

THE PROGRESS OF HONESTY and THE MALECONTENT

By Thomas D'Urfev

Edited by Betty Haniotis

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Edited with Introduction and Notes

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## Preface

The seventeenth century has long appealed to me as one of the most fascinating periods in history; it was a time when politics, religion, and letters were all interwoven, and their effects on the history of England were overwhelming. Had Charles I been a little less stubborn, he might never have been beheaded, and we would never have seen Milton's writings on the subject; had Charles II been less determined to retain the principle of succession to the throne, England might not have had James II, a Catholic, for a king, and the English nation would never have witnessed the overthrow of James and the invitation to William and Mary to rule; had the political and religious situation not been so entangled, we would never have had Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, or even The Progress of Honesty and The Malescontent. Since most men were interested in religion, politics, and literature, we see in the seventeenth century an age of upheaval, tension, religious differences, and civil strife, and we see in it an age which produced Milton, Dryden - and D<sup>r</sup>Urfey.

Thomas D<sup>r</sup>Urfey never could be considered a great poet; therefore, The Progress of Honesty and The Malescontent have little value as poetry. They are important, and interesting, however, as political satires aimed at events which affected the lives of every Englishman of the seventeenth century and of all succeeding centuries. Just as a wide knowledge concerning events and persons of the seventeenth century will enable

the reader to understand these satires more readily, so will a study of these satires enable the reader to understand a little more easily the spirit and temper of the seventeenth century. As poetry, The Progress of Honesty and The Malecontent add nothing to the world's literature; as political satires, they add a good deal to our understanding and knowledge of a century which is important in literature -- and in history.

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## INTRODUCTION

## I

Thomas D'Urfey, poet, dramatist, and songwriter, flourished during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From his "discovery" in 1676 until about 1710, the majority of his poems, plays, and songs served some passing political purpose. For that reason, any study of D'Urfey should deal also with the political events which gave rise to many of his works, just as any study of his political satires must include his political and personal allegiances.

Thomas D'Urfey was born in Devonshire in 1653. According to Steele, his father, Severinus, was a grandnephew of Honoré d'Urfé, the celebrated author of *L'Astree*.<sup>1</sup> His mother was a gentlewoman of the Marmion family of Huntingtongshire. J. W. Ebsworth, in the Dictionary of National Biography, states that she was related to Shackerley Marmion, the dramatist, but Cyrus Day says this inference is unfounded.<sup>2</sup> Ebsworth also says that D'Urfey was bred to the law; Day, however, gives three

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<sup>1</sup>The Lover, No. 40, May 27, 1715, as cited in Day, The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>J. W. Ebsworth's biography of D'Urfey in the DNB, Vol. VI, and Cyrus L. Day's The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey are the principal available sources of information on D'Urfey. Day's book is one of the two on D'Urfey published in America and England since the poet's death. It appears that it is a much better-informed and more reliable source than Ebsworth's biography, as Day corrects and modifies several of Ebsworth's statements and gives factual evidence for his corrections. Day had access to parish registers, contemporary works, D'Urfey's own works, and other primary sources of information about the author and his times; he is probably the best living authority on D'Urfey.

contemporary documents showing that D'Urfey began life as a scrivener's apprentice.<sup>3</sup>

The initial attempts of D'Urfey in the field of literature were not too successful. His first play, The Siege of Memphis, produced in 1676, was a bombastic tragedy. He then collaborated in a work entitled Archerie Reviv'd; Or, The Bow-Man's Excellence, which was a versification of Ascham's Toxophilus. The regulations given for holding archery contests were taken verbatim from James Partridge's Ayme for Finsburie Archers, 1628.<sup>4</sup>

When Madam Fickle, D'Urfey's first comedy, was produced at Dorset Garden Theater on November 4, 1676, Charles II and the Duke of Ormonde were in the audience. "Ormonde at once drew D'Urfey from his impecunious retirement and presented him to the king -- and from that moment D'Urfey's career may be said to have commenced."<sup>5</sup>

Neither D'Urfey's aspect nor his demeanor were such as would ingratiate him with Charles. A portrait of him, painted when he was advanced in age, shows a high forehead towering over a long, curved, crooked nose which immediately catches the eye. His lips are thin, his eyes cavernous, his eyebrows bushy. "Protruding lantern jaws supported the whole physiognomy and gave to their unfortunate owner a

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<sup>3</sup>The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 5f.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



half-melancholy, half-ferocious aspect, ill-suited to his character as a humorist."<sup>6</sup> However, D'Urfey had certain qualities which appealed to Charles: He could compose and sing the witty, low, smutty songs the king liked; he had a vulgar, impudent wit; and he could be the receiver as well as the author of a jest or joke. "Accordingly, Charles was pleased to make the young poet one of the privileged intimates of his lighter moments."<sup>7</sup>

Even while occupied with entertaining the court, D'Urfey continued writing for the stage. The Fond Husband (1677), The Fool Turn'd Critick and Trick for Trick (1678), Squire Oldsapp (1679), The Virtuous Wife (1680), Sir Barnaby Whigg (1681), The Royalist and The Injur'd Princess (1682) were all comedies and pleased the town much more than his first play, a tragedy. Also, the sparkling songs in these comedies increased the author's popularity. Between 1681 and 1683 D'Urfey wrote four political satires aimed at Shaftesbury, Monmouth, the Popish Plot, the Rye House plotters, and the Whigs in general. The Progress of Honesty (1681) was a satire on the Popish Plot and was popular enough to be reissued in the same year. Its sequel, The Malcontent, an ineffective continuation satirizing the Rye House Plotters, was published in 1683. The other satires of this three-year period were Butler's Ghost: Or, Hudibras the Fourth Part, wherein Shaftesbury, Slingsby Bethel, and Titus Oates are scathingly portrayed, and Scandalum Magnatum, directed against Shaftesbury. The comedy Sir Barnaby Whigg (1681) also has

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

elements of political satire, as Sir Barnaby is a caricature of Thomas Shadwell, at whom D'Urfey strikes again in The Progress of Honesty.<sup>8</sup>

In 1683 D'Urfey brought out his New Collection of Songs and Poems, among which was the memorable one beginning "The nighter blackest sables wore." Wit and Mirth; or Pills to Purge Melancholy, probably his best known work, appeared, without music, in 1684, and later editions in 1699, 1700, and 1719.

After 1682 D'Urfey wrote approximately fifteen more plays, among which was Don Quixote, which Jeremy Collier assailed in "A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage" in 1698.

Five successive monarchs showed D'Urfey favor: Charles II liked his songs and crude wit; James II continued the friendship begun when he was Duke of York; William and Mary gave him presents when he sang for them; and Anne was amused by him, particularly when he lampooned the Princess Sophia, next in succession to the throne.

D'Urfey died February 26, 1723, and was buried handsomely, at the expense of the Earl of Dorset, at St. James' Church, Piccadilly.

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<sup>8</sup>ll. 468-85.

## II

The patronage of the Duke of Ormonde and the favor shown by Charles II influenced D'Urfey to ally himself with the Tories, or court party, against the Whigs.<sup>9</sup> He wrote songs, plays, and poems satirizing the Whigs; he eulogized Ormonde, Charles, the Duke of York and other prominent Tories.

England's affairs in the early 1680's were not such as had arisen overnight. The political picture of that time had been years in the making, and included the paints and oils of religion and politics smeared over the canvas of English government. Elizabeth had been a talented artist who could harmonize many otherwise-clashing interests. James I and Charles I were unskilled caricaturists who got distorted results from their efforts. James and Charles liked to talk of their ruling by divine right; they did little to make themselves personally popular. During James's reign, the English people were becoming more and more interested in their personal liberties and rights. James' reign did not produce a revolution, but it did produce that weakening of the bonds of sympathy between ruler and ruled which sometimes leads to revolution, and which led to the civil wars.

Charles I was perhaps interested in governing well, but he was stubborn and obstinate. He disagreed with Parliament on religious, military, and financial matters. He felt that he could govern by himself, and he tried to keep Parliament under his domination, but

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<sup>9</sup>The names "Whigs" and "Tories," as used to signify political parties, were just coming into popular use at this time. During the period covered by The Progress of Honesty and The Malignant the Tories were the court party and the Whigs the opposition.

parliamentary interests often clashed with those of Charles; the king attempted to establish absolutism by force, going to war with the Scots and threatening to subdue Parliament in the same manner; he would not relinquish his system of personal government until forced to do so, and even then Parliament could not be sure he would not try to use force against them; and he also infringed on the rights of the people by levying illegal taxes and penalties, granting monopolies, and interfering with trade and commerce. All these things together led to the civil wars, which were not, therefore, religious wars, as is commonly believed. Religious differences entered into the wars, of course, but they were primarily the result of mismanagement and poor government. Englishmen were striking out for what they considered right, and beheaded Charles I to show that even a king had to govern for the benefit of the people, and not by his own whims and caprices. That idea of using force, to gain what legislation could not, remained through the Protectorate and the reigns of Charles II and James II.

The English found that their problems were still not solved, even with the death of Charles I and the advent of the Protectorate. General Monck, as commander of the army, staged a coup d'état which resulted in the restoration of Charles II. He also had disagreements with Parliament and the people concerning religious and political affairs.

Since 1670 Englishmen had been concerned over the succession to the throne. The heir apparent, James, Duke of York, was a Catholic, and Protestant England distrusted and disliked Catholics. Taking advantage of this English attitude, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, tried to obtain the succession to himself. Monmouth was an illegitimate son of Charles II and Lucy Walters. Many men favored Monmouth — for many reasons.

Some supported him because they did not want a Catholic king, others because they hoped to profit personally if he became king. Monmouth's adherents endeavored to legitimize his pretensions to the throne by claiming that Charles had been married to Lucy Walters. Thus, if Monmouth were legitimate, he would have prior claim to the throne. To put an end to such rumors, Charles II declared publicly that he had never been wed to any woman other than the queen.

In August, 1678, Titus Oates came forward with his allegations concerning a Popish Plot. Monmouth and his followers did not instigate this agitation, but they were quick to take advantage of it. Oates, a villain and liar, who had been expelled from various livings and who had insinuated himself into the society of some Catholics, announced that there was afoot a Popish Plot; Charles II was to be murdered; a Roman Catholic ministry was to be set up; the crown was to be offered to the Duke of York; a French army was to land to support James; and Protestantism was to be suppressed by force. Oates' story was a forgery and fabrication from beginning to end.

For six weeks there was little excitement over the plot. Then Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate before whom Oates had deposed to the truth of the plot, was found murdered. All London firmly believed the "Papists" had murdered him; the people then believed wholeheartedly in Oates' statements concerning the Popish Plot. Two Catholics and one Protestant were executed as Godfrey's murderers, but historians and scholars agree that the crime seems to have been perpetrated by Oates and his associates to give color to his allegations.

James was not at first implicated by Oates (although Oates tried

unsuccessfully to bring him into it later). Public feeling, however, was aroused against the Catholics to such an extent that James was in a precarious position. The king did not believe in the plot, but the people did; so Charles had to allow prosecution and persecution of Catholics to appease the people. Over thirty Catholics were executed as a result of testimony given by Oates and his henchmen. Monmouth, who had by this time gained the backing of Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, tried to take advantage of the furor to advance his own interests.

The House of Commons brought in an Exclusion Bill designed to exclude James from the throne, but Charles first prorogued, then dissolved, Parliament in May, 1679. New elections were held, and Shaftesbury gained much influence and power. He was bitterly opposed to James, the king, and the court, and was one of the leaders of the Whigs. He made it known that if the Exclusion Bill were passed, he intended to propose Monmouth as the future king. Charles stood by James through the Popish Plot and through all the exclusion proceedings. He sent James away from England until public excitement against the Catholics should diminish. Monmouth also had been sent away, because he kept trying to push himself forward.

In 1680, when both James and Monmouth returned to England, the people received each of them well. Monmouth made a triumphal tour of western England; upon his return to London, the play-houses were declaring themselves to be for the "Protestant Duke" against the world.

Charles summoned Parliament in 1681 to meet at Oxford. The Whig House of Commons feared Charles' intentions, as the University was eminently Tory. Therefore, the Whigs armed themselves and their servants

and rode into Oxford. Their pistols made men believe they intended to start another civil war. Even those Englishmen who disliked the idea of a Catholic king disliked the idea of civil war even more, and the nation rallied around Charles.

This reaction in favor of the Tories resulted in Shaftesbury's being accused of high treason and indicted before the Grand Jury of Middlesex. In all of England except Middlesex, the sheriffs were chosen by the king, and were, consequently, Tories. London, which was predominantly Whig, elected sheriffs for London and Middlesex, and these sheriffs saw to it that the juries they chose were composed of Whigs. Thus in the City of London it was impossible to secure a verdict against a Whig. Before Shaftesbury could be tried for treason, the Grand Jury had to declare that there was sufficient evidence to warrant a trial. The jury returned an Ignoramus verdict, signifying that they did not believe the evidence, and Shaftesbury was set free. Tory writers used the term Ignoramus after this to refer to Shaftesbury and the Whigs and to anyone who went against the court. Such was the situation in 1681, at the time of the publication of The Progress of Honesty.

As long as the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were Whigs, Shaftesbury was safe. Charles wanted to strike a blow at Shaftesbury and at London. The court, by various unscrupulous methods, gained the support of the Lord Mayor of London, who appointed two Tory sheriffs and secured a Tory as his successor. Shaftesbury, who could no longer depend on the sheriffs and juries for protection, fled to Holland, where he died January 22, 1683.

Charles was determined that London should not go against him in

the future. In 1683, under a pretense of legality, he called on London to show cause why its charter should not be forfeited. The King's Bench decided against the city, and Charles offered to restore the charter on condition that he have a veto on election of its officers. At first London accepted his terms but soon drew back. The king then named the Lord Mayor and other officers directly, and London lost all self-government.

Many of the Whigs felt that Charles had been acting the part of an unjust tyrant. Some of the more violent Whigs plotted together to appeal to force to gain what they desired. This conspiracy, known as the Rye House Plot,<sup>10</sup> included such plotters as the Duke of Monmouth; Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex; Algernon Sidney; Forde, Lord Grey; Lord William Russell; Sir Thomas Armstrong; William, Lord Howard of Escriek, and several less known figures. The plotters intended to seize James and Charles on their return from Newmarket and either murder them or compel Charles to summon a parliament. The plot failed, and brought to light the combination of parliamentary Whigs named above. Howard of Escriek turned informer against his friends; Armstrong escaped to Holland and was not apprehended until 1684; Sidney and Russell were executed in 1683; Essex committed suicide while in the Tower awaiting trial; Monmouth, pardoned through his father's love and tenderness, was sent into exile in Holland.

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<sup>10</sup>So called because the plotters intended to seize Charles and James at the Rye House in Hertfordshire. The king and his brother left Newmarket earlier than the plotters expected, and thus the plot was foiled.



## III.

"The Town may da-da-damn me for a poet, but they si-si-sing my Songs for all that," said stuttering Thomas D'Urfey. It was true that his songs were held in much higher repute than his poetry. From what critics of his time down to the present have said, it appears that D'Urfey's poems, such as the two political satires under discussion in this study, were not ever considered good poetry. The poet's reputation in his own time was won by his songs, for he knew how to appeal to the taste of the average man.

The songs may be divided into three classes : country songs, court songs, and political songs. The country songs were coarse, crude, and lively. They did not represent an attempt at a pastoral return to nature, but were earthy, robust, lusty realism. D'Urfey's dialectal songs are related to his country songs. Many of the Scotch songs written by him are still sung throughout Scotland in the belief that they are native to the soil.

The court songs were written in the conventional artificial style which the court demanded, with love the chief theme. For the political songs D'Urfey used the style of the political ballad, with the Whigs as his targets. It was the music for "Remember, ye Whigs, what was formerly done" that Charles II held with D'Urfey while singing along with the writer. D'Urfey's skill as a songwriter who could interpret and play upon the spirit of his age made his political songs popular with the masses. Loyal Tom D'Urfey championed the Tories and berated the Whigs unmercifully.

As a lyric poet, with the emphasis on "lyric" rather than "poet," he is important because his songs appealed to the nobility as well as to the common people. His learned contemporaries were scornful of him, perhaps as much for his popularity as for his low type of wit and satirical humor, yet "The Town may da-da-danna me for a Poet, but they si-si-sing my Songs for all that."

D'Urfey's poetical works, excluding lyrics, consisted chiefly of political satires, which were directed at contemporary persons or events and forgotten when the political scene shifted. The Progress of Honesty and The Malcontent are important purely as political satires, and can not possibly be classed as great poetry, as Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel is. D'Urfey's plays also were popular for their contemporary references and their sparkling songs, and not for any great dramatic qualities.

The song-books of the period prove the writer's popularity, as each one contains a goodly proportion of his songs. Many of the ballad operas, such as Gay's The Beggar's Opera, contain airs named after D'Urfey's songs.

Writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries praised D'Urfey, although a trifle ironically, as a song-writer who could appeal to country squires and half-literate laborers.<sup>11</sup> In a letter to Henry Cromwell, Pope mentioned D'Urfey with good-natured contempt as the laureate of the country gentry:

I have not quoted one Latin Author since I came down, but have learn'd without Book a Song of Mr. Thomas D'Urfey's,.... Any

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<sup>11</sup>Miscellaneous, 1727, I, 29-30, as given in The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 30.

Man, of any Quality, is heartily welcome to the best Topping-Table of our Gentry who can roundly hum out some Fragments or Rhapsodies of his Works;.... Alas, Sir! This is a Glory which neither you nor I with my Stattus, can amuse a whole Board of Justices, and extra-ordinary 'Squires, or gain one Hum of Approbation, or Laugh of Admiration! These things (they wou'd say) are too studious, they may do well enough with such as love Reading, but give us your antient Poet Mr. Durfey! 12

This irony and condescension, while typical of Pope, represents the attitude of the learned wits of the day toward one whom they considered a ballad-monger. In The Dunciad Variorum Pope refers to D'Urfey in one of the notes: "... Mr. Durfey... enjoyed the longest, bodily, life."<sup>13</sup> Editor Sutherland says, "The commas which Pope had carefully inserted to emphasize that D'Urfey's long life was bodily only, and did not extend to his poetic reputation, slipped out in later editions, and have never been restored since."<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Steele said, "my honoured friend, Mr. Thomas D'Urfey... has a peculiar talent in the lyric way of writing,"<sup>15</sup> while Addison added, "He had made the world merry." The following epitaph appeared in 1726 in Miscellaneous Poems:<sup>16</sup>

Here lyes the Lyriek, who with Tale and Song,  
Did Life to threescore Years and ten prolong;  
His Tale was pleasant, and his Song was sweet;  
His Heart was cheerful -- but his Thirst was great.  
Grieve, Reader, grieve, that he, too soon grown old,  
His Song has ended, and his Tale has told.

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<sup>12</sup>The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup>Pope, The Dunciad, ed. James Sutherland, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., note.

<sup>15</sup>Steele, Tatler, No. 1, April 12, 1709.

<sup>16</sup>Miscellaneous Poems, by Several Hands, 1726, p. 6, as quoted in The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 28.

## IV

Personal prejudices as well as political entered into D'Urfey's writings, particularly the two poems this work deals with. Of course his political and personal affiliations with Charles II, James, and the Tories prompted his political satires in the first place, but he also used these satires to praise or condemn persons for other than political reasons. He had the favor of the Earl of Carlisle, the Duchess of Grafton, Lord Morpeth, the Duke of Wharton, the Earl of Leicester, the Duke of Dorset, and many others. An examination of all his works might show personal references to these patrons, but as The Progress of Honesty and The Malecontent are the satires under discussion, the personal element in only those poems will be shown.

James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, was D'Urfey's original patron and continued to befriend him until he (Ormonde) died. D'Urfey praised Ormonde highly in both The Progress of Honesty and The Malecontent.<sup>17</sup> Ormonde was a Tory, but he had done nothing remarkable, nor had he taken any active part in helping the court. D'Urfey, therefore, must have praised him purely from personal motives.

In The Malecontent D'Urfey lauds Christopher Monck, another of his patrons.<sup>18</sup> Here again the poet praises someone who had done nothing to merit that praise except befriend the author. A third patron was George,

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<sup>17</sup>The Progress of Honesty, ll. 558-66; The Malecontent, ll. 896-922.

<sup>18</sup>The Malecontent, ll. 872-95.

Earl of Berkeley. Berkeley's daughter Mary had married Forde, Lord Grey, who later eloped with his wife's sister. D'Urfev, in The Malecontent, satirizes Grey more harshly than the latter's share in the Rye House Plot warrants,<sup>19</sup> and this could be explained by D'Urfev's friendship with Berkeley.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., ll. 412-54.

## V.

The Progress of Honesty was published late in 1681, apparently after Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, which was published on or shortly before November 17, 1681. D'Urfey's satire seems to have been published later, for he refers to a young Baron... just fledg'd i' the Laws, And newly then corrupted to the Cause.<sup>20</sup> That young Baron was George Jeffreys, Baron of Wem, who had been created a baronet of the United Kingdom on November 17, 1681. Thus, The Progress of Honesty must have been published after that date, and therefore after Absalom and Achitophel.

Evidences of D'Urfey's borrowing from Dryden are numerous and apparent; those passages of D'Urfey's which seem to come from Dryden are pointed out in the footnotes and the Dryden passage given for comparison. In such instances it is more logical to believe that D'Urfey would have borrowed from Dryden than vice versa, even though it were not almost a certainty that The Progress of Honesty was published after Dryden's satire. D'Urfey praises or satirizes practically all the persons Dryden praises or satirizes, and though this might be expected at a time when these people were active in religious or political matters, it is another small piece of evidence pointing to D'Urfey's debt to Dryden.

The following passages show D'Urfey's apparent use of ideas which Dryden had included in Absalom and Achitophel. The quotations from The Progress of Honesty are listed on the left side of the page, and

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<sup>20</sup>The Progress of Honesty, ll. 464-65.

the similar quotation from Dryden is given immediately below and to the right.

Yet may the Loyal in each Feature [of Charles] see  
 Such marks of God-like Clemency, . . .  
 Patient though wrong'd, never to passion driven,  
 Just as his Laws, and merciful as Heaven, . . .  
 Who ere but he a just Revenge could quell,  
 When his great Father fell?  
 Who could forgive the impious Mobile,  
 But only he  
 That has more heavenly Pity than Mortality:  
 (ll. 271-87)

Whom has he wrong'd in all his peaceful reign?  
 Who sues for justice to his throne in vain?  
 What millions has he pardoned of his foes,  
 Whom just revenge did to his wrath expose?  
 (ll. 321-24)

Nothing Rebellion plants in English Blood,  
 But too much Plenty and a Prince too good.  
 (ll. 305-306)

God's pamper'd people, whom debauch'd with ease,  
 No king could govern, nor no God could please; . . .  
 These Adam-wits, too fortunately free,  
 Began to dream they wanted liberty;  
 (ll. 47-52)

'Tis true he [Charles] grants the people all they crave;  
 And more, perhaps, than subjects ought to have;  
 For lavish grants suppose a monarch tame,  
 And more his goodness than his wit proclaim.  
 (ll. 383-86)

[Oates and Jones] forge their villainies, . . .  
 (l. 377)

Let Israel's foes suspect his [Oates's] heavenly call,  
 And rashly judge his writ apocryphal:  
 (ll. 664-65)

His [Shaftesbury's] Body once so active known,  
 Is with Diseases cramp't and useless grown;  
 His Conscience long imprison'd with his Gout,  
 Now cares not to get out.  
 (ll. 601-604)

A fiery soul, which, working out its way,  
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
 And o'er-inform'd the tenement of clay.  
 (ll. 156-58)

Dismounts all his Antagonists beside,  
That he [Shaftesbury] might only ride.  
(ll. 634-35)

Resolv'd to ruin or to rule the State.  
(l. 174)

In wild Night Frolicks [Buckingham] spent a fair Estate,  
(l. 675)

In squand'ring wealth was his peculiar art;  
Nothing went unrewarded but desert.  
Beggard by fools, whom still he found too late,  
He had his jest, and they had his estate.  
(ll. 559-62)

Two Tribunes for the People then are chose,  
Bulwarks 'gainst foreign and domestick foes;  
And those in the Election soonest thrive  
That dare intrench upon Prerogative,  
And raise rebellious Tenets high,  
Upon the neck of Loyalty;  
But that such Villany should dwell  
In purblind Zeal,  
To place in Office of such weighty trust  
A Rebel [Slingsby Bethel] amongst all his Tribe the worst,  
Is the severest Instance that we lie  
Slaves to the Yoke of impudent Presbytery.  
(ll. 694-706)

Shimei [Bethel,], whose youth did early promise bring  
Of zeal to God and hatred to his king,...  
Nor ever was he known an oath to vent,  
Or curse, unless against the government....  
The city, to reward his pious hate  
Against his master, chose him magistrate....  
If any durst his factious friends accuse,  
He pack'd a jury of dissenting Jews [Whigs]:  
Whose fellow-feeling in the godly cause  
Would free the suff'ring saint from human laws.  
For laws are only made to punish those  
Who serve the king, and to protect his foes.  
If any leisure time he had from pow'r,  
(Because 't is sin to misemploy an hour,)  
His bus'ness was, by writing, to persuade  
That kings were useless, and a clog to trade.  
(ll. 585-615)

Prophets for Oath...  
(l. 711)

But where the witness fail'd, the prophet spoke.  
(l. 655)



... Braodes for Proof  
(l. 711)

Corah [Oates] might for Agag's [Godfrey's] murther call.  
(l. 678)

Like th' stubborn Israelites of old you move,  
And their Enthusiastic Whimsies prove,  
Ashteroth and Moloch, Idols famous known,  
Goggle Eyed Baal, Gawdy Accaron  
They left, nor longer in their errors trod.  
(ll. 715-19)

(Gods they had tried of every shape and size,  
That god-smiths could produce, or priests devise.)  
(ll. 49-50)

The number of quotations in D'Urfeys resembling passages in Dryden might not seem overwhelming, but when they are noted in conjunction with the same spirit and tone prevailing in each poem, and with the fact that D'Urfeys satirizes or praises persons whom Dryden had praised or satirized, it seems apparent that D'Urfeys owed a great deal to Dryden, in inspiration if not in actual borrowing.

## VI.

The Progress of Honesty<sup>21</sup> and The Malecontent are not important as poetry. D'Urfey says they are Pindarick poetry, and they might be classed as irregular Pindaric or Cowleyan poetry, as the lines are irregular, but they do not fit one requirement of Pindaric poetry -- they are not at all grand or exalted in style or theme. They are simply political satires, with all that implies of ridicule, harshness, and name-calling.

Each poem has a long introductory passage which might be termed pastoral poetry, and then the poet begins the political satire. The Progress of Honesty ends with "advice" poetry which was popular in D'Urfey's time. The satire in The Malecontent breaks off abruptly and the poet goes into a long tirade about love and the fickleness of women. When the reader is suddenly taken from pastoral poetry to political satire, and from political satire to love laments, the transition is unexpected and awkward. Perhaps D'Urfey, by putting the satires within a framework of pastoral and love poetry, was attempting to satisfy the requirements of poetry, or attempting to salve his conscience for calling it poetry, but he merely writes rhyming lines which have none of the imagination, beauty, or tone one expects from poetry. In fact, the

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<sup>21</sup>The 'progress' in Progress Pieces is an imaginary tour of an allegorical abstraction. "Progress pieces had their vogue in the eighteenth century," but during the seventeenth century (as far back as Donne's "Progress of the Soul" in 1612) men were using 'Progress' in titles, without following the title with a true Progress Piece. "A... promising title is D'Urfey's 'The Progress of Honesty -- a Pindarique Poem,' in folio, 1681; but upon examination the poem proves to be a moralizing discussion hardly closer to our type than 'Piers Plowman.'" Griffith, "The Progress Pieces of the Eighteenth Century," p. 219.

only relation these two poems have to poetry is that they are rhymes and are not written in prose. These remarks of Tom Brown, D'Urfey's arch-rival, are very appropriate:

In t'other World expect dry Blows;  
No Tears can wash thy Stains out;  
Horace will pluck thee by the Nose  
And Pindar beat thy Brains out.<sup>22</sup>

The poet stated his views on the aims of satire in the prose preface to The Malecontent: he says he prefers the harsh cutting satire of the Juvenalian style to the suave, urbane Horatian style. D'Urfey is bitter and harsh toward those whom he dislikes; he does not miss any opportunity to strike at any vice or folly in those whom he is satirizing; he brings in personal, human mistakes and faults as well as misdeeds of greater import. Whether his "Juvenalian satire" had the desired effect, of cutting deep and clean so that the root of the evil would be hit, could be answered only by one who had lived in the period of which D'Urfey writes. A thinking man of his time might wonder about the truth of some of his allegations and accusations, particularly as D'Urfey praises patrons for personal reasons and not because they had done anything to merit praise. Might not a thinking man wonder whether D'Urfey was being unduly harsh with some if he had been unduly kind to another? The satires thus could have lost some value as party propaganda.

The importance of these two poems lies, not in their value as poetry, but in what they tell us of the seventeenth century from the viewpoint

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<sup>22</sup>The Fourth and Last Volume of the Works of Mr. Thomas Brown, 1715, p. 110, as cited in The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 38.

of one who was present. Of course D'Urfey was a biased writer, as were most of the political writers of the time, but at least he gives the ideas of one of the Tory champions. It must be kept in mind when reading these poems that the poet was writing as a partisan of one of the political factions, and would therefore exaggerate, distort, or minimize facts and events so that the final result would be favorable to his own side and most harmful to the opposition.

D'Urfey could never be called a great poet, but as a recorder of Tory opinion he is of importance. His fame now lies, as it did in his own time, in his songs. His political satires merit attention, however, as political reports on a period which was fraught with historical significance; thus are his writings historically significant.

THE  
PROGRESS OF HONESTY:

Or, a

VIEW

of a

COURT  
and  
CITY.

---

A

PINDARIQUE POEM

By T.D.<sup>1</sup>

---

Altera jam teritur bellis Civilibus getas:  
Suis et ipsa Romas viribus ruit.<sup>2</sup>  
HORACE.

---

LONDON,  
Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh<sup>3</sup> at the Black Bull in  
Cornhill. 1681.

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas D'Urfey

<sup>2</sup>"Already a second generation is being ground to pieces by civil war, and Rome through her own strength is tottering." Epode XVI ("The Woes of Civil Strife. A Remedy") Horace.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Hindmarsh was a prominent stationer of this time. Later he was one of the London Stationers' Company organised October 6, 1693. (See Print and Privilege at Oxford to the Year 1700, pp. 181-98.)

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The Progress of HONESTY;  
Or, a VIEW of  
COURT and CITY.

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I.

One Summers Evening when the wearied Sun 1  
 Was hastning to go down,  
 And dewy Thetis th' Ocean did inspire  
 With gentle Calms to court his amorous fire,  
 I left the busie Town 5  
 To entertain my thoughts one hour alone,  
 The winds to their deep Caverns did retreat,  
 And only a cool Breeze  
 Did softly kiss the Trees,  
 To temper the past days unruly heat, 10  
 A time it was when Nature seem'd t' imploy,  
 Her self in general joy,  
 And everything was pleas'd in th' Water, Earth and Sky,  
 The wanton Fishes danc'd within their Streams,  
 The Beasts unyok'd from Teams, 15  
 Ran lowing to the distant Mead,  
 To greet their much lov'd Mates to sport and feed,  
 And on each lofty Tree or covert Bush,  
 The Lark, the Linnet, Nightingale and Thrush,  
 Did in their chirping language sing, 20  
 Long lays of Love and of the smiling Spring,  
 Of scatter'd grain near some rich Farmers house

And of their Misses vows,  
 Of Snares and dangerous Limetwigs then began  
 That oft their Friends trapan, 25  
 Here joint invectively they long divisions ran,  
 And curst th' unnatural Craft of silly, yet conceited Man.

## II.

In the dark Center of a lonely Grove,  
 For Melancholly fram'd and Love,  
 A Rock there stands that props th' adjacent hill 30  
 Craggy and mossay made by unknown skill,  
 Of wondrous height and magnitude,  
 Impenetrable Stone and rude;  
 From whose aspiring top a stream did pour  
 Swift Cataracts, whose fall and dreadful rore 35  
 Wonder and Terror bore.  
 Here Nature th' Pageant Mansion to adorn,  
 Its hollow Sides, had into Conduits worn;  
 Whose depth and bottom none did ever see  
 But only God and she. 40  
 'Twas here her private Storehous she did keep,  
 Here mighty Treasures heap,  
 Safe as in Neptunes Closet of the deep.

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24, Limetwigs; a twig smeared with birdlime for catching birds, NED.

25, trapan; to trap or snare. NED.

26, long divisions ran; drew up formal charges broken into divisions.

I much delighted with the cool Recess  
 Of this miraculous place, 45  
 Laid my self down to rest and meditate  
 Upon the Worlds and my uncertain state,  
 And all the prodigies of Fate.  
 When a kind Echo near me drew,  
 A Voice methought I knew, 50  
 And so it was, for when again it spoke,  
 Looking toward the farthest side o' th' Rock,  
 I saw two persons, th' one was sad and mute,  
 Whilst t' other awfully held grave dispute;  
 Whom when to view he did himself extend, 55  
 I knew to be my good old Friend.

### III.

A wondrous man born of Celestial Race,  
 The Beams of Honour, Vertue, Grace,  
 Shone in his comely reverend face,  
 On which you might perceive 60  
 Many a smarting Wound and Scar  
 He for his King and Country had receiv'd  
 In bloody Field and Loyal War:  
 Reward for which he ne'er ignobly sought;  
 But the Oblivion of his Merits thought 65  
 His own misfortune, not his Princes fault.  
 About his Neck a Golden Medal hung,  
 Which he atchiev'd when young:



A Caesar's figure there was coin'd, which he  
 With his own hand had given, the badge of Loyalty: 70  
 Yet ne'er could Fame his Constancy divide  
 With an ungenerous Pride;  
 His heart was humble, full of Modesty  
 As Virgin Infancy;  
 Plain were his thoughts, ne'er taught the tedious Rules 75  
 By Pedant Fools  
 Of humming Colledges or buzzing Schools:  
 And yet by th' vigour of his Wit could reach  
 The depth of Natures Mysteries, and preach  
 All the Morals wise Philosophy could teach. 80  
 None sure was ere renown'd as he,  
 Religious, good, of heavenly pedigree,  
 Ador'd by all the vertuous world, his name was Honesty.

## IV.

The other was his Son, 'twas strange to see  
 Such bitter fruit spring from so good a Tree: 85  
 Vicious and vain he was, a wanton Youth  
 That wandred from the Truth,  
 Treading in slippery paths, rash Error was his Name,

---

89, Caesar: In these two poems, The Progress of Honesty and The Malecontent, Charles II is referred to as Caesar.

83, Honesty: generalized character, not intended to be any specific person.

88, Error: another generalization. Error and Honesty (l. 83) are D'Urfey's characterizations of erring, wayward subjects and honest, loyal subjects.

Never the heir to his great Fathers fame,  
 But of his Mother frailties shame. 90  
 His Eyes the flaming Tapers of reproach  
 Kindled at some late debauch,  
 Lookt glowing red, and on his Flesh were seen  
 Some marks of wounds, but not such as had been  
 The scars of honour, but of infamy, 95  
 The Effects of Wine, Night Brawls, Temerity,  
 When for suburban Jilt he fought, and she  
 Most impudently swore,  
 He solely enjoy'd the Indies that she bore;  
 Yet the salacious Whore 100  
 Was at that hour engag'd to fifty more.  
 His Pockets swell'd with Challenges and News;  
 Lascivious Pamphlets, Billet Deux,  
 And Tickets from the Beldame of the Stews.  
 Deaf to reproof he was, and hugg'd his Crimes, 105  
 A modish Fop, a Creature of the times;  
 One that could flatter every Golden Clod  
 And call my Spindle Lord, that made him drunk, his God,  
 Adore the reverend wrinkled Lady Quaint,  
 And swear she's more celestial than a Saint; 110

---

108, Spindle Lord: NED says of Spindle: 'of the limbs  
 (or person), in the sense of "thin, slender, lacking in  
 robustness."' As an example of this definition, the fol-  
 lowing is given: "1681? D'Urfey Progr. Honesty, IV. One  
 that could flatter every Golden Clod, And call my Spindle  
 Lord, that made him drunk, his God."

Pretast not Venus Doves had been  
 White as her Faces skin,  
 Though he could see no part of it for Paint:  
 Stubborn as Eli's Sons, or Jacob's envious brood,  
 Stranger to wise men, and a foe to good, 115  
 And most ungrateful lov'd his Father less  
 Because he did his Crimes express,  
 And held the Mirror up to shew his wickedness.  
 But as the Eternal does his mercies shew,  
 And grant Remission below 120  
 To Mortals that rebellious grow.  
 Thus proving divine Mystery,  
 And that to live from passions free  
 Is only th' Province of the Deity.  
 So the reverend Sire, after a stream had run 125  
 From his Eyes aged fountains, thus begun  
 To pity and instruct his just precipitating Son.

## V.

Where wilt thou fall, ah, why thy self destroy?  
 Rash heedless Boy,  
 Why dost thou snatch at a deluding bait 130  
 That hooks thee to thy fate?  
 O thou unfortunate:  
 Look here and borrow thy old Fathers eye,  
 Look well, and through this Perspect shalt thou spy

---

134, Perspect; an obsolete word meaning an optical glass, a glass to aid the vision. NED.

The World drest in her vanity. 135

See here Ambition plotting how to climb  
 Up to a seat sublime,  
 And now aloud resounds his fame,  
 Now like a Meteor does he flame,  
 Whilst all the air is fill'd with echoes of his name: 140  
 But see, the wheel of chance is turn'd,  
 And what was so admir'd is scorn'd,  
 The Blazing Comet shines not, that before  
 Enlightned the Horizon o're,  
 The Exhalation's spent and seen no more. 145

See there where Faction with his hundred hands,  
 And Treasons numerous as sands,  
 Impious though Old stands preaching in a Tree,

---

136-145, See here Ambition...more: Ambition refers to James, Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II. Monmouth, "the Protestant Duke," had hopes of being king after Charles' death (see Dryden's *Abasalom and Achitophel*). In 1680 the play houses of England had been clamoring against the Duke of York, and vowed themselves to be "for the Duke of Monmouth against the world." There were many bold schemes to insure the succession to Monmouth. In 1680 Monmouth started on an expedition among his friends in various parts of the country. He was received with the utmost enthusiasm. When Shaftesbury (who had linked himself with Monmouth) was arrested in 1681, Monmouth became one of his bail, thereby incurring the displeasure of the king, who gave some of Monmouth's offices to the duke's half-brothers. Monmouth continued to maintain his attitude of resistance. He was stripped of many offices and honours he had formerly held, including the Chancellorship of Cambridge, of which Charles ordered him deprived. Also, Monmouth had insulted Halifax and was consequently severely reprimanded and excluded from association with the king's retinue. DNB.

146, Faction: "The Romans divided the combatants in the circus into classes, called factions... As these combatants strove against each other, and entertained a strong esprit de corps, the word was easily applied to political partisans." Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, pp. 438f. "Self-interested or turbulent party strife or intrigue; factious spirit or action; dissension; with the opprobrious sense, conveying the imputation of selfish or mischievous ends or turbulent or unscrupulous methods." NED.

Stirring the long Ear'd rout to mutiny;  
 From infancy a Traitor known, 150  
 One that would fight for Conscience, but had none;  
 Hark how the Mobile shout, that echoing peal  
 Portends the downfall of some Common-Weal;  
 Some Monarch now  
 To th' force must bow, 155  
 Of brutish Ignorance, pretended Zeal.  
 Next turn thy eye, and view Religion's state,  
 And there perhaps thou'lt find too late,  
 The canting Parasite gilt Fortune serves,  
 Whilst the truly Pious starves; 160  
 'Tis the sly, flear, and supple knee unties

---

149, long Ear'd rout: a commonplace of the satirical writing of the period. It was a reference to the Puritans specifically, and from that it developed into a derogatory designation for the group favoring democracy.

153, Mobile: "(shortened form of Latin mobile vulgus, the moveable or excitable crowd) the common people; the populace, rabble, mob." NED. This too was a derogatory reference to those who had had any part in the Commonwealth; the masses were held in great contempt, for they were thought unfit to rule or even to have a voice in the government.

156, brutish Ignorance, pretended Zeal: The ignorant mob believed in the truth of the Popish Plot; on the other hand, many statesmen who did not believe in the plot pretended to, in order to further schemes of their own. Charles had to yield to public opinion.

159, 160, The canting Parasite... truly Pious starves: The canting, parasitical preachers would beg for livings by flattery; the truly pious preachers would not so lower themselves.

161, flear: "A deceitful grin of civility." NED. As an example, NED gives the following: "1681, D'Urfev, Progress of Honesty xiv 62. A sly Phanatick flear." Infra, l.637.

The Purse of gouty Avarice;  
 And we may boldly now declare,  
 The Clergy thrive by Flattery more than Prayer:  
 See how that reverend Doctor vails his Cap 165  
 To yon prophane Court Ape;  
 Sure he has some suit to beg,  
 That thus he sneaks and scrapes a Leg,  
 Whilst t'other proudly keeps him bare: Thus we may see  
 Learning's the footstool of Court-vanity. 170

## VI.

See next where Beauty comes, Parent of darling Sin,  
 That charming Demon of the skin,  
 That Victor that great Monarchs rules,  
 That Paradise of loving fools,  
 That gets more Souls 175  
 Than Heaven and all the Miracles within;  
 That Soul of Joy, that Tyrant o're the blood,  
 That blessing, yet a curse; though heavenly, yet not good  
 That potent power that with resistless Art,  
 Reigns all in all and all in every part. 180  
 O how she shines and does her Nets prepare,  
 Look how they crowd into her snare,  
 And think eternal Bliss is there;

---

164-170. The Clergy thrive... Court-vanity: Many of the  
 clergy got their livings from wealthy lords who were not par-  
 ticularly interested in religion, but only in the clergyman  
 who could beg and flatter best. l.165, vails; doffa. 169,  
him; reverend Doctor.

Till Sickness shades the glaring light,  
 Then what they once thought bright 185  
 Appears a horrid Spectre hideous to the sight.  
 But these Remarques, fond Boy, are few,  
 Search Nature through,  
 And thou shalt find a thousand new  
 A strange vicissitude of things, 190  
 From Pesants even to Kings.  
 Then patient Merit shalt thou find ill us'd,  
 Vertue and Wit by Ignorance abus'd,  
 Knowledge low as the Grave dejected lies,  
 Whilst in all places Vice doth only rise. 195  
 In th' Country, City, Court, new Crimes we see,  
 A most unnatural change in each degree,  
 And nothing scorn'd or slighted more than Honesty.

## VII.

Thus spoke the good Old Man with modest grace,  
 And here a second shower apace, 200  
 Fell on his Beard like Gems, and deckt his reverend Face.  
 But Error who had with much impatience sate,  
 And heard his Father moral Truths relate,  
 Like Libertines within a Temple shut,  
 Who having no way to get out, 205  
 Are forc'd a while to be devout;  
 With an unwilling mind obeyed;  
 Till stung with rage to hear the Court reprov'd,

The Court he so much lov'd;  
 Raising his drowsie head this answer made, 210  
 To th' aged, Sir, that pleasures reap in vain,  
 All pleasure seems a pain;  
 The choicest Banquet is but made a waste,  
 To one that has no taste.  
 And therefore you whose insipid Palat's down, 215  
 Past help of all th' Physicians in the Town,  
 Failing to relish, rail at th' Courtly treat,  
 On which with joy and greediness we eat;  
 Because your Stomach cannot be preserv'd,  
 You with all others starv'd; 220  
 So th' wither'd Beldams youthful once and gay,  
 That in December now reflects on her past May,  
 Missing with grief th' effects of Love,  
 She formerly could prove,  
 Grows mad, and with true Womans malice stung, 225  
 Rates all her Sex, and wishes damn'd the Beautiful and Young.  
 Wretched is he, replied the Sire, that tries  
 To make a senceless Idiot good or wise,  
 He cultivates with endless toil,  
 A barren, rocky, and unfruitful Soil, 230  
 Where Thistles only grow, and not one valued Grain can rise.  
 Think not, rash Fool, that I the Court deprave,  
 'Cause I no favour have;  
Honesty in it self's rewarded more,



And is like Charity to the Poor, 235  
 Repaid from the eternal Store.  
 I only for thy sake  
 Did some Reflections make,  
 To teach thee how the Vertuous to prefer,  
 Before the Rich, the Lowd, or Popular. 240  
 The Court's a spacious Garden and it breeds  
 Both fragrant Flowers and noisom Weeds,  
 Hemlock and Jessamine Flourish and sprout forth,  
 As if of equal worth;  
 Which to distinguish is well worth thy care: 245  
 And that my fame thou maist no more abuse,  
 By pleading ignorance for excuse;  
 In silence give attentive ear,  
 And I'll describe both good and bad in each true character.

## VIII.

Titus the Second reigns, he whose celestial mind 250  
 Stiles him the joy of human kind,  
 So good, that if 'twere possible there could be

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250, Titus the Second reigns: Titus Flavius Sabinus  
 Vespasianus, Roman emperor, was the son of Vespasian. After  
 various military successes, he returned to Rome, where he  
 received also the title of Caesar, and held it with his  
 father. After he became emperor, he displayed a sincere  
 desire for the happiness of the people, and he did all that  
 he could to relieve them in times of distress. In this  
 poem, Titus the Second refers to Charles II.

Another Heaven-born God and Man

Since our great Saviours Reign,

By the bright Host above, I'd swear 'tis he; 255

In every Kingly Grace he does abound,

For Wisdom lov'd, for Clemency renown'd,

And in each Art the Learned ere desir'd,

Most skilful and admir'd;

What mystick Knowledge human Nature blest, 260

That dwells not in his Breast?

What Vertue ere did Heaven to man impart,

That centers not within his Royal Heart?

Or what inspiring Rhetorick did belong

256-57, In every...renown'd: Charles had many kingly graces; he was wise in many things; and he was merciful; but he had many vices also. He was fickle, immoral, selfish. He was undeniably popular, however. He was good-natured, grateful to those who had rendered him personal service in misfortune, kind to all. He was blessed with an excellent temper, which only broke down when a courtier ventured to use his vote and influence against the royal wish. Records reveal that he was by no means inattentive to state affairs.

258-59, And in each Art...admir'd: Charles is asserted to have been well versed in historical and political literature, as well as in English law and divinity. His literary judgments show much discernment, and he encouraged the stage. He was interested in painting and architecture. But the bent of his interest was rather in the direction of physical science. He knew something of medicine and the easier mechanical mathematics. He loved ships and shipbuilding. Pepys says (Diary, May 11, 1663) that Charles also was fond of seeing dissections and describes his chemical laboratory as a pretty place (January 15, 1669). Charles was respected for his knowledge; it was not all flattery on the part of courtiers; he actually was a very learned man capable of commanding respect.

To th' wise old Poet's Song, 265  
 That flows not now from his Oraculous Tongue?  
 Look in his face, and Heaven has pourtray'd there  
 The Grandeur that true Majesty should wear;  
 Awful his brow, and terrible his frown,  
 On such as dim the Lustre of his Crown; 270  
 Yet may the Loyal in each Feature see  
 Such marks of God-like Clemency,  
 That whilst they tremble they're delighted too,  
 And with a silent veneration view:  
 He loves his People, and their Faith defends, 275  
 The best of Masters, and the best of Friends,  
 Patient though wrong'd, never to passion driven,  
 Just as his Laws, and merciful as Heaven,  
 His Heart is humble though his Throne is high.

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266, Oraculous Tongue: praising Charles' literary perspicacity.

267-68, Look in his face,... should wear: Charles' swarthy complexion, with its effect heightened by a dark periwig, is the most distinctive feature of all his portraits.

275, their Faith defends: echoing the phrase "Defender of the Faith" in the title of English rulers. Charles preserved the Church of England against the Puritans and Presbyterians after the death of Charles I, and he protected it against the Catholics.

276, best of Friends: Charles was noted for his ability to have enduring personal friendships such as other men might have. D'Urfey could be injecting a personal note here, because Charles II liked his songs, and showed him some marks of favor.

So constant that Hells worst Plots he dares defie, 280  
 And smile at trembling Traitors that stand by;  
 Who ere but he a just Revenge could quell,  
 When his great Father fell?  
 Who could forgive the impious Mobile, 285  
 But only he  
 That has more heavenly Pity than Mortality;  
 Yet still the barbarous Rebels him infest,  
 Still they his lov'd and dear-bought Peace molest  
 And murmur at his Reign though in it blest,

---

278, Just...Heaven: "He [Charles] was surely inclined to justice, for nothing else would have retained him so fast to the succession of a Brother, against a Son he was so fond of, and the humour of a party he so much fear'd. I am willing also to impute to his justice, whatever seems in some measure to contradict the general opinion of his clemency; as his suffering always the rigour of the Law to proceed not only against all highwaymen, but also several others; in whose cases the Lawyers, (according to their wonted custom) had used sometimes a great deal of hardship and severity." Quoted from "A Character of King Charles II" in Miscellanea from the Works of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, p. 57f.

280, Hells worst Plots: This could refer to both the Popish Plot in 1678 and the Meal-Tub Plot in 1679. The Meal-Tub Plot was the pretended conspiracy of the Duke of Monmouth, the papers of which were said to have been kept in a meal-tub. For the Popish Plot see ll. 414-418, Notes.

281-83, Who ere but he... fell: Charles I, father of Charles I<sup>1</sup>, had been put to death by the Commonwealth; some of the regicides were executed after the Restoration, but the majority of them were pardoned. Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 321-24.

Whom has he wrong'd in all his peaceful reign?  
 Who sues for justice to his throne in vain?  
 What millions has he pardoned of his foes,  
 Whom just revenge did to his wrath expose?

Like Brutes they feed upon the fat o' th' Land 290  
 In Peace they live, and Nature Stores command,  
 Yet use his Bounty to no other end  
 But to have power to offend;  
 Whilst Mercy sways, these Saints a War maintain,  
 They're never quiet, but when Tyrants reign; 295  
 And as a stubborn Child that oft has prov'd,  
 His Mothers fond Indulgency and Love,  
 Vext at some trifle, stamps, lies down and cries,  
 Blubbers and swells, and her command denies,  
 Until at last she out of patience grows, 300  
 And quells the little Rebel with pathetic blows;  
 So th' Factious never true Allegiance wore,  
 Till conquered and kept poor.  
 For as a famous Bard did sing of Yore;

---

294, Saints: used ironically at this time to refer to the Puritans. (cf. Absalom and Achitophel, l. 529). Here it refers to any factious group, chiefly those making use of the Popish Plot.

302-303, So th' Factious... kept poor: Many Puritans never gave true allegiance after the Restoration.

304-306, For as a famous Bard... good: Cf. Absalom and Achitophel:

God's pamper'd people, whom, debauch'd with ease,  
 No king could govern, nor no God could please;

...

These Adam-wits, too fortunately free,  
 Began to dream they wanted liberty;

11.47-52.

'Tis true he [Charles] grants the people all they crave;  
 And more, perhaps, than subjects ought to have;  
 For lavish grants suppose a monarch tame,  
 And more his goodness than his wit proclaim.

11. 383-86.

Nothing Rebellion plants in English Blood, 305  
 But too much Plenty and a Prince too good.  
 But ah! no more, fond Muse, no more;  
 He needs not thy poor Praise, therefore give o're:  
 He like the Sun shines every where so bright,  
 There can be no additional light, 310  
 No more than thou canst see  
 With Mortal Eyes Celestial Mystery,  
 Or with a Plummet sound endless Eternity.

## IX.

Next Resolution comes, the Great, the Good,  
 Allied to him in Vertues as in Blood, 315  
 A Hero for his Constancy renown'd,  
 And in Mysterious Politicks profound;  
 Positive fixt and settled to his Will,  
 And dares do any thing but Ill,  
 Revenge his wrongs though they like Hydras grow, 320  
 A faithful Friend, but a most dreadful Foe,  
 Bravest in danger, valiant but not rash:  
 For when the Belgian Streamers brav'd the British Cross,

---

314-15, Next Resolution comes... Blood: Resolution is James, Duke of York, brother of Charles II.

317-18, And in Mysterious Politicks...Will: James may have thought it wiser to be true to his religion rather than be a weathercock in the storm of public opinion. He remained a Catholic in spite of every kind of criticism.

323, For when...Cross: Great Britain and Holland had been at war. "Belgian" was used loosely during this period to signify Low Germany and the Netherlands.

Then on the bloody Deck he seem'd to grow,  
 Whilst Fate affrighted aim'd the Shot too low, 325  
 Aw'd with the Terror of his dauntless Brow.  
 A Loyal Prince and Wise, secure of Fate,  
 Of honour nice, in every action great,  
 Not fond of Sway, but if by right his own;  
 In his Lives Scales he weights a Throne 330  
 His haughty Soul ne'er understood  
 To humour the Mechanick Brood.  
 The People like rough Waters are to him,  
 On which he swims against the Stream,  
 Nor fears the danger of the wildest storm;  
 His courage and his Fate contemns all harm.

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325-26, Whilst Fate...Brow: Samuel Pepys records that "... the sum of the newes is; VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH, June 3rd, 1665. This day they engaged; the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity they had by us, by which they lost the benefit of their fire ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the Royall Charles, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say." Pepys' Diary, June 8, 1665.

329-30, Not fond of Sway... Throne: James, like Charles, was more interested in preserving the hereditary succession to the throne than in simply being a king. The principle of succession was important to him.

331-332, His haughty Soul...Brood: James did not have enough political acumen to give the appearance of humoring the people. Charles (like Elizabeth before him) knew when to appear to be conceding to the wishes of the people. l. 332, Mechanick: referring to those who worked at a trade, who had manual occupations, yet who wanted a voice in the government. Tradesmen were looked down on, and when they presumed to turn to politics, they were scorned.

In his Religion firm, but not precise,  
 Admires the Counsel of the Wise,  
 But cares not to be Catechis'd,  
 Or new untrodden paths be shown, 340  
 As if the way to Heaven he had not known,  
 Or that his Soul were not his own;  
 His Conscience will be guided by his sense,  
 Not by the vulgar's impudence.  
 So th' Roman Heroes rather chose to die 345  
 By their own noble hands than by an Enemy.

## X.

Deep in a hollow, dark and dreadful Cave,  
 Black and gloomy as the Grave,  
 That never saw a lucid Ray  
 Of the Sun's face, nor cheerful day, 350  
 But shaded o're with baleful Ivy seem'd  
 The Cottage of some melancholly Fiend;  
 On whose top ever sate the ghastly Owl,

---

337, In...precise: James remained a Catholic. precise: over-nice, over-exact, puritanical. NED.

338-342, Admires the Counsel...own: James did not like it when anyone attempted to persuade him to change his religion from Catholic to Protestant.

343, Not...impudence: D'Urfey considered it impudent of the people to try to make James become Protestant.

353, ghastly Owl: "The ancients held owls in the utmost abhorrence. Pliny characterizes the bird as 'the funeral owl and monster of the night....'" In England, the superstition that the owl was a bird of evil omen and that it presaged death or destruction was in effect even in the eighteenth century. Brand's Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 468.



Shrieking her baleful note and horrid howl,  
 Far from the pleasing chirp of other fowl; 355  
 Old Discord did with pale-fac't Treason dwell,  
 Near neighbours and much nearer friends to hell;  
 There in a Grott where never leaf was seen,  
 Nor any thing that's green,  
 But stumps of rotten Trees and Thorns that long had blaited been; 360  
Treason in darkness lay, his Lodging furniaht was,  
 With Pomyards, Pistols, Daggers, many a Glass  
 With mortal liquid substance fill'd,  
 That Loyalty had often kill'd,  
 When ne'er a Sword could do't in Honours field. 365  
Discord's Apartment different was seen,  
 He had a Lawyer been;

---

356, Discord... Treason: Discord, Sir William Jones;  
Treason, Titus Oates.

360, blaited; void of feeling, physically insensible,  
 feeling less. NEE.

362-65, With Pomyards,... in Honours field; According  
 to Oates' depositions concerning the Popish Plot (see p. to  
 ll. 412-419), there were three schemes afoot by which the  
 Catholics intended to assassinate Charles; the queen's physi-  
 cian was to poison the king; four Irish ruffians had been  
 hired to stab him; two Jesuits were to shoot him with silver  
 bullets.

366-374, Discord's Apartment...Chancery Bills; Sir  
 William Jones, as attorney general, directed the prosecution  
 of the victims of Oates' plot in 1678. In 1681, he was an  
 associate of Shaftesbury, and to his strenuous efforts the  
 passage of the Exclusion Bill through the commons was general-  
 ly attributed. His action was severely satirized by the  
 court wits, and Dryden, in Absalom and Ashitophel, ll. 561-82,  
 speaks of him as:

...bull-fac'd Jonas, who could statutes draw  
 To mean rebellion, and make treason law.

One that if Fee were large could loudly bawl,  
 But had a Cough o' th' Lungs if small;  
 And never ear'd who lost so he might win: 370  
 His Shelves were cramm'd with Processes and Writs,  
 That dull'd poor Clients wits;  
 Long Rolls of Parchment, Bonds, Citations, Wills,  
 Fines, Executions, Errors, and eternal Chancery Bills.  
 This blessed Pair thought this obscure retreat 375  
 A place most for their purpose fit  
 To forge their villainies, and exclaim  
 On Resolution's Name,  
 And blast his spreading Fame;  
 Which to perform, and safe to stem this Stream, 380  
 They make Religion the Theam,

---

377, To forge their villainies... Spreading Fame: It does not appear that Oates began his Popish Plot scare with the deliberate intention of injuring James. Oates was not acting from political motives. He seems to have been motivated at first by a desire for personal gain in money and prestige. He said in his True Narrative of the Horrid Plot that the Duke of York "was to be offered the crown." This came early in the plot and does not appear to implicate James in the plot itself. Oates at first wavered about bringing charges against James; later he and Bedloe attempted to prove the complicity of the queen and the duke in the plot. forge their villainies: The plot was a fabrication (cf. Abraham and Achitophel, ll. 664-665).

Let Israel's foes suspect his [Oates] heavenly call,  
 And rashly judge his writ apocryphal:

380-381, Which to perform... Theam: Because predominantly Protestant England feared and hated the idea of a Catholic king, the Popish Plot brought on a rabid persecution of Catholics.

The Rabbles bugbear and the Courtiers dream,  
 And only th' Wise Mens shining beams:  
 Religion, ever made the grave disguise  
 Of horrid Villanies. 385

And now the News does various thoughts inspire,  
 Now, now the Train has taken fire,  
 And straight 'tis bus'd about the Town,  
 Religion's rac't, the Charter, King and Crown  
 In danger: This the Vulgar swallow down, 390  
 Then rail at Resolution, and find flaws  
 Even in his Title, swear the Good Old Cause  
 Is lost, and broke are all the Canon Laws.

---

387, Train: powder train, alluding to the inflammatory properties of the Popish Plot.

389, Religion's rac't: rac't means "erased;" the Protestant religion was being erased, so the people thought.

390-393, This the Vulgar...Canon Laws: The populace believed the Popish Plot. ll. 391-92, find flaws Even in his Title: Many who were against having James for the next king were in favor of Monmouth's being next in succession. There was quite a lot of furor about whether Charles II had ever been married to Lucy Walters, Monmouth's mother. Many people believed, or professed to believe, that he had been. If Monmouth were legitimate, he would have prior claim to the throne. ll. 392-93, swear the Good Old Cause Is lost: Good Old Cause is an ironic reference to the Commonwealth frequent in the controversial writings of the period. Here it means that the people felt that their rights were being trampled on. The Commonwealth suggests the idea of a people's government, and this passage could thus refer to the rights of the people. l. 393, broke are all the Canon Laws: Usually Canon Laws are those laid down in decrees from the pope, but here Canon Laws refers to the body of ecclesiastical law of any Christian Church, and specifically to the laws of the Church of England.

## II.

In this impetuous Torrent of the State,

Young Marston rises, Pan'd of Late

395

394-410, In this impetuous Torrent... In his own

Marston was a common soldier who became an emperor, here Marston (L. 395) is James Scott, illegitimate son of Charles II and Lady Wallara. In 1663 James Scott was created Duke of Monmouth. He received precedences over all dukes not of the blood royal. He was empowered to assume arms resembling the royal, and in 1667, the royal arms themselves with the usual band sinister (signifying illegitimacy) were granted to him. Honors military, civil, and academic were given him during the first decade of his dukedom.

In 1665 Monmouth volunteered under the Duke of York and was present at the battle in Solebury. In 1666 he obtained a troop of horse, and prepared for his being named captain of the king's life guard of horse in 1668. He was made a privy councillor in 1670, and in the same year succeeded Albemarle as Captain-general of all the king's forces. In 1672 he commanded the English auxiliary force against the Dutch under the eyes of Turens and Louis XIV himself. Also in 1672 he took an active part in the siege of Maastricht, which capitulated to him, which considered on account of his services, he was feted, pensioned, and, on letters commensatory from the king, elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge. In 1678 he was sent at the head of a small force to protect Ostend against the French, and to raise the siege of Mons. On his return to England he was extremely popular with the people; he also kept the people's liking by eloquently identifying himself with the Protestants in the agitation aroused by the Popish Plot.

Monmouth was chosen to quell the insurrection (1679) in Scotland on the murder of Archbishop Sharp. His was an easy victory; the cleanness shown by him to prisoners was disapproved by the king and the Duke of York, but in conjunction with his military success insured him an enthusiastic reception from the people on his return to London.

By this time, 1679, the people had begun to be divided in allegiance between James, Duke of York, and Monmouth, the Protestant Duke. \* Clarendon was put forward that Charles II and Monmouth's mother had been married, but this Charles denied. Even then, Monmouth's supporters were advocating him as having claim to the throne, and he had the support of a great majority of the people. The Popish Plot gave his adherents an opportunity for furthering his interests, and their own. DBB.

For conduct, Courage, and Advantages of Fate,  
 Mighty in Office, Publick in Report,  
 Powerful in th' Army, and Belev'd at Court,  
 Born on the Peoples Shoulders with such Pride,  
 As Indian Kings on conquered Princes ride; 400  
 Heaven markt him for uncommon Dignity,  
 None Favour'd more, nor none more great than he,  
 Till Hells curst Agents caus'd his Sense to stray,  
 Out of his once lov'd Path, his Loyal Way,  
 And counsell'd him to disobey; 405  
 Friendly to his Destruction him advise,  
 That on his Ruine they might rise;  
 And more the weakness of his Youth to try,  
 And swell his Illegitimate Ambition high,  
 With hopes to gain a Crown, 410  
 Which they (by right) knew ne'er could be his own.  
 Two wretched sons of Belial rose  
 Unhappy Resolution to oppose,  
 And swore for Marcian much, but more for cloaths;

---

412-414, Two wretched Sons... for Cloaths; This could refer either to Titus Oates and Ezrael Tonge, or to Oates and William Bedloe, all of whom swore to the existence of the Popish Plot, and all of whom gave evidence against persons accused of complicity in it. Almost everyone who gave such evidence was paid in some way, whether it was in pensions, preferment, or bonuses for turning in Catholics accused as plotters. Those who swore to the existence of the plot were not doing it particularly to help Monmouth; Monmouth and Shaftesbury took advantage of the furors to further their own ambitions concerning the crown.

Their deep mouth'd Oaths to th' lofty Skies were sent 415  
 That there would be a Change in Government,  
 A Massacre, and Princes were to die,  
 The Lord knows when, or how, or why,  
 Yet some affirm it truth, and some a lie;  
 Strong Proofs were made, and the Law was satisfied, 420  
 And being justly tried,  
 Fate turn'd his mortal point, and the shorn Elders died;  
 But all so constant, and with such humility,  
 That even I impartial Honesty  
 Offer'd some pittyng tears, the effects of human Charity. 425

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415-419, Their deep mouth'd Oaths... lie: On September 6, 1678, Oates averred that there was a comprehensive plot against the life of Charles II, and a Roman Catholic ministry was to be substituted for that in existence, with the Duke of York as king. Oates' original narrative consisted of forty-three articles or clauses, but by assiduous labor in the course of the next three weeks, he managed to raise this number to eighty-one. The drift of his so-called revelation was to the effect that the Jesuits had been appointed by Pope Innocent XI (a pontiff whose policy was in reality rather directed against the Jesuits and all extremists with the church) to supreme power in England. The "Black Bastard," as they called Charles II, was a condemned heretic and was to be put to death. Three schemes were represented as being affect to kill the king by poisoning, stabbing, and shooting. The assassination of the king was to be followed by a general massacre of Protestants, after which the Duke of York was to be offered the crown and a Jesuit government established. Oates and his tribe said all this was so; the Catholics said it was all lies; and many statesmen of the time did not believe in the plot.

420-422, Strong Proofs... Elders died: over thirty persons were executed as a result of the evidence given by Oates and others.

A Crown which with magnetick influence draws  
 The Soules of great ones to its charming Laws,  
 Tempts Rathom'd Marcian to espouse the Cause  
 In shew at least, then for his sake  
 The shouting Rabble mighty Bonfires make, 430  
 The blazing Faggots did each Street adorn,  
 As if he did from Victory return;  
 Unhappy Flames which since he finds too true,  
 Sing'd both his Grandeur and Discretion too;  
 But when their Prince the rightful heir of Fame, 435

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426-432, A Crown... return: Monmouth had been sent by Charles into "exile," to prevent his causing any trouble at the time of the Popish Plot. Monmouth went to Holland, but he returned to England without permission. Evelyn (Diary, November 28, 1679) says as follows: "Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland....The bells and bonfires of the City at this Arrival of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy.... This Duke...the people made their idol."

435-441, But when their Prince... Shall: James also had been sent away, to the continent and then to Scotland, because feeling was running high against Catholics. When he returned from Scotland, he was well-received, but Evelyn makes no mention of the return at all. "James, on his return from Scotland, had a good reception even in London, the head-quarters of his opponents." A Student's History of England, p. 621.

Southwell wrote to Ormonde

'The Duke and Duchess of York arrives this day at Whitehall, both very well, and received with all demonstrations of joy... at this end of town the bells are ringing and the bonfires numerous.'" James II, p. 175. D'Urfev may have been exaggerating when he said no demonstrations were made for James' return. l. 441, Phanatick; with the common people, D'Urfev is implying that they were of the same breed as those who had brought about the civil wars.

To prove his Innocence from Exile came,  
 No Arches were adorn'd, no Triumphs made,  
 He Gorgon like made the wild herd afraid,  
 No joyful Shouts, or welcome Bells,  
 Nor Lights set out, but all like Snails  
 Shrank their Phanatick Horns into their Shells.

440

## XII.

T' encourage all a Nobleman appears,  
 For Wit and Valour famous many years,  
 And choosing Knights o' th' Shires;

---

442, Nobleman: Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

443, For Wit and Valour famous many years: Wit: "... in him we first meet with that combination of technical knowledge, practical shrewdness, argumentative alertness, aptitude in illustration, mastery of pointed expression, and readiness of retort which distinguish the first-rate debater of the present day." DNB. Valour: Shaftesbury had at first been on the royalist side in the rebellion; then he shifted to the Commonwealth. However, he was taken back into favor when Charles II came to the throne, and for almost twenty years he had been active in the government of Charles, before he again exhibited an attitude of opposition. He had been a valorous soldier during the civil wars, regardless of the side he was on.

444, And choosing Knights o' th' Shires: (a Knight of the shire was a gentleman representing a shire or county in Parliament.) Before parliament met on February 4, 1673, Shaftesbury had, as lord chancellor, with the approval of the king, issued thirty-six writs for elections to fill vacancies caused during the long prorogation of nearly two years. This step at once aroused much discourse and some grumbling, especially when it was noticed that eight of the constituencies lay in the county where Shaftesbury was influential. The opposition party won out over Shaftesbury; the thirty-six members were unseated; fresh writs were issued by the speaker of the house; and the important principle was finally established that the issuing of writs rested primarily with the House of Commons, and not with the lord chancellor. DNB.



A Poet, Souldier, Lover, all that can

445

Make up an extraordinary man;

In whom his Enemies must own

447-451, In whom his Enemies... want Loyalty; By the spring of 1643, Shaftesbury was a declared adherent of the royal cause. He was made colonel of a regiment of horse and captain of a troop of foot soldiers, both raised at his own expense. He was also made sheriff and president of the king's council of war for Dorsetshire. It is difficult to explain the sudden change which came over him in 1644. He himself declared that it was through conviction that Charles' aim was destructive to religion and to the state that he gave up all his commissions under the king and went over to the parliament. During the next decade Shaftesbury acted with Cromwell; then he began to break away. It seems that Shaftesbury stayed with Cromwell as long as he appeared to be trying for a genuine parliamentary government, but broke away when he saw that the Protector was disposed to rule alone. DNB.

In 1659-1660 Shaftesbury steadily pursued the design of restoring Charles II. He was one of the twelve deputed by the Commons to go to Breda to invite Charles to return. He met the king at Canterbury, and was one of twelve who, though they had fought against Charles I, were placed on the privy council. Shaftesbury received a royal pardon covering his actions under Cromwell.

In 1673 Shaftesbury warmly supported the Test Act, which rendered it impossible for Catholics to hold office. Thus he lost Charles' favor, but he was not immediately cast aside, because a Protestant ministry was wanted. When parliament met in the fall of 1673, the commons were much excited about the Duke of York's second marriage (to Mary of Modena, who was a Catholic and whose children by James would be reared in the Catholic faith, thus giving more Catholic heirs to the throne). Shaftesbury felt as the House of Commons did about the matter, and on November 9, he was dismissed as insultingly as possible. However, Charles soon offered him the highest honors and gifts if he would return to office. Shaftesbury distinctly refused the offers, shaking himself free of all connections with his former colleagues, and placing himself at the head of the parliamentary opposition to the court.

He began exciting the city by expressing fears of a Catholic uprising, and the Popish Plot terror in 1678 was cherished by him because it gave him an opportunity to try to remove James, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and the queen and her retinue. It was also an opportunity for him to associate more closely with Monmouth and to raise the question of Monmouth's right of succession to the throne. DNB.

Perfection in excess, external shown,  
 But in his Intellect unknown;  
 Sometimes for th' King, then for the Mobiler; 450  
 But what is Wit if it want Loyalty?  
 A witty Rebel is no more  
 Than like a handsome publick Whore,  
 Infamous and contemn'd by th' wise and good,  
 And only useful to the lowly; 455  
 Yet if we ere could judge of hearts  
 By knowledge or by parts,  
 We our Parmenio should prefer,  
 Equally brave with his great Ancestor;  
 For if Rebellion buds, where grows such sense? 460  
 The Devil converted preaches Abstinence.  
 In his right hand a Peer he led,  
 Of whose worth more hereafter shall be said;  
 With a young Baron fil'd, just fledg'd i' th' Laws,

---

458, Parmenio: Parmenion was put to death, historians say unjustly, for being implicated in a plot to kill Alexander the Great.

459, Equally brave with his great Ancestor: Shaftesbury's father had sat in the parliaments of 1625 and 1628.

462, Peer: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

464-65, With a young Baron... to the Cause; Apparently George Jeffreys, Baron of Wem. Jeffreys had been admitted to the Inner Temple in 1678. As counsel for the crown, he took part in the prosecution of Edward Fitzharris, Archbishop Plunket, and Stephen College in 1681, and on November 17 of that year was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. He had been vigorous in prosecuting and persecuting Catholics during the Popish Plot agitation.

"Although disconcerted for a time at the advantage taken by Shaftesbury of the Popish Plot, Jeffreys, on being called on for his advice, recommended the court to outbid Shaftesbury in a pretended zeal for the protestant religion." DNB.

And newly then corrupted to the Cause, 465  
 Usher'd by bold Sir Tophas; and int' other,  
 A lean warpt canting Linsey-Woolsey Brother.  
 Next a fat Author waddled into view,  
 For Satyr famous and Seditious too,  
 A Gog and Magog in each outward part, 470

---

467, A lean warpt canting Linsey-Woolsey Brother; Apparently Bishop Gilbert Burnet. He was out of favor with James and the king at this time, chiefly because of a sermon he had preached before the House of Commons in 1680. Burnet in that sermon had laid open the cruelties of the church of Rome in many instances that happened in Mary's reign, and he spoke of the dangers of falling under the power of the Catholic religion. Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, p. 261. canting; In the seventeenth century, canting was applied in ridicule to the preaching of the Presbyterians and Puritans. Linsey-Woolsey; In the seventeenth century, this meant a strange medley in talk or action, confusion, nonsense (NED).

468, Fat Author; Thomas Shadwell.

469, For Satyr famous and Seditious too; Shadwell came forth as a champion of the Whigs after publication of Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel. While he did not come into prominence for his satires against the Tories until 1682, he may have been writing the satires and talking against the Tories in 1681.

470-485, A Gog and Magog... busie prating fool; Dryden, in the passages quoted below, refers to Shadwell's size, lack of sense, and satires against the king.

Sh--- alone of all my sons, is he  
 Who stands confirm'd in full stupidity.  
 The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,  
 But Sh--- never deviates into sense.  
 Some beams of wit on other souls may fall,  
 Strike through, and make a lucid interval;  
 But Sh---'s genuine night admits no ray,  
 His rising Gog prevail upon the day;

(Mac Flecknoe, 11.17-24)

But th' least of Pygmies in his sence and art;

470-485, A Gog and Magog... busie prating fool;(Continued)

Nor let thy mountain belly make pretence  
Of likeness; thine's a tympany of sense.  
A tun of man in thy large bulk is writ,  
But sure thou'rt but a kilderkin of wit.

(Mac Flecknoe, ll. 193-96)

In Absalom and Achitophel, Part II, by Nahum Tate and Dryden,  
Shadwell is represented as Og, and is spoken of as follows:

Round as a globe, and liquor'd ev'ry chink,  
Goodly and great he sails behind his link.  
With all this bulk there's nothing lost in Og,  
For ev'ry inch that is not fool is roguish;  
A monstrous mass of foul corrupted matter,  
As all the devils had spewed to make the batter.  
When Wine has given him courage to blaspheme,  
He curses God, but God before ours'd him;  
And if man could have reason, none has more,  
That made his paunch so rich, and him so poor,

.....  
Eat opium, mingle arsenic in thy drink,  
Still thou mayst live, avoiding pon and ink.  
I see, I see, 'tis counsel given in vain,  
For treason botch'd in rhyme will be thy bane;  
Rhyme is the rock on which thou art to wreck,  
'Tis fatal to thy fame and to thy neck;

.....  
A double noose thou on thy neck dost pull,  
For writing treason, and for writing dull;  
To die for Faction is a common evil,  
But to be hang'd for nonsense is the devil.  
Hadst thou the glories of thy king express'd,  
Thy praises had been satire at the best;  
But thou in clumsy verse, unlick't, unpointed,  
Hast shamefully defied the Lord's anointed;  
I will not rake the dunghill of thy crimes,  
For who would read thy life that reads thy rhymes?

ll. 459-506.

Gog and Magog: "The Emperor Diocletian had thirty-three infamous daughters, who murdered their husbands; and, being set adrift in a ship, reached Albion, where they fell in with a number of demons. The offspring of this unnatural alliance was a race of giants, afterwards extirpated by Brute and his companions, refugees from Troy. Gog and Magog, the last two of the giant race, were brought in chains to London, then called Troynovant, and, being chained to the palace of Brute, did duty as porters." Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p. 531. 1. 478, Fantome; muse. ll. 475-76, And th' Body... Lungs; Shadwell was addicted to opium; it had a bad effect on his health.

Distracted Nature swore there was no kin  
 'Twixt his external gifts and those within,  
 His Soul just dwindled to a voice,  
 Rails at her thoughtless choice, 475  
 And th' Body sweating out its wrongs,  
 Coughs answers from distemper'd Lungs,  
 Tells th' invisible Fantome that  
 'Twas her lean quality made him so fat;  
 Useless in all, unfit to think 480  
 To do, but only sleep and drink,  
 And forc'd in this great dearth of sense,  
 T' have refuge only from his impudence,  
 To side with the Factions that would Monarchs rule,  
 And grow a positive busie prating fool. 485  
 There are a sort of men of mungrel race,  
 That Loyalty like Coin deface,  
 And think that kind of Honesty is best,  
 That suits most with their carnal interest  
 That loves their Prince only by fits, 490  
 Just as the humour or their business hits,  
 And ne'er will his Prerogative maintain,  
 But when they're charm'd with hopes of gain,  
 Or from his power expect  
 Something they could not else effect, 495  
 A suit against himself their votes persue,  
 For that they'l wheedle, fawn and woo,

Yet Swear they're loyal all and true:  
 So th' Citizen that his Soul has pliant made,  
 And bound his Conscience 'Prentice to his Trade; 500  
 The person ever does most kindly treat  
 That he designs to cheat.

## XIII.

The honest Wretch that Vertue does adore  
 Is certain to be poor:  
 The garment cannot this nice age adorn, 505  
 'Tis out of mode, not decent to be worn;  
 A rugged Maxim which we treat,  
 As a Theam useless grown, and obsolete,  
 Whilst other Tenets th' erring Court does guide,  
 Flattery, Folly, Pride, 510  
 Lust and a thousand crimes beside:  
 Who'd think man had a share of heavenly Grace,  
 That saw grave Mosca flatter for a Place?  
 Or know a reverend Judge in th' Law profound,  
 Sell an Offender's life for fifty pound? 515  
 Or see a modest Scholar cringe t' a Lord,  
 That swell'd with Land and Nonsense scorns t' afford  
 The humble Prostitute a word?  
 Why should stiff Balbus that through th' gazing rout  
 In triumph rides, scorn his wise friend on foot? 520  
 Who though he lowly bows with humble grace,  
 The purblind Puppet never turns his face,

---

512-36, Who'd think man... in her Vocation: These lines contain generalised references to a state of existing affairs. Mosca (l. 513), Balbus (l. 519), and Vesta (l. 533) represent types of persons, rather than specific persons. l. 513, Mosca: Mosca was a parasitical confederate of Volpone in Jonson's Volpone, or the Fox. l. 519, Balbus: a Roman soldier. l. 533, Vesta: Roman goddess of the hearth. Scour: move about hastily or energetically. (NED).

Nor answers the salute again,  
 His crevat string both sides has wedg'd his Chin:  
 But 'tis not State, nor Gold, nor gay Attire, 525  
 Can the learn'd Soul with vanity inspire;  
 The Book and Sence he understands,  
 Makes him more rich than t' others Lands;  
 He knows though white and soft appears the skin,  
 A rotten carcass may be hid within; 530  
 Though clog'd with Laqueys the gilt Coach does roul,  
 The wallowing Spark within may be an Owl;  
 Though Vesta scour with Coach and Six abroad  
 She's in her warm apartment known a Bawd;  
 Who thriving on the sins o' th' Nation, 535  
 Each minute damns her self in her Vocation.  
 Then if this knowledge we repeat,  
 And view the chances of unconstant fate,  
 Who would be fond of being great?  
 Who would on favour ere depend, 540  
 When there is no such thing as friend,  
 No constant love, no grateful action due,  
 No man that's profit proof, nor woman true?  
 Your friend if wanted shall soon weary prove:  
 Your Mistress haunted shall desert your love: 545  
 Nay, your self against your better self shall hold,  
 And th' vices of your Body damn your Soul.  
 Yet hold, Satyriok Muse, pull in thy rein,

And thy wild reasons sentiments restrain.  
 Though Vice around the Court like lightning rove, 550  
 It cannot sure blast all the Grove.  
 Old loyal Clitus is in fame sublime,  
 He threescore years has fac'd the storms of time,  
 Untainted of the least ungenerous crime;  
 And though his fortune some moist heads decry, 555  
 None touch his Courage or his Loyalty:  
 His part was Valour, Valour the Souldiers bliss,  
 Success was heavens Prerogative, not his.  
 With him brave Cleon joins, the good, the sage,  
 Wise even in youth, and beautiful in age; 560  
 A man grac'd with his prudent Monarchs trust,  
 The truest sign of being just:  
 The Irish Confines loudly can proclaim  
 His Virtue and his Fame:  
 He's brave as Honours self, does Merit noble prize, 565  
 Valiant like Hector, like Uliesses wise.

---

559, Cleon: Cleon was an Athenian general and demagogue; here Cleon represents James Butler, Duke of Ormonde.

561-62, A man grac'd... being just: Ormonde's career was free from any suspicion of double-dealing. Charles II trusted him, and even though Ormonde fell out of favor for seven years, Charles said of him; "Yonder comes Ormonde; I have done all I can to disoblige that man, and to make him as discontented as others; but he will not be out of humour with me; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland." DNB.

563-64, The Irish Confines... Fame: Ormonde was lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1661-1669 and 1677-1685.



There's honest Memnon too, and Battus learn'd by fits,  
 And good Mecenas Patron of the Wits,  
 With some few more which I omit.  
 For now my Muse grows weary of her Theam, 570  
 This Courtly gay fantastick Dream;  
 And to the City steers,  
 The fam'd Metropolis of factious doubts and fears;  
 There she a while lies down,  
 As tired Armies rest ere they attack a Town. 575

## XIV.

Amongst the Grandees gifted to rebel,  
 That this vast buzzing Hive with Faction swell,  
 There's one whose Character is hard to tell;  
 An old Quack Statesman that had rather die  
 Than lose a grain of Popularity, 580  
 Or be accounted Loyal on condition  
 To be thought less a Politician;  
 Some call him Hophni, some Achitophel,

---

567-68, Memnon... Battus... Mecenas: All these names are of classical origin, in keeping with most of the other names used in this satire. Mecenas: This might be Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset. He was the great patron of Restoration authors such as Dryden, D<sup>r</sup>Urfe, Otway, Lee, Etherege, Congreve, Dennis, Prior, and many minor writers.

576-578, Amongst the Grandees... tell: Shaftesbury.

585, Achitophel: "The name Achitophel had been used for several decades, by Royalists and Puritans before there were Whigs and Tories, as a designation for any corrupt political leader. In 1680 a pamphlet entitled Absalom's conspiracy, or the tragedy of treason had definitely linked Monmouth and Shaftesbury as Absalom and Achitophel." Notes for a Collection of English Poems, p. 1184. Perhaps the best known reference to Shaftesbury as Achitophel is Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel.

Others chief Advocate for Hell,  
 Some cry he sure a second Janus is, 585  
 And all things past and future sees,  
 Another rapt with Satyr swears his eyes  
 Upon himself are spies,  
 And silly do their Opticks inward rowl,  
 To watch the subtle motions of his Soul, 590  
 And help of Intellectual light,  
 May guide the Helm o' th' State aright,  
 May view what will hereafter be  
 By their all-seeing quality. 595  
 The erring Ancients much did Argus prize  
 That Royal Centinel for's hundred eyes;  
 If him they so admired, what would they do,  
 If they our passive Hero knew,  
 That sees a hundred ways with two; 600  
 His Body once so active known,

---

601-603. His Body once... with his Gout: On the journey to Breda in 1660, Shaftesbury's carriage was overturned. He suffered an internal abscess which was never cured. In the middle of September, 1680, Shaftesbury was ill of fever. When Shaftesbury was held in the Tower in 1681, he was ill of his old ague. He was afflicted with the gout. In fact, his death in 1683 was attributed partly to an attack of gout and partly to a cessation in the flow from his abscess. DNB.

"His activity indeed was the more wonderful that his health was utterly broken. An accident in early days left behind it an abiding weakness, whose traces were seen in the furrows which seared his long, pale face, in the feebleness of his health, and the nervous tremor which shook his puny frame. The 'pigmy body' was 'fretted to decay' by the 'fiery soul' within it." Green, A Short History of the English People, vol. III, p. 1385.

Dryden (in Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 156-58) says of Shaftesbury:

A fiery soul, which, working out its way,  
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
 And o'er-inform'd the tenement of clay.

Is with Diseases cramp't and useless grown;  
 His Conscience long imprison'd with his Gout,  
 Now cares not to get out,  
 Lest losing the retreat which here she gain'd, 605  
 She no where should be entertain'd;  
 His Bone's his Weather-Glass, and his Back  
 Is his perpetual Almanack,  
 By which he knows ere 'tis too late  
 Both Change of Weather and the State; 610  
 His subtlety so nice his Brethren find,  
 He jealous grows of all Mankind,  
 Much doubts himself, but more those men  
 That he but newly has drawn in,  
 And therefore strange conclusions tries,  
 And to be thought extremely wise,  
 Leaves them to act, himself t' advise.

---

616-623, And to be thought... hide his own: Shaftesbury did enough things in opposition to the court on his own, but he also used other people. When the Popish terror broke out, he cherished the agitation. "He was from the first foremost in his zeal for the plot.... that he could have believed in the plot is impossible.... On 4 November the great attack was opened at his instance by Lord Russell in the commons; it was proposed to address the king to remove James from his person and councils."

Shaftesbury took "every step to agitate for the reassembling of parliament on 28 Jan. 1680, which it was feared Charles meant to postpone. He was one of the ten peers who presented a petition in this sense, and he probably set on foot the general petitioning which now took place.... On 28 Jan. the king declared his intention of sending for James. Shaftesbury thereupon urged his friends in the council by letter to resign, in order that they might justify themselves before the country.... In March came news of a catholic plot in Ireland.... The information was undoubtedly false, and Shaftesbury could not have been its dupe. The Court laughed at it; but London, where Shaftesbury's influence was very powerful, sustained him in the agitation. The judicial murder of Plunket a year later must be laid at his door." DNB

Thus as some Trumpeter to Battel drawn,  
 Fights not himself, but still sets others on;  
 He ne'er himself would th' danger meet, 620  
 But employ'd those that had least Wit;  
 And as some Grandees of late times have done,  
 Made their Rebellion hide his own.  
 There nothing can so great a Bugbear be  
 To's speculative sense as Monarchy; 625  
 He hates to hear the name of King,  
 And wishes there were no such thing:  
 And as a skilful Rider oft is fur'd,  
 (That sees his Enemy much better hors'd)  
 To thrust him from his seat, and so 630  
 Get ground of his well-mounted Foe;  
 So he true Jocky of the State;

---

626-27, He hates... such things: If D'Urfey could imply that Shaftesbury was anti-monarchical, and indirectly associate him with the Commonwealth, it would injure Shaftesbury. D'Urfey appears to be distorting Shaftesbury's actual principles, because Shaftesbury helped restore Charles II. These lines spoken by Achitophel (Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 299-302) probably express fairly well Shaftesbury's real motive:

"... nobler is a limited command,  
 Giv'n by the love of all your native land,  
 Than a successive title, long and dark,  
 Drawn from the moldy rolls of Noah's ark."

628-35, And as a skilful Rider... might only ride: Shaftesbury wanted to get James out of the way as successor to the throne, so that Monmouth might have a chance. He feigned a belief in the Popish Plot to further this design. Shaftesbury attacked Ormonde for his rule of Ireland, and he helped bring about Danby's fall. Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, l. 174: He was "Resolv'd to rule or ruin the STATE."

That at his Post ne'er came too late,  
 Dismounts all his Antagonists beside,  
 That he himself might only ride. 635  
 Ambition in his Face does plain appear  
 Through its thin Veil, a sly Phanatick flear,  
 And you without a Perspective may see  
 Pride, in each Feature of Humility:  
 State-Gamster like he th' Nation riaks, 640  
 And Meekness is his best of Politicks;  
 So the unfathom'd Flood does smile and sooth,  
 No danger threatens, all is calm and smooth,  
 Tempting th' unwary Traveller to wade in,  
 Who then too late finds no way out again; 645  
 'Tis deep as Hell, and no redress is found,  
 But the unhappy Wretch must sink and drown.

---

636, Ambition: Shaftesbury had ambition for himself through Monmouth. In the satirical writings of the period, his overwhelming ambition is everywhere mentioned. Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, l. 198, where he is said to have "wild Ambition."

637, Phanatick flear; see note to l. 161. Phanatick: a subtle device to associate Shaftesbury with the fanatics and nonconformists.

638-41, And you without a Perspective... Politicks; Humility (l. 639) is linked with Phanatick (l. 637). The Puritans pretended humility, but it soon became disguised pride. l. 638, Perspective; an optical glass, an aid for the vision (obsolete). ME.D. l. 641, Meekness is his best of Politicks; Shaftesbury posed as a servant of the people.

## XV.

To match this Rabbi there is one,  
 Not equall'd but by him in all the Town,  
 The Cities Mouth by which she tells 650  
 Her Fears, her Prophecies, and Oracles;  
 A man whom zealous Numbers join  
 T' enrich with their own darling Coin,  
 And as Venetians deal with Jews,  
 Commit it carefully to use, 655  
 Not that they do impose this trust,  
 Incourag'd by his fame of being just;  
 For he this thriving Maxim has profest,

---

648-49, To match this Rabbi... all the Town: D'Urfey is speaking of Shaftesbury as this Rabbi, and the one linked with him is George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. Rabbi; Cf. Dryden's reference to Shaftesbury in Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 187-89;

The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.  
 In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abbethdin  
 With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean;

'Abbethdin' was a rabbinical term for a high officer of justice among the Jews; Shaftesbury had been lord chancellor.

652-53, A man whom... coin: Buckingham was reported to possess great influence with the dissenters in London.

658-59, For he this thriving... interest: Buckingham had always looked out for himself, even during the Commonwealth. The intrigues of Buckingham during the Commonwealth, and his policy of sacrificing the interests of the church to the political exigencies of the moment deepened the breach between him and the ministers of Charles II. In the spring of 1655 it was reported that the Duke had made a secret visit to Dover to confer with one of Cromwell's agents

That th' Conscience of the Wise is interest;  
 But that in proper time a Bank might swell,  
 To bribe dissenting Brethren to rebel;  
 He's one that still with Beauty keeps a League,

---

658-59, For he this thriving... interest; (Continued) on the question of his return to England and the restoration of his estates. After the return of Charles II, Buckingham was taken back into favor. DNB. In 1663, he formed a plan to make Frances Teresa Stuart the king's mistress and govern Charles through her, but he failed. Grammont, Memoirs, p. 141. Buckingham then became opposition leader in Parliament, and was later accused of treasonable practices. He was arrested and confined to the Tower, but upon his release he was restored to his places as a gentleman of the king's bedchamber and as a member of the privy council. Pepys' Diary, September 25, 1667.

662-78, He's one that still... 'twas Lechery; One of the greatest scandals of the time was Buckingham's affair with the Countess of Shrewsbury. Her husband challenged Buckingham to a duel. Shrewsbury died as a result of wounds got in the duel, but the participants had already been pardoned by the king; so Buckingham remained free. Pepys' Diary, February 24, 1668. Buckingham continued to live openly with the Countess, though even lax public opinion of the day was surprised at his impunity. Grammont, Memoirs, p. 299. In January, 1674, a combined attack upon Buckingham was commenced in both houses of parliament. In the House of Lords, the trustees of the young Earl of Shrewsbury petitioned for redress, alleging that Buckingham not only ostentatiously lived with the Countess, but that they had shamelessly caused a base-born son of theirs to be interred in Westminster Abbey under the title of Earl of Coventry. Buckingham put in a long apologetic narrative, professing penitence and promising to avoid scandal in the future, but the lords required the Countess and the Duke to give bonds for ten thousand pounds that they would not cohabit again. DNB. l. 675, spent a fair Estate; Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 550-62.

In squand'ring wealth was his peculiar art;  
 Nothing ~~wast~~ unrewarded but desert.  
 Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late,  
 He had his jest, and they had his estate.

And his past Life was famous for Intrigue,  
 He haunted Brothels and grew lewd,  
 The better to distinguish good, 665  
 With hoary Bawds kept formal Interest,  
 To sift into the Nature of the Beast;  
 And as some Parents fondly use  
 To send their Children to the Stews,  
 Urge 'em to Wenches, Wine and Dice, 670  
 That they the sooner may grow wise,  
 And see the vanity of Vice;  
 So he for many years did bend his will  
 To know the Quintessence of ill;  
 In wild Night Frolicks spent a fair Estate, 675  
 And with each suburb Jilt grew intimate,  
 For Moral Virtues sake, as some agree,  
 But others bluntly swear 'twas Lechery,  
 An itching Demon which long since did dwell  
 In his hot Veins, but now transform'd to Zeal, 680  
 Zeal that inspires him to debate

---

681-84, Zeal that inspires... loudly bawl; Charles had prorogued parliament for fifteen months, and as soon as it met again in 1677, Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and two other lords raised the question whether parliament was not dissolved by this prerogation, it being contrary to two unrepealed statutes of Edward III. Burnet says "the Duke of Buckingham was for everything that would embroil matters.... So, upon, the first opening the session, the debate was brought on, and these lords stood against the whole house.... But then a second debate arose... whether these lords were not liable to censure for offering a debate



The Peoples Doubts, and Errors of the State,  
 And makes him in the Publick Hall  
 Echoing with Noise and Nonsense loudly baul.  
 There is a time by custom counted fit,  
 When numerous crowds in consultation meet,  
 To pry into the States condition,  
 And severally play the Politician;  
 By force then proud Green Apron Tyrants sway,

685

---

681-84, Zeal that inspires... loudly baul: (Continued)  
 that might create great distractions in the subjects' minds,  
 concerning the legality of a parliament.... It was said...  
 here was a design to put the nation into great disorder,  
 and to bring the legality of a parliament into dispute. So  
 it was carried to oblige them to ask pardon as delinquents;  
 otherwise it was resolved to send them to the Tower. They  
 refused to ask pardon, and so were sent thither." Burnet's  
History of My Own Time, Vol. II, pp. 116-118.

Buckingham" endeavoured in every possible way to under-  
 mine the influence of the Duke of York. The feud between  
 them was so notorious that at one time Buckingham professed  
 to believe that James intended to have him assassinated."  
 Pepys' Diary, VIII, pp. 135, 141, 151.

In 1678-69 Buckingham was entering new intrigues with  
 France. Then, "when the revelations about the popish plot  
 took place, Buckingham showed great zeal in eliciting evi-  
 dence, and boldly accused the chief justice of favouring  
 papists. All his local influence was used to promote the  
 return of whig candidates to parliament." DNB.

689, Green Apron: 'Green apron' was a contemptuous  
 term to refer to a lay preacher. NED. Compare that defi-  
 nition with the seventeenth century "blue apron statesman"  
 and "blue apron." A "blue apron statesman" was a lay poli-  
 tician, a tradesman who interfered with the affairs of the  
 nation. For "blue apron," the allusion is to the blue  
 apron which some of the Presbyterian preachers used to  
 throw over their preaching-tub before they began to ad-  
 dress the people. Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p.  
 149ff.

And Legislative Orders bluntly disobey;

690

They so courageous will appear,

By powerful vote, ear deafning voice,

And indefatigable noise:

Two Tribunes for the People then are chose,

Bulwarks 'gainst foreign and domestick foes;

695

And those in the Election soonest thrive

That dare intrench upon Prerogative,

And raise rebellious Tenets high,

---

694-98, Two Tribunes... Loyalty: (In English literature, a popular leader is sometimes called a tribune. NED.)

On June 24, 1680, Slingsby Bethel and Henry Cornish were chosen sheriffs of London, "though they were unable to serve in consequence of their not having taken the oaths commanded by the Corporation Act." Before the date of the second election, Bethel and Cornish had taken the sacrament though they were independents and thus duly qualified themselves for office. They were elected by a large majority over the court candidates. INE. l. 698, raise rebellious tenets high; l. 703, Rebel; Bethel, "a known republican in principle" (Burnet), and Cornish were the candidates of the Whig or anti-court party. Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 685-615, on Shimei [Bethel]

Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring  
 Of zeal to God and hatred to his king,  
 .....  
 Nor ever was he known an oath to vent,  
 Or curse, unless against the government.  
 .....  
 The city, to reward his pious hate  
 Against his master, chose him magistrate.  
 .....  
 If any durst his factious friends accuse,  
 He pack'd a jury of dissenting Jews [Whigs];  
 Whose fellow-feeling in the godly cause  
 Would free the suff'ring saint from human laws.  
 For laws are only made to punish those  
 Who serve the king, and to protect his foes.  
 If any leisure time he had from pow'r,  
 (Because 't is sin to misemploy an hour,)  
 His bus'ness was, by writing, to persuade  
 That kings were useless, and a clog to trade.

Upon the neck of Loyalty;

But that such Villany should dwell 700

In purblind Zeal,

To place in Office of such weighty trust

A rebel amongst all his Tribe the worst,

Is the severest Instance that we lie

Slaves to the Yoke of impudent Presbytery. 705

VI.

Ungrateful Vulgar, had you none to choose,

But one that all obedience did refuse?

Could you with no less Fiend begin,

But Lucifer himself must be drawn in?

Of zealous Rabbies still you had enough, 710

Prophets for Oath, Bravoos for Proof,

---

710, Rabbies; Shaftesbury and Buckingham have both been referred to indirectly as such.

711, Prophets for Oath: Titus Oates and Ezrael Tonge visited Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and Oates deposed to the truth of a long written narrative which he said was a popish plot to murder the king and put James on the throne. Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, l. 655, about Oates as a prophet: "But where the witness fail'd, the prophet spoke." Bravoos for Proof: A bravo was a hired assassin. Six weeks after Oates had appeared before Godfrey, Godfrey was found murdered, and a panic-stricken public promptly laid the crime at the door of Roman Catholic priests. Two Catholics and a Protestant were executed for the murder, but historians believe that Oates and his associates caused Godfrey to be murdered to give color to their false allegations, and to arouse popular opinion in favor of their agitation. DNB. "Corah [Oates] might for Agag's [Godfrey's] murther call." Absalom and Achitophel, l. 676.

Could not this serve, but you must fall  
 More low, and into Office call  
 A factious Fury worse than all?  
 Like th' stubborn Israelites of old you move, 715  
 And their Enthusiastic Whimsies prove,  
Ashteroth and Moloch, Idols famous known,  
 Goggle Eyed Baal, Gawdy Accaron  
 They left, nor longer in their errors trod,  
 The Calf of B---- was the darling God; 720  
 That only was design'd  
 To be ador'd by Calves of worsser kind.  
 The bellowing many headed Beast,  
 That groan'd as if by Tyranny oppress,  
 Yet were themselves the cause of their unrest; 725  
 But now we talk of causes and of fears  
 Observe who next appears,

---

715-19, Like th' stubborn Israelites... errors trod:  
 Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 49-50.

(Gods they had tried of every shape and size,  
 That god-smiths could produce, or priests devise.)

716, Enthusiastic: In O'Urfeys time this usually  
 meant "fanatical".

720-22, The Calf of B----... worsser kind: Possibly this  
 is intended to mean "Calf of Bethel," associating the Calf  
 of Baal and Bethel, for if it simply means "Baal," why should  
 O'Urfeys not write it out? The "Calf of Bethel" would be  
 Shaftesbury, for Bethel had helped pick the Whig jury which  
 freed Shaftesbury. l. 722, Calves of worsser kind: the Whigs  
 of London who were followers of Shaftesbury.

723, many headed Beast: commonplace in the writings  
 of the time to specify the rabble.

And see to the great Mart Villanios come,  
 That Plots abroad, and Rimps at home;  
 That to be Tribune rackt his haggard Wit, 730  
 But wiser Judgments voted him more fit  
 To be a Scavenger and cleanse the Street,  
 Swore he was better skill'd by approbation  
 To purge a Nuisance than a Nation;  
 Which injury so near to his heart did grow, 735  
 That he resentment of the wrong to shew,  
 Immur'd himself three days in Bales of Callico;  
 There resolutely took the sullen pains  
 To shrowd his popular projecting brains:  
 A mighty loss this to the Tribe did seem, 740  
 For now no more advise was given by him,  
 Let th' tottering Nation sink or swim.  
 Until as peevish Lovers woo,  
 That rail, and swear each others hatred ture,  
 At last forget their Oaths and think't no sin 745  
 To kiss the perjury off and love again.  
 So he, though when enrag'd an Oath had made,  
 And solemnly forsworn the Canting Trade;  
 Yet such a natural Itch he to Rebellion had,  
 That willingly all wrongs he could forget, 750  
 To Club again and plague the State.

## XVII.

Happy the Man, my Son, whose honest heart

Disloyalty could ne'er subvert,  
 That like a Diamond keeps its constant trust,  
 As that its beauty free from rust, 755  
 Which nothing can destroy but its own dust,  
 Cherishing noble Loyalty,  
 Till Fate unclaws Mortality,  
 And sends him crown'd with Vertue to find room  
 Amongst fam'd Heroes in some honour'd Tomb; 760  
 There th' Body sleeps, but th' Royal Mind  
 Within Fames brightest Altars is enshrin'd,  
 Sublime as heaven, and shall be  
 Eterniz'd in posterity,  
 And as a Phenix in th' Arabian Groves, 765  
 Whose pangs of age kind death removes,  
 Breeds from the ashes of her spicy Urn,  
 (The Cedars top where she did burn)  
 Another off-spring that will be  
 Far more admir'd than she. 770  
 So he that Loyalty does prize,  
Loyalty the noblest Vertue of the Wise,  
 With honour'd praise is ever stor'd,  
 Alive renown'd, when dead ador'd,  
 Lov'd by the pious and the brave, 775  
 And shall, like sacred Virgil, have

---

758, unclaws: literally, "unwinds;" figuratively,  
 "ruins." NED.

Eternal Laurels grow around his Grave.

Whilst Faction that lean wither'd hag,

That can of nothing but her Treason brag,

With Infamy is spotted like the Plague.

780

Do but that Nations misery survey

That glories in her will to disobey;

Observe the fate of that most wretched thing

That for his interest abjures his King;

And with an unrelenting eye,

785

Thou'lt see the one with fears distracted lie,

The other infamously die.

Wouldst thou live well, my Son, and free from ill,

Still let thy Conscience sway thy Will.

Let that and Reason still controul,

790

And guide th' inconstant Orders of thy Soul;

Wild Passion, let Religion rule,

And look upon an Atheist as a Fool;

He that a Deity denies,

As some sly Devil in disguise,

795

That with his hellish Tenets would deceive

Weak credulous fools that can believe.

Look on thy Countries grievance like a friend,

And pity faults thou canst not mend;

But seek not by unlawful course

800

To lance its wounds and make 'em worse:

Remember whom Rebellion bloody grew,

The Rebels with the State were ruin'd too.

To generous ends bestow thy wealth,  
 Be temperate for th' sake of health; 805  
 And if amongst life's chances thou dost prove  
 Ever so mad to fall in love,  
 To thy charm'd Senses aid thy Reason call,  
 Or Beauty will confound 'em all:  
 For as a Poet, whose free Fancy roves 810  
 In sacred Rapture to Elizian Groves,  
 Imagines flowry beds and hills of joy,  
 Where naked Angels sleeping lie,  
 Builds golden Palaces with Crystal Pillars grac'd,  
 And Diamond Doors on golden Hinges plac'd, 815  
 Creates embroider'd Crotts where Cupids dwell,  
 Adorn'd with luscious Fruit and Flowers of Sense-delighting smell;  
 And though he knows himself did this create,  
 He's fond as if 'twere true, and loves the dear conceit:  
 Such beauteous Woman is, such fancied still, 820  
 Her Smiles can save, her frowns can kill,  
 Her person such Divinity does wear.  
 That tast and smell and all perfection's there.  
 Extatick Rapture transport all  
 That we Elizium can call; 825  
 If then in this soft snare,  
 Her blooming Check, her Eye, or Hair,  
 Thy heart her prisoner she retains,



And thou wantst power to break the chains;  
 To the great God o' th' Grape thy self assign, 830  
 And there's a sovereign power in Wine,  
 Shall give thee instant liberty,  
 From all her Charms and she,  
 And in a moment make thee free,  
 As frozen Age, or as unfeeling Infancy. 835

Here stopt the reverend Moralist, whose look  
 Sufficiently confirm'd the Truths he spoke;  
 Joyful he was to see his words had won  
 Resentment in his Son,  
 Whose cloudy Aspect did declare 840  
 Within his breast what passions were at war;  
 He now on bended knee low as the earth,  
 Begg pardon of the Author of his birth,  
 For errors past, and vows to be  
 Henceforth the Child of his Morality. 845  
 With joyful look the Sire his Convert grac'd,  
 Thrice blest the kneeling Youth, and thrice embrac'd;  
 And as the Kingly Prophet once did Absalom,  
 Forgave his sins of youth, caress'd and brought him home.

---

839, Resentment: Obsolete use of the word, meaning "a feeling or emotion." It was in common usage with this definition between 1650-1700. NED.

848, Kingly Prophet: David.

849, Forgave... home: David forgave Absalom for killing his (Absalom's) own brother. See II Samuel 13, 14.

And now the glittering God of day 850  
Had through opposing Elements made way,  
In Neptunes deep Recess withdrew  
His Rays from mortal view;  
With borrowed Beams th' inconstant Moon  
Possess his place, and counterfeit a Moon. 855  
Laborious Nature seem'd at rest,  
And soft repose crown'd Man and Beast,  
When to my peaceful Lodging I retir'd,  
Well pleas'd at what I heard, and Honesty Admir'd.

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FINIS

The Malecontent;

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A

SATYR;

---

Being the Sequel of the  
 Progress of Honesty,  
 or a view  
 Of Court and City.

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London,

Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, Bookseller to his Royal  
 Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhil, 1684.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Malecontent was published late in 1685. The Term Catalogues,  
 Ed. Edward Arber, as cited in Day, The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey, p. 11.

## EPISTLE.

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 To

His Royal Highness

The

DUKE.

When Rome had aw'd the World with her Alarms, 5  
 And peacefull Arts succeeded dreadful Arms;  
Virgil and Horace did the Empire treat,  
 And laid inspiring Verse at Caesar's feet;  
 Imperial justice Crown'd their heads with Bayes,  
 As they his conquests with Immortal praise. 10  
 With their Ambition, though not equal Art,  
 Oblig'd by Duty, and a Loyal heart,  
 Your gratefull Poet, (Sacred Sir) presumes  
 To Court great Britain's Genius, as they Rome's;  
 Belov'd of Heaven, great Author of our bliss, 15  
 Rebellion's scourge, defender of our Peace;  
 That the Rude Nation Godlike didst inspire,  
 Kindle the Clod with influencing fire;  
 Till Reason, like th' eternal Soul did move } 20  
 O'er confus'd Chaos, and like awfull Jove,  
 Form'd the dull Lump to Order and to Love:  
 You, like the Monarch of this Factious Isle,

---

 4, Duke: James, Duke of York.
23, Monarch: Charles II.

## Epistle Dedicatory

Did on your Foes enervate Malice smile;  
 Grasping the Brand, even then you could forgive,  
 Stop the revenging Bolt, and let 'em live, 25  
 But judgment still is sure; what you neglect,  
 Their own despair will Brutishly effect.  
 Witness He late who by Rack'd Conscience sway'd,  
 Murth'ring himself, his horrid Cause displaid.  
 So when mysterious God and Man was led 30  
 To death, by Judas Impiously betraid;  
 He, knowing that the Plot by him design'd  
 Had doom'd the mighty Saviour of Mankind,  
 Return'd the Bribe, and with Hell's rage possest,  
 Discharg'd a Soul, that knew no place of rest. 35  
 Degrees of Crimes will have degrees of Woe,  
 But Rebels are all double damn'd below.  
 Had the poor Felon, that was Crucify'd,  
 Been found a Rebel, or a Regicide,  
 The great Redeemer trembling at his vice, 40  
 Had soon revok'd his Grant of Paradise.

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25, On your Foes enervate Malice: Foes is possessive.  
enervate; weak, weakened. NED.

28-29, Witness he... Cause displaid: Arthur Capel,  
 Earl of Essex, who had cut his throat with a razor while in  
 the Tower awaiting trial for his share in the Rye House Plot.  
 For further details see the notes to part XII of this poem.  
 Essex is referred to there as Cambel.

## Epistle Dedicatory

Mercy is Heaven's chiefest Attribute,  
 And greatest Crimes make it most absolute;  
 But stubborn Reprobates will never mend,  
 The more you pardon, they the more offend. 45  
 For Pharaoh's Court obey'd divine Command  
 No longer than the Locusts plagu'd his Land;  
 The Curse remov'd, they the Wise Prophet scorn,  
 And beastlike to their Excrement return.  
 Your vertus (Sir) unshockt by fear, or harm, 50  
 Knows the weak malice of the Snakes you warm;  
 Blest with your Beams, they wriggled till they're hot;  
 Then seed'd venom spreads into a Plot.  
 The Nations Ague, every Plot has been,  
 Or Hell's dire Engine late with Terrour seen; 55  
 When Brutish Rabble turn'd the vast Machine.  
 But you to heal the Kingdom's frenzy come,  
 And now again the Olive branches bloom:  
 The peacefull Dove may o'er the Deluge fly, 60  
 Pearch on high Trees, and murmur Songs of Joy;  
 You are in Caesar safe, and he in you;

---

61. Caesar: Charles II. He had been referred to in other works of the time as Caesar;

If you can Repent sincerely,  
Caesar has a God-like mind;  
Purge out Fractiousness severely,  
Caesar will be always kind.

"The Complete Citty; Or, The Man of Fashion,"  
 in Broadside Ballads of the Restoration Period.

The best of Subjects, and of Brothers too;  
 Fixt to his Int'rest with Religious Care,  
 Patron of Peace, and Father of the War;  
 To whose known judgment, Arts and Arms belong, 65  
Bellona's Buckler, and Apollo's song.  
 Whoever su'd with Tears or bended knee,  
 That was not succour'd by your Clemency?  
 The Warriour has for noble Scars reward,  
 The Widows and the Orphans Cry are heard; 70  
 Afflicted Merit is no more distrest;  
 So much of Pity fills your sacred Breast:  
 Yet Chatt'ring MOMUS is allow'd to rail,  
 Cant without wit, and without Satyr write; 75  
 He onely Snarls and Grins, but dares not bite.  
 Envy, like Trophies, decks a General:

---

64, Father of the War: James had advocated war with the Dutch, and had taken part in some of the sea battles during 1665.

73, MOMUS: Momus was the god of mockery among the ancients, who turned to ridicule whatever the gods did. He was expelled from Heaven for his criticisms. MOMUS here is a general reference to all who railed against James.

76, He onely Snarls... dares not bite: possibly a pun on "Cynic," which comes from Greek ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ, "dog-like, currish." MOMUS snarls but does not bite.

77-80, Envy, like Trophies... mounts you high: Anyone worthy of winning trophies and honors, such as a general might, can be certain that his worthiness will arouse envy. Thus does James' worth arouse envy, which may be rightly considered a mark of excellence. The cackling Geese, the common rabble, are railing against James, and the more they rail, the more will discerning people realize his worth.

The cackling Geese once sav'd Rome's Capitol.  
Under the Crowds reproach the more you lye,  
The more discerning judgment mounts you high.  
So into bliss those best deserve to come,  
That for the Truth dare suffer Martyrdom.

80

Great Sir,

Your Highness's

most devoted and

most obedient Servant,

T. D'urfey.



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PREFACE

to the

READER.

I am in some sort oblig'd to declare, that no particular resentment of my own, farther than the sense I had of the general vices of the times, and for the Information of the publick, induced me to write this Satyr, or give it this Title; but I confess I now do, and always did think it both my duty, and every ones else that is Capacitated, to lash and expose Enormities of so damnable a quality as the characters in the following Stanza's stand tainted with: And therefore if some severe observers, that may perhaps in this Mirrour see the shadow of an intimate Friend or Acquaintance, should think the Reflexions too gross, and open, let such be pleas'd to Consider on the subject matter, the substances, and horrid Theme that inspires the satyrick Pen, and then doubtless (if they are not well-willers to the Mathematicks themselves) they will generously allow, that Crimes of this dreadful Nature ought not be Complemented, nor Guilded o'er with Rhetorick in such a manner, as if the Authour rather design'd to shew the virtue of his own Poetry, than the vice he was writing on. 'Tis true there may be offences which no Poet is so much a Cynick always to treat at this blunt Rate; the surly Muse may be strok'd into good nature when the sin comes within the list of Venial, as for example, Pride may be gloss'd over and call'd Presence of mind, or Courtly breeding; Fornication may be poetically styl'd the Error of Licentious blood, the Imperfection of irregular

Youth, not guided by reason or religious Judgment; the railing Whig,<sup>1</sup> or what's worse, the Trimmer<sup>2</sup> (provided he speak no Treason) by the obliging Satyrist may be tenderly us'd, because he has a way with him, and expresses nothing but according to his Conscience; the sordid Miser may be rendered a wise and provident Person, nay, even the crying sin Adultery, by the varnish and illustration of Poetry may be guilded o'er with Moral justice, provided the Wife be Old and Bedrid, and the young Husband wants an heir for his Estate; but Parricide, privy Conspiracy, Rebellion, Incest, Murther, and such like, must never expect such favour; the Satyr there should lash to the bloud, and make each stroke so terrible, and the shame so obvious, that the weakest judgment may comprehend, and feel the meaning: Neither am I of an opinion with them that affirm, that Satyr should tickle till it Smarts; I rather, like a good Surgeon, would have it smart soundly at first, the wound will tickle enough when it is healing; and I am very apt to believe the undaunted Juvenal was in this mind, for I never read in any of his Satyrs, where he was daubing any vice, with intent to lessen it, but, encouraged by his perfect honesty, and man-like bravery of soul,

---

<sup>1</sup>The two "parties" or political groups of this time were the Whigs and the Tories. The Tories were those of the court, and those who followed Charles II and James. The Whigs were the party out of power during Charles' reign.

<sup>2</sup>A Trimmer was one who sought to mediate between extremes of rival parties. In the seventeenth century, when party spirit ran high, the term was applied in derision to anyone who took the middle ground between the Whigs and Tories.

always painted it in its natural Sables;<sup>3</sup> a Fool was by him drawn like a Fool, in spite of his guilt Coach, gaudy Trappings, and numberless Acres of dirt, and a Traitour, like a Traitour, though his fortune made him a Senatour; this I hold as a good example for every just Author, and which I am resolv'd to follow, let the Consequence happen as it pleases. Those that have not read the first Part of this Poem, vis. (The Progress of Honesty, written in the beginning of Oates's Plot.) will be the less satisfied with these Sheets, not that I doubt but the Reflexions will be easily understood, for I have always observ'd that Rhubarb is more pleasing to our Nation than Honey, which, though I am sorry to know, yet I cannot remedy; and, had I less Zeal for my Country, I should be less diligent in exposing its faults; but, living under the Government of so good and gracious a Sovereign, I should think my self unworthy of a smile from him, or the least blessing of his Royal favour, if I should not, with my utmost vigour and severest Genius, expose and render odious to futurity, the unnatural Agents and Associatours in so horrible a Conspiracy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>D'Urfey is speaking of the savage manner of Juvenal and Persius and the urbane manner of Horace. He prefers the Juvenalian style, as did the majority of the satirical writers of his time. Juvenal's extant works consist of sixteen satires, depicting contemporary society and denouncing its vices. Sables: blackness.

<sup>4</sup>The Rye House Plot. It was a conspiracy in 1683 among some of the more violent followers of Shaftesbury to seize Charles II and James, on their return from Newmarket, at the Rye House. The plot failed and brought to light a combination of parliamentary Whigs, who, while perhaps intending no personal violence against the king, contemplated seizing him and compelling him to summon a parliament. Lord William Russell, Algernon Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Lord Grey, and the Earl of Essex were among those implicated in the plot. Russell and Sidney had been executed before the writing of this poem, and Essex had committed suicide while in the Tower awaiting trial.

## The Malecontent.

A  
Poem.

## I.

Aurora now had blusht upon the Day,  
 And driven Night's shades away,  
 Giving the glorious Monarch of the Morn  
 A Summons to return,  
 And bless the World with his propitious Rays, 5  
 The early Lark sung Anthems in the Skies,  
 The watchfull Cock with shrill and Echoing voice  
 Had told the Husbandman 'twas time to rise,  
 The welcome Fruit of his past Toil to reap,  
 Nor longer give his pretious hours to sleep; 10  
 The chattering Rooks, wak'd by disturbing light,  
 From lefty Trees where they had slept that Night,  
 Flew to each others Nests, to kiss and play,  
 Telling their sable Loves the business of the day,  
 And on what Farmer's stubble they should prey; 15  
 The air was cool, the weather was serene,  
 No envious Cloud did the Sun's Luster screen,  
 But gentle Calms o'erspread the Seas;  
 The Heavens and Earth seem'd full of Joy, and gay and green the Trees.

## II.

When \*Errour, our late wild ungovern'd Youth,  
 Newly converted to the Truth

20  
\*Vide The Progress  
of Honesty, the  
third Page.

And by his Father's sage advice brought in  
 From the wide, pleasant, but destructive, paths of Sin,  
 Rose from the humble Couch whereon he lay,  
 And where with watry Eyes he past the Night's fatigue away; 25  
 For fatal visions had disturb'd his breast,  
 And Rob'd him of his darling Rest;  
 Visions of Beauties snares, and Love in vain  
 Of souls despairing, and Eternal Pain,  
 Of hellish Traitors that were damn'd for gain, 30  
 Of wealth and honours promist, but forgot,  
 And of a horrid Plot,  
 That Devils in the shape of Saints devise  
 To murder Kings and root up Monarchies.  
 His constitution and complexion were 35  
 True Omens of his future care;  
 A Sable melancholy clog'd his bloud,  
 Which seldom e'er presages good,  
 And deadly Paleness fill'd his cheeks, which show'd  
 As if he thought his life did vainly Waste, 40  
 Or had reflected on the Ills his Youth had past.  
 Oft would he Start, and heavens bright Mansions view,

---

32, horrid Plot: Rye House Plot.

34, murder Kings and root up Monarchies: The Rye House plotters probably did not intend to murder the king; they wanted to compel him to summon a parliament.

44, fond: foolish (archaic). wanton: capricious, giddy (obsolete). NED.

Oft Sigh and Cry, vain foolish World Adieu;  
 Thou Trifle which the fond and wanton prize,  
 But Inconvenience to the Good and Wise; 45  
 How with thy Pride, thy Pomp and State,  
 Performance nothing, though thy promise great,  
 Have I too often been betray'd,  
 And caught in the strong Snares, thy Arts have laid?  
 Why was I born to be deceiv'd? 50  
 And why, alas, wert thou believ'd?  
 Thus vext by Love, and some preferments loss,  
 Which he from Court, and Great ones promis'd was,  
 The wretched Youth from his Apartment went,  
 Which weeping and destructive Cares have Spent, 55  
 And on his brow was painted large the scene of discontent.

## III.

Through verdant Meads, and flow'ry Vales he goes,  
 Where many a Beauteous Rose  
 Delightfull Odours did dispense  
 To his too stupid and Neglectfull Sense, 60  
 Blushing as if they thought it were a Crime,  
 Not to be Ravisht in the prime;  
 Each Gentle Rivulet and Purling Brook  
 Mourns his dejected look,  
 Seeming to Murmur Pity, and relate 65  
 The story of his Melancholy fate;  
 And every pretty Warbler of the Wood,

As if his Woes they understood,  
 Kept time with his Complaints, and wept, and sung  
 Sad Notes of Woe, taught by his mournfull tongue. 70  
 Thus Plung'd and hurried by his restless thought  
 At last to a high mount he got,  
 Barren as Nature, ere the God obey'd,  
 Or Chaos ere the great creating Word was said.  
 The fleecy sheep that fed thereon were lean, 75  
 As a long seven Years famine there had bin;  
 Their wretched Bones peept through their Skin,  
 Like Fairie land shew'd the forgotten place,  
 Blest with no wholesome Plant nor virdant blade of Grass.  
 A Lofty Cliff there stood that did Survey 80  
 Some forty fathoms down the Sea,  
 Whose Billows envying such Aspiring height,  
 Seem'd with Impetuous might  
 To undermine its Root, and make it bow  
 Its towering front to the salt Deepa below; 85  
 There looking down upon the foaming Beach,  
 Sate a forlorn uncomfortable Wretch,  
 Grizled with hair, by Sorrow, and by Years,  
 His Sullen face bedew'd with Tears,  
 Lookt like the Figure of Mortality, 90  
 Or Man in his first State of misery;

Savage his Mein, and wretched his Attire,  
 Yet lofty thoughts did in his breast Conspire,  
 Which gave this utterance to his Tongue,  
 How long, base World, he cry'd, how long 95  
 Like a poor shackl'd Prisoner must I be  
 Passive Spectator of thy Villany?  
 Why, more than crawling Insects of the Earth,  
 Must I have Cause to Curse my Birth?  
 The Birds, and Beasts, and Fish in Seas 100  
 Are with the order of their living pleas'd,  
 Nay Fools, and the unthinking live in Peace;  
 But I, a wretch that heaven design'd to Cross,  
 For Vertue am despis'd, am honest to my loss.  
 Thus spoke the Satyrist, A man that had, 105  
 Through all the Sciences Inspection made;  
 Profound in Knowledge, and in Judgment bold,  
 Wise as the fam'd Philosophers of Old,  
 Austers in life, and one that could  
 In highest Schools dispute with each degree 110  
 From sacred Reason down to pedant Sophistry.

#### IV.

His name was Malecontent, whom with a gracefull bow

---

112, Malecontent: During the seventeenth century, a malecontent was one who was "indisposed to acquiesce in the existing administration of affairs; one inclined to rebellion or mutiny; restless and disaffected." NED. Malecontent does not represent a specific person.



Error accosted, and Saluting low

His Ruthfull discontents desir'd to know,

And why upon the Sterile uncouth plains he wandred so: 115

A secret Joy his visage did express

To find a Sociate in that lonely place,

And therefore beg'd to know the tenour of his Case;

To whom the Satyrist reply'd,

In what obscure place do'st thou reside? 120

What secret Den, or Cave, that do'st not know

The Curse of humane kind and General Cause of Woe?

My private Sorrows in particular,

Alas, not worth description are:

Condemn'd to my ill Stars, 'twas my fixt lot, 125

To be a prey to a rich Potent Sot;

That Nature made an Ass, and so preferment got:

For be it known to all the men of Wit,

'Tis still the Fool that has the best Estate;

Wisdom is mild and modest, free from pride, 130

And with an humble portion satisfy'd;

And though he nothing gets, he has the sense,

To practice patience, and not wrong his Prince;

But the Bold Fool will to preferment rise,

For none e'er know her Court the Good and Wise: 135

Kings, like the World's great Influencing light,

Spread round their glories to the Peoples fight;

But still some Tall Oak gets between,

And humble Shrubs are never seen.

The flattering, pushing, oringing Knave 140

The foremost Post will have,

Whilst bashful Worth is waiting like a Slave;

Who though he Covets little, much deserves,

The Sordid World neglects him, and he Starves.

Who therefore would a Tenant be, 145

To this vast ill built Frame of Villany,

That has a generous Soul,

And can by one bold stroke ill fate controul?

Who would be bit by ill bred Dogs?

See his fair Love condemn'd to senseless Rogues; 150

Cause th' one has greater stock to buy,

And't other best can fawn and lye?

Who would the Nauseous Rabbles flouts receive,

Though brave be slighted, and yet live?

Did not an awfull and Religious fear 155

Of something after Death we know not where,

Controll the noble Lust of dissolution,

And hinder our resolv'd Confusion;

Shewing we better had with painful ill's dispence,

Than forfeit heaven by Stubborn disobedience; 160

This well I know, and though my own

Distracting Cares do give me Cause to moan,

And spend my wretched days in discontent alone;

Though I have bin too much abus'd,

Of Place and wealth by hounds in office chous'd, 165  
 Lost the Rewards for which in fields I bled,  
 And seen tame Villains cherisht o'er my head;  
 Yet deeper griefs oppress me now,  
 My Princes danger, and my Countries woe;  
 By black Conspiracies that plainly shew, 170  
 The lust of English Rebels, that still strike  
 At a Crown'd head, and would be kings alike:  
 This rends my throbbing heart, for this I howl,  
 'Tis this disturbs the peacefull Order of my Soul,  
 And makes me rather wish for death 175  
 Than live in the Envenom'd Air, where leathsome Villains breath.

## V.

Once was the fair Britania Crown'd with power,  
 The Garden of the World, the pleasant bower  
 Of favourite Princes, that were happy made  
 To vail their Crowns, and Sleep in her refreshing Shade 180  
 The bounteous hand of Plenty open'd here,  
 Whose Cornucopia blest each coming year,  
 And on her fragrant bosoms Nature lay,  
 And Crown'd each silent night and every happy day;  
 Then bright Augusta flourish'd, whose fame ran 185  
 To both the Poles through the wide Ocean,  
 Chief Metropolitan.

---

165, chous'd: cheated, duped, tricked. NED.

170, black Conspiracies: Rye House Plot.

Imperial Caesar lov'd her, but too fond,

---

185, Augusta: London. Several towns founded or colonized by Augustus were called Augusta. In all, seventy cities in different parts of the Roman empire were named that, among them Londinium (London). (See note to l. 208, this poem.)

188-209, Imperial Caesar lov'd her,... instead of Troynovant: London had gone against the crown once before this time of which B'Urfev writes. In 1641, London had welcomed Charles when it was thought he intended to maintain order according to law. However, in January, 1642, Charles tried to arrest five opposition leaders in the House of Commons. The Commons, believing that Charles was trying to intimidate them, took refuge in London, and the city declared for the commons; London became just as Presbyterian as Parliament. Gardiner, A Student's History of England, p. 535.

When Parliament had met at Oxford in 1681, the House of Commons, which was predominantly Whig, thought Oxford had been chosen by the king because the University was eminently Tory. The Whigs feared the king's intention was to overpower them by force, and this alarm increased when they learned that the king was bringing his guards with him. Accordingly, the Whigs armed themselves and their servants in self-defense and rode into Oxford. As the mass of people judge a great deal by what they see, the pistols in the hands of the Whig members when they rode into Oxford had driven into men's heads the belief that the Whigs intended to gain their ends by a civil war. Much as the nation disliked the idea of having a Catholic king, it disliked the idea of civil war still more, and rallied round the king.

"The Tory reaction which followed made itself especially felt in the law-courts. Judges and juries who had combined to send to death innocent Catholics, upon the testimony of forsworn informers, now combined to send to death ardent Whigs, upon the testimony of informers equally base. In the City of London, however, it was still impossible to secure a verdict against a Whig. Juries were everywhere nominated by the sheriff of the county, and sheriffs were, in political cases, ready to compose a jury of political partisans. In every part of England except Middlesex, the sheriffs were named by the king, and were, therefore, Tories. The City of London, which was strongly Whig, had the privilege of electing Sheriffs for London and Middlesex, and these sheriffs took care that Middlesex juries should be composed of Whigs. Shaftesbury was accused of high treason, but before he could be tried, the Grand Jury of Middlesex had to find a true bill

Gave her such bounties from his Royal hand

---

188-209, Imperial Caesar lov'd her, ... instead of Troynovant; (Continued) against him.... On November 24, 1681, the Grand Jury, composed of his own political partisans, threw out the bill, and he was at once set at liberty....

"Before long, on May 27, 1682, Shaftesbury's most conspicuous enemy, the Duke of York, returned from Scotland.... The first thing on which, after James return, the king's ministers set their heart, was to strike a blow at Shaftesbury. As he lived in his house in Aldersgate Street and took care never to leave the City, it was impossible to bring him to trial as long as the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were Whigs. The Lord Mayor, Moore, was gained by the Court, and, by various unscrupulous contrivances, he secured the appointment of two Tory sheriffs, and, even before the end of 1682, of a Tory Lord Mayor named Prichard as his own successor. There would no longer be any difficulty in filling the Middlesex jury box with Tories.

"The difficulty which Charles had experienced in bending the city to his will made him anxious to provide against similar resistance in the future. Taking care to effect his objects under, at least, the form of law, he enforced on the electors in the City, who were called in December to choose the Common Council, the oath of supremacy and the proof required by the Corporation Act of having received the Sacrament in the Church. The result was that a Tory majority was returned on the Common Council. Following up this blow in 1683, he called on the City to show cause, by a writ known as 'Quo Warranto,' before the King's Bench, why its charter should not be forfeited, in consequence of its having imposed irregular tolls and having attacked the king's authority in a petition exhibited in 1680. The King's Bench decided against the City, and the king then offered to restore the charter on certain conditions, of which the principal was, that he was to have a veto on the election of its principal officers. At first the City accepted his terms, but, before the end of the year, it drew back, and the king then named the Lord Mayor and other officers directly, paying no further regard to the municipal self-government under which the City had, for many centuries, conducted its own affairs." Ibid., pp. 622-24.

192, Chusing the monster Hydra for her Guard: The common people were called "the many-headed beast," and "the many-headed monster;" Hydra is simply another way of saying the same thing. London was predominantly for the Whig or popular party and could be associated with the common people.

201, Unedg'd her Mischiefs: Tories were put into office as mayor and sheriffs so that Charles would have no more

She was at last Aspiring to Command; 190  
 Shockt her great Master, and for War prepar'd,  
 Chusing the monster Hydra for her Guard;  
 And as the Adder, which a harmless Swain,  
 Gasping for life found on the frozen plain,  
 By him through pity nourisht near a fire, 195  
 Feeling new warmth his vains inspire,  
 Flew at his Courteous Host, and with black venom griev'd,  
 The man that him from death retriev'd;  
 So she with hissing Rage attack'd her King;  
 But heaven decree'd the Drone should have no Sting, 200

---

188-209, (Continued.) opposition from Whig officers going against his wishes. 203, To sham Elections with Phanatick Votes; "Fanatic" was used earlier in the seventeenth century to refer to the Puritans, and at the time of this poem it was used disparagingly to mean nonconformists, Puritans, Whigs, and practically anyone who was not of and for the court. To sham Elections with Phanatick Votes would refer to London's practice of electing Whig sheriffs who chose Whig juries (specifically the jury which freed Shaftesbury). 204, Titus O.; Titus Oates. 205-207, Till like a Jilt... no more th' Imperial Town; D'Urfey implies that London, by backing Shaftesbury, has been degraded by selling herself for so small a price and for so worthless a cause. 206, Presbyterian John; "The name Jack Presbyter, or Sir John Presbyter (to characterize the cause of the Presbyterians) had become proverbial." Political Ballads Published in England during the Commonwealth, p. 48, note. 209, Bedlam; a corruption of Bethlehem, applied to the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, founded in the thirteenth century. It later became a hospital for lunatics, and soon the word "Bedlam" came to be associated with insane people. The idea was developing at this time that prostitutes went insane and were sent to Bedlam. D'Urfey is again saying that London has prostituted herself. Like a poor Lunatick (l. 202) Till Like a Jilt (l. 205) together imply this belief of prostitutes' going mad, Troynovant; Brutus, legendary founder of the British race, founded Troynovant, or New Troy (later known as London).

Unedg'd her Mischiefs, and the Creature left,  
 Like a poor Lunatick, of friends bereft,  
 To sham Elections with Phanatick Votes,  
 Bribe perjur'd Rogues, and Nurse up Titus O.  
 Till like a Jilt that trades for half a Crown, 205  
 Debaucht by sneaking Presbyterian John,  
 She is degraded, and no more th' Imperial Town;  
 But losing th' Charter and each Royal Grant,  
Bedlam shall now be call'd instead of Troynovant.

## VI.

Within the Channels of whose putrid Womb, 210  
 Plagu'd with Infectious stench, and Noysome fume,  
 Which from the fatning dregs of Plenty springs;  
 Plenty that gives her Pamper'd vipers wings,  
 And hissing tongues, and dreadful teeth and stings;  
 In a dark Cave of horrour, choakt with weeds, 215  
 Of poysonous vice, and horrid deeds,  
 A Dreadfull and Gigantick Monster breeds,  
 More bloody than the one-Ey'd Cyclops brood,  
 Or th' Savage Sons of Earth before the Flood:  
 Not the Olympick Race, that against heaven made War, 220  
 Hurling vast Mountains through the Air,  
 With this can equal or compare;  
 A thousand Teeth it has, as many Claws,  
 To tear in pieces Monarchy, and Laws;  
 The Loyal, and the brave, ne'er Scape its paws, 225

All Kings it hates, and Regal power  
 It never could endure,  
 But Anarchy inspires, whose Brutish Pugs,  
 In many genders breed a Tribe of Rogues;  
 With these it herds, for these will fight, 230  
 These still supports, with curst Tyrannick might;  
 For strength it has, beyond Imagination,  
 And easily could make Invasion,  
 Rove every where unconquer'd, though withstood,  
 Bathing its Native Land in blood, 235  
 Rapes, Murthers, Roberies, Treasons, Blasphemies,  
 That seem to dare the Skies,  
 And even God himself, with insolent Impieties.  
 No Crime, with which Mankind was ever Curst,  
 Since Adam's Sin at first, 240  
 But it had done, or else resolv'd to do,  
 And still most pleas'd with Mischiefs strange and new;  
 Thus like a horrid Dragon, frightfull to behold,  
 It over England rowl'd,  
 Bringing destruction wheresoe'er it came, 245  
 With poisonous breath, sharp phangs and Eyes of flame;  
 It plagu'd th' unhappy Land, REBELLION was its Name.

## VII.

And now methinks my Spleenfull Genius tends,  
 To give a Character of all its Agents fiends;  
 Traitors on whom heaven's Curse ne'er lights in vain, 250



Whilst each is branded with the Mark of Cain:  
 See Marcian first, the Prince of all the rest,  
 Tossing his Empty Head bestride the horrid beast;  
 Degenerate Marcian, Shame to his great Race,  
 His wounded Countries worst disgrace; 255  
 Eternal is his hated Infamy,  
 And his Escutcheon now Erected high,  
 Shall never Raze the natural Obloquy;  
 But have Engrail'd a more Prodigious Blot,  
 Treason and Parricide, Crimes of Dreadfull Note, 260  
 Shall dash the Or, and Gules, and Cloud the Herald's Coat.  
 None e'er like him, with honours was endow'd,  
 Nor none like him had such Ingratitude;  
 In Childhood train'd to a Monastick life,  
 Free from Ambitious strife; 265  
 When peacefull Arts all strove to Influence,  
 And if 'twere possible, to teach him Sense;

---

252, Marcian: See The Progress of Honesty, ll. 394-411.

258, natural Obloquy: presumably the bend sinister, the heraldic mark of illegitimacy.

261, Or, and Gules: gold and red.

262, with honours was endow'd: Cf. The Progress of Honesty, ll. 494-511.

264, In Childhood train'd to a Monastick life: Mornmouth originally had been instructed in the Catholic religion, and a change of tutor involved a change of religion by Charles' order.

From Ross's discipline, who took great pains  
 To fill the vacuum of his Brains;  
 His gracious Uncle that from loud report, 270  
 Had heard how far his Wit came short;  
 To mend the matter, sent for him to Court,  
 Thinking amongst the wisdom of that Place,  
 (Assisted by a Taking face)  
 That his might tolerably pass; 275  
 And knowing he had Courage, nobly Sean'd  
 His growing worth, and got him high Command;  
 Gave him applause in our great Monarch's ear,  
 Who after sent him to the War,  
 Where to say truth he got renown, 280  
 And Rashly ventring, took a famous Town,

---

268, Ross; Thomas Ross. He adhered to Charles II during the king's exile, and about 1658 became tutor to Monmouth. James II in his Memoirs charges Ross with first inspiring his pupil with hopes of the throne.

270-72, His gracious Uncle... Court: James had nothing to do with Monmouth's coming to England or to the court. Charles II sent for him.

274, a Taking face: Grammont describes the furore caused by Monmouth's reception, but contrasts his deficiency in mental accomplishments with "the astonishing beauty of his outward form."

277, and (James) get him high Command: Instead of James giving Monmouth high Command, Charles' fondness for the young duke produced unkindness between the king and James. Pepys' Diary, May 4, 1663.

281, took a famous Town: During the war with the Dutch, Monmouth took an active part in the siege of Maestricht, which capitulated to him on July 2, 1673. "... England was represented at Maestricht only by the Duke of Monmouth with a score of gentlemen volunteers... and an escort of thirty

But there th' Ambitious Pill first swallow'd down;  
 And factious Fiends inspir'd th' ill fated Elfe  
 To set up for himself;  
 Nor longer a respect, and duty bear 285  
 To the illustrious, and lawfull Heir;  
 But his successive right oppose, and quell,  
 Though from his Favour, all his Honours fell,  
 Who could have crush't the Serpent in the Shell.  
 From thence to greater Crimes he passes on, 290  
 And now resolves to mount the Throne,  
 Calls it his due, though by the equal Law,  
 From whence our rights Legitimate we draw,  
 The meanest wretch, of most obscure degree,

---

281, took a famous Town; (Continued) gentlemen troopers of the Life Guards.... The attack was timed to fall in Monmouth's tour of duty.... The signal was given, and Monmouth, with... his Englishmen at his side, led the French assault.... At daylight, Monmouth handed over the captured works to supporting troops." (Marlborough, His Life and Times, pp. 95ff.).

286, Heir: James, Duke of York.

287, Though from his Favour, all his Honours fell; Actually, Monmouth's honors came from his father and not from his uncle.

291, And now resolves to mount the Throne; referring to the Rye House Plot. The plotters intended to seize or murder James and Charles, and, at this time, those persons writing on the side of the king and James averred that murder had been the plan.

292, Calls it his due; Monmouth and his supporters took every advantage of the reports that Monmouth's mother, Lucy Walters, had been married to Charles. If this had been true, Monmouth would have been the true successor to the throne.

Had more pretentions to't than he. 295

The Double duty, which he knows,

He to his Father, and his Monarch owes,

By double disobedience is undone,

And he's no more a Subject nor a Son.

Yet with the Ladies, still his fame abides, 300

A Gracefull Mein, how gallantly he ridest

That he should e'er commit such ill,

Usurp the Throne, and his great Father kill!

I'll not believe it, 'tis Impossible!

Thus let a man commit the worst of Sin, 305

Be but his outside fine, let that but Win,

And your true Woman never looks within.

Here stands the Imperfection of the Age,

But that which most my fancy do's Engage

To write, and fills me with Poetiak Rage, 310

Is that he should be overrul'd,

And by such Beasts betraid, and fool'd;

That he should take Instructions from

Such a strange Brute, as Bully Tom;

Ye Powers! to be drawn in by him, 315

Is such a vile unpardonable Crime,

That were he free from any other fault,

---

314, Bully Tom; Sir Thomas Armstrong, who is referred to in the next section as the Bravo (infra, l. 319). "Reresby calls him the debaucher of the Duke." Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, p. 412, note. Armstrong was implicated in the Rye House Plot.

He merits to be damn'd for that.

VIII.

The Bravo, next himself, infects my Rhimes,  
 Whose unexampled Crimes,  
 My pen sets down to fright the future times;  
 A decoy traitour, whom th' Infernal chose,  
 To draw the Rebel-tribe into the Noose,  
 And made him use his interest in the Town,  
 First to damn others Souls, and last his own. 325  
 In all the villanies we find  
 Intail'd on wretched Humane-kind,  
 He is most skilfull, and should take degree  
 Before the Fiends themselves in each Impiety:  
 Rapes, Murthers, Blasphemies which other men 330  
 Account the greatest, worst of Sin,  
 Are done by him, in such a sort,  
 As if they onely were his Sport;  
 All free, and easy without pains,  
 Nor did he e'er molest his busie brains 335  
 With learning, or what moral Authours tell,  
 But onely studded to Rebell.  
 Thus stands his Chronicle in every blotted Page,

---

319, Bravo: A daring villain, a hired soldier or assassin; a man who murders for hire. NED.

322, decoy Traitour: "Armstrong offered to gain admittance to the Duke of York, under the pretext of discovering some plot against him, and then to kill him." DNB.

From wicked Childhood up to Grizled Age;  
 And now we're speaking of his Infamy, 340  
 A word were not amiss of his high Progeny:  
 His Father, the great authour of his Race,  
 From whose strong Loyne first sprang this Imp of Grace,  
 As modest fame reports, A footman was,  
 (With reverence to Tom's Knighthood!) And a man 345  
 That through life's cross Fatigues contented Ran,  
 Peacefull his thoughts, and Loyal his design;  
 No factious Calenture disturb'd his mind,  
 But Calmly to his Patron's Will enclin'd;  
 Till being by him preferr'd, the gracious hand 350  
 Of our dread Monarch gave him a Command;  
 This was the Top of the great Family,  
 And now to see,  
 How Natures by Instinct do oft agree,  
Tom's of the Running Camp, as well as he. 355  
 The Sire by duty bound speeds on, the Son,  
 As fate Commands, do's from his Country Run;

---

342-44, His Father,... A footman was: According to the DNB, Armstrong's father was the son of an English soldier serving in one of the Low Country expeditions in the time of James I. No names were given for either Armstrong's father or grandfather.

345, Tom's Knighthood: Armstrong had been knighted by Charles II for services to the royalist cause during the Protectorate.

356-57, the Son,... from his Country Run: Armstrong had fled to Holland upon the discovery of the Rye House Plot.

This great distinction there in onely known,  
 The Sire ran on others Errands, Tom on's own,  
 Some speak him fam'd, for mighty deed in War, 360  
 But those deny it that were there,  
 And undertake to mak't appear,  
 At Mastricht through the Ravellins he crept out,  
 When all the rest o' th' Party fought;  
 Yet often has he bragg'd of broken bones, 365  
 And three Contusions he receiv'd at Mons,  
 And yet no other damage got,  
 A sign he was not very near the Shot;  
 Had he not been by distance kindly us'd,  
 The Bullets would have enter'd, not contus'd. 370  
 But for a Midnight brawle, for Dice, or Drab,

---

363, at Maestricht: In a letter quoted in Marlborough, His Life and Times (p. 97), this passage is found: "After the Duke of Monmouth had put on his arms, we went not out at the ordinary place, but leapt over the banke of the Trenches, in the face of our Enemy. Those that hapned to be with the Duke were Mr. Charles O'Brien, Mr. Villars... Sir. Tho. Armstrong... thus we marcht with our swords in our hands to a baricade of the Enemy's, where only one man could passe att a time." Ravellins: In fortification, a ravelin is an outwork consisting of two faces which form a salient angle. NED.

366, Mons: A small force, under Monmouth, was sent to raise the siege of Mons (Belgium) in 1678. The names of the Englishmen present at Mons are nowhere given; so Armstrong's presence or absence cannot be verified.

371-72, But for a Midnight brawle... Play-house Stab: Burnet says Armstrong "led a very vicious life." Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, p. 412. The DNB quotes Dr. Sprat as calling Armstrong "a debauch'd Atheistical Bravo." 272, Play-house Stab: Armstrong "distinguished himself by murdering Mr. Scroop, a considerable Gentleman in the Play-house." Eachard's History of England, as quoted in DNB.

A Tavern Tilt, or Play-house Stab;  
 For such Heroick deeds, none can applauded be,  
 Or gain more Just renown than he:  
 When the late Massacre was undertook 375  
 He beg'd the Christian Charge, to stab the Duke:  
 Told 'em his reasons, did not blush to say,  
 How he had plotted down the way,  
 And hop't, that glorious Act might be his own;  
 Was ever such a blest Reformer known? 380  
 He sahl be stabbing-Master General,  
 And Captain of the Guards in Hell.  
 But, as amongst the Moors in Africk's Clime,  
 Whoever there had done a weighty Crime,  
 To a Lion's thrown, arm'd onely with a Sword, 385  
 Whom if he kills he's presently restor'd,  
 And crown'd with Garlands, to high place preferr'd;  
 So he to whom such horrid wreathes belong'd,  
 First to deserve it thoroughly must be hang'd;  
 Then shall he have his Patent freely pass, 390  
 And from the lofty Gallows swing into his place.

---

376, to stab the Duke: As had been stated, Armstrong offered to gain admittance to the Duke of York and kill him. Evidence was also forthcoming that, on the failure of the Rye House Plot, Armstrong still offered to intercept the king and the duke on their homeward journey from Newmarket, provided money and men could be immediately procured. DNB.

389, must be hang'd: Armstrong was hanged, on June 20, 1684, after this poem was published.



## IX.

Seditious, like the Plague, do's spread and grow,  
 Let one be tainted, straight the Nation's so.  
 A fatal witchcraft that inspires the Brain  
 To covet things unnatural and vain. 395  
 Some, not contented with their proper Station,  
 Curse the Dull times, and plot a Reformation;  
 This man is for th' Establish'd Church and State,  
 Another a free Conscience do's debate;  
 And a third fool would have he knows not what. 400  
 From one Lust to another thus they range,  
 And pine, and languish for a change.  
 Others there are with wealth and honour blest,  
 Gifts, one would think, essential to Rest;  
 Yet these degenerate ambition Blinds, 405  
 Ambition, the Curst frenzie of ill minds;  
 And when a mighty Prince they view,  
 Ungratefull Stars, they cry, why were not we so too?  
 Thus, though it mounts to heaven's Azure Roof,  
 Ambition never thinks 'tis high enough. 410  
 In the First Rank of these with Clouded Brow,  
 Tall Catiline himself do's show;

412-35, Tall Catiline... villainy be done: Catiline organized an unsuccessful conspiracy in 63 B.C. to overthrow the government. Catiline is Forde, Lord Grey. 419-23, The Grandsire... Hereditary Sway: Grey's grandfather died in 1674 and his father in 1675, thus leaving Grey heir to their estates and the title. (No mention is made in the DNB of Grey's having a brother.) 429, Nasty Ignoramus Tribe: "Ignoramus" had been used since

A man so happy once, as if kind Fate  
 Th' extreme of Blessings did create,  
 To crown his life with more than fortunate; 415  
 Even Death the Scourge of Nature was his friend,  
 And just as if it did intend  
 To show how much the Youth was lov'd;  
 The Grandsire, Father, Brother, all remov'd  
 To their long homes; 420  
 Their silent Tombs;  
 Onely to raise his fortune, and make way,  
 For his Hereditary Sway;  
 Else he a lowly fortune had Obey'd,  
 And bin the humble vassal to some Trade; 425  
 Venting his Wit, most Politick and Wise,  
 O'er Bags of Peper, Cloves and Spice;  
 But never bin so popular to bribe  
 The Nasty Ignoramus Tribe;  
 Nor factious Knights of Counties bring, 430  
 Triumphantly set up against his King.

---

412-35, Tall Catiline... villany be done; (Continued.)  
 1681 to refer specifically to the freeing of Shaftesbury by  
 the Grand Jury of London, and to refer generally to the Whigs.  
 In 1681 a bill of indictment for treason "was presented to the  
 grand jury against lord Shaftesbury; the jury was composed of  
 many of the chief citizens of London.... The jury returned  
ignoramus upon the bill of indictment [meaning that they did  
 not believe the evidence warranted an indictment]." The Tory  
 writers therefore associated the word ignoramus with the Whigs  
 and Shaftesbury. Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, p.  
 301. Grey, along with Mommouth, Russell, ~~Mason~~, Howard, and  
 many other Whigs, was implicated in the Rye House Plot. 430-31.  
Nor factious Knights... against his King; In the debates of  
 1681, Grey had taken part as a zealous exclusionist.

But see the Vice of wretched Humane kind,  
 When once the heart of mischief is enclin'd,  
 It never can return but plunges on,  
 Ne'er pleas'd till th' utmost villany be done: 435  
 This Catiline confirms, who having rov'd  
 Through the Salt Bagnio's of Incestuous Love,  
 Betray'd the Beautifull, and Ignorant,  
 Whose misery I now want Skill to paint;  
 Defil'd the Marriage-bed, unmov'd could see 440  
 The Aged Father's tears for the Indignity,  
 And scandal done his Noble family;  
 Yet still these were not Crimes enough,  
 His Conscience was so clearly mischief-proof  
 That it no pleasure to his Sense could bring, 445  
 Till he was in a Plot to kill the King;  
 The Devil soon took hold of the occasion,  
 And streight propounds Association;  
 The motion takes, and in the foremost band;  
 The Noble Peer, as nobly sets his hand, 450  
 With voluntary free consent,  
 Is bound by dreadful Sacrament,

---

436-42, This Catiline confirms,... Noble family: Grey  
 eloped in 1692 with Lady Henrietta Berkeley, his wife's sister,  
 causing considerable scandal. "George, first Earl of Berkeley."  
DNB.

444-446, His Conscience... kill the King: referring to Grey's  
 participation in the Rye House Plot.

To root out Monarchies, and procure his fall

Whose Sacred life do's Influence us all.

So in a gloomy Cave, where Toads and Serpents breed, } 455

O'er-grown with Thistles, Thorns, and loathsome Weeds, }

A place design'd for horrid Deeds,

Old Faustus with a Devilish hand,

Once sign'd to Lucifer a Bond;

Gave up his Soul upon Condition, 460

His Lust was fed of mischief, and Ambition.

Oh what a Cursed fiend is Man;

When he forgets his nature! Whence began

Our Primitive misery, but by th' offence

Of stubborn disobedience? 465

Neglect of Duty first begins,

And ushers in all other Sins;

Till the account at last, do's boundless swell,

And quite exceed the Register of Hell.

X.

Happy the times were then, when Kings 470

Were known distinguishable things,

When they could prove that they were able

To govern, and suppress the Rabble;

When in the Senates all the Sages

---

470-86. Happy the times... Innumerable Monsters grown:  
 In these lines D'Urfey is striking at all the parliaments  
 which had endeavored to limit Charles' power in religious,  
 political, or financial matters.

Wore comely Liverie-Coats and Badges, 475  
 And came two hundred miles with Loyal soul,  
 To counsel Caesar, not controul:  
 When all their business was to Aid,  
 And give encouragement to Trade, }  
 And not the King's Prerogative t' invade, 480  
 Nor any Mad Chimeras to set down,  
 Relating to succession, or the Crown,  
 Unless the King himself consenting was,  
 And askt their Counsel in the Case.  
 But now, as if the Dragons teeth were Sown, 485  
 And thence Innumerable Monsters grown,  
 In th' house strange Animosities arise, }  
 About the peoples Liberties,  
 And who shall Reign when Caesar dies:  
 Religion fires their Conscience there, 490  
 Though not a motion on't elsewhere;  
 Yet then all Zealous, Politick and Wise:

---

487-89, In th' house... when Caesar dies: The House of Commons passed many bills which were not passed by the House of Lords. For example, the exclusion bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. The peers had their own quarrels with Charles, but they were easier to handle, usually, than the commons. As early as 1670 men had been discussing the question of James' succession to the throne, and the House of Commons tried to exclude him or limit his powers.

490-91, Religion fires... elsewhere: D'Urfey is exaggerating the facts. Actually, the English were very much interested in religion and in everything it affected.

A Godly Cheat best dazles vulgar Eyes.

A Bigot of this sort rash Cinna was,

Sprung from a stanch, Rebellious Race,

495

Under whose Roof, was horrible contriv'd,

The death of the best Monarch ever liv'd;

The thought of which charms my Satyrick vein,

Who can of such a loss enough Complain,

And not with Bloud might pay for bloud again,

500

And see the great Avengers justice shown?

Cinna, that late, with calm, and subtile Tone,

Encouraged the mad Senate to go on;

He that with grave, and Conscientious look,

In fewest words, most Treason spoke,

505

And gave his Pious vote, t' exclude the ~~King~~

Would now exclude the King; The Pillar fell,

---

493, A Godly Cheat... vulgar Eyes: Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 747-48.

Religion and redress of grievances,

Two names that always cheat and always please.

494, Cinna: Cinna owed much political power to Caesar, yet he approved of Caesar's assassination. Here Cinna is Lord William Russell, one of the Rye House plotters. He was condemned to death for his share in the plot.

495, Sprung from a stanch, Rebellious Race: Lord Russell's father had been at first a royalist during the civil wars, but in 1643 he began to grow weary of the war, and abandoned the king's cause. Russell's grandfather had been in opposition to Charles I in 1640-41. DNB.

496-97, Under whose Roof... ever liv'd: William, Lord Howard of Escrick, gave evidence that the Rye House plotters had held meetings at Russell's house. It was principally this evidence which led to Russell's conviction.

That props three mighty Kingdoms; burn and kill, }  
 Till Monarchy were turn'd t' a Common-weal;  
 But such a Hellish, barbarous intent, 510  
 Meets commonly a Hellish punishment:  
Cinna's accus'd, and Legally Condemn'd,  
 By every honest Tongue, with horreur nam'd;  
 To execution brought, resolv'd to show,  
 An enthusiastick Bravery, did bow } 515  
 His neck with willingness to meet the blow;  
 But as if Heaven, at the very time,

---

502-507, Cinna, that late,... Would now exclude the King; The Popish Plot agitation had led the opposition in parliament to attack the Duke of York. An address for his removal from the king's presence and counsels was proposed by Lord Russell. He also advocated legislative securities against the possible proceedings of a popish successor to the throne. Lord Cavendish and Russell backed the bill of indictment of the Duke of York as a popish recusant, and Russell also seconded a resolution calling for a bill to disable James from inheriting the throne. 507, Would now exclude the King; referring to the Rye House plot.

507-508, The Pillar fell,... three mighty Kingdoms; Pillar; Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, l. 955: "Kings are the public pillars of the State." three mighty Kingdoms: England, Ireland, and Scotland.

509, Till Monarchy were turn'd t' a Common-weal; Any reference to the Commonwealth and the civil wars was odious even to those Englishmen who did not like the idea of a Catholic king, and much more distasteful to those who favored James.

512, Cinna's accus'd, and Legally Condemn'd; Russell was condemned to death for his part in the plot.

515, enthusiastick Bravery; Russell was cheerful and resigned while in the Tower awaiting execution.

Decree'd severest justice, for his Crime;  
 Three strokes fell on him, ere he lost his head;  
A blow for every Kingdom he betray'd.

520

## XI.

Attending on this Pious work  
 Stood a Soul-broker, of the Scottish-Kirk:  
 A Whining, Sneaking, Canting Saint,  
 As ever took the Covenant;  
 And as it ever was his Trick,  
 To disturb people that were Sick;  
 He now his skill do's most employ,  
 To Teize and Plague 'em when they dye:  
 Thus, as the Serpent did to Eve,

525

---

519. Three strokes fell on him, ere he lost his head:  
 "21 July, 1683. Lord Russell beheaded in Lincoln's Inn  
 Fields, the executioner giving him three butcherly strokes."  
 Evelyn, Diary, Vol. II, p. 183.

521-22, Attending... Scottish-Kirk: Bishop Gilbert Burnet,  
 Scottish divine, attended Russell on the scaffold. Burnet  
 was out of favor with James, "largely owing to his anti-  
 Catholic activities at the time of the Rye House Plot," and  
 also because of his anti-Catholic sermon before the House of  
 Commons in 1680 (infra, 542-46, note).

523-24, A Whining... Covenant: The allusions made by  
Canting and Covenant are to the Solemn League and Covenant  
 entered into between parliament and Scotland during the civil  
 wars. Parliament was largely Puritan, and Canting refers  
 chiefly to the Puritan preachers; Scotland was Presbyterian,  
 and the Scots were known as the "Covenanters." (For a further  
 discussion of the Solemn League and Covenant, see infra, l. 541,  
note). D'Urfey is linking Burnet with the Scots and the Puritans.



Just as they're going to take leave, 530  
 He works their Pannick fear, to speak his Lye,  
 And hedges in damnation by the bye.  
 The worst of Malecontents he is,  
 E'er since he lost a Benefice;  
 Nor is it possible to reconcile 535  
 Him to us, since he lost St. Mary Hill.  
 His spleenfull Nature still against us bent,  
 Assisted by a daring Parliament,  
 Would fain have taught us to agree  
 To his Scotch way of Loyalty, 540  
 The very same was us'd in forty three.  
 With Massacres his Sermons frighted us, ?

---

534, he lost a Benefice: In 1674 Burnet had lost a living through the king's intervention against him.

540, Scotch way of Loyalty: Scotland had been on the parliamentary side in the civil wars.

541, forty three: 1643 was the date of the Solemn League and Covenant between Scotland and Parliament. In that year Parliament resolved to send an embassy to Scotland to bring her over to the Puritan side. The Scots were known to be bigotedly attached to their own persuasions of narrow and exclusive church government; many of the members of Parliament were just as bigoted to the principles of Presbyterianism as the Scots. The Scots offered their assistance on the sole condition that England adhere to the Scotch religious system. Sir Henry Vane, one of the Englishmen taking part in the parleys, was an advocate of religious tolerance, and he therefore insisted that the phrase "according to the word of God" be placed in the Solemn League and Covenant. Thus he left the interpretation of that Word of God to the free conscience of every man. J. Forster, Statesmen of the Commonwealth; Vane, as quoted in New Larned History.

For which he had the thanks o' th' Commons house, }  
 Who were within an Ace of mutinous:  
 But a Learn'd\* Preacher, who had boldly shown, \*Dr Spratt 545  
 The peoples fears were vain, had none;  
 Thus 'tis not he, that truest matter gives, }  
 A just applause receives,  
 But who best Claws the Representatives;  
 A blessed Age, when Bigoted Divines 550  
 Shall wrest the Scripture to their ill designs:  
 Oh what a Misery it is, that he }  
 That has the luck of being learn'd, should be  
 The first to Countenance Disloyalty!  
 That one whose Reason to the highest reaches, 555

---

542-46, With Massacres... had none: Dr. Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop Burnet had, on December 22, 1680, preached before the House of Commons. Burnet received a vote of thanks, but the commons was highly offended by Sprat's insinuations of undutifulness to the king and would not compliment him with the accustomed vote of thanks. DNB. Burnet speaks of his sermon as follows: "I mentioned nothing relating to the Popish plot but what appeared in Coleman's letters [Coleman was secretary to the Duke of York]: yet I laid open the cruelties of the Church of Rome in many instances that happened in queen Mary's reign, which were not then known, and I aggravated, though very truly, the danger of falling under the power of that religion." Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, p. 261.

554, Countenance Disloyalty: Burnet did not countenance disloyalty, but he did remain a friend to Ruscoll and Essex even after they had been arrested as plotters.

Should corrupt dying men, and write sham Speeches;  
 And brib'd by treacherous Gold,  
 All their false Notions and Opinions hold;  
 As in the Speech of Cinna, where  
 The Reverend Doctour did appear 560  
 In every line, each Paragraph,  
 That made the men of Judgment laugh,  
 Was worded by the Doctour, we could view  
 In every clouded Line, the Scotch Wit darting through;  
 The Logick was the Doctour's, all the fallacies, 565  
 And Contradictions, there were his;  
 Nay, the sham Law in't was the Doctour's too,  
 But his misprisions would not doe,  
 The Judges, that it was high Treason, knew.  
 Sure never any Nation could confess, 570  
 With Doctours they were plagu'd like this.

---

556, corrupt dying men, and write sham speeches; Russell thought it necessary to leave a paper behind him at his death, wherein he would write his vindication of his share in the Rye House Plot. Burnet helped him with the idea of the paper, but Burnet declares he did not write the paper. The speech was selling about an hour after Russell's death, and Burnet was called before the cabinet council. He says, "I saw they apprehended I had penned the speech.... I offered to take my oath, that the speech was penned by himself, and not by me.... Many pamphlets were writ on that occasion, and I was heavily charged in them all, as the adviser, if not the author of the speech." Burnet's History of My Own Time, Vol. II, pp. 384ff.

559-60, As in the Speech... Doctour did appear; the speech Russell wrote with Burnet's aid. 560, Reverend Doctour; Bishop Burnet.

The Salamanca Dragon, late held forth,  
 And now we have another from the North;  
Hugh Peters formerly came from the West,  
 Let us but have a fourth from out the East; } 575  
 And never kingdom was so blest.  
  
 Ill fares the Land, if once the Clergy err,  
 For who are known so popular?  
  
 The sheep must then needs go a-stray,  
 When Shepherds can, and will not lead the way. 580  
  
 And as Religion should no interest have,  
 O'er souls, or bodies, but to save;  
 As the Creatour's Will first form'd, and made,  
 Who never did design it for a trade;  
  
 So he, that is ordain'd to teach should be 585

---

572, Salamanca Dragon: Titus Oates, who had spent some time in Spain, sometimes styled himself "D.D. of Salamanca." This had absolutely no foundation in fact, for during his time in Spain he had not even been in Salamanca. DNB.

573, another from the North: Bishop Burnet was born in Scotland.

574, Hugh Peters: independent divine, born in Cornwall. He was imprudent rather than evil, and his sermons during the reign of Charles I often contained expressions against the king. After the beheading of the king, the royalist newspapers represented Peters as one of the instigators of the king's trial and execution, which he denied. Peters was a staunch supporter of Cromwell. After the Restoration, Peters was arrested as one of the regicides. He proved he was not present at the execution of Charles I, but many of his writings were introduced as treasonable works, and his sermons during the trial of the king justified his death sentence. Thus he was condemned more for what he had said than for what he had done. He was executed in 1660.

A man of Pious Loyalty,  
 Of steady mind, unapt to please each Sot,  
 For he that winks at th' Ages general fault,  
 Like B---tt, is a scandal to his Coat.

## XII.

When the Eternal did Mankind Create, 590  
 As an addition to his happy State;  
 He gave him Reason, that he so might be  
 Nearer his own Divinity.

Since when Religion's Sacred power  
 Refin'd the drossie Ore, 595  
 And taught the stupid Mortal to Adore;  
 When Priestly Orders first began,  
 And the sincerest Man,

Born on the wings of fame, did soon disperse  
 The Mystick tenets through the Universe: 600

The learned Prophet did all hearts inspire  
 With Morals sprung from his Celestial fire,  
 And all were willing to admire:

No Bigot of the Rebel Synagogue,

No brib'd Scotch Quack, nor perjurd Salamank--- 605

The heavenly dew of knowledge drank;

None Grac't the Priesthood, were not free from vice,

---

589, B---tt: Burnet.

605, Scotch Quack: Burnet. Salamank...: Titus Oates.

Like Aaron Pious, and like Moses Wise.

But now ungratefull Schism the kingdom grieves; 610

The Sacred Church becomes a Den of Thieves;

Drones, Dunces, Drunken slaves,

Exotick Fools and pamper'd Knaves

Have yet the Confidence

To wear the spotless Robe of Innocence: 615

And though the Lash, or hanging they deserve,

Approach the Holy place, and at the Altar serve:

Pardon, ye Reverend of the Sect divine,

That ever will Serenely shine,

The Satyr dares not against you conspire, 620

Whose vertues bind him, and untwist his Wire;

But were it not for happy you,

For an unbyass'd, blessed few;

Faith and Religion would as useless be,

As Preaching true Obedience to the Mobile: 625

'Tis this that shocks the Judgment of the Wise,

And adds to general Vice;

This makes the Libertine go on,

And leave no horrid Crime undone,

Till his Inglorious Race is run so far, 630

His Guardian Angel leaves him to despair;

Despair, the Wages of Impiety,

That makes the wretched Mortal hourly dye,

And feel new pangs of endless Misery.

Who without horroure can relate, 635  
 Or think on wretched Cambel's fate!  
Cambel, who not long since  
 Had such exalted favours from his Prince;  
 They gain'd the Emulation,  
 Of the third part o' th' Nation; 640  
 Imperial Caesar trusted him with power,  
 And on his head did showre  
 Honours, would even make Ambition dumb,  
 And own for more it wanted Room.  
 His loyal Father's merits fresh did spring 645  
 Within the memory of the gratefull King;  
 His father, that proud Rebels long withstood,  
 And seal'd his Dear Allegiance with his Bloud,  
 Losing his head for that great Monarch's sake,

---

636, Cambel: Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, another of the Rye House plotters.

637-44, Cambel, who not long... it wanted Room: Essex had been highly honored by Charles II. In 1670 he was sent as ambassador to the court of Christian V of Denmark. He was lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1672-77, and in 1679 was made head of the treasury. He was evidently much trusted by Charles II, who had, in 1678, named him along with Halifax to discuss the grievances of the Scotch lords against Lauderdale.

645-49, His loyal Father's merits... great Monarch's sake: Essex's father, Lord Capel of Hadham, had supported Charles I. "... during the long struggle [of the civil wars], the king had no adherent more faithful to the royal cause, nor any who made more splendid sacrifices, ending at last in his death upon the scaffold." Capel was beheaded by the Commonwealth in 1649.

Whose life his barbarous Son conspires to take; 650  
 Error of Nature, blind Effect of fate,  
 Oh what Philosophy can e'er relate,  
 Or shew the natural Reason why,  
 In Loyal blood should breed such Villany?  
 If we chuse Horses, we the Breed prefer; 655  
 If Dogs, we cannot err,  
 The true bred Beagle ne'er can get a Cur;  
 In Cocks, the generous virtue is the same,  
 Who e'er could say a Craven came }  
 From one that was a Cock o' th' Game? 660  
 But spurious Man the great Instinct denies,  
 Turns Rebel, and his blood do's Bastardize;  
 This Cambel proves, whose Crimes of deepest dye,  
 Now stretching to a point too high,  
 His bashfull Genius takes no farther care, 665  
 But leaves him to despair;  
 Nor do's he dare }  
 To think that Prince should be for Mercy sought,  
 Whose Clemency is known his onely fault;

---

665, bashfull; obsolete use of the word, meaning "daunted, dismayed." NED.

667-69, Nor do's he dare... onely fault; Essex did not believe it would do any good to beg for mercy, but Charles II is supposed to have said, "My lord Essex might have tried my mercy; I owe a life to his family." DNB.



But blinded with his dire Offence, 670  
 Will add self-murder to his other sins;  
 With his own hand life's Image do's deface,  
 And with Mechanick Razor Ends his wretched days.

## XIII.

Reflect, Oh thou that stir'st up Civil strife,  
 Reflect upon our gracious Monarch's life; 675  
 And if Sedition have not made thee blind,  
 Thou then art sure to find,  
 The finger of the Deity appear,  
 Marking the fate of each Miraculous Year;  
 His infelicity, pains, wrongs, constraints, 680  
 Sufferings, beyond the tryal of the Saints;  
 And sure large Blessings are for him in store,  
 Who by rebellious Subjects suffered more }

---

671-73, Will add self-murder... wretched days; Essex was imprisoned shortly after the discovery of the Rye House Plot. On July 13, 1683, after the beginning of Lord Russell's trial, it was whispered in court that Essex had cut his throat with a razor. This hurt Russell's case, as it seemed to be an admission of guilt on the part of Essex. There is some controversy as to whether it was suicide or murder. Naturally D'Urfey says that it was suicide. It is a matter of record that Essex sent for the razor.

674-93, Reflect, Oh thou that stir'st... Angels for his Guard; Charles II had been forced to flee England during the civil wars. In 1651, Charles, with a force of royalists, engaged in battle with the Puritan troops at Worcester. "Charles Stuart escaped by flight, with his long cavalier locks cut close, and his royal person ignobly disguised, wandering and hiding for six weeks before he reached the coast and got ship for France." C. Knight, Crown History of England, Ch. 27, as quoted in New Larned History.

Than ever patient Monarch did before. )  
 Plots by damn'd Villains, thirsting for his blood, 685  
 Strangely discover'd, and withstood;  
 By Rebel Crowds, proudly defying heaven,  
 He from his Throne was driven,  
 And forc't to shroud unhappy Majesty  
 Within the Sacred hollow of a Tree; 690  
 Till the Almighty, who had often heard  
 His Prayers, alarm'd Heaven, and prepar'd  
 The Hierarchy of Angels for his Guard;  
 And lately, when the dark and Clouded brow,  
 Of black Conspiracy did show, 695  
 What the curst Regicides had sworn to do;  
 God from his high and awfull Throne lookt down,  
 And to prevent the mischief burnt a Town,  
 And by a small destruction there,  
 Hindred a general Massacre; 700  
 So Pharach's host, from Israel did retire,  
 Whose Guardian Angel hem'd 'em round with fire:  
 Methinks I see, as I did then,  
 The King, that greatest, best of Men;  
 Linckt with his dearest Brother, Royal James, 705  
 Looking with generous grief upon the flames,

---

694-700, And lately, when the dark... Massacre; "The king left Newmarket earlier than he intended because there had been a fire. Thus, by his unexpected departure, he foiled the Rye House Plot." "Robert Ferguson," DNB.

Pitying the wretched Peoples Cries,  
 As if they felt their Miseries,  
 And bore an equal share in their Calamities: }  
 A dreadfull lustre, from the flaming Town, 710  
 On their illustrious faces shone;  
 But prov'd a Lambent Glory round each head,  
 Presaging that from Treason they were free'd;  
 But, oh, what faith can e'er believe,  
 That after this great Caesar can forgive; 715  
 That he can even pardon those,  
 That were his greatest, worst of Foes, }  
 And in this horrid Plot, against him rose?  
 Yet see 'tis so, false Tears, and bended Knee  
 O'er comes, and melts him into Clemency. 720  
 Oh Godlike Nature, too too often us'd,  
 And to our lasting shame, too much abus'd;  
 Whose vertus fixes an eternal Brand  
 On this ingratefull Land,  
 And makes me that had Charity before, 725  
 Hate all Mankind, and wish that Nature were no more.  
 See how lean Cassius yonder nods his head,

---

719-20, false Tears,... Clemency: Several of the Rye House plotters were granted clemency. Perhaps the best known instances of mercy shown were the cases of William, Lord Howard of Escrick, who was pardoned because he gave evidence against the other plotters, and Monmouth, who, pardoned through his father's love, was sent into exile.

On the poor Suppliant, that stands in need  
 In whom the mischief of a States-man's Nature,  
 May be discern'd in every ugly feature; 730  
 Hark how he talks, and gravely lies,  
 Hoping to hide his well-known vice,  
 And makes us think him Loyal, Good and Wise;  
 Both though the Adder shifts his speckled Skin,  
 He cannot purge his venom that's within; 735  
 Tho' Cassius seem'd to purge his late offence,  
 By a feign'd duty to his Prince;  
 Though he through all the Paths of ceremony Ran,  
 At Levy, and at Couche, punctual Man;  
 My searching Genius tells me he's unjust, 740  
 Knows well the height of his ambitious Lust,  
 He would be still a rebel if he durst.  
 See treacherous Macro too, rankt with the worst of Men,  
 A Whigg, then Tory, then a Whigg again;  
 Whose scandalous life becomes a Play-house Jest, 745  
 Turn-coat in every Age for interest.  
Newark be ever famous for thy Crime,  
 And may thy story charm Satyrick Rhime;  
 Thou that couldst leave thy Master in distress,  
 Unpitied see the Tears Rowl down his sacred face: 750

---

739, Levy, ...Couche: levées and couchées: morning and evening receptions for followers and dependents such as were held by great nobles. NED.

Such pretious Tears, from such a Prince,  
 Nature her self would influence,  
 And give to Flowers, and Plants a kindly Birth;  
 As when from Clouds, the gentle showers come forth  
 After imoderate heat, to cool the gaping Earth. } 755

## XIV.

Why do's rich Gallus, whose full Pocket Chinks,  
 Though under his Embroidery he stinks,  
 Snuff up the Nose at Sophus that is poor,  
 And Rate the humble Schölar from his doory  
 Call him base Rhiner, rowl his scornfull Eyes, } 760  
 As if to be a Poet were a vice;  
 Or that it were a scandal to be wise  
 Or why should chattering Balbus frown,  
 And bluntly cry that merit down, }

---

756-74, Why do's rich Gallus,... that is stunts These lines are written in the style of the seventeenth century "Characters," wherein a characterization is given of specific persons or of typical persons. Gallus (l. 765) is wealthy, but he "stinks" under his richly embroidered clothing. He thinks he is better than Sophus (l. 758) simply because Sophus is poor. Chattering Balbus (l. 763) decries all learning, valuing himself because he has a dull Pedagogue. If he should be censured, he immediately begins quarreling, saying that he is learned enough to fight. Sophus is called a scholar, so the name is evidently taken from the classical meaning of "sophist," which was one who was engaged in the pursuit of learning. Balbus was the name of a Roman soldier, but the definition of the Latin adjective "balbus," meaning "stammering" or "stuttering" fits better, as Balbus is described as "chattering."

That with the wisest Ancients gain'd renown? ) 765  
 Value himself, for his dull Pedigree,  
 Though they were all as senseless Brutes as he?  
 And if Judicious censure runs him down,  
 He streight begins a quarrel, to make known  
 That though he cannot Spell, nor reade, nor write, 770  
 Yet he had Brains enough to fight;  
 And by his brutish manners clear the doubt,  
 That Reason can no Argument make out  
 With your rash, choleric Blockhead, that is stout. }  
 The Wise, and learned calmly can debate. 775  
 But your true foal is always obstinate;  
 Fond of false Notions, always in the wrong,  
 Loud, and profusely lavish of his tongue;  
 Proud of a Criticism, which he calls Wit,  
 Although the piece he scans be justly writ, } 780  
 And the illiterate Dunce with reading Murthers it.  
 Pride, and curst Ignorance still coupled are,  
 So have I seen an Ass tread down and tear  
 A Laurel he could ne'er deserve to wear.  
 Lewdness, and Flattery thrives; and who can both } 785  
 Echoe a Lord, and lick away a Moth,  
 Perhaps may get Meat, Drink, and Cloths;  
 If noisie nothing he for reason grants,  
 Swears the dull lump has vertues, that he knows he wants;  
 Can Rail, Drink, Lye, Pimp, Flatter, Fawn, and Cheat; 790

This from the Patron may preferment get,

And he some ill plac't bounty may receive,

But, ah, what wretch on such base terms could live?

Give me, kind Heaven, a peacefull humble seat,

Without dependence on the great,

Or knowledge of the Luxury of State;

Plac't in a little Cottage of my own,

Far from the noisie, factious, busie Town,

In happy Innocent security;

Stranger to Crowded Courts, or dignity;

Blest with my Books, some Friends, and one kind constant Fair,

My lifes fatigue let me with patience bear,

And in the Bosome of Contentment lye,

Too low for Envy, and for Scorn too high.

795

800

## XV.

Here stopt the Satyrist with sullen Pride,

Vext that there were some tears he could not hide;

A deep reflexion of his wretched State,

And the ungratefull turns of wav'ring fate,

Had made his Eyes with sorrow overflow,

And groans, and sighs exprest his inward Woe.

805

810

---

794-804, Give me, kind Heaven,... for Scorn too high:  
 Cf. John Pomfret's "The Choice," 1700. This was a type of  
 poem, based on Horace's doctrine of the Golden Mean, which  
 was popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.  
 Many educated and refined Englishmen who had been through  
 almost sixty years of civil turmoil asked nothing better than  
 mere safety and quiet.

To whom impatient Error thus replies:

Oh sacred Moralist, learn'd, good, and Wise;

Thou, to whose story my long ravish'd Ear

Delighted stands, as if 'twere Charm'd to hear,

And wonder at that Tongue,

815

That breath'd such moving Rhetorick so long.

O Pardon me, thou that do'st all things know,

If I divert thy Satyr's angry blow;

Presuming to declare, that though the Age

Deserves in General thy sharpest Rage,

820

Yet some particular vertuss may

Attone for the black Crimes, that o'er the Nation sway;

I own true worth on barren praises lives,

That modest Vertue very rarely thrives;

I know th' unhappy wise, if poor are scorn'd,

825

Whilst fools with gaudy Trappings are adorn'd;

And in the places of high office seen,

Though they could ne'er get sense enough to mean,

Or take from twenty two, and leave eighteen.

Worth unregarded lies, fop'ry advanc't,

830

And being impudent is countenanc'd;

Wit is, Camelion like, fed by the Air,

Heaven's gift so onely is rewarded there.

And when the Muses, the unhappy Nine,

In charming, tune'full numbers joyn,

835

To frame some wondrous Tale,



To lash the Age, and o'er dull Ignorance prevail;  
 The Sot, to whom the labour'd piece is sent,  
 Repays the Author with a Complement;  
 Proud of himself, then sordidly believes, 840  
 That 'tis reward enough if he receives.  
 Vertue is often slighted with a frown,  
 And fawning Vice usurps her dazzling Crown,  
 Snatches the Glory, and by fortune rais'd,  
 Is by th' unthinking Crowd, allow'd, and prais'd: 845  
 Too deep a sense, alas! I have of this,  
 And of the Worlds Impieties:  
 Yet through th' unweeded Garden do's appear  
 O'ergrown, as if not worth the heavenly Care,  
 Amongst the Thistles there some Roses are. 850

Spite of State-Thieves that would have all their own,  
Caesar has yet some Jewels in his Crown,  
 That shall, in spite of all the Rebel kind,  
 Glitter, and strike the Eyes of Envy blind:  
 The Guardian Angel that protects his Throne, 855  
 Has seal'd a few blest Heroes for his own.  
Caesario at his feet himself do's throw,  
 The best of Brothers, and of Subjects too;  
 Royal as Monarchy, that heaven first gave,  
 And yet obedient as a Slave. 860

---

857, Caesario: James, Duke of York.

Ambition that so Giant-like do's seem,  
 Do's like a Pigmy grow in him;  
 No State beyond his right he ever sought,  
 Nor ever did aspiring thought  
 Offend his breast, or check his dutious Love 865  
 To England's sacred Jove;  
 But in his Loyal Sphere, both good and great  
 He calmly mov'd, and kept his Seat;  
 Without the subtile States-man's Art,  
 He has of Government a part; 870  
Caesar in England reigns, and he in Caesar's heart.  
 Publius next him in dutious Zeal do's burn,  
 A Phoenix rising from a sacred Urn,  
 That do's contain a heroe, did restore  
 A Monarch, and three Nations once before, 875  
 And England's Conquering Cross in glorious Triumph bore;

---

869, Without the subtile States-man's Art: James did not try diplomacy; he did not know how to appear to be humoring the people, as did Charles II, and as had Elizabeth.

872, Publius: Christopher Monck, second Duke of Albemarle.

873-76, A Phoenix rising... glorious Triumph bore: Dr Urfe is comparing Christopher Monck to the phoenix. The phoenix burns itself, and from its ashes arises a new, more beautiful phoenix. The hero contained in a sacred urn would be General George Monck, first Duke of Albemarle, father of Christopher. General Monck, who died in 1670, had done more than any other person to restore Charles II to the throne of England.

None ever did his Prince more justly serve,  
 Nor ever from him more deserve;  
 The Grand fatigues of State are easie made,  
 And Caesar's Crown sits light upon his head, 880  
 Through his unwearied diligence and Care;  
 Watchfull he is in peace, skilfull in war,  
 And do's so thoroughly his great father's Vertues share,  
 That onely from so flourishing a Stem,  
 Could ever spring a Plant like him; 885  
 True noble Nature shines through every part,  
 And Centers in his heart;  
 His Soul was never fond of Dignity,  
 Or being Popularly high,  
 But humble as Supine Philosophers, 890  
 Although in Place exalted as the Stars;  
 And in that glorious Sphere, has nobly mov'd,  
 By all the Worthies honour'd, and belov'd;  
 Great, Good and Just, what praise can equal thee;

---

877-85, None ever did his Prince... Plant like him: In 1673 Christopher Menck was made colonel of a regiment of foot soldiers, and in 1675 privy councillor. In the same year he became lord-lieutenant of Essex. In 1678 he was made colonel of the "Queen's" regiment of horse, and was again sworn privy councillor in 1679. Also in 1679 he became captain and colonel of the First (King's Own) troop of horse guards, in place of Monmouth, with whom he shortly afterwards quarrelled, and captain of all the king's guards of horse. In 1681 he became joint lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire. DEB. According to D'Urfey, Christopher Menck was a worthy successor to his father.

That hast no fault but too much Generosity!

895

## XVII.

Cleon, belov'd of heaven, next appears,

A heroe full of honours as of years;

Whose Loyal Zeal untainted and sublime

Stands in the lasting Chronicles of time,

And gives the gratefull King, occasion to commend

900

His faithfull Subject, Counceller and Friend;

Age, that in others do's distastfull seem,

Looks gay, and beautifull in him,

Smiling as if it could past, vernal heats redeem;

And Nature, pitying one she had

905

Fram'd with the choicest wonders of her Trade,

Should moulder into dust, and be with common rubbish laid,

Medea liko, renews his prime,

Stops every posting year, and curbs distroying time;

---

898, Cleon: James Butler, Duke of Ormonde. (Ormonde has been discussed in The Progress of Honesty, ll. 558-565 and note.)

897, Heroe full of honours as of years: Ormonde was lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1661-69 and 1677-85. He was born in 1610.

898-901, Whose Loyal Zeal... and Friend: Ormonde's career was free from any suspicion of double-dealing. Charles II trusted him, and even though Ormonde fell out of favor for seven years, Charles said of him: "Yonder comes Ormonde; I have done all I can to disoblige that man, and to make him as discontented as others; but he will not be out of humour with me; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland."

And by a strange Inspiring skill 910  
 Makes even Death it self, obedient to her will;  
 Checks him with fury in his dreadful Chase;  
 But ah, though strongly she defend the Race;  
 All Humane-kind must stoop at last,  
 Nature her self must her gay Topsails lour, 915  
 Humble as Earth, to Death's resistless power;  
 And Cleon though great, valiant, wise, must dye  
 As certainly as I;  
 Onely in this his fate exceeds,  
 That he's so good he scarce translation needs, 920  
 But were original Sin less great might be,  
 Clad in frail flesh, fit for Eternity.  
 More, (Oh thou great Observer of the Age)  
 Yet a few more there are, might 'scape thy Rage;  
Solon is just, lamented 'cause he's old, 925  
 Studious in business, and in Office bold;

---

925-33, Solon is just, ... true Intelligence: Solon was an Athenian legislator; here it is Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state. old: Jenkins was born in 1623. 926, Studious in business: "... his knowledge of the civil law and diplomatic usage was very great, his industry indefatigable, and his loyalty unimpeachable." DNB. 929, Loyal in the worst of times: Jenkins had served with the royalist armies during the civil wars. 932, Act the business of his Prince: Jenkins had done many things for and under Charles II, such as settling Charles' right of inheriting his mother's personal property (a point in international law), advising, mediating, and drawing up treaties, acting as secretary of state, opposing the exclusion of the Duke of York, appearing as witness against Shaftesbury, and managing the elections of the court nominees for sheriffs of London.

A second Machiavel for Policy,

But stranger to the States-man's villany;

He still was Loyal in the worst of times,

And nicely view'd the peoples Crimes;

930

That with Judicious Care, and clearest sense,

He so might Act the business of his Prince,

And calm his doubts and fears with true Intelligence.

Lycurgus next the Land from Traitours fress,

Fixt to the Royal Cause through all degrees,

935

His heart undaunted without fear or flaw,

Guarded by reason, Loyalty and Law,

Inspires him to defend the King's Prerogative,

As well as if learn'd Jenkins were alive;

Whose bold positions thundring from the Tower,

940

Shook the hot Senates Legislative power;

934-35, Lycurgus... all degrees: Lycurgus was a Spartan law-giver. In this poem, Lycurgus is Judge Jeffreys (Baron Jeffreys). Jeffreys freed the land from traitors by taking a prominent part in the prosecution of Lord Russell in 1683 for his part in the Rye House Plot. Jeffreys vehemently pressed the case against the prisoner. He also presided at the trial of Algernon Sidney (another of the Rye House plotters) for high treason in 1683.

939-41, As well as if learn'd Jenkins... Legislative power: David Jenkins, Welsh judge and royalist. On the outbreak of the civil wars, Jenkins remained loyal to the king. In 1645 he was taken prisoner and committed to the Tower, charged with treason. He denied that his adherence to the king was treason, and argued that as the king was the fountain of justice, without his authority the parliament had no jurisdiction. This argument was written while he was in the Tower and published. Throughout his imprisonment, he denied that Parliament had any legal right to try him. He died in 1663.

The same Renown Lycorgus do's possess,

Whilst Plenteous blessings Crown his services;

Caesar show'd honours knowing he deserv'd:

Highly rewarding him that highly serv'd.

945

Strange Revolution, whom the Crowd disgrac't,

To dignity is by their Monarch Rais'd;

And now he sits Exalted high,

Of awful Justice chief, to judge the Villany

Of Slaves that would have hang'd or starved him and his Family, 950

XVIII.

At this the Satyrist with Sullen pride,

Smiling as if he mockt himself, reply'd,

Fond Youth, that think'st with thy weak fallacies, 7

---

943. Plenteous blessings Crown his services: For Jeffreys' services in trying persons accused of connection with the Popish Plot, he was appointed Chief Justice of Chester and counsel for the crown at Ludlow, and was sworn in as a serjeant-at-law in the court of chancery. After the prosecution of Fitzharris, Plunet, and College in 1681, he was created a baronet. After the prosecution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney in 1683, Jeffreys was promoted to Lord Chief Justice of England.

946, whom the Crowd disgrac't: The House of Commons commented severely upon Jeffreys' conduct as Chief Justice of Chester. A petition had been presented from the city, complaining that Jeffreys had obstructed the citizens in their attempts to have Parliament summoned. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the charge, and on November 13, 1680, it was resolved that Jeffreys had betrayed the rights of the subjects, and the king was requested to remove him out of all public offices. Charles II. merely replied that he would consider it, but Jeffreys was not "parliament proof" and had to submit to a reprimand on his knees at the bar of the house, and resigned the recordership. Shortly after his resignation, Jeffreys was made chairman of the Middlesex sessions by the king. 948, he sits Exalted high: as Lord Chief Justice of England.

Thus to Delude my Eyes,  
 And with thin Mists shade o'er the Ages vice; } 955  
 Think not, but I believe some few there are  
 That Vertue do prefer }  
 Before the lussions Vain of Crimes irregular.  
 Hell would be instant here on Earth,  
 Were they all Fiends that are of Humane Birth; } 960  
 We do not in a direct Sodom live,  
 Sure we may Cull out four or five,  
 That for eternal Empire strive. }  
 Remember when the deluge overflow'd  
 At the Command of God, } 965  
 When Giants, Monsters, Satyrs, roam'd abroad,  
 And Lunatick as the craz'd addle Brain  
Of our sham Conscientious Aldermen;  
 When all the tribe, revelling in villany  
 Were drown'd in the vast deeps Immensity, } 970  
 The Almighty found one vertuous Family:  
 All were not kin to the infernal brood,  
 And in our Impious Age some few are good;  
 But on the World's great Lottery cast thy Eyes,  
 A thousand Blanks shall meet thee for one Prize; } 975

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968, sham Conscientious Aldermen: D'Arfey is saying that the supposedly conscientious aldermen of London were only shamming, as when they went against the wishes of Charles and freed Shaftesbury. The jury claimed that they did not have to return an indictment unless they believed the evidence against Shaftesbury, and they said they did not believe the evidence.



The general face of Nature is Impure,  
 With an Infection spotted beyond Cure:  
 Avarice, Rebellion, Lust, Ingratitude,  
 Degenerate Monsters, thirsting after blood;  
 Pride the vain Idol of the Court is made, 980  
 And Love our darling Joy is grown a Trade;  
 Beauty is sold as Merchandising ware,  
 At who gives most like horses in a Fair;  
 Settlements, Joyntures, Bargains are your task,  
 Your merit is the last dull thing they ask. 985  
 Parents of old Conscientiously did prove,  
 In th' days of unsophisticated love,  
 That Marriage was design'd, and hearts were pair'd above: }  
 But modern Misers tear the trembling Strings,  
 And from the heart, force out the life-bloud Springs; 990  
 Their onely question is, whether you know  
 The Fool is rich, if he be so }  
 No matter whether hearts are pair'd or no:  
 Thus not considering that a moderate State,  
 When souls are joyn'd the life makes fortunate, 995  
 Beyond large heaps of wealth with one not lov'd,  
 Their stubborn wills are rashly mov'd  
 To venture, and are cause of all the strife,  
 Torments and plagues of such a marriage life: 1000  
 I grant the tender Virgin, Young, unskill'd,  
 Harmless as Infants, and as Turtles mild,  
 By an immoderate passion, and ill fate,

May be deceiv'd by some abhorr'd Ingrate;  
 She ought to think e'er she bestows her heart,  
 And not with such a Gem, unless to merit part,  
 For generous Love has no deluding Art;  
 With honour, safty, peace, 'tis ever blest,  
 Entrancing Pleasures and Eternal rest;  
 And if she first her Servant's value proves,  
 She's safe, for who could injure what he loves?  
 Destruction lies in matches where the heart,  
 Instead of being in all, is in no part;  
 Examine the fair Bevy one by one,  
 You'll find there four in six, that are undone;  
 Their wretched State, and every plague besides,  
 Springs from their sordid Parents Avarice or Pride.

## XIX.

Under this Curse the poor Selina fell;  
Selina lov'd by Phillemon so well,  
 Each smile she gave, he did to heaven prefer,  
 As if he had no other soul but her.  
 And if the faithless tribe we might believe,  
 When they their vows, tears, sighs and dearest favours give;  
 If when they make a Solemn vow,  
 Deep as damnation, we may think it true;  
 She once indulg'd his flames, and lov'd him too,  
 And with an equal Zeal her pangs exprest,  
 But Womens passions are too fierce to last;  
 Each little blast of fortune turns and winds

The roving vans of their Inconstant minds; 1030  
 Whilst from the Tables of their hearts is Rast  
 A Passion they had sworn should ever last.  
 Swift were the happy hours, and wing'd with Joy;  
 No Cross of fortune did annoy  
 The dear content, and bliss of Phillemon, 1035  
 Whilst his Selina's heart was all his own:  
 When she his merit with discerning Eyes,  
 Could cherish, and could prize;  
 And if, (as none could ever perfect prove)  
 He had some faults, could guild 'em o'er with Love; 1040  
 Her errors, though he clearly understood,  
 He through the wrong end of the perspect view'd,  
 Nourisht her Wit, Applauded every Line,  
 Her blotted Billets kis't, and call'd 'em fine;  
 Nearest his heart, the speckled Snake he hung, 1045  
 Not thinking he should ever have bin stung;  
 But time the Tutour both to good and bad,  
 In her frail soul quick Alteration made,  
 And now weak senseless Scruples do molest  
 Her trembling breast, 1050  
 And Idle scrutinies her peace molest;  
 She loves, now hates, now blames herself and cries,  
 Now binds her love by Oath, and streight that Oath denies, }  
 And is so stupid grown or so unwise,  
 That she can kek at Love's least vanity, 1055

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1055, kek: obsolete form of "kiek."

And yet can swallow down with ease a dreadfull perjury.

## XX.

Here had the Satyrist scarce made an end,

Deeply reflecting on his injur'd Friend,

Who well deserv'd a better fate,

If faithfull Love could e'er be fortunate;

1060

When Error lifting his dejected head,

Blind with his gushing tears, thus said,

Here let us swear by the Sun's darling Rays,

The bright Celestial powers, that guide the nights and days,

By the Omniscient Father, dreadfull Jove,

1065

And all th' eternal Parliament above,

Never again t' incline our hearts to Love.

Let the fair smiling mischiefs still plot on,

Let sighing fools believe, and be undone.

Far from the town in some sweet Covert, we

1070

Will live in peace, and bless our Liberty,

Despise the vulgar, and the Apes of State,

The sordid, Rich and Souless fortunate,

And all that are not good as well as great.

This said, the t'other rising from his place,

1075

Seal'd the dear motion with a close Embrace,

And instantly propos'd they might be gone,

For now the scorching of the Southern Sun,

Had driven the flocks to shades and Cooler Air;

Thither our new created Friends repair,

1080

Amongst the bleating Herds on grassie beds they lay,  
Shunning all humans-kind, as worsser beasts than they.

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The End of the Satyr.

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## Textual Notes

It is difficult to tell actual misprints from seventeenth century spellings in D'Urfey's text. In *The Progress of Honesty* and *The Male-content* the original spelling and punctuation have been retained except in instances when a correction on the part of the editor would aid the reader, or when an obvious misprint occurs. The old-fashioned long "f" has been replaced by the modern "s". D'Urfey's original text did not have line numbers; these have been added by the editor to enable the reader to refer to the footnotes more easily.

The following corrections have been made, the first form in each case being the reading of the original text, the second form being the corrected reading.

*The Progress of Honesty*

- l. 52: eth<sup>r</sup>] e<sup>r</sup> th<sup>r</sup>  
 l. 125: Sire;] Sire,  
 l. 217: Court<sup>r</sup>ly] Courtly  
 l. 266: Tongues] Tongues?  
 l. 290: th] th<sup>r</sup>  
 l. 374: Bills;] Bills.  
 l. 406: Destruction] Destruction  
 l. 433: to] too  
 l. 435: Fame;] Fame,  
 l. 447: most] must  
 ll. 466: 't] t<sup>r</sup>  
 l. 528: 't] t<sup>r</sup>  
 l. 543: trus;] trus?

**The Progress of History (Continued)**

L. 544: prove? ] proves

L. 594: May ] May

L. 706: chose ] choose

**The Misconstrued**

L. 7 (Epistle): ] treat. treat,

L. 28 (Epistle): ] may'd; may'd,

L. 19: Trees ] Trees.

L. 51: belay'd ] believ'd

L. 73: e'er ] ere

L. 201: left; ] left,

L. 224: peice ] pieces

L. 334: easy ] eay

L. 341: a miss ] anias

L. 363: the, ] the

L. 519: e'er ] ere

L. 565: Doctours? ] Doctour's

L. 570: Nation, ] Nation

L. 577: I'll ] Ill

L. 741: heigh ] height

L. 838: peice ] piece

L. 851: Thaives ] Thieves

L. 883: throughly ] thoroughly

L. 946: Crow'd ] Crowd

L. 960: Feinds ] Fiends

L. 1042: veiv'd ] view'd

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