke
And tyrant pow'r will puny sects provoke;
And frogs and toads and all the tadpole train
Will croak to Heav'n for help from this devouring crane.²⁹⁰

Essential to the Tory message was an aversion to the mid-century civil wars and commonwealth.²⁹¹ In Tories' experience, republicanism caused more devastation than Catholic monarchs. Any potential reintroduction of Catholicism through James's accession would cause less damage to the nation as a whole than if dissenting republicans attempted to wholly alter existing governmental structures.

Poetic responses flooded the city. In his preface, Dryden challenged and welcomed the polemic contest to his work:

I have one only favor to desire of you at parting: that when you think of answering this poem you would employ the same pens against it who have combatted with so much success against *Absalom and Achitophel*, for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory, without at least reply. Rail at me abundantly and, not to break a custom, do it without wit; by this method you will gain a considerable point, which is wholly to waive the answer of my arguments.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 58.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Neufeld, *The Civil Wars after 1660*.

²⁹² Dryden, *The Medal*, POASY vol. 3, 44-45.

It is clear here that Dryden, and likely many of the Tories, believed that intelligence in the form of wit and keeping to the artistry of verse automatically granted them a partisan victory. What the Whigs were especially adept at, however, was penning lines that could be read by more than just elite and literate followers of poetry. Within days, one of those critiques, *The Medal Revers'd*, was published. In it, Samuel Pordage argued that allowing James to accede the throne would be more dangerous than extending to the populace a greater say in who sits on it:

If one bigoted in the Romish way
Should once again the English scepter sway,
Then those who in the pulpit are so loud,
Preaching succession to the vulgar crown,
Must change their croaking notes, their coats must turn;
Or, if prove honest, fly the land, or burn.²⁹³

If the clergy supported the unaltered succession now, Pordage insinuated, when James would inevitably abuse power, all those who pledged oaths not only to the new king but to God will be forced into apostasy to denounce him in order to uphold the law of England. Further, having a Catholic monarch might well launch the country into civil war. Of this, Pordage had no doubt. Where Tories feared *vox populi* would lead to republicanism and a renewed commonwealth period, Pordage declared that such apprehension was nonsense:

There's no way these mischief to prevent,
Unless we have a healing Parliament.
Of that these faulty men love not to hear;
They've much transgress'd and much they have to fear.
Until that day, England will find no rest,

²⁹³ Pordage, *The Medal Revers'd*, POASY vol. 3, 72.

Though now she slumbers on her Monarch's breast;
But then the nation will be truly bless'd.²⁹⁴

Moreover, as other retorts to *The Medal* proclaimed, the country should not fear civil war if the multitude are united. A few days later on 17 March 1682, Edmund Hickeringill, a Church of England vicar and religious controversialist, reminded readers in *The Mushroom: or a Satyr Against Libelling Tories and Prelatical Tantitivities* that:

The late woes (by which the Land did groan)
Did only th' Sins of Whiggs contribute? None,
None of the Torys-sins clubb'd, nor conferr'd:
Yet Charles the First confest—both sides had err'd.²⁹⁵

Hickeringill's especially poignant point was that it took two sides to fight a civil war. The larger allegation was his implicit opinion that it was the side that was most intractable during calls for change—the Tories—that led to the heightening of tensions and the outbreak of war.

If anything, Thomas Shadwell also accused, in his preface to *The Medal of John Bayes*, printed 15 May 1682, "'tis [Tories] that are apparently the faction, since ye are the few that have divided from the many."²⁹⁶ By separating from the multitude, the Tories were setting themselves at odds with the juries who disbelieved the government's case against those defendants whom Whigs hailed as saviors of the nation. Writing a satire vilifying Whig celebrations, he implies, smacked of Tory bitterness at their loss.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 73-74.

²⁹⁵ Edmund Hickeringill, *The Mushroom: or, A satyr against libelling Tories and prelatical tantivities: in answer to a satyr against sedition called the meddal. By the author of Absalom and Achitophel. And here answered by the author of the Black nonconformist. The next day after the publication o the Meddal; to help the sale thereof.* (17 March 1682) ESTC Citation: R16923.

²⁹⁶ Thomas Shadwell, *The Medal of John Bayes* (15 May 1682) POASY vol. 3, 78.

Hickeringill accused, “Must Men (*fairly acquit by Law*) Agen / Be thus Arraign’d by every *Hackney Pen*?²⁹⁷ Forcing acquitted Whigs to defend themselves in the court of opinion, not just in the court of law, could jeopardize any future elections for Parliament.

Shadwell continued his rail against the Tories proclaiming:

Tis you who in your factious clubs vilify the government by audaciously railing against parliaments, so great and so essential a part of it. They ought to lose the use of speech who dare say anything irreverently of the King or disrespectfully of parliaments. If anything could make the King lose the love and confidence of his people, it would be your unpunished boldness, who presume to call the freeholders of England the rabble and their representatives a crowd, and strike the very root of all their liberty.... Whatever ye might have been in Judea, ye will find very few of ye will be made, in England, trustees for the liberty of the people...²⁹⁸

Preserving the interests of the people, countered Shadwell, directly supported the King, and vice versa:

The King’s and people’s interest they’ll make one.
What personal greatness can our Monarch own,
When hearts of subjects must support the throne!²⁹⁹

After all, it was the people who rose up in rebellion and revolution against Charles I.

Demonstrating repeatedly that the Tories alienated themselves from the will of the people, Whigs accused Tories of ensuring a civil war yet again, which could potentially depose the king. The symbiosis of the king, the people, and their trustees in Parliament made the country run smoothly. Vilifying any part of it could collapse the whole.

²⁹⁷ Hickeringill, *The Mushroom* (17 March 1682).

²⁹⁸ Shadwell, *The Medal of John Bayes* (15 May 1682) POASY vol. 3. “Whatever ye might have been in Judea” refers to the question Dryden posed in his “Epistle to the Whigs” (which prefaced “The Medal”). He quoted Acts 7:27, 35 when two exiled Israelites challenged Moses’s claim to authority, not knowing he had been chosen by God to lead them.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

III. Battle of the Feasts:

Despite—or perhaps because of—these poetic responses to Dryden’s *The Medal*, the ‘Tory Reaction’ to perceived Whig effrontery began. James Winn noted, “a month before the verdict, the court had succeeded in promoting the election of a moderate Tory, Sir John Moore, as Lord Mayor...and ten members of Shaftesbury’s jury were defeated in the December election for the Common Council of London.”³⁰⁰ When Moore was elected to the mayoralty, Tories thanked him for endorsing the law for their cause:

Thou hast quite quell’d the hot-spur’d *Whiggish Furies*,
Of Late, we have had no *Ignoramus Juries*.³⁰¹

Public opinion, it seemed, was already turning against the Whigs as well. Petitions poured in from the countryside “abhorring” the Association found in Shaftesbury’s closet. Concurrently, the court’s backlash against the Whigs was beginning to see its first successes as seen above, which no doubt aided this general shift in public opinion.

Regardless, Whigs prepared for a new Parliament. “The main thing they [Tories] fear is an honest Parliament,” one Whig poet claimed.³⁰² The only way to safeguard the liberty of the people and prevent the Duke of York’s succession, it was thought, was to reintroduce the Exclusion Bill at a forthcoming Parliament. Again, contemporaries did not realize that the Oxford Parliament would be the last of Charles II’s reign. In April 1682, leading Whigs organized a feast, officially for a thanksgiving and congregation of

³⁰⁰ Winn, *John Dryden and his World*, 365.

³⁰¹ Anon., *A Poem to the Right Honourable Sir John Moor, Knight, on his well Administration in the Office of Lord-Mayor of London* (1682), ESTC Citation: R3034.

³⁰² Anon., *An Answer to the Pamphlet called, The Loyal Feast: or a true description of His Majesties Deepdy’d Scarlet Protestants* (1682), ESTC Citation: R24709.

leading supporters. Feast-goers were asked to attend a sermon at St. Michael's church in Cornhill, then immediately go to Haberdasher's and Goldsmith's halls for a lavish dinner.³⁰³ The event was to be held on the 21st of April. The tickets that admitted the participant could be obtained for a donation of a guinea.

The contestation over the sheer number of tickets "sold" undoubtedly divulges the ulterior motive of such an occasion. In *The Whig Feast*, a Tory poet claimed Whigs raised "three hundred pound thick agen," whereas in *The Coat of Arms of N.T., J.F., & R.L.* a Whig poet asserted a much higher number:

The Whigs from North to South, from West to East
Did all contribute to a Loyal Feast,
To shew their hatred to the Roman Beast.
Eight hundred Guineys were laid up in store,
There would have been at least as many more,
Such hatred we do bear the Roman whore.³⁰⁴

Inflating the amount raised would be a sensible maneuver on the part of the Whig poet. High numbers of contributions indicated the strength of Whig partisan support. It is equally reasonable that a Tory poet would undervalue the attendance and amount raised for the feast. Between £300 and "eight hundred Guineys [sic]" or £840 is still a substantial figure. Another Tory poem, *The Loyal Feast*, likely gave a more accurate representation without numerical data:

The Whigs from North to South, from West to East
Did all contribute to a **LOYAL FEAST**;
To this great work a **GUINEY** was the least.
They clear'd the stalls of **Fish, Flesh, Fowl, and Beast**...

³⁰³ Luttrell, Narcissus. *A brief historical relation of state affairs*, vol. 1, pg. 179.

³⁰⁴ Thomas D'Urfey, *The Whig Feast*, POASY vol. 3, 180; Anon., *The Coat of Arms of N.T., J.F. & R.L., an Answer to Thomson's Ballad call'd the Loyal Feast* (1682), ESTC Citation: R7950.

But Royal **Charles** he smoak'd out the thing;
And sent the Rable with a Pox away.
He sent his Summons to the **Cit**
Seditious meetings to restrain,
The Feast was broke, and the Guests were beshit...
And now the Capons flye about,
With **Frigacees of Ambergreece**
And Chickens ready drest they Shout,
About the Street, for pence apiece.³⁰⁵

As pictured here, the feast never occurred. Hearing about the planned entertainment, Charles struck out against the Whigs, forbidding the occasion on grounds that it violated his prerogative to set festival days and also that it was likely to be seditious. At a Council meeting at Whitehall two days before the feast was set to occur, Charles charged the Lord Mayor of London to “prevent the said meeting as an unlawfull assembly.”³⁰⁶ Lord Mayor Moore, recently elected, then ordered the Court of Aldermen to enforce the prohibition on the meeting by placing “four companies of the trained bands, and severall guards of constables and watchmen,... in diverse parts of the city.”³⁰⁷ Narcissus Luttrell noted that the sumptuous feast of fowls fricasseed with ambergris was “disposed off... to the Compters &c prisons,” although he admitted some of the delicacies went with the dispersed Whigs to separate places, no doubt becoming a symbol of mockery.³⁰⁸

The feast was meant to allow Whig supporters to co-mingle with Whig leaders, like the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Duke of Monmouth, with the added benefit that it

³⁰⁵ Anon., *The Loyal Feast design'd to be kept in Haberdashers-Hall, on Friday the 21st. of April 1682. by His Majesties most loyal true blue Protestant subjects; and how it was defeated.* (27 May 1682), ESTC Citation: R4036. “Cit” in line 7 refers to “city,” but has been shortened by the poet to rhyme with “beshit” in line 9.

³⁰⁶ Narcissus Luttrell, *A brief historical relation of state affairs*, vol. 1, pg. 179

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 180.

was a fund-raiser. Shrieval elections were looming, and retaining those positions was vitally important to maintaining Whig majorities on juries. Frustratingly for the Whigs, the Artillery company of London held a feast the day prior, the 20th of April, at Merchant-Tailors hall, which Charles sent the Duke of York as featured attendee. Many high-ranking Tories also dined that evening with James after listening to a sermon at Bow church. Luttrell noted that when the festivities were over, “the duke returned to Whitehall very well satisfied with his entertainment.”³⁰⁹ Acknowledging and supporting the Tory feast, and at the same time thwarting the Whig one, Charles’s shrewd political maneuver was heavily commented upon in verse, with one Tory poet gloating:

In favour of the **King** and **Duke**,
 The Heir-Apparent of the Throne,
 His Highness they Exclude, and took
 A Fop-Pretender of their own;
 The meek Guide **Moses** they withstand,
 A Golden **Calf** to Entertain;
 But Royal **CHARLES** he dispers’d the Band,
And Tony [Shaftesbury] **will never be himself again.**³¹⁰

In *Hemp for the Flaxman*, “printed for the benefit of *sweet singers*,” one Tory poet made it clear to the larger population of London why it was so important that Charles foiled the Whig feast:

But C---- who soon guest [sic]
 The pretended *Love Feast*
 Would be a fresh *Association*
 The *Juncto’s* Grand *Hydra*
 Did sever that Friday:
 True *Hercules* of our LERNEAN Nation.
 God save the KING.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 179

³¹⁰ Anon., *The Loyal Feast* (27 May 1682).

This poet likened the Whigs to the Lernaean Hydra, who sprouted two more ugly heads when one is cut off. Being likened to Hercules, Charles already had renounced the Presbyterian covenants. The planned Whig feast in the wake of Shaftesbury's *ignoramus* acquittal forced Charles to renounce Presbyterianism again. With memories of the civil war being long, London's populace would remember that Goldsmith and Haberdasher's halls were sites of the committees for sequestration and compounding at the start of the English Civil War.³¹² No doubt the Tory poets wanted to make explicit the link between current Whig political positions and commonwealth republican confiscations of royalists estates. After all, they reasoned, exclusion effectively was the stripping of the Duke of York's royal rights. Naturally, Whigs were furious and exasperated at Charles's blatant favoritism towards the Tories. In *A Congratulatory Poem on the Whigs' Entertainment*, a heavily sarcastic Whig poem, the poet points to the absurdity of preventing the Whig feast:

In pasties, plots, in custard, treason lies,
And hot rebellion lurks in pudding-pies.
Fear always through a perspective looks, and thus
A sausage must be dubb'd a blunderbuss.³¹³

Charles and his supporters did not view Whig convocations lightly however. Even before the frustrated feast at Haberdasher Hall, many Tories dreaded any Whig meetings. They believed that Whig meetings boded ill and argued in March 1682:

³¹¹ Anon., *Hemp for the Flaxman: or a Friday feast Kid-napped* (24 April 1682), ESTC Citation: R9814.

³¹² The sequestration committee seized the estates of known Royalists, which they could recover from the compounding committee for a fine and pledged never to take up arms against Parliament again.

³¹³ Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem on the Whigs' Entertainment*, POASY vol. 3, 177, lines 15-18.

These meetings are more dangerous by far
Than bull-baits, bear-baits or cock-fightings are:
Stage playes and Morrice-dances, Masks and shows
Wakes, May-games, Puppet-playes, and such as those
More harmless are...
Compar'd with these are far more innocent:
Tis five or six crept in some hole to pray,
That plot to ruine of the Monarchy.³¹⁴

In these gatherings, Tories worried that Whigs were not only aiming to find ways to alter the succession. They suspected that much larger, and perhaps more sinister, plots against the king and the Duke of York were in development. After all, it only took “five or six” to provide enough evidence of a “Popish Plot,” which disrupted the normal workings of government and precipitated the present crisis. Likewise, the Presbyterian Meal Tub Plot in 1680 had already raised Tory suspicions. Conversely, Whigs accused Tories of conspiracy by supporting the Catholic duke in what Monmouth-supporters viewed as an insane quest to undermine Protestantism by upholding the existing succession laws. Exasperated with court attempts to silence their voices, like the feast, some Whig poets expressed very real concern:

This feast was thrown aside, and nought but reason:
Some did surmise a new Gun-Powder Treason,
That cou'd not be suppos'd, for our good King,
Doth hide his Parliaments beneath his wing:
He will not let them meet in any place,
For fear of mischief from the Roman Race.³¹⁵

This mutual distrust led to voracious vocalizations of their respective political positions during the shrieval elections in the summer of 1682.

³¹⁴ Anon., *The Informers Lecture, to his Sons, instructing them in the Mysteries of that Religion* (23 March 1682), ESTC Citation: R16488.

³¹⁵ Anon., *The Coat of Arms of N.T., J.F. & R.L.* (1682), ESTC Citation: R7950.

IV. London's Shrieval Elections:

Pressured by the court to nominate Tories for the shrieval posts, Sir John Moore toasted Tory merchant Dudley North at the Bridgemasters' feast in May 1682. This was the understood sign that Sir John nominated North for the shrieval post, whom the Common Hall would then be expected to confirm. Customarily, the Lord Mayor nominated a liveryman for one shrieval post, while Common Hall elected another to complement the Lord Mayor's nominee. As Suzanne Farmer notes in "'Ryot upon Ryot:' Seditious during the London Shrieval Elections," however this election was unique in many ways, not least of which was the Whigs' wholesale rejection of Sir John Moore's mayoral prerogative.³¹⁶ This prerogative, however, had been disputed sporadically since 1640. Corporation Whig partisans vociferously criticized this tradition in 1682 not only because Moore was a court supporter but because Dudley North's brother was the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and a staunch supporter of the royal prerogative. To Whigs, this was the first sign that Charles intended to meddle in rights and liberties of free city governance. Within the next five weeks, Ralph Box, a Tory grocer, secured a nomination for the second shrieval post, but Whig supporters in Common Hall also nominated Thomas Papillon and John Dubois. On the Midsummer's Day shrieval election in Common Hall in 1682, one man was up for confirmation to the shrieval post, North, and three men were up for election: the Tory Box, and two Whigs, Papillon and Dubois. The events of 24 June 1682 became a pivotal moment in city politics.

³¹⁶ J. Suzanne Farmer, 'Ryot Upon Ryot:' Seditious during the London Shrieval Election of 1682, *The London Journal*, (2018) 43:1, 1-16.

Sensing danger following weeks of press rancor, Moore called in the militia to maintain order during the election. More than 3,000 liverymen attended, and many interpreted the presence of the trained bands as proof of physical intimidation against the freedom of the election. According to the procedures of the Common Hall elections, elected sheriffs were decided by acclamation; if challenged, a ballot would be issued two weeks later. Through polling by voice and hand, Papillon and Dubois were the clear favorites to win the election. A Tory liveryman demanded a poll, and Moore should have put the election on hold for two weeks. He did not, and tumult commenced. After six hours of polling under the direction of out-going Whig sheriffs Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, Common Hall was no closer to winding up the election. At 9 o'clock, Moore announced the closing of the books before polling had concluded and summarily dismissed the Common Hall. Frustrated liverymen broke out into scuffles. The hall erupted into a cacophony of hissing and shouting, with bands of men shoving and kicking each other. At one point, Richard Grassby asserts, Sir John Moore's hat was knocked off his head and he cowered after bending down to retrieve it.³¹⁷ Pilkington and Shute kept taking votes throughout the clamor, and once the polling was over, they finally closed the polls themselves and adjourned the meeting.

The next day, Sir John Moore appeared before the Privy Council accusing Pilkington and Shute of riotous conduct, and Charles II ordered the two sheriffs to be put in the Tower. The results of the 24 June poll were not announced, and since Whig

³¹⁷ Richard Grassby, 'Moore, Sir John (*bap.* 1620, *d.* 1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19125>, accessed 3 Dec 2015]

liverymen contested the results anyway, new elections were called for mid-July. Moore declared North confirmed and Box the elected winner, and Whig liverymen promptly challenged the results. The ensuing back and forth included poll taking, adjournments, and arguments (which often turned physically confrontational) lasted months. Buckling under the pressure, Ralph Box fined off and was replaced with Peter Rich.³¹⁸ In a 5 September poll, Moore forcibly ordered Whig liverymen to disperse from the Common Hall. Finally on 19 September, Moore declared North and Rich the undisputed winners, which Pilkington and Shute promptly disputed. By the time Michaelmas eve arrived, when by tradition sheriffs were to be admitted under oath, the election was still contested. All four men, Tories North and Rich and Whigs Papillon and Dubois, showed up at Guildhall to be sworn in, which Moore promptly did just for North and Rich.

The centrality of this election for the partisan shift of power is significant. It took months of disputations, petitions, fines, lawsuits, the closing of the Guildhall, and a threat of dissolution of both Common Hall and the Court of Aldermen to install these two Tories to the shrieval posts, according to Richard Grassby.³¹⁹ Throughout the ordeal, Moore, and consequently North, Box, and Rich, had substantial support from the Privy Council and Charles II. This support emboldened Moore to discard procedure several times, thus achieving the desired results of having all major city positions in the hands of court supporters. The controversy was well worth it for Charles. Sheriffs picked juries. By having a Tory mayor and two Tory sheriffs, the court could persecute Whigs for

³¹⁸ To “fine off” meant that Box paid a fine of £400 to relieve himself of official duties.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

sedition libel and treason without the risk of an *ignoramus* verdict being returned. The victory was not, however, without consequence; indeed, the Whig reaction was violent.

In verse, Tories crowed over their triumph. Two printed poems praised the “loyalty” of the appointed Tory sheriffs. Both titled *Loyalty Triumphant*, one chastised Whigs for bringing this political switch in political officers upon themselves:

For packing such Sheriffs, and
Such Juries to sham up;
For laying together
Your seditious pates,
That will never look well,
Till on the City-Gates.³²⁰

For this poet, Whigs who engaged in political shenanigans deserved to die a traitor’s death and have their heads on the City-Gates as a warning against all future subversions. The other similarly titled Tory poem, *Loyalty Triumphant*, “sung at the Sheriffs-Feast at Guildhall [on] Saturday, September 30, 1682,” the poet gloated:

Fill up the Bowl and set it round,
The day is won, the Sheriffs crowned;...
Thanks to Sir John, our good Lord Mayor,
‘Gainst Sheriffs Tricks He kept the Chair;
The Court and City’s *Right* maintains,
While head strong *Faction* broke the reins...
What Zeal (ye Whigs) to the Old Cause,
Thus makes you act against the LAWS...?³²¹

Naturally, Whigs were furious. To them, North and Rich won the shrieval posts through illegal political maneuvering by Moore and others. In reality, they were likely more furious that the Tories had learned their political game. In *The Loyal Sheriffs of London*

³²⁰ Anon., *Loyalty Triumphant; or a Looking-Glass for Deceivers* (30 November 1682), ESTC Citation: R4151.

³²¹ Anon., *Loyalty Triumphant, On the Confirmation of Mr. North and Mr. Rich, Sheriffs of London and Middlesex* (7 October 1682), ESTC Citation: R4080.

and Middlesex, upon their Election, a Tory poet praised his party for finally utilizing the same methods the Whigs did:

Where are now our Liberties and Freedom?
Where shall we find Friends when we shou'd need 'em?
To bleed 'em
And pull the *Tory's* down,
To push for our Intr'est, who can blame us?
Sheriffs rule the Town,
When we loose our Darling IGNORAMUS:
We loose the Combat, and the day's their own.³²²

Written in September 1682, *A Poem to the Right Honourable Sir J.[ames] B.[utler]*

Knight, &c, a Tory poet lends advice to the newly elected officials:

Go on therefore, and put the Laws in Force,
If you'd besafe; there's nothing else will do:
And let not *Ignoramus* stop their Course,
To favor any of the *Factionous Crew*.³²³

This poet implored Tory politicians and the court to interpret the law in favor of their interests, just as the Whigs had been using it in theirs, with Shaftesbury's acquittal being the best example. By returning Tory juries to trials, the newly installed sheriffs could help Charles ensure a stable legal system; "Great *Charles*, our Faith's Defender and our Laws," was a phrase Tory poets often proclaimed.³²⁴

The 1682 elections were so fraught that defeated Whigs sued for what they believed to be their denied positions. Dubois and Papillon , taking advantage of the

³²² Anon., *The Loyal Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Upon their Election* (1682), ESTC Citation: R39688.

³²³ Anon., *A Poem to the Right Honourable Sir J.B. Knight* (1682), ESTC Citation: R23136.

³²⁴ Anon., *An Heroick Poems to the King, upon the arrival of the Morocco and Bantam Embassadors, to his Majesty of Great Britain, in the year 1682* (1682), ESTC Citation: R10689.

legitimate avenues open to them, sued at King's Bench for the shrieval posts, for after all, according to Sir Peter Rich, Whig poet:

Many a Whigg did gape with his loud voice;
And gave his single Vote for their Duboise,
And I believe there was near half a Million,
Within the City voted for Papillon [sic].³²⁵

Since the newly installed sheriffs oversaw the mayoral election the day after their installation (29 September 1682), the mayoral nomination of favorite Whig candidate and haberdasher, Henry Cornish, was now moot. The Whig party had expected to have Whig sheriffs preside over the smooth election of Cornish, but when Moore installed the Tory sheriffs instead, he frustrated Whig designs again. Wielding their power for a day, North and Rich declared Sir William Pritchard, a Tory, as the next Lord Mayor, despite his polling in third place. Gary de Krey descriptively outlines the ensuing confusion:

[The mayoral results were] contested on behalf of two whig candidates [Sir Thomas Gold and Henry Cornish] by Thomas Papillon and John Dubois, whose claim to the shrievalty was recognized by the London whigs and who had also attempted to preside [at the election]. When both whigs topped Pritchard in the ensuing poll, the loyalist-dominated court of aldermen adjusted a scrutiny in favour of Pritchard. But the aldermen's declaration of Pritchard as lord mayor was rejected by the whigs, who boycotted the mayoral show and sued for the offices of sheriff and lord mayor in the court of king's bench. In Pritchard's first days as lord mayor, whig crowds commemorating the Gunpowder Plot mobbed him when he sought to disperse them with the trained bands, and broke his windows.³²⁶

³²⁵ Sir Peter Rich, *A Word of Advice to the Two New Sheriffs of London* (6 October 1682), ESTC Citation: R23493.

³²⁶ Gary S. De Krey, 'Pritchard, Sir William (1631/2–1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2018 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22825>, accessed 28 May 2018].

The contestations of the shrieval and then mayoral elections were thereafter tied up in the courts. Henry Cornish remarked that these challenges were “known to Thousands... the matter was disputed of in all Companies in the City.”³²⁷

As a result, there were two opposing city bodies performing governance: the Tory, court-supported men under oath, i.e. Pritchard, North, and Rich, and the extra-legal Whig-supported, “Discontented Party,” i.e. Cornish, Papillon, and Dubois.³²⁸ With the shrieval and mayoral positions in legal dispute, in April 1683, Papillon acting on a dubiously issued writ of *alias capias*, ordered Pritchard’s arrest and the arrest of several aldermen for election tampering.³²⁹ In essence, City governance was disordered. One poet cried to Charles:

Rowse up Great Monarch,
In the Royal Cause;
The Great Defender
Of our Faith and Laws,
Now, now, or never,
Crush the Serpent’s Head,
Or else the Poyson
Through the Land will spread....³³⁰

The poison, the poet of *Ryot upon Ryot: or a Chant upon the Arresting of the Loyal L. Mayor and Sheriffs* argued, was alleged Whig violent resistance to legitimate changes in city politics. If Charles allowed the Whigs to riot after urban governmental changes, this

³²⁷ Sir William Pritchard, *An Exact Account of the Trial between Sr. William Pritchard, Kt. and [sic] Alderman of the City of London, Plaintiff, and Thomas Papillon, Esq.; Defendant* (1689), ESTC Citation: R12402.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Anon., *Ryot upon Ryot: or A chant upon the arresting the Loyal L. Mayor & Sheriffs* (30 April 1683), ESTC Citation: R222113.

Tory poet charged, then, “He that would usurp the CHAIR / Would next usurp the THRONE / Who neither ROYAL HEIR / Nor LOYAL MAYORS allow.”³³¹ Many court-supporting politicians saw a slippery slope in allowing such chaos to reign in London’s governance towards outright war.

The local urban fights were predicated on large national issues, and Charles was more than willing to put up with their riots and legalistic manipulations in order to quash the Whig movement. Indeed, by pressuring Moore to exert his mayoral prerogatives, Charles initiated the violence. But it paid off. De Krey indicates that the mayoral contestations ended once Pritchard won his countersuit against Papillon. The court fined Papillon £10,000 for false imprisonment. Papillon then took a loan on his estates and fled for his life to Utrecht.³³² When Sir John Moore seemingly arbitrarily abused his position of power by toasting one sheriff, successively adjourning Common Hall, and influencing the voting process to put Tories into the shrieval posts, the Whigs reacted in full accordance of their beliefs in the “Liberties and Properties of the subject and the Rights of the City.”³³³ The tricky thing was that Moore exercised his prerogative appropriately according to precedent. The parties’ differing interpretations of prerogative, free exercise

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Gary S. De Krey, ‘Dubois, John (*bap.* 1622, *d.* 1684)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67399>, accessed 8 Dec 2015]; Gary S. De Krey, ‘Pritchard, Sir William (1631/2–1705)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22825>, accessed 8 Dec 2015]; Perry Gauci, ‘Papillon, Thomas (1623–1702)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21247>, accessed 8 Dec 2015].

³³³ Sir William Pritchard, *An Exact Account of the Trial between Sr. William Pritchard, Kt. and [sic] Alderman of the City of London, Plaintiff, and Thomas Papillon, Esq.; Defendant* (1689), ESTC Citation: R12402.

of liberties, and governance, in this instance, contributed to the Tory victory. The Whig electoral defeat problematically coincided with rumors of secret meetings and government claims of a Whig conspiracy.

To be fair, following the clamp down on Whig voices in national and city governance, to avoid persecution Whigs had to discourse in secret. The subscription feasts were arenas of Whig discussion, but Charles forestalled those the previous year. So when the feast quarrel arose again in August 1682 in the midst of the legalistic shenanigans of the elections, naturally it became the subject of partisan verse. On 10 August 1682, a Tory poem toasting, *To the Loyal Company of Citizens Met at Merchant-Tailors Hall*, was printed, claiming “Loyal LONDON ne’r may want / The Charters had when she was *Troynovant*,” or ancient Troy reborn.³³⁴ London would stay Troynovant, it is insinuated, as long as the court continued to frustrate Whig designs for office. What made this short accolade the subject of a brief but intense verse war were the participants of the feast—the city’s apprentices—and the condescension Charles showed towards them. This poem referred to the annual apprentices’ feast, which Charles supported with a brace [couple] of bucks. In *A Poem on the Prentices Feast*, a Whig poet expressed his dual frustrations with city politics and the thwarted feast. He wrote a biting narrative of the apprentices’ behavior: impatient falling on hot pies, naïve declarations of amazement at the bucks, uncouth imbibing of drink, and successful bribery (presumably by Charles)

³³⁴ Anon., *To the loyal company of citizens met at Merchant-Tailors Hall* (10 August 1682), ESTC Citation: R11644.

to ensure their loyalty.³³⁵ In *An Answer to the Whiggish Poem on the Loyal Apprentices Feast*, a Tory poet called out the poem for being what it was: “envy’s face behind, and sniv’ling cant.”³³⁶ The vicious riposte continued:

Loyal ADDRESSES, and ABHORRENCES,
(Quoth *Turn-Coat Whig*) are sottish *Flatteries*;
The *KING* delights in *Parasites*, we see,
And none but *Fools* can in His Favour be;
Dissolving Parliaments deserves *Damnation*,
For keeping *Publick Justice* from the Nation.³³⁷

This Tory’s bold-faced accusation was that only a Whig intent on debasing an innocent occasion would call expressions of loyalty—toasts, addresses, and “Abhorrences” to Shaftesbury’s Association—a partisan attempt to curry favor with the apprentices.³³⁸ Ironically, though, as Tim Harris enlightened historians in his article on “The Bawdy House Riots of 1668,” the apprentices previously criticized the political and religious policies of the court through rioting. Attempting to secure their loyalty through their stomachs was exactly something that Charles would do in 1682. The original Whig poet took exception to the language and fired off *A Rejoynder to the Whiggish Poem upon the Tory-Prentices Feast at Merchant-Taylors Hall*. Firstly, the poet scolded the Tory versifier:

His verse I’m sure’s asleep,
I’le swear, I thought (when first looked on

³³⁵ Anon., *A Poem upon the Prentices Feast at Merchant-Taylors Hall* (11 August 1682), ESTC Citation: R2976; Beinecke Library, Osborn MS b. 216, p. 220.

³³⁶ Anon., *An Answer to the Whiggish Poem on the Loyal Apprentices Feast* (1682), ESTC Citation: R23022.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Harris, “The Bawdy House Riots of 1668,” 537-556.

His Poem) he had sent me back mine own:
'T began alike; alike almost throughout,
'Twas only mine was turn'd the inside out:
'Tis a damn'd trick the *Tory* Tools have got,
To kill an Enemy with his own Shot.³³⁹

Aside from accusations of plagiarism, the Whig poet chided the Tories for hypocrisy:

Disloyal *Tories!* You the Traytors are...
Bravely maintain their Sovereign's right in truth,
Without e're feasting of the snotty Youth,
True *Whigs* ne're stoopt to such mean tricks as these,
To feast the hungry sniveling Prentices.³⁴⁰

The Whig poet excoriated Tories for spending the last four years deriding the populace as ignorant rabble, and yet now when it proved convenient to have civilian support, they sponsored a feast for the City's apprentices. Not allowing these allegations to stand, the original Tory author first dismissed the serious charges and issued an *ad hominem* attack on the Whig poet's writing style and intentions in *A Short Reply to the Author of the*

Whig Rejoinder:

What ails this peevish Arse-worm? What's the matter
That makes this snarling cur keep such a clatter?...
You'l want this penny-worth of Wit next year.
Never were Mortals pester'd thus, but we,
With Bumbast-Nonscense, Limping Poetry.
Thou silly prating *Whig* to write such Verse,
Not good enough to wipe a *Tories* Arse.³⁴¹

With repossessed dignity, in *A Second Repartee to the Rejoinder of the Whiggish Poem on the London-Apprentices Feast*, the Tory poet reminded his adversary:

³³⁹ Anon., *A Rejoinder to the Whiggish Poem upon the Tory-Prentices Feast at Merchant-Taylors Hall*, (26 August 1682), ESTC Citation: R3035.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Anon., *A Short Reply to the author of the Whig Rejoinder* (1682) ESTC Citation: 25759.

There are the worst of Men, the worst of Evils,
Whose Dam'd Hypocrisies out vie the Devils,
These are the precious Saints, with open Cry,
That Hails their Prince, and yet would Crucifie.³⁴²

From the Tory perspective, hypocrisy did not lie in pursuing the populace's support; it lay in proclaiming loyalty to the king while simultaneously working to undermine his prerogative and intended succession, as did the Whig party. By being peevish over Tory pursuit of London's apprentices, furthermore, the Whigs were undermining their support amongst the population:

In vain you Strive to daunt brave *London's* Youth,
We easily perceive your Shams from Truth.
Well may your greasy Worship fret to see,
An Annual Juvenillian [sic] Jubilee,
Feasted, Encourag'd, for their Loyalty.
'Tis now high time to look about us, Whig,
We fear you not, although you look so Big.³⁴³

Tories used this moment to aggressively pursue the popular support that the Whigs had worked so hard to cultivate.

V. Assertion of Authority, *Quo Warranto* London:

Throughout the wrangling for the shrieval and mayoral posts in the court of law (June 1682-1683), Tory poets increased their criticisms of the Whig party. Tories not only undermined Whig claims for the London posts but also smoothed over Charles's revocation of the London charter through a writ of *quo warranto* (a royal writ of challenge, literally 'by what warrant?' or 'by what right?'). Charters were documents

³⁴² Anon., *A Second Repartee to the Rejoinder of the Whiggish Poem on the last London-Apprentices Feast* (1682), ESTC Citation: R14644.

³⁴³ Ibid.

granted by the king giving a city the right to exist with certain rights and responsibilities. Paul Halliday elucidates, “the charter outlined the five general features of corporateness: perpetual succession, the capacity to sue and be sued as one, and powers to hold lands, to have a common seal, and to make by-laws.”³⁴⁴ To rescind a charter meant the death of a city, as it was known, with no real foresight into how (or if) it could be restructured.

Charles’s demand to the City of London to prove by what right its charter was held stirred up public opinion against Whigs to demand by what right they should hold the city’s offices. The first successful *quo warranto* campaigns began in the provinces, notably Worcester, and were initiated by local Tories against Whig officials. However, their success inspired Charles to increase the breadth and frequency of the proceedings, and in December 1681, he launched *quo warranto* proceedings against the Charter of London. Among the charges against London was the accusation that “the king’s subjects [were riled] to a hatred of the king’s person, and government” which Tim Harris explains was exacerbated “by printing and dispersing a petition stating that Charles had been wrong to dissolve parliament.”³⁴⁵ The main charge, as Paul Halliday clarifies, was the illegal collection of market tolls.³⁴⁶ The petition had been influenced by Whig behavior in the city’s election and by political rhetoric. In an effort to support the Crown’s attempts to rewrite London’s charter, Tory poets implied that Whigs abused the existing system, by bribing supporters or buying political influence, as this July 1682 poem showed:

³⁴⁴ Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, 34.

³⁴⁵ Harris, *Restoration*, 296.

³⁴⁶ Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, 204.

Since *Legal Monarchy* must Rule the Roast,
And C----- determined is to *Keep* his *Post*...
Thousands of *Guineys* can't have Influence
On Him who hath of *Loyalty* due sense;
Since neither *Wapping-Treats* nor *Whiggshead Clubbs*
Assert the Right of *Perkin* or the *Tubbs*.³⁴⁷

Tories showed their disdain for the Whig interpretation of the law by equating their ideas with “Brimighams.”³⁴⁸ If Whigs were associated with coin counterfeiting/clipping and espoused heterodoxy, then their version of what the law could and could not do was surely fraudulent as well.³⁴⁹ Tories also proclaimed that Whigs were highjacking the city’s elections. How could the populace expect anything less from the party that held Parliament hostage no less than three times to “thwart the right Line:”

[By] keeping the King from borrowing of Coyne,
Though his wants should be great as ever were mine...
Libera nos domine.³⁵⁰

Tory indignation stemmed from parliamentary Whigs manipulating one aspect of the law (holding the king’s budget hostage) in order to effect a change in another (altering the succession), when both seemed treasonous to the court’s supporters. The stunt that the Whig juries pulled to find Shaftesbury not guilty by *ignoramus*, for the Tories, wholly demonstrated Whig abuses of the existing charter; Tories welcomed the challenge.

³⁴⁷ Anon., *Iter Boreale: or Esq; Spare-Penny’s Departure to the North* (3 July 1682), ESTC Citation: R16485. Wapping-Treats refers to the alleged ten thousand boys Shaftesbury claimed he had at his beck and call.

³⁴⁸ “Brimighams” was slang for coin clipping/counterfeiting, which was heavily associated with Birmingham, where much of the fraudulent activity took place.

³⁴⁹ Anon., *London’s Joy and Loyalty on his Royal Highness the Duke of York’s Return out of Scotland* (1682), ESTC Citation: R180120.; Anon., *Tory ballad on Their Royal Highnesses return from Scotland. Or, The Brimigham Ballad on their Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland* (1682), ESTC Citation: R20764, variant R20402.

³⁵⁰ Anon., *The Cavalier’s Litany* (3 November 1682), ESCT Citation: R24741.

If negative propaganda tactics would not work to turn the populace back to the court's side, Tories in a blunt message to the Whigs outlined the major differences between the opposing parties. In *Judah Betrayed*, 1682, a Tory poet detailed that:

If you your Rights and Charters will lay down,
And yeild [sic] the Priviledges of your Town,
Your Ancient Customes to our surer Trust,
Courtiers and lawyers still you know are just.
We'l stand by all your Fortunes and your Lives,
And keep our usual Kindness to your Wives;...
But if you awkard [sic] be
And still presume to keep your Liberty,
Know that the Angry Planets soon will frown
And with dire Visitations spoil your Town;
Know that the Ancient Rolls of *Adams* Laws
Give us our Rights, and weaken all your Cause.³⁵¹

Tories believed that the law of ancient custom, current jurisprudence, nature, and God was on their side, as this poet makes clear. By fighting against the revocation of the city's charter, this Tory poet hinted that Whigs put no credence in any existing laws, man's or God's. He was one step away from declaring all who championed the Whig theories to be atheists.

Yet Tories also claimed that Whigs were hypocritical Christians. Rather than upholding God's ordained lawful hereditary succession, they "tugg[ed] daily to Promote the *Cause*, / to T'wart all Justice, and make Null the *Laws*."³⁵² The Whigs' continued attempts to reinstate a commonwealth by altering the succession naturally resulted in the King's just reprisal of the faction, a *quo warranto* writ, as this 1682 Tory poem argued:

³⁵¹ Anon., *Judah Betrayed: or, The Egyptian plot turn'd on the Israelites* (1682), ESTC Citation: R30477.

³⁵² Anon., *The Hypocritical Christian: or the Conventicling Citizen displayed* (1682), ESTC Citation: R7872.

Be ready too, your *Charter* to secure,
Who those damn'd *Quo Warranto's* can't endure?
You see that *Oxford* stoutly doth defie,
Such *Writs*; and will protect their *Liberty*
Ne're trust their *Charter* in the Hands of *King's*,
Who'd bauk their *Priv'ledge* and clips their *Wings*.³⁵³

Following this empathetic acknowledgement of the threat, not simply the inconvenience, of a *quo warranto* inquiry, this Tory poet chided the “Whiggish Town” of London and admonished them, “May names of parties and Distinctions cease, / May *Faction* fall, and *Loyalty* increase.”³⁵⁴ If the Whiggish members of London complied with the *quo warranto* process “With Law,”

Thou'lt enjoy thy *Liberty*
Securely live beneath thy *Vine* at ease,
Thy Credit and thy Fortune will increase.
Be Loyal, and Defend the Kings Just Right,
Ne're read a Factious Pamphlet with Delight.³⁵⁵

The Tories believed Whig compliance was as unlikely as it was absurd, especially if the shrieval election contestations proved example. The consistent annoyance Tories felt centered around what they interpreted to be the duplicity of the Whig message:

He the Kings Person would Protect, he said,
Yes, yes forsooth, by Cutting off his Head.
He is the King's Best Friend, and yet thought Good
To plunge his Kingdoms in a Sea of Blood.³⁵⁶

How, *The Hypocritical Whiggs Displayed* poet asked on 26 October 1682, could Whigs “clip the Kings Prerogative” in the name of saving the nation?³⁵⁷ How, asked a Tory poet

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Anon., *The Hypocritical Whiggs Displayed* (26 Oct 1682), ESTC Citation: R15657.

the previous day, “are they [whigs] fit for man’s society” when they “still declare / that kings elective by the people are?”³⁵⁸

This last barb pointed particularly at the earl of Shaftesbury’s disappearance from London in October 1682. With the *quo warranto* suit initiated and once the Tory sheriffs were installed, sightings of the earl became rarer. Fearing re-arrest, Shaftesbury fled. First, he absconded to a series of secret locations around England, where John Spurr argues he “engaged in a round of meetings that allegedly discussed the possibility of risings in London, Cheshire, Essex and the West Country,” and when he failed to secure significant backing for any rebellion, he fled to Amsterdam.³⁵⁹ He arrived there on 2 December 1682 and died on 21 January 1683. Following his demise, Tories firmly tied together Whig political positions not only to the failed commonwealth period, but also to the elective monarchy of Poland. Once news of Shaftesbury’s death reached England, he became, again, the target of vitriolic *ad hominem* attacks.

In several poems, opponents referred to the earl not by his rank, but by the title “King of Poland.” In *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony, King of Poland*, a Tory poet bequeathed Shaftesbury’s fictitious crown: “let Monmouth take’t, who long to be a king: / His empty head soft nature did design / for such a light and airy crown as

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Anon., *A Loyal Satire against Whiggism* (25 October 1682), POASY vol. 3, 365, 362.

³⁵⁹ Spurr, “Shaftesbury and the Seventeenth Century,” in Spurr, *Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury*, 24.

mine.”³⁶⁰ The rest of the poem gruesomely details what should be done with his soul, (alleged) Association, head, tongue, eyes, quarters, and finally his bowels, underscoring the poet’s belief that Shaftesbury should have died a traitor’s death. In *A Congratulation of the Protestant Joyner to Anthony King of Poland, upon his Arrival in the Lower World*, the poet declared in the earl’s voice, “The name of *King* I hate, yet can’t refuse.”³⁶¹ The poem *Great News from Poland: being an Impartial Account of the Election of a New King, in the room of Anthony, by the Grace of GOD lately deceased* explains why Tories conferred on Shaftesbury the title, King of Poland: Poland’s monarchy was an elected one.

By pushing for an alteration of the succession, Shaftesbury’s political inclinations (Tories alleged) ranged the spectrum from Good Old Cause revivalist to elective monarchist. As the *Great News from Poland* would tell it, at the end of his life, Shaftesbury was the latter; the former relied too much on Presbyterianism, something that his “religion, his principles of honour and honesty, his natural aversion to a lineal descent” would prohibit. One might not find Shaftesbury’s religious affiliation in England at all, the text continues:

For proof of his Religion, there needed no more, than that there have been entertain’d *Men of all perswasions [sic]* at this *King Arthur’s Round-Table*, (for we must no longer call him plain *Arthur*.) Such a temper as this

³⁶⁰ Anon., *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony, King of Poland* (1682), ESTC Citation: R1577; *Poems on affairs of State, from the reign of K. James the first, to this present year 1703*, vol II. Pg. 119-22; British Library, Add. MSS 11268, f. 95; Burney MS 390, f. 26; Bodleian Library MSS Eng. Poet c. 25, f. 73.

³⁶¹ Anon., *A Congratulation of the Protestant Joyner to Anthony King of Poland Upon his Arrival in the Lower World* (January 1683), ESTC Citation: R29678.

is chiefly requisite in a *Polish King*: it being said of *Poland*, that he that has lost his religion, may easily find it there.³⁶²

If declaring the earl an atheist were not enough to render him defeated and belittle him in the readers' eyes, connecting the earl's physical disabilities with his political predilections would. In *Dagon's Fall*, "Anthony, King of Poland" "spit his Venom through the Town" through the "Tap in's side he bore."³⁶³ Referring to the silver tap in Shaftesbury's side, Tories bestowed upon him the nickname of Potapski in reference to his Polish sensibilities.³⁶⁴ Indeed, one Tory author granted Potapski's Whig affiliates new names and titles from "His Majesty:"

Boreaski Whad-d'ye-call-himski, Seignior Tho. Strongarmski,	<i>Lord High Chancellor of Poland... By her Majesties intercession, first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber...</i>
Pimpanello Forbesius,	<i>Groom of the Stool, and Policy- reader to them that Cannot read about Court.</i>
Gilbertus Groaningboardellus	<i>Confessor to her Majesty, provided they will Not gueld [sic] him when he goes over.</i>
Monsieur Papillonski, Monsier Duboienski,	<i>Sherifss [sic] of Cracovia, without any opposition.³⁶⁵</i>

The two "sherifss" clearly indicated Thomas Papillon and John Dubois for their contestations of London's shrieval posts.

³⁶² Anon., *Great News from Poland: being an Impartial account of the Election of a New King, in the room of Anthony, by the Grace of God lately deceased* (1683), ESTC Citation: R230061.

³⁶³ Anon., *Dagon's Fall, or the Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland* (3 February 1683), ESTC Citation: R7784.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. Seignior Tho. Strongarmski refers to Sir Thomas Armstrong, radical Whig and Rye House conspirator. Gilbert Groaningboardellus likely refers to Bishop Gilbert Burnet, exclusionist. I cannot find references for Boreaski Whad-d'ye-call-himski or Pimpanello Forbesius.

In Shaftesbury's flight and death, the "Reaction" against the Whig cause seemed not yet a checkmate, but certainly a check. Not only did Tory poets launch personal attacks against the Whig leader, but in his death they also used the disgraced earl's voice to affirm Whig attempts to institute "a new form'd Lump of Anarchy / Whilst under foot lies Monarchy / and Hated."³⁶⁶ Anarchy would be the natural end result of Shaftesbury's legacy, the Tories claimed in Shaftesbury's voice:

To good *King Charles* I leave (though, faith, 'tis pity)
A pois'ned Nation and deluded City,
Seditions, clamours, murmurs, jealousies
False Oaths, Sham-Stories, and Religious Lies.³⁶⁷

Nothing, this Tory poet implied, about the Whig cause had been legal. It had engaged in perjury and sedition, all to create civil upheaval. Thus it was vitally important to the Tories, and indeed to Charles himself, that the suit of *quo warranto* against London should be successful.

In the quest to seize London's charter, the stakes were high. If Charles was successful, according to Sir Henry Pollexfen who defended the City against the *quo warranto* charge, London's lands could be reverted to their donors, debts owed to and by the City could be forfeited, freemen and other inhabitants would lose their liberties, numerous charities and public works would be in peril, and any replacement charter issued by the king would be new, not a recreation.³⁶⁸ In essence, Paul Halliday asserts, "all ancient liberties and properties would be lost with no chance of reviving

³⁶⁶ Anon., *The King of Poland's Last Speech to his Country-men* (24 Oct 1682), ESTC Citation: R229223.

³⁶⁷ Anon., *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland* (1682), ESTC Citation: R1577.

³⁶⁸ T.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. 8, London, 1816, pg. 1254-1255.

them...reduc[ing] London to the status of a village.”³⁶⁹ The successful revocation of London’s charter would also “determine where sovereignty lay in the growing national state...as a singular power located in the monarchy, [and not as] a power divided between national and local jurisdictions.”³⁷⁰ Ultimately, the issue of London’s charter determined the nature of party. Those against the revocation of London’s charter were, for the most part, those against the succession of James, since the Popish Plot provoked the issue. Those in favor of its revocation were typically those who had opposed altering the succession. In other words, Whigs and Tories matured from factions arguing over dynastic rules to parties fighting for the true definition of sovereignty, rule of law, and limitations to power. Both parties were firmly coalescing around specific ideological platforms, meeting to decide which activities might best achieve their aims, and consistently appealing to the public for support.

When the Whig lawyers lost their arguments and the charter was seized in June 1683, the Tory party gloried over their win. In *The Whigs in Mourning for the Loss of their Charter*, a Tory poet boasted:

Let the snarling *Whig*
Ne’r look so big,
Nor once pretend to mutter;
Now their *Charter’s* gone,
They sigh and moan,
And keep a woundy [sic] clutter:
Hanging down their pensive ears;
They mourn the sad disaster,

³⁶⁹ Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, 208.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 205.

That fill'd their heads with causless [sic] fears
Of Royal *CHARLES* their Master.³⁷¹

Many Tory poets also chastised the Whigs for their previous hand wringing over the threatened charter. If anything, Whig behavior caused the charter's loss. A Tory poet recreated the *quo warranto* court and through a judge's voice chastised:

Look you, brother; here you have misus'd
Your Charter, and the known laws abus'd.
Riots and routs, you that should them suppress,
You have promoted to great excess;
You have pick'd juries, pack'd them for your Cause,
And this destroys the fundamental laws;
You that should schism and faction quell, support
Unlawful meetings, and to them resort.³⁷²

To which the Whig lawyer replied, "Let the transgressors of the law be lash'd / But do not let the law itself be dash'd."³⁷³ But as later stanzas make clear, changing the charter's terms made hypocrites out of the Whig party. If they claimed all along to be acting against the forces of Catholicism, they should be rejoicing in the possibility of a new charter. A new charter would be a true Protestant beginning:

The last old Charter...
Was granted to us in the days of yore,
And many an odde [sic] thing was in't; 'twas done
When th' land with Popery was overrun,
And now by *Law* 'tis so repugnant found,
That th' *Law* it self is in that *Charter* drown'd;
But there's another in the *Mint* for you,
According to your hearts desire, *New, New*;

³⁷¹ Anon., *The Whigs in Mourning for the Loss of their Charter* (June 1683), ESTC Citation: R26315.

³⁷² Anon., *The Saints new Charter, written occasionally upon the Quo Warranto, with some remarques upon the late Ryots &c.* (1683), ESTC Citation: R34577.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

Not after the old *Superstitious Fashion*
But *New*, according to the *Reformation*.³⁷⁴

Not only would the new charter that Charles provided the City be a Protestant beginning, but it also would settle the question of where sovereignty lay once and for all. In *Londons Lamentation, or an Excellent New Song on the Loss of London's Charter*, a Tory poet reminded the Whigs, "Thy *Freedom & Rights* from kind *Princes* did spring / and yet in contempt Thou withstandest thy *King*."³⁷⁵

The revocation of London's charter the following year highlights the irony of the Whig's loss. On 12 June 1683, the Court of King's Bench ruled against the City's charter, and it was seized on 4 October 1683. By advocating for altering the law, Whigs put significant faith in the belief that Parliament was the only establishment that could provide legitimacy to constitutional changes. When Charles, supported by the Tories, delivered a change to the law through alternative means, suddenly Whigs touted tradition and cried arbitrary power. Their true partisan position became clear: Whigs supported *parliamentary* constitutionalism. By supporting, instead, Charles in his quest to seize London's charter, Tories signaled their rejection of this concept and of the immortal body politic independent of the monarch.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Anon., *Londons Lamentation: or an Excellent New Song on the Loss of London's Charter* (14 June 1683), ESTC Citation: R969.

³⁷⁶ Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic*, 204-212.

Chapter 4
‘Are not these times grown strange:’
Tory Reaction and the Rhetorical War, 1683-1684

In two transformative years, Charles II directed his government, both nationally and locally to quell the Whig attempts to alter the law of succession. To do so, he had to contend with the absence of press censorship, but quickly the Tories discovered they did not need full control of the press. With the shrieval elections and the *quo warranto* proceedings, they were close to silencing the Whigs already. Charles was also unwilling to call a Parliament simply to renew the Licensing Act. Instead he and his government resorted to both conventional and, in some cases, unprecedented legal tactics to fight back against unlicensed printing, while his Tory supporters made headway with rhetoric. What made these years catalytic for the “Tory Reaction” was the fallout resulting from a desperate act taken by some of the more radical of the Whigs: the Rye House Plot in 1683. Feeling politically impotent, some radical Whigs believed that the only way to effect a swift change was to assassinate both Stuart brothers. The individuals involved in this conspiracy, by Melinda Zook’s account in *Radical Whigs and Conspiratorial Politics in late Stuart England*, “crossed class, gender, and religious divides.”³⁷⁷ Little wonder then that Charles cracked down so swiftly and strongly against the Whig multitude. In his mind, the Whigs had spent the better part of five years agitating for an unwanted change, introduced dissension and unrest in the streets, were continuing to campaign actively by engaging in rhetorical warfare, and raising funds for support *when* Charles called a new

³⁷⁷ Zook, *Radical Whigs*, 1.

Parliament. The Rye House plot gave him the justification he needed to fully end the conflict permanently.

In *Restoration*, Tim Harris called the “Tory Reaction” more multidimensional than previous accounts would suggest.³⁷⁸ His noteworthy argument deserves to be fully quoted:

The defeat of the Whigs was the result of both policy and police: exploitation of the media to convince moderates, waverers or unsure loyalists to pledge their allegiance to the crown and the succession and to allow themselves to stand up and be counted was backed up by a rigorous campaign to suppress all forms of political and religious opposition, to remove Whigs and nonconformists from positions of power at the central and local levels, and to intimidate the sizeable number of people who still sympathized with the Whig agenda into political silence or acquiescence.³⁷⁹

Harris thus sets himself apart from Jonathan Scott’s provocative thesis that “persuasion was so successful that Whigs abandoned their interpretations and became Tories,” and William Speck’s argument that “Charles II’s government became in tune with the people rather than running roughshod over them.”³⁸⁰ The punitive aspects of the “Tory Reaction” will be illuminated primarily through Tory poets who carefully crafted a propaganda campaign, a campaign similar to the one used cunningly by the Whigs to cultivate support for exclusion the three previous years. Harris demonstrated that this courting took place by pointing to the manifestations of public support: loyal addresses,

³⁷⁸ Harris, *Restoration*, 212.

³⁷⁹ Harris, *Restoration*, 213.

³⁸⁰ Scott, *Restoration Crisis*, 47-8; Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 135.

processions, and demonstrations in favor of the crown and the succession.³⁸¹ One can also clearly see this courtship through political poetry.

Through the Tories' poetic rhetoric and propaganda campaign against the Whigs, a Tory platform emerged. As revealed through poetry and songs, the Tory platform ultimately came down to supporting "rightfull Sov'reign pow'rs," including the resurrected concept of divine right. In the face of advancing republicanism, Tories aligned themselves with a divinely ordained monarch who upheld the Anglican Church. Thus, they acknowledged and accepted the possibility of a Catholic ruler provided that that monarch upheld the Church of England. This chapter details the poetic rhetorical journey to this strategy.

I. Radical Whigs and the Rye House Plot:

In reaction to the lost *quo warranto* battle, a faction of radical Whigs plotted to assassinate Charles and his brother on the way back from the annual horse races at Newmarket. A massive fire at Newmarket on 22 March 1683 destroyed half the town and thwarted the plotters' plans as the royal entourage thus earlier than expected passed through the ambush point, Rye House in Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire. In an extraordinary and intriguing coincidence, Josiah Keeling, oil merchant and minor Whig conspirator, informed Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Secretary of State, of the foiled plot on 12 June 1683, the very same day the courts decided to allow London's charter to be seized into the

³⁸¹ Harris, *London Crowds*.

King's hands.³⁸² The widening investigation into the plot soon uncovered a larger conspiracy of Whig uprising, insurrection, and planned governmental seizure.³⁸³

Much of what we know about the plot is still unclear, but what is certain was that Shaftesbury, uneasy about the progress of Exclusion at the Oxford Parliament, began to enter into secret discussions with Monmouth and other Whig leaders regarding contingency plans in the event of another failed attempt at Exclusion. Shaftesbury's arrest and trial at the end of 1681, and Monmouth's exile in 1682, thwarted any plans that may have previously existed. But by May 1682, Thanet House (Shaftesbury's London residence) was a hive of conspiracy. Shaftesbury, Lord Ford Grey of Warke, Sir Thomas Armstrong, William Lord Russell and Monmouth attempted to coordinate risings throughout the country. The conspirators counted on Shaftesbury's famed but illusory "brisk boys...ready to follow him whenever he held up his fingers."³⁸⁴ According to Lord Howard, Shaftesbury replied to a query about his forces that he had ten thousand brisk boys scattered across the country willing to rise up when called. But separately, another group of conspirators plotted to ambush and assassinate Charles and York at Richard Rumbold's leased Rye House. It seems as if Shaftesbury knew about both conspiracies. In the ensuing whispered conversations, rebellion, insurrection, and assassination were all bandied about with varying degrees of conviction amongst the conspirators.

³⁸² Harris, *Restoration*, 297; Alan Marshall, 'Rye House plotters (*act.* 1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93794>, accessed 4 Feb 2016].

³⁸³ Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom*.

³⁸⁴ T.B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. 24, London, 1818, pg. 476.

The main core of conspirators, the so-called Monmouth Cabal, favored rebellion, as Monmouth himself would not countenance any discussion of patricide. Even if Shaftesbury did not support the assassination plot, his flight to Amsterdam, triggered by the election of the Tory sheriffs, revealed growing frustration and desperation over the Cabal's lack of action.³⁸⁵ To stay much longer without action put Shaftesbury at risk of arrest by Tory sheriffs, who would then pack a Tory jury and find him guilty of *something*. But Cooper's flight winnowed down the main schemers to a Council of Six: Monmouth, Russell, Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden. This group's main intrigue was to encourage a multifaceted, coordinated rebellion supported by London, the West Country, Cheshire, and Scotland. Ultimately, the Council of Six failed to launch the rebellion because they were split over final goals: whether the establishment of a commonwealth through assassination or the forcing of Charles to come to terms (presumably to call a new Parliament under new constitutional restrictions). Robert West, Stephen Colledge's failed lawyer and Green Ribbon Club member, led the assassination conspirators, but both groups were so suspicious of the other that each deployed double agents to keep tabs on activity and information.³⁸⁶ Betrayal and accident, however, forced the revelation of the conspiracies.

The Tory poetic reaction was immediate. "Now, now the *Plot* is all come out, / That caus'd our Doubts and Fears," screamed *Murder Out at Last in a Ballad on the New*

³⁸⁵ Spurr, *Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury*, 267.

³⁸⁶ Harris, *Restoration*, 311-312.

Plot on 30 June 1683. “Both *Commoners* and *Peers*” are to blame, the poem continued.

In a damning charge, the poet blamed:

Sanctify'd religious zeal
The Brethren did agree
To raise our Ancient *Commonweal*
On Christian Liberty:
To undermine the Church and State
And blow up MONARCHY.³⁸⁷

Many Tory poems took perverse delight in the revelations of the Rye House treacheries.

For Tory poets, these revelations were proof of why Shaftesbury fled and died abroad.

This was a justification of the party's own claims that Whig rhetoric could usher in a renewed period of civil war. *No Protestant Plot, or the Whigs Loyalty with the Doctor's*

New Discovery perfectly exemplified the vindication many Tories felt:

Hells restless Factious Agents still Plot on,
And Eighty Three smells rank of Forty One;...
The Infernal Regicides so inflam'd with Zeal
Are for Killing King, and Duke, t' Erect a Common-weal;
This is the Dayly Trade and Practice of our Modern *Whiggs*.³⁸⁸

Plotting to commit regicide made these radical Whigs “just like old *Satan*, when He did Rebel” in the eyes of many.³⁸⁹ For Tories, nothing justified regicide.

Much like God's judgment against Satan, Charles's royal justice was just as swift.

When Titus Oates appeared in 1678, Charles delegated the hearing of Oates's deposition.

The silver-tongued Oates was able to build on baseless accusations by being allowed to

³⁸⁷ Anon., *Murder out at Last in a Ballad on the New Plot* (30 June 1683), ESTC Citation: R16149.

³⁸⁸ Anon., *No Protestant Plot, or the Whigs Loyalty: with the Doctors New Discovery* (30 June 1683), ESTC Citation: R4414.

³⁸⁹ Anon., *The Last and Truest Discovery of the Popish Plot by Rumsey, West, and other great Patriots of their Countrey* (30 June 1683), ESTC Citation: R32453.

speaking freely. Learning from his mistakes, and in an effort to forestall mishandling, Charles heard the evidence of the Rye House plot himself in 1683, and allowed no one to elaborate. Within two weeks, several conspirators of both high and low station were arrested. No fewer than nine plotters turned King's Evidence, including Robert West. More than forty fled. Algernon Sidney, William Lord Russell and Arthur Capell, the Earl of Essex, were sent to the Tower. Rewards of £500 apiece were offered for Monmouth, Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and Robert Ferguson. The entire country was on alert for suspected collaborators. Lord Grey was arrested but escaped. Hampden ultimately confessed of his part in *a plot*, but pled ignorance of *regicide*. He was convicted of treason, threw himself on the mercy of the court, and was ordered to pay £6000 to be set at liberty, which he did in 1686. Lord Howard accepted a pardon in return for informing on the others, notably Algernon Sidney.

By the end of July, executions began. On July 20, Captain Thomas Walcot, William Hone, and John Rouse died the traitor's death; they were hanged, drawn, and quartered. On July 21, Lord Russell was beheaded. During Russell's trial, news that the Earl of Essex allegedly committed suicide in the Tower by slitting his own throat made its way to the London press, to be further discussed below. Still, the Tory balladeers clamored that Charles should "give 'em no Quarter:"

No shamming, nor flammimg,
No ramming, nor damming,
No Ignoramus Jury's now,
For Whiggs, but only Hanging...
And e'ry Bloody Whigg must go.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Anon., *The Loyal Conquest, or Destruction of Treason, a Song* (19 July 1683), ESTC Citation: R228930.

The bloodthirstiness of the poems that followed in the wake of the plot reveals much about how the country had rhetorically divided itself to the point of insurrection. In a July 26th poem titled, *Inimicus Patriæ or a New Satyr Against the Horrid Plot*, one Tory pontificator argued:

Reason once King in Man, Depos'd and gone,
Chaos and Ruin seis'd the Injur'd Throne....
Thus Head-long Crowds to Mad Sedition Run,
And by their own base Factions are undone....
Treason it self, should Treason's self Reveal.
'Tis strange, and rare, that Free-born men, should be
Their own Contrivers for their Slavery.
Seditious Idiots think the Name of King,
To be some base, or least, unhallow'd thing.³⁹¹

For Tories, when Whigs in “all the pious intentions / for *property, liberty, laws*” attempted to alter the rule of law by appealing to “the Rabble,” they set themselves up for extreme action.³⁹² For years, Whigs appealed to the populace by arguing that only through parliamentary action could the monarchical succession change. They knowingly or subliminally built the argument that true sovereignty lay with representatives of the people. It was only through sheer force of popular will that Members of the Commons could enact an alteration in the monarchical establishment. These messages echoed through the writings of Algernon Sidney's *Discourses upon Government* and John

³⁹¹ Anon., *Inimicus Patriæ, or a New Satyr Against the Horrid Plot* (26 July 1683), ESTC Citation: R32364.

³⁹² Anon., *The Whigs laid open, or an Honest Ballad or these Sad Times* (July 1683), ESTC Citation: R219502.

Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*, written as justification of the Rye House insurrections but unpublished.³⁹³

What radical Whigs saw as a needed fundamental transformation of the body politic, Tories saw as the natural culmination of enhanced and inflammatory rhetoric. Nathaniel Thompson, a Catholic printer and bane to Whig poets, printers, and publishers, almost immediately gloated over the revelations of the Rye House Plot and its supposed implications to libelous printers, in *A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the Hellish Fanatick Plot*, 1683:

Come now let's rejoyce & the City Bells Ring
And the Bonfires kindle, whilst unto the *King*
We pay on our knees the grand tribute that's due,
Of thanks and oblation, which now we renew...
The Libelling Tribe that so long have Reign'd
And sowed Sedition, shall now be Arraign'd;
Their Sham & their Lies shall do them no good
When they come to the tree, there's no shamming that wood.³⁹⁴

Thompson's righteous indignation shines through this poem, as he had only a year earlier been on trial at the King's Bench for "trespass and misbehaviors, [for] writing, printing, and publishing letters, importing, that Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey murdered himself."³⁹⁵ It was precisely the question of suicide that drove an emerging Whig martyrology.

³⁹³ Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1681*.

³⁹⁴ Anon., *A Congratulation on the Happy discovery of the Hellish Fanatick Plot* (1683), ESTC Citation: R171499.

³⁹⁵ Anon., *The most remarkable trials of Nathaniel Thompson, William Paine, John Farwell, at the Kings-Bench Bar in Guild-Hall, on the 20th of this instant June, 1682 for trespass and misbehaviours, in writing, printing, and publishing letters, importing, that Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey murdered himself: also several scandalous reflections upon the government, and arraigning the justice of the nation: with all the material circumstances that attended their trial, wherein they were all three found guilty.* (1682), ESTC Citation: R235174.

The first to die as a result of the Rye House Plot was Arthur Capell, the Earl of Essex. But, Essex was not judicially executed. Sensationally, during Russell's treason trial on July 13th, Howard announced to those assembled that Essex had been found dead in the Tower: he had slit his own throat. Russell was sentenced the same day, and eight days later was subjected to a botched execution by Jack Ketch. According to the poetry that emerged thereafter, both men received their just deserts. *A Lash to Disloyalty* outlined what the poet presumed to be Essex's state:

For when in *Tower*, where he lay convinc'd
Of the conspiring 'gainst his Royal Prince;
His troubl'd Conscience did him then accuse,
To think he should so good a King abuse;
His heart being broke, no longer could contend
From doing that which prov'd his Tragick end.³⁹⁶

Suicide was Essex's admission of guilt, so the poets claimed. His crime was that he feared not "Death, Hell, Damnation" and "darest...to aspire too nigh / The high Prerogative of Majesty."³⁹⁷ Even throughout the rhetorical denunciations of Essex's choice of action and the circumstances that led to it, a sense of melancholy can be noted in Tory poetry, however, if for no other reason than Tory opponents would rather have seen Essex fight to "justify thy innocence."³⁹⁸ Intriguingly, both Tories and Whigs saw Essex's death as the result of his loyalty. A Tory poet wrote, "Essex, he / the first that cut

³⁹⁶ Anon., *A Lash to Disloyalty* (1683), ESTC Citation: R39325.

³⁹⁷ Anon., *A New Poem on the Dreadful Death of the Earl of Essex who Cut his Own Throat in the Tower* (1683), ESTC Citation: R41054.

³⁹⁸ Anon., *An Elegy upon the Earl of the Essex who cut his own throat in the Tower* (14 July 1683), POASY vol. 3, 456-457.

his throat for ‘s loyalty,” whereas a Whig poet penned, “Lord Capel, who (for his Loyalty) was Barbarously Murthere’d in the *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*.”³⁹⁹ In this case, loyalty meant to the King for the Tories, and for some Whigs it meant against “Treason combin’d, call’d *Law established*.”⁴⁰⁰ In other words, this Whig poet claimed that Essex’s loyalty was to the law, but not as Charles had manipulated it through *quo warranto* or the shrieval and mayoral electoral management.

The implications of this poem was getting dangerously close to the Commonwealth justification of Charles I’s accusation of treason, that the King is subject to the Law and does not rule by Divine Right. Caleb Calle, in an October 1683 poem, *Sylla’s Ghost: a satyr against Ambition and the Last Horrid Plot*, dedicated to Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle, made the connection explicit. The “*Last Horrid Plot*” mentioned in the title was what Calle saw as the radical Whigs’ active effort “to prove Succession’s not of Right Divine.”⁴⁰¹ In later stanzas, he accused Whigs of:

Hot *Ambition* and with *rage* inspir’d,
All branches of the Regal-Line cut down,
Whose *Birth* might make ‘em look towards a *Crown*?⁴⁰²

Ambition was bad enough, but ambition disguised as fighting for “*Religion, Rights, and Properties*,” was much worse.⁴⁰³ Calle questioned why when Whigs “assert your *Liberties* and maintain your *Rights*:

³⁹⁹ Ibid.; Anon., *An Elegy upon that Renowned Hero and Cavalier, the Lord Capel, who (for his Loyalty) was Barbarously Murther’d in the Palace-Yard at Westminster* (1683), ESTC Citation: R36259.

⁴⁰⁰ Anon., *An Elegy upon that Renowned Hero and Cavalier, the Lord Capel* (1683).

⁴⁰¹ Caleb Calle, *Sylla’s Ghost: a satyr against ambition and the last horrid plot*, (4 October 1683), ESTC Citation: R5627.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

Must this to *Plots* and *Massacres* invite?
And thy bold Soul to *Treason* strait excite?
Could nought your lawless bloody rage suffice;
But God-like *Caesar* fall the Sacrifice?
And for none other Crime than this alone,
For being his Glorious Martyr'd Father's Son.⁴⁰⁴

Whigs, Calle charged, were denying Charles's divine right to rule and using "Religion...the specious prize" to justify Whig true motivations: "Wealth and Interest at the bottom lyes."⁴⁰⁵ Calle here brought forward the potential material rewards that Whig supporters could realize if Monmouth was made king. With a handpicked ruler, Whigs stood to gain the kind of power that Tories already had, the power to influence law and the economy, and to gain unimaginable wealth and prestige.

II. Tory Attacks on Moderate Whigs:

Most Whigs were moderate in their political stances. They did not intend to escalate their rhetoric to violence, which is the reason these Whigs fought so hard for shrieval and mayoral posts. They wanted to safeguard their own wellbeing and push through what they viewed as necessary legal changes. Achieving their goals was challenging. First, Whigs needed Charles to call a Parliament to pass any new laws. Then Whigs needed parliamentary support from within the House of Commons and the House of Lords. They needed religious sanction from the Church of England, and finally, they needed local magistrates to assure the smooth running of government once the exclusionary laws had

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

been passed. Some Whigs realized that they faced an uphill battle, and the likelihood of gaining support in all realms of government was small. Those Whigs radical enough to believe that monarchy was a hindrance to governance employed conspiratorial violence. Somewhere beneath the vitriol, Tories recognized why radical Whigs resorted to something so fanatical, as *The Last and Truest Discovery of the Popish Plot* revealed:

Nothing but Death can quench their Furious Zeal;
No *Plot* nor *Parliament* his *Acts* repeal.⁴⁰⁶

If Whigs relied on the rule of law, and especially on *parliamentary constitutionalism*, Charles's seizure of the charter, support of London Tories for posts in corporations, and his ongoing refusal to call another Parliament, surely made radical Whigs desperate.

To the moderate Whigs, however, the Rye House plot revelations flew in the face of what they were trying to achieve. In *A Lenten Prologue Refus'd by the [honest] Players*, published earlier in 1683, Thomas Shadwell, Whig poet and future poet laureate indicted Tories for making mountains out of molehills:

To love the King, and Knaves about him hate,
Is a Fanatick Plot against the State.
To Skreen his Person from a Popish Gun
Has all the mischief in't of *Forty One*.
To save our Faith and keep our Freedom's Charter,
Is once again to make a Royal Martyr.⁴⁰⁷

Moderate Whigs did not intend to rise in rebellion against Charles. They simply wanted to preserve London's charter as it was. The radical Whigs' actions, however, gave Tory

⁴⁰⁶ Anon., *The Last and Truest Discovery of the Popish Plot by Rumsey, West, and other great Patriots of their Countrey* (30 June 1683), ESTC Citation: R32453.

⁴⁰⁷ Thomas Shadwell, *A Lenten Prologue Refused by the Players* (11 April 1683), ESTC Citation: R21843. The word "honest" in the title is handwritten, and at the end of the poem, the reader penned, "Shad or Sett: themselves would be asham'd of this."; *State-poems: continued from the time of O. Cromwell, to the year 1697* (1703), p. 154-156; National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library, MS 19.1.12, f.111r-112r.

poems ample ammunition to excoriate the entire group for espousing radical political philosophy. *A Murnival of Knaves: or Whiggism Plainly Display'd*, a Tory poet—attributed to John Norris, but self-styled “Philanax”—provided the most colorful lines of this Whig party disgrace, and again blamed the current state of affairs on provocative rhetoric. Philanax was the character in Sir Philip Sidney’s *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia*, a long prose pastoral romance written at the end of the sixteenth century. In *Arcadia*, Philanax was the Duke of Arcadia’s loyal friend who, when investigating the duke’s death, advocated the execution of anyone associated with his friend’s untimely end. As Philanax struggled to maintain order, his actions propelled the country into a period of tumult over the duke’s succession. Thus the author of *Murnival of Knaves*, perhaps Norris, claimed an aura of righteousness that Philanax assumed in keeping order in Arcadia. “The poor oppressed *Press*,” the opening lines read, “Groan’d under the *Cacoethes* / Of Scribling.”⁴⁰⁸ Philanax blames *cacoethes* [an irresistible urge to do something inadvisable] and rhetoric “for stories [that] Snow-ball-like do gain / by being roll’d from brain to brain.”⁴⁰⁹ According to “Philanax,” Shaftesbury helped along that rolling of rhetoric “from brain to brain.” Again the earl is vilified for sparking a renewed interest in republicanism:

A Man, if he deserves that name,
 So profligate and void of Shame,
 That he’ll pretend to any thing,
 But *Fear God and Honour th’ King*. . . .
 He’s skill’d in *Mischief like Rome’s Pope*

⁴⁰⁸ [John Norris], *A Murnival of Knaves: or Whiggism Plainly Display'd, and (If not grown shameless) Burlesqu’t out of Countenance* (1683), ESTC Citation: R10820.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Or Priests with a Canonic Cope.
 He's one of those that wou'd, in sum,
 Extirpate Kings as did old *Rome*;
 And for a poor thing too, they say
 A suppos'd chast *LUCRETIA*
 Then set up a *Democracie*
 (The *Darling* of the *Mobile*)
 To Rule, and without more ado
 The *Tyrants* play, and *Devils* too.⁴¹⁰

Philanax managed in just a few lines to accuse Shaftesbury of being unprincipled, duplicitous like Catholics, and a rapist. But Shaftesbury's rape of England, like Tarquin's of Lucretia, would lead to the fall of monarchy and the establishment of a republic, much like the Roman outrage following Lucretia's rape and suicide led to the downfall of the Roman monarchy and the establishment of the Republic. What follows this belittlement of Shaftesbury is an interesting appeal to those very rulers of the *Mobile* that Cooper shored up.

If inflammatory rhetoric is what led to the division of the nation through Whiggish plotting, recognizing the Tory part in it, Philanax appealed to public opinion:

I must i'th' *Tories* Vindication,
 Whisper a word I'th' ear o'th' *Nation*;
 And that is truly only this,
 (Dissenters, that it not amiss)
 When *Tories* swear, indeed they swear,
 But only 'tis because they fear,
 And know, and hear, most certainly,
Whigs Cheat and Lye most damnably;
 Making *Religion* Noise and Buz,
 Enuf [sic] to vex a *Man* of *Uz*.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Ibid. The *Mobile* refers to the masses.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. *Uz* was Job's hometown

Here Philanax argued that the ferocity of Whig rhetoric was enough to disturb long-suffering Uz-inhabitant Job, but Tories were equally vocal because they too were disturbed by, and fearful of, Whig opinion. Philanax continued:

But to excuse them [Whigs] from that Crime,
(If an Excuse may be in Rhyme)
I will assure you there may be
Found 'mongst you as great *Rogues* as we,
For *Whoring, Swearing, Drinking* too;
For *Lying*, we have nought to do,
Nor *Shamming*, 'tis your constant Trade,
And will be till the *Earth* is made
A general fire, and it is true,
As I said Hypocrite take thy due.⁴¹²

Philanax does not deny the hypocrisy behind the Tory position. Whigs and Tories are no saints; rather they are rogues, hell-bent on bending politics to their own will. But, not to completely absolve himself, Philanax argues that Tories are not “religious mammamouchies,” unlike Whigs who artificially attempt to elevate themselves higher in station through preying on religious fears.⁴¹³ Philanax chastens:

And that I certainly thee tell,
Thy portion's th'hottest place in Hell.
Thus *Whigs Damns Whigs*, and yet they all
Are innocent, both great and small,
But I must tell you that's a Lye,
(*Whig*, I'm asham'd of you) and why.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ The Oxford English Dictionary defines “mammamouchie” as “a pompous sounding title; also a person assuming to such a title, a pretender to elevated dignity, viewed as an object of derision.” It originated in Molière’s *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670), where the title is conferred on M. Jourdain by the Ottoman Sultan.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

A Murnival of Knaves was thus a preemptive strike against moderate Whig exclamations of innocence and appeals to the conscience of the nation. For Philanax, all Whigs were liars so if a Whig claimed to be moderate, no one should believe him. Philanax also suggests that for all the faults of the Tories, lying was not among them.

In an instance of great irony, Philanax sent a message to the populace that choosing republicanism meant choosing to believe in the falsehood that sovereignty lies with the common man. He attempted to get the populace to choose a form of government that concentrated power in one man. The implicit message was that the nation must choose to believe in divine right. By the end of the next year, Tory poets were communicating explicitly that Charles ruled by divine right. “Touch no more on *CHARLES* his Sacred Line, / For all th’ Assembly of the Powers Divine,” penned a Tory poet in Pontack’s Tavern on the 13th of August 1684.⁴¹⁵

III. Algernon Sidney & *Scribere est agere*:

It was theoretical discourse that proved fatal for Algernon Sidney. Sir George Jeffreys was now Lord Chief Justice of England. He had become infamous in Whig circles for his work as Recorder in the Old Bailey. Paul Halliday affirms that Jeffreys “relished the recorder’s responsibility to pronounce sentence as he lectured those convicted for their wickedness.”⁴¹⁶ He was also zealous in his prosecutions against Whig printers,

⁴¹⁵ Anon., *A Letter to Ferguson, or any other, the Suppos’d Author of the late Scandalous Libel, entitled, An Elogie upon Sir. Tho. Armstrong* (6 September 1684), ESTC Citation: R36365.

⁴¹⁶ Paul D. Halliday, ‘Jeffreys, George, first Baron Jeffreys (1645–1689)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14702, accessed 8 Jan 2015].

publishers, and pamphleteers, and was well known for his successful prosecution against Stephen College for *A Raree Show*.⁴¹⁷ Benjamin Harris, Francis Smith, and Henry Care all had increased sentences pronounced against them by Jeffreys during the initial rhetorical war of parties. Colledge was executed. Tories were ecstatic at Jeffreys' advancement; *Justice Trymphant, an excellent new song in commendation of Sir George Jeffreys Lord-Chief-Justice of England* declared:

Rejoyce 'tis yet in their power
To keep a *Thanksgiving day*:
Loyal JEFFREYS is Judge again,
Let the *Brimighams* [sic] grudge amain,
Who to *Tyburn* must trudge amain,
Ignoramus we scorn...⁴¹⁸

Jeffreys's appointment to the King's Bench on 28 September 1683 therefore boded ill for the radical Whigs accused of treason. Sidney's trial began on 21 November.

Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* was a *tour de force* of popular sovereignty republicanism that berated any attempt to enhance prerogative or mixed monarchism in parliament. Conspirator William Howard, Lord Howard of Escrick, was the only witness to Sidney's treason who was willing to testify. In order to convict someone of treason, however, the law required two such witnesses. But during his arrest, the unpublished manuscript pages of Sidney's *Discourses* were discovered and anthropomorphized. As there was no second witness, Jeffreys's pronounced that Sidney's polemic against Filmer's *Patriarcha* could stand in witness to the republican's treason.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Anon., *Justice trymphant, an excellent new song in commendation of Sir George Jeffreys Lord-Chief-Justice of England. To a pleasant new Tune call'd, Now the Tories that Glories, &c.* (3 November 1683), ESTC Citation: R179129.

Scribere est agere, the Lord Chief Justice proclaimed, “to write is to act.” Despite Sidney’s vigorous defense of both factual and legal definitions, the jury took less than a half hour to deliver a guilty verdict on 26 November 1683. Sidney’s execution on 7 December followed ten days of such intense manuscript transmission of the *Discourses* that “the government was forced to accede to a publication,” thus ensuring its widespread dissemination, according to Jonathan Scott.⁴¹⁹ This was, ironically, exactly what the courts had hoped to prevent. Immediately after his execution, Tories went on the offensive, by maligning Sidney’s beliefs. In *Coll. Sidney’s Lamentation and Last Farewel to the World*, a Tory poet affecting Sidney’s voice confessed:

With *Tony*, *Gray*, and *Russel*, I conspir’d
My Princes death, and many thousands hyr’d
To Arm themselves in ev’ry Town and Shire,
To Murther both this King and Lawful Heir...
We draw’d in M[onmouth]h to advance the *Cause*
And made him *Populer* by Fools Applause;
We made his Soul swell big to be a King,
When we alas! Intended no such thing.⁴²⁰

This poet cautioned that Sidney nearly succeeded in a most ominous deceit; he nearly led a rebellion on the promise of elevating Monmouth to the throne, but in reality, Sidney wanted to abolish monarchy. “Republic Monsters that wou’d *Heaven* invade,” a Tory elegist proclaimed,

By’s pow’rfull word with *Earth* are level made.
Gigantic *Commonwealth*’s men thus are hurl’d

⁴¹⁹ Jonathan Scott, ‘Sidney, Algernon (1623–1683)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25519>, accessed 2 June 2016].

⁴²⁰ Anon., *Coll. Sidney’s Lamentation and Last Farewel to the World* (26 November 1683), ESTC Citation: R231312.

From distant Sky's, into the lower world....
Reader, if Whig thou art, thou'lt laugh
At this insipid EPITAPH.
Oh fye! Get Onions for thine Eyes,
For here thy Patron *Sidney* lyes.
Since here he suff' red *Martyrdom*
To Heaven, Oh! It cannot be
For Heaven is a Monarchy.⁴²¹

The public should be doubly cautious, this poet warned, in throwing in their lot with Sidney and the radical Whigs. By consorting with Whigs, or reading their radical tracts, the potential outcome for the audience was not only a traitor's death, but also an eternity in Hell. Masterfully, these lines undermined support for even moderate Whigs. In a "warning to all Traytors," one Tory poet advertised Sidney's eternal existence in hell, in his *Pluto, the Prince of Darkness, His Entertainment of Coll. Algernoon Sidney, upon his arrival at the Infernal Palace, with the Congratulations of the Fanatick Cabal for his Arrival There*.⁴²² Even Pluto—the classical version of Satan himself—declared that the present calamities and Sidney's own death were the result of "promoting Sedition and Evil / to alter the Church and State."⁴²³

IV. Monmouth Repentant?

Sidney's sentencing coincided with what was perceived by the Tories to be a double victory: the return of Monmouth to the court fold. Monmouth's relationship to the

⁴²¹ Anon., *An Elegy on the Death of Algernon Sidney, Esq; who was found Guilty of High-Treason and Beheaded at Tower-Hill on Friday the 7th of December, 1683* (1683), ESTC Citation: R36071.

⁴²² Anon., *Pluto, the Prince of Darkness, His Entertainment of Coll. Algernoon Sidney, upon his arrival at the Infernal Palace, with the Congratulations of the Fanatick Cabal for his Arrival There* (10 December 1684), ESTC Citation: R33469.

⁴²³ Ibid.

Exclusion Parliaments, Whig opposition, and his family had been predicated on his own sense of self-identity. Monmouth was the son of the king. Throughout his life, Charles treated him as though he was his legitimate son—the Prince of Wales—granting him titles, income, offices, urging him to don his hat in the king’s presence, among other privileges. Towards the end of the 1670s, however, Monmouth’s relationship with his uncle became increasingly fraught, especially on the issue of his legitimacy. When the succession crisis began, siding with his father and the court, Monmouth voted against a second Test Act and against Danby’s impeachment. In the spring 1679, at his father’s request, he fought at Bothwell Bridge against Scottish covenanters who rose in rebellion. It seemed as if he was a paragon of virtuous offspring and loyal subject. From some points of view, it was in the summer of 1679 that Monmouth fell under the corrupting influence of sly Whig politicians, especially Shaftesbury, who convinced him that not only was he the son of the king, but a legitimate one at that. The evidence of a legalized marriage between his parents lay in a mysterious, and missing, black box. The populace also began praising, celebrating, and clamoring for his succession to the throne. These occurrences fit with Monmouth’s inflated sense of himself.

Thereafter, Monmouth posed as Charles’s legitimate son, and thus future heir. Charles, however, realized that he now had to make firm demarcations between his beloved son and his legitimate heir, i.e. his brother, James, Duke of York. After an illness in August 1679, Charles exiled both his son and brother from England, and revoked his son’s military commission in the army. Upon Monmouth’s uninvited return from exile in November 1679, he increasingly lost the offices and privileges previously given to him

by his father. In protest, and in accordance with his own increasingly overestimated sense of position, Monmouth went on a royal progress, not once, but twice in a year. After the Oxford Parliament, the relationship between father and son was one of testing, punishment, and mounting alienation, which at one point led to Monmouth's arrest. When the Rye House plotters suggested assassination, Monmouth could have become the ultimate petulant child and outwardly agreed to it. But he actively attempted to thwart it instead, in fact agreeing only to rebellion and governmental seizure. When he and the other members of the Council of Six were betrayed in June 1683, he rightfully fled in fear. On 28 June, the government announced a reward for his apprehension and on 12 July, Monmouth was indicted for treason. Harris relates that after four months of secret brokered communications between father and son, Monmouth's surrendered on 24 November 1683.⁴²⁴

It was Charles's announcement to the Privy Council that Monmouth had surrendered, acknowledged his guilt, and revealed all he knew about the conspiracy that allowed his appearance at court the next evening. To the Tories, Monmouth's appearance on the 25th and Sidney's sentencing on the 26th were sweet vindication. In *The Whigs Elevation for his Grace the Duke of Monmouth's Happy Return to Court*, which appeared on 29 November 1683, one Tory poet imagined the Whigs' self-chastisement at Monmouth's return:

In spite of Juries and the Laws,
And all the *Tory* Train,

⁴²⁴ Tim Harris, 'Scott [Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch (1649–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24879, accessed 6 June 2016].

We hop'd with Him the *Good Old Cause*
Should be reviv'd again:
With Him alone Our Hopes were flown,
Down, down went *Loyalty*,
But now the *Cause* is overthrown,
*And hey Boys up go we!*⁴²⁵

Another Tory poet drove home that Monmouth's recantations were proof that Charles ruled by divine right:

Bless the good Duke, and your Father renown,
But hate those that put you in thoughts of a Crown;
Live under its beams, for the shelter is good,
But think not to injure the old Royal Blood:
Who Heaven has adopted for a Crowned Head,
Must wait for the hour of the Field or the Bed;
And there in Honours fight,
Take naught but what is right,
Wronging Succession is wronging the dead.⁴²⁶

The poet points out the danger of merely discussing the issue of succession. Such discussion renders Charles's authority as ruler ineffective at best, and at worst, prematurely buries him.

These poems, however, appeared only because Charles's Privy Council announcement regarding Monmouth's return was published to the nation. Monmouth was now left in the precarious position of either renegeing on his confession and apology, with a subsequent loss of the £4000 gift that came with it and gaining a potential trial for treason, or being used by the court to provide evidence against the friends with whom he plotted, and thus being seen as dishonorable to the values of reform. For all his faults,

⁴²⁵ Anon., *The Whigs Elevation, for his Grace the Duke of Monmouth's Happy Return to Court* (29 November 1683), ESTC Citation: R186461.

⁴²⁶ Anon., *Good News in Bad times; or Absaloms Return to David's Bosome* (30 November 1683), ESTC Citation: R228997.

Monmouth valued honor above all, and as shown below, likely was convinced of at least some Whig principles. Telling his friends that he had “confessed no plot, because he never knew any,” Monmouth’s noncooperation forced Charles to ask for a written confession.⁴²⁷ Monmouth reluctantly signed the document on 6 December, panicked, then asked his father to return it the next day. Deeply disappointed, Charles banished Monmouth from court, leaving Monmouth open to government subpoena to give evidence in Hampden’s treason trial. Rather than appear, Monmouth fled to the continent in January 1684. As for Hampden, despite being found guilty, he was saved from death, since the government lacked a second witness; he was fined £40,000 and imprisoned until it was paid.

Although it seemed as if the Tory position began to have gained the upper hand politically and legally, it does not necessarily follow that Whigs were giving up the rhetorical war. On 9 September 1683, Charles proclaimed a day of Thanksgiving for delivering him from the Rye House plot. In a daring act, one Whig poet disrupted a service at St. Olaves-Southwark Church to hand to the minister the following quatrain:

You Hypocrites leave off your Pranks,
To Murther Men, and then give Thanks,
Forbear your Tricks, pursue no further;
For God accepts no Thanks for Murhter.⁴²⁸

Just as Charles’s reaction to the Rye House revelations were swift, the answer to these lines were quickly penned at that moment:

⁴²⁷ John Spurr, ed. *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1791*, vol. II, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p393/411. Entry for 27 November 1683.

⁴²⁸ Anon., *A Copy of Verses delivered to Minister of the Church of England* (14 September 1683), ESTC Citation: R33453.

You damn'd *Phanatiques*, leave off your Cants;
You ne're shall pass for *Protestants*.
Though *CHARLES* the Father you did Murther,
Forbear the Son, and Plot no further.
Leave off your *Damn'd Associations*
Your *Solemn Leagues* and *Protestations*:
So long as God your Tricks defeat,
Our Daily Thanks *We Will Repeat*.⁴²⁹

The quatrain's author exhibited audacious defiance against the crown, which could have led to his immediate arrest for sedition. But what makes this exchange all the more remarkable was the very public nature of it. Despite heavy-handed persecution by the crown, Whig voices were still heard.

V. Whigs' Last Gasp and Tory Rhetorical Clapbacks:

Moderate Whigs continued to maintain the old arguments, even in the face of overwhelming Tory rhetorical, and actual, governmental persecution. In 1684, *The Protestant Satire*, which POASY believes was written by Thomas Shadwell, a Green Ribbon Club member, demonstrated—with bitter irony—the situation in which most Whigs found themselves:

How wise and happy are we grown of late,
Since plays and ballads have reform'd the State!
Since Tories with a spleen and guilt accurst
Have had the forehead to cry *Traitor* first!
By hackney wits rising on England's ruin,
Have libell'd Whigs for what themselves are doing!
And while new polities their chief devise,
Cast dirt about to blind the people's eyes.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Thomas Shadwell, *The Protestant Satire* (1684), British Library, Egerton MSS 2623, f. 83.

Shadwell believed himself and his party to be using rhetoric to enlighten the populace, whereas the Tories meant only to keep them ignorant. For Shadwell, these rhetorical efforts hinged on each party's underlying beliefs about the populace's position of authority.

In bitter criticism, Shadwell then detailed the impasse between Whig and Tory interpretations of the rule of law. In a warning that Tories had already demonstrated that they took allowances with the rule of law, Shadwell highlights what it means for them to abuse it. He wrote, "Law that, from contracts sworn when they are crown'd / Can release kings and keep their subjects bound."⁴³¹ Referring to the coronation oath of 1660, Shadwell asserted that when Charles Stuart swore to uphold England's laws and religion, he made a contract with his people. In return, the English people agreed to submit to his authority. With the strengthening belief in divine right by the Tory party, Shadwell accused Charles of increasingly manipulating his prerogative:

Law, that bids sovereigns safely whom they will
Rob for their pride, and for their pleasure kill;
Law, that can void Nature's great *defendendo*
Indict by spleen, and prove by innuendo;
Law, that of fools and cowards can make martyrs,
And has a *non-obstante* to all charters—
Divine, no doubt, (though from lay eyes conceal'd)
Not made by fellow subjects, but reveal'd...⁴³²

Non-obstante referred to when a king authorized the violation of the law. If Charles's aggressive use of prerogative included *non-obstante*, and it was upheld by the Tories' interpretation of Divine Right rule of law, then to Shadwell, England was reaching a

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid., f. 85.

precipice. English charters were in jeopardy (as proved by London's charter), elections had become farcical (as demonstrated by the shrieval and mayoral elections), oppositional rhetoric and belief were dangerous (as verified by libel, sedition, and *scandalum magnatum* trials that silenced dissent), and partisan action was a death wish (confirmed by the death and/or exile of many a Whig activist). For Whigs, the only way to save the country was for another Parliament to be called. Again, they put their hopes in parliamentary law. In 1664, Charles's Cavalier Parliament had passed the Triennial Act, providing for the sitting of Parliament every three years. Since the last Parliament sat in 1681, by law it was supposed to be called in 1684.

It was exactly the possibility of a new Parliament that Whigs hoped for and Tories dreaded. In a 1684 poem, *A Satyr against Common-Wealths*, a Tory lyricist sounded dire warnings that:

At the next opening of Parliament,
Loudly dispute about Church-government;
And with grave Speeches, tell you to an hair
Where lies the Placket [map] of the *Roman Whore*.⁴³³

To prejudice the country against the Whigs when Charles called the next Parliament, Tory poets not only banked on the populace's continuing abhorrence of the Rye House plot but also used the particularly fierce winter of 1683/4 as an omen against them.

The freezing of the Thames in the winter of 1683/4 became a symbol for Tory rhetoricians. The hard frost, they poeticized, represented Whig hearts. On 26 January 1684, *A New Song, or The Whigs Hard Hearts; with seasonable advice to 'em*, was

⁴³³ Anon., *A Satyr against Common-wealths* (1684), ESTC Citation: R5472.

printed “on the River of Thames, near the Temple” and “sold at the entrance into the *Old Spring-Garden* near *Charing Cross*.”⁴³⁴ In the ballad, the Tory balladeer sang out:

Ye Whigs and Dissenters, I charge ye attend,
Here is a sad story as ever was told;
The River of Thames which once was your friend,
Is frozen quite over with Ice bitter cold...
Now had it been frozen with Brimstone and fire,
The wonder had been much deeper at bottom.
Tho some do believe that your Sins do require
A punishment great as ere fell upon Sodom!...
But (alas!) to Instruct you this Frost now is sent,
As if it would shew you your Consciences harden'd
And if each Mothers Child make not hast to Repent,
How the Devil d'ye think ye shall ever be Pardon'd...⁴³⁵

Much like the frost had hardened the ground, the Tories coolly suggested that libel, cant, sedition, and treason froze Whig minds and souls. Whigs were in Dante's lowest realm of hell, fit only for betrayers and Satan himself. In a way, the ballad also warned its listeners that no amount of good intention at a new Parliament would be make up for past action. Whigs had proven themselves undeserving of even the Devil's good graces.

The Thames Frost Fair was also famous for its entertainment: sledding, sliding, horse and coach races, puppet plays, temporary shops, pubs, food hawkers, scribes and printers creating souvenirs, bull- and bear-baiting, and all manner of tricks and pranks. The author of the *Blanket-Fair or the History of Temple Street, being a relation of the merry Pranks plaid on the River Thames during the great Frost*, likened the entire

⁴³⁴ Anon., *A New Song, or the Whigs Hard Hearts; with seasonable Advice to 'em* (1684), ESTC Citation: R213212.; *The Whigs Hard Hearts, the Cause of this hard Frost, an Excellent new Ballad* (26 January 1684), ESTC Citation: R218512.; This date is based on the original printed date, i.e. Julian calendar date. In the Gregorian calendar, it is 5 February 1684.

⁴³⁵ Anon., *A New Song or Whigs Hard Hearts* (1684).

affair of the Popish Plot as one giant trick of the “Conjurer Oates.”⁴³⁶ When the winter turned, and the Frost Fair melted, so too, it is implied, would the years-long trick played on the English people. The government’s successful prosecution of the Rye House plotters and seditious printers saw a dramatic winnowing of vocal Whig adherents in public life. In *Freezland-Fair, or the Icey Bear-Garden*, one Tory balladeer noted:

I hope you’ll believe me, ‘twas as fine a Sight,
As ever I saw on a *Queen Besses* Night;
Tho’ I must confess I saw no such Dogs there,
As us’d to attend on th’ Infallible Chair.
Yet there were some men,
Whom I knew agen,
Who bawl’d as they did, when they chose Aldermen.⁴³⁷

The people could now come enjoy the outdoor extravaganzas that nature created, without fear of Whigs stirring up chaos, or starting fights and, even worse, riots. The Tory balladeers of the Frost Fair rejoiced in the government’s triumph.

The sense that things were “getting back to normal” shined through in the early 1684 poems. In one, a Tory poet was able to congratulate the Duke of York’s resumption of the Lord High Admiral duties that he had been stripped of in 1673 when he was unable to fulfill the terms of the Test Act. For one pence, a *Poem on his Royal Highnessess Restauration to the Dignity of the Lord High Admiral of England* could be purchased after 16 May 1684. In it, one could read:

The Authors of that dire Conspiracy,
Against his life and’s Sacred Majesty;
That he might raise him up again above,

⁴³⁶ Anon., *Blanket-Fair or the History of Temple Street, being a relation of the merry Pranks plaid on the River Thames during the great Frost* (26 January 1684), ESTC Citation: R15756.

⁴³⁷ Anon., *Freezland-Fair or the Icey Bear-Garden* (4 February 1684), ESTC Citation: R33316.

All Malice to his Sacred Brothers Love:
Who hath restored him both by Sea and Land
To the high Trust of which he had Command.⁴³⁸

The author pointed out the deep irony of the Whig party's antics. By working zealously to prevent the Catholic Duke of York from succeeding to the throne, Whigs instead ensured that he was given England's highest military command. Rather than destroy the trust Charles had in his brother in order to elevate his natural son, the Whigs wholly damaged the filial relationship and strengthened the fraternal one. The elevation of York to the High Admiralty in essence, if not in name, was possible because Charles was free from calling Parliament thanks to French subsidies negotiated during the Treaty of Dover 1670. After March 1684, Charles violated the Triennial Act of 1664 just as Shadwell suspected he would, and York was now in a position of power he had not had since 1673.

VI. Oates's Trial of *Scandalum Magnatum*:

In the summer of 1684, York initiated a suit of *scandalum magnatum* against the very man he saw responsible for the previous five years of political mayhem, Titus Oates. In February, Oates petitioned Charles and the Privy Council to recall his services to the King and remember "that several *Roman Catholicks* (Priests and others) were apprehended, and committed, indicted and convicted, attainted and executed upon your Petitioners [Oates's] Evidence."⁴³⁹ The main grievance of the petition, however, was to

⁴³⁸ Anon., *A congratulatory poem on his Royal Highnesses Restauration to the Dignity of Lord High Admiral of England* (16 May 1684), ESTC Citation: R5015.

⁴³⁹ Titus Oates, *Oates's Petition to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, and to the Lords and others of His Majesties most Honorable Privy Council* (28 February 1683/4), ESTC Citation no: R21560.

lodge a “complaint against *Roger L’Estrange* Esq; who in several Libels of his called the *Observer*, and other Seditious Pamphlets hath (as I humbly conceive,) Vilified and Ridicul’d the Evidence of the *Popish Plot*” and worse of all, Oates claimed, “he pretends in one or more of those . . . that he hath Authority or leave from some of His Majesties Ministers for so doing.”⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps Charles would have dismissed this petition, but Oates made three missteps. First, he blatantly outlined how L’Estrange’s criticisms of him affected the King; “the said L’Estrange scandalously vilifies the said discovery and [by doing so] calls in question the Justice of your Government.”⁴⁴¹ Second, he petitioned at exactly the wrong moment. Charles had just spent three years fighting against Whig resistance to his government stirred up by Oates’s accusations of a plot. Third, he had it published. On 10 May 1684, Oates was arrested at Amsterdam Coffeehouse, fined £100,000 after refusing to plead, defaulted on the fine, and was transferred to the King’s Bench prison. With the Triennial Act in abeyance, many Whigs could not express their protestations at Oates’s arrest, at least, not without risking life, liberty, and property.

The Tories, under no such restrictions, could loudly vocalize their support of the government’s actions, and did. After Oates’s arrest, *Tyburn’s Courteous Invitation to Titus Oates* called for Oates to receive justice from the “hemp’n string” for his:

False and strange religious guide,
Destroy’d the innocent, abus’d the wise.
What crafty lesson didst thou teach to men!
How to rebel, and told the time best when;

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

Urg'd to exclude a *right and lawful heir*,
Unthroned a king, and swore away a peer.⁴⁴²

Despite years of Whig attempts to redefine what “lawful” succession meant, Tories continued to proclaim York as the lawful successor. The measures that Charles undertook over the past three years made the Tory assertion of York’s lawful hereditary status stronger this time than just two years earlier. Plus, with no Parliament and with the City in Tory hands, Whigs prudently did not protest.

In an effort to further destroy Whig political resistance with another Whig champion in prison, Tory poets launched a full-scale attack on the disgraced, self-titled Doctor Oates to undermine any residual support for the Whig position. In *Oates Thrash'd in the Compter, and sack'd up in Newgate*, one balladeer sang:

Did *Titus* swear true for the *King*,
And is the good *Doctor* forsworn?
Did *Titus* our freedom bring,
And *Oates* in *Newgate* mourn?
Was *Titus* the *Light* of the Town,
The *Saviour* and *Guardian* proclaim'd,
And now the poor *Doctor* thrown,
To a *Dungeon*, in *Darkness* damn'd?
But now, to declare the cause,
I'll tell you as brief as I can,
The *Doctor* can't in the close
Prove *Titus* an honest man:
Can *Titus* be just to the *King*
From *Treason* and *Treachery* free,
When the *Doctor* hangs up in a string,
For *plotting* and *perjury*?⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Anon., *Tyburn's Courteous Invitation to Titus Oates* (14 May 1684), POASY vol. 3, 552-554. Italics are mine.

⁴⁴³ Anon., *Oates Thrash'd in the Compter, and Sack'd up in Newgate* (September 1684), ESTC Citation: R39796.

The juxtaposition of Titus and Doctor underscores the balladeer's message that Titus Oates is two-faced. By the end of the two stanzas, neither the man nor the authority he held is untainted by perjury. Many poems directly accused Oates of perjury. *The Melancholy Complaint of D. Otes* opened its verse in seeming sympathy, accusing the "black ingratitude of this present age" for his present "evil rewards [that] he has receiv'd for his numberless services done for the nation," but by the third column of verse it is clear that poet believed Oates deserving of his calamity.⁴⁴⁴

Other poets explicitly revived old accusations with no attempt to euphemize them. In *The Sodomite, or the Venison Doctor, with his Brace of Adlermen-stags*, a balladeer created an allegory that Oates impregnated two London Aldermen with his fanciful tales, and their offspring were the two plots against Charles. The language was so explicit that one can imagine the raucous laughter of the London crowds heard in the background:

The *Doctor* skill'd in *Sodomy*
With Lust inordinate now Burns,
The gentle Brethren being free,
He exercis'd them both by turns.
By Turns the Saints turn'd up their Scuts
Each jealous of the others Bliss,
The pleasure was a sweet as Nuts
Like the Devil and Witch they hug and kiss.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ Anon., *The melancholy complaint of D. Otes, of the black ingratitude of this present age towards him, and the evil rewards he has receiv'd for his numberless services done for the nation* (24 September 1684), ESTC Citation: R15052.

⁴⁴⁵ Anon., *The Sodomite, or the Venison doctor, with his brace of aldermen-stags. Declaring how a doctor had defil'd two aldermen, and got 'em both with child. Who long'd for venison, but were beguil'd the pasty lost, they could no longer tarry, with two abortive births, & shap'es a vary, theyfell in labour, and of both miscarry. To the tune of, Sauny shall ne're be my love again* (13 September 1684), ESTC Citation: R184338.

While the two Aldermen were not clearly named, in the margins, Narcissus Luttrell identified them as Sir Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, the sheriffs responsible for Shaftesbury's *ignoramus* jury and the disastrous 1682 shrieval election. Pilkington was also in jail, found guilty of *scandalum magnatum* and fined £100,000 in damages, while Shute had narrowly avoided indictment for his involvement in the Rye House plot, but had been fined 1000 marks for a 1683 Whig riot. Oates, on the other hand, had been identified unambiguously, and what is more remarkable, this poem was in print. Oates had pushed his lies too far; he had little recourse when poets printed libelous accusations against him. It seemed Oates was receiving poetic justice; the Tory poet had no fear of being sued for slander.

By October 1684, the Tory "Reaction" was seemingly complete. Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland received a letter commenting,

I never knew the Whigs in London so wary in managing their discourses and of their company. If three or four be together on the Exchange talking of news or what each has to communicate, if two more of their own party join them, part of the rest walk away, how desirous soever they are to hear the discourse, for they choose to ask it of some that stay and walk singly again.⁴⁴⁶

It was at this moment of Whig dormancy that Oates was presented to the King's Bench on perjury charges. The shrieval and mayoral positions were in Tory hands thanks to Charles's support in the 1682 elections. The City of London's charter was seized and Charles had no intention of reissuing it anytime soon. Whig leaders and publishers were dead, exiled, imprisoned, or under legal duress. It is not surprising, therefore, that there was no clamor or protest against Oates's arrest. Oates was left to fend for himself.

⁴⁴⁶ The National Archives, SP 29 /438 f. 142, 29 October 1684. The author of the letter is unknown.

November was typically a month of celebration. Bonfires, bells, toasts, and pope-burnings usually heralded the two weeks spanning the fifth and seventeenth of November. In November 1684, however, a single poem was printed in an air of doleful defiance. In a *Litany for the Fifth of November*, an anonymous poet marked the solemnity of 1684:

From all popish treason, and Gunpowder Plot,
From a perjur'd French tyrant outdone by a Scot,
And from a progeny whose coats are distinguish'd by blot,
Libera nos domine...

From a Justice that *statute law overrules*,
From juries compounded of knaves and fools,
And from mercenary evidence tools,
*Libera nos domine.*⁴⁴⁷

Given the tone of the poem, the author was not necessarily a Whig, but definitely anti-Court. The two intriguing parts of these verses were the language used to describe Charles's vying successors and the Court's use of the law. In the first stanza, the poet remarked that all of Charles's progeny were tainted by bastardy, which is an insinuation on Charles's failure to provide an heir. Even though his children were royally descended, it did not matter, as there was no legal successor amongst his issue. The lines therefore seem to read as Whig rhetoric, especially when it suggested that the successor should be someone who enjoyed both legal and royal rights; since York is the heir apparent, the author proclaimed "from a popish head o'er a Protestant people...*libera nos domine.*"⁴⁴⁸ The poet distinguished the problem the Tories faced: the court had not been faithful to the

⁴⁴⁷ Anon., *A Litany for the Fifth of November* (5 November 1684), POASY vol. 3, 574-575. Italics are mine.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

law either, as evidenced by the words italicized, “*statute law overrules.*” Since the court arbitrarily overrode statute law in its favor, the author insinuated that it had been a mistake for Tories to promote York as the lawfully descended prince when they did. It was the phrase “right lawfully descended” that confirmed to Whigs that Parliament could alter the succession.

Most poetry, regardless of party loyalty, did not glory in York as the next king, but the rhetoric the parties employed went deeper than just supporting one duke over another. Charles Sackville’s, the Earl of Dorset, proclamation in 1681 that “had I this soft son, and this dangerous brother / I’d hang up the one, then I’d piss on the other” was unusual.⁴⁴⁹ Most poets knew what was at stake when they penned their lines. Yet, as a Robert Gould, a Tory poet, detailed in a 1683 poem, *Presbytery Rough-Drawn: a satyr in contemplation of the late Rebellion*, Whigs had become corrupted by their own rhetoric:

But God forbid we shou’d their steps pursue,
Or for to serve the False, Blaspheme the True;
Whose Laws (though spurn’d at by Fanatick spight)
Instruct us to distinguish wrong from right.
Right, when *we do the true Succession own*;
Wrong, when a false Pretender mounts the Throne;
Right, to obey those rightfull Sov’reign Pow’rs
Who lose their own repose to procure ours;
But wrong, against such Goodness to declame,
Or with base Libels strive to wound his Fame.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁹ Charles Sackville, “My Opinion,” (1681) Beinecke Library, Osborne Poetry Box X/38; Bodleian Douce 357, f. 116v, Firth c. 16, p. 29; British Library Harley 6914, f. 48; Harley 7319, f. 103v; Houghton Library MS Eng. 585, f. 71, MS Eng 633, f. 12v; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 14090 f. 205v; National Library of Scotland Advocate’s MS 19.1.12, f. 4r; Princeton University Library MS Taylor 4, p. 69; University of Edinburgh MS Dc. 1. 3/1, p. 78; Victoria & Albert Museum Dyce Cat. no. 43, p. 575.

⁴⁵⁰ Robert Gould, *Presbytery Rough-drawn. A Satyr. In Contemplation of the late rebellion* (1683), ESTC Citation: R2720. Italics in this poem are mine.

The poet believed that Whig rhetoric blasphemed, declaimed, and libeled, but it also pushed Tories to define fully what they supported. Tories had always supported “the true Succession,” but it took the shock of the Rye House Plot for the party to align itself fully with “rightfull Sov’reign Pow’rs,” which in this case indicated divine right. Feeling misinformed by rhetorical insinuations, no wonder that the Whig party cried foul and accused the court of being arbitrary in its promotion of monarchical prerogative. When Charles died suddenly on 6 February 1685, the fears of the Whig party came true; Protestant England now had a Catholic king. Charles left a more politically secure monarchy for his brother, but also a more fractured body politic.

By making political rhetoric public, poets helped splinter political affiliations. Grant Tapsell asserts that during these turbulent three years “Whigs and Tories were battling to assert the best means to ensure unity within English society while also figuring out who was to blame for fissures.”⁴⁵¹ Although poetry often continued to reflect the ideological extremes, one can also discern myriad perspectives even within each party. Within the Tory party, some supported the court, the prerogative, the lawful succession, the Duke of York, Catholicism, the Church of England, etc. yet any individual Tory did not necessarily support all of them comprehensively. It was more likely that he passionately advocated for a few in conjunction, while dismissing the others. For example, a Tory could support the Duke of York’s right to lawful succession and the King’s prerogative in preventing its alteration, but not the court as a whole or the promotion of Catholicism. Whigs championed an equally diverse set of objectives: the

⁴⁵¹ Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II*, 17.

Duke of Monmouth, anti-Catholicism (both domestically and abroad), an altered succession, the preservation of Protestantism—whether it be a wholehearted espousal of Church of England orthodoxy, or a more comprehensive embrace of heterodox religious interpretations—as well as republicanism, and Parliamentary rule of law.

VII. Belated Calls for Moderation:

The innumerable, competing issues that partisans fought over were as diverse as the contemporaries who fought endlessly over them. The issues under debate were like multisided die; although the core is ostensibly about succession, the sides touched on religion, the rule of law, political organization, foreign policy, sexuality, economic policy, family life, and the individual interpretations of each. Nor was the political debate limited to a dichotomy between two major parties, despite appearances. The *quo warranto* proceedings also drew attention to those partisans who urged moderation, the “Trimmers.” In such a heated political climate, Trimmers were those who, in George Savile, the first Marquess of Halifax’s words, metaphorically tried to keep the boat afloat:

If Men are together in a Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh it down on one side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary, it happens there is a third Opinion of those who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Passengers.⁴⁵²

Halifax’s defense of moderation touched on politics, religion, and foreign affairs, but his consistent argument to find a compromise irked party poets on both sides. In the mockingly titled *The Character of a Trimmer*, a poet criticized Trimmers as being “state

⁴⁵² George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *The character of a trimmer* (December 1684), Huntington Library, EL 8371.

hermaphrodites, whose doubtful lust / salutes all parties with an equal gust.”⁴⁵³ In the epilogue of *The Duke of Guise*, performed in 1682, Dryden asserted that the reason Trimmers did not choose a side was because they were impotent:

Damn'd neuters, in the middle way of steering
Are neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring;
Not Whigs nor Tories they; nor this, nor that;
Not birds, nor beasts; but just that kind of bat,
A twilight bird, true to neither cause,
With Tory wings but Whiggish teeth and claws.⁴⁵⁴

Despite these harsh criticisms, the emergence of the Trimmers indicates that the “poetick rage” felt during the tempestuous years since the Popish Plot had a profound effect on public perception of politics.

The “talk” concerned the Trimmers the most because it filtered down to the populace. Fighting back fiercely against the “lies” and “cant” of both the Whig and Tory positions, Trimmers waged a war for rhetorical clarity by pointing out the follies of both parties. In a 1683 poem, *Juvenalis Redivivus, or the first Satyr of Juvenal taught to speak plain English*, Thomas Wood lambasted both parties:

The Worlds on Fire, it does in madness reign,
Quench it with Ink, with Satyr breath a Vein....
Why should I not the Streets, and Churches fill
With sharp Lampoons, sprew venom thro my quill?...
My own Poetick Rage I slight,
The *madness* of the world shall make me write.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ Anon., *The Character of a Trimmer* (1683), POASY vol. 3, 449-451.

⁴⁵⁴ John Dryden, *Prologue to the The Duke of Guise* (1682), POASY vol. 3, 275-277; Lincolnshire Record Office, Anc 15/B/4; University of Chicago Library, MS f553 (Commonplace Book 1717), pg. 231-232; British Library, Add. MSS 27408, f. 17-17v.

⁴⁵⁵ Thomas Wood, *Juvenalis redivivus: or the first satyr of Juvenal taught to speak plain English* (1683), ESTC Citation: R20988.

If *Juvenalis Redivivus* did not make its messages known to the wider populace, then the ballad *Englands Present State*, sung in 1684 for all to hear, did:

The *Whigs* and the *Tories* each other asperse,
I blush when such foolish things I do rehearse,
The like was ne'r yet in the whole Universe,
*Oh are not these times grown strange.*⁴⁵⁶

“These times grown strange,” indeed. After the Oxford Parliament, poets moved away from courtly rhetoric, indeed there was a distinct absence of rhetoric regarding Charles II’s sexual activities and partners during these few years. The rhetoric of the post-Exclusion parliamentary era centered on much more transformative issues. The “poetick rage” focused on the “madness of the world” that was really a contest to define the rule of law, the nature of the body politic, and where sovereignty truly lay.

⁴⁵⁶ Anon., *Englands Present State, Poor England now is sore opprest, the more it is the pitty, but God preserve our sovereign King, and eke preserve the city. Tune of; Old England’s now grown new* (1684), ESTC Citation: R234237.

Chapter 5
“Great JAMES upon his Question’d Throne:”
Licensing Renewal and Rebellion, 1685

The six years before James’s accession had been a crisis for monarchy. Charles II fought a battle of ideological and rhetorical control over the very nature of monarchical prerogative and inheritance because of the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1679. Not since the events leading to the midcentury civil wars and revolution had the crown been so threatened. Without press regulations, opposition factions emerged and coalesced into parties precisely because their messages were now available to a much wider audience than ever before. No longer did factional divisions hide behind the screen of court privilege. Poetry and song helped spread developing partisan ideologies, which had widespread ramifications for national popular support of the crown.

Nevertheless, James II acceded the throne from a position of strength. Tim Harris in *Revolution* states plainly, “James not only inherited a powerful position but also a considerable amount of goodwill towards him from those who inhabited the dominions over which he was to rule.”⁴⁵⁷ John Miller in *James II* argues, “There were good reasons to expect, in February 1685, that James’s reign would prove rather more stable and more successful than his brother’s.”⁴⁵⁸ Charles’s attempts to quell the Whig rhetorical uproar made James more comfortable in his power than he probably should have been. The rhetorical challenge, however, did not diminish as comprehensively as previous scholars have suggested. Even with wholesale prosecution of Whig partisans and printers, a

⁴⁵⁷ Tim Harris, *Revolution: the Great Crisis of the British Monarchy* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 8.

⁴⁵⁸ John Miller, *James II*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pg. 123.

resurrection of censorship in James II's first Parliament, and judicial efforts to eradicate rebellion and dissent, hints of disquiet still were present. In fact, James achieved the height of his power in the months after Licensing Act was renewed. With political support, legal justification, and from a position of security after his coronation, James II set out to not only consolidate his rule, but to take control of the narrative that had for so long been used to attack him.

This chapter traces the ten months from Charles II's death in February to James's prorogation of his "Loyal Parliament" in November. Covering Charles's funeral, James's coronation, the prosecutions of Titus Oates, Miles Prance, and Thomas Dangerfield for perjury, the rebellions of the dukes of Argyll and Monmouth, and the "Bloody Assizes," the chapter shows that poetry increasingly, and ostensibly, reflected loyalty to James's reign. While this may have been the case for poets under press regulation, however, it did not accurately reflect popular opinion, and likely provided James a false sense of security to promote his Catholic agenda. It is the thesis of this chapter, therefore, that press regulation dampened the partisan bickering in political poetry, but that did not necessarily mean that opposition partisanship weakened.

I. Mourning Charles II

Charles's sudden collapse on 2 February 1685 disturbed the political "peace" of the Tory Reaction. His privy council began issuing orders to close ports, to arrest suspicious persons, and ready troops to suppress any signs of disorder.⁴⁵⁹ Despite Roger North's

⁴⁵⁹ Harris, *Revolution*, 40.

account that those at the court “walked about like ghosts, generally to and from Whitehall” in grief, there were still suspicions that the Whigs would resurrect popular tensions.⁴⁶⁰ Charles’s death four days later dramatically changed England’s political landscape. Rumors flew that he took Catholic last rites the evening before. Even in the epitaph of *Scotlands Loyalty: or, Sorrowful Sighs on the Death of our Late Sovereign his Sacred Majesty*, Nathaniel Thompson, nicknamed ‘Popish Nat’ for his Irish Catholic ancestry and his constant anti-Whig publications, claimed that Charles was “Defender of the Faith, *that’s true. / Until he bad the World adieu.*”⁴⁶¹ Other rumors floated around that James actually poisoned his brother to cover up his own complicity in Essex’s murder. The former proved true in hindsight; the latter was a matter of fear mongering against the new Catholic monarch. But as Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell demonstrate in *The Murder of King James I*, rumors like the alleged poisoning of the king can have “potent and destabilizing” effects on a regime or even political system when the populace believes the “secret history” more than the official version of events.⁴⁶²

While many of the elegies following Charles’s death do demonstrate genuine mourning, one can still detect underlying political messages. In *An Elegy on the Death of His Sacred Majesty King Charles the II of Blessed Memory*, the poet grieved:

⁴⁶⁰ Lord, POASY vol. 3, 583.

⁴⁶¹ Anon., *Scotlands loyalty; or, Sorrowful sighs on the death of our late sovereign His Sacred Majesty; Charles II. By the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.* (14 March 1685), ESTC Citation: R33721.

⁴⁶² Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), xxx.

In losing Him that was so Good a KING:
A King so wise, so just, and H'had great part
In SOLOMON's Wisdom, and in DAVID'S Heart:
A KING! Whose *Vertues* onely to Rehearse
Rather requires a VOLUMN then a VERSE
Sprung from the Loyns of *Charles* of Blessed Fame,
A Worthy SON of his Great FATHERS name.⁴⁶³

When defending Charles against Whig attacks at the beginning of the Exclusion Crisis, Tories chose to acknowledge his sexual foibles rather than praise his “Vertues.” The outright praise of Charles’s wisdom and heart in the verse above followed swiftly by the word “loyns” can certainly be read as a tongue-in-cheek. Another *Elegy upon his Late Majesty (of Blessed Memory) King Charles the Second* spoke of how “Great is **Our Loss**, and most *Severe* **Our Fate**, / That *Such a Life* should have so **Short a Date**.”⁴⁶⁴ In addition to genuine remorse that Charles had gone so suddenly, underlying anxiety about James’s accession was noticeably present. If the words themselves did not convince, then the author attempted to persuade with ample use of italics and bolding. In *Hinc illæ lacrymæ, or some pious tears affectionately shed on the Hears of Charles II*, the poet pondered, “If Kings be Gods (as *Sacred writ* doth say) / How then did CHARLES to Death become a Prey?” As the elegy continued, the poet proclaimed him, “a Prince of *Peace*, Encourager of the *Arts*, / And *Captivator* of his Subjects Hearts. / The Countries *Father*, but the Churches *Son*...”; the implication is that the poet wondered how could any politician speak ill of this most beloved, yet dead, God on Earth. Not only did the

⁴⁶³ Anon., *An elegy on the death of His Sacred Majesty, King Charles the II of blessed memory* (1685), ESTC Citation: R36073.

⁴⁶⁴ Anon., *An elegy upon His late Majesty (of blessed memory) King Charles the Second* (1685), ESTC Citation: R33415.

poet reaffirm divine right principles, but also he directly admonished anyone who dared to challenge that philosophy:

Princes are Gods, Oh, do not then *Blaspheme*,
(After they're *Dead*) by speaking ill of *Them*
Merciful CHARLES in Heaven has *Mercy* found,
For which he's with Eternal *Glory* Crown'd.⁴⁶⁵

The lines above were thus a chastisement. Drawing attentions to those who spoke ill of Charles after his death however, it made clear that there were murmurings of disaffection. The true subject of those murmurings however, Charles's policies or James's accession, is unknown. But another poet reproved in *Suspiria, or Sighs on the Death of the Late*

Most Illustrious Monarch Charles the II KING:

Dismiss thy fear, His Royal Brother; who
Succeeds him in his Throne, and Virtues too,
Has so Majestick, so subline [sic] a Soul
That what he promis'd, none shall dare Controul....
The Constitution of our Laws to be,
*Just to the Subject; just to Monarchy.*⁴⁶⁶

The grief expressed in these poems was palpable, but the hints of concern were just as noticeable. Some in the population were apprehensive about James's ascension and what his rule would mean to English governance.

Intriguingly, some ballads intimated that loyalty to James would result from the population's love of Charles. In *The Mournful Subjects*, the balladeer sang:

⁴⁶⁵ Anon., *Hinc illæ lacrymæ, or, Some pious tears affectionately shed on the hearse of Charles the II, second to none but Charles the I.* (6 February 1685), ESTC Citation: R34941.

⁴⁶⁶ Anon., *Suspiria, or Sighs on the death of the late Most Illustrious Monarch Charles the II. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. who changed his earthly for a heavenly crown, on Fryday the 6th. of February 1684/5. in the 37th year of his reign, and 55th of his age.* (1685), ESTC Citation: R15299, R184801.

Let *England* by their Loyalty
Repair thy Breach which they did make,
And let us all United be,
To Gracious *James*, for *Charles* his sake:
And let there be no more Discord,
But Love the King, and fear the Lord.⁴⁶⁷

A ballad titled *The Sorrowful Subject, or Great Brittain's Calamity* did not mention James at all. Indeed, the balladeer lamented the swift end of Charles's life and expressed remorse that he did not live longer:

How did we wish for to enjoy
Our Sovereign Prince for many a year
But Fortune did our hopes destroy,
By snatching him we lov'd so dear...
Let Rich and Poor where e're they be,
Prepared be to meet with Death;
For he will come assuredly,
To stop each sinful mortals breath.⁴⁶⁸

Following religious prescriptions of readying the soul for death that could happen at any moment, the ballad fulfilled its social and religious role by reminding the listeners that death comes to all. The absence of James's name at such a moment is significant, precisely because there had been nothing but either doomsday warnings or stringent support for James's accession for the past six years. The partisanship surrounding James's accession from 1678-1685 had been too encompassing to neglect mentioning it.

⁴⁶⁷ Anon., *The mournful subjects or, The whole nations lamentation, from the highest to the lowest: who did, with brinish tears, (the true signs of sorrow) bewail the death of their most gracious Sovereign King, Charles the second; who departed this life Feb. 6th. 1684. And was interr'd in Westminster-Abby, in King Henry the Seventh's Chappel, on Saturday night last, being the 14th. day of the said month; to the sollid grief and sorrow of all his loving subjects. To the tune of, Troy Town; or, The Dutchess of Suffolk.* (14 February 1685), ESTC Citation: R214485

⁴⁶⁸ Anon., *[The] sorrowful subject, or, Great-Brittain's calamity. Shewing, the great grief, care, and sorrow, that possessed the loyal subjects of England, for the loss of the most illustrious Prince Charles the Second: who departed this life on Feb. the 6th. 1684 to the great astonishment and lamentation of the whole nation. To the tune of, Troy town.* (6 February 1685), ESTC Citation: R187578.

What is especially interesting about this source's silence was the target audience: the common person. One can either believe it to be created to partake genuinely in the mourning of Charles's passing, or a blatant attempt to deliberately not draw attention to James's new status. If one takes the report in *The Quaker's Elegy on the Death of Charles late King of England* to be true, "confusion's in the street...[and people] walk like Men just risen from a Tomb," then the intense shock of Charles's death quieted the normally noisy political sphere.⁴⁶⁹ Later in the elegy, the Quaker blessed James's reign, "May *Years of Peace and Plenty* on Thee smile... / May *many sons* Thy Royal CONSORT bear."⁴⁷⁰ It was clear that some did not want to stir up partisanship by mentioning the new status of such a contentious figure.⁴⁷¹

II. The Coronation of James II:

What poetry may have attempted to obfuscate, the coronation made abundantly clear. In the days following the 23 April 1685 coronation, poets produced numerous poems welcoming the new king, congratulating him on his new status and praising his loyalty to England. Much of the language in these poems, naturally, represented an effluence of praise appropriate to the dignity of the occasion. As the poet of *An Essay towards a Character of his Sacred Majesty King James the Second* effused, James had a:

Pattern of Goodness, Him on Earth we see,
Who knows, He bears the Stamp of Diety [sic]...
His mind, as Head, with Princely Virtues Crown'd,

⁴⁶⁹ W.P., *The Quakers elegy on the death of Charles late King of England*. (1685), ESTC Citation: R30095.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

True Courage, Wisdom, Justice there are found;
His ev'ry Action has a peculiar Grace,
And *Majesty* appears, in Meen, and Face.⁴⁷²

This type of praise might be part and parcel of coronation language, but the poet's deference in the rest of the poem essentially described the king as the quintessence of perfection.

Most were more tempered, recounting James's martyred father, his position in the hallowed history of Albion, and the expected accolades due to a newly crowned monarch. The poems described him as "reconciling," "mighty," "gracious," "just," "illustrious," and more commonly just by "Great."⁴⁷³ The epithet "great" preceded his name almost as if by saying it repeatedly, it must be true. Such appellations were not undue a newly crowned monarch. Many poets used this language in any congratulatory poem or Pindaric ode, so these poems were not necessarily representative of true popular enthusiasm for James.

Yet, other poets detailed the coronation festivities by emphasizing the workings of tradition. In *A poem on the coronation of our most illustrious Sovereign K. James II*, the poet described the richness of the occasion with zealous enthusiasm:

Who'll say, the City Brethren, Misers be,
And but beholds, their this *Days Bravery*?
None, none; and by the Gallantry, all guess,

⁴⁷² Anon., *An Essay towards a Character of his Sacred Majesty, King James the Second*, (1685) ESTC Citation: R170001.

⁴⁷³ Elkanah Settle, *An Heroick Poem on the Coronation of the High and Mighty Monarch, James II, King of England*, (1685) ESTC Citation: R32653, R217883; John Phillips, *A Poem on the Coronation of King James II and his Royal Consort Queen Mary*, (1685) ESTC Citation: R37083.; Anon., *Brittains Triumph*, (23 April 1685) ESTC Citation: R173064; Anon., *The Poets Address to King James II, surnamed the Just*, (1685) ESTC Citation: R3343; Anon., *Daphne Coronalis: a Pindarique ode to the most August Monarch, James II* (23 April 1685), ESTC Citation: R7737.

Their *Loyalty's* the Cause of this Excess.
What Rich Attire the *Spirit'al* Lords array!
What *Massie Coronets* Adorn the Lay!
Such Cloaths of *Gold* and *Silver*, Kill my Brain,
My *Opticks* fail, and I grow Blind again.⁴⁷⁴

This poet believed the coronation excess to be a testament to the newly realized loyalty of the city after so many years of turmoil. Given that the last coronation was twenty-four years prior, it might be entirely possible that this poet was too young to realize that such pomp and circumstance was par for the course. What was unusual, however, was the “famous fireworks” that decorated the city’s nightscape the next evening. The poet of *The Description of the Coronaton of his Sacred Majesty K. James II* recounted that following the peeling of “ten thousand bells”:

On *Thames* too they such vast *Fire-works* make,
That all her Streams seems but one *Flaming Lake*.
The Frightened *Gods* thinking their *Skies* on Fire,
For safety to the farthest *Heav'ns* retire:
They fear'd another Race of *Gyants* rose,
Who now had *Fire* instead of *Mountains* chose,
But when Discreeter *Gods* saw the intent,
Instead of *Thunder* and *Revenge*, they sent,
A *Herald* to proclaim this *Complement*.⁴⁷⁵

The processions to and from the coronation in Westminster Abbey and the feast that followed it were public affairs. This was an opportunity to demonstrate to all the power and might of the monarchy. However, the coronation itself was attended primarily by the nobility and High-Church officials, and had limited space for hoi polloi. The intent was to preserve the mystery and the majesty of the newly crowned monarch. Bell ringing,

⁴⁷⁴ Anon., *A poem on the coronation of our most illustrious sovereign K. James II* (23 April 1685) ESTC Citation: R17065.

⁴⁷⁵ Anon., *The description of the coronation of His Sacred Majesty K. James II* (24 April 1685). ESTC Citation: R20208.

bonfires, and fireworks were expressions of celebration that all could enjoy. They were also symbols of royal authority and a vivid representation that England had just crowned the “lawful heir.” It was a forceful reminder that the partisan rhetorical hostilities of the past few years had reached their fruition.

Some poets used James’s coronation to declare the Whig efforts to exclude James from the throne a failure. In *A Poem upon the Coronation*, J. Baber calmly explained what James’s anointing meant:

To place great JAMES upon his Question’d Throne,
Rebellion to subdue, and those confute
That dar’d about the Crown’s Descent dispute,
To lay them prostrate, solemnly to own,
Thy Title they contested to the Crown.⁴⁷⁶

The Tory effort to prevent his exclusion had won. James was now king, and the time had come to move on—or so the message seemed. Some participated in great demonstrations of *schadenfreude*; some poets felt that the *Whig* persecution of the *Tories* was over.⁴⁷⁷ In

A New Song upon the Coronation of King James II, the author gleefully proclaimed:

Now, nows the time that our Foes did fear,
Our King is Enthron’d in his right sphere:
The lofty *Cedar* the *Elme* and *Oke*
Doth Flourish, yet every Weeping *Rock*
Bleeds Tears for the time of Yore,
Our late Troubles and times of Yore
Now ‘th heavens doth smile and those times are ore,
The *Whigs* turn’d *Trimmers* can Hang us no more.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁶ J. Baber, *A Poem upon the Coronation* (1685), ESTC Citation: R3067.

⁴⁷⁷ *Schadenfreude* is pleasure derived from someone else’s misfortune.

⁴⁷⁸ Anon., *A New Song upon the Coronation of King James II* (25 April 1685), ESTC Citation: R39787.

Others crowed over their defeated opponents. In *The Second Part of the Vision, a Pindarick ode*, Edmund Arwaker angrily declaimed the “plots, Caballs, and deep-wrought Mines,” that attempted to “justify **Rebellion by a Law!**”⁴⁷⁹ He demanded that fallen Whigs:

Come and Adore, *ye happy Nations all!*
And at your SOV’RAIGN’s feet with *low Prostrations fall!*
But *YOU* who dare with *Sanctify’d pretence*
Rebell against your Prince;
You who **Sedition** Practice, you who Preach
That *easy Lesson*, there’s no *need* to teach;
You who *pervert* the Sacred Scriptures *Sense*,
And when you please wrest *Proofs* for **Treason thence**;
Whose *whole Religion’s disobedience*:
Hence Damn’d Impostors, Hence!
No more Your old **Rebellious Trade** promote,
Nor entertain one *Treasonable* thought.
Let Icy horror *chill* your Fiery Rage,
And feeble nerves, as in *decrepit Age*
And piously refuse their aid.
Let *dislocation* all your joints possess,
And impotence *befool and check* your Wickedness.⁴⁸⁰

Arwaker forced Whigs to acknowledge James as their sovereign in a bitterly hostile tone of self-congratulation. “Let Icy horror chill your Fiery Rage,” was a forceful directive to come to grips with their political loss. Besides, as other poets pointed out, James was merciful so it would be best to acknowledge his mercy:

Exclusion from Revenge he does exclude,
Each subject b’ing by Loyalty allow’d
To be still of his Princely Favour proud...
Be wise, and on Sedition cease to plod;
Molest no more thy *Monarch*, least thy God.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Edmund Arwaker, *The second part of The vision, a pindarick ode* (1685), ESTC Citation: R23348.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

As can be seen, the partisan debates were still foremost on most everyone's minds. The coronation ceremonials were explicitly designed to promote loyalty and to quieten and triumph over the polemics of the Exclusion period. Emily Handlin elucidates, "Attending the coronation was tantamount to a declaration of loyalty," and public enjoyment of the festivities were taken as such.⁴⁸²

The underlying disquiet of James's accession, however, cannot be denied. Poets disguised their fears in clever wordplay that appeared as if the king was being praised. As one poet put it, in *The Reward for Loyalty*:

Ne'er was king of more renown
Than great James that wears the crown;
Rebels' names he doth write down
Until he be at leisure;
Loyalist he doth requite;
Gratitude is his delight,
But the rascal rout doth slight:
He's just as was old Caesar.⁴⁸³

James has earned the reward for his long years of loyalty to his brother and his country. He is deserving of the crown. If a Tory read these lines, he would pick up on the explicit threat to rebels and seditious opponents. James was "Caesar" now and he would be as just as his brother. But if a Whig read it, he might instead focus on the implicit message behind the mention of Caesar's name; he might read the word ominously and parallel

⁴⁸¹ Anon., *An Humble Hint to the King and Kingdom on the Coronation-Day of James the II* (1685), ESTC Citation: R15505.

⁴⁸² Emily Handlin, "The History of the Coronation of James II," *Reading Ritual: Festival Books from the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection*, Brown University Library, http://library.brown.edu/readingritual/handlin_jamesII.html [accessed May 20, 2017].

⁴⁸³ Anon., *The Reward for Loyalty*, POASY vol. 4, 5.

James to the infamous Julius who attempted to destroy the Roman Republic by gathering more power for himself at the expense of the Senate, i.e. Parliament. It seems the underlying fear of James's religion had not dissipated.

In this light, certain wishes conferred on James and Queen Mary assumed particularly ominous tones. *On the Most High and Mighty Monarch, King James II, ...being an excellent new SONG*, one balladeer sang far and wide "may he long adorn this place, / with his *Royal Brother's Grace* / His *Mercy*, and his *tenderness*, / to Rule this land for ever."⁴⁸⁴ If a Whig read these lines and feared a Catholic monarch on the throne, "for ever" was abhorrently interminable. In *Englands Royal Renown in the Coronation of our Gracious Sovereign, King James the 2nd*, the balladeer sang to the tune of "The Cannons Roar," his hope that:

May the Nation now obey,
James, who does the Scepter sway,
Let his power ne'r decay,
But ever be increased.⁴⁸⁵

For that Whig "for ever" was a long time and the last thing he would want was for James to have increased power. Most portentously, however, the anonymous poet who wrote *On the Coronation of King James II and Queen Mary*, offered this benediction:

Blest Royal Pair, that you may Happy prove,
Within your Thrones, as you are in your Love;
That Heav'n, if there be a Joy yet New,
Unprov'd in Empire, may deriv't on You;
And grant your Royal Bed a Son may live,
The most important Blessing Heav'n can give.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Anon., *On the most high and mighty monarch King James the II, his exaltation on the throne of England, being an excellent new song* (10 March 1685), ESTC Citation: R33638.

⁴⁸⁵ Anon., *Englands royal renow[n], in the coronation of our Gracious King [Ja]mes the Second, and his Royal Consort Qu[een Mary.]* (April 1685), ESTC Citation: R236083, R213646.

The worse hope, for many uneasy about James's reign, was for his marriage to be blessed with a son and heir. Intriguingly few of the verses celebrating James II's coronation included such wishes for future happiness to the new monarchs. This particular wish, one can posit, was not one that many people found appealing. It is entirely possible that the outpouring of joy demonstrated during James's coronation was a sign of relief that there was a peaceful succession, and not necessarily convictions of loyalty. As Matthew Neufeld expertly demonstrated, the "cultural memories of the civil wars and Interregnum were an important symbol apparatus through which the governors and the governed of England prescribed and performed the division of power and authority."⁴⁸⁷ Coronation poetry in particular reflects that performance and division of power, but it also reveals some other strands of political thought that persevered despite Charles's and the Tories Reaction against Whig partisanship.

III. A New Era of Press Regulation and Judicial Persecution:

James called for an election in April, and traditionally historians have characterized the election results as a testament of loyalty demonstrated to the new king. The House of Commons had a return of 468 Tories out of the available 513 seats. Indeed, this Parliament is nicknamed the "Loyal Parliament." Despite its reputation, Scott Sowerby questions just how loyal this Parliament was in his article on antiquarian Sir Daniel Fleming's parliamentary journal and suggested that there were quite a few Tories on the

⁴⁸⁶ Anon., *On the coronation of King James II. and Queen Mary*. (23 April 1685), ESTC Citation: R172630.

⁴⁸⁷ Neufeld, *The Civil Wars after 1660*, 247.

Whig side.⁴⁸⁸ Further, as Tim Harris points out, “the *quo warranto* proceedings against the borough corporation of Charles II’s last years...had certainly had a beneficial electoral effect.”⁴⁸⁹ One should not take these election results as a widespread expression of loyalty.

The election results are more a testament to Tory electoral malfeasance. Harris cites Narcissus Luttrell’s diary entries that characterize the election as riddled with “great tricks and practices...such as holding the poll secretly, at night, with no publicity; adjourning the poll from place to place...and refusing ‘to take the votes of excommunicate persons.’”⁴⁹⁰ Harris gives examples of other “great tricks”: threatening canvassers with prosecution, threatening innkeepers with loss of licenses for hosting Whig canvassers, informing candidates that the election would be on X day when it was actually held earlier, simply not counting the Whig votes, etc.⁴⁹¹ In other words, Tories used every dirty trick in the book to return favorable results. This raises the question: did they need to use such machinations? Harris suggests that there was a “shift in public opinion that had occurred since the Whig-dominated parliaments of 1679-1681.”⁴⁹² He points to the changes in percentages of returns in both large and small counties that suggest the Whigs had lost popular support. Despite all these maneuverings, 57 Whigs

⁴⁸⁸ Scott Sowerby, “Tories in the Whig Corner: Daniel Fleming’s Journal on the 1685 Parliament,” *Parliamentary History*, vol. 24, pt. 2 (2005), 157-201.

⁴⁸⁹ Harris, *Revolution*, 55.

⁴⁹⁰ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relations of State Affairs from September, 1678, to April 1714* (6 volumes, Oxford, 1857) cited in Harris, *Revolution*, 55.

⁴⁹¹ Harris, *Revolution*, 56.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

won seats. These Whig returns were a testimony that the Whig strain of political thought continued in some counties, despite their small numbers in Parliament. This large electoral shift towards the Tories did not, however, prevent the publication of a gloating verse mocking Whig fears of what a Tory dominated Parliament could do. In *The Downfal of the Whiggs, or their lamentation for fear of a loyal parliament*, a Tory poet lamented in a Whig voice:

We've neither *hopes* in the House, nor *Speaker!*
The *Torys* drink to the confusion,
Of our Damn'd Members for the *Exclusion*;
And Curses our *Association*,
Z-----s, let us run quite out of the Nation.⁴⁹³

With numbers that small, Whig fears would be realized. They could not stop the renewal of the 1662 Licensing Act. In July, the Tory dominated Parliament voted James a healthy income of the ordinary revenues granted to his brother and “three additional grants of customs and excise duties,” and then put an end to the unregulated press.

From 1686-1687, printed political poetry waned in numbers. In 1686, 44 unique new titles appeared and in 1687, only 26. To compare, in 1682 at the height of partisan agitation, there were 172. A dramatic drop of this nature only means one thing; the Tory Commons had given media control to a monarch who they believed had been most maligned by it. This is not to suggest that subtle political messages were not incorporated into other types of poetry, such as morality poems, fellowship ballads, or verses about love. However, these numbers highlight that from 1686-1687 English printers did not publish new titles of overt political poetry with the same frequency as they did prior to

⁴⁹³ Anon., *The Downfal of the Whiggs: or, their lamentation for a fear of a loyal parliament* (April 1685), ESTC Citation: R41928

James's succession. The Licensing Act's renewal of pre-publication censorship affected the publication of openly partisan poetry. If, as Mark Knights suggests, "party politics... offered divergent views about what was true," and "once the public was constituted as an umpire of politics, what was important was not so much what was true but what the public *thought* was true," then it became imperative for the new monarch, and his new Parliament, to control the narrative.⁴⁹⁴

The easiest and most effective way of changing the Whig narrative that challenged James's succession to the crown was to put the conspiracy that politicized his rights to accession through a judicial review. James also set out to put an end to the lingering Popish Plot. Soon after his coronation, the courts began to punish those men who claimed to be witnesses of the Popish Plot. These were the men who helped send men to their deaths and fueled the subsequent vitriolic partisanship through their testimonies: Titus Oates, Miles Prance, and Thomas Dangerfield.

During the height of the Tory Reaction, James, as the duke of York, filed suit against Oates on the charge of *scandalum magnatum* for having called York a traitor. Oates was arrested in the Amsterdam coffee house on Bartholomew Lane and languished in prison for a year, first in the Compter then in the King's Bench prison. Although he was presented on perjury charges in October and December, Charles's death delayed his trial. Finally, on 8-9 May 1685, the Court of King's Bar Bench convicted him of two counts of perjury relating to two separate instances of lying under oath. Alan Marshall explains that the two counts of perjury were because "he had falsely sworn on 8-12

⁴⁹⁴ Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 272-273.

August 1678 to a ‘consult’ of Jesuits at the White Horse tavern and that he had also falsely sworn to the presence of William Ireland in London on the same dates.”⁴⁹⁵ Marshall also describes Oates’s punishment as severe; he was “imprisoned for life, divested of his canonical garb for ever and brought to Westminster Hall with a paper on his head with the inscription: ‘Titus Oates convicted upon full evidence of two horrid perjuries.’”⁴⁹⁶ He was also to be pilloried five times a year for the remainder of his life; each pillory was to be in a different part of London. Since pilloried individuals often met with derision and were pelted with rotten fruits and vegetables, spat upon, assaulted and jeered, it seems that this part of the sentence was to give every person in the kingdom (or at least every Londoner) a chance to mete out such treatment if they so wished. The first year’s pillories took place in Palace Yard, Westminster on 19 May, then in Newgate the next day and Tyburn on the 22nd May. Each time he was transferred to a new location, he was tied to the back of a cart and whipped the entire way. Some speculated that his punishment was meant to kill him, as he suffered some thousand or more lashes.

London’s poets had much to say on his punishment, and many verses accompanied woodcuts and engravings demonstrating it. In each engraving, a sign accompanied Oates, but none reflected the court’s order mentioned above. One sign labeled him *The Rar A’Show Oates Thrast*, connecting his perjury with the death of

⁴⁹⁵ Alan Marshall, ‘Oates, Titus (1649–1705)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20437>, accessed 3 Aug 2016].

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Stephen Colledge for the seditious poem *A Raree Show* four years before.⁴⁹⁷ The conjoining words “Oates” and “Thrast” was a perfect agrarian metaphor for beating Oates to achieve the truth. It was Oates’s lies that indirectly led to Colledge’s death. The poet blamed Oates exclaiming, “Wrong’d innocence by Perjur’d witness dies / who Drunk with Guiltless Bloud still swears and lyes.”⁴⁹⁸ Colledge’s reputation as a Whig darling could be an entirely moot issue. The poet’s main concern was the fate of the three kingdoms: “Sweares on till Ireland perish England fall / and Scotland in one Common funeral.”⁴⁹⁹ Another engraving happily found a fitting, and ironic, anagram for the convicted man’s name: Testis Ovat, i.e. “happy witness.” A Tory poet added verses to *The Rar A’ Show Oates Thrast* accusing Oates of “Swear[ing] still, dreadless of Hell, nor fearing Heaven / till the great YORK be from his Countrey driven.”⁵⁰⁰ A third engraving borrowed the “Testis Ovat” sign, but not much else. The poet of this short verse took a harder stance on Oates claiming, “he merrits more than eggs / Let him Tryumph swing & ease his Legs.”⁵⁰¹

Oates’s trial served as the crown’s demonstration that his *lies* undermined James’s claim to authority, not the law itself. By convicting Oates through such a public punishment, James restored his public power. As monarch, he wielded authority over life and death. Not all of the authors of these poems believed that simply lying was what

⁴⁹⁷ Anon., *The Rar a’ Show Oates Thrasht* (1685), ESTC Citation: R182363.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Anon., *Titus Oates, anagr. Testis ovat* (1685), ESTC Citation: R4939.

⁵⁰¹ POASY, vol. 4, insert between pgs. 14 and 15.

made Oates's guilty. For example, the author of *The Rar A'Show Oates Thrast* believed Oates guilty of lying *so often*, that he obfuscated the *true* message that Colledge and other radical Whigs attempted to spread. In effect, he contributed too much to the "prevalence of a national culture that was perceived to be full of passionate rage, irrationality, intemperate language, sophistry, debased rhetoric, lies, name-calling, dissimulation, conspiracy, and hypocrisy," as Knights suggests this period became.

Even with such a resounding victory for James, however, changing the narrative proved difficult. Miles Prance's 1686 perjury trial is an excellent example. An English Roman Catholic craftsman, Prance's testimony after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey died, Alan Marshall describes, resulted in the executions of "Henry Berry, porter to the queen at Somerset House, Robert Green, an Irishman employed in the Queen's Chapel, and Lawrence Hill."⁵⁰² Prance later split the king's reward for his evidence with Oates and William Bedloe, the notorious trickster and confidence artist who had died in 1680. One poet used Prance's punishment to preach about the merits of honesty. In *Perjury Punish'd with equal Justice; Or Miles Prance*, with an engraving depicting Prance in the pillory, the poet demonstrated that lying would only result in one's public ridicule and personal torment. In Prance's voice, the poet cried:

All you that standeth near me,
Pray listen now, and hear me,
Tho's false I Swore, I ne'r will more.
My Friends, you need not fear me.
[Refrain:]
No daring, nor baring
With any false declaring:

⁵⁰² Alan Marshall, 'Prance, Miles (fl. 1678–1688)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22697>, accessed 30 May 2017].

The Pillory's my destiny,
[For my unlawful swearing]...

Of this I now am weary
For why I can't be merry,
The Thoughts of *Hill* torments me still,
And so does *Green* and *Berry*
[Refrain]...

My peace I have confounded,
And am in grief surrounded
Their Blood I spilt, and now with guilt
My Conscience I have wounded...⁵⁰³

The ballad made clear to those who heard it sung in marketplaces or public houses that lying had the ability to kill. Fulfilling Prance's punishment could have been viewed as a litmus test for partisans. At Queen Dowager Catherine of Braganza's request, although Prance was condemned to be fined £100, pilloried, and whipped; James remitted the whipping. To loyalists, this was evidence of James's mercy, despite his Catholicism. To silent Whigs, it was proof that as a Catholic monarch, he would give lesser punishments to Catholic offenders.

While Prance's trial, conviction, and punishment occurred in 1686, it was Thomas Dangerfield's 1685 arrest and trial that was a greater danger to James's reign. Dangerfield was arrested in March 1685 for "acting [as] the D. of M. in several Countries in England."⁵⁰⁴ In other words, he was impersonating James, Duke of Monmouth. Dangerfield, if one recalls, was the fraudulent mastermind behind the entire Meal Tub Plot debacle. After being thoroughly discredited by Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, it seemed

⁵⁰³ Anon., *Perjury Punish'd with equal Justice; or Miles Prance his sorrowful lamentation for his foul Offenses*, (21 June 1686), ESTC Citation: R187305.

⁵⁰⁴ Anon., *Wish upon Wish, or Dangerfields Lamentation: being a true relation of a discovery of all the rogueries of Captain Dangerfield*, (March 1685), ESTC Citation: R235693.

as if Dangerfield's fifteen minutes of fame were up in early 1681, that is, until he was arrested for impersonating Monmouth. This in itself was likely to get him arrested, but he chose his moment poorly. In March 1685, James II was in that perilous period between accession and coronation. Monmouth was supposed to be in exile, spending the better part of 1684 in Brussels after fleeing for his life for his confessed involvement in the Rye House Plot. But in November 1684, Monmouth went back to England briefly to settle the sale of a manor, and while there, pleaded his father's favor. Although there were some indications that Charles considered sparing his son's life, Charles's death put an end to that prospect. To all outsiders, Monmouth was still a wanted man. It made little sense, then, why Dangerfield chose to impersonate him at all, let alone at that moment, or why he chose to impersonate Monmouth by charging people to be the beneficiaries of "the King's Touch." The very idea of Monmouth's existence threatened James's rule, and a "Monmouth" stirring up anti-Catholic sentiment in the countryside was doubly dangerous. Subsequently, Dangerfield was arrested for "high misdemeanor," a now defunct charge that indicates positive misprision.⁵⁰⁵ In other words, Dangerfield was guilty not just of impersonating a person of a higher station, but of doing so in a way that undermined the divine rights of the king, challenged the authenticity of the succession, and denied the Duke of York his future privileges. In *Dangerfields Dance* (1685), one poet queried to the pseudo-Monmouth,

⁵⁰⁵ While negative misprision is the deliberate concealment of a treasonous act, positive misprision is doing something that otherwise would have been considered a felony. In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, William Blackstone stated by way of example, "The statute 12 Eliz. c. 2. enacts, that those who forge foreign coin, not current in this kingdom, their aiders, abettors, and procurers, shall all be guilty of misprision of treason. For, though the law would not put foreign coin upon quite the same footing as our own; yet, if the circumstances of trade concur, the falsifying it may be attended with the consequences almost equally pernicious to the public."

*If't please Your Highness, what was your intent?
Poor VWomen to deceive, and get their Coyn,
It is no better then for to Purloyn,...
Like Oats, they hopes are now in pieces crash'd,
The Brains of thy Ambition out are dash'd...
And so Duke Dangerfield I bid adieu,
A thousand Lashes I bequeath to you.⁵⁰⁶*

As mentioned above, Dangerfield's punishment was severe, like Oates's. The engraving included on *Dangerfield's Dance* depicted him being both whipped and pilloried in punishment. His pillory sign reads, "For a seditious libel." Dangerfield's impersonation was not merely fraud in the eyes of the court, but an elaborate attempt to invite insurrection, under the guise of a Monmouth-led arousal of anti-Jacobean sentiment in the countryside. It became clearer than ever that in order to secure James's reign, it was imperative to silence any lingering Whiggish attitudes.

IV. Argyll and Monmouth's Rebellions:

Persistent Whiggish sentiments could almost immediately be galvanized into extra-legal action against the state. Two coordinated rebellions took advantage of lingering partisan misgivings surrounding James's accession. Archibald Campbell, the 9th Earl of Argyll and Monmouth launched their rebellions nearly simultaneously, although Monmouth's was delayed by causes both intentional and accidental. Argyll landed on Tobermory in the western Highlands on 11 May and Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis in Dorset on 10 June. Both peers sought to restore Protestantism, and eliminate the threats of popery in their respective kingdoms: Argyll for Scotland, Monmouth for England. Each landed

⁵⁰⁶ Anon., *Dangerfields Dance* (2 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R7115.

with a small contingent of men: Argyll with three hundred, Monmouth with eight-three.⁵⁰⁷ Both issued declarations, gathered men, launched their rebellions, and within a month, failed to achieve their objectives. Importantly, both had received large donations to launch their rebellions. Argyll was given a £10,000 donation from an exiled rich English widow, while Monmouth relied on a loan obtained by his mistress, Lady Wentworth, who put up her jewelry as surety.⁵⁰⁸ Both peers gathered an army much larger than the fighting force with which they landed: Argyll's army reached eight times his landing force, Monmouth's was thirty-six times his landing force at the leanest estimate. Argyll's forces were estimated to be 2,500 at its peak. The most conservative estimate of Monmouth's forces numbered 3,000, but he could have had more flock to his side. This is where their similarities ended.

Their justifications for rebellion set them apart. Argyll issued two declarations at Campbeltown on 20 May 1685. The first was intended to appeal to Presbyterians in Scotland. Most interestingly, after promising to restore the Protestant religion, and suppress and exclude popery, Harris explains Argyll promised to "restore all those who had suffered upon account of their adherence to their party."⁵⁰⁹ The second declaration was clearly intended to demonstrate that Argyll launched the rebellion not for the sake of challenging James's establishment in Scotland, but to wage a personal vendetta by reacquiring his lost lands. This was a charge confirmed by his own vassals the next day in

⁵⁰⁷ Harris, *Revolution*, 78-79.

⁵⁰⁸ Robin Clifton, 'Wentworth, Henrietta Maria, suo jure Baroness Wentworth (1660–1686)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29048, accessed 8 June 2017].

⁵⁰⁹ Harris, *Revolution*, 78.

their issued rebuttal. The selfish nature of the venture and the fact that there was no clear indication of what plan he intended to implement after his possible victory caused the rebellion to fall quickly apart. Argyll's rebellion in the western Highlands seemed doomed to fail from the outset, simply because Scotland had proven itself to be much more willing to accept absolutist rule.⁵¹⁰ By 12 June 1685, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and with a death sentence already pronounced upon him following his 1681 written objections to the Test Act, he was executed summarily on 29 June 1685.

Monmouth's *Declaration* and subsequent actions also failed in his southern rebellion. Going much further in justification and promise than Argyll's declaration, Monmouth's pronouncement was an impassioned "defence and vindication of the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Laws, Rights, and Privileges* of England." Written by Robert Ferguson, it provided a justification for the rebellion, laying blame at the "D. of Y.['s]" feet not only for the "continued Conspiracy against the Reformed Religion, and the Rights of the Nation," but also for the alleged fratricide that took Charles II's life. It was because of this belief in Charles II's murder that Monmouth and his followers claimed they were "bound, as Men and Christians, and that in Discharge of our Duty to God, and our Country, and for the Satisfaction of the Protestant Nations round about us, to betake our selves to Arms."⁵¹¹ In other words, Monmouth and the landing forces believed that they had a right to resist because James had stolen the crown.

⁵¹⁰ Harris, *Restoration and Revolution*.

⁵¹¹ James Scot, Duke of Monmouth, *The declaration of James Duke of Monmouth & the noblemen, gentlemen & others, now in arms, for defence & vindication of the Protestant religion, & the laws, rights, & privileges [sic] of England, from the invasion made upon them: & for delivering the kingdom from the usurpation & tyranny of James Duke of York.* (1685), ESTC Citation: R10337

The second half of Monmouth's *Declaration* set out the aims of the rebels. "We are not come in to the Field to introduce Anarchy and Confusion, or for laying aside any Part of the Old *English* Government," the manifesto declares. On the contrary, Monmouth's declaration demonstrated an intention to "reduce Things to that Temperament and Ballance [sic]." The declaration further promised to restore the rights of Parliament by having "Parliaments annually chosen and held, and not prorogued, dissolved, or discontinued within the Year, before Petitions be first answered, and Grievances redressed," to restore *quo warranto* stolen charters, to reform the judiciary so that judges would not hold "their Places only *durante bene placito* [by the pleasure of the king]," but rather by "the ancient tenure of *quam diu se bene gesserint* [as long as they shall behave themselves well]," to support dissenters by repealing the Corporation and Militia Acts of 1661, and to prevent the abuse of judiciary power by sheriffs, militia, and standing armies. Nothing in the declaration spoke to Monmouth's claim to the throne. Indeed, it proclaimed that Monmouth "doth not at present insist upon his Title, but leaves the Determination thereof to the Wisdom, Justice, and Authority of a Parliament legally chosen, and acting with Freedom."⁵¹² This was shocking. This declaration professed intent to support a monarchy accountable to parliamentary government. If Monmouth succeeded in removing James from the throne, then by law of succession, he still would not be the next monarch; James's daughter Mary would.

Monmouth's support of this declaration only made sense if he believed that by restoring the 1680 Parliament, the Exclusion bill would be passed, and another bill would

⁵¹² Ibid.

be introduced, giving him the throne. The message inherent in the declaration influenced me from “the lower classes and the young, and the more radical of the dissenters” to join Monmouth’s army.⁵¹³ However, the necessary support from local gentry and from London failed to materialize. Ferguson convinced Monmouth that the only way to see that support manifest was to assume the title of King, which he did publicly on 20 June 1685 in Taunton. The republican and dissenter support in the crowd faltered, especially after Monmouth proclaimed he would maintain the Church of England. If there was any Dutch support abroad for Monmouth, it likely faltered here too, as it would rob Mary and her husband, William of Orange, of any claim to the throne. With dwindling support, confused ideals, and lack of trained troops, Monmouth met defeat at Sedgemoor Field on 6 July 1685. Two days later, he was captured hiding in a ditch, an ignominious end to an ignoble “prince.” Within the week, he was beheaded, and poorly. Despite being paid well, the executioner had a botched first strike and Monmouth’s body convulsed in shock and pain. It took five tries to remove his head. Argyll’s and Monmouth’s rebellions lasted less than a month. The 1685 attempted Protestant seizures of the throne were over.

One has to remember that most Whigs were suffering the ill effects of government persecution. They could not join Monmouth’s cause even if they wanted to do so without risking loss of life, liberty, and property. As soon as Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, the government arrested many Whigs and forced them to post high bails. For example, Tim Harris mentions a common cheesemonger named Gerard who had an

⁵¹³ Harris, *Revolution*, 81.

unpayable bail of £40,000 placed upon him.⁵¹⁴ The failed Rye House Plot two years earlier had exposed many of the radical Whigs that would have joined Monmouth. Many other Whigs had fled, either into hiding in the countryside or into exile. Others were heavily in debt and could not financially support the rebellion. The decided lack of a Whig voice in political poetry certainly seems to verify the success of the government's work. Writing political verse came at too much of a risk.

Much of the Tory poetry following Monmouth's defeat mockingly depicted him as Perkin, the pretended prince. This nickname alluded to Perkin Warbeck, a Flemish imposter claiming to be second son of Edward IV and one of the famed "princes in the tower," who led an uprising against Henry VII in 1494 and 1497. The poet of *The Western Rebel* (1685) declaimed Monmouth as a "Protestant Perkin..." who was in a "desperate frenzy" to achieve his "hot-brain'd ambition" to strut around "peacock-proud."⁵¹⁵ Another poet, who wrote *Monmouth Degraded* (1685), derisively asserted that the only title Monmouth achieved was "King in Lyme," referring to the Dorset city of Lyme Regis where Monmouth's fleet landed.⁵¹⁶ A third poet, who wrote *The Country's Advice* (1685), blamed "the curs'd faction" for puffing up Monmouth's ambitions in the first place since, "Your Royal Father clear'd your misted sight / Who, wise as just and powerful as great / Declar'd you to be illegitimate."⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ Harris, *Revolution*, 82.

⁵¹⁵ Anon., *The Western Rebel*, POASY vol. 4, 32-33.

⁵¹⁶ Anon., *Monmouth Degraded*, POASY vol. 4, 35-37.

⁵¹⁷ Anon., *The Country's Advice to the Late Duke of Monmouth and those in Rebellion with him*, POASY vol. 4, 40.

In fact, Charles had announced Monmouth's illegitimacy twice. Monmouth was also called a "sham prince," "a fop-king," "the King in the West," an "Icarus," and a "plague, and Bane of Mortals" in various verses.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, some poets accused Monmouth of a high sin: ingratitude. An elegist condemned the deceased duke for having:

No Loyalty, Obedience, no, nor Love.
In his Ingrateful Mind, O what can be
Worse than Ingratitude to that degree,
Ingratitude, from which, mankind should flee.⁵¹⁹

Rather than accepting his good fortune of not having been denied support by his royal father, Monmouth instead attempted to supplant his uncle and cousins. If one was willing to be fair to Monmouth, the poet insinuated, then he was "debauch'd by factions."⁵²⁰

The Whig party was primarily to blame for Monmouth's corruption, many poems and ballads hinted. "By specious Arguments and Pious fraud," the author of *Perkin's Passing-Bell, or the TRAYTORS FUNERAL* (1685) alleged Monmouth was:

By that *Hellish* Brood drawn in to be
An Actor in that Dismal Tragedy
That boldly aim'd at Sacred Majesty.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ Anon., *The Country's Advice*, POASY vol. 4, 38; Anon., *Monmouth Degraded*, POASY vol. 4, 35; Anon., *Monmouth Routed and Taken Prisoner with his Pimp the Lord Gray* (11 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R234492; Anon., *An Elegy on the late Duke of Monmouth* (16 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R15194; Anon., *An Elegy on James Scot, late Duke of Monmouth* (16 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R36167.

⁵¹⁹ Anon., *An Elegy on the late Duke of Monmouth* (16 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R15194.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Anon., *Perkin's passing-bell, or The traytors funeral: being a new poem on the rebells overthrow, on Monday July the 6th three miles from Bridgewater* (1685), ESTC Citation: R18454.

The poet of *The Western Rebel* blamed Monmouth's defeat on "Politic noddles without wit or reason, / When empty of brains, have the more room for treason."⁵²² If

Monmouth's idiotic supporters attempted to claim his martyrdom in defeat, they would be disappointed, asserted the poet of *The Rebels Elegy* (1685):

For strait the *Party*; oh the *Party*, They
His Funeral Rites in mournful Claret pay.
Meet and condole; and *Oh! How like a Hero!*
And then another Drinks, and whispers—*Nero*...
There's no such Thing as *Vertue* in a Rebel.⁵²³

If anything, the author of *An Elegy on James Scot, late Duke of Monmouth* (1685) charged, Monmouth's defeat in the field of battle signaled the termination of the Whig party, which was no but a "grinning Faction in thy Urne entomb'd."⁵²⁴

For that reason, some poems preened over Monmouth's failure, while others had a more muted response. Monmouth's foolhardy ambition, *The Country's Advice* gave, should be not be pardoned:

Neither pardon nor a Prince's love
Can the sweet bait of mighty crown remove,
Let him unpiti'd in a dungeon lie
Till with despair and envy he shall die.⁵²⁵

For his rebellion, this poet believed that all mention and symbols of Monmouth's once favored position in Charles's reign should be removed. Before the rebellion was even over, the University of Cambridge senate ordered Monmouth's portrait, which he gave to

⁵²² Anon., *The Western Rebel*, POASY vol. 4, 32.

⁵²³ Anon., *The Rebels Elegy* (1685), ESTC Citation: R39750.

⁵²⁴ Anon., *An Elegy on James Scot, Late Duke of Monmouth* (16 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R36167.

⁵²⁵ Anon., *The Country's Advice*, POASY vol. 4, 40.

the university when he was Chancellor, to be burned. On 3 July 1685, Cambridge's yeoman beadle "damn[ed] the canvas traitor to the fire,"

The gift was to all, all therefore must burn it.
Thus joining their stocks for a bonfire together,
As they club for a cheese in the parish of Cheddar,
Confusedly crowd on the sophs [sic] and the doctors,
The hangman, the townsmen, their wives and the proctors,
While the troops from each part of the country in mail
Come to quaff his confusion in bumpers of stale...
The heads, who never could hope for such frames,
Out of envy condemn'd six score pounds to the flames;
Then his air was too proud, and his features amiss,
As if being a traitor had altered his phiz!
So the rabble of Rome, whose favor ne'er settles,
Melt down their Sejanus to pots and brass kettles.⁵²⁶

POASY ascribes the poem to George Stepney, who initially praised James when Charles died, but later supported William of Orange's intervention in 1688. Based on the lines above, Stepney was more likely to be criticizing the actions of the townspeople, rather than condemning Monmouth. Nevertheless, he betrayed a hint of partisanship when he accused the townspeople of being "the rabble of Rome," and described Monmouth as a Sejanus, the ambitious commander of the Praetorian Guard under the Emperor Tiberius. Regardless, the action of condemning Monmouth in effigy gives good indication of how some throughout the countryside viewed his deeds in the south. Monmouth and his images were worth no more now than "pots and brass kettles." It would seem, therefore,

⁵²⁶ George Stepney, "On the University of Cambridge's Burning the Duke of Monmouth's Picture, 1685, who was formerly their Chancellor," (1685) British Library Add Ms. 21094, f. 89; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet d. 18, f. 27; Cambridge MS 5962, f. 6v; Nottingham MS Portland PwV 46, f. 115; Princeton MS Taylor 5, f. 117; Victoria & Albert Museum, Dyce Catalogue no. 43, f. 229. "Bumpers" were cups filled to the brim. "Stale" is an adjective indicating that something has lost its freshness. The poet here is likely toasting Monmouth's downfall while also commenting on the failure of the Duke's campaign by creating a portmanteau for stale and ale. Phiz means face or facial expression; countenance.

that Galbraith M. Crump, editor of POASY, volume 4, was correct when he argued, “the ballads of the summer and autumn firmly support James...nowhere do we find a hint of sorrow at the failure of rebellion or at the success of the government.”⁵²⁷

Despite the rancor, the rhetoric of the Monmouth poetry and ballads made noteworthy statements about the rule of law. With James’s succession and coronation, the Tory-Anglican party declared victory in the test of wills with the Whigs over the *true* rule of law. The poet of *The Country’s Advice* queried Monmouth:

What show of right, what law can you pretend
To justify this bold, this bloody deed?...
Is this our “liberties”; are you our friend?...
[Your rebels are] deluded souls that are engag’d
In arms against your just and lawful Prince.”⁵²⁸

An elegist commented on “the bold *Aspirer* to a Sacred Crown” who “strangely strove by lawless ways to rise.”⁵²⁹ The method by which Monmouth chose to implement a new “rule of law”—rebellion—was itself extralegal. In *Real Reality, or, the Souldiers Loyalty*, balladeers sang a call to loyalty based on the current legal situation:

Mars commands, I must obey him,
In the field with armour bright,
Applause and Honour doth display him,
To maintain Great *James’s* Right...

Our Enemies we’l make to tremble,
To see with what courage we fight,
And our King we must resemble,
For we will maintain his Right...

⁵²⁷ Lord, POASY vol 4, 31.

⁵²⁸ Anon., *The Country’s Advice*, POASY vol. 4, 39.

⁵²⁹ Anon., *An Elegy on the late Duke of Monmouth* (1685), ESTC Citation: R15194.

Honour is the thing deigned,
And the glory of our cause,
To repell those that combined,
To subvert the Kingdom's Laws.⁵³⁰

The Triumphant English Commanders, or the Rebels Overthrow and utter Desolation

(1685) announced the poet's belief that "Mighty James the Gracious [sic]" was king by both "Birth and Right."⁵³¹ Several others, including *Perkin's Passing-Bell, or the Traytors Funeral* (1685), brought the Exclusion-era semantic war to a conclusion by stating simply that James, Duke of York was no longer Monmouth's "Royal Uncle," but rather Monmouth's "Royal King."⁵³² A few years earlier, Whigs had designated Monmouth with the descriptive "right royally descended" to elevate his stature in the minds of a populace in an effort to garner support for the Exclusion Bill. The Tories unswervingly reminded England's people that while Monmouth might be royal, he was not "right lawfully descended," as York was. In almost a note of finality, the balladeer of *The Triumphant English Commanders* sang simply, "Good health to James the Royal."⁵³³

Set to the tune of the Thundering Cannons Roar, the song ended,

Loyalty's a noble thing,
Service done unto a King,
Honour and Reward doth Bring
Then let us still be Loyal.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰ Anon., *Real Reality, or the Souldiers Loyalty* (1685), ESTC Citation: R187211.

⁵³¹ Anon., *The triumphant English commanders, or The rebels overthrow and utter desolation* (1685), ESTC Citation: R2770.

⁵³² Anon., *Perkin's passing-bell* (1685), ESTC Citation: R18454.

⁵³³ Anon., *The triumphant English commanders* (1685), ESTC Citation: R2770.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

The message was clear: the time for this debate is over. Monmouth and, by extension, the Whigs had lost. What was also very clear from *The Triumphant English Commanders*, *Perkin's Passing-Bell* and *Real Reality* was the state-sponsorship of the message. All made comments regarding James II's right, rule of law, and royal status—and Roger L'Estrange licensed them all.

V. Seizing Control of the Narrative:

Monmouth and Argyll's rebellions gave James the perfect opportunity to change the narrative. Sending out a specialoyer and terminer commission of five judges, the resulting months of rebel trials ruthlessly earned the moniker "The Bloody Assizes." As Paul Halliday has argued, "These had been vicious judicial proceedings in an age that replied viciously to rebellion."⁵³⁵ Recently raised to the peerage as the first Baron Jeffreys of Wem, the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys led the Assizes. Jeffreys had already earned a reputation as a bulldog during the trials of Whig publishers, leaders, and plotters. He prosecuted or presided over the trials of Benjamin Harris, Francis Smith, Henry Care, Edward Fitzharris, Sir Patience Ward, Lord Grey of Warke, Thomas Pilkington, Samuel Shute, Slingsby Bethel, and Henry Cornish. His prosecution helped convict Stephen Colledge, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney of treason, the latter under precarious legal principle, i.e. convicting on *scribere est agere* rather than a second

⁵³⁵ Paul D. Halliday, 'Jeffreys, George, first Baron Jeffreys (1645–1689)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14702, accessed 5 June 2017].

witness. He had most recently presided over Oates's trial and handed down the harsh and humiliating punishment.

Jeffreys needed no encouragement to punish the rebels severely, and yet he understood James to be eager to quell any future attempts against the crown. His zeal in pursuing the convictions of Monmouth's rebels made *A Pindarick Congratulatory Poem to the Right Honourable George, Lord Jeffreys* (1685) all the more ironic:

*He, who Sits to JAMES so nigh,
(Tho' Just He be) in Mercy must delight...
Virtues, as far beyond his High Degree,
As Him above our Selves we see,
The Prop, whereon Justice and Law do trust,
Rais'd up aloft by JAMES the Just.*⁵³⁶

Mercy was not a word typically associated with Jeffreys. According to Joshua Barnes, the author of the poem, Jeffreys's mercy befitted "Black Rebels in the worst degree."⁵³⁷

Melinda Zook details the consequences of doubting James's word and the quality of Jeffreys' mercy:

In the west, more than two hundred executions in six towns were conducted in less than a month's time. The full punishment for high treason was carried out. Rebels were hanged until unconscious, disemboweled, beheaded, and quartered. Their remains were then boiled in brine, covered in black tar, and set up on poles and trees and lampposts... In the west, residents and visitors found the sight of the exhibited body parts frightening and the smell nauseating. Only after a progress through the west the following year did James II himself, disturbed by what he saw, order the heads and quarters to be removed and buried.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Joshua Barnes, *A pindarick congratulatory poem to the right honourable George, Lord Jeffreys, Baron of Wem, and Lord High Chancellor of England to the high and mighty monarch King James the II. &c* (1685), ESTC Citation: R5386.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Zook, *Radical Whigs*, 141.

More than a thousand of Monmouth's followers were imprisoned. Approximately 250 were executed and 850 were transported to the West Indies and elsewhere for obligatory labor. The remainder died in jail before trial, while a lucky few received pardons. Although not as harsh, Argyll's rebellion ended with sixty percent of the rebelling Scots sentenced to transportation and sixteen percent maimed by a cut in the ear.⁵³⁹ Joshua Barnes, a Greek scholar and Senior Fellow at Emmanuel College in Cambridge, nevertheless delighted in the bloodshed:

Well did thy wisely-pruning Hand
Lop off those Suckers of the *Western* Land,
That once design'd to draw away
The Vital Sap of *Britain's* Royal Tree,
Whose Prosp'rous Strength's the only stay
Of Government, Religion, Equity:
Of whose firm Branches Three Great Crowns do stand...
The Root of *Monarchy* is fixt more sure;
More wide the lovely branches spread.⁵⁴⁰

He, like others, saw this as divine retribution for "*Faction's* Fury," which contributed to a "rough tempestuous State."⁵⁴¹ Tories believed the rebellions were the direct result of Whig disloyalty. After having warned the populace for years about Whig treachery, Tories believed the Whigs brought Jeffreys' "mercy" upon themselves.

It is likely that even calls for loyalty were now seen as ominous. One can imagine, therefore, how the last stanza of *The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widdows of the West* (1685) likely raised the hackles of the English people in fear:

⁵³⁹ Harris, *Revolution*, 88.

⁵⁴⁰ Joshua Barnes, *A pindarick congratulatory poem to the right honourable George, Lord Jeffreys* (1685), ESTC Citation: R5386.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Both youth and old, and rich and poor,
In multitudes they fell,
Let this a warning be therefore,
Let never none rebell;
That our most renowned king,
May have a happy reign,
Then subjects may rejoice and sing,
And never more complain.⁵⁴²

The semicolon delineated the two messages of this excerpt. In the first part, the poet shows that no one escaped punishment for the rebellion. The remaining population in the second part was encouraged to rejoice and sing, regardless of any personal loss. English widows of the fallen rebels could not even grieve their husbands' deaths or complain about their new, harsher life, because if they did so, they were being disloyal. The ballad was especially ominous because it was licensed after two notorious executions related to Monmouth's rebellion: William Disney and Alicia Lisle. Disney was arrested five days after Monmouth's landing, so his trial and execution were not part of Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes *per se*. Nevertheless, the intention behind the government's case against him was to silence Monmouth. Disney's arrest was for "printing a most Rebellious *Declaration*."⁵⁴³ Disney was a failed barrister and a Whig conspirator who arrived in the West Country armed not with conventional weapons but with seven hundred and fifty copies of Monmouth's *Declaration*. For James's reign to succeed, it was necessary to prevent rogue printers and publishers from delivering criticisms or inciting rebellion.

⁵⁴² Anon., *The Sorrowful lamentation of the widdows of the west, for the death of their deceased husbands. Wherein they declare their hearty sorrow that ever their husbands was led away by fair words to this foul rebellion. Together with their kind advice to all people, to be loyal to their prince* (November 1685), ESTC Citation: R41693.

⁵⁴³ Anon., *Disny's last farewell. Being an account of the execution of William Disney Esq, who was drawn, hang'd, and quartered, on Monday the 29th of this instant June, 1685. for printing of Monmouth's treasonable declaration* (1 July 1685), ESTC Citation: R234344.

Disney's death was an intentional warning to the country; only loyalty, in all manner of expressions, would be acceptable.

If *Disney's Last Farewell*, a ballad covering Disney's execution, was a warning to be loyal in words, Alicia Lisle's trial and execution was an admonition to be loyal in deeds, even in the smallest way. During the Assizes, Jeffreys prosecuted Lisle for harboring fugitives fleeing from the rebellion and sentenced her to be burned alive for high treason, despite being very aged and nearly deaf. Only after appealing her guilt did James modify the sentence to beheading. The poem *An Elegy on Mrs. Alicia Lisle* made Jeffreys' decision clearer; Lisle's crime was her relationship to:

The Revolutions of this by-past time
That have of late o'respread our *Kingdoms* Clime;...
She Patroniz'd the **Cause**, the **Cause**
Against the Church, and establis'd Laws.⁵⁴⁴

In her youth, Lisle was married to John Lisle, one of Charles I's regicides. Jeffreys likely knew this, which is why after her death, he allegedly barked, "I would have condemned her had she been my own mother."⁵⁴⁵ The brutality of Jeffreys' Bloody Assizes made an indelible impact in the memory of the West.

The irony of the Bloody Assizes was that locals did not learn the lessons that the government hoped they would: allegiance to James. On 26 July 1685, Tory ministers preached Thanksgiving sermons on the topic of nonresistance. Instead of cultivating loyalty to James, the Bloody Assizes demonstrated the violence James acquiesced to in order to quell future resistance. The locals took the sermons on nonresistance to heart.

⁵⁴⁴ Anon., *An Elegy on Mrs. Alicia Lisle* (September 1685), ESTC Citation: R36171.

⁵⁴⁵ C. Chenevix Trench, *The western rising: an account of the rebellion of James Scott, duke of Monmouth* (Harlow: Longmans, 1969), 237.

When William of Orange landed three years later in Torbay, his march to London was unimpeded. They did not resist the invading Dutch army to save their king.

James II's attempt at changing the narrative worked, at least on the surface. According to the paltry opposition poetry being printed, the renewal of Licensing and the harsh reprisals towards the rebellion, the country was now supposedly loyal. James rewarded Jeffreys for his measures in the West with the Lord Chancellorship on 28 September. But James was not rewarded with love in return. Few ballads, for instance, emerged to celebrate his birthday on 14 October. In *A Loyal Song, on King James his Royal BIRTH-Day*" (1685) performers sang:

While all do for our Sovereign pray,
Whom Heaven commands us to obey,
And Solemnly observe the Day
Of his most Royal Birth too. ...

'Tis our Delight both day and night,
To vindicate Great *Jameses* Right,
Who happy are in fates despight,
If we can but enjoy thee.⁵⁴⁶

In fact, there were more poems and ballads celebrating the return of Parliament in November 1685 than the monarch's birthday. Three are worth mentioning: *A Poem on the Present Assembly of Parliament; To the Members of both Houses of Parliament;* and *The Happy Return: or the Parliaments Wellcome to London. The Happy Return*, a typical ballad celebrating loyalty, also called attention to the impartiality of James's Parliament:

May all the Members be indeed,
Both honest, just, and true,
Impartial, void of base presence,
All Vices to subdue:

⁵⁴⁶ Anon., *A Loyal Song, on King James his Royal Birth-day* (14 October 1685), ESTC Citation: R188513.

May all their acts be righteous
And good be their intent
And then we'l pray God Save the King,
*And O brave Parliament.*⁵⁴⁷

The irony here, of course, was that this Parliament was not impartial. It had been culled of Whigs and populated with a Tory-Anglican majority. With James seemingly at his most powerful, *A Poem on the Present Assembly of Parliament* (7 November 1685) declared that his actions now had a weightier impact than before:

Thus, *JAMES* the pious, valiant, wise, and just,
Performs now only yours, but *Europe's* Trust....
While you [MPs] support the Throne, and He the Realm,
Our Faith and Freedom trusted in his Hand.⁵⁴⁸

In order to maintain the Tory-Anglican parliament's loyalty, all James had to do was maintain the *status quo*, be content to live on the supply granted by Parliament in May, and defend the Church of England. But James was too zealous in seeking religious liberties for his coreligionists. In the poem, *To the Member of both Houses of Parliament for their serious consideration, in making up the Breaches of this Nation* (1685), William Money gave impassioned, and well-reasoned, argument for liberty of conscience:

But unto you that now are chose,
Men do a trust in your Repose.
Let me to you something propose,
Hoping when met, you all will close,

In repealing all such Laws,
As do provoke and justly cause,

⁵⁴⁷ Anon., *The happy return: or, The Parliaments wellcome to London. Which was adjourned till the ninth day of November, 1685. But now sitting again at Westminster* (9 November 1685), ESTC Citation: R188194.

⁵⁴⁸ Anon., *A poem on the present assembly of Parliamnt [sic], November 9th. 1685* (7 November 1685), ESTC Citation: R889.

The Righteous Gods just Indignation,
To be pour'd forth upon this Nation.

Let all men have free Liberty,
To worship God; for certainly
He is most able to direct
When other means will not effect.

If forced, then sure, in despight,
You can but make an Hypocrite,
Although the Body brought in sight,
The heart may other things indite.

Force never yet accomplish't that
Which forces mostly aimt at;
Nor never yet did Honour bring
To Nation, Parliament or King.⁵⁴⁹

This poem indicates that the idea of granting Catholics religious and civil liberties might be achievable not through direct appeals, but by lessening penalties on dissenters. Rather than pursue such a line of legalistic cunning, James instead announced his desire act more radically: to repeal the Test Act passed in 1678 so as to allow dissenters and his co-religionists to hold office. This was a conscious attempt to lure dissenters in and buy their loyalty. More sinisterly to many, the repeal of the Test Act would also allow Catholic officers into the standing army James had called up to defeat Monmouth. James's proposal was therefore met with strong opposition. On 13 November 1685, by one vote, both Whigs and Tories sitting in Parliament chose instead to discuss the nation's grievances before granting James supply. In response, he prorogued his "Loyal Parliament." He never allowed them to sit again.

⁵⁴⁹ Anon., *To the members of both houses of Parliament for their serious consideration, in making up the breaches of this nation* (1685), ESTC Citation: R220224.

VI. Conclusion:

The entire year 1685 was a watershed moment. Within nine months, James achieved the height of his power. Despite the political misgivings evident in the poetry from February to April of that year, his quest to alter the partisan narrative succeeded. From Titus Oates's degradation to the extirpation of the Argyll and Monmouth's rebels, James achieved a quiet nation, compliant and malleable to his wishes. It is little wonder then that he began to circumvent the law and appoint Catholic officers to the army. When Parliament refused to countenance a repeal of the Test Act, he confidently prorogued them. But his circumvention of the law from late 1685 through early 1688 alarmed even his most ardent supporters. Beginning his reign with promises to protect the Church of England, James had begun a downward spiral, which caused many in England to fear his "promises:"

'Tis thus our sov'reign keeps his word,
And makes the nation great,
To Irishmen he trusts the sword,
To Jesuits the state.⁵⁵⁰

Within three years, James would have fled England into exile, living as a failed monarch, a fate he likely believed worse than what happened to his father.

The renewal of the Licensing Act coincided with the rebellions of the dukes of Argyll and Monmouth giving James the opportunity to control the perception of his image in ways that Charles simply could not in the last years of his reign. Rather than crafting an image of a merciful king, however, James unleashed Baron Jeffreys' onto the West Country. He now had acquired the image of a ruthless Catholic ruler. Rather than

⁵⁵⁰ Anon., *Over Lord Dover's Door* (1686), Bodleian Rawlinson MS poet 173, f. 122.

demonstrating that he deserved the epithet, and rather than listening to his Parliament's grievances, he took his supply and prorogued them at the first hint of their dissatisfaction. He had now gained the image of an arbitrary Catholic ruler, which Whigs all along had feared would happen if a Catholic ruler assumed the throne. Rather than teaching his subjects loyalty, he taught them not to openly resist when they faced a usurping invasion, such as William of Orange's intervention in 1688. He now had the image of an absolute Catholic ruler, one who could be resisted only through nonresistance. Despite its ostensible loyalty, the licensed poetry and songs that James and his government used to cultivate a new supportive narrative in 1685 simply could not counter the culture of fear that his policies created. It also could not wipe away the strength of Whig pro-parliamentary political culture cultivated in the years before James's accession.

Conclusion:
Nothing Rhymes with Orange, 1686-1689

In November 1685, as we have seen, James prorogued Parliament; he effectively ruled without it in the final years of his reign. Three years later, James was deposed and forced to live out the rest of his life in exile. And yet, from 1685 to mid-1688, licensed explicit oppositional printed verse diminished. With the renewal of the Licensing Act in June 1685, press regulations were back in full force. Poets conveyed adversarial messages to James's reign only in manuscript, as during the period before the lapse of pre-publication licensing. Such printed verse as appeared reflected wholehearted government support. Whether poets expressed disapproval in manuscript or support in print, political verse from 1686-1688 dealt primarily with the nature of James's rule.

By June 1688, James's attempts to control the press in favor of his Catholicizing policies had failed. For two years, James favored his co-religionists over English Protestants, both dissenter *and* Anglican, in a systematic quest to reinstall Catholicism over a recalcitrant people. Gaining the power of dispensing with parliamentary law in 1686 was key to his quest. A judicial decision in favor of the Church of England in June 1688, however, forced James to realize that he could not use the dispensing powers against the institution of the Church itself. More significantly, poets and balladeers understood this limitation on James's powers as a slapping down of the principle of divine right. From this moment on, verse and songs broke through censorship barriers and gave voice to the revolution. Using verse, the people of England ultimately mobilized against James.

I. The Abeyance of Oppositional Printed Verse:

Following Monmouth's Rebellion in June 1685, ballads and songs responded to the heightened military atmosphere. During London's elevated anxiety at Monmouth's potential invasion, James ordered soldiers to encamp at Hounslow Heath. The poet of the print, *The Valiant Souldiers Gallantry*, tried to quiet fears and convince the populace that the army existed in the interest of civic peace:

Shining in their brightest Arms,
To secure us from the harms,
Of the Rebels faint alarms,
And all their courage damp too,
Men of brave renown that know
Not to stoop unto a foe
Better Europe cannot show
Than in the Royal camp now....
Giving England happy rest,
Peace possessing e'ry breast
That with Loyalty is blest,
And them from fear exempt too.⁵⁵¹

The only reason the army would march against London, the poet implied, would be to put down rebellion from disloyal subjects, making this poem a conciliation, propaganda, and a recruitment strategy. With over ten thousand soldiers encamped at the intersection of three major roads, it is understandable why the populace was nervous about James II's intentions.⁵⁵² For the government, it was imperative to encourage loyalty, and James did so by recruiting soldiers. In *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution*, James

⁵⁵¹ Anon., *The Valiant Souldiers Gallantry, or the Glory of the Camp-Royal on Hounslow-Heath*, (8 July 1686) ESTC No. R185912.

⁵⁵² John Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 97.

Childs shows that Monmouth's invasion initially provoked a wave of loyalist volunteers.⁵⁵³ The government attempted to profit from this show of loyalty by appealing to an ordinary subject's sense of martial ethos, heroism, and sense of professionalism. Similarly Angela McShane asserts the government could use recruitment ballads to minimize the political or religious issues that might make a recruit hesitant to join and serve.⁵⁵⁴ The downplaying of anti-Catholicism in these ballads coincided with a small increase in openly practicing Catholics.

Conversions to Catholicism, both publically and privately, occurred in small numbers. For poets, the most notable was John Dryden's alteration from Tory votary to Catholic neophyte. POASY has a verse titled "To Mr. Dryden upon his Declaring himself a Roman Catholic," in which the anonymous poet scathingly wrote:

Thou bungled'st out a life like a loath'd toad,
Impatiently then waiting a new wind
Of doctrine fit for thy licentious mind,
Till a curst western blast of Popery came—
Pop'ry, of Christendom the plague and shame,
The yoke of princes, the true politic cheat
To cramp the honest and to make knaves great—
Thou suck'd'st th' infection in the very nick,
And pliant conscience veer'd to Catholic.⁵⁵⁵

What disturbed this poet most was not Dryden's conversion to Catholicism but the role the Poet Laureate played in disparaging Whig fears of a Catholic prince, and then not being fortified and faithful enough to the Anglican Church to withstand pressure to

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁵⁴ Angela McShane, "Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads," *Journal of Early Modern History*. 15, no. 1-2 (2011): 105-137.

⁵⁵⁵ Anon., "To Mr. Dryden upon his Declaring himself a Roman Catholic," POASY vol. 4, 77.

convert. This poem's only extant printed copy is in the 1703 *Poems on Affairs of State*. Other manuscript poems published at the time of Dryden's conversion, however, argue similar objections. Ascribed to Charles Sackville, the sixth Earl of Dorset, the manuscript poem, "To Mr. Bays" revealed a new interpretation to Dryden's conversion:

Not all the rancor and felonious spite
Which animates thy lumpish soul to write
Could have contriv'd a satire more severe,
Or more disgrace the cause thou would'st prefer.⁵⁵⁶

By converting, according to Dorset, not only did Dryden reveal his "mercenary" nature, but he also undermined the entire Tory Anglican alliance with the crown and its position on monarchical sovereignty. If the main Tory party spokesman converted his religion once the crown became Catholic, then Whig anxieties about strong monarchical prerogative were legitimate and their desires for parliamentary constitutionalism justified. Later, when Dryden printed *The Hind and the Panther* in support of James's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, the poetic backlash, both in manuscript and print, was swift and severe.⁵⁵⁷

Fears about how James would wield his royal prerogative almost immediately were realized. In June 1686, James sought to dispense with the 1678 Test Act. His goal

⁵⁵⁶ Charles Sackville, "To Mr. Bays," (1686) Bodleian Eng. Poet d. 152 f. 10, Firth c. 16 pg. 68, pg. 102; Tanner 306, f. 397; Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.94 p. 113; British Library Sloane 2332 f. 5.

⁵⁵⁷ See Anon., "On the Author of the Hind and Panther," Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.94, p. 176; Anon., "On the Same," Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.94, p. 177; Anon., "Dryden's Ghost," Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.94, p. 186; Anon., *The Courtier* (1687), ESTC Citation: R175868; Anon., *The Revolter: a trage-comedy acted between The Hind and the Panther and Religio laici, etc.* (1687), ESTC Citation: R36782; Anon., *The laureat Jack Squabbs history in a little drawn, down to his evening, from his early dawn.* (1687) ESTC Citation: R4429; Anon., *The Hind in the Toil* (1688) ESTC Citation: R16506; Anon., *A poem, in defence of the Church of England; in opposition to The hind and panther* (1688) ESTC Citation: R30111; Thomas Heyrick, *The New Atlantis: a poem, with some reflections upon the Hind and the Panther* (1687) ESTC Citation: R16236.

was to not only forego parliamentary acquiescence in appointing Catholics to military posts but also to be free to appoint his co-religionists in any post. A longtime associate of James, Sir Edward Hales, was received into the Catholic Church on 11 November 1685, but he had not yet resigned his commission in the army that James raised in June to fight the Duke of Monmouth. Under the terms of the Test Act of 1673—the same Test Act that forced James to resign from the admiralty—, as a Catholic, Hales could not foreswear transubstantiation, take Anglican Communion, or swear the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Furthermore, he would not be able to retain his commission. James presciently granted Hales a dispensation. In an attempt to force the issue in the courts, Hales conspired with his coachman, Arthur Godden. Hales instructed Godden to expose him for the £500 reward. On 28 March 1686, the Rochester Assizes found Hales guilty of violating the Test Act, which Hales promptly appealed to King’s Bench. At King’s Bench, Hales presented his letters patent, which were affixed with the Great Seal, acknowledging that he could retain his commission. Having already “replaced half of the royal judges,” James, Mark Kishlansky suggests, had rigged the system so that naturally the court “decided in favour of the monarch’s power to dispense with laws, with the Chief Justice [Sir Edward Herbert] citing as precedent God’s commandment that Abraham kill his son.”⁵⁵⁸ The eleven to one decision rested on the logic that “the laws of England are the king’s laws” thus the king can dispense with “penal laws in particular

⁵⁵⁸ Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 272.

cases and upon particular reasons.”⁵⁵⁹ In other words, James acquired his dispensing powers only after explicit judicial manipulation.

Although James gloried in his victory, the ruling aggravated dormant fears of Catholic arbitrary power. Not only had the king gained the power to dispense with parliamentary acts, thus creating the potential for absolutist rule, but the judiciary also had proved malleable and corruptible. In manuscript, the disgust was plain. One bold poet posted the manuscript poem, “A Stanza put on Westminster Hall Gate,” calling the eleven judges who ruled in James’s favor “Judas[es]” who “stoop[ed] again unto the Romish yoke” and wished for them to “perish by those laws ye have abolish’d!”⁵⁶⁰ Another anonymous poet wrote in manuscript, “To the Respective Judges,” sarcastically and scornfully praising them for their:

Laws, far stronger than the Commons’ votes,
So finely flow from your dispensing throats, . . .
Worse than fanatic priest, for they being press’d
By a wise prince preach’d to repeal the Test.
Then here’s the difference ‘twixt you Popish tools:
You’re downright rogues, they only knaves and fools.⁵⁶¹

By authorizing dispensations, the court preferred monarchical power over parliamentary authority, thus potentially nullifying all parliamentary law. For Hales’s service to the

⁵⁵⁹ Thomas Bayly Howell, Thomas Jones Howell, William Cobbett, and David Jardine, *A Complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors from the earliest period to the year 1783*, XI, 1816, 1197f.

⁵⁶⁰ Anon., “A Stanza Put on Westminster Hall Gate,” (1686) Yale Osborn fb. 207/2 pg. 46.

⁵⁶¹ Anon., “To the Respective Judges,” (1686) Bodleian Firth c. 16 pg. 282, Rawl. poet 173, f. 121v; National Library of Scotland Advocate 19.1.12.

king, James gifted him with multiple promotions and positions.⁵⁶² With the *Godden v. Hales* decision in his favor, James established a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission with jurisdiction over the Church of England in August 1686. Ominously, the Bloody Assizes Judge, Sir George Jeffreys presided.

The methods James was using to introduce absolutism thus became apparent. Almost immediately the next year, James wielded his dispensing power on a large scale. On 12 February 1687, James issued his Declaration of Indulgence in Scotland, with an English Declaration of Indulgence proclaimed on 4 April 1687. Ostensibly, i.e. in print, the Indulgence was met with great acclaim and gratitude. The poet of *A Loyal Paper of Verses upon his Majesties Gracious Declaration* called it “free Liberty,” while the author of *The Manifestations of Joy, Or, the Loyal Subjects grateful acknowledgment* extolled the return of trade and liberty from slavery that the Indulgence promised.⁵⁶³ In *A Congratulatory Poem Dedicated to his Majesty, on the late Gracious Declaration*, one poet ended his laudatory verses with:

Nor ever did Just Soveragin [sic] Law Restrain,
But for redress which Subjects thence obtain:
And tells how safe Our King we might Obey,
Had we no other Law than what He'd say.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶² Daniel Szechi, "A Blueprint for Tyranny? Sir Edward Hales and the Catholic Jacobite Response to the Revolution of 1688," *The English Historical Review*. 116, no. 466 (2001): 344.

⁵⁶³ Anon., *A Loyal Paper of Verses, upon his Majesties Gracious Declaration* (1687) ESTC Citation: R180258; Anon., *The Manifestations of Joy, Or, the Loyal Subjects grateful acknowledgment* (1687) ESTC Citation: R234395.

⁵⁶⁴ Anon., *A Congratulatory Poem Dedicated to his Majesty, on the late Gracious Declaration* (1687) ESTC Citation: R40865. For poetry on the Indulgence, see also: Anon., *A Pindarick-poem upon His Most Sacred Majestie's late gracious indulgence, in granting a toleration, and liberty of conscience in matters of religion* (10 October 1687) ESTC Citation: R8550; Anon., *A New Years gift to His Majestie, on his gracious declaration for liberty of conscience* (1688) ESTC Citation: R180973; Anon., *To the King's most excellent Majesty, giving thanks for his royal declaration for liberty of conscience* (1688) ESTC Citation:

The poet's argument that James could be trusted with the law enabled these lines to be licensed. Indeed, all the above lines were printed just when licensing and press regulation were the strongest. In these lines, the tone can change the intent of the author and how audiences might have received it. If read in a praising manner, the lines could be an expression of relief that the partisanship of the previous years is over thanks to a king who wields absolute authority in a just manner. If read in a skeptical manner, the lines take on an ominous tone because the implicit question was how trustworthy was the word of a king who had no check on his power?

This skepticism was more readily seen in manuscript. One manuscript poem, seemingly satirical, written by "Dr. [Robert] Wild's Ghost," betrayed the underlying feelings of many non-conformists towards the Indulgence in two significant lines. Dr. Robert Wild was a Puritan minister with Royalist views who had died in 1679. By using his persona, the poet adopted a voice of moderation; one in which a dissenter could still abjure the Church of England while maintaining loyalty to the crown. In one line, the 'Ghost' mocked Whigs by declaring in their voice, "This Declaration is a Trojan Horse." The poet's overt intention was to sneer at Whig and dissenter fears that this Indulgence would pave the way for resurgence of Catholicism. The last lines, however, betray the true thrust of the message. Dr. Wild proclaimed, "'Tis but conforming t'other step and

R173820; Anon., "The Dissenter's Thanksgiving for the late Declaration" (1687) Bodleian MSS Firth c. 16, p. 264, Folger Shakespeare Library MS W.a.135 f. 47v, Beinecke MS Osborne fb. 108, p. 109.

then, / *Jure divino*, whip and spur again.”⁵⁶⁵ By using Dr. Wild, the poet implied that dissenters had to accept *jure divino*, divine right, in order to receive their religious liberties. Where printed verses extolled the Indulgence, manuscript betrayed fear of James wielding “divine right” to change the religious laws of the land.

Similarly, concerns about *how* James attempted to wield monarchical authority were exactly what made the Indulgences all the more frightening. He went to great lengths to ensure that his religious policies were enforced. Indeed, he promoted a policy of Catholicization by installing his coreligionists in positions of authority at all levels. In national positions, he removed long allies, including his brother-in-law Laurence Hyde, earl of Rochester, and replaced them with Catholics. For local positions, he required all office holders to answer three questions relating to a possible repeal of the Test Act, and if the candidate said no to any one question, the position would be denied. In the army, Sir Edward Hales was not the only Catholic officer who was allowed access to power. James even went so far as to reintroduce Catholicism in institutions of learning. His treatment of Magdalen College in Oxford is a good example. When the College’s President died in March 1687, James sent a *writ of mandamus* to appoint Anthony Farmer, a suspected Catholic convert, to the position. James expected to be obeyed. But the fellows rejected Farmer on the grounds of alleged debauchery and elected, instead, John Hough. Following the Ecclesiastical Commissions’ ejection of Hough, James II arrived at Magdalen in September to install his own choice for the open President’s

⁵⁶⁵ Anon., “Dr. Wild’s Ghost,” (1687) British Library Add. MS 29497 f. 23v, Harley 6947 f. 240, Harley 7319 f. 255v; Bodleian Don e. 23 f. 65, f. 67, Firth c. 16 p. 159, Firth c. 3 f. 13; Chetham’s Mun. A4.14 f. 74v; NLS Advocates MS 19.1.12 f. 190v; Princeton Taylor MS 5 no. 21.

position. Steven Pincus reports that by “mid-November twenty-five of Magdalen’s fellows had resigned” in protest and by August 1688, “all but two of the fellows of the College were Roman Catholics.”⁵⁶⁶ To oppose James meant risking position, power, and in the case of Magdalen’s fellows, livelihood.

James’s tactics included military intimidation. In a manuscript poem, “Hounslow Heath,” a poet revealed James’s martial tricks following the third military display performed by the army encamped at Hounslow Heath. By calling for so many displays of prowess, the poet reckoned James fashioned a Mithridatic entity.⁵⁶⁷ Like Mithridates’s experiments with poison, the longer the army encamped at Hounslow, the more London’s population became accustomed to its presence. With so many peaceful instances for the populace to “pause, and view the army royal,” no one would be prepared for the eventuality when James might use it “to defend, or to convert ye.”⁵⁶⁸ Significantly, the continued presence of martial power was felt when James pursued an official diplomatic relationship with the Vatican, receiving into his closet Edward Petre, his Jesuit Confessor, and Ferdinando, Count d’Adda as Papal Nuncio. With an army just outside

⁵⁶⁶ Steven Pincus, *1688: the first modern revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 175-176.

⁵⁶⁷ Anon., “Hounslow Heath,” (1687) British Library Add. MS 29497 f. 32, Add. MS 78359 f. 37; NLS Advocates MS 19.1.12 f. 188r. For more on the army encampment at Hounslow Heath, see also: Anon., *The London cuckold: or, an antient citizens head well fitted with a flourishing pair of fashionable horns by his buxome young wife, who was well back'd by a coltish spark, in the time of her husbands absence at the campaign on Hounslow-Heath. Tune of, O mother! Roger, &c. This may be printed, R.P.* (1686) ESTC Citation: R221373; Anon., *An answer to the London cuckold, lately fitted with a large pair of horns of the new fashion, which his wife made him in the time of his riding to hounslow-heath* (July/Aug 1686) ESTC Citation: R172362; Anon., *England’s triumph: or, A poem on the royal camp at Hounslow-Heath* (1686) ESTC Citation: R8937.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

London, James pursued those relationships without organized recrimination from London's population.

Certainly feeling the martial pressure contributed to how some reacted to James's tactics. In one manuscript poem, "Advice to the Test Holders," one poet revealed how James's illegitimate nephew Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, reportedly rebuffed a Catholic priest who attempted to convert him. By beating the priest severely, thus Grafton "did oppose":

Our soul advice, but pious checks and blows?
The holy priest he o're the temple smote
'Twas well that beating sav'd his grace's throat.⁵⁶⁹

Grafton's urge to fight back paralleled the rhetorical impulse to undermine James's efforts. It was an inclination that could not be contained for long, press regulation or no.

Seven Anglican Bishops challenged James's quest to exert confessional control over the three kingdoms. After James reissued the Declaration of Indulgence on 27 April 1688, with instructions that it be read from the pulpit on Sundays of the 20th and 27th of May, William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops wrote a petition of protest. They presented it to James on the night of 18 May 1688. In the petition, they declared that the king did not have the authority to dispense with the laws passed by Parliament. Assured of his power to dispense with the Test Act thanks to *Godden v. Hales* and buoyed by the impending birth of his child, James nevertheless insisted the Indulgence be read. When bishops and priests all over England balked on those two

⁵⁶⁹ Anon., "Advice to the Test Holders," (1687) British Library Add. MS 29497 f. 19v, Burney 390 f. 39v, Harley 7317 f. 99; Yale Osborne fb. 108 pg. 61, Poetry Box VI/130; Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.94 pg. 194, X.d. 188.

Sundays, enraged, James swiftly had the seven bishops arrested for seditious libel. The Trial of the Seven Bishops became intertwined in the popular mindset with the absolutist and arbitrary expectations of a Catholic monarch. In a 1688 manuscript poem, “The Clerical Cabal,” one poet made this connection plain:

And when the King’s dead,
You know that the Princess of Orange comes in,
And then this denial may stand us instead
To purchase her favor and fix us again.
Though of Passive Obedience we talk like the best,
‘Tis prudence, when interest sways, to resist....
No argument better than this can convince us,
How much ‘tis our duty to please the Dutch Princess;
But some will now say, since the Queen is with child,
If a male should be born, our project is spoil’d:
We’ve a salvo for that, too, if he lives to be man,
Like true Vicars of Bray we’ll retract all again.⁵⁷⁰

This poem chastised the seven bishops for preaching passive obedience while actively resisting James. The connection between the outcome of their seditious libel trial and James’s unborn child was clear. If the bishops were found guilty, James could dispense with any parliamentary law he saw fit, and if his child was a son, then he could usher in, without recourse, any religious changes. In that circumstance, the poet predicted that all Anglican clergymen would become “Vicars of Bray,” changing their beliefs to suit the circumstances in order to remain in power, just like the famed thrice-converting parson who managed to retain his position and living from Henry VIII’s to Elizabeth’s reign. But if the bishops were found not guilty, and Mary of Modena delivered a girl, it would be a significant legal blow to James’s alterations of monarchical prerogative. He would lose

⁵⁷⁰ Anon., “The Clerical Cabal,” (1688) British Library Harley 7319, f. 278; Bodleian Firth c. 16 p. 276; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090 f. 392r; Victoria & Albert Museum Dyce Cat. no. 43, pg. 741.

his dispensing power, thus limiting the power his heir could wield. On 30 June 1688, a jury acquitted the Seven Bishops, a mere twenty days after James's son and heir, James Francis Edward, was born. The city's jubilant celebrations over the acquittal eclipsed James's new fatherly pride.

Almost as swiftly as James gained power in 1685, he lost it in 1688 within six months of his son's birth. Mary and James's ill luck as parents influenced the rumors swirling around Mary's pregnancy. Over the course of a fourteen years' marriage, Mary had ten pregnancies. From those pregnancies, only one baby lived into childhood. Sadly, however, Mary and James's daughter, Princess Isabel of York, died two and a half weeks before the Oxford Parliament at the tender age of four. Based on the filial history of James and Mary, it is reasonable to see why the populace disbelieved James Francis Edward's birth. The birth of James's son and heir in June 1688 seemed too convenient. Indeed, it seemed as if Mary's pregnancy was a conspiracy to foist a Catholic heir to the crown on the nation. As a 1688 manuscript poem on the Seven Bishops, "The Paradox, Upon the Confinement of the Bishops and Their Bailing Out," revealed poets speculated on rumors swirling regarding "the cause o'th'Queen's conception do remain / and will produce the same effects again."⁵⁷¹ The birth of a boy would make the Bishops' acquittal inconsequential if that child reached maturity and was able to inherit the throne.

James Francis Edward's birth therefore coincided within an atmosphere of renewed anxiety and heightened anti-Catholicism. For an entire decade, contemporaries had used poetry to lament and to vilify. No one was immune to the rhetorical attacks of

⁵⁷¹ Anon., "The Paradox," (1688) Bodleian Firth c. 16 p. 283, Rawl. poet. 152 f. 187; Yale Osborne fb. 108 p. 299.

verse. One of the first acts of James II's reign was to renew the Licensing Act. He attempted to suppress the spread of seditious and potentially revolutionary ideas. At this point, however, the damage was already done. Colledge's 1681 accusations in verse that Charles was a Leviathan and puppet master treating his Parliament like a marionette haunted James's reign.⁵⁷² Once the English people began to believe that James intended to subvert the law, de-establish the Protestant Reformation, and deprive his subjects of liberty, it was difficult to convince them of anything different. Yet James was old and without a legitimate male heir. The throne would have next gone to his daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, anyway. Most of the nation was content to sit and wait. James Francis Edward Stuart's birth in June 1688, however, disrupted the waiting game that many intended to play.

II. Print Escalation Despite Censorship:

Since the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1679, printed political poetry depicted two parties absolutely convinced of the veracity of their own side. Verse facilitated doubt in the minds of the population as to whether or not they could believe anything true to be "real." On these grounds, it is unsurprising that after nearly ten years of plots, counterplots, and subplots that poets immediately latched onto the idea that the whole pregnancy was itself a plot to artificially lengthen the duration of Catholicism's grasp on the country through its heads of state. On the whole, it seems like a reasonable assumption to make. The acquittal of the Seven Bishops on 30 June 1688 provoked a flood of oppositional and

⁵⁷² Stephen Colledge, "A Raree Show," Bod. Douce 357, f. 56; All Souls College, Codrington 116; HEH EL 8856; ESTC Citation No: R493254.

libelous poetry because it became clear that James's power was checked. The Anglican bishops halted the steady growth of his monarchical power and threw his government into crisis. Poets used this governmental crisis to comment more vociferously on the rumors regarding Mary's pregnancy.

Despite censorship laws, poets' accusations suddenly appeared in both manuscript and print. Poets alleged that Mary conceived through infidelity, with the most likely candidates being Papal Nuncio Ferdinando d'Adda or the hated Father Edward Petre (James's confessor). Others charged that the child was not Mary's, but rather a changeling "into the world...slipt."⁵⁷³ Poets repeated the famed allegation that James Francis Edward was actually another woman's child who was snuck into the birthing bed in a warming pan. With Mary's history of miscarriage, a vast conspiracy that the Prince was a 'warming pan baby' seemed more plausible than the Queen having a healthy birth. Indeed, in a manuscript poem "Upon the King's Voyage to Chatham to make Bulwarks Against the Dutch" the poet disgustingly insinuated that "her royal womb puke[d]" when:

Our young Prince of Wales, by inheritance stout
Was coming to aid him [his father] and peep'd his head out;
But seeing his father, without ships or men, ...skulk'd in again.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ On Father Petre's involvement, see Anon., *A dialogue between Father Petre's and the Devil* (1688) ESTC Citation: R420; Anon., *Father Petre's lamentation; or, His New-Years-gift to the Devil* (1689), ESTC Citation: R39532; Anon., *The Jesuits exaltation, or A preparation for a turn at Tyburn* (January 1689) ESTC Citation: R188321; Anon., *The last will and testament of Father Petres* (December 1688) ESTC Citation: R226864; Anon., *A new song, of Father Pftre, [sic] and the devil* (January 1689) ESTC Citation: R188662; Anon., *A new song of Lulla by, or, Father Peters's policy discovered* (1688) ESTC Citation: R227317; Anon., *Popery routed: or, Father Petres's farewell to London city* (1688) ESTC Citation: R43902; Anon., *Rome in an uproar; or, The Pope's bulls brought to the baiting-stake by old father Petres* (Jan/Feb 1689) ESTC Citation: R228507.; Anon., *Private Occurrences: or the Transactions of the four Last Years* (1688) ESTC Citation: R14171.

⁵⁷⁴ Anon., "Upon the King's Voyage to the Chatham to make Bulwarks against the Dutch and the Queen's Miscarriage thereupon," (1688) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 14090 f. 443v; Victoria & Albert Museum Dyce cat. no. 43 p. 840.

Many poets, both in print and in manuscript, believed that Mary simply could not carry a healthy child to term. They believed that the young prince was “as big and as Bold / as a Boy a Month old” continuing the allegation that the Prince was actually another woman’s child.⁵⁷⁵ In the manuscript “Excellent New Ballad called the Prince of Darkness, showing how Three Nations may be Set on Fire by a Warming Pan,” audiences heard:

As I went by St. James’, I heard a bird sing,
“Of certain the Queen has a boy in the spring.”
But one of the chairmen did laugh and did say,
“It was born overnight and brought forth the next day.”⁵⁷⁶

The timing of the birth was simply too coincidental for most of James’s subjects. These verses occupied public fascination for months.

By October 1688, continuous rumors swirling about the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales forced James to take extraordinary steps to combat them. On 22 October 1688, James gave a speech to his Council providing an explanation for a course of action he was about to undertake: the deposition of the female witnesses to the Prince of Wales’s birth. James claimed, “On the providence of God, there were many present at his [the Prince of Wales] birth, so many witnesses of unquestionable credit.”⁵⁷⁷ Once the female witnesses gave their accounts of the Prince’s birth, the Privy Council printed them in *The Several Declarations Together with the Several Depositions Made in Council on Monday*

⁵⁷⁵ Anon., *A Catholick Hymn, on the Birth of the Prince of Wales* (1688) ESTC Citation: R222975.

⁵⁷⁶ Anon., “Excellent New Ballad called the Prince of Darkness, showing how Three Nations may be Set on Fire by a Warming Pan,” (1688) Yale Osborne fb. 108 p.111; British Library Add. MS 27402 f. 168, Add. MS 30381 f. 135, Harley 7319 f. 295, Harley 7332 f. 210, Bodleian Firth c. 16 p. 300, Rawl. poet 159 f. 95b.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 25.

*Oct. 22, 1688, concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales.*⁵⁷⁸ But many of those women were still not believed.⁵⁷⁹ So convinced was a majority of the English population that the birth was illegitimate that even though James made a public record of the evidence, no one was prepared to take “official” announcements at face value anymore. Indeed, eyewitness testimony no longer provided an ironclad way to measure the authenticity of an event. By humiliatingly stooping to this spectacle, James illuminated just how pervasive doubt had become in the political dialogue of the 1680s. And it did not work. As William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph and one of the famed Seven Bishops, heatedly charged, “I have never saw [sic] so many gross lyes...by any one paper in my whole life.”⁵⁸⁰

The ongoing expressions of disbelief suggest that the verses positing that the Prince was illegitimate were more convincing to the nation. Originally heard only in manuscript, this speculation soon crept into printed texts. In the skeptical ballad, “The Audience” written by George Stepney, envoys from around Europe welcomed the Prince. At his turn, the Spanish ambassador cried:

The King, my master, Sir, has sent
Your royal birth to compliment
If you will make it but appear
That you are England’s lawful heir.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁸ Privy Council of England and Wales, *The Several Declarations Together with the Several Depositions Made in Council on Monday Oct. 22, 1688* (London: Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1688) ESTC Citation: R28609.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 26.

⁵⁸⁰ Bod. Rawl. D. 756, f. 1.

⁵⁸¹ George Stepney, “The Audience,” 1688, BL Add. MSS 29497; Bod. Eng. Poet d. 152, f. 11; Bod. Firth c. 16, p. 301; Bod. Top. Oxon. c. 326, f. 57.

“Appear” is the operative word in these lines. Verses reminded the population that the truth of the Prince’s birth did not matter; since James acknowledged the Prince of Wales as his heir, the boy would be raised in a Catholic household. When he would eventually succeed James, he would be a Catholic monarch. The very fact that a Prince of Wales existed proved to be a very real threat to the English people in the age of confessional states. This “evidence” coupled with a decade of uneasiness regarding the succession pushed the population to clamor for a new Parliament. James made these depositions public because he was already aware of the pending invasion by William of Orange’s fleet. Indeed, Tim Harris revealed the specificity of the timing in *Revolution*:

On the day that the seven bishops were acquitted [30 June 1688] the earls of Devonshire and of Danby, Bishop Compton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, Edward Russell and Henry Sidney sent a letter to William of Orange inviting him to intervene in English affairs.⁵⁸²

William accepted the invitation not just because James had been handed a judicial defeat for his dispensing powers, but because James’s infant son also threatened his wife’s claim to the English throne. James’s publicized depositions of his son’s legitimacy seemed like a justification for his son’s future rule, but for William of Orange’s invasion, it was a fantastic opportunity. The English people themselves were undermining the Prince of Wales’s legitimacy before William even stepped foot on English soil.

While James and his government knew of the impending invasion, the wider population did not. But, rumors that a Dutch invasion was imminent were rampant, especially as James got the country in a state of readiness. To buoy loyalty, James called for stricter press censorship and an increase in anti-Dutch propaganda. One example was

⁵⁸² Harris, *Revolution*, 271.

In Defiance of the Dutch, a broadside ballad written by Matthew Stephenson. In it Londoners heard lyrics that played on their fear of foreigners and their enduring rivalry with the Dutch:

Robb'd of our rights, and by such water-rats?
We'll doff their heads, if they won't doff their hats.
Affront too Hogen Mogen to endure!
'Tis time to box these butter-boxes sure.⁵⁸³

In typical English fashion, foreign languages were ridiculed, such as the commonly heard "Hogen Mogen," which was a corruption of *Hoogmogendheiden* ("High Mightinesses") the official form of address for members of the States General of the United Provinces. One broadside ballad, *The Ungrateful Rebel; or Gracious Clemency Rewarded with Villany*, described the Dutch as amoral looters using religion to justify murder and theft:

Though we a Rebellion make
And Heavenly Laws do break,
It is for Religions sake;
And therefore we proceed,
To make the whole Nation bleed...
I am a Knave
Their Treasure I crave.⁵⁸⁴

These ballads were meant to rouse anti-Dutch sentiment, but what James did not count on was his unpopularity and the unpopularity of his court and ministers. For example, Angela McShane recounts a September 1688 event mentioned the ballad, *The Countryman's Prophecy*, in which a mob dragged Father Charles Petre, Edward's brother, from his pulpit at the Elector Palatine's Chapel in Lime Street for preaching

⁵⁸³ Matthew Stephenson, *In Defiance of the Dutch* (1688), ESTC Citation: R39672.

⁵⁸⁴ Anon., *The ungrateful rebel; or, Gracious clemency rewarded with villany. Tune of, The turn-coat of the times* (1688) ESTC Citation: R227450.

against the King James Bible.⁵⁸⁵ With quite the opposite effect he meant, James's quest to shore up loyalty to him against the Dutch only provided a window for poets and balladeers to create new parodies of his propaganda, as will be discussed below.

It quickly became apparent that in the event of a Dutch invasion, James would not have the support of his people. Realizing this, James began desperately to do anything to maintain his power. By the end of August 1688, seeking conciliation, James issued writs for the calling of a new Parliament. On 16 September 1688, he announced a general election. A week later, he summoned the very bishops he prosecuted for seditious libel and conferenced with them on how to restore the constitution. In effect, he openly ingratiated himself with the Church of England. Upon recommendation, he disbanded the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and restored full rights of appointment to the universities. In a dramatic reversal from Charles's attempts to quash London opposition, he ordered Lord Chancellor Sir George Jeffreys to restore the City's charter. In a remarkable pairing of performance and poetry, the pamphlet *London's anniversary festival* written by Matthew Taubman, Taubman split the credit for restoring the charter between James and Sir John Chapman, the current Lord Mayor. In his poem dedicated to the Lord Mayor, Taubman glorified Chapman:

The captive ark is brought in triumph home;
The Charter is return'd with cheerful cries,
Our Rights, our customs, and immunities.

⁵⁸⁵ Anon., *The countryman's prophecy, plainly setting forth when popery will return into England again. The tune of, Covetousness out of England will run* (September 1688) ESTC Citation: R174299; McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England*, 424.

All which in 88, with You Restor'd
In everlasting Annals we'll record.⁵⁸⁶

However, in the *Song for the Entertainment of His Majesty*, to be sung after the pageant and procession, Taubman half-heartedly praised James in this chorus:

To the Son of the Martyr,
Who Restored us our Charter,
Let French, Dutch, and Spaniard beware it;
While the foes that invade us,
With their sinking Armado's,
We drown in an Ocean of Claret.⁵⁸⁷

No doubt James expected a stronger show of loyalty for what was supposed to be a gesture of goodwill. Drunken militiamen would not be helpful in the event of an invasion. The lackadaisical show of gratitude undoubtedly reflected the real popular sentiments of the restored Charter.

On a paperslip verse, a quatrain circulated around London and the nation.⁵⁸⁸

These verses proved how far the authority of the monarch under the aegis of “Great James” had fallen:

A thief that gravely beares away the prize
Proclaimes his valour in the enterprise
But hee who basely steales & brings it home
Let Herr van Brugh or Tyburne be his doome.

X [signed, the] Dutch for the Mobile [the people].⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁶ Matthew Taubman, *London's anniversary festival, performed on Monday, October the 29th. 1688. For the entertainment of the right Honourable, Sr. John Chapman, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London; being their great year of jubilee. With a panegyrick upon the restoring of the charter. And a sonnet provided for the entertainment of the King* (1688) ESTC Citation: R220787.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Leanna McLaughlin, “Paperslips,” in Adriana Craciun and Simon Schaffer, eds. *The Material Cultures of Enlightenment Arts and Sciences* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pg. 255-257.

⁵⁸⁹ “On the Lord Chancellor’s Restoring the Citty Charter,” (1688) The National Archives, C110/80.

The “prize” was London’s Charter. Despite the fact that it was Charles who revoked the Charter, the poet incriminated James for its theft. Such thievery led to attempts to undermine Stuart authority. For example, while living in the Netherlands, Sir John Vanbrugh was a Whig spy who worked to bring about James’s overthrow by encouraging William of Orange’s invasion. In September 1688, Vanbrugh was arrested in France and spent the next four years in the Bastille. The poem also prescribed death as the punishment for the charter’s theft, as the reference to Tyburn made clear. According to this anonymous poet, James faced two options: deposition or death. These verses were a call to arms, potentially galvanizing popular opposition. The lines “X [signed] Dutch for the Mobile,” i.e. the people, gave a powerful reminder of whom William of Orange could rely *when*, not if, he invaded. This was a recruitment of the people of England.

III. Revolution and Song:

The most significant military recruitment song, however, was also the one most imbued with propagandistic purpose, *Lilliburlero*. In 1712, Thomas Wharton boasted that his song *Lilliburlero* “sung a deluded Prince out of three kingdoms.”⁵⁹⁰ His brag underscored the popular nature of the Revolution. Contemporaries understood that the revolution ushered out Catholicism and absolutism, and shepherded in Protestantism and parliamentary permanency.

⁵⁹⁰ Delariviere Manley, *A True Relation...of the Intended Riot and Tumult of Queen Elizabeth’s Birthday* (1712), pg. 5; Great Britain and Anchtell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons From the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*. Vol. XI (London: Printed for D. Henry and R. Cave, 1768), 64.

Although written a year earlier to condemn the appointment of noted Irish Catholic, Richard Talbot, first earl of Tyrconnell, to the Lord Deputy of Ireland post, Wharton's *Lilliburlero* became public on 25 October 1688, just as James assembled his army, notably supplemented with Irish troops. Set to a new tune by Henry Purcell, Wharton's song became immediately and immensely popular. The anti-Irish earworm began:

Ho Brother Teague, dost thou hear de decree,
Lilliburlero bullen a la
Dat we shall have a new debittie,
Lilliburlero bullen a la,
[Chorus]
Lero lero, lero lero, lilli burlero, bullen a la
Lero lero, lero lero, lilli burlero, bullen a la.⁵⁹¹

Its upbeat notes, quick pace, mocking tone, and easy lyrics became a salve for the souls of frightened English troops raised by James. They sang the song to jeer at the Irish soldiers they were forced to fight alongside. Almost immediately, *The Second part of Lilli Burlero Bullen a la* circulated in print. Written again from the Irish perspective, the lyrics narrated a conversation between two Irish soldiers, Morish and Teague, who became tired of the incessant English taunting and dreamed about going home before it was too late:

Vat if Dush [Dutch] should come as dey hope,
Lilliburlero bullen a la
To up hang us for all de dispense of de Pope?
Lilliburlero bullen a la,
[Chorus]
Lero lero, lero lero, lilli burlero, bullen a la
Lero lero, lero lero, lilli burlero, bullen a la.⁵⁹²

⁵⁹¹ Thomas Wharton, "Lilliburlero," POASY vol. 4, 311-312, ESTC Citation: R235747.

By singing the song loudly in the encampment, Wharton's lyrics forced the Irish troops to ask themselves if they really wanted to die for a people who did not see the Dutch invasion as a threat. The word "dispense" in the second line was a double entendre referring to eliminating Catholicism in England and how the English people saw James's dispensing power as more threatening to them than the landing of a Dutch fleet.

In an attempt to reclaim the song and mold it into anti-Dutch propaganda, someone—perhaps a member or party of the government—published *A New Song upon the Hogen Mogen*. Soon Wharton's anti-Irish tune overlapped with Anglicized Dutch gibberish:

D'ye hear the news of the Dutch, dear Frank
Sooterkin, Hogen, Herring, Van Dunk
That they intend to play us a prank
Sooterkin, Hogen, Herring, Van Dunk,
[Chorus]
Hogen Mogen, Hogen Mogen, Sooterkin, Hoogen, Herring, Van Dunk
Hogen Mogen, Hogen Mogen, Sooterkin, Hoogen, Herring, Van Dunk.⁵⁹³

Whereas Wharton's *Lilliburlero* had a specific political focus, this song was full of bravado and had no specific political aim other than a promise to make the Dutch regret interfering in England. The most specific line in this version was "what though they have laid their heads together, / No Orange can thrive if't prove bad weather."⁵⁹⁴ One must only suppose that the author believed a providential wind would save England once

⁵⁹² Thomas Wharton, "The Second Part of Lilliburlero," POASY vol. 4, 313-314; ESTC Citation: R183667.

⁵⁹³ Anon, "A New Song upon the Hogen Mogen," POASY vol. 4, 314-315; ESTC Citation: R39789.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

again, as it did with the Spanish naval assault, in 1588 from foreign invasion. This reference proved to be a powerful reminder of England's anti-Catholic heritage.

More derisive was *A New Song* specifically targeting James. This version circulated underground in manuscript. Targeting James's personal Catholicism and his Catholicizing policies:

Our history reckons some kings of great fame,
Ninny Mack Nero, Jemmy Transub.
But none before this who deserved the name,
Ninny Mack Nero, Jemmy Transub.
[Chorus]
Nero Nero, Nero Nero, Ninny Mack Nero, Jemmy Transub,
Nero Nero, Nero Nero, Ninny Mack Nero, Jemmy Transub.⁵⁹⁵

This version granted James a catchy and belittling nickname: Ninny Mack Nero Jemmy Transub. Although these words are seemingly nonsensical, each one indicates a specific derogatory meaning. A ninny was a fool and Mack referenced James's Scottish heritage as a Stuart. The repeated "Nero" becomes an allusion to the Roman Emperor who apocryphally set fire to Rome and fiddled while it burned, while the diminutive "Jemmy" introduced James's Catholic beliefs by mentioning the theology of transubstantiation, abbreviated as "transub." The lyrics in this version are vicious, expressly deriding anyone who put English Protestantism in danger: the judges who granted James dispensing power, Charles, and bishops who promoted the Declaration of Indulgence. It also explicitly denied the parentage of the newly born Prince of Wales and called the King "a chitterling too." One can imagine the crowds undulating through the streets singing competing versions, not just on the cusp of rioting, but also on the cusp of revolution.

⁵⁹⁵ Anon., "New Song," POASY vol. 4, 315-316. A chitterling is a diminutive of chit, or a contemptuous name for a little child, i.e. brat.

William's Dutch fleet auspiciously landed on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, 5 November 1688, in Torbay. Even as James called for a general election, he sent his wife and infant son to France. When he visited his army in Salisbury on 19 November, Gilbert Burnet related how the rapid loss of support caused James to have severe nosebleeds.⁵⁹⁶ Under advice, he retreated back to London on 23 November where the army desertions began almost immediately. The next night he lost his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and his general, John Churchill, future Duke of Marlborough to William; "There's a Churchill to inform you / how to quit your friend and King" sang one manuscript song.⁵⁹⁷ Soon the Bishop of London switched allegiances. The most significant loss was undoubtedly his daughter, Anne, who escaped Whitehall with Sarah Churchill when their husbands defected.

Lilliburlero then became the tune by which balladeers delivered news of the revolution itself. Through *The Reading Skirmish*, balladeers spread the word about the glorious victory of the Dutch troops over a garrison of 300 Irish soldiers at Reading on 24 November 1688. Fearful that the lingering Catholic Irish troops would massacre the town, the Reading townspeople appealed to the Dutch for help. Told from an Irishman's perspective:

Just as we all were fit to fall on,
In came the *Dutch* with fury and speed;
And amongst them there was not a Man,
But what was rarely Mounted indeed:

⁵⁹⁶ Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*. Vol. 3 (London [i.e. The Hague]: Printed for the Company of Booksellers [or rather, T. Johnson], 1725), pg.319.

⁵⁹⁷ Anon., "Song, to the Tune of 'Men of Fashion,'" (1688) Bodleian Firth e. 6 f. 1; Yale Osborne fb. 108 p. 122.

And rid up as fierce as Tygers,
Knitting their brows, they one did frown;
Not one of them idle, their Teeth held their Bridle,
By *Chreest and St. Patrick*, we were run down.⁵⁹⁸

The fury and speed of the Dutch advance panicked James and undoubtedly cheered on his English detractors. So often was *Lilliburlero* used as a source of news that a ballad set to its tune, *West-Country Tom Tormented*, became a source of levity in this serious moment. In this ballad, wherever West-Country Tom went he could not avoid talk of news “concerning the affairs of state.” One news monger wished to hear of news “concerning the army, but they cou’d not charm me / I swore I would neither meddle nor make.” At a tavern, Tom saw that “Some they did drink a Health to the Prince / With a fair *Orange* plac’d in a Glass.” When he passed by the Royal Exchange, he was, of course, met with a crowd who “discours’d of matters of State.” Refusing to enter into the discussion, however, he was led to “a young spark in all a vine Coat / [who] in a great rage his rapier he draw [drew].” Fortunately, Tom defended himself against this attack by breaking a bottle over his attacker’s head. Thinking he could escape the news, he went to a barbershop and was immediately asked about news in the west. Tom, then losing his mind, cried:

I run and I raved, with half my Beard shaved,
Crying, *I’d neither meddle nor make.*⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ Anon., *The Reading skirmish: or The bloody Irish routed by the victorious Dutch* (1688) ESTC Citation: R182397; McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England*, 428.

⁵⁹⁹ Anon., *West-country Tom tormented, or, Vexed to the heart by the news-mongers of the town. He vow’d he’d neither talk nor prate, [...]ws would give, concerning the affairs of state, but would at quiet live. To the tune of, Lilli borlero* (1688) ESTC Citation: R187724.

Tom was never able to escape the news. Once the revolution got underway, James's licensors could not keep up with the printed songs urging on William and his army. *Lilliburlero* became so ubiquitous that it was used as the tune for ballads about a variety of topics not relating to the revolution or battle.⁶⁰⁰ Once the revolution was over, a celebratory new version emerged, cheering the famed year in which "the pillars of popery now are blown down / one thousand, six hundred, eighty and eight."⁶⁰¹ And *Lilliburlero* itself became a revered song played while anticipating battle.

The revolution was also fought through song. Buoyed by crowds singing overlapping version of *Lilliburlero*, Londoners set numerous Catholic chapels in flames. On 11 December, James fled the capital, dropping the Great Seal into the Thames. He was caught at Faversham in Kent and, as Anthony Wood relates, searched down to his drawers by his captors. Six days later he was brought back to London.⁶⁰² Humiliatingly, his son-in-law, William of Orange, allowed him to escape again, this time for good; James reached France on Christmas day 1688. Imagine the renditions of *Lilliburlero* James heard at every stop along the way.

Many of the songs, despite attempts to provide parodies mocking William, supported the Dutch Stadtholder's invasion. Old tunes with new lyrics noisily overlapped in the air. The variety of ballads is interesting, but what is amusing is imagining the many

⁶⁰⁰ See Anon., *Couragious BETTY of CHICK-LANE*, ESTC Citation: 228169; Anon., *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady* ESTC Citation: R188018; Anon., *The City-Cheat Discovered* ESTC Citation: R174065; Anon., *The False Hearted Glover* ESTC Citation: R41764.

⁶⁰¹ Anon., "Song," POASY vol. 4, 317-319; British Library Add. MSS 30381, f. 162.

⁶⁰² Anthony Wood and Andrew Clark. *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*, vol. 3 (Oxford: 1891), pg. 288.

That your fresh sort of food
Does his carcass more good,
And the damn'd thing that cur'd his putrefi'd blood
Was an Orange.⁶⁰⁵

The 30th of January was the anniversary of Charles I's execution in 1649, making this tradition incredibly insensitive to Charles I's son, James II; but after hearing Prior's verses, revolutionary audiences likely responded with a menacing laugh. Another popular resurrected tune was "Couragio." One memorable version of the song, *The Prince of Orange's Triumph* began:

Now Orange is on *British* shore,
Come from his long Voyage O;
Now *Orange* is on *Brittains* shore,
Come from his long Voyage O;
We now shall have no *Masses* more,
But will pull down their *Scarlet Whore*
Couragio, couragio, couragio.⁶⁰⁶

More striking than the repeated calls for Jesuits and the Catholics of James's court to meet the "hempen rope," was the stanza:

He undertook a **Glorious Cause**
In this Warlike Voyage O
To keep up from Rome's Rav'nous Paws
And to preserve our Lives and Laws,
Couragio, couragio, couragio.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁵ Matthew Prior, *The Orange* (1688) ESTC Citation: R17314, British Library Add. MS 29497 f. 67; Princeton Taylor 5 no. 10. In *James II*, John Miller relates that as Orange's invasion advanced, James's physical condition deteriorated; "he was exhausted and emaciated...look[ed] yellow...and slept only with the help of opiates (203)." It was unlikely Prior knew of the king's condition, however, so he likely has a meaning yet unknown.

⁶⁰⁶ Anon., *The Prince of Orange's triumph, or, The downfall of the distressed Jesuits* (1688) ESTC Citation: R182119.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

The first line above shows that even in the throes of the regime change, contemporaries believed the events to be a “glorious cause.” The last lines, however, betray what most balladeers and indeed what many contemporaries believed they were achieving by supporting William’s invasion: a free parliament.⁶⁰⁸ Indeed, William’s declaration promising that his sole aim was to secure a new election and a lawful parliament circulated in London’s streets by October 1688.

IV. Significance:

Although not conveying overt calls for revolution, the most influential element of poetic politics was the creation of an atmosphere that was amenable to the regime change offered by William of Orange. What poetry accomplished was to provide the population with information, true or not, that allowed them to make significant decisions regarding politics. When political change was offered, song catalyzed momentum by being a significant part of crowd agitation. Both poetry and song also promoted popular involvement in the affairs of state. Poor *West-Country Tom* simply could not get away from revolutionary talk and news no matter how hard he tried. Press censorship did not

⁶⁰⁸ See Anon., *The Protestant address on His Majesty’s calling a free-Parliament* (1688) ESTC Citation: R35219; Anon., *The loyal subjects free choice: or, their general satisfaction in the calling of e new Parliament, by King William’s gracious appointment, whom God ever bless. To the tune of Grim king of the ghosts. Licensed according to order* (1688) ESTC Citation: R188515; Anon., *THE / Loyal Subjects Happy Choice: / OR, / Englands Happiness in a Protestant King and a Free Parliament* (1688) ESTC Citation: R188516; Anon., *A new touch of the times, or, The naton’s [sic] consent, for a free parliament. To the tune of, Why are my eyes still flowing* (1688) ESTC Citation: R234657; Anon., *A congratulatory poem on the sitting of the great convention in the Parliament house at Westminster, January 22. 1688/9* (1689) ESTC Citation: R218164; Anon., *Great Brittain’s glory, or, The Protestants confidence in a free Parliament* (22 January 1689) ESTC Citation: R188154; Anon., “The Statesman’s Almanac” (1688) BL Add MSS. 27407 f. 104, Harley 6914 f. 77, Harley 7319 f 296v, Bod. Firth c. 16 p. 291, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 14090 f. 434r, Victoria & Albert Museum Dyce Cat. no. 43 p. 821; Anon., “A New Song on the Calling of a Free Parliament, January 15, 1689” (1689) BL Add MSS 30381 f. 190.

stop people talking, and it certainly did not stop them singing. Additionally, in moments of political weakness, poetry and song burst past licensing laws. When the government was weak or distracted, poets and balladeers were more easily able to take rumor, libelous speculation, and oppositional news being clandestinely transmitted to a wide audience through print.

Once James fled, there was another explosion of verse, with more than fifty poems printed in praise of William and Mary. Contemporaries recognized the importance of the role of verse and song in this successful popular revolution. Even with the Licensing Act still in effect, *A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State, The Second Part of the Collection of Poems on Affairs of State, The Third Part of the Collection of Poems on Affairs of State, A Collection of the Newest and Most ingenious Poems, Satyrs, Songs, etc Against Popery, A Second Collection of The Newest Most Ingenious Poems, Satyrs, Songs, etc Against Popery and Tyranny, A Third Collection of the Newest and Most Ingenious Poems, Satyrs, Songs, etc Against Popery and Tyranny*, and *The Fourth (and last) Collection of Poems, Satyrs, Songs, Etc* were all published in 1689. Contemporaries also collected verses in scribal collections. Verse was a powerful revolutionary force.

Almost immediately, the nature of the Revolution itself was thrown into question. Members of the 1689 Convention Parliament debated whether James abdicated or if he had been overthrown. The debate over the nature of the revolution continues today. One thread of debate attempts to identify the events of 1688, with historians at different times arguing that it was a foreign invasion, a successful coup d'état, a rebellion, or a

combination thereof.⁶⁰⁹ These interpretations rely on the belief that the revolution was elite in nature. More convincing narratives posit that the revolution only succeeded because it had the wider population's support.⁶¹⁰

The most recent historiographical focus has been on the motivational forces mobilizing that support. Steve Pincus's *1688: the first modern revolution* offered a provocative thesis which argued that the revolution was "modern" precisely because it was "popular, violent, and divisive" as opposed to how previous Whig historians rendered the revolution: bloodless, consensual, and glorious.⁶¹¹ Traditionally, Whig historians saw James as a Catholic despot, a tyrant intent on finishing Queen Mary's anti-Protestant pogrom, whereas modern historians see James's reign as following European patterns of absolutist state building.⁶¹² In these modern versions, James was a conservative attempting to restore Catholicism to a country that had been Protestant for a hundred years or more. Rather than being a conservative admirer of Catholic absolutism,

⁶⁰⁹ Jeremy Black, *A System of Ambition? British Foreign Politics, 1660-1793* (1991); Harris, *Revolution*; Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: late Stuart and early Georgia Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow, 1993); David Hosford, *Nottingham, nobles, and the North : aspects of the revolution of 1688* (Hampden, Conn: Published for the Conference of British Studies and Wittenberg University by Archon Books, 1976); Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold, eds. *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-9* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Mark Goldie, "The Roots of True Whiggism, 1688-1694," *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980), pg. 195-236; Jonathan Israel, *The Anglo-Dutch Movement: essays on the glorious revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); J.G.A. Pocock, ed. *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); W.A. Speck, *Reluctant revolutionaries*; J.R. Western, *Monarchy and Revolution*.

⁶¹⁰ Tim Harris, *Revolution*.

⁶¹¹ Pincus, *1688*, 474-475.

⁶¹² For the Whig interpretation see: Macaulay, *The history of England from the accession of James II*; Trevelyan, *The English Revolution*. For a more modern interpretation see: Jones, *Country and Court*; Miller, *Popery and politics in England*.

James, as Pincus paints him, was a “radical modernizer” who attempted to create a modern Catholic polity [with a] centralizing, and extremely bureaucratic state,” complete with an invasive tax apparatus.⁶¹³ What led to the violent popular revolution in Pincus’s interpretation was that the English revolted against James because they favored the modern Dutch entrepreneurial model of economic growth.

While certainly there were larger economic forces at work, however, most scholars agree that religion was the dominant force driving the revolution. In *Making Toleration: the Repealers and the Glorious Revolution*, Scott Sowerby balanced contemporary belief with James’s actions. Rather than attempting to eliminate Protestantism, James tried to promote toleration for all religious persuasions, including Catholics.⁶¹⁴ The major division marking James’s reign, Sowerby implies, was not between modernizing economic agendas, but between those who genuinely believed James espoused a policy of religious toleration and those who were skeptical of his agenda and believed he was actually helping destroy European Protestantism.

In this dissertation, verse and song demonstrate that religion was the issue that predominantly concerned contemporaries. Verse provides a wider window into the political narrative understood by the population at large. Through a thorough examination of political poetry, we can see that it became increasingly clear to contemporaries that a major issue at the heart of Restoration politics was the nature of governmental sovereignty, with religious rhetoric dividing partisans. The intermediary years of James

⁶¹³ Pincus, *1688*, 475.

⁶¹⁴ Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: the Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

II's reign suggests this. Upon his accession, James reinstated the Licensing Act in 1685, and as a result printed poetry as a form of news nearly lapsed, with the major exception being the triumphant Tory commentary on the failed rebellion in the West Country led by the Duke of Monmouth. Aside from a single incident where a Mayor in the north was rolled in a blanket and beaten for his support of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, in print there was oppositional poetic silence.⁶¹⁵ The arrest of the Seven Bishops in 1688, and the pregnancy of Mary of Modena, Queen Consort, broke through the censorship barriers and aroused renewed lyrical reaction. Subliminal to the Declaration of Indulgence's opposition that led to the Seven Bishops' Trial and the popular doubt of a legitimate heir was deep apprehension about the nature of James's monarchical government.

Printed poetry and song were news commentary and kept the populace aware of the deepening partisanship of the 1680s. Poems and songs were also an intrinsic element of many planned and spontaneous demonstrations throughout the decade, as proven by the songs performed in the Lord Mayor's shows and the verses written about them.

Wharton's *Lilliburlero* and its parodies are a wonderful example of how song and verse could be both spontaneously popular and utilized by the government as propaganda. The number of verse responses to *Lilliburlero* alone proves that historians can no longer afford to ignore the vast quantities of versed literature as sources. Contemporaries used verses, songs and poems, in ways that altered the very atmosphere of political life in England during a very turbulent and significant period of political change.

⁶¹⁵ Anon., *New Song of a New Wonder in the North* (1688), ESTC no. R18566

Epilogue

In the 1683 preface to Whig satire *City Politiques*, John Crowne almost carelessly remarked, “Parliament...no doubt they will endeavor to tune the Nation.”⁶¹⁶ Crown described perfectly, in the last four words, the role of verse in the events of later seventeenth-century English political culture. Average English men and women could not escape the canon-like overlapping of verse and song; well-known tunes permeated the culture. Lyric and verse did not just fill the air with sound, they were purposefully designed in this period to adjust the political opinions of an increasingly active body politic. Contemporaries used poetry and songs “to tune the nation” into revolution.

As Lois Schwoerer showed, the historiography of the events of 1688-1689 is rife with dissent, contradiction, and interpretation.⁶¹⁷ The reason why the nature of the revolution is difficult to identify is because of the motley but still restricted sources historians have drawn on. State papers, treasury accounts, excise papers, government correspondence, ambassadorial dispatches, army records, personal diaries and memoirs, pamphlets, periodical literature, handbooks, sermons, proclamations, speeches, newspapers and newsletters, political and religious tracts, etc. from English, Scottish, Irish, French, Dutch, and American colonial archives have all contributed to historians’ attempts to identify not only what the revolution was, but also its ideological nature and its legacy. These same sources have also been used to discover how and to what extent

⁶¹⁶ John Crowne, *City Politiques: a comedy as it is acted by his Majesties servants* (1683), ESTC no. R17456.

⁶¹⁷ Lois Schwoerer, *The Revolution of 1688-89: changing perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pg. 1-12.

the wider populace was involved, but without sufficient attention on the discourse found in political verse or songs.

In 1688, the English avoided a revolution as dramatic and violent to the one they experienced in the midcentury—but the events of 1688 were no less revolutionary. At the beginning of the Restoration, Charles II set out to alleviate, to the best of his ability, the points of contention that caused the execution of his father and the Interregnum. He aided in the establishment of the Anglican Church, despite his personal reservations, and attempted to expand monarchical prerogative by relying on, and working with, one long-lived Parliament. When the Popish Plot erupted in 1678, causing the succession-based Exclusion Crisis, Charles was able to navigate his realms through an explosion of opposition and dissent while nevertheless increasing the power of the monarchy *at the expense* of Parliament. He was able to pass that power onto James without fundamentally altering religious and governmental structures. The major point of conflict under James's reign was his willingness to wield the monarchical prerogative and privileges without going through the established channels of sovereignty: king-in-parliament. When in 1688 another succession issue coincided with the alienation of most of England's natural authorities, contemporaries began to contemplate and accept the possibility of a second revolution a mere half century after the first. The question became how to effect the changes they wanted without again experiencing similar horrors enacted during Commonwealth again.

While borrowing some procedures from the Restoration, the English claimed precedent for their actions. That is, they tried to work within governmental structures to

respond to the Dutch invasion and flight of their monarch in the last months of 1688. By meeting in a convention in January 1689, the members of the English political system worked within the constitutional framework. With James II ‘vacant’ from the country and citing precedence for previous Convention Parliaments, a Convention Parliament was formed to deal with the executive absence. To avoid the possibility of another civil war and republic, the Conventioneers came up with thirteen grievances committed by James and thirteen clauses specifying limits to royal power. On 6 February 1688, Parliament read these “Declaration of Rights” to William and Mary and offered them joint sovereignty if they would accept them. Two months later, on 11 April 1689, William and Mary were crowned, stating in their oath they promised to adhere “to the Statutes in Parlyament Agreed on and the Laws and Customs of the same.”⁶¹⁸ The role of Parliament in this oath was made more explicit than previous coronation oaths. Recognizing the parliamentary self-empowerment of the Declaration of Rights, it would be detrimental for the historian, then, to deny the revolutionary character of the events of 1688.

Considering that the English had ready successors to James in his daughter and son-in-law, Mary and William, the governmental structure remained fundamentally whole. There was no change outwardly in the body politic. The only change in sovereignty was the ensured permanency of Parliament. But, political culture transformed by growing reliance on party politics. Indeed, the developing “rage of party” saw both Whig and Tory ideological platforms emerge from 1678-85 and become fully developed for use in elections following the Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, however, the Whig

⁶¹⁸ Coronation Oath Act 1688, 1688 c 6 (Regnal. 1 Will and Mar).

party better communicated their political theories that provided justification for revolutionary actions and new ways of relating to the Crown. At the moment of revolution, contemporaries rejected Tory passive obedience. The Dutch invasion garnered more political and popular support than not. Both the Whig and Tory parties, despite their differences, acceded to the dynastic change. Both parties emerged by seeking popular support for their factions and platforms, making the media they employed revolutionary too.

Poetry and song was the simplest way to communicate with large numbers of people. Contemporary reception of partisan messages through this medium did not necessarily require literacy. Anyone could imitate and manipulate political messages in verse precisely because, by its very nature, it is not only memorable but also versatile, malleable, and easy to parody. Parody also made verses exposing political positions often irreverent, scathing, and provocative. And from 1678 to 1685, a wild profusion of political verse appeared. The cacophony of overlapping partisan rhetoric and language in that verse helped to intensify the politicization of the population.

To recap, the first major slide into party conflict coincided with a religio-political crisis that led to a relaxation of press censorship. When in 1679 the Licensing Act lapsed, contemporaries used thousands of verses, songs and poems, to publicize ideas previously only circulating in manuscript. These thoughts and their publication altered the very atmosphere of political life in England during a very turbulent, significant period of constitutional change. Even though James II renewed Licensing in 1685, censorship existed only so long as the government was strong enough to enforce it, and Licensing

only censored print. Even with this restriction in place, authors were able to print some short pieces without detection and without registration. Likewise, Licensing does not wholly prohibit oppositional talk or writing. Contemporaries could go to the right alehouses, pubs, coffeehouses, and listen to a verse or song that only circulated in manuscript in order to hear an alternative version of events. These manuscript verses passed from hand to hand via personal and political networks. In *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy*, Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor correctly argue that government censorship could not compete with a population intent on commenting on the affairs of state.⁶¹⁹ An attempt to renew the Licensing Act in 1695 was met with the flat refusal of Parliament to do so.

The debate to end the act, however, began in late 1692 when Thomas Wharton, of *Lilliburlero* fame, and other Whigs launched a movement to drive the Tories from their offices, believing they were mismanaging the war against France. One Tory official who was the focus of this attack was Edmund Bohun, Deputy Licensor. Bohun's licensing of a pamphlet claiming that William was king *de facto*, not *de jure* put the whole issue of pre-publication censorship up for debate in Parliament. The Commons heard a petition by independent printers, booksellers, and bookbinders to eliminate the act and vociferous protests by the Stationers' Company to keep it. On 20 February 1693, with a vote of 99-80, the Commons kept licensing in effect for one year and one session of Parliament.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁹ Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor, eds. *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: the Revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic, and European Contexts* (Woodbridge: the Boydell Press, 2013).

⁶²⁰ Astbury, "The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and Its Lapse in 1695," 296-322.

In his article, “The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its Lapse in 1695,” Raymond Astbury argues that most of the ensuing debates over the next year related to John Locke’s memorandum against the Licensing Act. In this memorandum, Locke argued against a monopoly keeping perpetual copyright over scholarly works, and warned that the terms of the act were too general and therefore subject to abuse. Most of Locke’s arguments against the Act were commercial in nature, and not related to universal freedom of the press. But he was also influenced by his experiences as Shaftesbury’s secretary. In one voicing of his disdain for prepublication censorship, he vented:

I know not why a man should not have liberty to print whatever he would speak and to be answerable for the one just as he is for the other if he transgresses the law in either. But gagging a man for fear he should talk heresie or sedition has no other ground than such as will make gyves [shackles/fetters] necessary for fear a man should use violence if his suspect may be guilty of treason or misdemeanor.⁶²¹

The results of the 1679 lapse were clear to the parliamentarians who argued to keep it enforced. During the lapse, contemporaries experienced “poetick rage.” Astbury shows in a manuscript pamphlet, “Reasons for Reviving the Act for Regulating the Press and Printing,” that one author believed that “those who were campaigning for the freedom of the press...were motivated by a desire to bring about the divided society which had been the consequence of the lapse of the Licensing act in 1679.”⁶²² Despite these worries, Locke’s words were heeded. Following general commentary that claimed that “the act

⁶²¹ Justin Hughes, "Locke's 1694 Memorandum (and More Incomplete Copyright Historiographies)," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2006, p. 566.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 301.

had not fulfilled its *raison d'être* and common law was a sufficient safeguard against the abuse of the Liberty of the Press," the Commons ignored its renewal in 1695, allowing it to lapse permanently.⁶²³

William III did not particularly favor the freedom of the press and actually knew the power of an unregulated press, but he was more concerned with blasphemous and profane language. In 1694, under William's directive, Parliament passed *An Act for the more effectually suppressing prophane Cursing and Swearing*.⁶²⁴ William recognized that tighter controls on print did not prevent the corrosive effects of pens and voices. Just as 1679-1685 was an extraordinary experiment in press freedom, 1685-1688 was a test case for renewed press control. In 1688 when the government experienced an intense moment of political crisis, there was an explosion of printed verse and songs proving that the government simply could not regulate the press as it wished to anymore. William likely acknowledged the need to establish guidelines for rhetoric, but he did not fight the Commons to keep pre-publication Licensing enforced.

Poetry and verse aided in the emergence of public spheres through the power of an unchecked press. Poetry and verse helped foster a skeptical populace, who became alert to potential challenges to political sovereignty. They facilitated political dialogue, debate, and discussion. Though rancorous at times it is conceivable that all members of the population were exposed to it in one form or another.

⁶²³ Raymond Astbury, "The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and Its Lapse in 1695," 315.

⁶²⁴ "William and Mary, 1694: An Act for the more effectually suppressing prophane Cursing and Swearing. [Chapter XI. Rot. Parl. pt. 4. nu. I.]," in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 6, 1685-94*, ed. John Raithby (s.l.: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 591-592. *British History Online*, accessed June 30, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol6/pp591-592>.

Historians can no longer afford to slight the vast quantities of versed literature as sources of history. The sheer quantities alone prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that these reservoirs of information need to be used more than just as anecdotal evidence or prefaces to chapters. This is not a call to neglect tracts, sermons, and pamphlets etc., which provide samples of budding public spheres; but poetry and song are indisputably necessary to understanding the political culture and the cultural politics of the 1680s. This dissertation is an entreaty: treat poetic sources as vital to the period as any other contemporary artifact. Poetry and song are indelibly part of England's political and cultural memory. By studying the media that in many ways preoccupied contemporaries, scholars can better understand public agitation and the causes of the Revolution of 1688.

Appendix

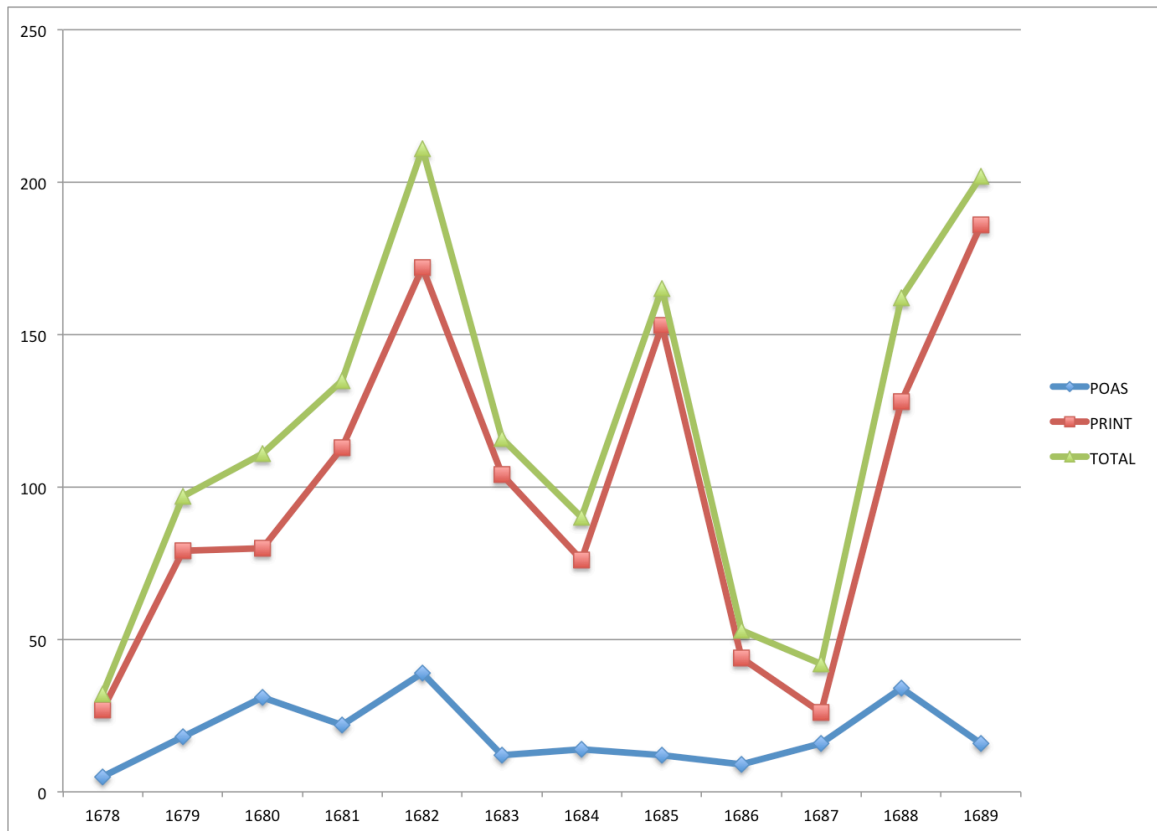


Fig. 1
Comparison of POASY to Printed Titles

Figure 1 indicates the number of individual titles per year between the onset of the Popish Plot in 1678 and the passage of the English Bill of Rights and the coronation of William and Mary in 1689. The chart's total numbers, however, do not include manuscript titles, but rather printed titles. POASY's titles include manuscript and print, but predominantly more manuscript titles than printed. Rather than demonstrate totality of titles, the chart instead establishes the numeric shortfall of POASY's inclusions. One can also see the variations of poetic output in relation to the events affecting publication. The major shifts require some explanation. In 1682, the Whig and Tories parties began to coalesce into

their ideologies as the issue of Exclusion descended into local politics. Although Charles II dissolved his last Parliament at Oxford the previous year, contemporaries did not realize it was the last Parliament of his reign, and began to prepare their arguments for the next. In 1685, while the Licensing Act was renewed in the summer, a majority of the poems were printed in response to Charles II's death and James II's coronation at the beginning of the year. The years 1686 and 1687 reflect the effects of the Whig exodus and the Licensing Act's renewal of press censorship. The sharp uptick of poetic output in 1688 reflects the willful disobedience of press controls in the outrage of the trial of the seven bishops and the onset of the revolution.

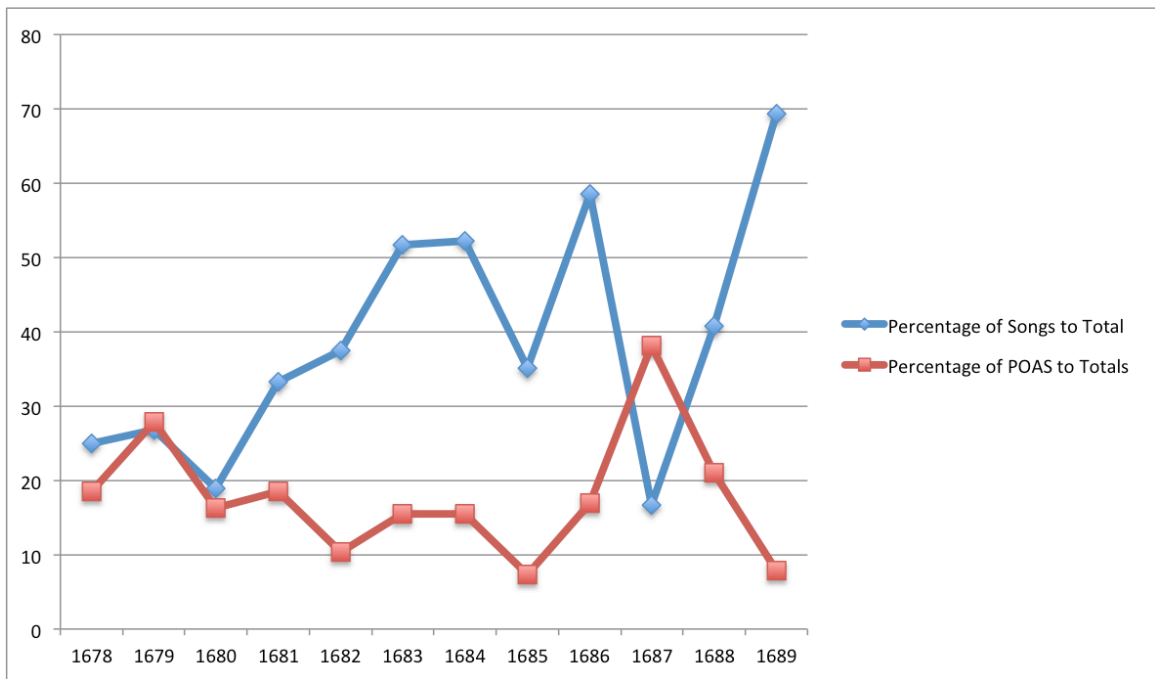


Fig. 2
Comparison of Songs to POASY

Figure 2 reflects the percentage of printed output of verses that are identified as songs, ballads, or tunes in comparison to the percentage of POASY's totals. While the percentages reflect the general trajectory of publication numbers, albeit typically offset a year, what is more striking is the sharp uptick in 1686 and 1689. For 1686, when the renewed Licensing Act was in full force, the most effective way to disseminate information was through song. These printed songs were Loyalist in nature in order to be approved by the reappointed Licensor of the Press Roger L'Estrange. Nevertheless, one can imagine that for every Loyalist song printed that year, there were more unprinted, being sung in the streets. The percentage of songs sung in 1689 reflects the population's jubilation at the success of the revolution. At the time of publication, University of California Santa Barbara's English Broadside Ballad Archive has catalogued, at the time

of publication, 2,343 ballads printed from 1678-1689 with Angela McShane, in *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: a critical bibliography*, listing 556 of those as political ballads. In total, my research catalogues 534 titles as being set to a ‘tune.’



Fig. 3
Shaftesbury Medal

Figure 3 shows the silver medal cast in celebration of the earl of Shaftesbury’s *ignoramus* verdict in November 1681. Cast by George Bower, the obverse depicts the profile of Shaftesbury with long, loose hair, a bare neck, and a mantle. The reverse shows the bursting sun over the London cityscape with the word, *Lætatur* [Let us rejoice], just under the upper ridge of the coin. Courtesy of the British Museum, item M.7632, catalogue number MB1p583.259.

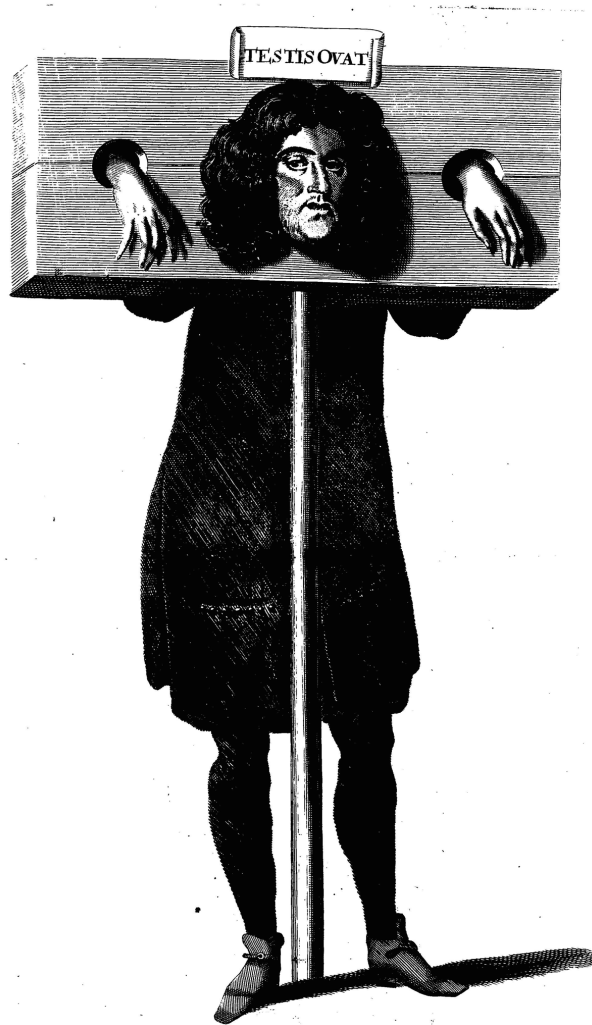


Fig. 4
Engraving of Titus Oates with the sign "Testis Ovat"

This figure accompanied the poem *Titus Oates anagr. Testis Ovat* (ESTC Citation: R4939). If any contemporary person, literate or not, saw this image, they would understand that Oates had been sentenced by law. It was not necessary to understand the Latin inscription that was above Oates's head, familiarity with the Tory accusations that Oates was a liar would be enough to communicate the message that Oates was being punished for perjury.



Fig. 5
Print of the Frost Fair, Winter 1683/4

This figure is titled “AN Exact and lively Mapp of RPEPRESENTATION Of Booths and all the varieties of shows and Humours upon the ICE on the River of THAMES by LONDON” and was printed by William Warter in 1684. In the centerline of booths, the

letter H, on the right hand side, denotes the printing press booth. This is where *A New Song or The Whigs Hard Hearts; with seasonable advice to 'em* (1684) was printed. The colophon for this ballad read “Printed by G. Croom on the River of Thames, near the Temple.”

Bibliography

The bibliography is first separated between primary and secondary sources. First listed in the primary section are the manuscript sources. Those manuscripts with an * (asterisk) behind them are the sources available through Harold Love's *English clandestine satire, 1660-1704: popular culture, entertainment and information in the early modern period*, microfilm reels published by Adam Matthew in 2006. Special care has been taken to note any publishing information that may be listed in the colophon of the printed verse. The symbol + (plus symbol) immediately succeeding the printed source indicates that it is a ballad, which can be found at the University of California Santa Barbara's *English Broadside Ballad Archive*. Following this list, the sources published in the Yale University Press's *Poems on Affairs of State* will be listed in a separate section, as these are a mixture of print and manuscript. Following the primary sources sections, the secondary sources are listed in the conventional manner.

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- . *The battell of Bodwell=bridge [sic], or, The kings cavileers trivmph.* 1680.+
- . *Blanket-fair, or The history of Temple Street. Being a relation of the merry pranks plaid on the River Thames during the great frost. To the tune of Packington's pound.* 26 January 1684.+
- . *The boys whipt home, or, A rhythme upon The apprentices poem, &c.* 13 August 1681.
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- . *Couragious BETTY of CHICK-LANE.* 1690.+
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- . *Daphne Coronalis: a pindarique ode, to the most august monarch, James the II. of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland, King, Defender of the faith; crown'd at Westminster, April the 23d. 1685. Humbly dedicated by a Loyal muse.* 23 April 1685.
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- . *A dialogue between Father Petre's and the Devil.* 1688.
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- . *Disny's last farewell. Being an account of the execution of William Disney Esq, who was drawn, hang'd, and quartered, on Monday the 29th of this instant June, 1685. for printing of Monmouth's treasonable declaration. To the tune of, Fortune my foe. This may be printed, R.L.S. July the 1st 1685.* 1 July 1685.+
- . *The Downfal of the Whiggs, or, Their lamentation for fear of a loyal Parliament.* 1679.+
- . *An Elegy on James Scot, late Duke of Monmouth.* 16 July 1685.+
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- . *Englands present state. Poor England now is sore opprest, the more it is the pitty, but God preserve our sovereign King, and eke preserve the city. Tune of, Old England's now grown new.* 1684.+
- . *England's remembrancer for the late discovery of the horrid plot found in a meal tub by Sir William Waller, one of His Majesties justices of the peace for Middlesex : the design of the papists in this plot was to put it off themselves, and lay it upon the Presbyterians : making them the designers of the change of government and the murderers of His Majesty.* 1679.+
- . *Englands royal reno[wn], in the coronation of our Gracious King [Ja]mes the Second, and his Royal Consort Qu[een Mary,] which was accordingly celebrated in a most glorious splendor, on the 23d. of Ap[ril, 1685.] Let us agree in loyalty, the King and Queen adore; and that the crown with much r[] may flourish evermore. To the tune of, The cannons [r]ore. Entred according to [order.].* 25 April 1685.
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- . *The Epitaph of the most renowned and illustrious Capt. William Bedloe*. 13 September 1680.
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- . *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. 1690.+
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- . *Faux's ghost, or, Advise to papists*. Printed by Mr. Benskin in Green's Rent neer Fleet Street. 5 November 1680.
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- . *The Hind in the toil*. 1688.
- . *The Horrid Popish Plot happily discover'd, or, The English Protestants remembrancer*. 2 November 1678.+
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- . *An humble hint to the King and kingdom on the coronation-day of James the II. &c. Expressing the due love and loyalty of the humblest amongst His Majesties servants*. 1685.
- . *The hypocritical Christian: or The conventicling citizen displayed. Shewing the refractory temper of the Whiggish party of the town, in opposition to the establish't religion, and their dis-affection to monarchy*. London: printed by George Croom, over against Baynards Castle, in Thames-street, 1682.
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- . *The last and truest discovery of the Popish-plot, by Rumsey, West, and other great patriots of their countrey.* 30 June 1683.
- . *The last will and testament of Father Petres.* December 1688.
- . *The laureat. Jack Squabbs history in a little drawn, down to his evening, from his early dawn.* 1687.
- . *A letter to Ferguson, or any other, the suppos'd author of a late scandalous libel, entituled, An elogie upon Sir Tho. Armstrong. From one that heartily wishes them what they deserve.* 6 September 1684.
- . *The London cuckold: or, an antient citizens head well fitted with a flourishing pair of fashionable horns by his buxome young wife, who was well back'd by a coltish spark, in the time of her husbands absence at the campaign on Hounslow-Heath. Tune of, O mother! Roger, &c.* This may be printed, R.P. 1686.+
- . *London's joy and loyalty on His Royal Highness the Duke of York's return out of Scotland. To the tune of London's Loyalty.* 1682.+
- . *Londons lamentation: or, An excellent new song on the loss of London's Charter.* 14 June 1683.+
- . *A Loyal congratulation to the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury upon the disappointment of his, the King and kingdoms enemies by the loyal grand juries finding the bill against him ignoramus : in a short poem.* 1682.
- . *The loyal conquest or, Destruction of treason, a song to the tune of, Lay by your pleading, the law ly's a bleeding.* 19 July 1683.+
- . *The loyal feast, design'd to be kept in Haberdashers-Hall, on Friday the 21st. of April 1682. by His Majesties most loyal true blue Protestant subjects; and how it was defeated.* 27 April or May 1682.+

- . *A loyal paper of verses, upon His Majesties gracious declaration.* 1687.
- . *The loyal sherifs of London and Middlesex. Upon their election.* October 1682.+
- . *A loyal song, on King James his royal birth-day: to the tune of, The cannons roar.* 14 October 1685.+
- . *The loyal subjects free choice: or, their general satisfaction in the calling of a new Parliament, by King William's gracious appointment, whom God ever bless.* 1689.+
- . *THE / Loyal Subjects Happy Choice: / OR, / Englands Happiness in a Protestant King and a Free Parliament.* 1689.+
- . *Loyalty triumphant, on the confirmation of Mr. North and Mr. Rich, sheriffs of London and Middlesex. As it was sung at the sheriffs-feast at Guild-hall, Saturday September 30. 1682. The saints, with zealous clubs and staves, ... To the tune of, Joy to the bridegroom.* 7 October 1682.+
- . *Loyalty triumphant; or, A looking-glass for deceivers. Dectracting Whigs, come here and take a view, for what is pen'd, is no more strange than true.* 1682.+
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- . *The melancholy complaint of D. Otes, of the black ingratitude of this present age towards him, and the evil rewards he has receiv'd for his numberless services done for the nation.* 24 September 1684.
- . *Monmouth and Bucleugh's welcome from the north, or, The loyal Protestants joy for his happy return.* 1678.
- . *Monmouth routed and taken prisoner with his pimp the Lord Gray. A song to the tune of King Jame's jigg.* 11 July 1685.+
- . *A most excellent new ballad: to a most excellent new tune, called Young Jamey.* London, 1681.+
- . *The most remarkable trials of Nathaniel Thompson, William Paine, John Farwell, at the Kings-Bench Bar in Guild-Hall, on the 20th of this instant June, 1682 for trespass and misbehaviours, in writing, printing, and publishing letters, importing, that Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey murthered himself: also several*

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———. *A New song upon the coronation of King James II to the tune of King James's jig.* 25 April 1685.+

———. *A New song upon the Hogen Mogen's.* 1688.+

———. *A new touch of the times, or, The naton's [sic] consent, for a free parliament. To the tune of, Why are my eyes still flowing.* January 1689.+

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- . *News from Windsor being the Duke of Monmouth's Welcome: or a Congratulatory on His Return from Scotland.* 1679.
- . *No Protestant plot, or, The Whigs loyalty: with the Doctor's new discovery.* 30 June 1683.+
- . *Oates thrash'd in the compter, and sack'd-up in Newgate.* September 1684.
- . *Old Jemmy: an excellent new ballad. To an excellent new tune, called, Young Jemmy.* London: Printed by Nath. Thompson, 1681.+
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- . *On the arrival of His Royal Highness. The Duke into England, a congratulatory poem.* 1680.
- . *On the coronation of King James II. and Queen Mary, April 23. 1685.* 1685.
- . *On the Most High and Mighty Monarch King James the II his exaltation on the throne of England : being an excellent new song.* 10 March 1685.+
- . *Oxford in mourning, for the loss of the Parliament. Or, London's loud laughter at her late flattering her self with excessive trading.* 1681.+
- . *Oxfords lamentation in a dialogue between Oxford and London.* Printed by T. Benskin in St. Bride's Church-yard, 30 March 1681.
- . *A panegyrick on Their Royal Highnesses, and congratulating his return from Scotland.* 1682.
- . *Perjury punish'd with equal justice; or, Miles Prance his sorrowful lamentation for his foul offences.* 21 June 1686.+
- . *Perkin's passing-bell, or The traytors funeral: being a new poem on the rebells overthrow, on Monday July the 6th three miles from Bridgewater.* 1685.+
- . *A Pindarick-poem upon His Most Sacred Majestie's late gracious indulgence, in granting a toleration, and liberty of conscience in matters of religion.* 10 October 1687.
- . *A Pindarique ode, on Their Royal Highnesses happy return from Scotland after his escape at sea.* 1682.

- . *The Plain case stated of Old--but especially of New-England, in an address to His Highness the Prince of Orange*. Boston in New England, 1689.
- . *Pluto, the Prince of Darkness his entertainment of Coll. Algernoon Sidney upon his arrival at the infernal palace : with the congratulations of the fanatick cabal for his arrival there : to the tune of Hail to the mirtle shade, &c.* 10 December 1684.+
- . *A Poem (by way of elegie) upon Mr. Stephen Colledge, vulgarly known by the name of the Protestant joyner*. 18 August 1681.
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