

THE TORY REACTION I

Roger L'Estrange, *Observator in Question and Answer*, 1 (London: H. Brome, 13 April 1681). N&S, 458.1001; ESTC, P1869.

A Ra-Ree Show (London: B.T., and Sold at his Shop in Pauls Church-Yard, 1681). Wing, C5226A; ESTC, R36037.

Roger L'Estrange, *Notes upon Stephen College* (London: Joanna Brome, at the Gun at the West-End of St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1681), pp. 10–14, 43–5. Wing, L1281; ESTC, R7200.

Roger L'Estrange, *Observator*, 325 (London: Joanna Brome, 23 April 1683). N&S, 458.1325; ESTC, P1869.

L-gley C—s His Lamentation in New-Gate; Who Lies there in Danger of his Ears for Printing and Publishing Sediton and Treason, for this Five Years Last Past. A Song (London: J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-Street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1684). Wing, N673; ESTC, R42983.

An Account of the Proceedings against Nathaniel Thomson, upon his Tryal at the Kings Bench-Bar Westminster, who was Tried, and Found Guilty on Wednesday the 26th of November 1684. For Printing a Dangerous and Seditious Libel, Intitled the Prodigal Return'd Home, Asserting the Popes Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affaires, &c. (London: A. Banks, 1684). Wing, A349; ESTC, R209740.

Ascendancy over the press became an important ambition of the loyalist counter-attack that gained pace following Charles II's removal of Parliament to Oxford and then into limbo in early 1681. This produced continued efforts to clamp down on opposition propaganda, extending to execution for treason in the case of Stephen College in 1681, but also a propaganda effort led by the King's own ten-page *Declaration* of 8 April and fed by loyal addresses, pamphlets and periodicals, notably L'Estrange's *Observator*. Aspects of the strategy of control augmented by confutation between 1681 and 1685 are represented here and in the next section.

Roger L'Estrange launched his *Observator* on 13 April 1681 with the salvo: 'Tis the Press that has made 'um Mad, and the Press must set 'um Right again'. The often-quoted remark, in itself a foretaste of First Amendment as much as Gulag, is given its context here in the first number of the epic Tory periodical, which was to continue over six years and 931 issues, under slightly varying titles.

L'Estrange's dual commitments to confutation and control had shifted towards the former as burgeoning Tory use of the press coincided with the depletion of his powers as surveyor of the press following the lapse of the Printing Act. The *Observer* became L'Estrange's greatest achievement, arguing the case against dissent and for absolute monarchy but always intended to supplement not displace censorship, regularly identifying likely candidates for suppression, which L'Estrange continued to pursue in deed as well as word.

The conviction of Stephen College in 1681 has been called the show trial that 'heralded the crushing of the whigs'.¹ The printed ballad *A Ra-Ree Show* was taken as evidence of the treasonous inclination of the 'protestant joiner', as endorser of the lyric and originator of the accompanying illustration. College was arrested and in July tried in London, but a Whig jury returned an ignominious verdict. A second trial was held in Oxford, where a conviction was secured, with the *Ra-Ree Show* part of the wider case against College, who was executed on 31 August. One reader wrote on the copy in the Huntington Library: 'A most scandalous libell agt ye Government, for wch & othr things Colledge was justly executed', with the word 'justly' interpolated to confirm the point. Francis Smith was fined and pilloried for his part in having the *Ra-Ree Show* printed. College had become a popular source of satirical ballads in 1679–81, with Scroggs, the Duke of York and ultimately the King among the targets, and Whig leaders like Shaftesbury among his supporters. The 'ra-ree show' was a satirical label for the rare entertainment orchestrated by the King to gull the 'freeborn fools', dominate the representative, and deliver all to Rome. College's later Whig martyrdom was assisted by the publication of *A True Copy of the Dying Words of Mr. Stephen College*, published by his wife Edith.

L'Estrange foresaw the danger of College gaining posthumous support and moved quickly to forestall it by issuing his *Notes upon College*, in which he defended the conviction using College's testimony in the trial and also in his *Dying Words*. Among other evidence L'Estrange considered the production of the *Ra-Ree Show*, reflected in the excerpts here. He noted that College's protestations of ignorance about the author or printer of the verses did not extend to directly denying a role in designing the accompanying cartoon. Furthermore, L'Estrange claimed to have a manuscript of College's final speech, which he said matched the handwriting behind the *Ra-Ree Show*. A second edition of the *Notes upon College* was published in the same year (Wing, L1282).

The Tory reaction did not guarantee press freedom for anyone, including its own. L'Estrange faced attempts to suppress the *Observer* from enemies and his own side, for whom his populist approach and incitement of opponents were very mixed blessings. In 1683, *Observer* number 325 provided an unusual instance of L'Estrange arguing for (his) liberty of the press in the face of the latest such attempt. Amongst earlier instances, the King at one point in 1680, so

pre-*Observer*, reportedly ordered L'Estrange 'to forbear writing such papers as tend to division', and on the day of College's execution a Whig rearguard action saw the *Observer's* publisher Joanna Brome presented to the London grand jury for promoting popery and sedition, alongside Nathaniel Thompson for the *Loyal Protestant* and Benjamin Took for *Heraclitus Ridens*.² In 1683 Brome was again presented, for the *Observer* of 14 April (no. 319), this time being charged with publishing news without prior authority, the messenger of the press Robert Stephens having personally bought a copy from her.³ Stephens, L'Estrange's erstwhile assistant turned enemy, had been seeking to build a case for some weeks, even conspiring to set up an illicit opposition paper to convince the authorities that the *Observer* stirred rather than silenced dispute.⁴ The *Observer* no. 325 provided L'Estrange's response to the accusations.

L'Estrange declared in the *Observer* that his age's Prynne, Burton and Bastwick were Care, Curtis and Harris.⁵ Despite the title of the mocking ballad *L-gley C—s His Lamentation in New-Gate*, Langley Curtis was not in danger of losing his ears, like Prynne, but like his fellow Whig writer-publishers and along with his wife Jane he had indeed been tangling with the authorities for 'Five Years last past', as the title claimed. In 1679 he and Care had been called to account for their *Weekly Pacquet*, Curtis being released on a bond of £200 that was several times in jeopardy. He also published *Julian the Apostate* (1682), for which the author Samuel Johnson spent four years in jail after being convicted of seditious libel.⁶ The ballad refers to the aftermath of Curtis's court appearance in December 1683 for *The Night-Walker of Bloomsbury*, a broadsheet dialogue envisioning the ghost of the executed Lord Russell walking abroad, for which Curtis was committed to Newgate and one of his hawkers ordered to be whipped. On 21 April 1684 Curtis was fined and pilloried.⁷ His spell in Newgate was marked by the *Lamentation*, which followed the Tory publisher James Dean's similar *Coll. Sidney's Lamentation* the previous year and celebrates a more general crushing of the Whigs. The ballad, headed by staves of music, was printed on the verso of another scurrilous song, *A New Miracle or Dr. Nomans Safe Return* (Wing, N673).

The Tory reaction also did not protect its own when Nathaniel Thompson veered over the line from Toryism to Catholicism, as the printed account recording his conviction for producing a seditious libel on 26 November 1684 shows. The offending work was *The Prodigal Return'd Home*, a substantial anti-Protestant book written following the conversion of its anonymous author, the ejected Cambridge fellow E. Lydiott. Thompson had a turbulent career after arriving in London from Dublin as a printer in the late 1660s, later branching into publishing and writing. He was investigated during the House of Lords inquiry into anti-court libels in 1677⁸ before becoming a more overtly pro-court propagandist, mainly through the *Loyal Protestant Intelligence*, although this did not end

his troubles. ‘Popish Nat’ was fined and pilloried on 20 June 1682 for tracts claiming Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was a suicide not murder victim, and in the preface to *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* (1684), Thompson rued ‘having seldom less than 3, or 4 Indictments at a Sessions against Me’. A prominent publisher of Catholic works under James II, he died in 1687. The publisher of the 1684 trial account, ‘A. Banks’, was presumably Alexander Banks, his fellow printer and co-defendant.

Notes

1. M. Goldie, ‘Danby, the Bishops and the Whigs,’ in T. Harris, P. Seaward and M. Goldie (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 75–100, on p. 99.
2. *CSPD*, 10 August 1680; R. L’Estrange, *Dissenters Sayings, The Second Part* (London, 1681), preface (no sig.).
3. *Observer*, 323; *CSPD*, 16 April 1683. For details of the *Observer*’s publishing history, see G. Kemp, ‘The Works of Roger L’Estrange,’ in A. Dunan-Page and B. Lynch (eds), *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 181–223.
4. *CSPD*, 14 March 1683, 8 June 1683.
5. *Observer*, 188 (August 1682).
6. See below, pp. 304–5.
7. Old Bailey Proceedings, 12–14 December 1683, p. 4; J. Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 202.
8. *HMC*, 9, Appendix, pp. 69, 73.

Roger L'Estrange, *Observer in Question and Answer*, 1 (London: H. Brome, 13 April 1681). N&S, 458.1001; ESTC, P1869.

THE OBSERVATOR,
In QUESTION and ANSWER
Wednesday, April 13. 1681.

Q. *Well! They are so.*¹ *But do you think now to bring 'um to their Wits again with a Pamphlet?*

A. Come, Come, 'Tis the *Press* that has made 'um *Mad*, and the *Press* must set 'um *Right* again. The *Distemper* is *Epidemical*; and there's no way in the world, but by *Printing*, to convey the *Remedy* to the *Disease*.

Q. *But what is it that you call a Remedy?*

A. The *Removing* of the *Cause*. That is to say, the *Undeceiving* of the *People*; for they are well enough *Disposed*, of themselves, to be *Orderly*, and *Obedient*; if they were not misled by *Ill Principles*, and *Hair'd* and *Juggled*² out of their *Senses* with so many *Frightful Stories* and *Impostures*:

Q. *Well! To be Plain and Short; You call your self the Observer: What is it now that you intend for the Subject of your Observations?*

A. Take it in few words then. My business is, to encounter the *Faction*,³ and to *Vindicate* the *Government*, to detect their *Forgeries*, to lay open the *Rankness* of their *Caummies*, and *Malice*; to *Refute* their *Seditious Doctrines*; to expose their *Hypocrisy* and the *bloody Design* that is carry'd on, under the *Name*, and *Semblance*, of *Religion*; And, in short, to lift up the *Cloke* of the *True Protestant* (as he *Christens* himself) and to shew the *People*, the *Jesuite* that lies skulking under it.

Q. *Shall the Observer be a Weekly Paper, or How?*

A. No, No; but oftner, or seldomer, as I see *Occasion*.⁴

Q. *Pray favour me a word: When you speak of a True Protestant, don't you mean a Dissenting Protestant?*

A. Yes, I do: For your *Assenting* and *Consenting Protestant* (you must know) is a *Christian*.

Q. *And is not a Dissenting Protestant a Christian too?*

A. Peradventure, he *is* one; peradventure, *not*: For a *Dissenter* has his *Name* from his *Disagreement*, not from his *Perswasion*.

Q. *What is a Dissenter then?*

A. 'Tis Impossible to say either what a *Dissenter IS*, or what he is *NOT*. For he's a *NOTHING*; that may yet come to be *ANY thing*. He may be a *Christian*; or he may be a *Turk*:⁵ But you'll find the best account of him in his *Name*. *A DISSENTER, is one that thinks OTHERWISE*. That is to say, let the *Magistrate* think what he pleases, the *Dissenter* will be sure to be of *another Opinion*. A *Dissenter* is not of *This*, or of *That*, or of *Any Religion*; but *A Member Politique of an Incorporate Faction*:⁶ or *Otherwise*; A *Protestant Fault-Finder* in a *Christian Commonwealth*.

Q. Well! but tho' a *Dissenter may be any thing*; A *Dissenting Protestant yet tells ye what he Is*.

A. He does so, he tells ye that he *is a Negative*: an *Anti-Protester*; One that *Protests AGAINST*, but not *FOR* any thing.

Q. *Ay: but so long as he opposes the Corruptions of the Church of Rome*.

A. Well: And so he does the *Rites*, and *Constitutions* of the *Church of England* too. As a *Protestant*, he does the *former*; and the *Other* as a *Dissenter*.

Q. *But is there no Uniting of These Dissenters?*

A. You shall as soon make the *Winds* blow the same way, from all the *Points of the Compass*.

Q. *There are Good and Bad, of all Opinions, there's no doubt on't: But do you think it fayr, to Condemn a whole Party for some Ill men in't?*

A. No, by no means: The *Party* is neither the *Worse*, for having *Ill* men in it, nor the *Better*, for *Good*: For whatever the *Members* are, the *Party* is a *Confederacy*; as being a *Combination* against the *Law*.

Q. *But a man may Mean honestly, and yet perhaps ly under some Mistake. Can any man help his Opinion?*

A. A man may *Mean well*, and *Do Ill*: he may shed *Innocent Blood*, and *think he does God good Service*. 'Tis *True*: A man cannot help *Thinking*; but he may help *Doing*: He is *Excusable* for a *Private Mistake*, for *That's an Error* only to *himself*; but when it comes once to an *Overt Act*, 'tis an *Usurpation* upon the *Magistrate*, and there's no *Plea* for't.

Q. *You have no kindnesse, I perceive, for a Dissenting Protestant; but what do you think of a bare Protestant without any Adjunct?*

A. I do look upon *Such a Protestant* to be a kind of an *Adjective Noun-Substantive*; it requires something to be *joyn'd with it*, to *shew its Signification*. By *Protestancy in General* is commonly understood a *Separation* of *Christians* from the *Communion of the Church of Rome*: But to *Oppose Errors*, on the *One hand*, is not *Sufficient*, without keeping our selves *Clear of Corruptions*, on the *Other*. Now it was the *Reformation*, not the *Protestation*, that *Setled us upon a true Medium* betwixt the two *Extremes*.

Q. *So that you look upon the Protestation, and the Reformation,⁷ it seems, as two several things.*

A. Very right; But in such a manner only, that the *Former*, by Gods Providence, made way for the *Other*.

Q. *But are not all Protestants Members of the Reformed Religion?*

A. Take notice, *First*, that the *Name* came Originally from the *Protestation* in 1529 against the *Decree of Spires*,⁸ and that the *Lutheran Protestants* and *Ours* of the Church of *England*, are not of the *Same Communion*. Now *Secondly*, if you take *Protestants* in the *Latitude* with our *Dissenters*, they are not so much a *Religion*, as a *Party*; and whoever takes this Body of *Dissenters* for *Members* of the *Reformed Religion*, sets up a *Reformation* of a *hundred and fifty Colours*, and as many *Heresies*. The *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Antinomians*, *Familists*, &c. do all of them set up for *Dissenting Protestants*; but God forbid we should ever enter these *People* upon the Roll of the *Reformation*.

Q. Well! *But what do you think of Protestant Smith and Protestant Harris?*⁹

A. Just as I do of *Protestant Muncer*; and *Protestant / Phifer*,¹⁰ a Brace of Protestants that cost the Empire 150000 Lives: and our own *Pretended Protestants* too, of Later Date, have cost *This Nation little lesse*.

Q. *Ay: But these are men of quite another Temper: Do not you see how zealous they are for the Preservation of the King's Person, the Government, and the Protestant Religion?*

A. I See well enough what they *Say*, and I *know* what they *do*. Consider, *First*, that they are Profess'd *Anabaptists*: *Smith* no less then a *pretended Prophet*,¹¹ and the *Other*, a kind of a *Wet Enthusiast*. *Secondly*; 'tis the very *Doctrine* of the *Sect* to root out *Magistracy*, Cancel *Humans Laws*; Kill, and take *Possession*; and wash *their Feet with the Bloud of the Ungodly*; and where ever they have set Footing, they have *Practic'd* what they *Taught*. Are not these likely men now, to help out a *King*, and a *Religion*, at a dead list? If you would be further satisfy'd in the Truth of things, reade *Sleidan*, *Spanhemius*, *Gastius*, *Hortensius*, *Bullinger*, *Pontanus*, The *Dipper dipp'd*, *Bayly's Disswasive*, *Pagets Heresiography*, &c.¹² *Hortensius* tells ye, how *Jack of Leydens Successor*¹³ murdered his Wife, to make way to his Daughter, P. 74. and after that, cut a girls throat, for fear she should tell Tales. *Gastius* tells us of a Fellow that cut off his brothers Head, as by Impulse, and then cry'd, *The Will of God is fulfilled, lib. I. Pa 12.*¹⁴ *Jack of Leyden* started up from Supper to do some business (he said) which the Father had commanded him, and cut off a Soldiers Head; and afterwards cut off his Wives Head in the *Market-place*. *Sleydans Comment. Lib. 10.*¹⁵

Q. You will not make the Protestant-Mercury¹⁶ to be an Anabaptist too, will ye?

A. If you do make him *any thing*, I'll make him *That*. But in one word, they are *Facitious* and *Necesitous*; and consequently, the fittest Instruments in the world, for the Promoting of a *Sedition*. First, as they are *Principled* for't; and then, in respect of their *Condition*; for they are every man of them under the

Lash of the Law, and Retainers to Prisons; So that in their *Fortunes* they can hardly be *worse*. Insomuch, that it is a common thing for them to lend a Name to the countenancing of a Libel which no body else dares own.

Q. Well! but let them be as poor, and malicious as Devils, so long as they have neither Brains, nor Interest, what hurt can their Papers do?

A. The Intelligences, you must know, that bear their Names, are not of their Composing, but the Dictates of a Faction, and the Venom of a Club of Common-wealths-men instill'd into those Papers.

Q. These are Words, all this while, without Proofs; Can you show us particularly where the Venom lies?

A. It is the business of every Sheet they Publish, to Affront the Government, the Kings Authority, and Administration; the Privy-Council; the Church, Bench, Juries, Witnesses; All Officers, Ecclesiastical, Military, and Civil: And no matter for Truth or Honesty, when a Forg'd Relation will serve their turn. 'Tis a common thing with them, to get half a dozen Schismaticall Hands to a Petition, or Address in a corner, and then call it, the sense of the Nation: and when all's done, they are not above twenty Persons, that make all this Clutter in the Kingdom.

Q. But to what End do they all this?

A. To make the Government Odious, and Contemptible; to magnifie their own Party; and fright the People out of their Allegiance, by Counterfeit Letters, Reports, and false Musters, as if the sober and considerable part of the Nation were all on their side.

Q. We are in Common Charity to allow, for Errors, and Misreports, and not presently to make an Act of Malice, and Design, out of every Mistake. Can you shew me any of these Counterfeits, and Impostures that you speak of? These Cheats upon the People, and Affronts upon the Government?

A. Yes, yes; Abundantly. And I'll give you Instances immediately upon every point you'll ask me: Only This note, by the way; That let them be Mistakes, or Contrivances, or what you will, they all run Unanimously against the Government, without so much as one Syllable in favour of it: Which makes the matter desperately suspicious.

Q. Let me see then, in the First place where any Affront is put upon the Government.

A. Some Persons (Says Smiths Prot. Int. N. 7.)¹⁷ in Norwich, &c. who have a greater stock of Confidence and Malice, then Wisdom, and Honesty, are so far transported with Zeal to serve the Devil, or his Emissaries the Papists, that they are now Prosecuting several Dissenting Protestants upon Stat. 35. Eliz. &c.¹⁸ (And so the Protestant-Mercury, N. 15)¹⁹ Some People at Norwich, are playing the Devil for Godsake: several honest, peaceable, Protestant Dissenters, having been troubled for not coming to Church, or having been Present at Religious Meetings, &c. Now what greater Affront can there be to Government, then This language, First, from

an *Anabaptist* that is a *Professed Enemy* to all *Government*; and *Secondly*, from a *Private Person*, Bare-fac'd, to arraign a *Solemn Law*: A *Law* of this *Antiquity*; a *Law* of *Queen Elizabeth's*, (a *Princess* so much *Celebrated* by our *Dissenters* themselves for her *Piety*, *Good Government*, and *Moderation*;) a *Law* which, upon *Experience*, has been found so *Necessary*, that the bare *Relaxing* of it, cost the *Life* of a *Prince*, the *Bloud* of *two or three hundred thousand* of his *Subjects*, and a *Twenty-year-Rebellion*? To say nothing of the dangerous *Consequence* of making it *Unsafe* for *Magistrates* to discharge their *Duties*, for fear of *Outrages*, and *Libells*.

Q. Well! But what have you to say now to the Kings Authority, his Administration, and his Privy Council.

A. Smith (in his *Vox Populi*, P. 13.) saith, that *the King is oblig'd to pass or Confirm those Laws his People shall Chuse*.²⁰ at which rate, if they shall tender him a *Bill* for the *Deposing* of himself, he is bound to *agree* to't. *Secondly*, in the same *Page*, he *Denies the Kings Power of Proroguing or Dissolving Parliaments*: which is an *Essential of Government* it self, under what *Form* soever, and he's no longer a *King*, *without it*. And then for his *Administration*, P. I. the *Anabaptist* charges upon his *Majesty* *those many surprising and astonishing Prorogations, and Dissolutions* (as he has worded his *Meaning*) *to be procur'd by the Papists*. And then, P. 15. he wounds both the *King*, and his *Council*, at a *Blow*; in falling upon *those that make the King break his Coronation-Oath*; arraigning his *Council*²¹ in the *First* place, and the *King himself* in the *Second*; and that for no less then the breach of *Oath*, and *Faith*. – Wee'l talk out the rest at our next Meeting.

London, Printed for *H. Brome*, at the *Gun* in *S. Pauls Church-yard*.

A Ra-Ree Show (London: B.T., and Sold at his Shop in Pauls Church-Yard, 1681). Wing, C5226A; ESTC, R36037.

A RA-REE SHOW.

To the Tune of I am a Senceless Thing.

*Leviathan.*¹

COme hither, *Topham*,² come, with a hey, with a hey,
Bring a Pipe and a Drum, with a ho,
Where e're about I go,
Attend my *Ra-ree show*,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Topham.

That monstrous Foul *Beast*, with a hey, with a hey,
Has *Houses Twain* in's Chest, with a ho,
O *Cooper, Hughs and Snow*,³
Stop Thief with *Ra-ree Show*,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

For if he should escape, with a hey, with a hey,
With *Halifaxes Trap*⁴ with a ho,
He'd carry good *Dom. Com.*⁵
Unto the Pope of *Rome*,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Levi.

Be quiet ye Dull Tools, with a hey, with a hey,
As other Free-born Fools with a ho,
Do not all Gaping stand,
To see my *Slight of Hand*?
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

'Tis not to *Rome* that I, with a hey, with a hey,
Lugg about my *Trumpery*, with a ho,
But *Oxford, York, Carlile*,⁶

And round about the *Isle*,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

But if *they* would come out, with a hey, with a hey,
Let them first make a Vote, with a ho,
 To yield up all they have,
 And *Tower Lords*⁷ to save,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Top.

Now that is very hard, with a hey, with a hey,
Thou art worse than *Cut-nose Guard*, with a ho,
 And *Clifford, Danby, Hide*,
 *Hallifax*⁸ does all outride,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Holy Ghost in Bagg of Cloak, with a hey, with a hey,
Quaking King in hollow Oak, with a ho,
 And *Rosamond* in Bower,⁹
 All Badges are of Power,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

And Popularity, with a hey, with a hey,
Adds Power to Majesty, with a ho,
 But *Dom. Com.* in little Ease,
 Will all the World Displease,¹⁰
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Levi.

Let 'um hate so they fear, with a hey, with a hey,
Curst Fox has the best Chear, with a ho,
 Two States in *Blind-house* pent,¹¹
 Make brave strong Government,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Top.

But Child of Heathen *Hobbs*,¹² with a hey, with a hey,
Remember old *Dry Bobbs*,¹³ with a ho,
 For fleecing *Englands* Flocks,
 Long Fed with Bits and Knocks,
With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Levi.

What's past, is not to come, with a hey, with a hey,
Now Safe is *David's* Bum, with a ho,

Then hey for *Oxford* ho,
 Strong Government, *Ra-ree show*,
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Ra-ree Show is Resoul'd, with a hey, with a hey,
 This is worse than Disoul'd, with a ho,
 May the mighty weight at's back
 Make's Lecherous Loyns¹⁴ to crack,
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Me-thinks he seems to Stagger, with a hey, with a hey,
 Who but now did so Swagger, with a ho,
 Gods-Fish he's Stuck i'th' Mire,
 And all the Fat's i'th' Fire,¹⁵
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

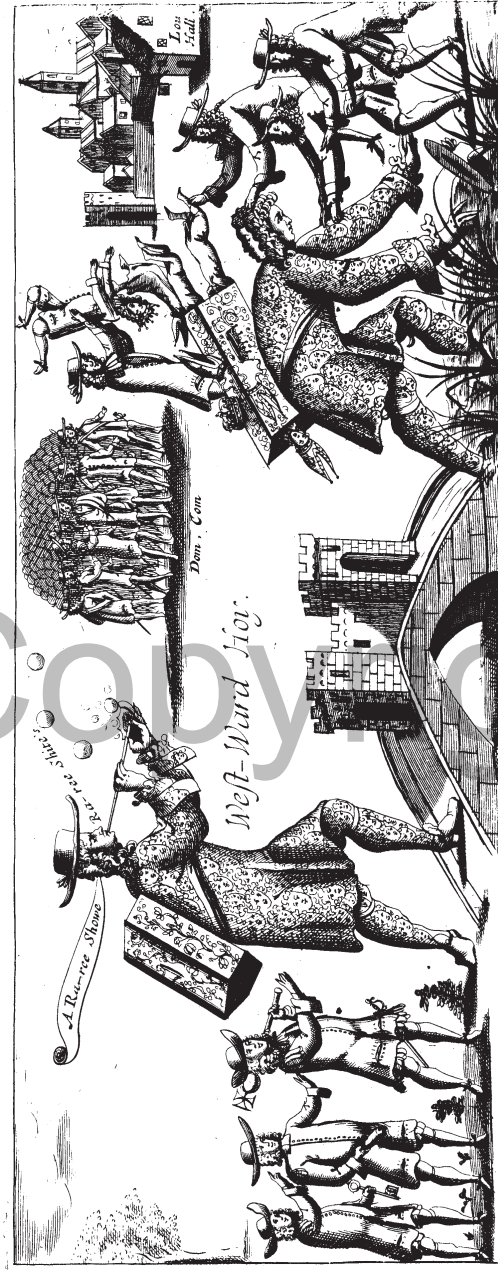
Help *Cooper*, *Hughs*, and *Snow*, with a hey, with a hey,
 To pull down *Ra-ree Show*, with a ho,
 So, So, the Gyant's down,
 Let's *Masters* out of *Pound*,¹⁶
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

And now you have freed the Nation, with a hey, with a hey,
 Cram in the *Convocation*, with a ho,
 With *Pensioners* all and Some,
 Into this *Chest of Rome*,¹⁷
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

And thrust in *six* and *Twenty*, with a hey, with a hey,
 With *Not Guilty*, good plenty, with a ho,
 And hout them hence away,
 To *Cologne* or *Breda*,¹⁸
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

Ha-loo the *Hunts* begun, with a hey, with a hey,
 Like Father, Like Son,¹⁹ with a ho,
Ra-ree Show in *French-Lap*,
 Is gone to take a Nap,
 And *Successor* has the Clap,²⁰
 With a hey, Trany nony nony no.

London, Printed for *B. T.* and Sold at his Shop in *Pauls* Church-yard: For the
 good of the Publick, 1681.



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Roger L'Estrange, *Notes upon Stephen Colledge* (London: Joanna Brome, at the Gun at the West-End of St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1681), pp. 10–14, 43–6. Wing, L1281; ESTC, R7200.

[10]

§. 4. The Libellous Pictures, and Particularly the Raree Show prov'd to be Colleges.

MY Lord, (says Colledge) as to the Papers Charg'd¹ upon me to be mine, I declare I know not of them. Tryal. pag. 74. I cannot deny but that they were in my House; but that I was the Author or did take them in, is as great a Mistake as ever was made. Ibid. I know nothing of the Printing of them, nor was I the Author of them. Ibid. I do declare I know nothing of the Original, the Printer, nor the Author. p. 75. There's a great deal more of this stuff in the Tryal, to the same purpose; but I shall lay no hold of any thing he says in his Defence, save where he Confesses: But it will be allow'd, I hope, that some weight might be laid upon what he delivers in that which is publish'd under the Title of A True Copy of the Dying Words of Mr. Stephen Colledge, left in Writing under his own hand, and confirmed by him at the time of Execution, Aug. 31. 1681. at Oxford, Publish'd by his own Relations, and Printed for Edith Colledge.² ... /

He was Interrogated in the Castle³ some few days before he suffer'd, whether he did not with his own hand draw the design for the Ballad of *A Raree-Show*? and whether *that very Draught* was not taken with the other Prints, in his *House*? His Answer was that *he was neither the Author of the Verses or Ballad, nor did he know either the Author, or the Printer*. And then for the *Design*,⁴ he bad them *shew it* (knowing it to be lost) *and he would own it, if it were his*.

Now to expound this Riddle, 'tis probable he did not know the *Author*, nor the *Printer*; and yet it is clear that the *first design* was of his *drawing*; and by him accommodated to the *Verses*, without so much as knowing who was the *Poet*. He might possibly deliver that *Draught* also to have it *Cut*, without knowing the *Graver*;⁵ as it is certain that he did deliver the *Verses* to be *Printed*, though perhaps without knowing the *Printer*: And this does evidently appear from the Testimony of the *Printer himself*.⁶ /

The *Printer* confesses and declares upon the sight of one of the Papers found at *Colleges*, that it was wrought at *his Press*; that he did it for *Franck Smith*,⁷ who told him that it was a *Merry, Joking thing*, but a *Truth*, which Corresponds with the Evidence, that *Colledge* said it was *as true as that Gods in Heaven*. The *Printer* informs likewise, that *Francis Smith*, upon the reading of the *Staves*⁸ to

him *Expounded* them; (but without the *Picture*) and told him that there was a *Captain* with a *Pack at his back*, and that was the *King*; and that He in the *Mire* was the *King*; and that He with the *Two Faces* was the *King* again; and that it was a *Merry Jocose thing, and had been sung before several Lords at Oxford*.⁹ Which Particularities do punctually agree with the Evidence against *Colledge*, from whom undoubtedly *Franck Smith* receiv'd the *Manuscript*; and *Colledge*, it seems told *Smith* no more upon this occasion, than what he had told before to other People. The Book-seller, I find, knew well enough what he did too, being very earnest with the Printer not to discover his *Name*, but to say that *he had the Copy from a Gentleman, to him unknown*; adding moreover these words, (*A body may be Troubled about it, but there's no treason in it.*)

Now after all that is said, lest it should be suggested that there's no positive Proof yet against *Colledge*, that he had any thing to do with this Libell, we shall now put that Question out of all dispute. There was a Paper of *Colleges Intercepted*, which upon Examination he utterly *deny'd at first*; but finding himself *Discover'd*, he *Confess'd* in. This was some few days before his Execution. The Paper here intended, was the *Speech*, word for word, that was Printed for *Edith Colledge*, which being show'd to the Joyner, he acknowledg'd it to be *of his own Hand-writing*; and so is the *Manuscript* also of the *Raree-Show* / from whence that Ballad was Printed; and I have the *Original* at this Instant by me, to satisfy any man that shall make a doubt whether or no it was of *Colleges Writing*. Besides that, he sung the Ballad in several places, and particularly at Sir *Philip Matthews's*,¹⁰ at *Southcot*, as divers Persons of Credit are ready to attest: And by the token that Sir *Philip* charg'd him to *forbear, for he would not suffer any such thing in his House*; or to this effect.

I cannot but deplore the Infatuated blindness of this Unhappy Creature, that should now at his last Extremity, instead of discharging his soul by a publique and sincere Repentance, be troubling of his head with Shifts and Reservations, as if he were contriving how to cast a mist before the Eyes of God and Man; and in a case so open too, that half an eye sees thorow it. ...

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We shall now as briefly as may be, apply matter of *Fact* to the Capital parts of his *Charge*. The *Designing* of the Sculpture¹¹ to his *Raree-Show* is prov'd upon him so point blank, that he himself had not the face to deny it: And *that Draught* made him as *Guilty of*, and as *Answerable for the Malicious intent of it*, as if the *Ballad* had been originally his *own*: His *Publishing* of it was a *further* Aggravation of the Crime; and the Pleasure he took in *Singing* it up and down (as he did to several eminent Persons of quality) and in *Exposing* it, made all that was in it his own too. In that *Doggrel Copy* there is Chalk'd out the very Train of the whole *Conspiracy*; and so plainly too, that it will not bear any other Construction: ...

[45]

The Faction did, without dispute, flatter themselves that they should find Friends, even in the Parliament it self, to Authorize them in their Enterprize; (but they were egregiously mistaken it seems in their measures.) And they grounded their Hopes upon the Interest they had made in most places of the Kingdom to secure an Election for their turn. This Prospect and Confidence does most notoriously appear in the contrivance of the *Raree-Show*, which in truth looks liker a Song of *Triumph*, as for a thing *already* done, then a bare *Project* and *Exhortation* toward the doing of it: Insomuch that they have in this Ballad delineated the very *Scheme* of their Intentions. It is a thing very remarkable too, that the same Pulse beats still in all their Pamphlets of Appeal to the Multitude; which speaks them clearly to be animated with the same souls, and directed to the same end. As *Vox Patriae*¹² for the purpose, (among forty others.) What is it, but under the Notion of *Petitions* and *Addresses*, in the name of the People of *England*, a certain *Compendium* of Instructions toward the Forming and carrying on of a *Conspiracy*? This Libel lays out the very Model of the Plot, for which *College* was / *Try'd*, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*. ...

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Roger L'Estrange, *Observer*, 325 (London: Joanna Brome, 23 April 1683). N&S, 458.1325; ESTC, P1869.

The Observer

The State of Stephens's Case; and an Essay at his Character. His scandals upon the Secretary, the Attorney-Generall, and Other Great Persons above. This Observer humbly recommended to the Consideration of Publique Justice.

Munday, April 23. 1683.

TRIMMER. *One Tale's Good 'till Anothers Told.* And I do Assure ye, 'tis the *Crack*¹ all over the *Town*, that *Stephens*² will Carry't. Why prethee consider it well. First, the *Observer* is Represented as a *Scandalous Libell*.³ 2ly. *Publish'd without Lawfull Authority.* 3ly, There's the *Order, Command, and Encouragement* of a *Secretary of State, Mr Attorney Generall*,⁴ and *Other Great Men* above. Pray will you speak to These Points, *Briefly*, and *Plainly* now.

OBSERVATOR. As *Briefly* as I can; and as *Plainly* as ever any man spake to any thing. First, Though that *Foul-Mouth'd Fool himself*; and the *Seditious Gang* that he *Herds* with (for 'tis no longer the *Devill* in the *hoggs*,⁵ but the *hogg* in the *Devills*) Though *They* I say, run *Bellowing* up and down against it, as a *Scandalous Paper*; there is not yet so much as the *Least Glance* in the *Indictment*, of an *Exception* to the *Matter* of the *Paper*: But *Mrs Brome* is barely *Prosecuted*, for *Printing* or *Causing to be Printed*, and for *Publishing* the 319th *Observer*,⁶ without *Lawfull Authority*. So that the *Quality* of the *Paper* is no part of the *Question*. Wherefore *Stephens's Councill* will not for the *Honour* of the *Court*, and of *Publique Justice*; and for the *Shame* of *Good People*, pretend to *Wheedle* the *Jury*, with any *Stories*, that 'tis an *Enflaming Paper*; that it keeps up *Animosities*, and breeds *Dissention* and *Mis-understandings* among his *Majesties Liege-People*; (or any of This *Paltry Stuff*;) for 'tis not the *Point*, in any wise, whether it be *So* or *Not*; But *This* is the *Single Question*. (All other dashes of *Dawbing*,⁷ and *Insinuation* apart.) Had she, or Had she not, a *Legall Authority* for the *Publishing* of it? And all *Other Consideration* is utterly *Forreign* to this *Case*.

Trim. Well! And by *What Authority* now does she Cause it to be *Printed*, and *Published*?

Obs. Now y'are upon't. She *Publishes This Paper* by the *same Authority*, that all *Other Members* of the Company of *Stationers*, Publish their *Books and Papers* where they do not *Invalidate Propriety*.⁸ There are no *Licencers appointed*,⁹ for *Printers*, and *Booksellers*, in *Ordinary Cases*, to *Repair* to: So that they *must*, either *Print*, or *Publish*, without *License*, where there is no *License* to be had, or else neither *Print* nor *Publish* at all; that is to say, in *English*, they must give over *their Trade*. So that as *Matters* stand at present, Every man *Prints* and *Publishes* what he pleases himself, without any Further *Legall Restraint* upon him, then that he becomes *Answerable* at his *Perill* for the *matter* of the *Book* or *Paper* that he *Prints* or *Publishes*. So that here's no more *Law* in *this Case*, against *Mrs Brome*,¹⁰ for *this Paper*, then there is against Every *Member of the Company of Stationers* for what He *Prints* and *Publishes*: And then one can hardly *Imagine* a *Bolder Usurpation* upon the *Common Liberty* of the *Subject* then is *Attempted* by that *Insolent Rascall* upon *Mrs Brome* in *this Instance*. For the *Freedom* of Every *Individuall* in that *Society* lies *Expos'd* upon the *same Reason*: And 'tis but *His Picking* and *Chusing* at *pleasure*, where they lye *All Equally* at *Mercy*: In which *Case*, he has no more to do, to put *Mony* in his *Pocket*, then to look about him, and cry *Bleed you Rogues*, or I'll *Indict* ye.

Trim. Does he not wear the *Kings Livery*?¹¹

Obs. And is he not the *Scandall* of it? And of the *Government* too? that only *suffer* him because they do not *know* him. How often has this *Glavering Fellow* come to Mee for *Notes* against *Care*, *Curtis*, *Starkey*,¹² and *Others* of that *Gang*, upon pretence forsooth to make use of such and such *Passages* out of their *Papers* in *Evidence* against them; I gave him Those *Instances* that would certainly have *reach'd 'em*; but the *Devil-a-bit*¹³ I ever heard of them *more*; nor can I *Imagine*, what *became* of them, unless they were *Improv'd* to raise the *Price* of the *Market*. Did not I tell him where he should find that *Libell* of *Treason* in *Grain*, for which *Sam. Harris* was *Arraign'd*?¹⁴ Did not I *Name* the *Person* to him that *had* it; and give him *Directions* how to *Manage* That *Affair*? (which *Directions*, if he had *pursu'd*, the *Devil himself* could never have *Slipt* the *Noose*): But this *Coxcomb* runs upon his *Head*, with his *Brains* in his *Heels*: So that betwixt the *fool* on the *One* side, and the *Knave* on the *Other*, it came to *Nothing* in the *Conclusion*. Am not I able to *prove*, that he was told where *Hunt*¹⁵ was, &c? In *One* word; his *Conversation* is almost wholly among the *Known*, and most *Malicious Enemies* of the *Church*, and of the *Crown*; and he is (to use a *Term of Law*) *spew'd out* of *All Companies*, that have a *regard* to any *Principles* either of *Duty*, *Sobriety*, or *Good Manners*. Besides, that it is *Notoriously Known* even where he is *Forc'd* to take any man up, or to *Hunt* after any man that is of the *Seditious Leaven*,¹⁶ how *Officiously* and *Heartily* he *Employs* the *Little Interest* he has, to

bring him *off* again; But if he happen to Stumble upon a Person of *Another Principle* that has play'd the *Fool*, there's no *Mercy* with him.

Trim. Well! I could Wish this *Breach* were *Piece'd-up* again; when all is done. **This Fellow is a Usefull Instrument.**¹⁷

Obs. Go thy ways *Old Trimmer!* Thou wilt be *Damn'd* with *This Labell* out of thy Mouth (For King and Parliament.) *Piece'd* dost thou Call it? As if thou wert to make *One Centaure* of us; And 'tis Forty to One *Stephens* should be the *Man* too, and the *Observer* the *Beast*. Why it is so *Mean*, so *Nasty*, and so *Scandalous* a Wretch, I would turn away a *Lacquey* that should but Descend to drink a pot of Ale with him. But now let me shew you the *Usefullness* of such an *Instrument* as *This*. He gets ye some *Seditious Pamphlet* or other, (as he is told) and away presently to *Court* with it; And *This* Hee calls a *Discovery*; There, he goes *Grinning about*, *My Lord, have you seen the Book I took? Sir, have You seen the Libell that I Seiz'd? By God, Tom, I'le Mawl these Rogues before I have done with 'em*; And what's / this *Mighty Bus'ness* at last; but some *Common street-Libell*, that *Neglect* and *Impunity* had *Encourag'd* to walk *Barefac'd*; and every *Porter* in the Street could have done the *same Service*. In short, he has not the *Brains* to do the bus'ness he pretends to. And then for his *honesty*, he gets ye a *Warrant*, and away with that to a *Coffee-House*; where the *Business* is *Immediately Buzz'd* about from One to Another, 'till at last, 'tis in Every bodys Mouth, who was the *Authour*, the *Printer*, or *Publisher* of such or such a *Pamphlet*: and that the *Messenger of the Press* has a *Warrant* for him: How *This* comes to Pass, I know not, but 'tis an *Admirable way* of giving notice to any man to be *gone*, without the Charge of a *Penny-Post*. But in one word; whoever Compares *Stephens* with other of the *Kings Messengers*, upon the *Effectual Execution* of their *Warrants*, (where there is any thing of *Address* or *Industry* requir'd for the *Discovery* and *Apprehension* of the *Person*) shall find the *Proportion* of above *Five to One* against him: And so here's more then enough sayd to the *Instrument*. But now to the *Authority* again of *Mrs Bromes Publishing* the *Observer*. Either her *Authority's Good*, (as I sayd before:) Or every Person of the *Company*, that *Prints & Publishes*, is *Liable* to the same *Indictment*.

Trim. Nay pray hold. Does not the *Kings Proclamation*¹⁸ *Prohibit Printing and Publishing* of *Books*, without *His Majesties Authority*?

Obs. No. Not of *Books*, in *Generall*; but only of *Books*, and *Papers* of *News*, and *Intelligence*. So that you must either make *This INDIVIDUAL Paper*, to be a *Paper* of *News*; (which has not *One Word* of *News* in't) or else, the *Proclamation* has nothing to do with *This Paper*. Nor has the *Law Directed* any *Authority* for the *Licensing* of a *Paper* of *This Quality*.

Trim. But what if this should be found at last to be a *Paper* of *News*?

Obs. What if a Man shall be found to be a Woman? Our Ignoramus-Days are gone,¹⁹ *Trimmer*; when men would see things *Invisible*; and yet at the same time, not *Distinguish* betwixt *Light* and *Darkness*. How long has it been News, I prethee, to *Reply* upon *Libells*? How long has it been News, to Assert the *Principles* of *Duty*, and *Obedience*; and the *Rights* of *Sovereign Power*, and of an *Imperiall Prince*? How long has it been News; when the *Honour*, and *Authority* of the *Crown*, and of the *Church* are *Openly Attacqu'd* and *Defam'd*, in *Printed Libells*, to *Defend* the *Government* in *Printed Replies*? But what is it now, that you call *His Majesties Authority*? (Even Admitting this 319th *Observer* to be a *Paper* of *News*) I have the *Kings Broad-Seal* for't, (which I take to be a *Sufficient Authority*) in these very words. We do by *These Presents Give and Grant* unto Roger L'Estrange, & his *Assigns*, the sole *Privilege* of *Writing*, *Printing*, & *Publishing* All *Mercuries*, *Diurnals*, and *Books* of *Publique Intelligence*, &c.²⁰ And I have at *This Day* an *Annually Consideration* for my *Patent-Right* in the *Gazette*.²¹ So that *News*, or no *News*, 'tis all a *Case* to *Joanna Brome*. And *in fine*, the *Cause* lies within *This Compass*.

If it be not a *News-Paper*, it *needs no License*: If it Be a *News Paper*, here's the *Broad-Seal* (of *Aug. 22. 1663.*) for my *Authority*: Beside (as I told ye the *Other day*) that the *Paper* is constantly sent to the *Offices* of the *Secretaries* of *State*²² before it is *Publish'd*.

Trim. Well! But he has done no more then he had *Order* for, from the *Secretary*, and the *Attorney Generall*, and *Other Great Men* above. He has told this to severall *People*; and I believe, to *Mr Tanner* (the *Clark* of the *Peace*)²³ among the rest; and upon a *Motion* of *Mrs Bromes*, in the *Court*, *Mr Recorder*²⁴ gave to *Understand*, that the *Attorney Generall* was *Concern'd* in the *Proceeding*.

Obs. *Mr Recorder* (let me tell ye) was *misenform'd*; for upon *Signifying* to *Mr Attorney* what *Use* that *Jugling Knave Stephens*, had made of *his Name*, and *Authority*, he was pleas'd to tell the *Gentleman* that *Stephens was an Idle Fellow*, and *Wish'd him to Acquaint the Recorder*; that *he knew nothing of the Bus'ness*, gave no such *Order*, and had nothing to do in't. So that according to your hint, *Mr Recorder* had this *Enformation*, probably, from the *Clark of the Peace*, if not from *Stephens himself*. You must know further, that *Stephens* being *Charg'd* the *Same day Publickly* in the *Street* for an *Impudent Lying Villain*, to *Cover his Rogueries with the Pretended Authorities of the Kings Councell*; when the *Attorney General Disclaim'd* any *Order*, or *Privity*, in the *bus'ness*; the *Sneaking Rascal* Clapt his *Tayle* between his *Legs*, and went *Sniv'ling away*, denying that ever he had *Pretended any Authority*, either from the *Secretary*, or the *Attorney*; And so betook himself to a *Couple of Known Criminalls* against the *Government*, for *Instructions*, how to *Manage his After-Game*: But I presume, it will appear at last, that he us'd the *Names* of the *Secretary*, & the *Attorney-General*,

for a *Shooing-Horn*, to *Draw-on Mr Tanner*, into the *Cause*. Shall a *Little Knave* run the *Risque* of his *Ears* for the *Forgery* of a *Name* to a *Bond*; and shall this *Audacious Falsifyer Forge* an *Order of Secretary of State*, and of the *Kings Attorney-Generall*, *GRATIS*?

Trim. But if you can *Blow* it off, there's no hurt done.

Obs. Is it *Nothing* with you then, for *Mee* to be *Publish'd* all over the *Kingdom*, in *Ten Thousand News-Letters* as a *Rogue*, that the *Kings Ministers & Council*, have *Order'd* to be *Prosecuted* as a *Libeller*? Is it *Nothing* again, for *Those Ministers and Councell*, to be *Represented* as the *Drivers-on*, & *Abettors* of so *Barbarous*, and *Unjust* a *Proceeding* against *Me*?

Trim. You'l go too far, before you think on't.

Obs. Nay 'faith *Trimmer*, I'll go *thorough* with it *Now*, before I *leave* it, and *cast off* that same *Cumbersome Modesty*, now at *last*, for the *Preservation* of my *Credit*; which (like a *Consciencious Fool*) I have *Cherish'd thus long*, to the *Ruine* of my *Fortune*. Is it *nothing* do ye think to *Start* a *President* of *this Quality*, at *this Season*; to set the whole *Nation* a *Gaping* after the *Issue* of it? The *Friends* of the *Government* on the *One* side; the *Enemies* of it on the *Other*: the *Kings* and the *Churches Cause* in the *Middle*; and *Blind Fortune* *Throwing up Cross or Pile*,²⁵ which of the *Two* shall *Carry't*. If it goes for *Stephens* the *Verdict* speaks as loud as a *Proclamation*, *Turn ROGUES and PROSPER*.

Trim. So that all *Depends* upon *your Observer*.

Obs. Very much I assure ye, upon the *Example*; for though it be a *Particular Case*, 'tis a *Publique Question*: And what do you think people would say on't, if they should see this *Profligate Knave Supported* against the *Government*, by the *Faction*, (which they are now *Labouring* all that is in 'em to do) and *L'Estrange Abandon'd*, as a *Sacrifice* to the *Faction*, by the *Government*. But my *Injuries* are *Redress'd*, so soon as they are made *known*; And *That's* the *Principal End* of *this Observer*.

London, Printed for *Joanna Brome* at the *Gun* in *S.Pauls Church-yard*.

L-gley C—s His Lamentation in New-Gate; Who Lies there in Danger of his Ears for Printing and Publishing Sedition and Treason, for this Five Years Last Past. A Song (London: J. Dean, Bookseller in Cranborn-Street, in Leicester-Fields, near Newport-House, 1684). Wing, N673; ESTC, R42983.

L-GLEY C—S

His Lamentation in *New-Gate*;

Who lies there in danger of his Ears for Printing and Publishing Sedition and Treason, for this Five Years last past. A SONG.

I.

COme Whigs out of fashion, of me take compassion,
 my Ears are in danger, my case may be yours;
 Long, long have I reigned disturbing the Nation,
 now, now am made Captive to the higher Powers:
 With Pacquet¹ & Pamphlets, abus'd *Church & Chaplets*,²
 with C—s Damn'd Courants³ did abuse the *King* so,
That none can defend us, till Tyburn befriend us,
*and send us a Hunting for Tapskie below.*⁴

II.

The loss of our Charter, and *Colledge* the Martyr,⁵
 his Flayls are all seiz'd, and our Arms made a prey;
 We have lost *Ignoramus*,⁶ both *Jew*, *Turk*, and *Tartar*,
 no Plots nor Caballs to recover the Day:
 Since *Tony*⁷ left squinting, our Cause has been sinking,
 and our Party for *Tyburn* advancing you know;
There's none can defend us, till Tyburn befriend us,
and send us a Hunting for Essex⁸ below.

III.

The Law for a Livery, will put me i'th Pillory,
 a damn'd hard Wooden Ruff for a Saint of the Cause;⁹
 Had a Tory my place, I wou'd flear¹⁰ and look merrily,
 with hardened Brick-batts I'de pelt him with blows.
 When my Head peepeth thorough, the *Tories* will *hollow*,
 at poor *L-gley C—s*' cry *O Raree Show*;¹¹

*Now none will defend us, till Tyburn befriend us,
and send us a Hunting for Russel¹² below.*

IV.

Poor *Colly* was Whipt too, for stretching an oath or so,
and Damn'd *Tory Rutland*,¹³ too hard for us all;
These daily misfortunes will all our Designs undoe,
would his *Fountain-Tavern*¹⁴ wou'd sink, burn, or fall,
But alas I am Gailed,¹⁵ and must not be bailed,
as we serv'd the Papists, must we be serv'd so?
*There's none will defend us, till Ketch does befriend us,
and send us a Hunting for Walcot¹⁶ below.*

V.

Wou'd I were with *Patience*, I'de keep in his Stations,
and save both my Ears,¹⁷ for the Doctor may want,
I fear they'l be crapt if I live till next Sessions,
then *Prance*¹⁸ for his Swearing, may sweat and look blank,
But after a Coller, oft cometh a Halter,
my Neck like my Ears are in danger, you know,
*There's none can defend us, till Ketch doth befriend us,
and send us a Hunting for Sidney¹⁹ below.*

VI.

Poor *A—ld* is Pounded, for Lying Confounded,
by *Wooster*, which he did most basely defame:
Poor *Giles* he was Pillar'd, 'cause *A—ld* was wounded,
tho' by his own hands, Sir, in *Jack-an-Apes-Lane*;
Now *Giles*²⁰ he is Bailed, and *A—ld* is Goaled,
there may lie and Rot too, for ought that we know:
*There's none will defend us, till Ketch doth befriend us,
and send us all head-long toth' Old Rump²¹ below.*

VII.

Mowbery and *Balderen*, Swore more like Fiends, then men,
they both have been perjurd ten thousand times o're:
They had but one Wife, and she still lay between them,
they being our Saints, tho' she cou'd be no Whore;²²
Dangerfield Swore too, all forts of Oaths, black and blew,
tho' he had been Carted, and Pillar'd before;
Yet they still escaped,²³ tho' worse no Hell raked,
Then why may not I, that can Rebel no more?

VIII.

Yet that fortunate Hour, they got out of the Tower,
both *Wildman* and *Trenchard*, Old *Charlton*²⁴ and all:
I may find Friends too, tho' *Jefferies*²⁵ lookt sower,
and Pardon perhaps, when I come to *White-hall*;
Guineys five Thousand too, (for Printing of Treason)
like some for Ploting; a kind Recompence; due,
While others for Loyalty, in the Goal dayly Dye,
I'le into the Country, and live like a Prince.

Printed for *J. Dean*, Bookseller in *Cranborn-street*, in *Leicester-Fields*, near
Newport-House, 1684.

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An Account of the Proceedings against Nathaniel Thomson, upon his Tryal at the Kings Bench-Bar Westminster, who was Tried, and Found Guilty on Wednesday the 26th of November 1684. For Printing a Dangerous and Seditious Libel, Intituled the Prodigal Return'd Home, Asserting the Popes Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affaires, &c. (London: A. Banks, 1684). Wing, A349; ESTC, R209740.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST
Nathaniel Thomson,
UPON HIS
TRYAL
AT THE
KINGS Bench-Bar
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*Who was Tryed, and found Guilty on Wednesday the 26th of November 1684.
For Printing a Dangerous and Seditious LIBEL, Intituled the PRODIGAL
RETURN'D HOME, asserting the POPES Supremacy in Ecclesiastical
Affaires, &c.*

THE House of *Nathaniel Thompson* the Printer,¹ upon Information, that divers Seditious Books or Papers, were Printed by him: And especially, a Book Intituled the *Prodigal returned home*;² asserting the Popes Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs being searched, &c. A considerable quantity of those Books, were found and seized by Mr. *Stephens*³ Messenger to the Press; as likewise, a Book known by the name of *Doleman* about Succession,⁴ whereupon Mr. *Thomson* by virtue of a Warrant, being taken into Custody, after some Examination was Committed to *Newgate*, Bail not being accepted, in a case of such a dangerous consequence; notwithstanding, he moved by his Counsel at the *Kings-Bench* Bar, for a *Habeas*

Corpus, which after some difficulty he obtained, and was thereupon removed *Corpus cum Causa*,⁵ to the *Kings-Bench*, and charged with an Indictment of Trespass and Misdemeanours, for Printing the said Seditious and dangerous Libel; upon which, the Tryal come on upon *Nisi prius*,⁶ on the 26th of November 1684. when as the Council for the King, after the Juries being Impanell'd, and sworn, opened the Case, Informing the Jurors that *Nathaniel Thomson* the Defendant, stood Indicted, for Printing a Seditious and dangerous Book or Libel, asserting the Pope's Supremacy above the Kings, in order to withdraw His Majesties Subjects from their Allegiance, and to bring a scandal upon the Established Government &c. and that divers of the said Books, Intituled the *Prodigal returned home*, had been found in his House, that he had been noted for a Person, who had accustomed himself to Print and disperse Libells &c. which accordingly would appear to them upon Evidence, to this effect, the Indictment being opened, the Witnesses were called and sworn when, as Mr. *Stephens* gave / Evidence, that being Informed by one *Alexander Banks*,⁷ not long before in Service with Mr. *Thomson*, that several ill Books seditious and dangerous to the Government, had been Printed by his Master, and that many had been dispos'd, and that himself had help'd to Compose part of a Book, called the *Prodigal returned home*, and that he doubted not, if search was speedily made, some part of them might be found in the House, he on the 21th of *October* last, taking to his assistance one Mr. *Clinch* a Constable, and suddenly entering the House, found several of those Books in Quires,⁸ and that he found another seditious Book, in the hands of Mr. *Thomson's* Maid servant, which she had taken from her Mistriss, further urging, that he had formerly Printed and Published the Appeal, and the Libellous Pamphlet Intituled the Noble Peers Speech, &c.⁹ and that Mr. *Thomson* since his confinement, had confessed he had Printed Three Hundred of the Books, for which he was brought upon his Tryal, but that he had done them for a gentle Man, that was to carry them beyond the Seas, not designing to disperse them in *England*, and that he had named the Author, but his name he could not well remember: The Evidence having proceeded thus far against the Prisoner, *Alexander Banks* was Examined, and demanded whether he had not Composed part of the Book in question, who with many abrupt stammerings, endeavoured to deny it, although he had formerly sworn it, and his Examination taken by Mr. Recorder,¹⁰ produced, for which willfull Retraction, being sharply reprov'd, Mr. *Clinch* the Constable was Examined, who confirmed all that Mr. *Stephens* had sworn, in relation to the finding the Books in the House of Mr. *Thomson*, adding, that meeting with Mrs. *Thomson*,¹¹ and perceiving her to hold something slyly behind her, he demanded what it was, to which she replied nothing, but he pressing her to see it, her Maid took it out of her hand, and went about to escape with it, but was taken, and the Book seized, which imported matter of very evil consequence.

Notwithstanding, the Evidence being thus full, that the Jurors might the better understand the malicious design of the Libel, divers Paragraphs on which the Prosecution was grounded, were Read, Importing, that the Proselites of the Reformed Churches, by reason of the Heresie they embraced, were not capable of Salvation, and that St. *Peter* being once appointed Head of the Church, the Pope as his Successor, derived this Power from him, and that all Ecclesiastical dignities must of necessity hold of him and the Bishops &c. ought to be of his Constituting, Insinuating how *Gregory* the Great,¹² had the whole Power of Ecclesiastical Affaires in his hands, and that Christian Princes intermeddled not therein, when he sent St. *Augustine*¹³ and his *Monks* into this Nation, who Established the *Romish* Religion, and subjected the Ecclesiasticks to the Sea of Rome, In fine, it altogether appeared to justify the *Romish* Religion, and plead for the Popes Supremacy, magnifying the Pontifical Prelates, and justifying them in their Usurpation, and unlawful claime.

To this the Prisoners Council made reply, that he hoped what had been proved, would not extend to make his Client guilty of publishing the Books (which he could not deny were ill and not justifiable) for as much as it did not appear, he had exposed any of them to fail, to which it was replied, that he had confessed he had Printed them, and it could not be Imagined he designed them for wast Paper, or to dispose of to any other end, than to disperse them, or that they might be dispersed, and that such things were of ill consequence, nor had this been the first Libel the Prisoner had Printed, as had appeared upon Evidence, when little or no other defence being made, the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice,¹⁴ gave the Charge, fully summing up the Evidence and minding them especially, of what the Prisoner had voluntarily confessed, laying open the dangerous effects such Libells might produce; declaring, than upon the Evident proof they had before them, and the confession of the Prisoner which had been sworn, they could no less then find him Guilty, where upon laying their Heads together, without going from the Bar, they gave in their Verdict, that *Nathaniel Thomson* was Guilty of the Trespass, &c. And continued in order, to receive the Judgment of the Court.

LONDON, Printed for *A. Banks*, 1684.

58. *But no sooner ... old Barnacles again*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 26. It is unclear what the marginal date refers to. A parliamentary committee to examine printing was convened before 2 March 1642 while the Printing Ordinance was passed after 2 March 1642/3 (14 June 1643).
59. Cimerian darkness of ignorance: Homer's *Odyssey* refers to Cimmerians inhabiting a far-off land where the sun never shone.
60. *Magna ... prævalebit*: Latin: 'for Truth is great and will prevail'.
61. Cornish Hug: a wrestling move.
62. *Contraria ... obliqui*: an approximate English rendering follows the Latin.
63. Go tell Judah ... the man: Jeremiah 3:12; 1 Kings 18:16–19; 2 Samuel 12:7.
64. *in the womb*: cf. *Areopagitica*, p. 9.
65. *behave themselves ... accordingly*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.
66. *Carter a Printer*: The Catholic printer William Carter, after previous arrests and imprisonment, was executed in 1584 for printing Gregory Martin's *A Treatise of Schisme*. One passage proposed that Catholic women might destroy 'the master heretike', which was alleged to be an attempt to incite the assassination of the Queen.
67. *Jars*: disagreements.
68. *two Religious Orders ... Dominick*: The Franciscan and Dominican orders were founded around 1210.
69. *Inquisition ... Hereticks*: The papal inquisition was formalized by Gregory IX in 1231; Frederick II had established burning as the penalty for heretics by a law of 1224.
70. *Limbus Patrum*: Latin: 'limbo of the patriarchs', the conventional term for the *limbus*, the edge, of heaven (or hell).
71. *Johannes Baptista Posa*: the Basque Jesuit Juan Bautista Poza, whose own works had been placed on the Roman *Index* in 1628 in a dispute between the inquisitions of Spain and Rome.
72. *Hurtado ... Escobar*: the Jesuit writers Alberto Hurtado, Vincenzo Filliuci, Etienne Bauny, Leonard Leys and Antonio Escobar.
73. *Iliad*: i.e. as expansive as Homer's epic poem.
74. *days of Luther ... Invention of Printing*: Denton's information may derive from the supposed advice of Cardinal Wolsey to Clement VII in 1524, imaginatively reconstructed in Herbert of Cherbury's *The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (London, 1649), p. 157, and repeated in Charles Wolseley's *Liberty of Conscience* in 1668 (reproduced above, see pp. 129–33). Denton's marginal note refers to Johann Gutenberg and Johann Fust, first founders of printing in Europe.
75. *Arcana Imperii*: Latin: 'state secrets'.
76. *Centum gravamina*: Latin: 'hundred grievances', the German complaints against Roman misrule that were submitted and published.
77. *participes ... Cheats*: the English glosses the Latin.
78. *Myrmidon*: base, mercenary functionary.
79. *Cabala*: Kabbalah, Judaic religious mysticism.
80. *Mascarata*: masquerade, a mask.

The Tory Reaction I

L'Estrange, *Observer in Question and Answer*

1. They are so: 'they' being the people, the masses.
2. *Hair'd and Juggled*: led and manipulated.

3. *the Faction*: generalized term for the disloyal and dissenting, assumed by L'Estrange to be united in opposition to Church and government.
4. oftner, or seldomer, *as I see Occasion*: The *Observer* was routinely published on Wednesday and Saturday, sometimes also appearing on Monday and Thursday, with six issues in one week in July 1682.
5. Turk: a Muslim.
6. Member ... Faction: i.e. a member of a unified political opposition.
7. *Protestation*, and the *Reformation*: L'Estrange distinguishes the initial protests against Rome's misrule by Luther (and others) and the separate reformed churches constructed thereafter.
8. Protestation ... Spires: the protest by the German princes against the decree passed at the imperial diet at Spires (Speyer, Germany) in April 1529, which had reaffirmed the 1521 Edict of Worms condemning Luther and banning his works. As this narrowly post-dated the beginnings of the English Reformation it contributes to L'Estrange's distinction between Protestants (or protestants) and Anglicans.
9. Smith ... Harris: the Whig nonconformist publishers Francis Smith and Benjamin Harris; see note 1 to *An Impartial Account of the Tryals of Smith and Curtis*, and note 2 to *A Short, but Just Account of the Tryal of Harris*, above, pp. 457, 456.
10. Muncer ... Phifer: Thomas Müntzer and Heinrich Pfeiffer, radical reformers and leaders in the German peasant rising in 1524–5.
11. pretended Prophet: Smith was a Baptist preacher.
12. Sleidan ... Pagets Heresiography, &c.: L'Estrange lists English and European writers who attacked sectarian heresies, particularly Anabaptism. The English works, which drew on the earlier continental authors, are Daniel Featley, *The Dipper Dipt* (London, 1645); Ephraim Pagitt, *Heresiography* (London, 1645); Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time* (London, 1645). L'Estrange took his examples from these works.
13. Jack of Leydens Successor: Jan Bockelson, from Leiden, leader of the Anabaptist takeover of Münster in 1534–5 and installed as king before defeat and execution. His indirect 'successor' was Cornelis Appelman, also from Leiden, burned at the stake in 1545. An account appeared in Lambertus Hortensius, *Tumultuum anabaptistarum* [Tumults of the Anabaptists] (Basel, 1548).
14. Gastius ... lib. I. Pa 12: John Gastio, *De anabaptismi exordio* [Rise of Anabaptism] (Basel, 1544).
15. Sleydans Comment. Lib. 10: Johann Sleidan, *De statu religionis et rei publicae, Carolo Quinto Caesare, commentarii* [Commentaries on Religion and the State in the Reign of Emperor Charles V] (Strasbourg, 1555).
16. *Protestant-Mercury*: The *True Protestant Mercury*, published by Langley Curtis, who was ordered to appear before King and Privy Council the day before the *Observer* appeared. Curtis fled, Henry Care helping publication resume before turning to writing his own *Impartial Protestant Mercury*.
17. *Smiths Prot. Int. N. 7*: [Francis] *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, 18 February 1681.
18. *Stat. 35. Eliz. &c.*: Act against Popish Recusants, 35 Eliz. I, c. 2.
19. *Protestant-Mercury, N. 15*: *True Protestant Mercury*, 16 February 1681.
20. Smith ... Chuse: *Vox Populi: or The Peoples Claim* (London: Francis Smith, 1681). The tract was anonymous but L'Estrange held Smith to have authored its sentiments as publisher, if not writer.
21. Council: the Privy Council, accused of wrongly counselling the King.

A Ra-Ree Show

1. Leviathan: Charles II, given the name of Thomas Hobbes's absolutist ruler.
2. Topham: John Topham, the King's sergeant at arms attending the Commons, here summoned to assist the transfer of Parliament to Oxford.
3. Houses Twain ... Cooper, Hughs and Snow: 'Houses Twain' is Parliament and Cooper, Hughs and Snow were officers of Parliament. In the accompanying illustration, Charles II heads west with a chest on his back and three attendants. On 2 May 1681 Topham was given funds to distribute as the King's reward for recent services to officers including the doorkeepers Thomas Hughs and Edward Cooper. An earlier payment for the same role had been made to John Snow and William Snow (*Calendar of Treasury Books*, 32 vols (London: HMSO, 1904–58), vol. 7).
4. Halifaxes Trap: George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, in leading efforts to forestall exclusion on behalf of the King, advanced compromise proposals to limit or temporarily exile the Duke of York.
5. Dom. Com.: the House of Commons.
6. Oxford, York, Carlisle: Centres of royalism in the civil war and afterwards.
7. Tower Lords: the 'impeached lords' imprisoned in the Tower of London by Parliament in 1679 and afterwards for alleged treason in the popish interest.
8. Clifford ... Hallifax: privy councillors accused of counselling Charles against exclusion and for popery and arbitrary government. The Earl of Danby and Edward Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, were amongst those imprisoned in the Tower.
9. *Holy Ghost* ... *Rosamond in Bower*: lines linking Charles II with secrecy, popery and cowardice, the oak recalling his hiding place after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, and 'Rosamund' referring to the mistress of Henry II who, according to later romances, hid in a bower or maze from the vengeful Queen Eleanor.
10. *Popularity* ... *Displease*: a warning that popular addresses could not outweigh popular displeasure at stifling Parliament.
11. *Two States* ... *pent*: the two houses kept in the dark, held captive.
12. *Heathen* Hobbs: Thomas Hobbes.
13. Dry Bobbs: jests or blows, referring to past hurts by the Stuart monarchy and their outcome.
14. *Lecherous Loyns*: those of Charles II. From this verse a narratorial voice takes over from 'Leviathan', although the transition is not marked in the text.
15. *Swagger* ... *Fire*: in the accompanying engraving, Charles leads his 'rare show' westward only to fall into the mire under the weight of the chest on his back.
16. Gyant's down ... Pound: the King's fall frees the parliamentarians.
17. Convocation ... Rome: the freeing of Parliament allows the constraining instead of churchmen and royal pensioners.
18. six *and* Twenty ... Breda: the twenty-six bishops in the House of Lords, and the Lords who voted 'not guilty' in the recent trial of Lord Stafford, sent to Cologne and Breda, which hosted Charles II's court before the Restoration and its exiles afterwards.
19. Hunts *begun* ... *Like Son*: a call for a rising at Oxford, according to L'Estrange, with Charles II sharing the fate of his father.
20. French-Lap ... Clap: a jibe at Charles's kow-towing to France, and at the Duke of York's affliction since the 1660s, venereal disease.

L'Estrange, *Notes upon Colledge*

1. Papers Charg'd: *A Ra-Ree Show*, along with other papers.
2. *Edith Colledge*: Stephen Colledge's wife.
3. *the Castle*: Oxford Castle.
4. *the Design*: the original drawing on which the engraved illustration for *A Ra-Ree Show* was based.
5. Graver: the engraver.
6. *the Printer* himself: Langley Curtis; his wife Jane was also involved.
7. Franck Smith: the Whig publisher Francis Smith. See note 1 to *An Impartial Account of the Tryals of Smith and Curtis*, below p. 457.
8. *Staves*: the verses of the ballad.
9. sung ... Oxford: Colledge was said at his trial to have sung the ballad in Oxford and at the home of Lord Lovelace.
10. *Sir Philip Matthews*: Matthews was not named in the trial report. A Whig election candidate in 1679, he was later a juryman in the trial of Titus Oates.
11. *Sculpture*: engraving.
12. *Vox Patriae*: Anon., *Vox Patriae: or The Resentments and Indignation of the Free-Born Subjects of England* (London: Francis Peters, 1681).

L'Estrange, *Observator*

1. *the Crack*: the talk, the gossip.
2. Stephens: Robert Stephens, the messenger of the press. See note 13 to *A Short, but Just Account of the Tryal of Harris*, above, p. 457.
3. *Represented ... Libell*: On 16 April charges were brought against Joanna Brome for publishing the *Observator*, the bill being found by the Grand Jury. Others before the court included Francis and Eleanor Smith, son and daughter of Francis Smith senior, for publishing *The Second Part of the Growth of Popery*, amongst other tracts.
4. *Secretary of State, Mr Attorney Generall*: Stephens reported to Sir Leoline Jenkins (1625–85), secretary of state since 1680. The attorney general was Sir Robert Sawyer (1633–92), who in April led the quo warranto proceedings to recall London's charter and later in the year prosecuted the accused Rye House plotters.
5. *Devill in the hoggs*: an allusion to the biblical story of the demons cast into a herd of swine (e.g. Mark 5:11–13) and to Stephens's nickname 'Robin Hog'.
6. 319th *Observator*: Saturday, 14 April 1683. The content was indeed unremarkable, for the *Observator* at least, continuing an extended critique of Edward Pearse, *The Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists* (London, 1683). L'Estrange rejected Pearse's claims that Catholics rather than nonconformists were authors of Charles I's downfall, and denied they were a present threat: 'for if they could Destroy Us, they would certainly Save Themselves; And not take possession of all our Jayls, and Hang, Draw, and Quarter, at the rate they do.'
7. Dawbing: false show.
8. *Propriety*: property.
9. *no Licensers appointed*: due to the non-renewal of the Printing Act in 1679.
10. Mrs Brome: Joanna Brome (d. 1684), publisher of L'Estrange's works following the death of her bookseller husband Henry in May 1681, a month after the *Observator* began. The couple had married in 1658. After Joanna's death their son Charles took over, aged twenty, and continued the family business until about 1712.

11. Kings Livery: messengers of the press carried the King's authority as Crown officers.
12. Care, Curtis, Starkey: the writer-publisher Henry Care (see note 2 to *The Triall of Carr*, above, p. 458); printer-publisher Langley Curtis; and the radical bookseller John Starkey (c. 1630–90), who fled to Holland later in 1683.
13. *the Devil-a-bit*: a mild curse, akin to 'the devil take it'.
14. *Treason in Grain ... Sam. Harris was Arraign'd*: [Edward Fitzharris], *Treason in Graine: That most Traiterous Libel of Fitz-Harris* ([London: printed by Samuel Harris, 1681]). Harris printed the manuscript libel against Charles II and the Duke of York which had contributed to the conviction and execution of Fitzharris in 1681. The printer faced trial in May 1682 but escaped punishment, the jury returning an ignoramus verdict.
15. Hunt: Thomas Hunt (1626/7–88), lawyer and author of *An Argument for the Bishops Right in Judging in Capital Causes in Parliament ... To which is added a Postscript, being a Letter to a Friend, for Vindicating the Clergy, and Rectifying some Mistakes that are Mischievous and Dangerous to our Government and Religion* (London: Thomas Fox, 1682). The *Postscript* attracted most attention, its criticisms of royalist sermonizing gaining Whig plaudits and L'Estrange's extended opposition across several issues of the *Observer*.
16. Seditious Leaven: seditious kind.
17. Breach ... *Instrument*: the breach in efficient censorship, and the breach between L'Estrange and Stephens.
18. Kings Proclamation: the proclamation against printed news of 12 May 1680; see above, p. 175.
19. *Ignoramus-Days are gone*: the curtailing of Whig juries returning ignoramus verdicts in the face of what, to loyalists like L'Estrange, was clear-cut evidence.
20. Kings Broad-Seal ... *Intelligence, &c.*: the warrant granted to L'Estrange in August 1663; see above, p. 50.
21. Consideration ... *Gazette*: the settlement agreed when L'Estrange's *Intelligencer* and *Newes* made way in January 1666 for the *Oxford Gazette*, subsequently the *London Gazette*.
22. *Secretaries of State*: Jenkins's counterpart as secretary of state for the north was Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (1641–1702).
23. *Clark of the Peace*: the clerk of the peace was a legal officer supervising the operation of the courts, including framing charges and indictments.
24. Mr Recorder: Sir George Treby (c. 1644–1700), who lost the recordership later in the year but regained the post after the Glorious Revolution, one of his first tasks being to question L'Estrange about his writings as a suspected Jacobite.
25. *Cross or Pile*: heads or tails, the two sides of a coin.

L—gley C—s His Lamentation in New-Gate

1. *Pacquet: A Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome, or The History of Popery*, the writer Henry Care's periodical chronicling the history of the Roman Church with appended news pages under the title the *Popish Courant*. The publication ran from December 1678 to July 1683, with Langley Curtis as publisher until August 1682, in conjunction with his wife Jane.
2. Chaplets: prayers.
3. *Courants*: The *Popish Courant*, partner paper to Curtis and Care's *Weekly Pacquet*.
4. *Tyburn ... Tapskie* below: the place of execution, and an encounter in hell with the lately deceased Earl of Shaftesbury, nicknamed 'Lord Tapski' by Tories because of a tap he bore

- to drain fluid from an internal abscess and because of an alleged affinity with Polish elective monarchy.
5. *Charter ... Colledge the Martyr*: the calling in of London's charter in 1683, and the execution of Stephen College in the same year.
 6. *lost Ignoramus*: the curtailing of Whig juries foiling Tory prosecutions by returning ignoramus verdicts.
 7. *Tony*: Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury.
 8. *Essex*: Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, who after being arrested for involvement in the Rye House plot died on 13 July 1683 while imprisoned in the Tower, his throat cut by another's hand or his own.
 9. *Wooden Ruff for a Saint of the Cause*: the wood of the stocks, and 'Saint' a derogatory term (to Tories) for nonconformists.
 10. *flear*: sneer, laugh mockingly.
 11. *Raree Show*: Curtis was involved in printing *A Ra-Ree Show*, for which Stephen College was executed in 1683.
 12. *Russel*: William, Lord Russell (1639–83), executed on 21 July 1683 for his part in the Rye House plot. Curtis's arrest was for reflections in the aftermath of the plot, centring on the supposed appearance of Russell's ghost, in *The Night-Walker of Bloomsbury*.
 13. *Tory Rutland*: a vintner named Rutland was questioned about the incident on which Curtis's offending tract was based (see P. Hinds, 'Roger L'Estrange, the Rye House plot, and the Regulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London', *Library*, 3:1 (2002), pp. 3–31).
 14. *Fountain-Tavern*: the address of Mr Rutland (the original text has 'Founain').
 15. *Gailed*: jailed, gaoled.
 16. *Ketch ... Walcot*: John ('Jack') Ketch (d. 1686) was the public executioner, responsible for the deaths of Stephen College and the Rye House plotters in 1683, whose number included Colonel Thomas Walcot.
 17. *save both my Ears*: loss of ears being a proverbial punishment for seditious libellers, most notoriously endured by William Prynne, John Bastwick and Henry Burton in 1637.
 18. *Prance*: Miles Prance (d. 1688), a central figure in the popish plot's forging of accusations against Catholics.
 19. *Sidney*: the republican political writer Algernon Sidney (1623–83), executed in the aftermath of the Rye House plot; see below, p. 268.
 20. *A—ld ... Giles*: John Arnold (c. 1635–1702) led anti-Catholic activity in south Wales during the popish plot and became an exclusionist MP, claiming while in London to have been attacked by papists in Jackanapes Lane. John Giles was initially convicted but doubts were subsequently cast on whether the crime occurred. In November 1683 Arnold was charged with *Scandalum magnatum* for slandering his former patron the Marquess of Worcester, calling him a 'rank papist'.
 21. *Old Rump*: the Rump Parliament, 1649–53, briefly revived in 1659.
 22. *Mowbery and Balderen ... Whore*: In 1679 Lawrence Mowbray and Robert Bolron fabricated the existence of a papist plot to kill the King among Yorkshire gentry, led by their former employer Sir Thomas Gascoigne. Their claims resulted in several trials and the execution of the priest Thomas Thwing in 1680.
 23. *Dangerfield ... escaped*: Thomas Dangerfield (1654–85), notorious informer and felon who attested to the spurious Meal-Tub plot, incriminating Presbyterians then Catholics and acting as witness in numerous cases. His credibility collapsed but he remained at liberty until convicted of misdemeanours in James II's reign.

24. Wildman ... Charlton: John Wildman (1622/3–93), John Trenchard (1649–95) and Francis Charlton (1639–98) were radical Whigs arrested and held in custody after the Rye House plot.
25. Jefferies: George Jeffreys, lord chief justice. See note 4 to *A Short, but Just Account of the Tryal of Harris*, above, p. 456

An Account of the Proceedings against Thomson

1. *House of ...* Thompson: The printer, previously based in Fetter Lane, from 1684 gave the address 'at the entrance into the Old-Spring-Garden near Charing-Cross' in his imprint.
2. Prodigal returned home: E. L[ydiott], *The Prodigal Return'd Home; or, The Motives of the Conversion to the Catholick Faith of E.L. Master of Arts in the University of Cambridge* ([London: printed by Nathaniel Thompson,] 1684).
3. Stephens: Robert Stephens. See note 13 to *A Short, but Just Account of the Tryal of Harris*, above, p. 457.
4. Doleman *about Succession*: The Jesuit Robert Persons (or Parsons) (1546–1610) published, under the name 'R. Doleman', *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of England* ([Antwerp], 1594). The tract created a stir, inclining to hereditary monarchy but within the limits of a partnership with the people that could justify resistance. Its relevance in the wake of the Rye House plot was reflected by William Assheton's *The Royal Apology: or, An Answer to the Rebels Plea* (London, 1684).
5. Habeas Corpus ... Corpus cum Causa: The Habeas Corpus Act had passed in 1679, in principle reducing the difficulties in petitioning for a prisoner's 'body and cause' to be brought to court and the case determined.
6. Nisi prius: Latin: 'unless first', meaning the original court, here the King's Bench.
7. Alexander Banks: The trial proceedings were printed for 'A. Banks', who had worked as a compositor for Thompson since at least the time of the Lords inquiry into libels in 1676, and by 1684 was also publishing ballads and short tracts.
8. *Books in Quires*: the books in sets of loose printed sheets.
9. *Appeal ... Noble Peers Speech, &c.*: [Charles Blount], *An Appeal from the Country to the City* (London, 1679); [Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury], *A Speech lately Made by a Noble Peer of the Realm* (London: F[rancis] S[mith], 1681). Blount's book appeared in three editions in 1679 and another in 1680. In 1682 L'Estrange complained of Thompson having printed the *Appeal* (*Observer*, no. 163). Thompson also openly published Blount's *The Two First Books, of Philostratus* (London, 1680).
10. *Mr. Recorder*: Sir Thomas Jenner (1638–1707) was recorder of London 1683–6.
11. *Mrs. Thompson*: Mary Thompson (d. 1700), daughter of Nathaniel's former business partner, the printer Thomas Ratcliffe, and closely involved in her husband's trade. Stationers' Company records show that in 1688, after his death, she was called on to cease printing.
12. *Gregory the Great*: Gregory I, pope from 590 until his death in 604.
13. *St. Augustine*: Augustine (d. 604), first archbishop of Canterbury, rather than St Augustine of Hippo. He was sent by Pope Gregory the Great as leader of the founding Christian mission to Britain, arriving in 597 and becoming archbishop the following year.
14. *Lord Chief Justice*: Sir George Jeffreys. See note 4 to *A Short, but Just Account of the Tryal of Harris*, above, p. 456