2054

NATHANIEL THOMPSON

TORY PRINTER, BALLAD MONGER AND PROPAGANDIST

G.M. Peerbooms

NATHANIEL THOMPSON

Promotor: Prof. T.A. Birrell

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Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de letteren
aan de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. Dr. J.H.G.I. Giesbers
volgens besluit van het College van Dekanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen op dinsdag 28 juni 1983
des namiddags te 2 uur precies

door

GERARD MARIA PEERBOOMS

geboren te Born

Sneldruk Boulevard Enschede

ISBN 90-9000482-3

C.1983 G.M.Peerbooms, Instituut Engels-Amerikaans
Katholieke Universiteit, Erasmusplein 1, Nijmegen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the authorities and staffs of the following libraries and record offices for permission to examine books and manuscripts in their possession, for their readiness to answer my queries and to provide microfilms: the British Library, London; the Corporation of London Record Office; Farm Street Church Library, London; the Greater London Record Office; the Guildhall Library, London; Heythrop College Library, London; the House of Lords Record Office, London; Lambeth Palace Library, London; the Public Record Office, London; St. Bride's Printing Library, London; the Stationers' Company, London; Westminster Public Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Christ Church College Library, All Souls College Library, Merton College Library, New College Library, Worcester College Library, Oxford; Chetam's Library, Manchester; the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the H.E. Huntington Library, San Marino; the Newberry Library, Chicago and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles.

My thanks are also due to Miss Mary Pollard of Trinity College Dublin; Dr. J. Treadwell of Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario; Dom H. Steuert of Downside Abbey, Bath; and in particular to Miss Robin Myers of Stationers' Hall, London.

The Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) and The British Council provided grants which enabled me to do part of my research in British Libraries.

Finally I would like to thank Miss C. van Heertum who kindly checked a number of documents for me and Mrs Mies Faber, Miss Diane Crook and Miss Marjan de Ruyter who typed the manuscript.

I dedicate this work to my wife and children.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	v
Introduction	1
Chapter I - Nathaniel Thompson and Thomas Ratcliffe	3
Chapter II - Nathaniel Thompson, 1679-1681	15
- <i>The True Domestick Intelligence</i> and its Rivals	19
- Thompson and the Authorities	29
Chapter III - Nathaniel Thompson, Tory Pamphleteer, 1681-1685	33
- <i>The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence</i> and the Whig News-sheets	34
- Books and Pamphlets Printed and Sold by Nathaniel Thompson	58
- Nathaniel Thompson and the Authorities, 1681-1685	68
Chapter IV - Nathaniel Thompson's Collections of Loyal Songs and Loyal Poems, 1684-1685	83
Chapter V - Nathaniel Thompson's Printing House after 1685	103
Notes	112
Appendix I - A. The Contents of <i>A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs</i> and <i>A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs</i>	175
- B. The Contents of <i>A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems</i>	213
Appendix II - List of Books and Pamphlets Printed and Sold by Nathaniel and Mary Thompson, 1678-1689	231
Bibliography	
- A. Manuscripts	267
- B. News-sheets	269
- C. Pamphlets and Books in which N. Thompson is mentioned	272
- D. Seventeenth Century Books and Pamphlets	275
- E. Later Works	287
- F. Articles and Theses	297
Index to Text and Notes	304

Between 1678 and 1683, England, and especially the capital, London, was seething with the excitement of political strife. For the first time in English history, two more or less organized political parties were struggling to gain power. The supporters of the King and the Church, the Court party, of Tories as they came to be called by their opponents, found themselves confronted by the advocates of parliamentary oligarchy, the Country party or Whigs. The age-old English fear of popery and royal absolutism was exploited by the Whigs under the direction of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, who used Titus Oates's preposterous allegations of a Popish Plot against the life of the King to achieve their immediate political objective, the exclusion from the succession to the throne of the King's Roman Catholic brother, James, Duke of York. A Roman Catholic on the throne of England was synonymous with absolutism, slavery and popery, Shaftesbury kept telling the nation. The Court party in turn insisted that the Whig movement was '1641 come again' and that the country was on the brink of another civil war between the King's loyal Church of England supporters and the 'phanatique Presbyterian' republicans, who had also been responsible for the civil wars of the 1640's. The battle between the two rival political movements was not restricted to the circles of power: both parties appealed to the nation for support, and London saw its streets and coffeehouses flooded with pamphlets, broadsheets, ballads and poems by political propagandists.¹

The royalist party had a powerful pamphleteer in Sir Roger L'Estrange, who, since 1660, had advocated a strict control of the press. While he had the authority to do so, he had laboured hard to impose that control by seizing all the seditious pamphlets that he could lay his hands on. When it proved impossible to stop the publication of Whig pamphlets, he entered the lists himself and wrote, besides his periodical *The Observer*, innumerable pamphlets in refutation of Whig propaganda.²

Another name that the student of the political literature of the time meets again and again, is that of Nathaniel Thompson. Not only does Thompson's name figure in the imprints of a great many Tory pamphlets, it also regularly crops up in the pamphlets themselves. Thompson's must have been a household name in the London of the 1680's, so much so that the pamphleteers did not find it necessary to provide any explanations about his identity when they praised or abused him as 'loyal Nat', 'honest Thompson', 'lying Nat', 'Trinculo' or whatever other name they cared to call him. Printers and booksellers even found it worth their while to make Nathaniel Thompson the subject of their pamphlets, which means that they must have seen a market for such publications.

That Nathaniel Thompson, no doubt a man of humble origins without

any claim to social standing, became so well-known to his fellow citizens was due to the fact that, like Sir Roger L'Estrange, he was one of the Tory propagandists at a time when supporting the cause of the Court party was not without personal danger. There were more printers and booksellers who published Tory propaganda under their own imprints, but none of them was as famous or as notorious as Thompson; none of them was mentioned in one breath with Sir Roger L'Estrange as often as Thompson and none of them was attacked as fiercely or as frequently as Thompson.

So far, no full-length study has ever been made of Nathaniel Thompson and his role in seventeenth-century printing and publishing.³ The present study will discuss Thompson's life and his career as a printer, publisher and bookseller. An examination of the works that carry his name, as well as of the works ascribed to him by his contemporaries, will show that three main periods can be distinguished in his career. Between 1665 and 1678, he worked as a printer in Dublin and in London, first for the Dublin printing-firm of Bladen, later in association with the London printer Thomas Ratcliffe. From 1678 he had his own printing-house in London and gradually became one of the main propagandists for the Tory cause, printing and publishing Tory pamphlets and a Tory news-sheet. After the accession of King James II in 1685, Thompson entered on the third stage of his career and became one of the main publishers of Roman Catholic devotional and controversial work. When he died in 1687, his shop was continued for some time by his wife Mary Thompson, until it was taken over by Thompson's son-in-law David Edwards.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON AND THOMAS RATCLIFFE

The first part of Nathaniel Thompson's life must, unfortunately, remain in the dark. We have no information about the date or the place of his birth. If he was apprenticed to a bookseller or a printer, the records are silent about the contract. Thompson was often called 'Irish Nat' by his Whig opponents, and it is in Ireland that we first meet his name. In 1665 and 1666, working for the Dublin printing house of Bladen⁴, Thompson printed and put his name to Ambrose White's *An Almanack and Prognostication for the Year 1665*, Francis Clarke or Clerke's *Praxis Francisci Clarke*, edited by the Reverend Thomas Bladen⁵, and Dr. Faithful Teate's *A Discourse Grounded on Prov. 12.5 ... Proving our State (Godward) to Be as our Thoughts Are &c.*

William Bladen, a London bookseller, had in 1631 succeeded Arthur Johnson as the Dublin factor of the London Stationers' Company. In 1639 he had bought the Company's Irish Stock for £2,600 and with it he had obtained a monopoly position as 'Printer to the King's Most Sacred Majesty', a title which he assumed for the first time on 10 June 1642. After the Restoration, the office of King's printer in Ireland was granted to the London stationer John Crooke, and William Bladen's press lost not only its monopoly position but also its legal status. It continued to operate, however, in spite of these changes and even after Bladen's death in 1663, when his will stipulated that both his London and Dublin printing houses were to be sold to 'some person having served seven years to a printer, stationer or bookseller', the Dublin printing house was not sold and continued to function under the nominal direction of William's son, the Reverend Thomas Bladen, in competition with the King's printer's house. Attempts were made, however, to strengthen John Crooke's position and to silence the Bladen press. In January 1664, an Order in Council confirmed the King's printer position and banned all books and pamphlets except those that were licensed by the archbishop of Dublin and Armagh, their deputies or by the King's printer. Of the three works printed by Thompson in 1665 and 1666, only Thomas Bladen's edition of *Praxis Francisci Clarke* had the obligatory imprimatur. Ambrose White's *Almanack ...*, belonging to the King's printer's monopoly, and *A Discourse Grounded upon Prov. 12.5 ...* by Dr. Faithful Teate, an ejected Nonconformist minister, did not have the necessary licence and were therefore published in breach of the regulations. There is no evidence that Thompson was prosecuted for the publication of these works for the Bladen press, but it must have been the precarious situation of that press that made him decide, between 1666 and 1668, to leave Dublin and to go to London. Although the exact nature of the difficulties is obscure, the London bookselling trade

seemed to be well informed about what had been going on, for as late as 1682, Thompson's enemy Henry Care wrote in *Richard Janeway's Impartial Protestant Mercury* 'but let the world consider Mr Thompson's circumstances, who he was servant to Dublin, and how he left the City'.⁷ In the summer of 1668 we find Thompson in London, where he was employed as a workman by William Godbid, according to the survey of the printing presses of 29 July 1669.⁸ He was marked in the list as not free of the Stationers' Company. William Godbid had three presses, two apprentices and five workmen at his shop over against the Anchor in Little Britain.⁹ He regularly printed musical work for the famous music publisher John Playford and it was probably at Godbid's establishment that Thompson learned the trade of music printing, which he was to practise at various times during his subsequent career in London.

For any printer contemplating a career in London it was absolutely necessary to become a freeman of the Stationers' Company. On 6 December 1669, Thompson appeared before the Court of the Stationers' Company as the servant of William Bladen and, after paying a fine of twenty shillings because he had been bound to his master by foreign indentures, he was sworn and admitted to the freedom of the Company.¹⁰

It was of course the ideal of every journeyman printer to set up in business for himself as soon as possible. One of the ways of realizing that ideal was for the journeyman printer to marry some master printer's widow, and that was what Nathaniel Thompson did. Some time in 1671 he left Godbid's establishment and found employment with Thomas Ratcliffe and on 22 December of that year we find him signing, on behalf of master Thomas Ratcliffe, the receipt for the annual English Stock dividend.¹¹

Thomas Ratcliffe, born shortly before 1600, was the son of William Ratcliffe of Kirkpatrick on the Isle of Man. He served his apprenticeship with the London stationer William Stansby and completed his time on 14 December 1628.¹² Judging by the occurrence of his name in imprints, it was not until 1643 that Ratcliffe set up his own printing shop, which he did in partnership with Edward Mottershead, who had been apprenticed to the same master.¹³ The Ratcliffe-Mottershead partnership lasted until 1658/9 and their joint imprint appears on 149 books.¹⁴ Ratcliffe seems to have run his shop alone between 1659 and 1667, when, he entered into partnership with his daughter Mary's husband, Thomas Daniel. Daniel had learnt the trade with the printer Thomas Leach and became a freeman, presented by Leach and Childe, on 7 July 1662.¹⁵ The Ratcliffe-Daniel partnership did not last very long, however. Thomas Daniel must have died about the year 1670, after printing some twenty books with his father-in-law Thomas Ratcliffe under their joint imprint.¹⁶ The latter was now forced to continue his business with what help he could get from his widowed daughter, Mary, who was severely handicapped as a printer because she was illiterate.¹⁷ It was obvious that more adequate assistance was needed and it was found in the person of Nathaniel Thompson. One is inclined to speculate that it was the opportunity to join the

Ratcliffe printing house that made Thompson apply for the freedom of the Stationers' Company in December 1669.

Although there is no record of a marriage between Mary Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson, there can be no doubt that Thompson succeeded Thomas Daniel, not only as partner to Thomas Ratcliffe, but also as husband to his widow. Thompson's will, for example, mentions two daughters, Margaret Thompson and Mary Daniel, who must have been a daughter of Mary Thompson's first marriage to Thomas Daniel.¹⁸ Another indication comes in the pamphlet *Trincalo Sainted: or, The Exaltation of the Jesuits Implement and Printer General, the Notorious Nathaniel Thompson on this Present 5th of July 1682...*, which was published under the fake imprint 'for J.B.'. ¹⁹ The anonymous author writes: 'Who would have believed, once upon a time, that this poor printer Nat Thompson, that went up and down town to beg work to buy his manks lady porridge, should grow to that pride, richness, impudence and lying, as to arrive at this exaltation to the pillory...?' The 'manks lady' was Thompson's wife Mary, Manxman Thomas Ratcliffe's daughter, whom Thompson had married in the early 1670s. Confirmation is also provided by a comparison of dates: in his petition to the Vestry of St. Bennet's Thomas Ratcliffe stated that he was 'above the age of three score years'.²⁰ Nineteen years later, in November 1678, Thompson petitioned the House of Lords to be released from prison, stating that he was responsible for 'an aged parent over 80'.²¹ His 'aged parent' was Thomas Ratcliffe, who died a few weeks later in December 1678 and was buried in the Church of St. Bennet's.²² The Stationers' Company Courtbook E records that Thomas Ratcliffe's English Stock share was conferred on 'Nathaniel Thompson, his nephew, who had been at great charges in maintaining him for several years', but there are no indications that Thompson was related to Ratcliffe and perhaps the term 'nephew' must be interpreted in the wider sense of 'one of remote or unspecified degree of descent; a successor'.²³

Thompson had now acquired what Plomer calls 'an extensive business'. In the survey of the London printing presses of 1668, Ratcliffe is recorded as having two presses, two apprentices and seven workmen.²⁴ Between 1667 and 1678, he had employed ten apprentices, among them the later messenger of the press, Robert Stephens.²⁵

Ratcliffe worked for a great many London booksellers, some of whom rose to positions of importance in the Stationers' Company. Among them are Humphrey Robinson, warden in 1656 and master of the Company in 1661 and 1667; Octavian Pulleyn, warden in 1662 and 1664; Andrew Crooke, warden in 1663 and master in 1665 and 1666.²⁶ He printed a number of works by Nonconformists such as Richard Capel, a Puritan divine, Jeremiah Burroughs, a Congregational minister, George Kendall, a theologian with strong Presbyterian sympathies, Samuel Clarke, who was ejected from the rectory of Grendon-Underwood and others.²⁷ Ratcliffe's most famous customer was the London bookseller George Thomason, warden of the Stationers' Company in 1661, and famous collector of books and pamphlets during the Civil War and Commonwealth period, whose collection is known as the Thomason Tracts. Thomason regularly employed Thomas Ratcliffe to print the

sermons of Edward Reynolds, who later became bishop of Norwich.²⁸

Yet, although Thomas Ratcliffe employed so many men in 1668, he was at the same time in debt. On 16 September 1668 he was summoned to Stationers' Hall by the Table of the Company and he promised on that occasion to pay his debt of £50 before Christmas, or, if he was unable to do so, to give new security.²⁹ The fact that Ratcliffe was in debt also explains why, in May and December 1667 and in December 1668, Ratcliffe's English Stock dividends were collected by Abel Roper and Roper's cousin Henry Herringman, and why, on 5 June 1671, Ratcliffe asked and received permission from the Company to mortgage his yeomanry share in the English Stock to John Cleaver, the Company beadle, as a security for a debt of £40.³⁰ Two months later, on 3 August, Thomas Ratcliffe reminded the Company of his right to be elected as one of the assistants of the Company, no doubt with a view to obtaining a more profitable assistant's share in the English Stock. His request was turned down, however, and the Company told him that, although he had been nominated, he had not been elected 'for some special reasons'.³¹ There is no indication in the Company Records what these 'special reasons' were. The only other reference to Thomas Ratcliffe shows that, loyal to the Company, on 6 June 1670 he revealed to the Company authorities that the booksellers Thomas Basset and John Bellinger had asked him to print a law-book which they said was 'Sheppard's Office of Sheriffs', but which later proved to be 'Dalton's Office of Sheriffs', i.e. Michael Dalton's *Officium Vicecomitum, The Office and Authority of Sheriffs*, which belonged to the English Stock monopoly and could therefore not be printed without the Company's permission.³² Obviously, Ratcliffe valued his good relationship with the Company and there is no evidence in the Company records of any encroachment by him on the Company monopolies. The same seems to be true of Thompson during the first years of his partnership with Thomas Ratcliffe. The Ratcliffe-Thompson printing house continued to work for the London bookselling trade from their address, 'in Newstreet between Shoelane and Fetterlane'. Among the sixty odd books that we now know to have been printed by Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson, there are ten religious works, only one of which, Richard Drake's *A Manual of the Private Devotions and Meditations of the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrews*, was a truly Anglican work.³³ They printed religious books for Nathaniel Ponder and Francis Smith, both Nonconformist booksellers.³⁴ At least three of the works printed by Ratcliffe and Thompson were definitely anti-Catholic: in 1672 they printed for the bookseller Edward Thomas A *Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira in the Yeare, 1548*.³⁵ Under their own auspices they published *Janus Alexandrus Ferrarius... His Epistles to the Two Brethren of Wallenbergh... wherein the Ambition and Avarice of the Church of Rome are Demonstrated*.³⁶ The work was published, according to Arber, on 6 May 1673, as an answer to *Janii Alexandri Ferrarii... Euclides Catholicus sive Demonstratio Romanae Fidei ex Primis Certis & Evidentissimis Principibus*, which was sold by William Gilbert.³⁷ The third anti-papist work was printed by

Ratcliffe and Thompson for the famous London haberdasher-bookseller Moses Pitt: it was a tract called *A Famous Conference between Pope Clement the Xth and Cardinal de Monte Alto, concerning the Late Discovery of the Masse in Holy Scripture Made by the Worthy Father Patrick...*³⁸

Apart from religious works, the Ratcliffe and Thompson imprint appears on some fifty books on a wide variety of subjects for a great number of London booksellers. For Thomas Collins and Benjamin Tooke, Ratcliffe and Thompson printed John Evelyn Jr.'s version of *Of Gardens* by the French Jesuit poet René Rapin, an edition of John Evelyn Sr.'s translation of Nicolas de Bonnefons's *The French Gardiner* and an edition of John Rose's *The English Vineyard Vindicated*.³⁹ It was probably about this time that Nathaniel Thompson began his acquaintance with William Cooper, the London bookseller and auctioneer, who was later to stand bail for him and who remained a lifelong friend of Thompson's as is shown by Thompson's will.⁴⁰ For William Cooper they printed in 1673 *The Philosophical Epitaph of W.C. Esquire for a Memoir to Mori on his Tombstone*, in 1675 William Simpson's *Zymologia Physica, or, A Brief Philosophical Discourse of Fermentation*, and in 1678 *Ripley Reviv'd, or, An Exposition upon Sir George Ripley's Hermetico-Poetical Works*.⁴¹ Besides a number of plays, among which was Nathaniel Lee's *The Tragedy of Nero*, printed for James Magnes and Richard Bentley, publishers of plays and romances, and a few medical and mathematical works, Thompson and Ratcliffe also printed musical works.⁴² In 1676, Thompson printed for the Cambridge musician Thomas Mace *Musick's Monument: or, A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick both Divine and Civil*.

Mace stayed in London while the book was seen through the press and he seems to have been pleased with the work of his printer. 'For the peculiar credit of my printer, (upon the comparative examination of the well-doing of this word in reference to his undertaking), it will be found that he has outdone all musick-work in this kind, ever before printed in this nation; and is the only person to do the like: he only having those new materials, the like to which we have never made before in England...'.⁴³ In 1675 Ratcliffe and Thompson had printed *The English Opera* by Matthew Locke, the organist of Somerset House. Both works were sold by John Carr, the London music publisher and instrument seller, who also sold *Tripla Concordia, or, A Choice Collection of New Aires*, which was published in 1677.⁴⁴

In view of Thomas Mace's remarks about Thompson's new materials, it is interesting to see that Thompson is listed as one of the debtors, to the amount of £16, in the will of Thomas Grover, the letterfounder, who died in 1675,⁴⁵ and also that in August 1677 L'Estrange stated in a letter to Secretary Williamson that he had heard from the printer Anthony Lawrence that Nathaniel Thompson owned a private press in Lambeth.⁴⁶ It may have been at this time that Thompson acquired the third press, which legally he could not have because the number of presses permitted to ordinary members of the Company was restricted to two.⁴⁷

Thomas Ratcliffe and later also Nathaniel Thompson were regularly employed by the Stationers' Company in the production of work for the English Stock. For most of the years between 1655 and 1677 Ratcliffe (and Thompson) had the printing of William Andrews's *Almanack*. From 1668 until 1676 they also printed John Tanner's *Mercurius Anglicus* and from 1671 to 1675 John Goldsmith's *Almanack*. In 1673 they did *The London Almanack* and in 1674 *Mercurius Civicus, or, The London Almanack*.⁴⁸ Besides these almanacs, Ratcliffe and Thompson printed an edition of the famous *Janua Linguarum Reserata* by Johan Komensky or Comenius.⁴⁹

From 1677, Ratcliffe and Thompson were no longer employed by the Company and their almanacs were given to other printers: Tanner's to Elizabeth Morton, Goldsmith's to Mary Clarke and Andrews's to John Grover.⁵⁰ The reason for this change was the deterioration in their relationship with the Stationers' Company. The first indication of trouble came in 1676. On 11 January Thompson had to give £100 bail, with William Browne and Edward Foulkes as securities, because he had been accused of printing seditious and scandalous pamphlets. When he appeared at the London sessions he was exonerated. On the same file there was a bill against Thompson and his workman Jonas O'Farel, for publishing on 5 January *A Letter from a Parliament Man to his Friend concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons this Last Session Begun the 13th of October 1675*, and another bill against Thompson and James Rawlins for printing and publishing on the same day *Two Seasonable Discourses concerning this Present Parliament*. These bills were also thrown out by the Grand Jury, clearly because there was no evidence against Thompson.⁵¹

Thompson continued to be suspected, however, and he got into more serious trouble in the first months of 1677.⁵² On the morning of 30 January the wardens of the Stationers' Company, accompanied by Ratcliffe's former apprentice and workman Robert Stephens and a constable, visited Thompson's shop and, in spite of resistance offered by Thompson and his servants, managed to seize part of an unlicensed pamphlet, which later proved to be *A Reply upon a Sober and Com-passionate Enquiry*, a pamphlet which Thompson was printing at the request of the Nonconformist minister Samuel Smith. The wardens obtained a warrant and arrested Thompson, who was committed to Newgate because he was unable to give security for his good behaviour.⁵³ A few days later, Sir Roger L'Estrange wrote to Secretary Williamson:

In your absence I have presumed to leave this account of my diligence upon your order. I have set the business you gave me in charge yesterday morning, so it can hardly escape me, and I am in hopes to drive it through all the instruments in the promoting of it. There is nothing further requisite but privacy and a little patience. I am informed that the Stationers are moving against Thompson's servants and for the dissolution of the house. Some of the printing houses may be useful to me in my present design. In a few days I

promise myself to see the end of this discovery.⁵⁴

The task, which L'Estrange had been given by Secretary Williamson was, in all probability, the suppression of a number of pamphlets published on behalf of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Holles and Lord Wharton, who wanted a dissolution of parliament and argued that the present parliament, which was to meet for its fifteenth session on 15 February, was in fact dissolved under an old act of Edward III, because it had been prorogued for more than a year.⁵⁵ Thompson was probably used by L'Estrange as a decoy. In spite of the fact that he was imprisoned,⁵⁶ he confessed on 9 April, when he was examined by Secretary Williamson, that on Sunday 4 April he had met the bookseller Benjamin Southwood⁵⁷ at the Falcon Tavern in Fleetstreet and received from him a manuscript, intituled *The Grand Question concerning the Prorogation of this Parliament for a Year and Three Months Stated and Discussed*, and Southwood told him that 'as great headpieces as are in the nation were concerned in it, and would countenance it'. Thompson printed one sheet of the text and on Tuesday 6 February sent it to Dr Nicolas Cary for correction. He was summoned to the Falcon again by Dr Cary and Southwood. Cary told him that he had another copy of the text, that he was not himself the author, but 'that there were great heads in it, and spoke as if he knew the author'. He ordered 1,500 copies, which Thompson was to deliver, printed and stitched up', before Friday 9 February. Thompson then left and passed on his information to Sir Roger L'Estrange, who on 8 February seized the manuscript and the part that had been printed.⁵⁸

When on 15 February Parliament assembled, the Duke of Buckingham, seconded by the Lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury and Wharton, argued that by the Statutes of Edward III no parliament was legally in existence.⁵⁹ They found no support, however, and on the proposal of the Earl of Danby, the four Lords were arrested and sent to the Tower. On 16 February the House of Lords appointed a committee that was to make inquiries as to the authors and printers of four pamphlets, *Some Considerations upon the Question whether the Parliament is Dissolved by its Prorogation for Fifteen Months*, *The Long Parliament Dissolved*, *Vox Populi* [sic], or, *Faire Warning to Every Member of the Late Parliament* and *The Grand Question concerning the Prorogation* with which Thompson had been involved.⁶⁰ On 21 February the Libels Committee ordered the wardens of the Stationers' Company to make a further search for the first two of these pamphlets and 'having great reason to believe that Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson, copartners in printing, might be persons much to be suspected for printing unlicensed books and pamphlets; being certainly informed by Thompson's neighbour William Hill that they made it their business to print in the night, and have often obstructed the wardens from searching their printing house', the wardens watched Thompson's and Ratcliffe's house in the night of 22 February from Hill's house. According to the account they gave on 23 February, they heard the presses set to work at

one a.m. When in the morning they forced their way into the shop, again accompanied by Robert Stephens and a constable, most of the night's work had been carried away and the only thing they managed to seize was 'about three quires of the book, part of which was seized at their house on the 30th of January last, and for which Thompson was by order of His Majesty in Council committed to Newgate'. They did not find any of the prorogation pamphlets, but in their account to the Committee they suggested that Thompson was to be blamed for *The Long Parliament Dissolved* because they had 'examined the book with Thompson's types, and found they agreed in everything, there being no letter in the book which Thompson had not in his press'.⁶¹ On 3 March, Thompson and his workmen were heard by the Committee. He denied all responsibility for *Some Considerations* and when he was questioned about *The Grand Question* he said that he had 'made it his business to know the author' and 'gave Mr L'Estrange notice of it, that he might seize it.... He was not aware that any more than one sheet of it had been printed and of that sheet about 1,500'. Alexander Banks, Thompson's workman, admitted that he had composed eight pages of the pamphlet but said he had not done any other unlicensed work. He added that they had had little work since Christmas, because of the disturbance his master had met with. Godwin, another workman, maintained that he had not done any unlicensed work, nor worked at night. Questioned by the Committee about *A Reply upon a Sober and Compassionate Enquiry*, Thompson maintained that he 'only worked three nights to print an unlicensed book ... which was given him by Smith, a Nonconformist preacher', while warden Mearne put the number of nights at fourteen and Robert Stephens said he had been informed by Thompson's neighbour there had been ten to twelve. Stephens added that Thompson had 'raised an alarm, as he had done three or four times upon the like occasion'. He also explained that eighteen months before, when he worked for Thompson, the latter had printed four unlicensed books, one of which was 'the English mass-book'.⁶² Two days later, on 5 March, Thompson was called before the Committee again and said that Samuel Smith had given the manuscript of *A Reply to a Sober and Compassionate Enquiry* to his servant James Rawlins 'at his own lodging', and that he was to have charged Smith, who had ordered 1,500 copies, thirty shillings a sheet, the normal rate for licensed work being twenty-five shillings'.

The Libels Committee resolved on 3 March to advise the House of Lords to send Thompson to Newgate and to instruct the Company 'to break printing-presses'. The Table of the Stationers' Company discussed the case on 5 March and decided to indict Nathaniel Thompson at the next gaol-delivery sessions of the City of London.⁶³ In the meantime, on 9 March, Thompson petitioned the Council, stating that he had been in prison since 31 January, because then he had no security, and that he was sorry for his offence. He promised, as printers used to do in such circumstances, not to print any unlicensed books in the future, and 'to discover those that shall, as since his confinement he has already done'. He gave a bond of £100 'with two

sufficient securities', was released and had all prosecutions against him stopped.⁶⁴

Thompson's promises did not conciliate Robert Stephens. On 24 March, during one of the hearings by the Libels Committee of the complaint by Captain Seymour and his supporters against warden Samuel Mearne,⁶⁵ Stephens accused Thompson, Battersby, Bridges and Marlow of printing unlicensed books. He brought witnesses to prove that Thompson and Ratcliffe had threatened to kill him when he came to search their shop. Thompson, on the other hand, complained that Stephens had threatened to ruin him and had said that the Company would furnish him with money to do it.

The State Papers contain a document, dated 9 August 1677, which must in fact refer to these months: it is an account of the information which Sir Roger L'Estrange gave to Secretary Williamson. It contains the information, mentioned before, that Thompson had a secret press at Lambeth. Although the Stationers seized a press at Lambeth, there is no evidence that Thompson was fined and the conclusion can only be that the reason for this was his cooperation in February when the Surveyor was ferreting out information about the prorogation libels.

On 11 July, Thompson appeared at the London Quarter Sessions to answer the indictment against him. His prosecutor, Robert Stephens, did not appear and Thompson was exonerated. The reason probably was the fact that Thompson had had all prosecution against him stopped and that may also explain why the original recognisance is missing from the file.⁶⁶

Of course, a printer like Thompson could not afford to keep his promise not to print any unlicensed work anymore. In 1677, the Ratcliffe-Thompson printing house did not have a great deal of work from the trade. There is only one work with the imprint 'by Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson' for that year, and they were probably forced to accept anything they could get.⁶⁷ In May 1677 Mary Thompson was arrested for dispersing *A Commentary upon the Present Condition of the Kingdom and its Amelioration*. She was questioned by the Council on 18 May and the case was referred to the Attorney General, who was ordered 'to examine the same and to proceede against the said woman at law. So far as her offence herein shall appeare to deserve'. They also ordered the warden of the Company to prosecute Mary Thompson, should the Attorney want them to do so. Mary Thompson was released on payment of a bond of £100, promising to appear when summoned. There is no evidence that she was punished for the pamphlet.⁶⁸

In September, Nathaniel Thompson was called to account for printing George Carew's *Fraud and Oppression Detected and Arraigned*. Although this time the pamphlet was not concerned with domestic politics or religion, the authorities found fault with it because it contained 'several things greatly injurious to the dignity and character of the Dutch ambassador and tending to the disturbing of the amity and good correspondence that is between His Majesty and the States General'.⁶⁹

On 26 November 1677, the bishop of London sent orders to the Stationers' Company to burn Charles Blount's book *Anima Mundi: or, An Historical Narration of the Ancients concerning Man's Soul after this Life: According to Unenlightened Nature*.⁷⁰ The book came out under the imprint 'Amsterdam, Anno Mundi 00000'. Thompson certainly sold the book. He advertised it twice in 1684 in Charles Blount's *Janua Scientiarum* and in Henry Keepe's *The Genealogies of the High-born Prince & Princess George and Anne of Denmark*. He may well have been the printer.⁷¹ Not only did he print Blount's *The Two First Books of Philostratus concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* and *Janua Scientiarum*, he was also accused by his contemporaries of printing Blount's *An Appeal from the Country to the City*.⁷² If it was Thompson who printed the book, he was successful in hiding his identity, for in spite of the bishop's order for the book to be burned, he was not prosecuted for it.

The only other remaining record of Nathaniel Thompson's activity in the year 1677 helps to explain why his relations with the Company had become so bad and why the wardens were so keen to prosecute him. As Seymour had said in his complaint against Mearne and others, the Stationers' Company officials were primarily interested in protecting their own interests.⁷² Thompson was one of the printers who infringed the English Stock copyrights: he had surreptitiously printed 1,500 psalters and 1,500 primers, books which belonged to the Company monopoly, and on 10 September 1677 the Clerk of the Company was ordered to indict Thompson for his infringement of Company rights.⁷³

After all these clashes with the authorities in 1677, the first six months of 1678 went by quietly. In the assessment for the poll tax, voted by parliament on 8 March 'to enable His Majesty to enter into an actual war against the French King',⁷⁴ Thompson was assessed for himself, his wife, three children and four apprentices.⁷⁵ According to the Stationers' Company Apprentices' Register, Thompson had only three apprentices on 8 March 1678, two of whom had been bound to Thomas Ratcliffe: John Jones, who completed his time on 2 December 1678, and Matthew Evans, who, although he ran away from Ratcliffe, was presented by him for the freedom of the Company on 1 July 1678. Thompson had his first apprentice, John Mayos, bound to him on 1 February 1675. As the Company Register does not record any other apprentices for Ratcliffe or Thompson at this time, the fourth boy for whom Thompson was assessed on 8 March 1678 must have been bound to him by means of 'foreign' indentures, drawn up at some scrivener's against the Company regulations.⁷⁶

In July 1678 the Company searchers caught Thompson again and the Table of the Company decided to indict him at the Guildhall sessions for printing part of a French mass book.⁷⁷ At the same time they also searched the house of the Roman Catholic bookseller James Thompson and there too they found part of a Catholic mass book. 'He had the sheets hanging to dry in his house as they did in printing houses, but would not confess who printed them for him'.⁷⁸ There are no records of indictments for these offences in the London Sessions Papers. Perhaps

the two Thompsons would have got off easily, had England not been shaken by the Popish Plot in the autumn of 1678.

Between August and October, Ezrael Tonge, a bigoted clergyman, and the notorious Titus Oates 'revealed' a plot by the papists against the lives of the King and a number of prominent Protestants. When the London Justice of the Peace, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, before whom Oates had sworn the truth of his allegations, disappeared and was found dead in Primrose Fields on 17 October 1678, killed, as was taken for granted, by the papists, London was seized with plot madness. Catholics, and even Protestants, were arrested on the slightest of suspicions and the fact that Thompson had printed popish books was remembered against him.⁷⁹ The porter William Preston informed against him and against the bookseller James Thompson, who had been imprudent enough to say openly that he wondered 'that the nation should not be wiser than to give credit to Oates, who is a great rogue, and he would maintain him to be so'. He had also criticized the proceedings of parliament with respect to the plot and openly avowed himself a Roman Catholic. He was arrested on 26 October, and brought to the House of Lords, where the crowd was so great that he could hardly be kept.⁸⁰ The Lords committed him to the Gatehouse and orders were given to search his house for popish books. The search produced, according to one source, 'near 30,000 catechisms and other books',⁸¹ and according to another source 'ten bundles of Austin's Devotions, part II, the Four Gospels in One',⁸² all of which were taken to the bishop of London. On 29 October, James Thompson's printer, Nathaniel Thompson, and the binder, William Vere, were called before the House of Lords' Committee of Examinations,⁸³ and lieutenant Scorold, in whose custody Nathaniel Thompson had been, told the committee that Thompson had admitted that he had printed 'divers thousands of books' for James Thompson. The porter, William Preston, confessed that for a year and a half he had been regularly employed by James Thompson, his relative, to carry paper to Nathaniel Thompson in Fetter Lane, over against Bond's stables, and printed books back from Fetter Lane to James Thompson's. Nathaniel Thompson maintained that he was a Protestant and that the books he had printed were 'neither prejudicial to the Church nor to the State'. But, although Preston and Vere were released, Nat Thompson was committed to the custody of Black Rod. He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse and had guards placed round his shop until 2 November.⁸⁴ They were withdrawn when Mary Thompson complained in a petition to the House of Lords, that 'she and her children had no liberty to look after sustenance, neither will anyone pay them any money that is owing to them'.⁸⁵ Six days later, her husband also petitioned the House of Lords, asking for his papers, bills and bonds to be returned to him so as to enable him to claim debts, and begging to be released from prison because, as he stated in his petition, he had an old father, over eighty years old, and three sick children to look after. He offered 'to represent to your Honours (though contrary to his own interest) the true reason that so many unlicensed books and pamphlets are daily printed and the

means (of printing thereof for the future) to be prevented'. The petition seems to have gone unanswered, for on 21 November he repeated his request, asking pardon for his offence. This time the House read his petition, and directed that his papers were to be returned to him and that he was to be released, on condition that he was to give security before the Lord Chief Justice to be of good behaviour.⁸⁶

Soon after Thompson's release, Thomas Ratcliffe died and on 9 December 1678 he was buried in the Church of St. Bennet's.⁸⁷ Thompson and his wife Mary inherited the printing shop, and, in spite of his difficulties with the Company, on 16 December Nathaniel Thompson was elected by the Table of the Company to succeed to Thomas Ratcliffe's yeomanry share in the English stock, because 'he had been at great charges in maintaining of him [i.e. Thomas Ratcliffe] for several years'.⁸⁸ Ratcliffe's death at the end of 1678 coincided with a change in the fortunes of the printing house that was to make Nathaniel Thompson one of the most important Tory pamphleteers, and, instead of being the target of Sir Roger L'Estrange's searches, he became one of his most faithful supporters and allies.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON, 1679 - 1681

One of the differences between the Ratcliffe and the Thompson period of the printing firm is that, whereas Thomas Ratcliffe had a great deal of work from the London bookselling trade, Nathaniel Thompson got less and less work from the booksellers when he continued alone after Ratcliffe's death. He was employed by the Stationers' Company in 1680 and once more printed William Andrew's almanac, *News from the Stars*.⁸⁹ Of the booksellers for whom Ratcliffe had worked, only a few continued their patronage. In 1680 and 1681, Thompson printed Sir William Petyt's *Miscellanea Parliamentaria* for Thomas Basset and John Wickins and in 1681, William Cooper gave him *The Clergies Honour, or, The Lives of St. Basil the Great ... and St. Chrysostom ...*⁹⁰ He also had work from some other booksellers, but in all, between 1679 and 1686, the imprints 'Printed by N. Thompson for X' and 'Printed by N. Thompson and are to be sold by X' occur only fourteen times.⁹¹ The fact that Thompson had little work from the London booksellers explains on the one hand why, like many of his fellow printers, he was easily persuaded to accept unlicensed work and on the other hand why, from 1679, Thompson was not only the printer but also the publisher of most of the work that appeared under his imprint.

Until the end of 1678, Thompson, as we have seen, was not hampered by any outspoken political or religious opinions when it came to accepting work for his printing house. He accepted everything that came his way, licensed as well as unlicensed work, from the Roman Catholics as well as from Nonconformists. He had gained for himself a reputation of being 'a mercenary fellow for any side that pays him well ...',⁹² one that 'could see nothing but Mammon and the golden shower that fell into his pockets ...',⁹³ a reputation that was held against him as late as 1684. From January 1679, Thompson's attitude gradually changed. He called himself a 'loyal printer' and clearly wanted to avoid further trouble with the authorities. The fact that he had been forced to give security to be of good behaviour in order to obtain his release from prison must have helped him to come to the conclusion that it was safer for him to print and publish only those things that were acceptable to those in power. But it must have been very difficult, if not impossible for a simple printer like Nathaniel Thompson in the London of the early 1680's to decide what was acceptable and what was not. What was approved of by the Court party and the government was more than likely to offend some powerful London magistrate whose sympathies lay with the Country or Whig party. Obliging the government, a printer ran the risk of incurring the wrath of the House of Commons. He might also be persuaded to print controversial work for 'great men' who would assert that there was no harm in what they brought him to print and who would promise him their protection in case of trouble, but forgot their promises when the

pamphlet was actually seized. Before 1681, some truths that were obvious to all well-thinking people could not be openly discussed. The Popish Plot had to be treated as a reality; Roman Catholics were to be represented as the only enemies of the Church and the State; men were executed even though it was obvious to all unbiassed observers that they were innocent. And, perhaps as important as all these reasons, a printer like Nathaniel Thompson had to keep an eye on his balance sheet as much as anything else. It is therefore not surprising that, under these circumstances, one finds in the list of works printed by Thompson a few pamphlets that one would not expect to have been printed by a truly 'loyal' printer.

The first pamphlet published by Thompson without Thomas Ratcliffe's name in the imprint was *A True and Perfect Narrative of the Terrible and Bloody Murther of Sir Edmondberry Godfrey*, which he published 'with allowance' in 1678.⁹⁴ When the news that Godfrey's body had been found reached London, Thompson went to the White House Tavern to see the body. There he met the printer George Larkin, who was later to become one of his Whig enemies and was to bear witness against him about this occasion.⁹⁵ Thompson invited Larkin to assist him in the preparation and publication of a narrative of the event and asked him to watch carefully and to remember as many details as he could. Part of the pamphlet was written the same day at Thompson's house.⁹⁶ The narrative was a matter-of-fact account of what Thompson and Larkin had seen and there was not the slightest trace of doubt about the Popish Plot. In fact, it was not until 1681 that Thompson definitively changed his attitude to the Popish Plot. As late as December 1680, he printed the fiercely anti-Catholic sermon which Thomas Jones preached at the funeral of Dr. Ezrael Tonge, the clergyman who had, with Titus Oates, 'revealed' the Popish Plot. The sermon was sold by Thomas Parkhurst, Benjamin Shirley and William Hinchman, booksellers who published and sold quite a few Whig pamphlets.⁹⁷

If Thompson's attitude to the Popish Plot and the Roman Catholics in 1679 and 1680 resembled that of the Whig publishers and pamphleteers, he was entirely different from them in his aversion to the Non-conformists, an attitude that was to become typical of him after 1680. It appeared quite clearly in *The Cloak and its Colours; or, The Presbyterian Unmasked, and Proved as Dangerous as Papists to the Church of England; Together with a Brief and Seasonable Answer to Their Late Unreasonable Queries, and List of Pensioners...*⁹⁸ The pamphlet appeared during the election campaign of 1679, the first that was ever fought on distinct party lines. The Whigs flooded the country with propaganda pamphlets, urging the freeholders to elect candidates who would espouse the people's cause, assert their liberties and defend their property, maintain the government and the Church as by law established.⁹⁹ *The Cloak in its Colours* set out to undeceive the people.

the experience of many years ... tells us that Presbyterians and papists do always design the subversion of both our Church and State, and both are assured, that if they could but once

suppress our religion, they might soon advance their own. Now the Presbyterians bring us a list of about 200 Members of Parliament, dissolved in January last, as the King's pensioners and sworn voters, and consequently no great well wishers of the new gospel of John [Presbyter?] and his onely compleat reformation ... these 200 persons, because no great Presbyterians, must be laid aside, notwithstanding their eminent services both to King and Kingdom for many years together in the late parliament.

And on page 10 the author adds:

had the papists of this kingdom been as evidently prov'd guilty of Justice Godfrey's murder as the Presbyterians of Scotland have been ... of the bishop of St. Andrew's tragedy,¹⁰⁰ or could they be as unquestionably proved to have conspired his Sacred Majesties death ... as the latter have undoubtedly designed both in their late ... rebellion ... Surely all Protestants would unanimously rise against such bloody tigris ... How strangely it then comes to pass that the Presbyterians' undeniable wickedness is presently buried to oblivion?

A pamphlet such as this one, officially in defence of the Church and a number of loyal members of parliament, was a dangerous thing to publish in 1679, when the Popish Plot frenzy was still at its height and its description of the Presbyterians as more dangerous than the papists could not but lead to the charge that this was a popish libel. This was what happened: Colonel Blood, in his *Just Narrative of the Hellish New Counter Plots of the Papists*, pointed to *The Cloak in its Colours* as the first in a list of pamphlets that were published by the papists to achieve their treacherous aims.¹⁰¹ And Thomas Dangerfield, who gave evidence about the so-called Meal Tub Plot, which, it was generally believed at the time, had been concocted by the Catholics to incriminate the Nonconformists, claimed in his *Second Narrative* that he had been employed by the popish midwife, Mrs Cellier, to take *The Cloak in its Colours*, 'which was wrote by some, if not all, the Lords in the Tower', to one Mr Stamford.¹⁰² Blood and Dangerfield were right when they said that Thompson had shown himself the implacable enemy of the Nonconformists, and he was to remain so throughout the first half of the 1680's.

Thompson himself repeatedly denied the charge of being a papist. In the pamphlet *The Petitioning Comet*, dated 3 February 1681 by Narcissus Luttrell, the preface, 'A Letter out of the Country from the Author to the Printer', states:

Now as for you, my friend, [i.e. Thompson the printer], I must confess the late noise abroad of your being a papist or at least popishly affected made me at first hesitate whether I might with safety entrust any more papers with

you, or proceed in our acquaintance as formerly: but upon mature deliberation I recollected all your former letters and discourses, as well as examined what several eminent pieces against popery you have published, even such as would be a damning sin in the very pope himself to dispense himself with, after this I soon satisfied my reason with the absurdity of the report; and from that time examined every one of your adversaries intelligences, with as great expectation to find that the emperor of Turkey was turned a Christian and the pope a Protestant.¹⁰³

The pamphlet adduces arguments in favour of the exclusion of James, Duke of York: at the end of the preface, the author relates a parable about a fire in the church of the village where he was staying. The local patron refused to allow his villagers to use water from his pond to quench the fire, no matter how much they petitioned for permission. He proposed an 'expedient' instead: Six broadbacked country fellows should climb the church steeple and 'piss out the fire'. It was only when the patron's own barn was in danger that he allowed the villagers to use water from his pond to put out the fire. The 'substantial body of the church' was preserved, but the altar, vestry, chancel and surplice were consumed by the fire. He adds that 'if you want to read this account as a fable, 't will do as well.'¹⁰⁴ The pamphlet is even more explicit on page 11, where it writes that the comet which was at that time visible, 'may give us just occasion to fear no better an event' than the civil war and the burning of London which followed on the previous two comets, 'unless Providence grant that happy union of Protestants and exclusion of papists, which all good men that are not so themselves must forever wish and pray for'. The fact that Thompson published a pamphlet like *The Petitioning Comet* shows that at the beginning of 1681, before the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, he could still print what was in fact Whig propaganda. In *The Cloak in its Colours* he campaigned against the Nonconformists who ventured to influence the elections. Yet he did not refuse to print a pamphlet like *The Petitioning Comet* with its advocacy of exclusion. In the preface to Charles Blount's *The Two First Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Appollonius Tyaneus*,¹⁰⁵ which he printed at the end of 1679 and advertised in his *True Domestick Intelligence*, he printed what amounted to an attack on the credibility of the main Popish Plot witness, Titus Oates:

It is not altogether safe in this plotting age, to ask what 't is of the clock, for who knows but some oversage coxcomb may from that most wicked quære, cause you to be apprehended for a Jesuite, as having some treacherous conspiracy to execute at such an hour ... but to doubt of anything that is delivered in verbo sacerdotis, what can be a more damning sin?¹⁰⁶

Yet, in his *True Domestick Intelligence* he treated the Popish Plot as something that was beyond any reasonable doubt. It was not until after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament that Thompson's views became fully orthodox from the Tory point of view. A similar development in Thompson's political opinions can be observed in *The True Domestick Intelligence*, which he published from 26 August 1679 till 14 May 1680.

THE TRUE DOMESTICK INTELLIGENCE AND ITS RIVALS

For a printer like Nathaniel Thompson, who had to find work for his presses and his workman, it must have been a godsend that in May 1679, the 1662 Licensing Act, which had been renewed several times, was allowed to expire.¹⁰⁷ The popular demand for news enabled him and many of his fellow printers and booksellers to enter the field of newspaper publication.

Apart from *The London Gazette*, which was started in 1665 on the initiative of Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson as *The Oxford Gazette*, and continued, when the Court returned to London in 1666, as *The London Gazette*, there were, until 1679, no newspapers.¹⁰⁸ The dissemination of news, and of domestic news in particular, was regarded as a matter of Royal Prerogative, and was subject to the operation of the Licensing Act. The only domestic news which *The London Gazette* provided consisted of shipping information, and for those who complained about the lack of domestic news, the only alternative was the service provided by the written newsletters, which were not subject to the censorship under which the press suffered.¹⁰⁹ Written newsletters, however, were expensive. Muddiman charged £5 a year to his subscribers¹¹⁰ and although in the late 1670's his rivals were prepared to send three letters a week for a yearly subscription of £3, these were prices that only the well-to-do could afford.¹¹¹ Consequently, when the Licensing Act expired, there was an outburst of journalistic activity which lasted, with a short interval between May and December 1680, till the end of 1682, when the government regained its grip on the press. Over these three years, some sixty weeklies or semi-weeklies were started, and although most of them were only short-lived, about a dozen of them ran for twenty-five weeks or longer and contributed their share to the political struggle that was fought in these years. In May 1680, the judges declared that 'His Majesty may by law prohibit the printing and publishing of all newsbooks and pamphlets of news whatsoever, not licensed by His Majesties authority, as manifestly tending to the breach of the peace, and disturbance of the Kingdom'.¹¹² This declaration was followed by a proclamation on 17 May, which actually banned these papers and left *The London Gazette* once more as the only licensed paper.¹¹³

The first to enter the field with a periodical publication was the author and pamphleteer Henry Care, who, on 3 December 1678, started *A Paquet of Advice from Rome; or, The History of Popery*.¹¹⁴ To each issue of *The Paquet* he added *The Popish Courant*. According to a

note in *A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue of Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets ...*, 'the sober part [i.e. *The Pacquet*] is reported to be writt by one Mr Robinson, & the *Popish Courant* only by Mr Care'.¹¹⁵ The periodical was published by Langley Curtis, who lived 'At the Sign of the Goat' in Ludgate Hill and had a reputation for seditious publications.¹¹⁶ When the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* started on 3 December 1678, the Licensing Act was still in force. The publisher obtained the necessary licence and until 30 May 1679 the periodical had the word 'licenced' on its frontpage. It was also admitted to *Mercurius Librarius*.¹¹⁷

The *Weekly Pacquet* was not a newspaper. As its title indicated, it was a 'Brief Account of the Transactions in the Church for the First Six Hundred Years, as Far at Least as Related to the Usurpations of the Bishops of Rome ...'.¹¹⁸ The *Popish Courant* promised 'Some Occasional Joco-Serious Reflections on Romish Fopperies'¹¹⁹ and that was exactly what it provided, with the addition of allusions and hints to contemporary events. Care commented, for example, on the execution of the secretary to the Duchess of York, Edward Coleman, and of the five Jesuits, Whitbread, Harcourt, Gavan, Turner and Fenwick.¹²⁰ He said that 'we may ere long hear of their being canoniz'd at Rome' and that 'they went out of the world like right Romans, under all the marks of an impenitent impudence, and with their last breath gasping out a lie, ... believing no action which is committed for the advancement of Holy Church, sinful or unlawful, but rather meritorious'.¹²¹ He also accused the Catholics, and especially Whitbread's successor, the provincial of the Jesuits, of founding a new society with more than 300 members whose duty it was 'to broach false news, raise scandals, ... whitewash over the blackest treasons, ... misrepresent the government to the people, and ... slander the people to the government'. And all this was done, according to Care, with the 'advice of the man of Compendiums', i.e. Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, who in September 1679 had published *The Compendium: or, A Short View of the Late Tryals in Relation to the Present Plot against His Majesty and Government with the Speeches of Those that have been Executed*.¹²² He added that 'there is scarce a coffehouse, or public rendezvous of chat, but is haunted by two or three of these familiars ...'.¹²³ He also contradicted and exposed Catholic 'libels' and their authors, Nathaniel Thompson among them. Care's periodical, and especially the *Popish Courant* was not welcome to the authorities. On 2 July 1680 Care was tried before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs¹²⁴ because, after the acquittal by Scroggs of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, who had been accused of complicity in the Popish Plot, Care had written in his *Popish Courant*:

There is latterly found out by an experienced physician, an incomparable medicament, called, the wonderworking plaister, truly Catholick in operation, ... it will make justice deaf as well as blinde, take out spots of deepest treasons more cleverly than Castle soap does common stains,

... It miraculously exalts and purifies the eyesight and makes people behold nothing but innocence with the blackest malefactors ... is a mighty cordial for a declining cause, and stifles a plot as certainly as the itch is destroyed by butter and brimstone.¹²⁵

Care was found guilty and condemned to the pillory and a fine of £500. Care's trial and conviction was the culmination of a period of prosecution: he had been arrested on 23 October 1679, confessed his authorship of *The Weekly Pacquet*, had been bailed out on Saturday 25 October but forced to attend 'de die in diem'.¹²⁶ Before the trial, on Wednesday 30 June 1680, the judges of the Court in Westminster Hall had unanimously agreed to an order 'quod Liber, intitulat, *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome; or, the History of Popery*, non ulterius imprimatur vel publicetur par aliquam personam quamcunque'. Scroggs added that the book was a 'scandalous libel, and against the King's Proclamation; and he would ruin her [i.e. Jane Curtis, the publisher's wife] if ever she printed it anymore'.¹²⁷ And a few days later, during the trial he said: 'So fond are men in these days that when they will deny their children a penny for bread, they will lay it out for a pamphlet'.¹²⁸ Care and his publisher Curtis circumvented the Court order to stop publication by changing the title of their periodical into *The New Anti-Roman Pacquet: or, Memoirs of Popes and Popery*, the first number of which they published on 1 July 1680, five weeks after the last number of *The Weekly Pacquet*.¹²⁹ At the end of 1680, under the protection of the House of Commons, who protested against the treatment he had met with at the hands of Scroggs, and supported by the Green Ribbon Club, Care decided to adopt the original title again, the only change being the addition of the words 'restored' and 'continued' to the two parts of the title. He continued without further interruption till 13 July 1683.¹³⁰

Benjamin Harris was the second to start a periodical paper. Soon after the expiry of the Licensing Act, he published the first number of the *Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country*.¹³¹ Unlike the *Weekly Pacquet*, the paper adopted the half-sheet folio format of *The London Gazette* and appeared twice a week, after some initial hesitation, on Tuesdays and Fridays. Like *The London Gazette*, it printed news in two columns and carried some advertisements. The great difference between the *Domestick Intelligence* on the one hand, and *The Gazette* and the *Weekly Pacquet* on the other hand was, of course, the prominent place that the *Domestick Intelligence* gave to domestic news from London and the rest of the country.

Benjamin Harris was not a newcomer to the trade: he had started his career in 1672 with *Poor Robin's Character of a Dutchman* and had so far published mainly religious works. In 1678, when London was seething with excitement over the Popish Plot and the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, he published *An Elegy on the Right Worshipful Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey*, followed in 1679 by William Bedloe's *A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot*.¹³² Harris was a

Baptist according to the messenger of the press, Robert Stephens.¹³³

Harris' *Domestick Intelligence* was anything but unbiassed in its reports: from the very beginning it took a fiercely anti-Catholic line and provided day-to-day accounts of new revelations about the Popish Plot, of attempts by the papists to set London on fire, of persons indicted for complicity in the Plot, and of Jesuits and priests arrested all over the country. Like Care, he commented on the dying speeches of the Roman Catholic priests that were executed and tried to convince his readers that these speeches were not worthy of belief.¹³⁴ From August 1679 he regularly reported the election of members to the new parliament, summoned by the King for October 1679. He also joined Care in his criticism of Sir George Wakeman's acquittal by the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs on 18 July 1679. Harris reported rumours that the Wakeman jury had been bribed.¹³⁵ On 14 August he quoted the 'discovery' of Robert Jenison, who, he said, confirmed Oates's and Bedloe's evidence against Wakeman and who could name the persons who had paid £500 to 'a certain physician', Sir George Wakeman, for his part in the Popish Plot.¹³⁶ When, on 10 January 1680, Oates and Bedloe brought a charge against Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, accusing him among other things of deprecating their evidence, misleading the jury in Wakeman's case, and of illegal prosecution of Henry Care for his *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, Benjamin Harris announced that 'if any have been oppressed or injured by the said Lord Chief Justice, they will be speedily heard, if they in time come in; the cause will its thought be heard the beginning of February'.¹³⁷ Harris was arrested for this advertisement and after taking out a writ of Habeas Corpus, he was released on bail. At the same time he was also prosecuted for the publication, in October 1679, of the pamphlet *An Appeal from the Country to the City ...*, written by Charles Blount, for which he had been arrested, like Care, at the beginning of Michealmas term 1679. The trial took place on 5 February 1680.¹³⁸ Witnesses against him were the messenger of the press, Robert Stephens, the printers' wives Mrs Grover and Mrs Darby, the bookseller Benjamin Tooke and a printer's man, who said that Harris had given him 6d and that he had printed the books at night. The printer also said that, as far as he knew, the book had not been in print before Harris had had it printed. Harris himself and the defence witnesses, however, maintained that he had not published the book, although he admitted that he had sold it. The jury tried to let Harris off lightly and returned a verdict of 'guilty of selling the book'. This verdict was unacceptable to the judge, who instructed the jury to find the accused either guilty or not guilty, which meant that they could do nothing but convict Harris. He was delivered to the tipstaff and, in spite of repeated entreaties to be sent to Newgate gaol, he was sent to the King's Bench prison. On 12 February Harris was sentenced, and condemned to a fine of £500, one hour in the pillory and giving security for good behaviour for the time of three years. Scroggs, who had an account to settle with Harris, tried to have the bookseller whipped but the other judges on the bench

would not agree to so severe a punishment.¹³⁹ On 17 February Harris stood in the pillory and the populace came to his defence to such an extent that nobody 'dared to cast anything at him, nay one did but speak against him and was in danger of being made the subject of the multitude's rage'.¹⁴⁰ But in spite of his popularity, nobody helped Harris to pay his fine and consequently, after he had stood in the pillory, he was imprisoned. All these troubles, however did not prevent Harris from bringing out his *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* in the same anti-Catholic, anti-Court fashion in which he had started it in July 1679. Whether he directed the activities himself from prison, or left them to his authors, Nathaniel Crouch and William Becket, it is impossible to say.¹⁴¹ The *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* stopped on 16 April. It was succeeded by *The True Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, which was 'printed for the author' and with which Benjamin Harris had nothing to do.¹⁴²

Harris's newspaper must have been popular, for his example was followed by a number of other booksellers. Most of them were unsuccessful however, and ceased publication after only a few numbers. The first to imitate Harris's example was Thomas Burrell, who published *The English Intelligencer* from 21 July till 30 August and then made another attempt with *The English Currant* on 8 September 1679.¹⁴³ He was unlucky, however, in his selection of domestic news. When the King fell ill in September 1679 and the Duke of York returned to England, Burrell reported that Sir George Jeffries, the Recorder of the City of London, was sent by the City to compliment the Duke on his happy return. The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Player, was forced to deny the report and sent for the publisher, who thought it wise to go into hiding for some time.¹⁴⁴ Equally unsuccessful were *The Faithful Mercury* and *The Friendly Intelligence* in July and September respectively.¹⁴⁵

Apart from a few other very short-lived papers, there were two others that managed to survive until, about the middle of May 1680, the government banned all newspapers except *The London Gazette*. One of these was Robert Harford's *Mercurius Anglicus*; or, *The Weekly Occurrences Faithfully Transmitted*, which appeared from 20 November 1679 till 15 May 1680. The other was John Smith's *The Currant Intelligence*; or, *An Impartial Account of Transactions Both Forraign and Domestick*, which ran from 14 February till 14 May 1680 and from 26 April till 24 December 1681.¹⁴⁶ These two publishers remained aloof from the violent battle between Harris's and Thompson's papers.

A more formidable rival to Benjamin Harris was Nathaniel Thompson, who started his new-sheet *The Domestick Intelligence*; or, *News both from City & Country, Published to Prevent False Reports*, on 26 August 1679. Thompson attempted to cash in on Harris's success by adopting Harris's title, lay-out and format. He published on the same days as Harris and he even copied the numbers of Harris's news-sheet, bringing out his first number as no. 16. The two papers could in fact be only told apart by their different imprints and by the definite article in the title of Thompson's paper.¹⁴⁷ From number 19, which came out on

9 September 1679, Thompson called his new-sheet *The True Domestic Intelligence*.

Thompson's paper was written, at least partly, by himself. On 30 March 1680, when he was committed to prison, he wrote: 'Although in prison, N. Thompson is not forbidden paper, pen and ink and so he will continue *The Domestic Intelligence* ...'¹⁴⁸ The foreign news he published came from the foreign news-sheets that were sold in London at the time. For his domestic news he relied on the newsletter writers and on correspondents who sent him items of news that they thought worth publishing. Most of these contributors must remain anonymous for ever, but we know that one of the newsletter writers employed by Thompson was Benjamin Claypoole, who was arrested and detained for some days in December 1679 as the author of seditious pamphlets.¹⁴⁹

Harris did not welcome the rival newspaper. On 2 September 1679, he inserted an advertisement in the *Domestic Intelligence*:

There having stol'n into the world a nameless pamphlet, under the title of *The Domestic Intelligence* upon Tuesday 26 August last past, said to be number 16 ..., which is supposed to be sent abroad by a base and scandalous person, who has been tenant to most of the prisons in and about London, for his great service and diligence in printing and publishing popish books and catechisms, for carrying on the cause, and may be thought to be employed by the popish faction, as may seem probable from his story of Whitebread whereby he designs to make our fears and jealousies of popery ridiculous.

The story to which Harris objected seems innocent enough to the eye of the modern reader. It reported the arrest, by a constable of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, of a gentleman who was suspected of being 'a cash keeper to the Jesuits' for the simple reason that the constable, looking through the gentleman's diary, had stumbled on the words 'white bread'. In his fervour, he interpreted these words as referring to father Whitbread, i.e. father Harcourt, one of the Jesuits who had been executed at Tyburn in 1679 as a traitor. Thompson told his readers that the words meant no more than they said. He retaliated against Harris three days later, accusing him of stealing his news, calling his news-sheet 'factious' and 'impious' and summing up all his objections to Harris by calling him an Anabaptist.¹⁵⁰

Although Benjamin Harris explained Thompson's story about 'Whitbread' as an attack on the credibility of the Popish Plot, there are a good many passages in Thompson's *Domestic Intelligence* where he shows himself as firm a believer of the reality of the Plot as Harris. He regularly included news about the Plot and about new informers coming up with new revelations. Thompson's *Domestic Intelligence* rarely, if ever, questions the truth of what they had to say. As late as 20 February 1680, Thompson wrote à propos of *The Compendium*, written by the Earl of Castlemaine, and published by the Roman Catholic bookseller Matthew Turner,¹⁵¹ that it was 'most ridiculous as are all discourses of that nature. For it must needs be a most egregious folly or unpar-

alleged impudence in any person to go about to insinuate the contrary to which the Lords and Commons ... have resolved, nemine contradicente, and to suggest that any false Mediums whatsoever misrepresent things to their most sublime Intelligences'.¹⁵² A statement like this one could, of course, be interpreted as high irony, but then Roman Catholics were invariably pictured as treacherous and unreliable: thus, on Friday 19 September 1679, he said that 'Catholics will stay at no villanies which may advance their designs nor at any perjuries that conceal them'. This statement occurs in an advertisement in *The True Domestick Intelligence for The Tragical History of Jetzer ... Collected ... by the Care of Sir W. Waller*,¹⁵³ an anti-Catholic book, published by Nathaniel Ponder. On 30 September 1679 Thompson reported that the plot witness Mr Smith was to publish 'Maxims of the Roman Catholics', and he added that Mr Smith had been the keeper of the secret books of the conclave in Rome and knew the arts of the Catholics to convert or destroy the Protestants.¹⁵⁴ When a cache of priestly vestments and a handkerchief steeped in Coleman's blood and kept as a relic were found at the house of the Catholic printer Turner, Thompson had no comment, but added that the ballads found at the same time were meant to be sung by the Catholics after the revelation of the Presbyterian plot to cast suspicion on innocent people.¹⁵⁵ Even the speeches made by the priests who were executed because of the Popish Plot were treated by Thompson in exactly the same way as they were by Harris: On 20 January he wrote:

Yet such is the confidence of the cunninger sort of papists, that they would still insinuate that faith is to be given to the dying words of such men, though their dying falsehood be never so notoriously illustrated; and such is the stupid ignorance and bigotry of the less understanding of them that, if the angels should come from heaven and contradict their fathers, they would not believe them.

In 1679 and 1680, Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence* regularly carried advertisements for very often anti-Catholic books published by publishers and booksellers like Francis Smith, Langley Curtis and John Starkey, who later were to become his bitterest enemies.¹⁵⁶ And when in December 1679, Henry Care, the Whig pamphleteer and author of *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* was attacked, Thompson did not hesitate to say that 'it is strongly presumed that these persons [i.e. the attackers] were employed by the popish party, to abuse at least if not to kill Mr Care, he having been a severe scourge to them'.¹⁵⁷

These examples, and many more could be quoted, demonstrate that, although Thompson was regularly accused by his rival Harris of being employed by the popish party, his *Domestick Intelligence* was in no way a propaganda paper promoting Roman Catholic influence. But it was certainly a loyal paper: where Harris invariably supported the Whigs and the Dissenters, Thompson took the side of the government and the Church of England and when it came to defending the Church from the attacks of the 'fanatics', he was prepared to speak in favourable

terms even of the Roman Catholics. Thus, on 7 October 1679, he contradicted rumours circulating in the coffeehouses and in 'publick meetings' that the 'papists and Church-Party were agreed to oppose the election of Sir Thomas Player to serve the City in the approaching parliament'. He blamed 'such Commonwealth Men as wound the Church sily and would be ready to join the papist band in hand to share the prize of bishops lands, and heretics, malignants estates'.¹⁵⁸

The greatest difference between Thompson and Harris is to be found in their treatment of the petitioning movement at the end of 1679 and the first months of 1680. The movement was organized by the government's opponents and was aimed at forcing the King to allow the new parliament which had been elected in 1679 to assemble. The Whigs tried to persuade as many people as possible to sign these petitions and the government tried to prevent them. On 12 December a proclamation was issued against tumultuous petitioning and later the government organized counter-petitions.¹⁵⁹ Benjamin Harris was of course in favour of the petitioning movement. Although he printed the text of the proclamation against seditious petitioning in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 16 December, he continued to report the presentation of these petitions to the king so as to impress his readers with the success of the movement. He also regularly contradicted reports that attempts to obtain signatures had failed, or that proposals to petition had been defeated. On 9 January, for example, he related how a Mr Thomas, minister at Ovington, had admonished his parishioners to sign the petition for parliament, and how the bishop, when he heard of this, had summoned the minister to appear before him. When the minister excused himself because of illness, the bishop ordered him to hand over the petition with the signatures and the letter of recommendation. 'The noise of this gave some interruption to the petition', Harris wrote, 'but the promoters thereof do openly assert the right of petitioning and declare their resolution to proceed therin'.¹⁶⁰ Apart from *The London Gazette*, Thompson's *True Domestick Intelligence* was the only paper to report the opposition to the petitioning movement. Thompson wrote on 23 December that petitions were now 'less backed' than before, although he added that the number of subscribers was much larger than the number of abstainers. In the next number he reported the arrest of Samuel Harris for collecting subscriptions to a petition, stressing that Harris was an Anabaptist, which the latter was quick to deny in his namesake's *Domestick Intelligence* of 30 December. At the end of January Thompson committed himself quite openly against the movement and said that there were many 'pseudo-protestant and seditious' pamphlets to seduce the multitude, with daily reports of the 'pretended success' of the petitions for parliament, but none of them mentioning the opposition to them and 'by how many of the ablest and best Protestants they are daily rejected'.¹⁶¹ Three days later he published a story from York about a constable who had signed the citizens' names to a petition without their knowledge. And he followed his story with an advertisement in which he said that several schools had asked to be given the petitions to make kites.¹⁶²

An other instance of Thompson's loyalty is his treatment of news about the Lord Chief Justice, Sir William Scroggs. At the Old Bailey on 18 July 1679, Scroggs presided over the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, and the priests William Marshall, William Rumley and James Corker for high treason. On this occasion he refused to accept the evidence of Oates and Bedloe and consequently instructed the jury to find the defendants not guilty, which the jury accordingly did. The acquittal created a great stir in London and the country and it was commonly assumed that the Chief Justice had been bribed by the Portuguese ambassador. Scroggs was attacked in a great many pamphlets and Oates and Bedloe exhibited thirteen articles of misdemeanour against him before the Privy Council. Thompson came out in defence of the Lord Chief Justice, the first time on 24 October 1679, when he reported Scroggs's defence of his conduct on the first day of term. He returned to the affair after the case had been heard by the Privy Council on 21 January and published a detailed account of the answers by the Lord Chief Justice to the charges Oates and Bedloe had brought against him. Inevitably these answers showed the Lord Chief Justice to be a man who had nothing to be ashamed of; his accusers Oates and Bedloe were necessarily cast in a much less favourable light.¹⁶³

Among the many scares that shocked Londoners in the autumn of 1679 was the so-called Meal Tub or Presbyterian Plot. One Thomas Dangerfield had planted evidence of a plot by a number of prominent Whigs against the King's life in the rooms of a Colonel Roderick Mansell. It was soon realized that this evidence was false and Dangerfield, who had for some time been employed by the Catholic midwife, Mrs Cellier, and had through her met Lady Powis and the Catholic Lords imprisoned in the Tower, now accused Mrs Cellier and her Catholic friends of offering him £2,000 to kill the king, or £500 to murder the Earl of Shaftesbury.¹⁶⁴ Mrs Cellier was arrested by Sir William Waller, a London Justice of the Peace, who had a reputation as a priest catcher. Waller searched her house, and in the Meal Tub found a bundle of papers which Dangerfield had asked Mrs Cellier to hide and which were probably copies of the papers he had hidden in Mansell's rooms. The newspaper writers heard of the affair after the arrest of Mrs Cellier on 28 October 1679. Both Thompson and Harris regularly reported the developments in this affair which was, as Thompson wrote on 4 November, 'the chief subject of discourse' in London.¹⁶⁵ Both Harris and Thompson seemed convinced that here was another example of treachery on the part of the papists. The first difference in their reports occurred when, on 13 January 1680, Thompson published an account of the examination of the astrologer Gadbury, who had got involved in the affair and now revealed that, at the time of the King's illness in the summer of 1679, there had actually been a plan on the part of the Whigs to seize the Tower and the castle of Dover if the king died. They were to have arrested the Lord Mayor of London and those members of the Privy Council who were prepared to proclaim the Duke of York King. The plan had been to establish a Commonwealth Government. All this information, Gadbury said, he had from Sir

Robert Peyton, who was himself involved in the plan. In the next number Thompson reported that Sir Robert Peyton had revealed the names of his accomplices, the 'Green-Ribbon-men, persons before and still thought of quite different principles from the papists'.¹⁶⁶ Although Thompson maintained a strong anti-Catholic bias in his subsequent report of this affair, it is significant that only his *Domestick Intelligence* and the *London Gazette* published the details of Sir Robert Peyton's confession, while Harris and Harford omitted all this and only said that 'the general opinion is that Sir Robert Peyton can nor does accuse any man, and that there is no considerable evidence against him ...'.¹⁶⁷

One of the Whigs that Thompson disliked more than anyone else was the London Justice of the Peace, Sir William Waller, who had his commission withdrawn in April 1680. He criticised Waller for his treatment of the Earl of Danby's former servant Mr Christian, who had been arrested on the accusation of being involved in a plot against Prince Rupert, Monmouth, Buckingham and Shaftesbury.¹⁶⁸ Waller, said Thompson on 12 March 1680, had illegally prevented Christian from obtaining bail, claimed that he had committed him on the accusation of two witnesses, whereas he had only one, and had threatened Christian with hanging if he did not comply with his wishes. He also found fault with Waller's behaviour with respect to the Jesuit father Bedingfield, the confessor to the Duke of York. Father Bedingfield had died in the Gatehouse, but in the beginning of 1680 a rumour was circulated that he was not dead and that the body of somebody else had been buried instead. Bedingfield was said to be involved in a plot with the Roman Catholic Lords in the Tower to murder William Bedloe. Waller arrested a Mrs Jones, who was said to have been asked by Bedingfield to visit Bedloe, stab him and cry out rape. He then hurried to Newark and arrested one Benningfield, accusing him of being the Jesuit he was after. The story of this 'plot' was published by Benjamin Harris and Robert Harford. Thompson's again was the only newspaper to say quite openly that Bedingfield had died at the Gatehouse, that his body had been seen by the Jury and by Titus Oates and that, in spite of all this, Waller had found him alive at Newark. He added that the man arrested at Newark was a common cobbler or milliner and that Waller knew this quite well.¹⁶⁹

Nathaniel Thompson, the popish Irishman as he was called by his rivals, did not discredit the Popish Plot evidence: it would have been impossible to do that in those days; nor can he be called the champion of the Catholic cause, at least not where his *Domestick Intelligence* is concerned. There was little in the *Domestick Intelligence* to appeal to the Catholics. Thompson shared all the anti-papist prejudices of his time, but he was different from his rival Benjamin Harris and the other journalists of the time, in that he invariably chose the side of the government and its servants, while the other news-sheets were dominated by the Whig interest.

In May 1680, the government decided to ban all these news-sheets. The judges, who had been consulted, declared on 5 May that the King

could lawfully suppress all unlicensed news-sheets and on 20 May a proclamation was published in *The London Gazette*, forbidding them all.¹⁷⁰

THOMPSON AND THE AUTHORITIES

The life of a newspaper publisher was not without its dangers, as Thompson was to find out soon after he started his *Domestick Intelligence*. Both Harris and Thompson used for their domestic news section whatever information they could get, and neither of them was in the habit of checking their sources. On 9 September Thompson wrote:

On Thursday last Mr Pepys desired to be admitted to the King's presence but the Lord Chamberlain refused him; without checking him for such his presumption; he being impeached of high treason and not yet cleared. Mr Pepys replied that he doubted not but the next term he should make his innocence appear. Some way or other he got himself admitted and afterwards proffered to kiss His Majesties hand but His Majesty frowned angrily [sic] on him and turned away.

Harris phrased the same report somewhat more efficiently as follows:

We are informed that the last week Samuel Pepys Esq. went to Windsor, having the confidence to think that he might kiss the King's hand: But meeting with a person of honour, and acquainting him with his intent; He was told that it was strange that he would presume to come to court, since he stood charged with treason; who its said answered, his innocence was such that he did not value anything that he was accused of, which he did not doubt but to make appear at the next term; at which time it seems his trial comes on: and thereupon addressed himself to some other persons and prevailed with them so far as to be introduced into His Majesties presence; but however could not be admitted to the honour he desired.

Samuel Pepys resented these accounts and on 17 September warrants were issued for the arrest of Thompson, Harris and Crouch, as publishers of a *Domestick Intelligence*.¹⁷¹ They seem to have made up their quarrel with Pepys, however, for on 23 September, Harris published a disclaimer and admitted that his report of 9 September had been false.¹⁷²

On 26 March 1680, Thompson was arrested again, this time by the priest catcher Sir William Waller, who committed him to the Gatehouse. Thompson reported his arrest himself:¹⁷³

Sir William Waller, having no kindness for Nathaniel Thompson, for that he published the truth of Mr Bedingfield and something of the usage of Mr Christian, my fellow sufferer and others ... and also contradicted several stories related in the *Protestant Domestick In-*

telligence, blowing up sedition and rebellion, the said William Waller did on the 26th of March last at about 9 of the clock at night send for N. Thompson in one Mr Evans name to come to him outside Temple Bar¹⁷⁴

Thompson went and was met by Waller, who charged him with high treason for having concealed a treasonable conspiracy of the apprentices 'in levying war against his Majesty and encouraging them in it'. Waller based his charges on a report, published by Thompson on 6 March 1680, that some apprentices after signing a petition had decided to make amends for their offence and to 'burn the rump, that the present age may remember 41 and walk by that precedent'.¹⁷⁵ On 26 March, he had once more reported the apprentices' plan and the arrest of their leader, Thomas Alford.¹⁷⁶ Thompson claimed that he offered £1,000 for his bail, but his offer was not accepted. He immediately petitioned the King and Council for a speedy hearing, 'he [i.e. Waller] to bring his accusations and I to make my defence'. Clearly, he expected some support from the Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, for he requested him 'to assist me with your good word to some of the Council'.¹⁷⁷ He also insisted that Waller's behaviour, in luring him out of the jurisdiction of the City of London, was against Magna Carta and the liberty of the subject.¹⁷⁸ Thompson was lucky, for on 10 April, Sir William Waller was turned out of commission as a Justice of the Peace and on 21 April, Thompson was released on bail because there was no indictment against him.¹⁷⁹ In the meantime, there was another complaint because some of his readers had taken offence at the story published in *The Domestick Intelligence* on 20 April:

several persons, parishoners of St. Bride's are going about in that parish to get subscriptions for destroying the ancient annual elective vestry in that parish and to set up instead there a rump vestry for life: wherefore all the rumpishly affected parishoners may first consider the act of parliament and His Majesty's late proclamation about tumultuous and factious petitions for alteration of established laws and customs which will direct in this case. And note the different effect of the said vestry is this that if any person of the annual elective vestry do unlawfully, or against the good of the parish, he may be turned out at the next election, but the rump vestry are above that interruption.

He returned to the case again on 23 April and again accused some parishioners of St. Brides of 'keeping the rest of the parishioners in awe', and 'lording it' over them and of forcing them 'to give treats to be equally and lawfully dealt with'. Again he queried whether the honest and prudent managment of the parish funds, goods, lands and tenements and the prevention of waste was best entrusted to 'the antient elective vestry', or to 'an innovated select rump vestry for life'. The complaint was upheld, for Thompson and William Badcocke,

a vestry man of St. Bride's, who was probably Thompson's informant, were both fined £3 6 8.¹⁸⁰ The fine was considered low and used by the House of Commons in December 1680 as evidence that 'a very great latitude had been taken of late by the judges, in imposing fines on the persons found guilty before them', and that 'the Court of King's Bench ... hath acted arbitrarily, illigally and partially; favouring papists, and persons popishly affected; and excessively oppressing his Majesty's Protestant subjects'.¹⁸¹

Thompson was also mentioned in May 1680 in the information of the hawker Stephen Whiteway, who accused Shaftesbury's friends Robert Murray and George Cawdron, both of the penny-letter office, of having supplied him in July or August 1679 with the seditious pamphlets the *Appeal* in quarto and *The Political Catechism*; he added that he believed that Thompson had published the *Appeal* for Murray. Whiteway made his confession in order to obtain the reward promised to those whose evidence led to the conviction of authors or printers of illegal pamphlets. In spite of this new accusation, no action seems to have been taken against Thompson, perhaps because Benjamin Harris had already been convicted for the pamphlet.¹⁸²

As we have seen, Thompson was commissioned by the Stationers' Company in 1679 to print William Andrew's almanac *News from the Stars* for 1680. Thompson's relations with the Company were clearly quite good, for in that same year, 1679, when the Company invited subscription from the liverymen for the purchase of a Company barge and a barge-house, Thompson contributed as much as £2, which was quite a generous donation, considering the fact that only thirty-seven Stationers paid more than Thompson and as many as fifty-five paid less.¹⁸³ Yet, early in 1680, Thompson was caught surreptitiously printing the *Welsh Almanack* and on 1 March he was fined £20 for his breach of the copy-right regulations.¹⁸⁴ Nor was the *Welsh Almanack* the only work that Thompson printed secretly: in the summer of 1680, the ever-active messenger of the press, Robert Stephens, seized sheet F of Madam Cellier's pamphlet *Malice Defeated* at the shop of the printer William Downing.¹⁸⁵ The other sheets, Downing said, had already been delivered to Cellier. In spite of the seizure, Mrs Cellier published the pamphlet, including the sheet that had been seized, reprinted by N. Thompson. In her book, Elizabeth Cellier gave an account of the treatment she had received since she had been arrested by Sir William Waller in October 1679 for her part in the 'Presbyterian Plot'. She commented on the treatment of prisoners in Newgate and in particular she claimed that Miles France, the Roman Catholic silversmith who had appeared as prosecution witness against Green, Berry and Hill, the alleged murderers of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, had been tortured in Newgate and had thus been forced to make his confession. She made the same claims with respect to Francis Corral, a coachman, who was said to have carried Godfrey's dead body to Primrose Hill in his coach. The book was a blow at the credibility of the plot witnesses. Mrs Cellier was fined £1,000 for the publication and sentenced to stand in the pillory. Thompson was not prosecuted for his share in the work, but the fact that he printed

part of the book was widely known among his fellow stationers and it was used against him in the following years when he was regularly accused of printing libels at the instigation of the Popish Midwife and her friends, the Jesuits imprisoned in Newgate.¹⁸⁶

The author of *The History of Popish Shamplots from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Present Time*, published by the Whig bookseller Richard Janeway in 1682, wrote:

The next way to blast the witnesses of the Popish Plot, was by vile and scandalous pamphlets: one Nevil was perpetually spawning of them when he lay in prison ... Trusty Hodge [i.e. Sir R. L'Estrange] must have a sweet touch of two ... Turner's shop becomes a seminary of scurrilous papers, and since him N[athaniel] T[hompson] is the forge where a power of these tools are made.¹⁸⁷

If one realizes that to the Whigs, Tory and Popish propaganda were one and the same thing, the passage illustrates the change in Thompson's position quite well: in the two years since Thomas Ratcliffe's death his role had gradually changed, under the influence of the political and religious situation in the country, from that of a jobbing printer who worked for the London bookselling trade and the Stationers' Company into that of a printer-publisher, who played an active part in the political struggle of the time.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON, TORY PAMPHLETEER 1681-1685

The year 1681 was the turning-point in the great political struggle between the Whigs and the Tories. On 10 January, the King prorogued his fourth parliament till 20 January, but before it assembled again, he dissolved it and called a new one that was to meet at Oxford, far removed from the pernicious influence of the City of London. The last Westminster Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, had been dominated by the Whigs. The House of Commons had passed the bill for exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession and it was only the Earl of Halifax's skilful arguing that made the House of Lords defeat the bill. The Commons had introduced a great many measures to limit the Royal Prerogative. They had proposed a bill 'for the more effectual securing of the meeting and sitting of frequent parliaments'; another to ensure 'that the judges may hold their places and salaries "quam diu se bene gesserint"'; and a bill declaring 'the illegal exaction of money upon the people' to be high treason. They had decided to impeach the judges Sir William Scroggs, Sir Francis North, Sir Thomas Jones, and Sir Francis Weston, and voted for the removal from the Court of the Earl of Halifax, Sir Laurence Hyde and others as evil councillors. They had also decided that anyone who lent the King money was guilty of obstructing the convention of parliament and that anyone who advised the King 'to prorogue this parliament to any other purpose than in order to the passing of a bill for the exclusion of James Duke of York, is a betrayer of the King, the Protestant religion and of the Kingdom of England'.¹⁸⁸

When Charles's fifth parliament assembled in Oxford, in spite of strong pressure on the King to allow it to sit in London, the situation was not much better. On 25 March the House of Commons heard the examination of Edward Fitzharris, an Irishman who had been arrested on the testimony of his own accomplice Edmund Everard for writing a dangerous pamphlet in which the King was accused of exercising arbitrary power.¹⁸⁹ Fitzharris's 'revelations' were no doubt tailored to boost the ailing Popish Plot, which had by that time spent some of its fury. He related how the Duke of Modena's envoy had attempted to bribe him into killing the King; how, when he refused, he had been told that the duchess of Mazarin would no doubt poison Charles. There was also 'new' information about Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's murder, which had been planned at Windsor. The day after that, the Commons once more listened to the Roman Catholic priest John Sergeant,¹⁹⁰ who repeated that the Jesuit father Gavan had maintained that it was lawful for the Queen to kill the King 'for violating her bed'. On the same day, they resumed their old project of a bill to exclude James, Duke of York and all popish successors from the Imperial Crowns of England and Ireland, and on Monday 28 March the bill was given its first reading. It was at that moment that the King took action and dissolved the Oxford Parliament after a session of only eight days.

Although by dissolving his fifth parliament the King had crippled the parliamentary opposition, the struggle for power had not yet been won in the City of London, where a Whig Lord Mayor and Whig sheriffs were still in a position, especially by returning Whig Grand Juries, to frustrate the royal policies. It was in this way that the Earl of Shaftesbury, the great leader of the Whig opposition, escaped trial and conviction in the autumn of 1681.¹⁹¹ It was not until the end of 1682, when Sir Dudley North and Peter Rich were elected sheriffs of London and Middlesex, that the government regained its grip on London. Government control became complete when in October 1683 the City was forced to surrender its charter and to accept a new one which made the choice of lord mayor, sheriffs, recorder and town clerk subject to royal approval.¹⁹² In this final struggle between the London Whigs and the Tory government, Nathaniel Thompson played his part as a Tory pamphleteer and news-sheet publisher.

THE LOYAL PROTESTANT AND TRUE DOMESTICK INTELLIGENCE AND THE WHIG NEWS-SHEETS

At the end of 1680, the government ban on news-sheets was no longer observed and London and the rest of the country were flooded by a second stream of 'intelligences', which it proved impossible for the government to stem until the end of 1682.

Benjamin Harris, who had been the first to start a news-sheet in 1679, now resumed the publication of *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* on 28 December. Harris had been in prison since his conviction for publishing the *Appeal*, because he had been unable to pay his fine. On 19 November he petitioned the House of Commons and they decided to intercede with the King on his behalf. An address was drawn up and approved by the Commons on 21 December. On 3 January, the House of Commons voted that Harris's treatment by the Court of King's Bench, and especially Lord Chief Justice Scroggs's attempt to have him whipped, constituted a 'high breach of the liberty of the subject'.¹⁹³ Harris also complained to the House of Lords about the exorbitant fine of £500 that had been imposed upon him. A committee was appointed to inspect the fines imposed on delinquents.¹⁹⁴ Although the King does not seem to have pardoned Benjamin Harris, the prison authorities apparently concluded that they could now safely release Harris, for on 9 February 1681, the marshal of the King's Bench prison was summoned before the Privy Council to explain how Harris came to be free.¹⁹⁵ He was arrested again, however, and in September 1681 a contemporary pamphlet said 'Harris (who had lay'n long in prison, for publishing the *Appeal*) hath been examined and made discovery of the authors of several pamphlets which he has publish't: in hopes of achieving his liberty'.¹⁹⁶ Whether Benjamin Harris and Langley Curtis, who started his *True Protestant Mercury* on the same 28 December, were actually asked by the Whig party to publish their newspapers we do not know, but clearly the House of Commons were prepared to support the Whig newspaper publishers as were others besides them.¹⁹⁷

Benjamin Harris published his *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* from 28 December till 15 April 1681, in spite of the fact that he was arrested again. Between 16 February and 23 March, he also published *The Weekly Discoverer Strip't Naked; or, Jest and Earnest Expos'd to Publick View in His Proper Colours*. The paper was probably written by the Whig pamphleteer Henry Care, in answer to Benjamin Tooke's *The Weekly Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity* and at the same time against the Tory sheets *Heraclitus Ridens*, *The Observator* and Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence*.¹⁹⁸

The second publisher employed by the Whigs was Langley Curtis, who was assisted by his wife Jane Curtis. As we saw, Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury; or, Occurrences Forein and Domestick* started on the same day as Benjamin Harris's *Protestant Domestick Intelligence*.¹⁹⁹ *The True Protestant Mercury*, which was printed by Thomas Snowden 'for H.T. and L.V. and sold by Langley Curtis on Ludgate Hill' was probably written at least partly by Henry Care, the 'True-Protestant-Cerberus' who, said L'Estrange, had a 'Protestant-Mercury mouth', an 'Impartiall-Protestant-Mouth' and 'a Popish Courant-Mouth'.²⁰⁰ If that is true one is tempted to read the H.T. and L.V. of the imprint as 'for Harry Lungs', a nickname often used for Care, and Thomas Vile, who was involved with quite a lot of Whig journalism. Besides the *True Protestant Mercury*, Curtis also published, until August 1682, when their ways separated, Care's *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*.²⁰¹ Apart from his successful *True Protestant Mercury* and *Weekly Pacquet of Advice*, Curtis had other news-sheets for sale: On 18 May 1681 he published *The Universal Intelligence; Comprising the Substance of the Most Remarkable Passages Weekly Published by Others*. It was probably unsuccessful, for Curtis gave up after one number. He renewed his attempt in 1682 with *The Monthly Recorder, of All True Occurrences Forreign and Domestick* and when this paper was stopped after five numbers he made a third, equally unsuccessful, attempt in August 1682 with two numbers of *The Epitome of the Weekly News*. He was also concerned with periodicals before 1681: in 1680 he marketed John Marlow's *Mercurius Infernus; or, News from the Other World: Discovering the Cheats and Abuses of This*,²⁰² and in 1681 he served as the publisher of *Mercurius Civicus; or, The City Mercury*, nos. 243-245, which had before been published by R. Everingham.²⁰³ Although both Langley Curtis and his wife Jane frequently got into trouble with the authorities, they managed to bring out *The Weekly Pacquet* and the *True Protestant Mercury* without interruption. 'There's no body has maintained his post, like him ... Brave Langley stands his ground, in defiance of principalities and powers; orders of councill, secretaries warrants, enformations, &c', L'Estrange wrote in June 1682.²⁰⁴

The third news-sheet publisher was Thomas Benskins, who was apprenticed to Langley Curtis from 4 March 1672 to 7 July 1680 and, according to Thompson, 'had a near relation to the Goatham Mayor'. Like his master, Benskins took to newspaper publishing. After three numbers of *Mercurius Civicus* in May and June 1680, he started his own *Protestant Oxford Intelligence; or, Occurrences Forraign and Domestick* on 10 March

1681, just before parliament met at Oxford. After seven numbers he changed his title into *The Impartial London Intelligence*, which he published till 14 April 1681.²⁰⁵ A month later, when Benjamin Harris was forced to lay down his *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, Benskins appropriated the title and started *The Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country Impartially Related*, which continued to appear twice a week until all the news-sheets were suppressed in November 1682.²⁰⁶ Like Langley Curtis, Thomas Benskins tried to expand the periodical publications side of his shop and between 22 April and 2 June of the same year, 1681, he published seven numbers of *The Weekly Visions of the Late Popish Plot*. He was also, in all probability, the T.B. for whom the three numbers of *Mercurius Bifrons; or, The English Janus* ... were printed in February and March 1681.²⁰⁷ More successful than the last two was *The Loyal Impartial Mercury; or, News both Forreign and Domestick*, which was printed for E. Brooks and published for Th. Benskins. According to Thompson, E. Brooks was Thomas Benskins's wife.²⁰⁸ Benskins belonged to the Whig opposition, at least during the first part of his career as a newspaper publisher: he was summoned before the Council as the publisher of a 'phanatique intelligence' and Thompson called his news-sheet the 'sucking intelligence', showing that there was not a great deal of love between them.²⁰⁹ Benskins got into trouble in June 1681, when the Earl of Danby was accused of having had a hand in the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Benskins published Samuel Pordage's *A New Apparition of Sir Edmundburry's Ghost to the Earl of Danby in The Tower*, and Danby obtained permission to prosecute Benskins. In July, Benskins apologized for his offence and revealed the author.²¹⁰ As time moved on, the Whig bias of Thomas Benskins's *Domestick Intelligence* wore off, one of the reasons, no doubt, why Benskins's paper was much less often the butt of Tory criticism than the other news-sheets. Elizabeth Brooks's *Loyal Impartial Mercury*, starting as late as late as it did, never had a clear party bias.

Next in the list of Whig publishers come Francis Smith and Richard Janeway. Francis Smith, a Baptist, who preached at London conventicles,²¹¹ belonged to the pamphleteers who were incessantly under the attack of Tory writers such as L'Estrange, Rawlins and Thompson. He and his son, Francis Smith junior, could look back on a long series of clashes with the government, which repeatedly led to arrests, fines and imprisonment.²¹² Smith entered the newspaper market with *Smith's Protestant Intelligence* on 1 February and published twenty-two numbers. He was forced to stop on 14 April, when he was once more arrested and accused of high treason. He had said 'he would never leave off writing news till he had reduc'd this kingdom to a Commonwealth'.²¹³ On 11 April he had reported Everard's refusal to give evidence against Fitzharris, insinuating that Everard doubted whether he could safely appear, since Fitzharris had been impeached by the House of Commons. He was also blamed for publishing false news from Scotland. Smith was imprisoned in Newgate, and had bail refused him on 18 May. It took him till 1 June to obtain his release from prison.²¹⁴ Apart from

Smith's *Protestant Intelligence*, the Smith publishing house published the dialogue paper *Democritus Ridens; or, Comus and Momus, a New Jest and Earnest Prattling concerning the Times*. This paper was published for Francis Smith junior, who was not yet a freeman of the Company at the time.²¹⁵ It first appeared on 17 March 1681 and was continued till 13 June 1681. Later in the year, Francis Smith, or Elephant Smith as he was also called, brought out *A New Dialogue between Somebody and Nobody; or, The Observer Observed*, a title which was changed after three numbers into *The Observer and Heraclitus Observed*.²¹⁶ Like most of the Whig dialogue papers it did not last for more than five numbers.

Richard Janeway, another bookbinder, began his career as a newspaper publisher with *A New Newsbook; or, Occurrences Forreign and Domestick, Impartially Related*, the first and only number of which appeared on 25 April 1681.²¹⁷ Four days later, on 27 April, he had *The True Protestant Mercury; or, Occurrences Foreign and Domestick* for sale. The imprint of the news-sheet was 'Printed for H.V. and T.C. Published and Sold by R. Janeway in Queenshead-Alley in Pater-Noster-Row'. 'H.V. and T.C.' stood for Henry Care and Thomas Vile, who were also concerned with Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury*.²¹⁸ It seems that Care and Vile had now switched from Curtis to Richard Janeway as their publisher. The imprint 'for H.T. & L.V. and sold by Langley Curtis' appeared for the last time on Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury* no. 32, 16 April. Curtis then interrupted his news-sheet for a fortnight and when his next number appeared the imprint had been changed to 'Printed for Langley Curtis'. It is not known what the problems were, but they were obviously resolved by 7 May, when the title of Janeway's *True Protestant Mercury* was changed into *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, with the imprint 'Printed for H.V. and T.C. and sold by R. Janeway'. That Janeway's news-sheet was particularly objectionable to the government is proved by the many actions brought against the publisher. On 16 May 1682 he was tried at the Guildhall for a passage in his news-sheet of 7 October 1681, to the effect that a parliament would soon be called. The jury passed a verdict of not guilty, in spite of objections from the Lord Chief Justice.²¹⁹ Although he was acquitted, he had to give security for good behaviour and at the end of the same month Richard Janeway and his two sureties were arrested for breach of their pledge and committed to the Compter.²²⁰ This arrest meant the end of *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, the last number of which appeared on 30 May. During his commitment Janeway presented a petition to the Council which is of interest because it affords us some insight into the mechanics of these news-sheets: Janeway stated that Henry Care and Thomas Vile were the authors of the *Impartial Protestant Mercury*. He was employed by them to act as a clearinghouse and he had no responsibility whatsoever for the contents of the paper. The sheets were delivered to him by the printer George Larkin, and he had to distribute them. Vile and Care, he added, got their foreign news from the 'Latin Collen News', the 'Haarlem Courant' and the 'Brussels Gazette'. The newsletter writer Hancock supplied

them with domestic news twice a week. Whenever Janeway received notes, often anonymous, he simply passed them on to Care and Vile, who decided whether to publish them or not. Many 'undecent expressions and reflecting passages' got into the *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, according to Janeway, because of the repeated provocation by Nat Thompson.²²¹

Thompson and L'Estrange of course wrote about Janeway stopping his *Impartial Protestant Mercury*: Thompson said

It is very observable that though Henry Care was of late grown dumb, by reason his mouth Dick Janeway hath been shut up: yet it seems he can now speak again through the assistance of his other implement Langley; and since he cannot vent his sedition three times a week as formerly²²² ... he is forced to be contented to do it once, and make amends, by sticking to his Popish Pacquet; which ... will for the future monopolize all the railery and sedition imaginable to itself²²³

L'Estrange stressed that no matter how many Whig publishers gave up, 'without their principals, you shall have the same trade immediately taken up by other people ... as Baldwin and Janeway succeeded to Harris and Smith; so that for want of plucking up the mischief by the roots, you'll have every day the same work to do over again'.²²⁴

Richard Baldwin, who, like Janeway, was compelled to stop his news-sheet *The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Forreign and Domestick* in May 1682, first went into newspaper publishing with three numbers of *Mercurius Anglicus* between 10 and 17 October 1681.²²⁵ Unfortunately, soon after he started this news-sheet, he ran into trouble over the publication of the pamphlet *No Protestant Plot*. He was summoned to appear before the Council and although he claimed that the pamphlet was sent to him in a letter from an unknown hand, and that 'if there were anything in it of dangerous consequence, it was more than he knew, having never read the said book', he was forced to pay security to appear at the King's Bench the first day of the next term.²²⁶ When he appeared in court on 24 October, he was ordered into custody, then required to return the next day and reveal his author. When he appeared on 25 October he was bailed. In 1682 he got involved with *The London Mercury*, which was started on 6 April and was 'printed for T.V. [i.e. Thomas Vile] and published by Richard Baldwin in the Great Old Bailey'. After only four numbers, however, Baldwin was replaced as publisher of *The London Mercury* by R. Everingham at the Seven Stars in Ave Mary Lane. Baldwin then published *The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Foreign and Domestick*. The paper was so clearly 'factious' that the publisher was indicted almost immediately by the Grand Jury of Bristol, who, in an address to their Mayor and Aldermen, requested that Richard Baldwin be punished for his *Protestant Courant* because most of what he published was 'utterly false' and the few truths in the paper were 'most maliciously represented'.²²⁷ Two days later, L'Estrange extensively quoted Baldwin's *Protestant Courant* and said that 'the very spirit of Jack Thumb [i.e. John Starkey] for lying and slandering, is descended on Dick Baldwin', an accusation which was repeated by *Heraclitus*

Ridens and contradicted by *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*. Baldwin's *Courant*, L'Estrange said, was 'venomous insolence and scandal', which 'will never be suffer'd, certainly in so loyal and so well-govern'd a city, to escape unpunished'.²²⁸ And when on 4 May *The Protestant Courant* did not appear, Nat Thompson lost no time in announcing that this was not because the Tories had detained the printer, as Baldwin claimed, but because the printer had been warned by a friend that it was dangerous to print this seditious paper and consequently Baldwin had had to find someone else to print it.²²⁹ L'Estrange's words soon proved true: on 16 May Baldwin was summoned before the King's Bench Bar for contempt of court in his reports, in *The Protestant Courant* no. 6, of the case of the Earl of Shaftesbury against Mr Craddock on 10 May 1682.²³⁰ Baldwin was ordered to reveal the name of his author, which he refused. He even ordered his printer to burn the copy of the article, so as to avoid detection of the author's name. Baldwin was arrested and committed to the Marshall's custody, on 16 May. On 17 May, he applied for Habeas Corpus, which was refused. On 22 May he appeared in King's Bench Court again and was bailed out 'by four of his acquaintance'. And 'lest he should persevere in his scandalous news, and abusive reflections, he was bound to his good behaviour'.²³¹

In the meantime, *The London Mercury*, printed for Thomas Vile by Robert Everingham, continued to appear till the news-sheets were put down in the autumn of 1682. Although from number six the imprint was changed into 'printed for T. Vile', Robert Everingham continued to print it, as is clear from an advertisement in no. 20, 13 June 1682.²³² *The London Mercury* was different from the other news-sheets in that it often had a separate section 'To be Let and Sold' and often a larger number of book advertisements, much like Everingham's former *City Mercury*. On 13 June 1682, *The London Mercury* announced that henceforth it was to appear 'until stop't by Authority' on Tuesdays and Fridays 'with utmost endeavours ... to give a true and impartial account of such matters as are reasonably fit for such papers'. And although Vile was regarded as a Whig by both L'Estrange and Thompson, he seems to have felt that the times were changing and to have adapted his news-sheet to the new circumstances: the tone of *The London Mercury* is much less virulent than that of Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury* or Janeway's *Impartial Protestant Mercury*.

The news-sheets published by Harris, Curtis, Francis Smith, Janeway, Benskins and Baldwin all approached the news, the rumours and the gossip they reported from a Whig angle. They contradicted and fought their Tory rivals but amongst themselves there was hardly any rivalry at all. In fact, L'Estrange, supported by Roger North, claimed that the Whigs had some sort of organization to coordinate and direct the production of printed propaganda. L'Estrange claimed that when one Whig publisher was forced to stop his news-sheet, his 'principals' had another printer or publisher take his place. He also suggested that there was a committee that undertook to provide 'good marketable papers and intelligence' to the hawkers, on condition that

they did not sell the Tory sheets.²³³ There certainly seems to have been some agreement between the Whig publishers arranging the days of publication in such a way that their news-sheets did not interfere with each other: Benjamin Harris, and after him Richard Janeway and Thomas Vile, published their sheets on Tuesdays and Fridays; Francis Smith, and after him Thomas Benskins, published on Mondays and Thursdays, while Langley Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury* always appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The author of the pamphlet *The Memoires of the Life of Anthony, Late Earl of Shaftesbury* ... knew exactly where the Whig propagandists received their instructions:

All the applications of the party ... all counsels and caballs were at Thanet House [i.e. the house of the Earl of Shaftesbury]; there the Protestant joyner Colledge, and fourteen of the Jury who brought in the bill against him Ignoramus, who were of his Lordship's neighbourhood, the Anabaptist booksellers Smith and Harris, Jack Starkey &c., the libellers of the government Care, Ferguson &c., found warm entertainment; ... thither the Green Ribbon Club and their foreman Sir R[obert] P[eyton] used to repair constantly ... there the famous bill of exclusion was hatch'd ...²³⁴

The news-sheets were only a small part of the total volume of political propaganda published in this period. There was also an enormous number of pamphlets, ballads, broadsides and other ephemeral but politically influential publications.²³⁵ Clearly the government was unable to establish anything like effective control over the press. Yet the Whig propaganda could not be allowed to go unanswered and the only solution was to beat them at their own game. Lord Chief Justice North advised the King to set up 'counter writers', who were to answer every libel and write the libellers out of court.²³⁶ Best known of the royalist pamphleteers is of course Sir Roger L'Estrange, who, a week before the assembly of the Oxford Parliament, on 13 April 1681, started *The Observer*, which he continued till 9 March 1687.²³⁷ In *The Observer* L'Estrange attempted to revive the alliance between the Crown and the Church, as he did in his other pamphlets. The opposition was out to destroy both and establish a Commonwealth. Non-conformist liberty of conscience, according to L'Estrange, was nothing else than a mask for republicanism and anarchy. As he said in the opening lines of his first number:

'T is the press that has made 'um mad, and the press must set 'um right again. The distemper is epidemical; and there's no way in the world, but by printing, to convey the remedy to the disease.

And the remedy was, he added,

the undeceiving of the people: for they are well enough

disposed, of themselves, to be orderly and obedient ... My business is to encounter the faction, and to vindicate the government; to detect their forgeries; to lay open the rankness of their calumnies and malice; to refute their seditious doctrines; to expose their hypocrisy, and the bloody design that is carry'd on, under the name and semblance of religion; and, in short, to lift up the cloke of the true-Protestant, ... and to shew the people, the Jesuite that lies skulking under it.²³⁸

This was the programme that L'Estrange carried out. The *Observer*, which was not a news-sheet, came out regularly on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and on the other days of the week except Sundays, i.e. whenever its author deemed it necessary.²³⁹ The *Observer's* subject matter was the pamphlets published by the Whig authors - especially those by Harris, Curtis, Janeway, Smith and Baldwin, and, much less often, Benskins. But although Sir Roger L'Estrange is the best remembered of the Court journalists, he was not the only champion of the government. Two months before L'Estrange started *The Observer*, the bookseller Benjamin Tooke invited one Edward Rawlins to write *Heraclitus Ridens*; or, *A Discourse between Jest and Earnest concerning the Times*. It was published once a week, from 1 February 1681 till 22 August 1682, when Rawlins, much against Tooke's will, decided to stop writing the periodical. Rawlins, or Raylings, as his Whig adversaries liked to call him, was a 'corrector of the press'. He was 'bred a scholar', was a Master of Arts and owned a small estate.²⁴⁰ Even before he started writing *Heraclitus Ridens*, he was known as 'an associate of Roger L'Estrange', for he was described as such when, on 24 December 1680, he was arrested by a constable and brought before a Justice of the Peace, Sir William Turner, because he had spoken 'strange and seditious words against the House of Commons' in Richard's Coffeehouse near Templebar. Amongst other things, Rawlins had said that the five Jesuits who had been executed were innocent, and he had shown himself to be 'an abhorrer of petitioning'. When asked if he was mad, he answered that if he was, he was qualified to be a parliament man and at Tobias Collier's Coffeehouse he had 'uttered divers scurrilous speeches against Dr Oates and the rest of the King's evidence'. He was committed to the Compter.²⁴¹ A few months later, at the end of February 1681, he was again arrested because of a quarrel at a coffeehouse. He was obliged by Sir William Turner to find sureties for his good behaviour.²⁴² He managed to remain relatively unknown and prided himself in his last issue of *Heraclitus Ridens* on being as little known as the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*.²⁴³ Wood called him 'a troper and a hot-headed fellow' and added that 'Mr Dowdell thinks him not to be the author [of *Heraclitus Ridens*], but fathered upon him'.²⁴⁴ *Heraclitus Ridens* was no more a newspaper than *The Observer*: it did not provide any foreign news nor, strictly speaking, any domestic news. It commented on the state of affairs from a loyalist point of view, in a satirical, some-

times biting, often humorous tone. *Heraclitus Ridens* was usually mentioned by its opponents in one breath with *The Observer*; both periodicals were fighting the same battle, using the same arguments against what they called 'the faction'. Both defended the traditional view of the Royal Prerogative and championed the Established Church, each in its own way.

The Observer and *Heraclitus Ridens* were in a different class from the Whig newspapers. None of the Whig authors was able to produce the same type of periodical although a number of attempts were made to imitate the genre.²⁴⁵

Benjamin Tooke had a highly successful weekly in *Heraclitus Ridens*: he did not stop at that however. Care's *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which in spite of legal action taken against it, had been impossible to suppress, was now matched by Tooke. On 5 February 1681 Tooke started a similar 'history', *The Weekly Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity; The Rise, Growth, Methods and Ends of the Late Unnatural Rebellion in England, Anno 1641*. The paper appeared for thirty weeks, until 27 August 1681. Whereas Care's *History of Popery* was a useful background to the Whig battle against popery and everything that popery stood for - royal absolutism, for instance, and loss of liberty and property - , in the same way, Tooke's *Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity* was a useful reminder to the reader of the 1680's that '41 was come back again', the constant theme of all Tory propaganda.²⁴⁶

Nathaniel Thompson followed the example of Henry Care and Benjamin Tooke with *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Geneva*; or, *The History of the Reformation*. A contemporary manuscript note on number one in the Nichols Newspaper collection described it as 'against the Presbyterians', which it was. Unlike Tooke's *Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity* and Care's *Weekly Pacquet of Advice*, the paper did not sell well and was stopped after two numbers.²⁴⁷

If Nat Thompson was unsuccessful with his *Pacquet of Advice from Geneva*, his *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* was more successful than any of the other news-sheets of the time. He started his paper on 9 March 1681, a fortnight before the Oxford Parliament assembled, and continued to publish it until 16 November 1682, when the battle against the Whig opposition had been won, and the government felt strong enough to suppress all news-sheets. Thompson made an attempt to revive his *Domestick Intelligence* on 20 February 1683, but a month later he was forced to relinquish that attempt.²⁴⁸ Up to 20 October 1681, no. 66, his news-sheet appeared on Tuesdays and Saturdays. After that date it also came out on Thursdays.

There is no evidence to prove that Thompson was invited by the government to start his *Domestick Intelligence*, although he said himself that he had been asked by 'some friends' to resume publication. On 23 February 1681, he addressed a petition to the King

for licence to publish a weekly account of news and remarkable accidents (not meddling with matters of State) and likewise of such projections, mathematical and others, as

shall be invented or projected by any of the King's subjects. ... He formerly published an intelligence of domestic news, wherein he disabused loyal subjects and discovered the notorious falsehoods published by disaffected persons, which he discontinued in obedience of the proclamation, but, though since the last sessions the same disaffected persons have revived weekly their intelligences and other newsbooks to inflame the people, he has refrained to renew his said intelligence without the King's leave.²⁴⁹

Although this petition has the note 'no order' we may safely assume that Thompson's resumption was not unwelcome to the government who, as we saw, had decided to fight the Whig journalists with their own weapons. When Thompson's first number came out on 9 March, it carried under its title, the proud line 'Published to prevent the many false, scandalous and seditious reports'.

In the introduction to the first issue, Thompson set out his journalistic creed:

When a club of factious scribblers do enflame the people against the Government, and under the mask of religion, endeavour to run down both Church and State; when all honest men are daily pelted with scandalous libels, merely for their loyalty, and termed papists and pensioners for being firm to their Prince, and to the true Protestant religion, as now established by law; then I think it high time for all loyal subjects to declare themselves against such pernicious proceedings, that the world may see what these imposters so imprudently obtrude upon the people, is not the sense of any considerable party, but of the very scum of the nation. Upon this consideration, and through the importunity of some friends, I have thought fit to renew this intelligence, which I am sure will give no offence to any that really love the government as now established by the known laws of the land ... It is published ... to discover to the world the notorious forgeries and impostures both of papists and fanaticks daily invented to amuse the unthinking multitude ... ; whosoever expresses a due abhorrence of the cursed Popish Plot, he will be look't upon by the papists as a Presbyterian fanatick ... but if any dare oppose the Presbyterians plot upon plot, he must immediately be condemned for a papist, for a Jesuit, for a devil incarnate. And thus the Ch. of England is fool'd betwixt two - and like her Saviour is still crucified between two thieves. If either party gets the upper hand she is sure to be ruined ... My business therefore in this intelligence shall be to acquaint the people with the fallacies of these missionaries of Hell. ... where with they endeavour to ... involve the three kingdoms in

a general combustion I shall thereby reap the ill will of both these zealous factions Yet, such is my zeal for the publick good, and the preservation of the true Protestant religion as by law established, wherein (notwithstanding all the malicious calumnies of my adversaries) I have been always firm and am resolved to live and die

Thompson thus started his journalistic battle against 'the club of factious scribblers'. In number after number he lashed out at them: in the two years that he published his *Domestick Intelligence* he attacked Langley Curtis and Richard Janeway some eighty times each, Henry Care at least thirty-five times and Richard Baldwin, Francis Smith and Thomas Benskins about twenty times each. The Whig journalists, of course, retaliated: in the course of 1681, they attacked, criticised, blamed Thompson at least sixty-five times, in 1682 he figured even more often in the Whig pamphlets. They had no doubt who the friends were that had 'importuned' him to start his news-sheet. Thompson, they said, was 'the drudge and broker for popery', who had his pamphlets written by the popish priests in Newgate.²⁵⁰ Besides the popish priests, Sir Roger L'Estrange was suspected of being Thompson's author: 'has not the Observator, think you, a finger in writing that disloyal intelligence? By the sense and stile he should; they play one another, and make as sweet an harmony as gridiron and tongues'.²⁵¹ And later still, in 1682, the Duke of York himself was made responsible for Thompson's pamphlets, for, as Langley Curtis said, Thompson 'had ingress, egress and regress to the Du's [i.e. the Duke of York's] lodgings and apartments, ... just like his followers and comrogues, lowly Rawlins (alias Heraclitus) and old Oliver's Fiddler the Observator ...'.²⁵²

Besides his manifesto, the first issue of Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence* contained 10 paragraphs, four of which were matter-of-fact in tone: an account of a robbery by three highwaymen, a short account of the sessions of gaol delivery at the Old Bailey on Monday 7 March, a report about the election of MP's at Milbourn Port in Somersetshire and an advertisement for 'Indian waterworks', to be seen in the city. But if these paragraphs are 'objective' in tone, it is merely by accident, because at the time, 'news' in the modern sense did not exist. There was no distinction between fact and editorial comment, and the other six paragraphs in this first number show Thompson in his role of the partisan journalist, carefully selecting his news in the interest of his cause. One of these paragraphs was a report of how during the Oxford elections 'the fanaticks openly cry'd out, damn the university and damn the clergy'. Two other paragraphs were aimed at his rivals, Curtis and Harris,

a pack of mercenary venders or common brokers of all seditious lies ... whose endeavours against popery ... were undoubtedly to be commended by all loyal Protestants. But ... in all their libels, they seldom or

never begin with papists, but they are sure to end with the Church of England as I shall hereafter make appear from time to time out of the factious libels and news-books of that cabal.

This was followed by the report that L.C. and J. his wife, understood by his readers, as appears from a contemporary manuscript note, to mean Langley Curtis and his wife Jane, had been summoned before the Privy Council for printing the pamphlet 'A Letter to L'Estrange' and that, in the absence of her husband, Jane Curtis had given bail for appearance on the first day of next term.²⁵³

The Churchwardens of the parish of All Hallows Barking were the subject of another paragraph; they had been indicted because they had allowed 'a wooden image to stand above the Commandments over the Communion table' and the minister of the parish had been indicted for bowing to the image. Langley Curtis had reported the indictment on 2 March and warned all the churchwardens of the country 'not to suffer such seducing trinkets and small preparatories for popery to continue in their churches contrary to law'.²⁵⁴ Nat Thompson stressed the remarks of those of the justices who played down the dangers of popery:

the image ... which was urged by a considerable officer of the city to be idolatrous superstition, and a means to introduce popery, whereat the Court smiling, and some of them were pleased to say it was a very simple indictment, and wondered that any man of reason should trouble the court with such an impertinent matter ... they did not believe anyone so ignorant as to bow to a piece of wood in the form of an image ...'.²⁵⁵

The remaining two articles in number one of the *Loyal Protestant and True Domestic Intelligence* were both concerned with the Popish Plot: for more than a year London had been full of rumours about a plot in Ireland.²⁵⁶ Witnesses had flocked to England to sell their stories. But in the first months of 1681 the Irish witnesses had quarrelled and one of them, David Fitzgerald, had retracted his original evidence and accused his fellow countrymen of perjury. He appeared before the Council on 11 February 1681 to give information against William Hetherington, who, according to David Fitzgerald, had suborned his countrymen to swear high treason against the Queen, the Duke of York, the Duke of Ormond and others. Thompson printed David Fitzgerald's account of the hearing.²⁵⁷ Thompson's *Domestic Intelligence* always took the part of David Fitzgerald against William Hetherington and his fellow conspirators. On 9 March both Thompson and Curtis reported an incident that had occurred in the Queen's Head Tavern in Fleet Street on 5 March. Curtis related how John Macnamara, one of the unrepentant Irish witnesses, had heard that Robert Power, an Irish papist and one of the plotters, was at Queen's Head Tavern in the company of David Fitzgerald, 'a person notorious for retracting his own evidence and endeavouring to sham others'. When Macnamara

tried to arrest Power, he was prevented from doing so by David Fitzgerald, who was assisted by the landlord of the tavern, another Fitzgerald, and Conway, one of his servants. When Macnamara returned, armed with a warrant from Sir George Treby, the Recorder of London, Power had of course disappeared. 'By which 'tis obvious', Curtis continued,

what kind of Protestants some amongst us are, who not only entertain and obscure papist traytors: but also vi & armis secure their flight from justice, and also shows what may be thought of Fitzgerald, if he not only make it his busi-ness to be an instrument and companion to the cabal of traytors; but will draw his sword to defend them and what credit is to be given to the articles by him exhibited ... against Mr Hetherington.²⁵⁸

The story was clearly true, for when Thompson commented on it in his second issue he only objected to what he called Curtis's defamation of the landlord of Queen's Head Tavern. In his own news-sheet, Thompson printed a completely different story about a quarrel which happened at the same Queen's Head Tavern on the same 5 March: he explained that one Brian Haines, another Irishman, had spoken 'treasonable and seditious words' and that, when reproached by others present, he had gone to John Macnamara, one of the witnesses against the Earl of Tyrone. Haines and Macnamara returned to the Queen's Head Tavern with a constable to arrest the gentleman who had reproached Haines, 'nearly to prevent their testimonies against him'. When they found that the gentleman in question had left the tavern, Macnamara charged another visitor to the tavern with high treason, in order to prevent him from appearing against Haines, although admitting at the same time that he had never seen that gentleman before. Macnamara failed to persuade the constable that the gentleman should be arrested and eventually he had to leave without achieving anything. Haines, Thompson added, was arrested the next evening for treason on a warrant from Sir William Turner, one of the Tory magistrates, but managed to escape from custody.

This report looks unlikely enough and was perhaps not the most suitable way 'to discover to the world the notorious forgeries and impostures both of papists and of fanatics'. Thompson's purpose in publishing this story was no doubt to illustrate how unreliable these Irish witnesses were and what methods they used to achieve their aim. Indeed, the story may well be a case of the end justifying the means.

The same is true of the last article of the first *Domestick Intelligence*, a letter from Dublin, dated 1 March 1681, and signed T.J. In it, the correspondent expresses his amazement at the news he has read in the 'intelligences', 'as if this kingdom had already been in actual rebellion. I believe they speak as they would have it, wishing us to begin, as themselves are resolved to end the tragedy'. The correspondent also denies the truth of a report by Benjamin Harris that during the absence of the countess of Clancarty, the popish steward

had used her house for a meeting of a great number of priests. Some of them had been arrested and had confessed that they had met 'to take oaths of secrecy'. The house was searched, and over a hundred firearms were found, besides several barrels of gunpowder hidden in hollow trees near the house.²⁵⁹ The correspondent also contradicts a story, published by Harris on 1 March, about a man who found his wife and two children with their throats cut by his maid, a papist, who confessed that she had been ordered by the priest 'when they heard the Irish cry: kill as many protestants as they could'. Unfortunately, a correspondent writing from Dublin on 1 March 1681 could not possibly know the contents of the *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* published in London on the same date, so that it is clear that the letter from Dublin published by Thompson on 9 March sprang, if not wholly, at least partly, from his own or his author's imagination. As with the report about the Queen's Head Tavern, the purpose of the letter was to enable Thompson to say that the Irish plot scare was a fake, that everything was quiet and peaceful in Ireland and to defend the Duke of Ormond, who was one of the intended victims of the Irish plot scare. His 'correspondent' enabled him to write about the Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex in a way he could not have done otherwise. He had his letterwriter say:

we want a Sha. and an Ess. saith the libeller, that is, true Protestants, saith your libeller; but 'tis well-known we have those whose loyalty has been often try'd and whose fidelity has been always found unquestionable, who never betray'd their trust, nor fawned upon usurpers; who hate weathercocks and time-serving politicians, yet pretend they can better see the miscarriages of state after they are turned out of court, than while they sit at the helm. In fine, who detest all plebeian lords, who joyn with the rabble against their prince, for the same reason that Achitophel hanged himself, not for any good they wish either to king or kingdom.

L'Estrange quoted Harris's story about cutting Protestants' throats in number two of *The Observer* and dismissed it with scorn; *The Observer* *Observ'd*, commented 'he begins well, with a forged letter from Ireland, to abuse cunningly several great persons, whom he calls weathercocks, and time serving politicians, plebeian lords, who joyn with the rabble against their Prince', showing that Thompson's digs at the Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex had struck home.²⁶⁰

The first number of *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* is representative of those that followed: for two years Thompson reported the news of the day, especially the London news, always interpreting it and presenting it from a Tory loyalist point of view.

One of the subjects that created a great stir in 1681 was the trial and condemnation of Archbishop Oliver Plunket, who had been accused of being involved in a plot to organize a revolt in Ireland. Plunket was arrested in Dublin in December 1678 and committed to prison.

After an abortive attempt to bring him to trial at Dundalk, where no witnesses appeared, Plunket was sent to London in October 1680 and, on 3 May 1681, the Grand Jury found a true bill against him. He was tried on 8 June 1681, too soon for Plunket to bring over his witnesses from Ireland, and he was found guilty of high treason. He was executed at Tyburn on 1 July 1681.²⁶¹ *The London Gazette*, Thomas Benskins and John Smith published brief accounts of the trial.²⁶² Benskins and Smith both wrote that Plunket's defence was very weak. Benskins reported Plunket's argument that the time he had been allowed to prepare his defence had been too short. Richard Janeway devoted his entire first page to the trial, set out the charges in some detail and noted that Edward Murphy, one of the witnesses who had originally given information against Plunket to the Attorney General, now had nothing to say against the prisoner. But, he added, it was proved that Murphy had been 'taken off' and instructed what to say. He concluded that 'never was there a tryal more clearly prov'd than this ...'.²⁶³ Thompson kept completely silent about Plunket's trial; he could not criticize the trial without criticising the Court of King's Bench, which was impossible, or at least very dangerous. He took his opportunity on 21 June, however, to report the French ambassador's statement that as far as plans for a landing in Ireland of 70,000 French troops were concerned, the evidence against Plunket was entirely without any grounds and would be proved to be false. When the execution had taken place, Curtis and Benskins mentioned it briefly, noting that in his last speech the Archbishop had declared that he was innocent.²⁶⁴ A few days before the execution, Benskins prepared his readers for Plunket's last speech by writing that Oliver Plunket had

made his confession and received absolution from some of his fraternity that came to visit him in disguise; and now, according to the old jesuitical method of professing innocence, by way of equivocation and mental reservation, he no doubt will have the child unborn in his mouth to the last, and by that means, think to dawb over the stains of treason as to the outward appearance.²⁶⁵

Janeway was more explicit than usual and wrote that

Mr Plunket read a paper, purporting an entire denial of all things charged upon him, which he afterwards delivered out before, ad faciendum populum, to decoy the people. For he was scarce executed before a copy thereof printed, was cryed about the streets, published by Nathaniel Thompson.²⁶⁶

Thompson not only printed Plunket's speech in a separate pamphlet, he also devoted more than two thirds of the space of his *Domestick Intelligence* of 2 July to Plunket's speech, using the smallest type available in order to squeeze as much as he could into the space he had at his disposal. He confronted his readers with Plunket's point

by point refutation of the charges against him, but also with Plunket's revelation, 'that a great lord sent me notice, that he would save my life, if I would accuse others'. Clearly Thompson meant the Earl of Shaftesbury, whom he thus made responsible for what was a legal murder.

Nor was that the end of Thompson's dealings with Archbishop Plunket's case. In the following months the Whig journalists as usual tried to prove Plunket's speech a forgery. Benskins had already done this before the execution took place.²⁶⁸ Janeway wrote in September that a gentleman from Ireland had told him that he knew from personal experience that several parts of Plunket's speech were false. Thompson immediately challenged Janeway and proved his allegations wrong.²⁶⁹ He also kept track of the witnesses who had appeared against Plunket and reported what happened to them when they returned to Ireland, demonstrating that they were no more than common thieves and villains. Henry O'Neale, for example, and his relatives of the same name, were arrested for thieving and robbery in the autumn of 1681 and then offered to reveal the practices of 'a great man in London, and divers citizens of London, his confederates ...'.²⁷⁰ After reporting on 22 November 1681 that the three O'Neales, still in Trynn goal, had received pardons for treason and misprision of treason, and expatiating on the fact that they had recanted the evidence they had given against Sir John Davies, 'by the directions and advice of Capt. J.M., Capt. N., William Hetherington and others', he announced on 30 March 1682 that

O'Neal who swore against bishop Plunket ... was condemned and executed at Mullingar in the county of Westmeath this Lent assizes He openly confessed at the place of execution, that what he swore concerning the Irish plot, or against Plunket, was utterly false; and that he was suborn'd by Moyer and Duffy, in Blossoms Inn in London; but by whom they were suborned, he did not very well know.²⁷¹

Friar John MacMoyer was arrested and tried for his life 'for unnatural rogueries' and hanged with another witness against Plunket, Florence Wyer. The witnesses who had appeared against Archbishop Plunket proved by their lives that they were entirely untrustworthy, that their final confessions of perjury had to be taken seriously and that the Irish plot had been a mere fabrication by the 'faction'.²⁷² Thompson was not only interested in the witnesses against Archbishop Plunket; he followed, all the plot witnesses closely, attacking and ridiculing them as long as they maintained their evidence and veering round to their defence as soon as they changed sides and became Crown witnesses. And with the Irish witnesses changing sides whenever they thought it convenient to do so, it is not surprising that Thompson, was not consistent in his attitude to these Irishmen, anymore than his opponents were.

The most important of all the Irish witnesses was no doubt William

Hetherington, Shaftesbury's agent, who had brought a number of witnesses from Ireland to London. He was the 'manager' of the Irish witnesses, the intermediary who had to distribute the money collected for them and who had to see to it that they were properly instructed in their roles. Thompson regularly focused his attention on Hetherington, as often as twenty times in 1681 alone, and it was Thompson who published the account of the hearing of Hetherington and David Fitzgerald held by the Council in February 1681.²⁷³ Hetherington, he kept stressing, was a poor Irishman who had been imprisoned for debt in Dundalk gaol. He had been transferred to Dublin and, after escaping with the assistance of his wife, he had come to England, where he was misrepresented by 'a noble man (I need not name him)' to the King and Council as an Irish J.P. who 'kept three setts of coach-horses of six in a sett, each horse being worth £40', and who could give valuable information about the Popish Plot in Ireland.²⁷⁴ The implication of Thompson's revelation that Hetherington was a poor Irishman like most of the other Irish witnesses was, of course, that he was susceptible to bribery and that consequently an unreliable witness. In fact, Hetherington's evidence was based, said Thompson, on the stories he had heard in Dundalk gaol from Edmund Murphy, the parish priest of Killeevy, who had himself recanted at the time of Plunket's trial. He openly accused Hetherington of having bribed witnesses to accuse the King, the Queen, the Duke of York, Sir John Davies and others, and he hinted that all this had been done at the instigation of the 'noble man'.²⁷⁵

The unnamed 'noble man' was, of course, the Earl of Shaftesbury. When Thompson published Hetherington's antecedents, the Earl was under arrest in the Tower on a charge of high treason. It was probably too dangerous for Thompson to accuse Shaftesbury openly of being the evil genius behind the Irish witnesses, but he continually published hints to that effect. Thus, on 16 August, he wrote:

This day a certain Irishman arrived here and being a stranger went about several streets asking those he met "Arrah, can you tell where is de Plot-Office in dis town?" And being asked what he had to do with it? Answered, "Bee me shoul, I have much discoverree to make". He was advised to inquire without Aldersgate [Thanet House, Shaftesbury's city residence, was in Aldersgate street] and 't was possible he might have further instructions where to find it, but was told there, the Plotmaster was removed into another countrey; and what is since become of the discoverer, we have not heard.²⁷⁶

When Shaftesbury was arrested on 2 July 1681, John Smith had a short factual report to the effect that the Earl of Shaftesbury was arrested in his house in Aldersgate street by Mr Gwyn, one of the clerks of the Council, and Mr Deerham, and that Shaftesbury denied the allegations made against him. Before he was taken to the Tower, he dined

with Dr Oates at his lodgings. Janeway wrote that Shaftesbury was arrested and examined 'upon the information of six, some say more, witnesses, all or most of them Irish, touching high-treason ...'. Shaftesbury denied all guilt, and said 'that were he guilty of those crimes laid to his charge, he was more fit for Bedlam than the Tower'. Benskins also stressed that although there were several witnesses against him, both men and women, they were 'for the most part Irish'.²⁷⁷ Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence* was the only paper to specify in any detail the charges against the Earl.

The Lord Chancellor told him, that he was charged (by the testimony of several witnesses upon oath) to be guilty of crime; in such a nature, as, (in his opinion) amounted to high treason; particularly, that his lordship should insinuate, that his majesty was popishly affected, and designed to rule arbitrarily, and contrary to law; and that he should suborn witnesses against the life of the Queen's Majesty, his Royal Highness, &c.²⁷⁸

In the months between Shaftesbury's arrest and his appearance before the London Grand Jury on 24 November 1681, Thompson did his utmost to uphold the credibility of the Irish witnesses who had given evidence against the Earl, even though he had done his best before to destroy their reputations. When on 31 August the Earl of Shaftesbury applied for bail on a writ of Habeas Corpus and had his request refused because the Tower of London was outside the jurisdiction of the General Sessions, Thompson wrote: 'there were near a dozen witnesses ready to charge Mr Justice Warcup and Mr Bryan Haines, and others his Majesty's evidence, of subordination of perjury, and such crimes as they wanted to fix upon them ... and it is believed a good credulous pannel was fixed for the purpose ...'. It is enough to remember how fiercely Haines had been attacked by Thompson in number one of his *Domestick Intelligence*, to realize how completely Thompson's attitude had changed.²⁷⁹ If Warcup and Fitzgerald had not yet actually been accused, they were shortly afterwards in the pamphlet *No Protestant Plot*. On 13 October Warcup and Fitzgerald appeared before the Council on this charge, but 'nothing could appear against these gentlemen but their loyalty to the crown, which is no small mote in a phanattick's eye'.²⁸⁰ The witnesses against Shaftesbury, Dugdale, Turberville and Smith, who were said in *No Protestant Plot* to have been suborned, appeared and swore that 'what they have done was to discharge their consciences, and not upon any consideration of reward, promise or expectation of gain. But at last it seemed to be but a contrivance of one Dr Oates, Mr Everard and such tools as are appointed by the godly party, for to maintain their cause ...'. On the first page of the same number Thompson had already announced the rumour that some lords in the Tower, clearly referring to the lords Shaftesbury and Howard of Escrick, were to appear before a special commission of oyer and terminer at Oxford, which decision, he said, would in all probability

'make some of our Green-ribbon-men look bluely and render all their shams and scurrilous libels ... to prepossess the people of their innocence, and vilify the King's witnesses, useless'.²⁰¹ When Shaftesbury eventually appeared before a London Grand Jury on 24 November and had the bill against him thrown out by the Jury, John Smith's *Currant Intelligence* again gave a matter-of-fact account. Janeway stressed that the jurymen who had thrown out the bill were all 'persons of good quality and estates, all of the Church of England as by law established, and all of known loyalty and integrity'. Curtis published a list of the charges against the Earl and stressed the joy of the people about the verdict: bells were rung and a great many bonfires built but there was no rioting.²⁰² Thompson's report, by no means as systematic as John Smith's or Curtis's, stressed all the points that could be used for propaganda purposes: he pointed out that a paper entitled 'A Letter to a Friend', had been found at Shaftesbury's house in the presence of a number of witnesses. In the 'Letter', the Duke of York was held responsible for the plot and also for the frequent prorogations of parliament; it contained a declaration, to be signed by supporters, that the Duke should be excluded from the succession and banished and that anyone who opposed this 'Association' should be killed. The witnesses, suggested Thompson, were unanimous: he reported 'the substance of what they all swore': that Shaftesbury had called the King a papist, who encouraged the introduction of popery as much as the Duke of York; that Shaftesbury had reproached the King for calling a parliament in Oxford and had said that this was done to frighten the opposition; that, if the King refused to accept the repeal of the anti-dissenter legislation and the exclusion of the Duke of York, they would force him into acceptance. Shaftesbury had even made preparations for an armed force to compel the King, should he refuse to comply with their wishes. Thompson went on in this vein and then reported how the jury, quite unreasonably for anyone who reads his account, returned after half an hour and threw out the bill against Shaftesbury. After his account of the hearing, he emphasized the statement by the prosecution witnesses that they had appeared of their own free will and without any reward from anyone, to counter once more the insinuations in the two parts of *No Protestant Plot*.²⁰³ If the propagandist in Nathaniel Thompson had once more got the better of the journalist, one must not forget that he was in good company, for the Court and the judges said exactly the same as Thompson. Nor was this account the end of the affair for Thompson: in the months that followed, he conducted a vigorous campaign against Ignoramus juries and the jurymen on those juries; he reported diligently the flood of loyal addresses in abhorrence of the 'Association' found at the Earl of Shaftesbury's house, and spoke up in defence of the addressers, who were invariably accused by the Whig papers of cheating in order to obtain signatures to their addresses and of not being truly representative of the bodies on whose behalf they presented them. Addresses and petitions were not a new subject for Thompson. In the early months of 1680 he had written against the petitioners for par-

liament; after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament he had reported the many addresses of thanks for the Royal Declaration.

In the same way in which he followed the vicissitudes of the witnesses against Archbishop Plunket he now followed the witnesses against the Earl of Shaftesbury. When Edward Turberville died of the smallpox, Thompson announced his death and recorded that 'immediately before, he sent for a Justice of the Peace and declared, that what he had deposed was true and so departed'.²⁸⁴ Janeway wrote a few days later that Turberville 'died a papist; an old fellow under the notion of a doctor, but believed to be a soul-murderer frequently visiting, and being very private with him several times before his death', suggesting that Turberville had the customary dispensation to make a false statement.²⁸⁵ A few months later, in March 1682, Thompson published a statement by Bolron and Mowbray, two notorious plot witnesses. During Stephen College's trial at Oxford in August 1681, they had accused John Smith, another former plot witness, of attempting to suborn them against the Earl of Shaftesbury. Now they confessed that John Smith had done nothing of the kind but that they, Bolron and Mowbray, had been invited by Shaftesbury's agents, Aaron Smith, Edmund Everard, Murray and Ayloffe to make such an accusation.²⁸⁶ Shortly after that, Thompson even published a copy of a letter by S[haftebury] to William Hetherington, in which 'S' said 'I think myself obliged to take care of them [i.e. the Irish witnesses Murphy, Callaghan, MacMoyer and Fynan] because you made use of me to have the matter first to the Council ... I am only to serve them in a private capacity ...'.²⁸⁷ More conclusive proof of the Earl of Shaftesbury's responsibility for the Popish Plot could not be offered. Thompson's guiding principle in reporting the case of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and also the cases of John Rouse, John Wilmore and Stephen College, was that the King and his government could do no wrong and necessarily had justice on their side.²⁸⁸

A Tory newspaper publisher like Nathaniel Thompson could not, of course, ignore the English Plot witnesses. When Thompson started his *Domestick Intelligence*, London and the rest of the country were full of rumours about the revelations of Edward Fitzharris, an Irish Roman Catholic.²⁸⁹ Edward Fitzharris was employed at the time by the Duchess of Portsmouth to gather information. He seems to have formed the plan to manufacture some information of his own and therefore he invited a fellow intriguer, Edmund Everard, to write a libel for him, *The True Englishman Speaking Plain English in a Letter from a Friend to a Friend*, which he would then take to the Duchess of Portsmouth as the result of his investigations.²⁹⁰ Everard, however, decided that it would pay him to go over to the Whigs and betray Fitzharris to Sir William Waller, who arrested him at once. After a hearing by the Council, Fitzharris was committed to Newgate. There he was visited by the Sheriffs of London, Bethel and Cornish, by Alderman Sir George Clayton and by the Recorder, Sir George Treby, to whom he 'discovered' what he knew about the Popish Plot. The King,

who realized that Fitzharris was being instructed by the opposition, removed him from Newgate to the Tower, where he was out of their reach. The Oxford House of Commons tried to impeach Fitzharris, but failed because the Lords refused to cooperate. After the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, Fitzharris was tried at the Court of King's Bench, convicted of writing a treasonable libel, sentenced to death and executed on 1 July 1681. In spite of the fact that the City talked about little else, and the newspapers described Fitzharris as one who had for years been at the centre of the popish machinations, identifying him with the Fitzharris who was held responsible for the Great Fire of 1666, Thompson kept silent about the affair until Fitzharris, who had previously said that he knew no more against anyone else, suddenly accused the Queen, the Duke of York, through his barber Du Puy, and the Earl of Danby of complicity in the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey.²⁹¹ Thompson seems to have known that such accusations were going to be made, for on 15 March 1681, long before Fitzharris openly accused the Duke of York, he wrote that Brian Haines, the then still disreputable Irish witness, intended to join Fitzharris and to confirm his evidence about Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey.²⁹² Thompson's information proved correct a few months later, when the Whig newspapers reported rumours about a new informer, who had made offers to the Earl of Shaftesbury to confirm Fitzharris's information if he could obtain a pardon first.²⁹³ When Thompson wrote about the affair, he stressed Fitzharris's original statement that he knew nothing about the Popish Plot in England, because he was abroad when it was being hatched.²⁹⁴ He wrote:

Fitzharris's case is now the only subject of all people's discourse, both in city and country. In the interim, 'tis much wondered at by the most ingenious of the town, that so many persons should appear so vigorous for a man in such circumstances, ... should be so shameless to espouse the quarrel of one so notoriously reputed a traitor against their Sovereign. But ... they seldom want a plausible excuse to cover their blackest designs. They appear not ... to save a traitor, but to get a further confirmation of the Popish Plot. A strange thing indeed, that after three years continuous scrutiny, after the death of so many conspirators, we should yet be in the dark, and still so incredulous as to want any further confirmation. And what great confirmation ... can it be ... that one to save his neck, would bring so many to the gallows?²⁹⁵

The paragraph mentioned no names, but the contemporary reader knew that 'the many persons of honour' were the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Shaftesbury, Essex, and Salisbury and others who appeared in court on Fitzharris's behalf.²⁹⁶ 'Their blackest designs' no doubt hinted at the attempts by the Whigs to make Fitzharris implicate the Queen, the Duke of York and the Earl of Danby, in order to give a new lease

of life to their ailing Popish Plot.

In spite of his claim that further confirmation of the Popish Plot was superfluous, Thompson seemed to take an entirely different attitude towards another informer, the Irishman Macgrath, but then Macgrath operated for the Tory party. Macgrath approached the Earl of Danby and offered to give evidence to the effect that Godfrey had not been murdered by the Catholics, as the official verdict had been, but had committed suicide. To say such a thing was sacrilege even in 1681, because it meant that the Popish Plot and everything it stood for was undermined. Danby was careful not to get involved with Macgrath, whom he passed on to the Council. When Macgrath was questioned there, he soon broke down and had to admit that, although he had denied it, he had connections with Mrs Cellier, the Popish Midwife, who had thrown doubt on the official interpretation of Godfrey's murder as early as 1679, when she claimed that Miles Prance, the main trial witness, had been tortured into confession. There was a general outcry against Macgrath in the Whig press and his information was decried as another Roman Catholic 'sham plot' to prove that there had been no Popish Plot.²⁹⁷ Thompson took upon himself the task of defending 'the Irish gentleman' by explaining that, far from wanting to conceal his relationship with Mrs Cellier, Macgrath had only kept silent about her because the story he had to tell deserved to be investigated, and would certainly have been rejected out of hand if it had been known that Mrs Cellier was involved. 'And this is the truth', Thompson concluded, 'of the so much talked of horrid and damnable new plot, which hath made so much noise'.²⁹⁸

A few weeks later, Thompson made his first open attack on Titus Oates. He wrote 'We have advice from Gaunt, that about 40 of the professed Jesuits of the English Province have now openly met there, and again held their triennial congregation; and that they wished really to have the happiness of Dr O. his company there, as sure as they had it not at their London congregation in April was three years'. To deny that Oates had been present at the Jesuits' triennial congregation in London in 1678 was tantamount to denying the existence of the Popish Plot itself, for Oates had always maintained that he had been present in person at the 'great consult' of the Jesuits in London in April 1678.²⁹⁹ From then on, for as long as his *Domestick Intelligence* appeared, Titus Oates was the target of Thompson's criticism and invective. He pointed out the inconsistencies in Oates's evidence. He contrasted Oates's statements during Lord Castlemain's trial, where he had said that he had been converted to Roman Catholicism, with his statement during Viscount Stafford's trial, that he had never really been a Catholic but had only pretended to be one.³⁰⁰ Richard Janeway immediately tried to explain away the inconsistency, but Thompson continued his campaign and published more contradictory passages from Oates's evidence.³⁰¹ When Oates was invited to preach at a London conventicle, Thompson asked 'whether the doctor frequents and preaches in such conventicles ... only as a spy on the Dissenters as formerly he was upon the Jesuits and papists; or, as a real Dissenter from the

Church of England' and he reminded his readers of the passage in Oates's *Narrative*, where he said that the papists sent seditious preachers and catechists to conventicles and field meetings to 'dis-affect the King's best friends'.³⁰² In the same number of his *Domes-tick Intelligence*, Thompson also challenged Oates to reveal when, where and by whom he had been baptized. When neither the 'doctor' himself, nor any of the Whig journalists responded, Thompson answered the question himself and wrote that Oates, who was born at Oakham, county Rutland, was the son of a 'notorious Anabaptist preacher or holderforth', and that his name did not occur in the parish register of baptisms. Ten days later Thompson concluded that obviously Oates had not been baptized, which meant that his evidence in this respect was false, and consequently, that all his evidence was questionable. From here it was not difficult to go one step further: Thompson re-ceived the allegations that Oates was guilty of what was called at the time 'unnatural crimes', although Thompson was much more outspoken in his choice of words.³⁰³

In January 1682, Thompson levelled another attack at the credibili-ty of the Popish Plot by publishing an account of Simpson Tonge Jr, who had 'formerly sworn that his own father was the chief contriver of the Popish Plot; discovered by a man who then went under the name of Dr O'. He related how Simpson Tonge had been persuaded by 'the reli-gious good party' to withdraw his evidence, because, although the plot 'were but a contrivance of his father and Dr O. (so called then), ... it was an advancement of all Protestant Dissenters in England, Ireland and Scotland'. But Tonge, 'since being touched with remorse of con-science offers to justify what he had sworn unto by his own testimony alone ... by such papers, circumstances and witnesses as he is now able to produce ...'. A fortnight later this announcement was follow-ed by a letter by Tonge, confirming the truth of Thompson's first re-port.³⁰⁴ Thompson's report of the affair came at the end of a period of more than a year during which Simpson Tonge had made his confession to Sir Roger L'Estrange, retracted it and confirmed his original evi-dence again. Although L'Estrange later said that Thompson 'had got some inkling of it', it looks as if Thompson had been instructed by L'Estrange about the whole affair and collaborated with him in this attack on the Popish Plot.³⁰⁵ In his account of the Tonge affair, Thompson spoke about Oates, 'who then went under the name of Dr O.' and 'Dr O. so called'. Later in 1682, again in collaboration with L'Estrange's *The Observator*, Thompson published the declaration by thirteen doctors of the University of Salamanca that Oates, who had lived for some months in the college of St. Albans at Valladolid and had been expelled 'ob morum improbitatum', had never been a student of that university and had no right whatsoever to the title of 'Doctor of Salamanca' that he gave himself. Thompson had suggested the same thing in 1681 in one of his ballads.³⁰⁶

Now it had also become possible for the Tory pamphleteers to use allusions to Oates's evidence in their anti-Whig campaign. When the Duke of Monmouth made his progress to the North in the autumn of 1682,

Thompson described it as a failure, stressing that Monmouth was ignored by influential citizens and was only met, if at all, by the rabble. About Monmouth's reception at Lichfield he wrote: 'some say that he mustered above 670 invisible men at that bout; but that's nothing to what the doctor had done several times'. And about Monmouth's visit to Coventry, where he was said to have been enthusiastically welcomed by as many as 700 citizens on horseback, Thompson said in the same number: 'and these are the 700 horse, which attended his Grace after the same invisible manner as the Spanish pilgrims marched when no man ever heard of them but himself'.³⁰⁷

When Thompson described Oates's father as a 'notorious Anabaptist preacher and holderforth', he used terminology that was characteristic of his *Domestick Intelligence*. If there was one promise in the first number of *The Domestick Intelligence* that Thompson kept, it was his promise 'to discover to the world the notorious forgeries and impostures both of papists and phanatiques', at least where the 'phanatiques' were concerned. In practically every number of his *Domestick Intelligence* he attacked the 'true Protestants', as he called them.

In the early months of 1681, there was a discussion about the legality of the prosecution of Dissenters under Elizabethan legislation.³⁰⁸ The Whig journalists maintained that it was illegal to prosecute them, since Parliament had repealed the so called '35 Elizabeth'. Thompson and L'Estrange wrote in defence of the prosecution and maintained that '35 Elizabeth' was still in force. For as long as he published his *Domestick Intelligence*, illegal conventicles and negligent constables who connived at these meetings and ignored warrants to suppress them, were denounced by Thompson. He even continued to do so when John Hilton, one of the informers against Nonconformist conventicles, started *The Conventicle-Courant*,³⁰⁹ writing about nothing else but the prosecution of dissenters, 'setting forth the daily troubles, dangers and abuses that loyal gentlemen meet with, putting the laws in execution'.³¹⁰ Thompson's attitude was very simple: to him, as well as to L'Estrange, Nonconformity was synonymous with disloyalty, rebellion and republicanism. On 31 August 1681, L'Estrange wrote:

There is one general plot against the government; which is a plot of state, not of religion, and this is carried on, conjunctly, by the generality of the sectaries against the Church and the Monarchy under the clamorous pretence of arbitrary government and popery; ... and this confederacy is ... presented to the common people under the masque of united Dissenters, or ... they stile themselves true Protestants.³¹¹

This statement, the guiding principle of L'Estrange's *The Observer*, also sums up Thompson's policy in his *Domestick Intelligence*. For as long as his *Domestick Intelligence* appeared, he interpreted the news and the rumours he reported in the light of that opinion. In only one respect was Thompson different from L'Estrange: he did not hesitate to attribute to the Nonconformists all kinds of vice, immorality and

lechery, clearly thinking that this sort of treatment would make his propaganda more convincing to his readers.³¹²

The defeat of the Whigs at the end of 1682, meant that there was no longer any reason for the government to allow the press the freedom which it had enjoyed for a number of years. Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury*, which alone of all the Whig papers had managed to survive throughout the period, was now suppressed by the arrest of Jane Curtis, who appeared before the Court of King's Bench on 27 October. She was unable to give security for good behaviour, and consequently she was put in prison. She was not bailed until 6 November, promising never to misbehave again.³¹³ The other news-sheets, Thompson's and Benskins's *Domestick Intelligence*, George Croom's *Loyal London Mercury*, and Elizabeth Brooks's *Loyal Impartial Mercury* were all suppressed by the government on 16 November.³¹⁴ Thompson concluded as he had begun:

Having continued this newsbook for some time, ... without offence to any, only those plagues and pests of the nation, the phanatiques; ... but now being informed that authority is displeased therewith, I am very willing to desist writing anymore in regard it would be most inexecutable for me, who have ever writ in defence of them and their authority, now to continue in disobedience to their commands.³¹⁵

In fact Thompson was not at all 'very willing to desist', for on 20 February 1683 he made an attempt to revive his *Domestick Intelligence*, and published no. 235. He was not allowed, however, to continue for long and on 20 March he was forced once more to stop publication, this time for good.³¹⁶

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS PRINTED AND SOLD BY NATHANIEL THOMPSON

The list of Thompson imprints dated 1681 is much longer than the lists of the two previous years. Morrison lists thirty-one items for 1681, but he overlooked two pamphlets which also carried Thompson's imprint.³¹⁷ Four of these thirty-three items were printed by Thompson for some other bookseller, two of them were printed by Thompson and sold, at least partly, by another bookseller and one was printed by Thompson for the author.³¹⁸ Besides the work printed by Thompson under his own imprint, a number of other pamphlets can be traced back to his shop: early in February 1681, he printed for Joseph Hindmarsh *The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments*, written by the Church of England clergyman, Thomas Ashenden.³¹⁹ The pamphlet came out under the imprint 'for Tom Tell-Troth at the Sign of the Old King's Head in Axeyard in Kingsheet Westminster', but in spite of this fake imprint its origin was no secret.

In the same month, Nathaniel Thompson was also accused of printing and publishing *A Letter to a Noble Peer of the Realm about his Late Speech and Petition to His Majesty*, a Tory answer, signed L.S., to the petition presented by the Earl of Essex and other Lords to King Charles, requesting him to allow his fifth parliament to sit in Westminster in-

stead of at Oxford.³²⁰ Harris's *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* said 'that it may not be unfit to tell the world; that the libel was printed by N.T. (that common-shore for disemboгуing Popish venom in masquerade) and supposed to be written by R.L., i.e. Sir Roger L'Estrange'.³²¹ On 1 June, at the Sessions for the Peace for the City of London, the jury brought a presentment against *An Apostrophe from the Loyal Party to the King's Most Sacred Majesty: Humbly Shewing how the Next House of Commons by Law May be Purged of its Disaffected Members*,³²² 'contriv'd by the Papists and believ'd to be printed by the popish printer in Fetter-Lane, the design of it being to overthrow the ancient constitution of the government of this country'.³²³ The *Protestant Observer* said that *A Postscript of Advice from Geneva, to be Added to Each of Mr. Care's Several Volumes of Advice from Rome* 'will sell bravely, so long as the cryer general of the Tories publishes it ... Catholic Nat, that goodly bell-weather who marches with a forehead in folio, a pair of pushers a top on't and a bell, instead of Tyburn bracelets, which 't is said he deserves about his neck ...'.³²⁴

For the Benedictine Monk James Corker, Thompson probably printed and certainly sold *Stafford's Memoires: or, A Brief and Impartial Account of the Birth and Quality, Imprisonment, Tryal, ... of William ... Stafford ... Published for Rectifying All Mistakes upon this Subject*, a scathing attack on the trial and conviction of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, by the House of Lords, who found an innocent man guilty of high treason.³²⁵ The author also pointed out the discrepancies in the evidence of the witnesses who had appeared against Stafford as well as against the Whig agitator Stephen College, who was tried and convicted at Oxford in August 1681. Thompson was also responsible for the anonymous attack on Titus Oates, *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor, for A True and Brief Account of the Proceedings between Mr David Fitz-gerald and William Hetherington, before His Majesty in Council, on Friday the 11th of February 1680/1*.³²⁶ He reprinted and sold *An Act of the Lord Mayor ... of the City of Dublin, in answer to the Whig pamphlet Ireland's Sad Lamentation: Discovering its Present Danger, in Some Remarkable Passages which have Happened since the Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot...*³²⁷

A printer who wanted to avoid punishment for the pamphlets he printed and published could find other ways to disguise the origin of his work than anonymous publication. He could always use the names of his rivals in the imprints of his pamphlets and that was what Thompson did a number of times. He was recognized and indicted, in spite of the fake imprints he used, as the printer of Tom D'Urfey's *An Excellent New Ballad, to the Tune of How Unhappy is Phyllis in Love*, a ballad against Shaftesbury, beginning 'Let Oliver be forgotten', which he published under the imprint 'for Benjamin Harris at the Stationers' Arms at the Royal Exchange and to be sold by Langley Curtis ..., 1681'.³²⁸ The same imprint appeared on *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts, and Visions*, and on *The Ghost of the Late House of Commons*. The latter also came out under the title *A Dialogue between the Ghosts of the Two Last Parliaments ...*, for Al. Banks. In

fact these pamphlets were printed by Thompson, according to the authors of *Democritus Ridens* and *The True Protestant Mercury*.³²⁹ 'Al. Banks' probably stood for Alexander Banks, the name of Thompson's workman, often used by Thompson to disguise the provenance of his pamphlets. It also occurred on *A Hue and Cry after Dr T.[itus] O.[ates]*,³³⁰ which, with *The Dialogue betwixt the Devil...* and *An Excellent New Ballad*, was charged against him in 1681. *The Poor Prisoner's Lamentation for the Loss of Sh--- B---*... was published by Thompson under the imprint 'for James Alexander'.³³¹ *Treason Unmasked, or, Truth Brought to Light*, another attack on the Earl of Shaftesbury, was printed 'for Francis Smith', although later Thompson brought it out under his own name.³³² In all these cases it was important for Thompson to cover his tracks, because the men against whom these pamphlets were aimed still held positions of power in London and were consequently able to revenge themselves on the printer.

The pamphlet *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles...* is a good illustration of the kind of propaganda pamphlets that Thompson published in 1681 and 1682. He opened with a reprint of an article in Harris's *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* of 7 January 1681, reporting a cure by the Duke of Monmouth of Elisabeth Parcet from the King's Evil.³³³ Harris published his story to support the claims of the Duke of Monmouth that he was the legitimate son of Charles II, and consequently the rightful heir to the throne. Thompson followed his reprint of Harris's article by a parody, *A True Account of a Wonderful Cure of the King's Evil, Perform'd by Mrs. F.[anshaw], Sister to His Grace the Duke of Monmouth*, poking fun at Harris's report and ridiculing Monmouth's claims.³³⁴ He tacked on to it a report that the Duke of Monmouth, as an extra proof of his legitimacy, was going to enter the den of the King's lion Old Charles, because it was generally known that the lion would 'do reverence' and 'do homage' to the 'true and right successor'. If the lion refused to oblige, Thompson or his author added,

yet he will show them another sort of royalty and remove one of the worst sorts of the King's evil. [But] as the malicious Papists have spitefully poisoned all the lions in the Tower, except the Duke's [i.e. the Duke of York's] ... his Grace is advised by his Privy Council, the Rabble, not to venture on that popish lyon but rather try the good nature of the leopard, who they say was as certainly begot by the lyon as his Grace by the King and therefore cannot but favour such pretenders to royalty, in hopes to himself may at last become K. of the beasts.

Having thus effectively exposed the Duke of Monmouth's claims as spurious, Thompson repeated the same procedure, now quoting Harris's account of an apparition on 1 February to Elizabeth Freeman at Hatfield.³³⁵ The spectre bade the girl to warn the King not to remove his parliament to Oxford. Thompson parodied this account with his own *A True Relation of a Strange Apparition which Appear'd to the Lady Gr.[ey] Commanding Her to Deliver a Message to His Grace D.[uke] of*

M. [onmouth].³³⁶ Lady Grey was chosen because it enabled the author to hint at Monmouth's amorous relations with her. The apparition told Lady Grey:

this 15th of May is appointed for the royal blood to be poisoned; and further said, be not afraid, for I am sent to tell you that James D. of M. hath none of it in him, seeming by this addition to have full'd up a sentence that it had left imperfect to the maid of Hatfield and so vanished. ... Bid all the lords you know have a care of petitioning unless they are disoblig'd persons. ... Bid S[haftebury] have a care of his spiggot; for if he is tapt, all the plot will run out.

This pamphlet, Thompson claimed, was a 'true and perfect relation, according to her own deposition before justice Ware, Sir W[illiam] W[aller], Mr Baxter and Mr Charlton, who stamped with his wooden leg, and swore damn him, he believ'd it'. The four reports were followed by four poems, *Tom Ross's Ghost to his Pupil the D. [uke] of M. [onmouth]*, *The Ghost of the Late Parliament, to the New One to Meet at Oxford*, *The Oxford Alderman's Speech to His Grace the D. of M. at his Entrance into that City about Sept. 1680*, and *A Canto upon the Miraculous Cure of the Kings Evil, Performed by His Grace the D. of M.*³³⁷ The pamphlet contains all the elements of Thompson's propaganda; it attacks the Whigs as well as the Nonconformists, speaks out against the exclusion movement, denies Monmouth's claims, and mockingly refers to Shaftesbury's spigot, one of the dominant themes of Tory propaganda in 1681 and 1682.³³⁸ Benjamin Harris's *The Weekly Discoverer Strip't Naked* of 23 February exclaimed against the pamphlet:

whether it is not the language of Roman Catholics so impudently to insinuate that there is none of the royal blood in James Duke of Monmouth ... But this may be dangerous if it should be discovered from whence it came and therefore it must be imposed upon Benjamin Harris and Langley Curtis as if they were responsible for the diabolical forgery of N[athaniel] T[hompson].³³⁹

All the pamphlets published by Thompson in 1681 under his own auspices were political in content, and the issues that were the subject matter of his *Domestick Intelligence* reappear in his pamphlets.³⁴⁰

The issue of the repeal of the Act of '35 Elizabeth', to which Thompson devoted so much attention in his *Domestick Intelligence*, was also the subject of a violent pamphlet discussion in the spring of 1681.³⁴¹ The Whigs claimed that prosecution of Dissenters under the Act was illegal and 'arbitrary' while Thompson of course published pamphlets supporting the government. The Whig solicitor Edward Whitaker wrote in defence of the Whig point of view *A Short History of the Life and Death of the Act Made the 35th of Elizabeth*.³⁴² Thompson published the answer, *The Death, Burial, and Resurrection of the Act of the 35th of Eliz....*, *An Act to Retain the Queen Majesties Sub-*

jects in *Their Due Obedience. Being an Answer to a Late Lying Pamphlet Entitled, The Life and Death of the 35th. of Eliza.* . Thompson's pamphlet gave a summary of the history of the Act of 35 Elizabeth, and came to the conclusion that it was plain that 'this Act is still in force, unless the pamphleteers can produce an Act whereby this Act of the 35th of the Queen is repealed ...'.³⁴³

At the same time there was a stream of pamphlets about the succession to the Crown of England: the poet Elkanah Settle was employed by the Whigs to write the tract *The Character of a Popish Successor and what England may Expect from Such a One*, which was published by the Whig bookseller Thomas Davies shortly before the beginning of the Oxford Parliament. A pamphlet like this could not go unanswered: Sir Roger L'Estrange wrote *The Character of a Papist in Masquerade in Reply to the Character of a Popish Successor and Thompson printed An Answer to a Late Pamphlet; Entitled, A Character of a Popish Successor, and what England may Expect from Such a One*.³⁴⁴ Thompson published his answer under his own imprint and regularly advertised it in his *Domestick Intelligence*, the first time on 12 March 1681. Of course, the pamphlets of L'Estrange and Thompson were answered: Richard Dew published Settle's *A Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor: in a Reply to Two Pretended Answers to It. By the Author of the Character, and John Graves The Character of a Popish Successor Compleat: In Defence of the First Part against Two Answers, One Written by Mr. L'Estrange ... Another by an Unknown Hand*. The dispute continued until 1682 with more pamphlets on both sides.³⁴⁵

Thompson continued to uphold the Duke of York's cause: in the summer of 1681 there was a session of the Scottish parliament in Edinburgh, over which the Duke of York presided as the King's High Commissioner. Thompson not only published *The Speech of His Royal Highness James Duke of York and Albany, His Majesties High Commissioner, at the Opening the Parliament at Edinburgh in Scotland July 28, 1681*, which he also printed in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 9 August; he also brought out a broadside with *An Act Acknowledging and Asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland and An Act Ratifying All Former Laws for the Security of the Protestant Religion*.³⁴⁶ These pamphlets must have been welcome to the Court because the adoption of the act concerning the succession by the Scottish Parliament made it clear to the English exclusionist party that exclusion of the Duke of York would certainly trigger off a new civil war in the kingdom.

When on 28 March the King dissolved his last parliament, it was decided, after discussion in the Privy Council, that he should turn to the nation for support of his policies. On 11 April *His Majesties Declaration to All His Loyal Subjects, Touching the Reasons that Moved Him to Dissolve His Last Two Parliaments*³⁴⁷ was published and orders were given for the declaration to be read in all the churches of the kingdom. The King explained that 'it was with exceeding great trouble, that we were brought to the dissolving of the two last parliaments, without more benefit to our people...', and he blamed the Whig opposi-

tion for its intransigence during those two parliamentary sessions. The immediate reaction to the declaration was a flood of loyal addresses, thanking the King for his declaration and offering support. But the approval was not unanimous. Luttrell noted in April that the declaration 'was not well relished, for it arraigns the proceedings of those parliaments as illegal and arbitrary ...'.³⁴⁸ The opponents' views were expressed in pamphlets like *An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the Late Addresses, in a Letter to a Gentleman in the Country*,³⁴⁹ which was published by Richard Baldwin and attributed to the Earl of Shaftesbury. In several of the London Inns of Court, proposals to present loyal addresses to the King led to heated arguments between the Tory and Whig members and when the former ignored their colleagues' objections and went ahead in spite of them, the latter denounced the addresses presented in the name of their institutions as unrepresentative and irregular. Richard Janeway published for the Whig opposition *The Lawyers Demurrer, to the Addresses in Fashion, or, The Several Declarations and Orders of the Honourable Societies of the Middle-Temple, and Grays Inn*.³⁵⁰ The Tory loyalists turned to Nathaniel Thompson, who published *An Answer to a Printed Protestation Made by Some of the Societies of the Inns of Court, against Dutiful Addresses, in verse, and A Vindication of Addresses in General, and of the Middle-Temple Address and Proceedings in Particular* 'by a barrister of the Middle Temple', in prose.³⁵¹ The Gray's Inn Tory addressers argued their case in *The Lawyers Demurrer Argued, by the Loyal Addressers (the Gentlemen) of Grays-Inne, against an Order Made by the Bench of that Society*, a pamphlet which carried the imprint 'by A.B.', probably Alexander Banks.³⁵² Among the promoters of the Gray's Inn address was 'one Yalden', who was Nathaniel Thompson's counsel when in 1682 he was prosecuted for his letters to Miles Prance.³⁵³

Shortly after the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, the Whig agitator Stephen College was arrested by the government. College was the man who had 'managed sedition and treason among a lower order of men'. He organized the great pope-burning processions in London in 1679 and 1680, and was also a poet of a kind: he wrote Whig ballads and sang them whenever he had the opportunity. He had been active during Viscount Stafford's trial and was a vigorous defender of Stephen Dugdale, the plot witness. When Parliament assembled at Oxford, College rode to Oxford on horseback, 'ostentatiously displaying weapons and wearing defensive armour'.³⁵⁴ He was arrested on 29 June and indicted of high treason at the Old Bailey on 8 July. But the London Grand Jury, handpicked by the Whig sheriffs, threw out the indictment, pronouncing it ignoramus. The government, unwilling to let such a victim escape, found an excuse to indict College anew, this time at Oxford, where a more obliging Grand Jury was certain to find a true bill against him. College was tried for his life on 18 August 1681, found guilty and executed on 31 August. His execution led to a pamphlet discussion, the Whigs representing him as a martyr for their cause, the Tories as a rebel who had received his deserved punishment.³⁵⁵ In

A Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the Late Grand Jury at the Old-Baily, who Returned the Bill against Stephen Colledge Ignoramus, the London Grand Jury was attacked in the form of an ironic defence of their verdict. 'Suppose the evidence clear and positive against College, yet we cannot be assured that it appeared so to the gentlemen of the Grand Jury. Everyone has his failings, and some cannot see the sun shine at noonday'.³⁵⁶ When College was sent to Oxford, Thompson published three more pamphlets, using the opportunity to expose a number of prominent Whigs, such as the solicitor Edward Whitaker, the foreman of the London Grand Jury Wilmore, the Whig coffeeman Richard Kistle and his own Whig rival Richard Janeway, about whom he made College say: 'Gentlemen, receive my last salutes, ... and tell Mr Janeway, that if it were in my power to appoint, nobody should have leave to print my story, but himself; ... for if any such a fellow as N[athaniel] T[hompson] should transmit my memory to posterity, I shall scarce be named twice in a page without the appellation of traitor'.³⁵⁷

It is interesting to see Thompson using the phrase 'transmit my memory to posterity': it is an example of Thompson echoing Sir Roger L'Estrange, who regularly pointed out that the contemporary pamphlets and newspapers would be the sources of future historians and that consequently strict control had to be imposed on the press.³⁵⁸

When *The Last Speech and Confession of Mr Stephen Colledge Executed at Orford, 31 August 1681*, for A. Banks, came out in London, Richard Janeway wrote: 'only this is certain, that the half-sheet which came out pretending to be his last speech, said to be printed by A. Banks, is wholly a cheat and forgery; and was in truth printed by that notorious Thompson', an accusation that he repeated on 18 April 1682.³⁵⁹

Morrison's list of works printed by and for Nathaniel Thompson in 1682, is a great deal shorter than the 1681 list, a difference no doubt caused by the fact that in 1682 Thompson got into serious trouble over printing and publishing the letters of John Farwell and William Paine to Miles Prance, and spent a considerable time in prison.³⁶⁰

As in the previous year, Thompson was held responsible for a number of pamphlets published under the names of the booksellers Alexander and Allen Banks. Alexander Banks's name appeared on *The Charter; A Comical Satyr, Written by an Unknown Hand*, which Thompson advertised in his *Domestick Intelligence* in 1682 and reprinted under a slightly different title with his own name in the imprint in 1683. It also appeared in the imprint of the ballad *The Loyal Scot: An Excellent New Song*, which was pirated by the ballad hawker Mrs Jackson.³⁶¹ Thompson warned his readers against the pirated version and announced that the original copy, with the music, was to be had at his shop. Allen Banks lent his name to *The Loyal Feast, Design'd to be Kept in Haberdashers-Hall ... the 21st. of April 1682* and to *Titus Tell Troth: or, The Plot-founder Confounded*. The first of these was answered by *The Coat of Arms of N.T. J.F. & R.L. An Answer to Thomson's Ballad Call'd The Loyal Feast*, the second by *Thompson Tell-Lyes, or, An Answer to Titus Tell Troth*.³⁶² The second edition of James Corker's *Stafford Memotres* and the same author's *A Remonstrance of Piety and Innocence; Containing, the Last*

*Devotions and Protestations of Several Roman Catholicks, Condemned and Executed on Account of the Plot, were published anonymously, as was Miracles Reviv'd in the Discovery of the Popish Plot by the Late Reverend Dr of Salamanca.*³⁶³ He also continued to advertise in his *Domestick Intelligence* his *Answer to the Character of a Popish Successor* and his *True Account of the Proceedings between Mr David Fitzgerald and William Hetherington.*³⁶⁴

In 1683, Thompson's production was back to normal again.³⁶⁵ His general publishing policy remained unchanged, and although he was now forced to stop *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*, his pamphlets continued to harass the Whigs and the Dissenters.

What created the greatest stir in 1683 was the revelation by the Anabaptist 'oilman' Josiah Keeling, in the summer of that year, of the conspiracy against the life of the King and the Duke of York, known as the Rye House Plot. A number of Whig Lords, among them the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russell, Grey and Howard of Escrick, and a number of prominent London citizens planned to murder the King and the Duke of York at Rye House in Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire when they returned from Newmarket and to stage a rebellion. This plan miscarried, however, because the king and his brother returned from Newmarket sooner than they had anticipated, on account of a fire. After the first failure, several other plans were made, but the confession by Josiah Keeling on 12 June put an end to the conspiracy. A great number of plotters were arrested, tried and executed, while some of them turned King's evidence and saved their lives. A few managed to escape and went abroad to wait for more auspicious times. A great number of the pamphlets that Thompson published in 1683 are concerned with this plot.

Thompson followed the line that was taken by the official historian of the Rye House Plot, bishop Thomas Sprat: 'Under colour of the only true protestant, the worst of all unchristian principles were put in practice; all the old republican and anti-monarchical doctrines, whose effects had formerly prov'd so dismal, were now again as confidently owned and asserted, as ever they had been during the hottest rage of the late unhappy troubles'.³⁶⁶ For Sprat the Rye House plot was the logical consequence of the Earl of Shaftesbury's 'trayterous contrivances', which were in turn nothing else but a continuation of the rebellion of the 1640s. When Thompson published *A List of All the Conspirators that have been Seiz'd, (and were Committed) since the Discovery of the Horrid and Bloody Plot Contriv'd by the Phanatics against the Lives of His Majesty and His Royal Highness*³⁶⁷ he added to this list the names of the jurors who had dealt with the charges against the Earl of Danby, Edward Fitzharris, Stephen College, John Rouse and the Earl of Shaftesbury and pointed out which of them were now in custody for conspiracy. He thus explicitly stressed the connection between the earlier behaviour of these men and their present conspiracy. When the Nonconformist preacher Stephen Lobb was arrested in August 1683³⁶⁸ on a charge of complicity in the Rye House Plot, Thompson published a mock sermon called *A Dreadful Oration, Deliver'd by that Sorely Afflicted*

Saint, St. Stephen Lobb, which mentioned as culprits, besides the Nonconformist preachers Daniel Bull and Christopher Nesse, a number of prominent London Whigs, such as the ex-Lord Mayor Sir Patience Ward, who had caused an inscription to be placed on the Monument blaming the Catholics for the fire of London in 1666; Sir William Waller, notorious for 'burning the picture of our Saviour, under the pretence of rooting out separation'; the ex-sheriff Slingsby Bethel, Oates, Prance and the Whig Green Ribbon Club. Taking his cue from the Whig pamphleteers, who at the time of the Popish Plot frenzy used to accuse the victims of lying in their last speeches on the scaffold, Thompson now used exactly the same technique when he made Lobb say about William Lord Russell, who had been executed for his part in the Rye House Plot and had maintained his innocence to the very last moment, that 'his deportment on the scaffold was like our religion, merely outside'.³⁶⁹ In *A Word to the True Blr Protestants, or Those of the Thorough Reformation*, the author accused the Nonconformists quite openly and explicitly: whereas the Popish Plot had been the work of a few desperate villains, the Rye House Plot was 'with the unanimous assent of the entire Dissenting Party of the three kingdoms'.³⁷⁰ The 'True Protestants', the author of *The True-Protestant Catechism* said, were people who protested against popery and tyranny, popery meaning to them 'conformity to hierarchical government and discipline of the Church established by law' and tyranny 'the exercise of monarchical government, according to the rights inherent in the crown and confirmed by law'.³⁷¹ And if anyone had doubts about the number of Nonconformists in London, there was *A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings within the City of London and the Bills of Mortality: With the Places where They are to be Found; as also, the Names of Divers of the Preachers, and the Several Factions they Profess*.³⁷²

Another notable event in 1683 was no doubt the Earl of Shaftesbury's death in Amsterdam on 21 January 1683. Thompson published three pamphlets on Shaftesbury's death, one of which, *The Last Memorial of the Agent from the K. of Poland, to his Chaplain the Salamanca Dr.* appeared under the imprint 'for R.H.'.³⁷³ The pamphlet was addressed to Titus Oates and recounted the history of the Popish Plot. It had Shaftesbury complain to Oates that he had not been consulted from the very beginning.

When I became your Patron, you soon got £12 a week to feed the numerous gang of rebels or sedition-mongers.

He also made the Earl say:

we printed treasonable pictures and pen'd obscure ballads, stuff't full of sedition ... as the Raree-Show and many others; these we diligently cast abroad and ordered our pensioners, Aaron Smith, Stephen College, S[amuel] Harris, Bedlow, Dangerfield, brother Sam [Oates?], Coll Mansell &c. to sing and chant them out in every place they came in. We very well understanding that one way ... to destroy

a Prince, is to render Him ridiculous and little in the eyes of His people.

In a word, Shaftesbury was represented, if not as the originator of the Popish Plot, then certainly as the evil genius behind it.

Shaftesbury could now be criticised openly and even Titus Oates and his Popish Plot were no longer sacrosanct. Thompson advertised in his *Domestick Intelligence* a pamphlet called *Oates's Manifesto; or, a Dialogue between Titus Oates and the Doctor of Salamanca*. The advertisement mentioned no author or printer but the pamphlet advertised must have been *Oates's Manifesto; or, The Complaint of Titus Oates against the Doctor of Salamanca; and the Same Doctor against Titus Oates*, which was probably written by James Corker and printed by Thompson. It gave a detailed analysis of *Oates's Narrative* and proved the Popish Plot without any basis in reality.³⁷⁴

Another extensive history of the plot and its witnesses is found in the confession by John Zeale, for whom Thompson printed *A Narrative of the Phanatical Plot, Setting Forth the Treasonable and Wicked Designs which they have been Carrying on against the King & Government*.³⁷⁵ And when the Whig poet Elkanah Settle had come to the conclusion that the time had come to change his allegiance, Thompson challenged his sincerity and ironically quoted *Oates's Manifesto* as an example of a 'true' confession by Titus Oates and one more reliable than Settle's *Narrative of the Popish Plot*.³⁷⁶

In 1684 and 1685, Thompson continued to publish Tory propaganda, but clearly, public interest in political pamphlets had waned and the number of pamphlets is much smaller than in the previous years. Important subjects were of course the prosecution of the Rye House Plot conspirators, which gave Thompson occasion to publish a pamphlet and a ballad on the arrest and execution of Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had been arrested in Holland and extradited to England.³⁷⁷ Titus Oates was also called to account in 1684. He was arrested and committed to the Compter when the Duke of York brought an action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against him on 8 May 1684.³⁷⁸ Oates was tried and convicted by default and on 18 June the Duke was awarded £100,000 damages plus 20 shillings costs. Thompson advertised an account of the lawsuit against Titus Oates: *The Proceedings at the Kings-Bench-Bar upon the Execution of the Writ of Enquiry of Damages at the Suit of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, against Titus (Formerly Stil'd Doctor) Oates*, which he brought out under the imprint 'Sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden'.³⁷⁹ In all, Thompson had six pamphlets on Titus Oates in 1684, not all of them in the best of taste.³⁸⁰ Besides a small number of other anti-Whig pamphlets and a few occasional publications, another work by Charles Blount, and a Roman Catholic work for which he was prosecuted,³⁸¹ Thompson found work for his presses by the production and publication of *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs, All of them Written since the Two Late Plots*. The collection must have been successful, for in 1685 it was followed by *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems, All of them Written upon the Two Late Plots* and by an expanded

edition of his first collection, *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs, All of them Written since the Two Late Plots*, which he called the 'third edition', although there is no trace of a second edition.³⁸²

Apart from his collections of ballads and poems, in which he reviewed his activities of the past five years, Thompson printed and sold a number of political broadsides in 1685: Titus Oates's new trial in 1685, the Earl of Argyle's revolt in Scotland in June and the death of King Charles and the accession of James to the throne were welcome subjects.³⁸³ But in fact, Thompson's career as a political printer and bookseller had come to an end because there was no longer a market for political pamphlets of the kind that he had specialized in. The Popish Plot was now dead and all its ramifications belonged to the past. For the rest of his life as a printer and bookseller, Thompson was once more forced to find a new market.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON AND THE AUTHORITIES, 1681 - 1685

Between 1681 and 1683, there seem to have been no problems between Nathaniel Thompson and the Stationers' Company. Thompson must have been able to earn a living by printing and publishing his pamphlets without invading the copyrights of the Stationers' Company Stocks. But if he had no conflicts with the Company, he clashed a great number of times with the civil authorities. Since Thompson was now a loyal printer, one might have expected him to enjoy some measure of protection, but clearly he had no official status at all and he was liable to prosecution whenever he offended anyone who was influential enough to take action against him.

The first sign of trouble came, as we have seen, in February 1681, when Thomas Percival of the Middle Temple lodged a complaint against *The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments*. Only the publisher, Joseph Hindmarsh, seems ultimately to have been fined for the publication of this pamphlet.³⁸⁴ Although there was even some measure of support for Ashenden, Hindmarsh and Thompson, there was an outcry against them in the Whig press.³⁸⁵ Langley Curtis's *The True Protestant Mercury* wrote 'In the meantime all sober men of the Church of England will take notice what kind of persons these are, who so studiously make it their business to render dissenters odious and suspected, with those swarms of seditious pamphlets daily spawned by Th[ompson] Too[ke] and S[amuel] M[earne] this worthy gentleman in Cornhill and others'.³⁸⁶ Thompson was singled out for criticism in the print *The Fetter-Lane Loyalist, or, A Description of a True Son of Rome*, engraved and sold by Abraham Goulding in April 1681.³⁸⁷ It pictures Thompson in a kneeling position, handing to the 'Popish Midwife', Mrs Cellier, two rolls with the inscription 'Madam I'll hazard my life for your case', and 'I'll print for the devil for money', reminding the reader that Thompson was a 'mercenary' fellow who had printed part of Mrs Cellier's *Malice Defeated*. On his waistcoat Thompson has the inscription 'our Father who art in Hell', and 'I believe in Jack Calvin', pointing to *The Presbyterian Pater Noster* In his

hands, in another section of the print, Thompson holds 'the Parliaments ghost', and 'A choyce collection of wonderful miracles ...', and a further text reads 'This shews a loyalist to Pope and Devil, a loyalist to ev'rything that's evil; Read but his printed presbyterian creed, and you'll say that he's a loyal knave indeed'. A gipsy woman tells Thompson's fortune: 'Hold thy damned mercenary hand to the light, methinks I see a very fatal sight; this cross, much like a cross-key's printer looks that will be pillory'd for printing books'. This pamphlet, wholly devoted to Thompson, was by no means the last one to be published about him. Now that he was so famous, or some would say so notorious, it is not surprising that the London Grand Jury, when they made a presentment of *An Apostrophe of the Loyal Party to His Majesty ...* said that 'they believed it to be printed by the Popish Printer in Fetter-Lane'.³⁸⁸ Thompson's activities seemed to be generally known in London and to be interesting enough to be commented upon by the newsletter writers as appears from a newsletter of July 1681.³⁸⁹ The correspondent writes:

those who have industriously found means, whereby the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Howard stand committed to the Tower for high treason, use all possible arts and engines to assassinate their reputation abroad, and as much as in them lies endeavour to force a belief that there is a Protestant plot against His Majesty and the government to which ends reports and pamphlets are daily spread to insinuate and demonstrate the same and amongst others three in verse or rather rhyme ... begot as I am credibly informed by Mr Bully and Mr Mounson, alias Anderson, two convict priests, now in Newgate and midwived into the world by the assistance of their fellow prisoner, the infamous Mrs. Cellier and her printer Thompson.³⁹⁰

The same newsletter writer found it worth his while to point out to his readers that the text for the sermon on 2 September 1681, the anniversary fast in commemoration of the great fire, was not Ezra 4:15, 'this city is a rebellious city and hurtful unto King's and provinces', as Thompson had announced in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 30 August. And he also informed his readers that Stephen College's last speech, published 'for A. Banks', was a forgery printed by Thompson.³⁹¹ Dr. Denis Grenville, on the other hand, wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins that 'Mr. Thompson, I thank him, has done me the right to publish my case and done it very truly as to the main, though somewhat imperfectly and obscurely as to some particulars'.³⁹²

On 31 August the London Grand Jury indicted Nathaniel Thompson for his *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*, as well as Benjamin Tooke for *Heraclitus Ridens* and Joanna Brome for *The Observer*. Thompson was blamed for 'libelling the City and its most considerable officers'. In the account of the proceedings at the Old Bailey which was published by Richard Janeway, the emphasis was on Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence*, rather than on *Heraclitus Ridens* or *The Ob-*

servator. In October, a true bill was found against these loyal pamphleteers, and there the matter seems to have been dropped.³⁹³

Yet, his enemies did not relent, and on 13 October 1681, Thompson was summoned before the Lord Mayor, Sir Patience Ward, and forced to enter into a recognizance of £40 'to answer the printing of several late published pamphlets', *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor*, *An Excellent New Ballad* and *The Poor Prisoners's Lamentation for the Loss of S--- B---*.³⁹⁴ Thompson reported the incident in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 15 October, and adds the title of a fourth pamphlet, *The Hue and Cry after Dr T.O.*. The Lord Mayor, Thompson tells his readers, 'was pleased to accept of his single recognizance to appear at the next sessions to answer the complaint ...', which had been made by a hawker's boy 'Jack Ketch's journeyman'. The bill against Thompson was found, and when he appeared on 12 December 1681, he produced a writ of certiorari, transferring his case to the King's Bench, where he expected a fairer trial than at the London sessions.³⁹⁵ On the same file of the London sessions, there is a second indictment of N. Thompson: he had offended the London Whig 'Mr Jeakyl', John Jekyl, by writing on 14 October that

it was ordered that a committee of aldermen should be appointed to inspect the practices of Mr. Jeakyl and others of his party concerning the false reports and scandalous reflections that they busied themselves in on the last election day, as is reasonably supposed on purpose to incite men not to give their votes to Sir John Moor, our present Lord Mayor elect, the better to enable them to carry on their Hellish fanatick intrigues ...³⁹⁶

This time, Thompson had to provide two sureties, Walter Davis, a London bookseller and binder, and John Carr, a book and music seller. On 12 December he also produced a writ of certiorari for this indictment.

In November, the Lords Monmouth, Grey and Herbert took exception to an article in Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence* of 25 October, where he had reported the Earl of Huntingdon's words when kissing the King's hands, 'that he had found by experience that those who promoted the exclusion bill were for the subversion of monarchy itself'. Monmouth and the two other lords, who 'will not deny ourselves interested in the promotion of that bill', questioned Huntingdon about Thompson's report and were told that it was false. Huntingdon complained to the Privy Council and on 1 November Thompson was forced to publish a rectification and to apologize to Lord Huntingdon. Monmouth, Grey and Herbert, not satisfied with Thompson's submission, found it necessary to issue a declaration denying Thompson's report and asserting their loyalty to the Crown.³⁹⁷

All these complaints against Thompson do not seem to have led to his conviction and punishment, so one of the parties whom he had offended decided to take the law into his own hands. On 17 November,

Thompson going through Fleetstreet about 11 o'clock in the day, was dogged by some persons between the two Temple Gates. One of them came behind him ... first struck him with a cane or stick three blows on the head; ... he cryed God damn you, my name is Charleton and I am resolved to be revenged on you, you dog, you have abused my father, &c. which was no sooner said; but they closed as soon as possible - but the heroes being in some likelihood of kissing the ground; divers of his friends parted them; but his fury was so great, that he again assaulted him and kicked him upon the belly; where upon he catch't him by the legg, and was again in jeopardy of falling; then he was quite take off, and by much persuasion withdrew into an adjacent commonwealth coffeehouse. He [i.e. Thompson] retiring into a shop to clean his cloathes, ... several others of the factious crew came from the same place and fell upon him, without any provocation, crying out Come let us carry him to Smithfield and bury him with the Pope, and would have certainly murdered him if he had not made upstairs, being forced there unto for saving his life from the rabble. This would no doubt have been look't on as a Popish Plot had any brethren of the good old cause been thus assaulted. They exclaim indeed against popish massacres which were bad enough ... these are not ashamed to act it in the face of the sun against those that are lovers of their King and haters of the factious and cruel party. As to the abusing of Charleton's father ... these words which were spoken by one Charleton at Shrewsbury assizes can be justified and proved when occasion requires. The words were that the said Charleton said about Dr. Fowler's loyal sermon at Shrewsbury assizes the breath of a clergyman stank in his nostrils.

Thompson had printed the controversial words about Charlton on 27 October when he contradicted Langley Curtis, who called Francis Charlton, member of the Grand Jury, a loyal man.³⁹⁸

On the same 17 November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's birthday, Thompson was given a place by the Whig organizers in their great pope-burning procession, together with Sir Roger L'Estrange and the author of *Heraclitus Ridens*. 'The next a certain Typographer, with his holyness cross-keys at his girdle, and a bundle of popish catechisms under his right arm, making a thousand wry faces at the sight of a pilory'.³⁹⁹ The stationer W. Johnson found Charlton's attack on Thompson and his appearance in the pope-burning procession reason enough to publish *A True Copy of a Letter of Consolation Sent to Nat. the Printer, near the Pope's Keys in Fetter-Lane, from the Meal-Tub Midwife, in Newgate*, with the usual accusations that Thompson was a popish printer employed by Mrs Cellier.⁴⁰⁰

In 1682, life was no easier for Thompson than it had been in 1681. On 14 February, he was called to account by the Privy Council for a false report in his *Domestick Intelligence* of the murder of Thomas Thynne. He was forced to print a rectification on 23 February, 'it being far from out thoughts to make any unhandsome or false reflection upon the memory of that worthy person, who was so barbarously murdered'.⁴⁰¹ At about the same time, the Middlesex coroner John Cowper took offence at an article in Thompson's news-sheet and indicted him at the London sessions.⁴⁰² But it was not until Thompson published *A Letter to Mr Miles Prance, in Relation to the Murther of Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey*⁴⁰³ that he got himself into really serious difficulties. Thompson published the letter, signed Trueman, under the fake imprint 'for M.G. at the Sign of E.B.G.'s Head near Fleet Bridge', the address of the Whig publisher Langley Curtis. The author, John Farwell as Thompson was to reveal later, accused the Roman Catholic silversmith Miles Prance - who had been one of the witnesses against Green, Berry and Hill, when they were tried for and convicted of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey - of perjury and maintained that Godfrey had not been murdered by the papists but had committed suicide. Farwell's letter was in fact an open attack on the credibility of the Popish Plot.⁴⁰⁴ Thompson first advertised the letter in his *Domestick Intelligence* on 2 March. Richard Janeway immediately published an answer to Farwell's letter under the title, *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost, or, An Answer to Nat Thompson's Scandalous Letter ... to Mr Miles Prance*, which Thompson attributed to Janeway's author Henry Care.⁴⁰⁵ On 14 March Thompson announced *A Second Letter to Mr Miles Prance, in Reply to the Ghost of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey*, published under his own imprint.⁴⁰⁶ In fact, the publication of these letters to Miles Prance was preceded by a letter from Sarum, printed by Thompson in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 19 January 1682, inviting the porter Brown, who had carried Godfrey's body from where it had been found at Primrose Fields to the Whitehouse Tavern, where it had been examined, to make a full and true statement of what he had seen, promising to pay all his expenses. Although Richard Janeway's *Impartial Protestant Mercury* had contradicted Thompson at the time, the matter had been left there.⁴⁰⁷ Things were to take a different course this time.

On 17 March, the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen ordered the arrest of Thompson,⁴⁰⁸ who had on 11 March challenged the publisher of the *Pacquet of Advice* to use his influence to make the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and the Common Council of the City investigate the truth of the allegations, and affirmed that he was convinced that they would not find a single papist or popishly affected person concerned with the letter. He was heard by Sir John Moore, the Lord Mayor, on 20 March, and the Whig journalists reported that the latter had wanted to commit Thompson to Newgate.⁴⁰⁹ Thompson himself contradicted their reports and reported that in spite of the presence of Sir John Moore's Whig predecessor, Sir Patience Ward, he had been allowed bail, with the bookseller William Cooper and the landlord Fitzgerald of the Queen's Head Tavern as securities, and was bound over to appear at the next

London sessions.⁴¹⁰ In the meantime the Privy Council intervened. Thompson was ordered to appear and when he was heard by the Council on 29 March, he revealed his authors, John Farwell, attorney in the Court of Common Pleas, and William Paine, clerk in Chancery. He promised to prove that 'every title and iota of those letters are true'.⁴¹¹ Thompson and his authors were ordered to return a week later, on 5 April. So great was Thompson's confidence that he would be proved right, that London correspondents believed him: on 2 April, one of them wrote to the Duke of Ormond in Dublin: 'On Wednesday they who writ the letters which Thompson printed ... are to appear before the Council to make good their assertion and it is said very confidentially they will make it out. If they do not, I believe they will be severely handled, for the very undertaking of it makes a great noise with much reflection upon the Duke'.⁴¹² On 29 March, Godfrey's brothers, Benjamin and Michael Godfrey, requested the Council to have the truth of the letters investigated and Thompson invited them and their sister Mrs Sarah Plucknet, to attend the second hearing by the Council on 5 April.⁴¹³ In the same number of his *Domestick Intelligence* he also told his readers that Godfrey's brother intended to 'cut a swinging action' against him, and added 'if it is for clearing Mr Prance from the murder of his brother, I am very free to give him appearance. For I owe him no money, but will give him all the respect his quality deserves'. Yet, in spite of his confidence, Thompson realized that he was in a dangerous position: on 18 March he informed the readers of the *Domestick Intelligence* that he had received a letter threatening 'to bum-bast you that you shall go away in a worser plight than you did formerly of your brotherhood; neither shall the rest of your gang go scot-free, as L'Estrange and Heraclitus, but perhaps be served in the same nature'. On 25 March there had been another letter, promising 'a good dressing, far worse than ever Dryden met with in Rose Alley or Towzer at Sam's Coffeehouse'.⁴¹⁴ When on 5 April the three defendants appeared before the Council, they were confronted by Benjamin and Micheal Godfrey and their sister Sarah, and after admitting that they had written and published the letters to Miles Prance, Thompson, Farwell and Paine were arrested and committed to Newgate.⁴¹⁵ Janeway reported the hearing and told his readers that Farwell had formerly been 'a clerk to or agent for' Richard Langhorn, a Roman Catholic lawyer who had been executed for his part in the Popish Plot, and that Paine was the brother of 'Nevil, alias Paine, Coleman's crony, famous for scribbling pamphlets for the papists', thus accusing Thompson of being a 'tool' of the papists.⁴¹⁶ After taking out a writ of Habeas Corpus, paying £500 each with two securities of £250 each, Thompson, Paine and Farwell were released.⁴¹⁷ On his way home from Newgate, Thompson was arrested again by sergeant Humphrey Kettle, 'at the pretended suit of one John Earl for £7' and although at the debtors' prison there was no action against him, he was forced to pay another ten guineas as security for his appearance at the sessions. Thompson treated the affair as another attempt to make life difficult for him and a week later he published a report that the Attorney denied having ordered sergeant Kettle

to arrest him and that the order for the arrest had actually been entered after the arrest had actually been made. Earl and Kettle were bound over to appear at the Court of King's Bench on the first day of the next term.⁴¹⁸

If one takes into account the amount of money that Thompson was able to put up in order to obtain bail, one can only come to the conclusion that he must have had powerful friends to assist him and that, when his enemies called him the 'implement', 'the tool', 'the drudge' of the popish party, they were probably right in the sense that Thompson was indeed 'employed' by some of the Tory party to publish their pamphlets, and that now they supported him financially to obtain his release.

Term began on 3 May 1682, and Thompson, Farwell and Paine appeared and pleaded not guilty to the charges against them. Prance and the Godfreys, wrote Thompson, had come

to prosecute an information against them with all the malice imaginable Nevertheless, 'tis worth any man's observation that their prosecution cannot be out of the love they bear to their deceased brother, but by some other by-respect; for certainly had they any compassion towards him, they would shew it by some other means than the love and familiarity they shew to (as they think) his bloody and inhumane murderer, by carrying him home in a coach with them as it was observed in their days return from Westminster. But had Prance murdered a brother of Thompson, the law of nature could not have kept him from --- &c.⁴¹⁹

In the weeks before his trial Thompson continued his campaign against his enemies with unabated vigour. He appealed once more to his readers on 30 May, explaining that attempts had been made to 'tamper with some of the apprentices of the publisher hereof ... to suborn the innocent lads falsely to accuse their master ...'.⁴²⁰ A few weeks before this accusation against his enemies, he contradicted Sir Michael Godfrey, who was reported to have said that Thompson had fled. Thompson added that 'if he might have had an impartial jury, he would demand satisfaction from the false relater'.⁴²¹

The trial of Thompson and his two authors was to take place on 31 May:

witnesses (about 60 in number) of Mr Farwell, &c. attended to prove the contents [of the letters to Miles Prance]. But counsel for the other side moved that in regard one of the clerks of the Council was attending His Majesty (this being his waiting week) and was one of the witnesses, they desired that it might be put off, and accordingly it was put off till the next term; at which time they doubt not but to prove the same by undeniable witnesses if a Christian jury can be returned.⁴²²

Thompson's suspicions that his enemies were secretly plotting against him remained. On 1 June he wrote:

a servant maid belonging to N.T. going one evening near Smithfield perceived several persons (to her unknown) talking together. One of which had a paper in his hand wherein he read several names, among which he read the name Thompson; saying, if we can but get him into Guild-hall, I'll warrant he shall never go out alive again, for all he carries a protestant flayl in his pocket or words to that effect. Also the said person did read the names of the said Thompson's apprentices; saying, if they will not appear willingly against their master they should be hurried away in a coach The person described by the maid . . . seems to be an Old-Baily - Ignoramus - Jury - Man. And that this may not seem to be a fiction, affidavit is made of the whole matter; which will be produced in court, as soon as opportunity shall present an occasion.⁴²³

When the trial finally took place on 20 June, things went completely wrong for Thompson and his two authors.⁴²⁴ In spite of all his confident assertions in the months before the trial, Thompson did not personally appear in court, nor did William Paine. They were represented by counsel, Thompson by Mr Yalden, Paine by Mr Saunders and Mr Gooding. Farwell did appear, assisted by the lawyer Mr Osborne.

Paine's counsel offered to prove that his client was not a papist and admitted that writing the letter to Miles Prance had been an ill-advised act. Mr Gooding added that Paine was sorry and had offered compensation to Godfrey's brothers. Farwell and his counsel, Mr Osborne, attempted to prove the contents of the first letter, and called a few witnesses. But when they turned against the defendant, and when the Lord Chief Justice said that even if they managed to prove their case, they would still be brought in guilty because they should not have written the letters in the first place, Farwell gave up his attempts, saying 'I will call no more witnesses, my lord, I'm look't upon with an evil eye; they censure me as a papist'.⁴²⁵

Thompson's counsel, Yalden, claimed that since he had revealed his authors, Thompson was no longer responsible for the letters to Miles Prance. He had been 'drawn into this' by Farwell and Paine, who had promised to prove the contents of their letters. They were also responsible for the announcements in the *Domestick Intelligence* that proof would be forthcoming, because it was generally known that the *Domestick Intelligence* was 'open to all that will come and put anything in it, and he is paid for his pains'.⁴²⁶ Thompson's counsel also called a few witnesses, but unfortunately, none of them proved to be present in court. The prosecution called, among other people, the printer George Larkin, who had in 1678 assisted Thompson when he wrote his account of the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. The fact that Larkin had been employed to print Richard Janeway's *Impartial*

Protestant Mercury, the news-sheet that was most often attacked by Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence*, no doubt explains why Larkin was ready to bear witness against his former colleague.

Summing up, the Lord Chief Justice said that 'it was not to be endured if private persons tried to check the justice of the nation'. Yet, he had given the defendants every possible opportunity to defend themselves, although their own witnesses had clearly demonstrated that Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey had been murdered and that Thompson, Farwell and Paine were guilty of 'defaming the justice of the nation'.⁴²⁷ With respect to Thompson, sergeant Maynard remarked in the course of the proceedings: 'now this Thompson is a printer, I may well say a printer of libels, for he does constantly print libels against the religion established, and the justice of the nation'.⁴²⁸ After all this the jury, with the Whig merchant Peter Houblon as foreman, did not find it necessary to retire, but immediately gave their verdict of guilty. Thompson reported the trial on 22 June and wrote:

Mr Thompson (of counsel for the Godfreys) opened the cause, intimating the heinousness of the crime; as arraigning the justice of the nation, stifling the Popish Plot, and to cause a belief that he murdered himself; who was seconded by Mr Serjeant Maynard, who (very learnedly) accused them all of the same crime: when truly in the whole letters, there was no such thing mentioned; only, that there were several untruths and impossibilities sworn by the said Prance, in relation thereunto. But how far the particulars of the information (of any of them) were proved is left to the judgment of every impartial and unbiassed reader of the said letters.⁴²⁹

The first part of Thompson's report sounds too naive for it to have been Thompson's genuine opinion. What he really thought about the trial is shown by the second part of the report, where he insinuates that no unprejudiced reader could avoid coming to the conclusion that the letters to Miles Prance contained the truth. He was courageous enough when it came to defending himself in his *Domestick Intelligence*, even though he must have known that his remarks would not be appreciated by his prosecutors. When Farwell, Paine and Thompson appeared in court on 3 July to be sentenced, counsellor Thompson insisted that the printer should be subjected to corporal punishment, because, in the interval between the trial and 3 July, he had 'written in his newsbook that he had not had justice done him'. His suggestion was ignored, however, and after 'exposing the greatness of the crime', Mr Justice Jones sentenced Thompson and Farwell to one hour in the pillory on the last day of the term, 5 July, and a fine of £100 each. They were to be imprisoned until the fine had been paid. William Paine received the same sentence, with the exception of the pillory, because he was considered to be less guilty.⁴³⁰ On 5 July, accordingly, Thompson and Farwell stood in the pillory with an inscription over their heads 'for libelling the justice of the nation; by making the world believe that

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey murdered himself'. Their Whig enemies took the opportunity to pelt them with dirt and rotten eggs. Undersheriff Goodenough bade the crowd 'to throw no stones, or other hard things', but his protection of the victims was far from adequate. The crowd yelled 'Farewell Thompson' when they hit Thompson, and 'Thompson Farewell' when they hit Farwell. Thompson was 'seen to draw his neck (whether from the smallness of it, of the bigness of the hole) and bite the pillory as we have observed rats do in a trap ... and had ten times more dirt thrown at him then Farwell as appeared at the taking down the pillory'.⁴³¹

Thompson's conviction, sentence and punishment created a stir in London. The booksellers tried to cash in on the event and published accounts of the proceedings. Besides Thomas Simmons, who published the official account, licensed by the Lord Chief Justice, there were others published by the booksellers Mason and Curtis.⁴³² J. Heathcote published *The Sentence of Nathaniel Thompson, William Pain and John Farwell, Who Received Judgement at the King's Bench on the Third of this Instant July* ...⁴³³

Apart from reports on the trials, there were a number of ballads and other pamphlets. Three of these, *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Apparition to Nat Thompson, More Work for the Popish Implements Nat Thompson and The Observer*, and *Trincalo Sainted; or, The Exaltation of the Jesuits Implement, and Printer General, the Notorious Nathaniel Thompson* ..., came out under the fake imprint 'for J[oanna] B[rome]', Sir Roger L'Estrange's regular publisher, insinuating that Sir Roger L'Estrange was concerned in Thompson's letters to France.⁴³⁴ The first of these pamphlets said 'Gold is the God thou adorest', and asked Thompson 'which of the Popish Lords have requited thee best for thy incomparable services, or what has the foreign lady left behind her to supply thee with gold', an allusion to the King's Roman Catholic French mistress, Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, who had gone on a visit to France in March 1682.⁴³⁵ The second pamphlet reprinted Thompson's 1678 account of the murder of Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey, 'shewing how contradictory they [i.e. Sir R. L'Estrange and N. Thompson] are themselves from what they were when the one published, and the other allowed this following narrative of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's murder'. The third reminded its readers of 'this poor printer Nat Thompson, that went up and down town to beg work to buy his Manx lady porridge', and listed Thompson's previous offences, 'whole cart loads of popish books', his 'innumerable scurrilous songs and ballads, lewd and scandalous libels, ... lying intelligences, treasonable pamphlets', and called him the 'Trincalo Jackal to Towzer [i.e. Sir R. L'Estrange], who used to lead the way like a treble in his Loyal Intelligence, whilst Towzer with a full-mouthed base in his Observations hunted the Protestant puss', and concluded that 'the devil and the Observer have forsook him at last, left him to the mercy of a City jury, and to the just punishment of the law'. Charles Lee also held L'Estrange responsible in *A Letter from Lucifer to his Roman Agents N.T., W.P., J.F. & R.L., Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey's Back-friends and Curtis's True Protes-*

tant Mercury of 1 July wrote that Thompson had 'ingress, egress and regress to the Du[ke]'s lodgings and apartments, ... just like his followers, lowly Rawlins (alias Heraclitus) and old Olivers Fiddle, the *Observer* ...'.⁴³⁶ L'Estrange found it necessary to declare openly in his *Observer* 'that I have not seen Nat Thompson above thrice, these three year, I never had anything printed by him, nor did I ever exchange one syllable directly or indirectly about the papers for which he is now in question: not but that I would be ready to do him any honest, and good office if it were in my way ...'.⁴³⁷ And he had his statement confirmed by Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence* of 4 July, which wrote 'Last Saturday, the *Protestant Mercury* ... insinuates the worthy author of *The Observer* to be a follower of mine (a person of great learning and prudence that ... I am not worthy to wipe his shoes;) But any, or no occasion at all, will serve a turn for such villains, who dare not look the sun in the face where they are known'. At the same time, Thompson, of course, told his readers that Curtis's 'the Du lodgings and apartments' was an attack on the Duke of York on Curtis's part.⁴³⁸

Other pamphlets about Thompson were J. Jones's *A Pillar Erected to the Memorial of Popish-Nat ...*, John Smith's *Popish Nat's Lamentation in a Dialogue between Nat Thompson, the Popish Printer, and the Popish Midwife, upon his Arrival in Newgate April 5, 1682*, and Jonah Deacon's *Tom-son his Repetition to his Wife; Bewailing his Present State*.⁴³⁹ And whenever his ballads or his *Domestick Intelligence* were answered or contradicted, Thompson's enemies took care to remind their readers that it was 'pilloried Nat' who was the publisher.

After Thompson had stood in the pillory, he was committed to prison where he was to remain until he had paid his fine. On 16 July 1682, Narcissus Luttrell notes, 'Nath Thompson the printer is come out of prison having paid his fine'.⁴⁴⁰ Luttrell probably based his information on *The True Protestant Mercury* of 12 July, which announced that 'the three Knights of the fiery triplicity, viz. T.P.F.' had now returned 'to their respective quarters, where 'tis hoped they will no more arraign the justice of the nation'. George Croom's *Loyal London Mercury* repeated a week later 'N. Thompson the printer is said to have come out of prison, and to have paid his fine'.⁴⁴¹ There is no doubt that Thompson was free, for on 28 July *The True Protestant Mercury* wrote: 'the wife of Langley Curtis must not pass him [i.e. Thompson], he snarls and grins at the woman out of malice to her husband ...'.⁴⁴² Thompson's release, however, does not seem to have been effected with due regard to all legal requirements. He probably had not paid his fine, for at the end of the summer Curtis's *True Protestant Mercury* announced that Thompson had been

recommitted again this day, [i.e. 24 October] by the Court of King's Bench, he having not (as 'its said) been legally discharged from his fine for endeavouring to sham off the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey on the Protestants: his friends the papists and masters the Jesuits in Newgate,

having left their old drudge and servant in the lurch, where at this rate he will soon more properly be called their mumper than their printer.⁴⁴³

It was probably in connection with the fine he had to pay that on 5 September Thompson mortgaged his yeomanry share in the English Stock to John Leigh. In the Bodleian Library there are copies of petitions by Nathaniel Thompson, one of which carries the date 'At the Court of Whitehall October 1st 1682'.⁴⁴⁴ In this petition to the King, Thompson explains that he was prosecuted for printing 'several papers relating to the death of Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey' at the request of John Farwell and William Paine, 'they informing your petitioner that they were able to prove the contents of such papers'. Thompson's intention had been 'no more ... than if possible to cleare the truth of that gent's death'. After pointing out that he had stood in the pillory and was now in prison because he had not yet paid his fine, he requested the King

to refer your petitioner to Mr. Attorney Generall to inquire into the matter of fact and make report to your Majesty to remit to your petitioner the said fine of one hundred pounds and also to order your petitioner to be inserted into your Majesties generall pardon.

The second petition, which bears no date, but is later than the first reads:

that Your Majesty was graciously pleased upon receival of the petitioners petition to declare it to be your majesties pleasure ... that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury do take care that the sum of £100 fine set upon the petitioner be granted to Mary Daniell [N. Thompson's step-daughter] and the petitioner sett at liberty, notwithstanding of which order the petitioner was detained in prison not only to the hazard of his life occasioned by sickness, but also to the expense of £70 and to ease himself of imprisonment and great charge was forced at last to borrow money to pay the said ffine with other charges in the hands of the Clerk of the Crown. Your Majesties petitioner therefore most humbly prayes in consideration of his great sufferings and charges, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order the said fine to be repaid to your Majesties poor petitioner who without your Majesties clemency and bounty in this will be inevitably ruined.

On 28 October this petition was referred to the Lords of the Treasury but there is no record in the State Papers of a decision.⁴⁴⁵ That Thompson's difficulties lasted for some time may also be concluded from the fact that, when the Government decided to silence all news-sheets, including Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence*, the warrant, dated 16 November, was issued against Mary Thompson, 'Thompson's wife, the latter publishing an Intelligence, when her husband was in gaol'.⁴⁴⁶

In these same months when Thompson was in trouble over the payment of his fine, he moved his printing-shop from 'next to the Cross Keys in Fetter Lane' to 'next door to the Red Lyon at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden'. The new imprint appeared on *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* on 5 October 1682. Except for the different imprint and an announcement in the *Domestick Intelligence* that henceforth advertisements for the *Domestick Intelligence* could be brought to Mr Keble, at the Turk's Head over against Fetter Lane in Fleetstreet, and to the Red Lyon Inn near Charing Cross, there is no comment on or explanation of the change of address and one can only speculate about the reasons why Thompson left the City. Perhaps John Smith was not far from the truth when in the poem *Popish Nat's Lamentation* ... he included the following dialogue between Thompson and the Popish Midwife, Mrs Cellier:

Nat: But now I'm got into the wicked City, I know that
they of me will have no pity, I have abused them so
they'll now me pay, action on action on my back they'll
lay -- Mid.: No ignoramus juries you will find, for you
to them have always proved unkind. So many in this City
given offence, by putting them in your *Intelligence* --
Nat: I don't the Citizens nor City love, and shortly did
from them intend to move, I was about some hundreds out
to lay, had I but done this job and won the day⁴⁴⁷

If Thompson's reasons for moving from the City were connected with the fact that it had become too dangerous for him to stay, he probably did not realize that the situation was rapidly changing and that, now that the Whig opposition had been defeated, the partisan press was about to be silenced. As we saw, in November Thompson was ordered to stop his *Domestick Intelligence*; in spite of the fact that he obeyed the order with professions of loyalty and obedience, it must have been hard for Thompson and his wife, after all the risks they had taken as loyal publishers, to find themselves in the company of Whig pamphleteers and publishers such as Samuel Harris, Henry Care, Robert Ferguson, and Jane Curtis, Thomas Snowden, Richard Baldwin, Francis Smith jr. and Thomas Vile and to be treated in exactly the same way as they were.⁴⁴⁸ Nor were things any better in the spring of 1683: Thompson was closely watched by his enemy, Robert Stephens, the messenger of the press, 'a scandalous villain', who threatened and molested the hawkers who sold Thompson's *Domestick Intelligence*. The 'factious newsletter writers' did their best to persuade the coffeehouses not to take in the news-sheet, because their 'constant pension of 4 or 5s a week from each coffeehouse' was put in danger.⁴⁴⁹ When Thompson reported on 3 March from the 'Scotch Letters' that the Earl of Dunbarton had been appointed Commander General of the Scottish forces, and the Marquis of Huntly Governor of Stirling Castle, Stephens jumped at the opportunity to indict Thompson once again for false and scandalous news, and had him arrested and sent to the Gatehouse. In spite of Thompson's excuse that the report had been included 'by inadvertency without my knowledge and

approbation', and that the news, which had been in print a few days before he included it in his news-sheet, had been 'imposed on my wife and servants in my absence for real truth', he was summoned before the Council on 21 March, who, a week later, gave orders to Sir Robert Sawyer to prosecute him for publishing false and seditious pamphlets.⁴⁵⁰

It was not until the autumn of 1684 that Thompson got into trouble again with the authorities. Thompson's relationship with Alexander Banks, whose name he had used on so many of his publications and who had worked for him until quite recently, had clearly gone sour and Banks informed against his former master. Robert Stephens, always eager to make life difficult for Thompson, searched his shop on 21 October and seized a considerable number of books, among which E. Llewellyn's *The Prodigal Returned Home; or, The Motives of the Conversion to the Catholic Faith of E.L., Master of the University of Cambridge*.⁴⁵¹ The author of the book asserted that his conversion was not due to 'weak and carnal motives' but that he had come to the conclusion that the Roman Church was the only true Catholic Church. He also contended that the Pope was the 'supream visible judge to decide controversies in matters of religion instituted by Christ, infallible in all points of faith'. No doubt it was illegal to publish such a book: one of Lord Sunderland's correspondents wrote:

Mr. Thompson's commitment is on the stage. They say it is a wonder he should be committed for printing popish books and that the Whiggish books he has printed give the greatest offence, and, it appearing that he is a mercenary fellow for any side that pays him well, the popish books, being directly against the laws, will be made use of to punish him.⁴⁵²

The 'Whiggish book' that Thompson was now printing was 'Doleman about the succession', which Stephens had seized at the same time. 'R. Doleman' was the pseudonym of the Jesuit Robert Persons, who had in 1594 published *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England*. The work had been reprinted in 1681 and Thompson was now probably engaged on another reprint. The contents of this book were clearly unacceptable to the government. The author declared that

the next propinquity or ancestry of blood alone, though't were certainly known, yet is not sufficient to be admitted to the Crown, without other conditions and circumstances requisite be found in the person pretendent ... succession to government by nearness of blood is not by law of nature or divine, but only by humane and positive laws ... and consequently may upon first causes be altered ...⁴⁵³

Thompson was arrested, had bail refused and was committed to Newgate. On 25 October he obtained a writ of habeas corpus with some difficulty. Three weeks later, on 15 November, he pleaded not guilty at the Court of King's Bench, but when he came to his trial on 26 November, the messenger Robert Stephens was more than a match for him. Although

Alexander Banks, who had told Stephens that he himself had composed part of *The Prodigal Returned Home*, lost heart when he was confronted in court with his former master, and with much stammering tried to deny his cooperation, Stephens's accusation was confirmed by constable Clinch. The plea by Thompson's counsel that he had not published the book since he had not offered it for sale, was rejected by the judge, who remarked that it could not be assumed that he printed it as waste paper. Stephens once more accused Thompson of having printed 'The Appeal' and 'The Noble Peer's Speech' and the judge reminded the jury that the defendant had been previously convicted for libel. The jury found Thompson guilty without leaving the courtroom. Three days later, Thompson's counsel applied for permission to speak in arrest of judgment but his request was refused and Thompson was sentenced. Alexander Banks published the account of the trial, and this time no one accused Thompson of being responsible for the Banks publication. ⁴⁵⁴

The fact that Thompson, the loyal printer, was caught printing a work like R. Doleman's *A Conference about the Next Succession* ..., which he must have known to be unacceptable to the authorities, illustrates that now that the market for Tory polemical pamphlets had collapsed, Thompson was in the same situation he had been in in the 1670s, desperately in need of work for his presses and unable to refuse anything that was offered to him.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON'S COLLECTIONS OF LOYAL SONGS AND LOYAL POEMS, 1684-1685

As we saw in the preceding chapter, Thompson published, besides his *Domestick Intelligence* and his political pamphlets in prose, a number of political poems and ballads.

In the seventeenth century, as in the previous centuries, the popular demand for gossip and news was, at least partly, satisfied by broadside ballads and poems. Besides what came to be known as 'traditional ballads', on subjects of general human interest like love, courtship, marriage and death, there had, from time immemorial, been ballads that related the stories of murders, supernatural phenomena, monstrous births in a word, of all the remarkable events of the day. The 'journalistic' ballads of the seventeenth century, about the struggle between King and Parliament in the 1640s and about the battle between the Tories and the Whigs in the days of King Charles II, were popular because they provided the answers to the questions asked by the man in the street about what was happening in the country. From the publisher's point of view, broadside poems and ballads probably had the additional advantage that they were less subject to strict government control than was the newspaper press. It is now widely accepted that the broadside ballad and poem were the forerunners of the modern newspaper.⁴⁵⁵ Because of the restrictions on printing, most of these ballads and poems were printed in London, from where they were distributed over the country by hawkers, chapmen and travelling pedlars, who bought their stock of broadside ballads and poems from the London stationers and travelled from village to village and from fair to fair to sell them. In order to boost their sales, the hawkers would cry out their wares, always insisting that what they had for sale was 'a new ballad' on whatever the subject happened to be. They would sing the words of their ballad to a suitable tune and teach it to their customers. This tradition was still very much alive at the end of the seventeenth century when, apart from the 'traditional' ballads, the chapmen and ballad-singers also carried a collection of 'journalistic' ballads on the political events of the day, informing their audiences about the political struggle that was being conducted in the capital.⁴⁵⁶ In London and other cities, the coffeehouses, which had sprung into existence around the middle of the century were the centres where hawkers could sell their pamphlets and customers would come to read them. The news-sheets of the 1680s and contemporary authors quote numerous examples: thus on 11 June 1681, Nathaniel Thompson described a scene at a coffee-house in his *Domestick Intelligence*:

That Nuncio Vile, Care and the rest of the fanaticks do industriously carry on the same designs with the papists, and by the same measure, appears by the parallel that a late discourse (overheard) at a throng'd table in the Commonwealth

Coffeehouse in Bartholomew Lane⁴⁵⁷ bears with Fitzharris's design, which discourse was to the effect following: a man sitting at the table said: Have you seen a damnable paper of verses called *Advice to the Carver*?⁴⁵⁸ Another replied, Yes; it reflects upon the lawyers; the Parliament; and the Government in general. Says a third, they would be excellent for Tory Thompson to print. A fourth said I would give £20 out of my own pocket to have a wooden ruff about his neck. Oh, (says a longear'd slave) leave the management of that to me. I warrant you I'll put it upon him; I'll carry it to him, and tell him it is a loyal paper, and that the publishing of it will tend to His Majesties service, and infallibly he swallows the bait. But the sham would not take.⁴⁵⁹

Two months later, *Heraclitus Ridens* writes:

The great affair upon his hand at present [i.e. upon the Whig's hand] is to cry out shamplots; and to outbrassen the belief of a conspiracy of the godly to seize the King &c. And to vindicate the right honourable Earl of Shaftesbury, by employing all the ballad-singers in the town, to go balling about the streets, 'But Heaven I hope will forever be kind, though he's to prison confined'.⁴⁶⁰

And that this was not an exceptional situation is shown by a passage in *The Observer*, where Sir Roger L'Estrange writes 'there is no walking the streets, for hymns, cases, elegies, 'and last speeches upon the subject' (of Stephen College's innocence).⁴⁶¹ The Whigs directed exactly the same accusations against the Tories:

Two persons have deposed that the papists hire certain hawkers, and other indigent persons, to disperse about the city and suburbs several scandalous libels and pamphlets, tending to create in people a disbelief of the plot and to shift it from their party to the Presbyterians. Also they hire balladsingers to sing about the streets and disperse certain songs and ballads of the same tendency; and for so doing, the said libels and ballads are given them gratis; and they are also paid for dispersing them. And further it is deposed, that the said papists do send these villainous papers into several parts of the kingdom, by post, carriers, and private conveyances.⁴⁶²

The reader of the contemporary news-sheets and other pamphlets will come across a great many similar indications that ballads and poetical broadsides played an important part in the propaganda battle of the 1680s.

When ballads and poems were bought at stalls in the streets, in the markets, they were taken home and not, as the modern reader would expect, disposed of when they had been read. They were kept, and in

some cases, pasted against the walls.⁴⁶³ In other cases they were bound up into collective volumes. The names of Narcissus Luttrell, Anthony Wood and Samuel Pepys are only a few examples of well-known collectors. The antiquary John Selden (1584-1654), who started the ballad collection that was later acquired by Samuel Pepys, writes about the motives that inspired him to make the collection: 'though some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sets: as, take a straw and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that, which way the wind is; which you shall not do by casting up a stone. More solid things do not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels'.⁴⁶⁴ Selden was right: most ballad writers, or at least most of the publishers, did not hesitate to adapt their political creed to the demands of the time, and in this sense ballads and other ephemeral pamphlets are indeed an indication of the political opinion of the time.⁴⁶⁵

Nathaniel Thompson had an even greater claim to make for his ballads and poems; not only did they reflect the political climate of the time, they also had an impact on the minds of the readers and thus helped to change political opinion.

Amongst the several means that have been of late years to reduce the multitude to their just allegiance, this of ballads and loyal songs has not been of least influence ... the misinformed rabble began to listen; they began to hear truth in a song, in time found their errors, and were charmed into obedience. Those that despise the reverend prelate in the pulpit, and the grave judge on the bench ... will yet lend an itching ear to a loyal song ... and often become a convert by it.⁴⁶⁶

The government shared Thompson's view that ballads and songs had great influence and did its utmost to control the ballad-singers and hawkers. The Stationers' Company was urged to prosecute its offending members, the Surveyor of the Press, Sir Roger L'Estrange, with his messengers, attempted to stamp out Whig sedition and sometimes offenders were prosecuted and convicted in Court. Ballad-singers were required to take out licenses from the Master of the Revels, Thomas Killigrew. From 1677 to 1682 Killigrew rented the office of licenser of ballad-singers to the ballad-publisher John Clark.⁴⁶⁷ Clark was one of the partners of the ballad-syndicate, to which also belonged the booksellers Francis Cole, Thomas Vere, John Wright, William Thackeray and Thomas Passinger, whose stock-in-trade consisted of 'traditional' black-letter ballads rather than political ballads.⁴⁶⁸ Whatever Clark's criteria for licensing may have been, one can be fairly certain that his main concern was the protection of his and his colleagues' copyrights, rather than the political allegiance of the ballad-singers. The City authorities from time to time issued proclamations against hawkers: on 12 August 1679, for instance, they said

the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen taking notice that

the City and Liberties thereof, and especially the streets of Cornhill and passages to the Royal Exchange are much pestered with a sort of loose and idle persons, scurrilous pamphlets and scandalous printed papers, contrary to law, and to the great scandal of the government of this City ... have thought fit for the regulation thereof and the more effectual putting in execution the laws against such offenders, to appoint and command the Marshall of the City, as well as the constables to take care that no persons whatsoever do from henceforth sell, cry or disperse any books, pamphlets or any other printed papers in any place within this City or Liberties thereof, and to apprehend all such hawkers and offenders and to bring them before the Lord Mayor, or some other of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, to be set at hard labour at Bridewell, or otherwise to be dealt with according to the law.⁴⁶⁹

In spite of these attempts, the hawkers, and of course the publishers, of these pamphlets continued their activities.

Often, when offensive pamphlets were seized, it was the publishers rather than the authors that were prosecuted. Of course, it sometimes proved difficult or even impossible to discover the name of the anonymous author.⁴⁷⁰ But apart from that, it was probably more effective to try and gain control over the printers and publishers. The publishers of 'journalistic' ballads and poems were never slow to make capital out of the events of the day. It was important for them, if their sales were to amount to anything at all, and if they wanted to sell their stock, to bring out their ballads and poems as soon as possible after the event. They often had their own hackwriters who would serve them with texts as occasion arose.⁴⁷¹ In the Stationers' Registers there is an entry by the ballad-publisher William Thackeray, on 15 January 1685, of *An Elegie on the Death of King Charles the Second, of Blessed Memory*, a very striking entry says Rollins, since Charles II did not die until 6 February.⁴⁷² The entry is probably an example of the publisher showing foresight and making the necessary preparations, so that, when the event took place, he would not be taken unawares and could send his hawkers out into the streets with piping hot news. In one case we have evidence that the publisher was at the same time the author of a number of political ballads; in 1683 James Dean, bookseller in Cranbourne Street in Leicester Fields near Newport House, published a ballad against Titus Oates under the title *Oates's Bug-- Bug-- Boardingschool at Camberwell, A Song to the Tune of My Lord Russels Farewell*, 'writ by J. Dean, Author of *The Winecooper, The Hunting of the Fox, The Badger in the Fortrap, The Lord Russels Farewell, The Loyal Conquest, The Dutch Miller, &c.*⁴⁷³

Traditional ballads were the domain of specialist publishers, several of whom belonged to the important members of the Stationers' Company in their time. The partnership of Clarke, Cole, Vere etc. owned the copyright to a great number of ballads, which they registered in the Company registers on several occasions in the course of the seven-

teenth century.⁴⁷⁴ Several smaller groups of ballad publishers and the bookseller Jonah Deacon also entered a number a number of their ballad copyrights, but a great many ballads came on the market without registration. This is true of traditional ballads, but even more so of the journalistic ballads of the 1680s, few of which are found in the Company registers. In all, there are fewer than two dozen political ballads in the Registers between 1680 and 1685.⁴⁷⁵ The opposition, of course, could not protect their copyright by having it recorded because they had to preserve anonymity to avoid being called to account for their publications by the authorities. Tory ballads, which must have been welcome to the government, were not entered in any great numbers either. The fact that these ballads were concerned with everyday political events probably did not make it worth the publisher's while to register his copy, as the publication could be expected to date pretty soon after the event with which it dealt had been forgotten.

Although the specialist ballad publishers mainly restricted their trade to traditional ballads, some of them - Philip Brooksby is a case in point - also had a number of political ballads for sale besides their normal stock. But there were a number of other booksellers and printers who published and sold political ballads, one of whom was Nathaniel Thompson. Between 1680 and 1685 he printed and sold a considerable number of ballads, and was recognized by his contemporaries as one of the main sources of Tory ballads and poems. As we have already seen, the author of *Trincalo Sainted* described him as 'he who publicly printed innumerable scurrilous songs and ballads, lewd and scandalous libels, against many persons of great quality and known loyalty, daily spawning them to abuse the loyal subjects, to corrupt the ignorant and to encourage the mischievous'. Thompson's wife was remembered on page two of the same pamphlet as 'thy bawling spouse who having printed many a ditty cannot but be well pleased at her lord's exaltation'.⁴⁷⁶ In another pamphlet, *The Character of a Modern Shamplotter*, Thompson, L'Estrange, and Rawlins (the author of *Heraclitus Ridens*) are described as 'those who must weekly fill the country with lying scurrilous licentious pamphlets, obscene rime doggerel, drunken ballads &c., void of sense and truth',⁴⁷⁷ a description which must refer primarily to the only printer among the names mentioned, Thompson. Thompson himself claimed that he had been one of the more productive publishers of political propaganda. On 29 August and 2 September 1682, he advertised in his *Domestick Intelligence* that at his house 'you may be furnished with all sorts of new loyal songs, printed with musical notes'. In the preface to *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*, he wrote:

I here present thee with the loyal poems that have severally scattered in print, and ventured most of them to peep into the world, even in the highest of dangers and worst of times; ... I confess indeed, that the greatest part of these poems have been of my own printing and publication; and truly some of them at no little charge ...⁴⁷⁸

An analysis of the collections of loyal songs and the collection of loyal poems must show how far this claim can be substantiated.

As we have seen before, Thompson published *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* ... and registered it with the Stationers' Company on 29 July 1684.⁴⁷⁹ The following year, he added a number of songs to this collection and reissued it under the title *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* ..., the 'third edition'. In the same year he brought out *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems* ..., and the two collections were advertised in the Term Catalogue for Trinity 1685.⁴⁸⁰ In the list of 'Books Printed and Sold by Nathaniel Thompson' in *Animadversions by Way of Answer to a Sermon Preached by Dr Thomas Kenne*, 1687, Thompson advertised his *86 Loyal Poems* as 'the second edition' and *180 Loyal Songs* as 'the third edition'. There is no trace of another edition of *86 Loyal Poems* nor of a first and second edition of *180 Loyal Songs*, so probably Thompson regarded *120 Loyal Songs* as the first, *86 Loyal Poems* as the second and *180 Loyal Songs* as the third edition.

The idea of bringing together a number of ballads and poems and producing a collection was not new. There was a long tradition of poetical miscellanies and song-books in the seventeenth century⁴⁸¹ and in the 1680s Thompson had the examples of the music publishers John and Henry Playford, Charles Corbet, and of the booksellers John Smith and Joseph Hindmarsh, who had all published poetical collections, or collections of songs.⁴⁸² In 1683, John How, who had been apprenticed to the Whig bookseller Benjamin Harris, published *Rome Rhym'd to Death, Being a Collection of Choice Poems in Two Parts, Written by the E. of R., Dr Wild and Others of the Best Modern Wits*, which contained a great number of Whig ballads and poems.⁴⁸³

To Thompson, who had to find work for his presses, the idea of producing a collection of his own must have been an attractive solution to his problems. Besides a preface, a table of contents, and a list of 'Books printed and sold by N. Thompson at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden near Charing-Cross', *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* contains one hundred and eleven 'songs' plus, on the last page, an *Anagram and Acrostick on the Salamanca Sizer*, which he reprinted in *86 Loyal Poems* in 1685.

Most of the ballads and poems printed by Thompson in his collections were published as broadside ballads and poetical pamphlets between 1679 and 1685. Of the one hundred and eleven ballads in *120 Loyal Songs*, there are sixteen of which no earlier broadside text is available or which do not occur in an earlier or contemporary collection. If one relates the ballads which Thompson reprinted in *120 Loyal Songs* to their broadside sources, the genesis of the collection appears to have been as follows: Thompson began by reprinting a number of ballads which he had in stock. A number of these ballads had been printed by himself and published under his own imprint. Others had been printed by him but published under the name of some other bookseller. He also reprinted a few ballads which, he claimed on page 198, had been 'never before in print'. This group, finally, was followed by another group of ballads extant in broadside copies and including ballads which

Thompson collected from various sources.

Of the seventy-eight ballads in the first section, twenty-six derive from broadsides which had originally been published under the Thompson imprint. Most of these were 'printed by' N. Thompson but the *Tory Ballad on His Highnesses Return from Scotland* and the same ballad under the title *The Brimingham Ballad on their Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland*, published according to a manuscript note on the Bodleian Library copy in May 1682, had the imprint 'for N. Thompson', while the ballad *The Loyal Sheriffs of London and Middlesex upon their Election* was 'printed for Mary Thompson'.⁴⁸⁴ The latter ballad must have been published shortly after 14 July 1682, when Lord Mayor Sir John Moore declared Sir Dudley North and Ralph Box elected as sheriffs of London and Middlesex for the ensuing year after hotly contested elections. The rather sudden occurrence of the imprint 'for Mary Thompson' is probably connected with the fact that at the time Nat Thompson was in prison following his conviction for printing the two letters to Miles Prance. Besides these two ballads, there are in the first section of *120 Loyal Songs* two songs with the imprint 'sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden', *The Whigs Hard Heart the Cause of the Hard Frost*, published early in 1684, and *Oates Thrash'd in the Compter and Sack'd up in Newgate*, published in May 1684.⁴⁸⁵ The difference in imprint must mean that these two ballads were not Thompson's property in the way in which the other ballads were his own copies.⁴⁸⁶ In the same first section of *120 Loyal Songs* we also find six songs under other imprints which were, without any doubt, printed and published by Thompson. In chapter three we saw that Thompson was the publisher of *An Excellent New Ballad*, beginning 'Let Oliver now be forgotten', which came out under the fake imprint 'for Benjamin Harris ... to be sold by Langley Curtis', and of *The Loyal Scot*, beginning 'Bred of Gued! I think the nation's mad', which came out under the name of Alexander Banks.⁴⁸⁷ The broadside ballad *The Riddle of the Roundhead*, which Thompson printed in 1681, was an expansion of an earlier broadside ballad entitled *Treason Unmasqued, or, Truth Brought to Light*, which was said to have been 'printed for Francis Smith'.⁴⁸⁸ Smith could not possibly be credited with a Tory ballad like this one; it was in all probability another example of Thompson fathering a ballad on one of his political enemies. Thompson also used the name of Robert or Richard Saunders. When on 16 January 1682 a woman was indicted for selling the ballad *London's Loyalty*, beginning 'Rouse up great genius of this potent land', and was fined £100 in May of the same year, Richard Janeway's *Impartial Protestant Mercury* wrote that the villain that printed that ballad and so many other popish libels, should be brought to punishment, and 'we doubt not but before Trinity Term ends, to see justice take place on him'. The only 'villain' that this passage can refer to is Nathaniel Thompson, awaiting punishment for the letters to Miles Prance.⁴⁸⁹

Three of the ballads which Thompson printed in the first section of his *120 Loyal Songs* were registered in the Stationers' Registers:⁴⁹⁰ one, *London's Lamentation for ye Losse of the Charter* was entered on 12 June 1683 by John Kidgell, who had become a freeman of the Company in

1680, and was published by Thompson in 1683. The other two, *Ryot upon Ryot, or, A Song upon the Arresting of the Lord Mayor*, published anonymously on 30 April 1683, and *A New Song or Ballad, Called, A Discovery of the Fannaticks Plott*, dated by Luttrell 11 July 1683, were both registered on 25 August of that year by John Mayos. Mayos had served his apprenticeship with Thompson and obtained the freedom of the Company on 7 March 1683, but he probably continued to work for Thompson.⁹¹ The two ballads were published anonymously; the first of them was modelled on *London's Loyalty*, which had been printed by Thompson, while the second was written in imitation of D'Urfey's 'Let oliver now be forgotten', also printed and published by Thompson, so that it is not unreasonable to assume that Thompson printed the ballads entered by Mayos.

The first section of *120 Loyal Songs* contains fifteen ballads that originally appeared as broadsides under the name of Banks.⁹² Alexander Banks, Thompson's workman, lent his name to a number of pamphlets which were in fact printed by Thompson, and, as we have seen, Allen Banks's *The Loyal Feast* was answered by *The Coat of Arms of N.T., J.F. and R.L.*, pointing to Thompson as the printer. There was a second answer to the same ballad, *An Answer to the Pamphlet Called the Loyal Feast ...*, which contained the following lines: 'The answer is dammee Jack! meet me at Sam's; There's honest Roger, and flat-footed Tom ... These are the lads that fight the Pope's cause, ... They'll swear (but who will be thus deciev'd) that Godfrey murdered himself is plaine', lines that can only refer to Thompson and L'Estrange.⁹³ When Allen Banks's *Titus Tell Troth* was answered by *Thompson Tell-Lyes, or, An Answer to Titus Tell-Troth*, the author said 'Hail to Protestant Nat and hail to his fulsom dame, all hail to that murderous Cain, who with Godfrey's Ghost is at strife'.⁹⁴ In 1681 Banks's name occurred in the imprint of *Ignoramus Justice, or, The English Laws Turn'd into a Gin to Let the Knaves out and Keep the Honest Men in*, on the occasion of the London Grand Jury throwing out the bill of high treason against Shaftesbury. In 1683 Thompson sold *Justice Tryumphant, an Excellent New Song in Commendation of Sir George Jeffries Lord Chief Justice of England*, 'sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden', which was printed on the verso of the 1681 ballad belonging to Banks. Clearly, Thompson cooperated more or less regularly with Allen Banks and this explains why he was able to include a number of ballads with the Banks imprint in his collection.⁹⁵

Of the other names that occur in the first section of *120 Loyal Songs* James Dean and Charles Corbet must be mentioned. There are four ballads in the first section which were originally printed for James Dean and half a dozen for Charles Corbet. Dean, the ballad-writer and bookseller in Cranbourne Street, and from 1685 between the Royal Grove and Helmet in Drury Lane, was the author of *The Badger in the Foxtrap, or, A Satyr upon Satyrs*, first line 'Comus or momus must now be my theam', which was advertised in the list of books printed and sold by N. Thompson in Charles Blount, *Janua Scientiarum*, 1684.⁹⁶ Charles Corbet was a music publisher in Warwick Lane, who occasionally used

the name Tebroc in his imprints. There is no evidence in his case of any cooperation with Thompson.⁴⁹⁷

The conclusion suggested by these indications is that Thompson reprinted the first seventy-eight ballads in *120 Loyal Songs* from broadside copies, many of which he had printed and published himself in the course of the years, and some of which he had in his house because he had offered them for sale in his shops in Fetter Lane and at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden near Charing Cross.

On page 198 of *120 Loyal Songs* Thompson announces 'Songs never before in print'. A statement like this must be treated with care, for stationers always claimed that what they were offering for sale was a new song, a new poem, a new account, although what was new, was very often no more than the title or the title page. Claims such as these were accepted practice as was the habit of attributing the authorship of all kinds of works to well-known personalities in order to boost sales.⁴⁹⁸ In Thompson's case the statement is not without foundation: from page 198 to page 227, he prints seventeen ballads, sixteen of which cannot be traced back to earlier broadside copies. The ballad *A Song of the Light of Three Nations Turn'd into Darkness*, dealing with the arrest of Titus Oates on 10 May 1684, 'at the suit of His Royal Highness in an action of Scandalum Magnatum', was published for James Dean and dated by Luttrell 17 May 1684, shortly before the publication of *120 Loyal Songs*.⁴⁹⁹ In three other cases Thompson's statement must be taken with a grain of salt, because, although obviously he did not print from broadside copies, the ballads presented here as 'never before in print', also occur in other collections which appeared before Thompson's *120 Loyal Songs*.⁵⁰⁰ The first ballad in this section *A New Song on the Parliament Removing to Oxford*, with the first line 'Ye London Lads be Merry', resembles James Dean's *An Excellent New Song, or, The Loyal Tories Delight*, first line, 'London Lads be Merry ...', but a comparison of the two texts reveals that both Thompson's and Dean's versions go back to *The Scotch Song on the Oxford Parliament*, 'You London Lads be Sorry ...'. Thompson followed this ballad pretty closely, whereas Dean used three stanzas and added four of his own to adapt the ballad to the Rye House Plot.⁵⁰¹ The broadside copy of James Dean's *Oates's Bug* -- *Bug -- Boardingschool at Camberwel*, which Thompson also reprinted in this section, is later than *120 Loyal Songs*.⁵⁰²

At the end of *120 Loyal Songs* Thompson reprints a number of ballads deriving from broadside copies of various dates and various sources. Among them are two more ballads originally printed for J.D., probably James Dean, one for A.B., probably Allen Banks, and one sold by Thompson himself in 1684.⁵⁰³

Most of the ballads reprinted by Thompson in *120 Loyal Songs* belong to the years of the Tory reaction, 1681 to 1684. Fifteen of them belong to the year 1681, thirty-seven to 1682, twenty-nine to 1683 and seventeen to 1684.⁵⁰⁴ The collection includes the two parts of *A Narrative of the Popish Plot*, first lines 'Good people I pray give ear unto me' and 'The plot being thus subtly contrived' and, at the end of *120 Loyal*

Songs, what was the fourth part of this series of ballads, *A Ballad upon the Popish Plot, Written by a Lady of Quality*, beginning 'Since counterfeit plots have affected this age ...'.⁵⁰⁵ These ballads were written in 1679 and were meant as a defence by the Roman Catholics against the Popish Plot accusations by Titus Oates and his henchmen.⁵⁰⁶ The third part of this group of ballads, with the first line 'The Presbyter has been so active of late', which Thompson did not reprint until 1685, exists in a broadside version with the printed addition:

this ballad was seiz'd among many other treasonable and seditious pamphlets in the house of one Turner in Holbourne, being ready printed, on purpose to be spread abroad on the discovery of the Presbyterian Plot, to shew forth the innocency of the Papists, and to credit a belief in the vulgar of the guiltiness of the Presbyterian that thereby they might accomplish their wicked designs and under this notion murder his Sacred Majesty ...⁵⁰⁷

Thompson reported the seizure by Sir William Waller in his *Domestick Intelligence* of 16 September 1679 and again on 18 November of that year and commented that these ballads 'cast suspicion on the innocent'. There is no indication that he was concerned in the printing of these ballads, nor was he accused of having a hand in them by the Whig pamphleteers, who no doubt would have accused him if they had had the slightest grounds for suspicion. Even the answer, *The Second Part to the Same Tune, or, An Answer to the Lady of Qualities Ballad of the Popish Plot* did not mention Nathaniel Thompson.⁵⁰⁸

The only references to the year 1680 in *120 Loyal Songs* are found in the section 'Songs never before in print'. One of them comes in a song of three five-line stanzas, beginning 'Oh the plot discoverers' which was rewritten and expanded into four thirteen-line stanzas in *180 Loyal Songs*. The subject is the Lord Chief Justice Sir William Scroggs, who was dismissed by the King in April 1681 and the plot witness William Bedloe, who died in August 1680. The other is the ballad *On the Throatcutter of Jack-an-Apes-Lane*, a mocking song on the Whig magistrate John Arnold of Llanfihangel in South Wales, who claimed that he had been attacked by popish ruffians on 15 April 1680 in Jackanapes Lane. The ballad exposed Arnold's story as a fraud and accused him of having inflicted the wounds on himself.⁵⁰⁹

In 1685, Thompson published his 'third edition', *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs ...*, reprinting the preface of *120 Loyal Songs* almost verbatim. There are only two exceptions: where in 1684 he wrote 'They [i.e. the 'factious party'] with the assistance of a certain instrument [i.e. the messenger of the press, Robert Stephens] ... caused me to be imprisoned six times, so that for near five years I was never free from trouble', he now wrote 'they ... caused me to be imprisoned six times, so that for above six years I was never free from trouble ...'. He also took the opportunity in 1685 to add à propos of the messenger, Robert Stephens, that 'now this villain is detected and turned out of his employment with disgrace, and consequently turned incapable of

doing further mischief to any of His Majesties Loyal Subjects'.⁵¹⁰ Modifications of this type are, as we shall see, typical of Thompson's 'editorial' activity. The list of books printed and sold by N. Thompson was also changed in the 1685 edition.

A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs contains 178 ballads and songs, forty of which were 'new songs never before in print' according to the advertisement for *180 Loyal Songs* in *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*, and the statement is true. Thompson left out *The Anagram and Acrostick on the Salamanca Sizer* and transferred it to *86 Loyal Poems*. He also left out three ballads: one was *Jack Ketch's New Song, or, A Warning to Conspirators*, which he had printed without naming the tune in the section 'Songs never before in print' of *120 Loyal Songs*. The two other ballads left out were *An Excellent New Song, Exalting [sic] the Mobile to Loyalty*, and *A Song on His Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland*, both of which he had printed and published himself in 1682.⁵¹¹ There is no obvious reason why Thompson should have omitted these ballads; they would have been quite appropriate in his expanded collection but probably he simply overlooked them while he was reorganising and reprinting his collection.

The seventy-one ballads that were added to *120 Loyal Songs* fall into several groups. In the first place, Thompson brought his collection up to date by the addition of a number of songs about events that took place in 1684 and 1685. To this group belongs *A New Song in Praise of the Loyal Company of Stationers, who (after the General Forfeit) for Their Singular Loyalty Obtain'd the First Charter of London, Anno Domini 1684*.⁵¹² Thompson published a broadside version of this song on 13 August 1684, in which he took the opportunity to expose his Whig rivals 'Dick [Janeway] the zealous', 'Jack Thumb' alias Starkey, William Miller, Francis Smith, George Calvert and, of course, Robin Stephens, the messenger of the press. He also reprinted *A Dialogue between Bowman the Tory and Prance the Renegado*, printed for, and perhaps also written by, James Dean in February 1684. Although it was not until 1686 that Miles Prance was called to account for his perjury as a Popish Plot witness, the time had at last come when, unlike in 1682, Miles Prance could be attacked with impunity.⁵¹³

The death of King Charles and the accession to the throne of James II were of course the most important events of 1685. Thompson commemorated the events in ten ballads, most of which had not been previously published as broadside ballads. Of almost equal importance was the trial and conviction for perjury of the main plot witness, Titus Oates, and his subsequent punishment in May 1685. Eleven ballads were devoted to this subject in Thompson's new edition, and here too, in most cases there are no broadside copies available. Thompson also included three songs on the attempts by the Earl of Argyle and the Duke of Monmouth to stir up a rebellion against the new king.

Besides these ballads on contemporary events, Thompson now also reprinted a number of ballads belonging to the years 1681 to 1684 which he had not printed in *120 Loyal Songs*. He returned to Oates's dismissal from Whitehall and to Stephen College's execution, to his old

enemy, the Justice of the Peace and priest catcher Sir William Waller, all of them subjects belonging to the year 1681. He took his reader back to the year 1683, with ballads on the Rye House Plot, on Algernon Sidney's trial and execution, on Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had assisted Lord Russell at his execution and who was pictured in the ballad as a traitor.⁵¹⁴ He now also reprinted *The Third Part* [of the ballad on the Popish Plot] *Written by a Lady of Quality*, which he had omitted from *120 Loyal Songs*. In all, he added some sixteen ballads on the years 1681-1683, four of which had been printed or sold by himself as broadside ballads.

In *120 Loyal Songs*, Thompson had included what he called on the title page 'some new love songs'. There were seven songs in all that were not concerned with contemporary politics. In 1685 he announced that his loyal songs were 'intermixed with several new love-songs', and he increased the number with twenty to a total of twenty-seven, most of which are also found in collections published by other stationers and song-book publishers.⁵¹⁵

An examination of *180 Loyal Songs* shows that it was Thompson's intention to arrange the songs in this collection in groups according to the tune to which they were to be sung. He opened the collection, like the first edition, with Thomas D'Urfey's ballad 'Let Oliver now be forgotten', the song for which he had been called to account in the autumn of 1681. The tune was called *How unhappy is Phyllis in Love* and printed with the ballad. In 1683, when the Rye House Plot had been revealed, Thompson published the ballad *The Conspiracy, or, The Discovery of the Fanatick Plot*, which was modelled on 'Let Oliver now be forgotten' and sung to the same tune. In *180 Loyal Songs* this ballad, with its first line 'Let Pickering now be forgotten', followed immediately after the model ballad.⁵¹⁶ The same procedure can be seen in the second and following groups. The first ballad of the second group was *The Whigs Exaltation*, another song written by Tom D'Urfey, of which there were at least three different broadside copies.⁵¹⁷ Two broadside copies, as well as *180 Loyal Songs*, indicated that the ballad was to be sung 'to an old tune of 41'. The song had a one-line burden 'Then hey up boys up go we', which was quoted as the tune direction for the three following ballads in *180 Loyal Songs*, modelled on the D'Urfey ballad and to be sung to the same tune.⁵¹⁸

This system of grouping his ballads enabled Thompson to introduce a number of non-political songs in a logical way: the stage song *The Beggars Chorus in the Jovial Crew*, beginning 'There was a jovial beggar, he had a wooden leg' served as the model for Nathaniel Thompson's 1684 ballad against Titus Oates, *The Swearer's Chorus to the First Presbyterian Plot*, beginning 'There was a monstrous doctor, this doctor had no peer', and the ballad *Fanatick Zeal, or, A Looking-glass for the Whigs*, first line, 'Who would not be a Tory, when the loyal are call'd so'.⁵¹⁹ Thompson printed them as a group and, although what was clearly the model song came second in the group, the place of this non-political ballad is justified by its function as a model.

In the same way Thompson integrated his 'new songs never before in

print': in the second group, for example, after *The Whigs Exaltation* and *A New Song on the Fanatick Plot*, which he reprinted from his own ballad *Murder out at Last*, he inserted two new songs, *The Whig's Downfall*, and *The Downfall of the Good Old Cause*, both written against the Whig opposition and vaguely reminiscent of the situation in the autumn of 1682. Another example is the sixth tune group: *The Swearers Chorus to the Presbyterian Plot* and the non-political *The Beggars Chorus in the Jovial Crew* are followed by *Fanatick Zeal*, or, *A Looking Glass for the Whigs*, a fifteen-stanza ballad written in close imitation of the two preceding songs and apparently never before published as a broadside ballad.

If he had continued in this way, *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* would have been a distinct improvement on *120 Loyal Songs*, but unfortunately Thompson was unable, perhaps through lack of editorial expertise, to sustain his method consistently. The new ballad on Dr. Burnet, *A Trimmer in the Church*, beginning 'Pray listen well, while I describe', was to be sung to the tune of *A Beggar I will be*. The ballad was printed on page 264 of *180 Loyal Songs*, but logically it ought to have been placed with *The Swearers Chorus* at the beginning of the volume, on page 40. The well-known tune *Packington's Pound* is printed on page 40 and followed by eight ballads, all of which, including one non-political ballad, occurred in *120 Loyal Songs*. On page 171, Thompson prints the tune a second time for *A Ballad, the Third Part, Written by a Lady of Quality*, first line 'The Presbyter has been so active of late', and for *Oates's Lamentation*, beginning 'Come all you good people that were at the fair', neither of which was printed in *120 Loyal Songs*.⁵²⁰ These two ballads ought to have been printed with the first group, especially the first of them, which belongs with parts one, two and four of this series of Popish Plot ballads which are part of the first group. The tune was printed two more times, on page 228 and page 261, both times for ballads on Oates's conviction and punishment in the spring of 1685. And finally, on page 334, Thompson prints the ballad *The Western Rebell, or, The True Protestant Standard Set Up*, although here the tune is not printed again.⁵²¹ The same inconsistency occurs with a number of other tunes and the ballads belonging to them. Although in the first half of *180 Loyal Songs* the arrangement described is applied fairly consistently, in the second half it breaks down completely. While some tunes are printed more than once, many ballads are printed without the music or, in a few cases, even without a tune direction.

Broadside ballads and political ballads were, even more than the traditional ballads, ephemeral productions and were printed on coarse paper. The printers printed the texts as they came to them and did not worry too much about deviations from the original texts or about the complexities of spelling and punctuation. In their preface to *The Theater of Music: or, A Choice Collection of the Newest and Best Songs Sung at the Court and Public Theatres ... The First Book*, published by Henry Playford and R.C. in 1685, the publishers requested the authors of new songs to send them a manuscript copy 'this, as it will prevent

such as daily abuse you, by publishing your songs lame and imperfect, and singing them about the streets like ordinary ballads ...'.⁵²² Thompson did not have that kind of editorial concern. He simply reprinted a number of broadside ballads, and his collections show all the defects of work done without the proper editorial care. There are a great number of misprints and other typographical errors, both in the texts and in the music. For instance, in *A New Ballad upon Dr Oates his Retreat from Whitehall, into the City*, a ballad printed for W. Brown in 1681, we read in the third stanza 'Oates that was whilome thought to be, for the King's horse, fit company ...', which Thompson reprinted in *180 Loyal Songs* as 'Oates that was welcome thought to be ...'.⁵²³ When he reprinted his own broadside ballad *An Excellent New Hymne to the Mobile, Exhorting them to Loyalty in 120 Loyal Songs* the title was erroneously changed into *An Excellent New Hymn, Exalting the Mobile to Loyalty, &c.* Reprinting Thomas Jordan's *A New Irish Song* from John and Henry Playford's *The Triumphs of London*, [1683], as *The Loyal Irishman*, the original 'Gods-woons' was reprinted as 'Gods Newns' in *120 Loyal Songs*, and as 'Gods Nowns' in *180 Loyal Songs*.⁵²⁴ These examples are typical of the standard of Thompson's work. Sometimes either he or his compositor even misunderstood the point of the song they were reprinting. In 1682 the midsummer election of the sheriffs for London and Middlesex was hotly contested. On 19 September, the Lord Mayor, Sir John Moore, declared Sir Dudley North and Mr Peter Rich elected in the face of fierce opposition. The ballad *The Plot Cram'd into Jones Placket* in *120 Loyal Songs* correctly reported in stanza 10 'Brave Rich and famous North, ... The noble Mayor has chose ...'. When the ballad was reprinted in 1685, the compositor made a mistake by which the lines became meaningless: 'Brave Rich and famous North, ... The noble Mayor have chose, ...'.⁵²⁵ *The Compleat Swearing Master: A Rare New Salamanca Ballad*, beginning 'Once on a time the doctor did swear', printed for Allen Banks in 1682, recounted the anomalies in Titus Oates's depositions about the Popish Plot and exposed the absurdity of Oates's charges. The stanza culminated in a two line burden 'And the Dr. did swear the noble Don John, though little and black was a tall fair man'. These lines reminded the reader of the fact that, when questioned by Charles II about Don John of Austria, whom Oates had named in his narrative, the latter answered that Don John was tall and graceful, with fair hair, while Charles II knew that Don John was in fact short and dark. When Thompson reprinted the ballad the last line got changed into 'though little and fair was a tall black man', and thus missed the point. A mistake like this one may, it is true, have gone unnoticed by Thompson's readers, who could not be expected to pay attention to details such as this, and probably did not know Don John of Austria anyway. But what is significant is that the broadside ballad gave the correct facts and that Thompson's reprint mixed them up.⁵²⁶ There is no great difference in quality between *120 Loyal Songs* and *180 Loyal Songs*, although, in spite of the many printing errors, the 'first' edition is on the whole closer to the broadside texts than is *180 Loyal Songs*.

There are, however, a number of changes in the text which are not due to mere carelessness, but were obviously made on purpose. None of these changes were made with a view to textual correctness. They were rather naive attempts on the part of the printer to bring his text up to date and to make it more acceptable to the readers. One of the changes that occurs a number of times is the adaptation from present or future in the broadside copy to past tense or perfect in the reprint. For example, in the ballad *A Song of the New Plot*, beginning 'Have you not lately heard of Lords sent to the Tower', printed anonymously in 1681, the author referred to the London Whig carpenter Stephen College: 'the joyner he is going to Oxford to be try'd, where he will find a jury which are not whiggify'd'. When Thompson reprinted the ballad the line was modified to 'the joyner he did march to Oxford ... where he did find a jury, that were not whiggified'. The line 'that crafty Shaftesbury is caught in his own net' in the same ballad, was changed into 'that crafty Shaftesbury was caught ...' in the reprint.⁵²⁷

But there are also other adaptations. *A Ballad upon the Popish Plot*, beginning 'Since counterfeit plots have affected this age', attributed to the astrologer John Gadbury and published in November 1679, according to a manuscript note on the Luttrell copy, is a good example. The ballad exposed the evidence of the plot witnesses Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, Prance and Tonge, as false and as such the ballad was not out of place in Thompson's collections. Unfortunately however, the original broadside ballad blamed the Earl of Danby for the murder of the London magistrate Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey: 'when he, by the Treasurer's powerful breath, more likely by far received his death ...'. When the broadside ballad was published, its aim was to exculpate the Roman Catholics, and the Earl of Danby was suspected at the time of trying to make political capital out of the Popish Plot and of plotting Godfrey's death.⁵²⁸ The suspicion lingered on until 1681, when Edward Fitzharris tried to save himself by repeating the charges against Danby. In June 1681, Thompson wrote in defence of the Earl of Danby in his *Domestick Intelligence*, and when he reprinted the ballad in *120 Loyal Songs* he could not, of course, retain the lines against the Earl. Consequently, he changed the text into the much vaguer 'when by an officer's powerful breath by far ...' and thus removed the allusion to the Earl of Danby.⁵²⁹ In the ballad *Tonies Soliloquies*, beginning 'When the Plot I first invented ...', published anonymously in 1681, there was a line referring to William Howard, viscount Stafford, one of the five Catholic lords who had been executed for their alleged complicity in the Popish Plot in December 1681. The lines related how Shaftesbury 'by subordination to the block ... brought a loyal noble peer'. When he reprinted the ballad in *180 Loyal Songs* in 1685, Thompson emended the line to 'by subordination to the block ... brought a noble guiltless peer', in all probability an intentional change to emphasize Stafford's innocence.⁵³⁰

The substitution of the name 'James' for 'Charles' in a great many songs was another rather naive attempt on Thompson's part to curry favour with the new powers. Again, he does not seem to have realized

that the mere substitution of 'James' for 'Charles' often went against the sense of the text. In *Loyalty Unfeigned, or, A True Protestant Admonition*, for instance, he now printed 'Hold fast thy sword and sceptre James, sad times are coming on; the murmurs that do daily rise, smell rank of forty-one'.⁵³¹ Published in 1685, at the beginning of the reign of James II, who succeeded to the throne with practically universal acclamation, a stanza like this could hardly be considered a proper description of the state of affairs.

One 'editorial adaptation' is due to Thompson's own private feelings: as we saw on page 91, Thompson changed the preface to *180 Loyal Songs* to vent his anger about the messenger of the press, Robert Stephens. He also adapted one of the ballads in order to include Robert Stephens. In the ballad, *The Tory Song on His Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland*, beginning 'Room Room for Cavaliers' and published by himself in May 1682, he had a two-line burden, 'for Oats is confounded, that turn-coated Roundhead; then let us be loyal and true to our King'. In the following stanzas of his original ballad, Thompson in turn remembered his Whig opponents John Starkey (alias Thumb), Henry Care, Richard Janeway, Langley Curtis and Benjamin Harris. In *180 Loyal Songs*, Richard Janeway had to yield his place to Robert Stephens and the line was now changed into 'Sow-sucking Hog is confounded, that treacherous Roundhead; Then let us be loyal and true to our King'.⁵³²

So great was Thompson's antipathy to the messenger of the press, that in *A Choice Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*, which he also published in 1685, he devoted seven of the nine pages of the Preface to the Reader to a diatribe against the messenger, relating how Stephens had prosecuted him for *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor*, 'Behold from the infernal lake I'm come', and for no. 60 of his *Domestick Intelligence* of 1 October 1681, in which he reported the election of Sir John Moore as Lord Mayor of London and the riot that took place on that occasion at the Guildhall. He listed four other publications at which the messenger took offence⁵³³ and accused him of having been

Sir William Waller's Jackall, [who] with a full cry of popery and idolatry, hunted down gold-chains, and apostle spoons with him, for beads and crucifixes, ... and so played at pick-pocketing and burgling, under the cloak of True Protestant Justiceing with him, as well as the worshipful sanctified land-pyrate himself. ... no man has felt half the weight of his heavy swearing hand as myself ... he has made it his restless ... study more particularly to ruine me ... offered to swear that I had printed more Whig pamphlets than any other person in town...⁵³⁴

Thompson's *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems* contained a 'Table of all the several Loyal Poems contained in this Book' that listed eighty-six poems, in accordance with the title of the collection. In fact, the work contains eighty-eight poems, seven of which are religious rather

than political in content, although, as they were attributed to the Lord Arundell of Wardour, the Lords in the Tower, and the late King Charles I, they were of course closely connected with the political situation of the time.⁵³⁵ Six of the 'Loyal Poems' were also printed in *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*.⁵³⁶

In his preface, Thompson said 'I confess indeed that the greatest part of these poems have been of my own printing and publication'. One has to believe Thompson on his word, because only seventeen of the broadsides from which he reprinted the poems were published with his imprint. A further ten can with a reasonable degree of probability be attributed to him because he was prosecuted for the poems in question; because they were first published in *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts and Visions*, for which as we have seen Thompson must be held responsible, or because Thompson advertised the poems as printed and sold by himself.⁵³⁷ One of the poems in *86 Loyal Poems* was reprinted from a broadside with the imprint 'for A.B.', one was 'printed for A. Banks', with whom Thompson had close links, and one broadside poem had the imprint 'for Alexander Banks'.⁵³⁸ A Banks's *The Humble Wishes of a Loyal Subject*, beginning 'May blood of innocents no more disgrace', printed in December 1681, interestingly enough contained the lines 'May Godfrey's murderers appear on stage, to pin the scene of this tumultuous age; may Hill and Green ne're cease in Heaven to pray, till we behold that happy welcome day ...'. This allusion to the innocence of Hill and Green, two Roman-Catholics who had been executed for murdering the protestant Justice of the Peace Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey in October 1678, anticipated Thompson's letters to Miles France, the publication of which led to his prosecution and punishment in 1682. If it was Nathaniel Thompson who printed and published this Banks pamphlet, he was more deeply involved in the campaign against the Godfrey murder verdict than he admitted during his trial for the letters to France in 1682.⁵³⁹

In May 1682 the Whig news-sheet *Democritus Ridens*, published by Francis Smith jr., quoted the poem *Poor Robin's Dream, or, The Visions of Hell*, beginning 'When the charming news had passed Charing Cross', which contained a similar allegation that the Popish Plot was a fabrication used for political purposes by the leaders of the Whig opposition. The plot witness William Bedloe was made to say to Dr Ezrael Tonge, who with Titus Oates had 'revealed' the plot: 'For Godfrey's death 't was thou persuadedst me to come in guilty; that black perjury doth gnaw my soul - I swore that of that murder I did know; a man that in my life I never saw, yet three men's lives I took by perjur'd law ... Toney and Godfrey's brother that contriv'd, to make the forged plot the more believe'd ...'. The poem was attributed to 'the Newgate Muses', the Roman Catholic priests imprisoned in Newgate, who were regularly accused by the Whig press of writing popish propaganda for Nathaniel Thompson, who was called their 'implement', their printer. Whether Thompson's claim that he published most of the poems reprinted in *86 Loyal Poems* also applies to this one cannot be proved with absolute certainty. The contents made it a dangerous thing for any printer or

publisher to own to. The pamphlet was published under what was probably a fake imprint 'printed by M.S., 1681'. Among the printers listed by Plomer for these years there is no one whose initials are M.S. With Thompson's claim in mind and in view of the fact that the contents of the poems agree with what obviously was Thompson's policy in these years, one is tempted to conjecture that when he printed the broadside Thompson used the initials of his apprentice Matthew Street to hide his identity.⁵⁴⁰

In the imprints on the broadside copies of the poems reprinted by Thompson in *86 Loyal Poems*, we find the names of the booksellers Joseph Hindmarsh, Richard Bentley, Charles Brome, Walter Davis, all of them booksellers for whom Thompson printed work in the course of his career, and the name of Charles Corbet, which also appeared in a number of ballad imprints. Twenty-six of the broadside-poems, all but one of the twenty dating back to the years 1679 and 1680, and seven of the forty poems belonging to the year 1681, were published anonymously, because it would have been too dangerous for Thompson and other publishers to put their names to their copies and it is not possible now to decide which of them Thompson was originally responsible for.

A *Collection of 86 Loyal Poems* differs from the ballad collections not only because Thompson reprints more poems referring to the years 1679 and 1680 than he did in his ballad collections, but also because in *86 Loyal Poems* he shows a much higher level of workmanship than in the ballad collections. Although occasionally a word or sometimes even a whole line is missing, and although there are always orthographic differences between the original and the reprint, Thompson on the whole followed his texts pretty closely. There are only a few instances of Thompson modifying the original text. He often expanded initials into full names. In the second line of the opening poem of the collection, 'As I was walking, reading in a book, of all the plots that Rome had undertook, methought I heard a sudden murmuring rout ...', he replaced the word 'Rome' of his own original broadside copy by 'hell', no doubt because in 1685 he no longer wanted to blame the Catholics in any way.⁵⁴¹

In A *Collection of 86 Loyal Poems* Thompson made some attempts at a logical arrangement: he printed the three poems by Richard Duke consecutively and did the same with the five poems attributed to Lord Arundell of Wardour, and the four ballads on the Popish Plot also printed in *180 Loyal Songs*. Although there is also a certain grouping according to subject, the collection as a whole fails to achieve order and unity.

One of the things that strikes the reader of Thompson's ballads and poems is that from time to time he inserted a few lines or even a stanza that emphasized his own role in the political battle of the 1680s. If one compares Matthew Taubman's *The Healths*, published in 1682 in *An Heroick Poem to His Royal Highness the Duke of York on His Return from Scotland*, with the expanded version printed as a broadside ballad for Allen Banks and reprinted by Thompson, one finds in one of the stanzas that were added 'Here's a health to L'Estrange & the boon

Heraclitus, and true Tory Thompson who never did slight us'.⁵⁴² In *The Hue and Song after Patience*, printed in the Year of the Saint's Tribulation, 1683, the fifth stanza contains the line 'For Pomfret he [i.e. Sir Patience Ward, ex-Lord Mayor] never must stand, nor warrants for Thompson send, for Titus o'th'perjured band'.⁵⁴³ In his poems on the dismissal of Sir William Waller as Justice of the Peace, *Dagon's Fall: or, The Knight Turn'd out of Commission*, published in April 1680, the author wrote 'Had but this buisie fool his late commission, this would have cost me a devout submission; I had been surely sent to gaol for treason as Thompson was, and had a greater reason'.⁵⁴⁴ In *Justice Tryumphant: An Excellent New Song in Commendation of Sir George Jeffries, Lord Chief Justice of England*, which was 'Sold at the Entrance into the Old-Spring Garden', stanza two reads 'He [Lord Jeffreys], with old Heraclitus, and Towzer, that does so bite us, and Thompson, with all who right us, were led about for a shew and burnt for papists, by atheists, who own'd no religion or law'.⁵⁴⁵ When Thompson was attacked in *A Letany from St. Omers*, 'From Observators that so bite us, From Thompson and Heraclitus who with their satyrs so benight us and with their libels so beshite us ...', the *Litany from Geneva*, in *Answer to that for St. Omers* came out anonymously, 'printed for the use of all true blue Brimighams', but in fact, no doubt, by Thompson, who retaliated with 'From Langley [Curtis], Dick [Janeway], Baldwin and all such as those, and from brawny Settle's poems in prose, Libera nos Domine'.⁵⁴⁶ So common are references like these to the Whig pamphleteers in Thompson's ballads and poems and in his *Domestick Intelligence*, that one feels tempted to regard the occurrence as internal evidence that helps to distinguish Thompson's work from that of his contemporaries.

A comparison of the list of Thompson's publications with the contents of his collections of ballads and poems, shows that he did not reprint all the ballads and poems he had published in the course of the years. In a few cases it is not difficult to guess his reasons: there are two ballads on the Duke of Monmouth in the list, one dating back to 1679, when he went in exile to The Netherlands, and one dated 1683.⁵⁴⁷ In 1684 and 1685, when Thompson published his collections, it was no longer opportune to print ballads in honour of the Duke of Monmouth. Other ballads and poems were no longer relevant, such as *An Elegy on the Most Accomplished Virgin Madam Elizabeth Hurne*, which Thompson published in 1683, and *An Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor Mr Charles Hart*.⁵⁴⁸ But there were among these ballads and poems many texts that would have fitted quite well in Thompson's collections: there was the *Ignoramus Ballad*, 'Let fourty-eight [sic] be now remembered', printed for Thompson in 1681 after Stephen College's conviction in Oxford, and *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Sir William Waller, who Valiantly Hang'd Himself at Rotterdam*, 'Rise grim Alexto, rise 't is fit to chuse ...', published on 21 August 1683, and accusing Waller of having heen the driving force behind Oates and Kirkby and the Popish Plot; the poem *An Elegy on the Death of Lord William Lord Russel, who was Beheaded for High-Treason in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, July the 21st*

1683, 'To sigh when rebels fall, or shed a tear ...'.⁵⁴⁹ Like the ballads of *120 Loyal Songs* which he failed to reprint in *180 Loyal Songs*, Thompson must have lost or overlooked these texts when he produced his collections.

Thompson's ballads and poems were devoted to the same cause to which he also devoted almost all his other publications, as well as his *Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*, and used the same arguments that were also used by Sir Roger L'Estrange, that the 'fanaticks', with religion and civil rights as pretexts, were in fact campaigning to abolish the monarchy and to establish a commonwealth in the same way in which their fathers had attempted to achieve such goals in the 1640s. In 1685, with the accession of king James II, the battle was won and Thompson stopped his activity as a party pamphleteer.

NATHANIEL THOMPSON'S PRINTING HOUSE AFTER 1685.

Between 1678 and 1685, Thompson owed most of the work he found for his presses to the political controversy in the Kingdom. After the accession of King James II, new opportunities presented themselves to Nathaniel Thompson and his wife Mary and gradually they moved into a new market.

Part of the work they had came, as before, from the London book-selling trade: Charles Mearne gave him Francis Chenau's *A French Grammar with Plain Rules; Useful Tables and the Best Observations of Monsieur de Vaugelas, One of the Reformers of the Said Tongue*. For the author Heinrich Offelen he printed a work in the same category, *A Double Grammar for Germans to Learn English and for Englishmen to Learn the German Tongue*, which was sold by Thompson, Nathaniel Ponder and Samuel Smith.⁵⁵⁰ Thompson's friend the astrologer John Gadbury employed him to print *A Reply to that Pernicious and Scandalous Libel ... in an Almanack, for the Year 1687 ... Writted [sic] by ... Jo. Part-ridge an English Renegado ...* and the Stationers' Company once more employed him, now to print John Gadbury's *Festum Festorum, or, A Discourse Touching the Holy Feast of Easter, Shewing How it May be Established for Ever*.⁵⁵¹ The fact that Thompson had musical type brought him *Comes Amoris, or, The Companion of Love: Being a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs now in Use*, printed for John Carr and Samuel Scott; in cooperation with John Crouch, Thompson published *The Compleat Dancingmaster, Containing Thirty Choice ... Dances with the Trebles and Basses Exactly Set to Every Tune*.⁵⁵² But Thompson's speciality from 1685 to the end of his life was Roman Catholic books. After Henry Hills, who became a Catholic during the reign of James II, and the Roman Catholic bookseller Matthew Turner, Thompson ranks foremost as a printer and publisher of Catholic books. He thus fulfilled the prophecies of his Whig opponents who, in the years of the great party struggle, had again and again accused Thompson of being a popish printer who would be rewarded for his services when the Duke of York became King of England. Whether the Roman Catholic patronage he enjoyed was actually a reward for earlier services it is impossible to establish, but the fact is that Thompson would probably have gone bankrupt without these Catholic books.

In the first year after King James's accession, most Catholic works were still published anonymously, without the printer's name and address. In 1686, the booksellers found it possible to publish Roman Catholic books under their own imprints and most of the Catholic books brought out in that year were printed by and for Henry Hills, often in cooperation with Matthew Turner.⁵⁵³

The first indication that Nathaniel Thompson was concerned with Catholic books comes in connection with *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented, or, A Twofold Character of Popery ...*, by J.L., a pseudonym of John Gother, a converted Protestant who had been ordained a

priest at the English College in Lisbon. Gother's book was the beginning of a long-drawn-out controversy between him and a number of Anglican divines, such as Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Williams and others, who wrote answers to the book. Thompson offered Gother's book for sale at his shop at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, as appears from a number of lists of 'Books printed and Sold by Nathaniel Thompson' which he appended to works from his presses.⁵⁵⁴ That Thompson had set up shop as a bookseller is clear from the fact that next to the customary imprint 'printed by N. Thompson', the imprint 'for N. Thompson' regularly occurs as well, and one of the lists of book advertisements is even headed 'Books printed for Nathaniel Thompson', rather than the usual 'Books printed and sold by Nathaniel Thompson'.⁵⁵⁵ Whether Thompson also printed part of *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented* is not clear: on 10 December 1685 four reams of the first sheet of the book were seized at the house of James Rawlins in Little Carter Lane and four days later the Bishop of London ordered the Stationers' Company to damask the book. Rawlins had served his apprenticeship with Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson, from 2 May 1670 until 30 July 1677. The book was also advertised by the bookseller Matthew Turner, at the Lamb in High Holbourn: so obviously there was a certain degree of cooperation between the men who sold Roman Catholic books.⁵⁵⁶

In the same year 1685, Thompson also advertised *A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book of Religion and Worship from the Exceptions of a Nameless Author*. This book was published with the well-known imprint 'for A. Banks', and is attributed to the Quaker William Penn; the titlepage states that it was 'by the Pennsylvanian' and the preface is signed 'W.P.'. The Duke of Buckingham's 'Book of religion and worship' is *A Short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Men's Having a Religion or Worship of God* and the 'exceptions of a nameless author' had been expressed in *A Short Answer to His Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Paper on the Reasonableness of Men's Having a Religion* Penn's work, although not Catholic, was said to have been welcome to King James, who praised it because it advocated what James had made into the primary objective of all his policies, the granting of toleration to all those who could not bring themselves to conform to the Church of England.⁵⁵⁷

For 1686 there is only one work listed by Morrison as printed for Nathaniel Thompson, *The Judgement of the Court of King's Bench ... against Miles Prance, for his Horrid Perjury in the Evidence he Gave at the Tryals of Green, Berry and Hill, relating to the Death of Sir Edmund-Bury-Godfrey* ..., a pamphlet that must have been particularly attractive for Thompson to publish, since Prance's conviction meant that Thompson's punishment for the letters to Miles Prance in 1682 had been unwarranted.⁵⁵⁸ From Thompson's advertisements, however, we know that he printed and sold Roman Catholic books in 1686. Two of these, *An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments and Ceremonies which the Church Uses at Mass* ... and *The Succession of the Church, and Sacraments, ... Cleared, and Stated according to the Antient Doctrine of the Greek and*

Latine Fathers..., had the imprint 'for N.T. 1686', while *A Brief Explanation of the Several Mysteries of the Holy Mass and of the Actions of the Priest Celebrating ...*, 'by T.G. hertofore fellow of New College in Oxon, deceased', was 'printed by N. Thompson for the brother of the said T.G.'.⁵⁵⁹ In the last two of these works, Nathaniel Thompson advertised *A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass with Profit and Devotion* ... and the popular devotional work *A Manual of Devout Prayers Fitted for All Persons and Occasions*, two other editions of which were printed by Nathaniel Thompson in 1687 and one by his wife Mary in 1688.⁵⁶⁰ The list also mentioned *Of Confession to a Lawful Priest* by Peter Manby, the recently converted Roman Catholic Dean of Londonderry, for whom Thompson was to print other work in 1687 and Henry Turberville's *A Manual of Controversies: Clearly Demonstrating the Truth of the Catholick Religion*, a reprint of Turberville's work that was first published at Douay in 1658.⁵⁶¹ The 1686 edition of Turberville's *Manual of Controversies* was printed 'for Matthew Turner', and the fact that Thompson included it in his list of books 'printed for N. Thompson', once more points to cooperation between the two men, which probably means that Thompson printed for Turner.

By 1687 Nathaniel Thompson had established himself as a printer and publisher of Catholic works, for in that year his name appeared on more works than ever before in his career as printer and bookseller. The religious books published by Thompson in 1687 can be grouped under three headings: there were a few devotional books, such as the *Manual of Devout Prayers* mentioned above, *A Method of Saying the Rosary of our Blessed Lady in Latine and English* and *A Most Devout Prayer unto the Glorious Virgin*. The last two were often bound with the *Manual*.⁵⁶² The second group consists of a number of sermons preached in the presence of the King and Queen. Thompson printed sermons by the secular priest Thomas Codrington, the Benedictine monk William Marsh, the Franciscans Nicolas Cross and John Moor [alias Cross], and the Jesuit John Huddleston [alias Dormer].⁵⁶³ The third group consists of apologetic and controversial works: King James II was convinced that 'converts would flock to the Church once they could see Catholicism as it really was' and no doubt he encouraged the Catholics in their attempts to demonstrate that it was the Catholic Church that had preserved the ancient Christian tradition,⁵⁶⁴ and that it had nothing of the idolatrous bigoted sect that it was believed to be by their Protestant opponents. In this campaign, Nathaniel Thompson published Christopher Milton's *The State of Church Affairs in this Island of Great Britain under the Government of the Romans and British Kings*, a history of the first 600 years of the Christian Church. Milton concluded his description of the primitive English Church with: 'Thus stood the State of Christianity in this Island under the Government of the Romans and the British King: In what a different state it is now, may easily be discerned by the judicious reader'. When the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr William Sherlock published *A Brief Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church* ..., attacking Catholic doctrine, N. Thompson was employed to print *The Use and Great Moment of the Notes of the Church, as Deliver-*

ed by C. Bellarmine De Notis Eccl. Justified. In Answer to a Late Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church and he published it 'with allowance' indicating that the work had official sanction.⁵⁶⁵ In 1687 he also printed and published a translation of King Henry VIII's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: or, An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther*, which his wife reprinted in 1688.⁵⁶⁶ On 29 September 1687 a conference took place at Long Acre between the rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, the well-known Dr. Thomas Tenison, and the Jesuit father Andrew Pulton, who had been summoned from Liège to become a master at the newly opened Jesuit College in the Savoy. The conference led to a pamphlet controversy between father Pulton and his confrère Edward Meredith on the part of the Roman Catholics, and Dr. Tenison, and A. Cressener, the schoolmaster of Long Acre, for the Church of England. Thompson was Pulton's printer and published *A True and Full Account of a Conference Held about Religion between Dr. Tho. Tenison and A. Pulton, One of the Masters in the Savoy*, and his *Remarks of A. Pulton, Master in the Savoy upon Dr. Tenison's Late Narrative; with a Confutation of the Doctor's Rule of Faith: and a Reply to A. Cressner's Pretended Vindication*. There is every reason to assume that it was Thompson who printed Andrew Pulton's *A Full and Clear Exposition of the Protestant Rule of Faith*, in 1687, since it was reprinted in 1688 by Nathaniel's widow, Mary, who also printed *Some Reflections upon the Author and Licensor of a Scandalous Pamphlet; Called, the Missioner's Art*.⁵⁶⁷ In 1687 Thompson also printed two more works by Peter Manby. One of these, *A Reformed Catechism, in Two Dialogues, concerning the English Reformation*, was printed in Dublin by Joseph Ray in 1687 and published at the same time in London 'by Nathaniel Thompson'. Thompson's edition proves to be that printed by Joseph Ray with a variant imprint, and this shows that Thompson must have been in close communication with Ray. Thomas Ward's translation of some Latin queries in Manby's *The Considerations which Obliged Peter Manby ... to Embrace the Catholique Religion* were published by Thompson, as well as Ward's account of a conference with Dr. Thomas Tenison, *Monomachia: or, A Duel between Dr. Thomas Tenison and a Roman Catholique Soldier*.⁵⁶⁸

King James, who had been granting dispensations from the Test Acts and the Penal Laws, issued a Declaration of Indulgence on 4 April 1687. There was considerable opposition to this proclamation, expressed in a number of pamphlets urging the Dissenters to reject the King's measure. One of these, *A Letter to a Dissenter upon Occasion of His Majesties Late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence* by the Marquis of Halifax was answered by Henry Payne's *An Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet, Entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter ...*, which was published by Thompson. Payne wrote 'I am one of those Dissenters who would be glad His Majesties favour was turned into law, since there is no probability any future conduct of Catholics could meet with the circumstances to cause new statutes to be made against them, like those the doubtful title of Queen Elizabeth occasioned'. The anonymous pamphlet *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty* was published by Thompson in the same campaign. It was answered by *A Reply to the New Test ...*, one edition

of which was strangely enough said to be 'printed for J.D., Assignee of N.T., 1687'.⁵⁶⁹ Three of the works advertised by Thompson seem to be no longer extant. In *An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments ...*, printed for N. Thompson 1686, which is bound in the volume entitled *A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass ...*, Thompson advertises *A Short Catechism by Way of Question and Answer: the Answers of which are Taken from the Express Words of Scripture; with some Plain Inferences Arising from the Said Texts concerning Succession and the Blessed Sacrament*, and Peter Manby's *A Discourse of Confession to a Lawful Priest, wherein is Treated of the Last Judgement*.⁵⁷⁰ In *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* he announced that he had for sale *A Dialogue between Jack Presbyter and his Master concerning Popery*. The same list also mentions *Indulgences and Privileges Granted to the Sodality of our most Sovereign and Immaculate Lady of the Rosary ...* and *A Summary Relation of the Holy Congregation of our B. Lady of Succour ...*, two Roman Catholic works, sold by Thompson in 1687. The extant copies of these works are dated 1670 and 1672 respectively, and if Thompson's advertisement does not refer to these editions, he must have had reprints for sale which have not been preserved.⁵⁷¹

Of Thompson's private life in these years we have only a few glimpses. We know that when the livery of the Stationers' Company was reconstituted after the accession of King James II, Thompson's name did not occur in the lists of liverymen drawn up on 7 and 12 May 1685. Even the list of 3 August of the same year, when 'all persons that belonged to the livery and that have shown themselves loyal' were readmitted, does not include Thompson's name. Yet he must have been readmitted, for two years later, when King James, in an attempt to placate the opposition, removed a number of liverymen and restored those who had previously been removed, Thompson was one of the liverymen who was struck off the list.⁵⁷² The Company records also register Thompson's refusal to present William Newbolt, an apprentice who had run away from him on 1 September 1684, for the freedom of the Company. In spite of an order by the Company officials on 7 February 1687 for Thompson to appear, he did not appear and on 7 March Newbolt was admitted to the freedom without his master's presence.⁵⁷³

Thompson's financial position at the time does not seem to have been too good. In spite of the fact that he had three presses, and had so many books and pamphlets to his name, more than many of his colleagues, he seems to have been unable to repay his debt to John Leigh, to whom he had mortgaged his share in the English Stock on 5 September 1682. In 1684 and 1685 John Leigh collected Thompson's Stock dividend and in 1686 Adiel Mill did the same on behalf of John Leigh's widow.⁵⁷⁴ Thompson was also recorded as being in arrears to the amount of twelve shillings over the poor rates of his parish, St. Martin's in the Fields, where he was rated at one pound twelve shillings.⁵⁷⁵ However precarious his financial situation may have been, he nevertheless showed great caution when asked to accept unlicensed work: On 3 September 1686, Alexander Pierce wrote to the Duke of Ormond's secretary that Thompson refused to complete the printing of a book by David Fitzgerald that

'reflected much on his Grace the Duke of Ormond', unless Fitzgerald brought 'some person of qualitys letter to him'. He also refused to return the manuscript if Fitzgerald did not return the one sheet that he had already printed.⁵⁷⁶ The only other record of Thompson in 1686 is a note by Luttrell showing that Nathaniel Thompson and William Paine brought an action in the Court of Common Pleas against Mr. Sergeant Pemberton for false imprisonment in 1682, when they had been convicted of writing and publishing the letters or Miles Prance, but the outcome of the action is unknown.⁵⁷⁷

Occasionally Thompson's books give us a glimpse of the printer: in 1687, John Gadbury felt it necessary to explain to the readers of his *Festum Festorum* ... 'its being printed with Red Letters ...'. After telling them that 'it was no spurious conceit ... but as I discourse of the most holy of Christian feasts, so I had desire it should be printed somewhat semblable to the holy rubrick', he adduces a second reason that must have come from his friend Nathaniel Thompson: 'I was willing to advance the honour of the English imprinary and to shew the learned of our Christian Church and nation that Common Prayer books, missals, breviaries, manuals etc. may be as gracefully printed in England as in any other part of the world'.⁵⁷⁸ The preface to Thomas Ward's *Mono-machia* ... states that 'The sickness and death of the Printer (Mr N.T.), while this treatise was in the press, was the cause of its lying some days longer unpublished than was expected. In the meantime while Dr. T[enison] having got an account of it (I suppose by some loose papers accidentally lost) made all possible hast to fit out an answer ...'.⁵⁷⁹ Nathaniel Thompson died at the end of November 1687. Narcissus Luttrell noted 'Nat. Thompson, the popish printer, is lately dead'. He was buried on 26 November in the churchyard of St. Martin's in the Fields.⁵⁸⁰

Before he died he had made a will which was proved on 9 April 1688, but which, unfortunately, contains much less information than one would have hoped. From it we learn that Nathaniel Thompson left one daughter, Margaret, and a stepdaughter, Mary Daniel. He had a brother, Charles, and three sisters, Margaret Duncombe, Mary Oakley and Rebecca Thompson. In his will he also remembers his friends, the bookseller William Cooper, the astrologer John Gadbury and the innkeeper Francis Suckley. The will was signed by Thompson's ex-apprentice John Mayos and two servants, Benjamin Underwood and John Moreley. With the exception of gifts to his relatives and friends, Nathaniel Thompson left all his property to his wife Mary, who he appointed as his sole executrix.⁵⁸¹ A month before the will was proved, Mrs. Suzanna Leigh appealed to the Court of the Stationers' Company and presented proof that in 1682 Thompson had mortgaged his yeomanry share in the English Stock to her husband, implying that the debt had not been repaid. Her complaint was clearly due to the fact that, unlike in the three previous years, in 1687 the treasurer of the English Stock had failed to pay Thompson's dividend to his creditors. The dividend was collected, as the dividend book shows, by Thompson's friend William Cooper, who was the treasurer of the Stock and he probably collected the dividend on behalf of Thomp-

son's widow Mary. The Court of the Company instructed the treasurer to take notice of Suzanna Leigh's complaint, meaning, no doubt, that in 1688 he was to pay the dividend to her. Mary Thompson must, however, have been able to settle her account before that date, for there is no evidence of any further claims by Suzanna Leigh or her representatives.⁵⁸²

After her husband's death, Mary Thompson continued the printing business alone. She printed seventeen titles in 1688, four of which were poems in celebration of the birth of the King's son on 10 July, while all the others were Roman Catholic controversial works. Mary Thompson in fact continued the line of her deceased husband, printing for the same authors for which he had worked. In 1688 the Stationers' Company ordered her to lay down the trade of printing and this order explains the absence of Mary Thompson imprints after that year.⁵⁸³ Like her husband, however, Mary disobeyed the Company orders and secretly printed, in 1689, *A Letter from an Absent Lord to One of his Friends in the Convention*, dated 20 April 1689. The author of the pamphlet, an opponent of the new King, William III, criticized the proceedings at the Convention and claimed that he had decided not to attend, because he suspected that the Lords had only been summoned 'for forms sake and nothing was feared more than a full House of Lords ... if we all had come up, you would not have been able to carry everything according to the pleasure of your new King ...', whose proposals, he said, were extravagant and contrary to the good of the nation. He also reflected on the peers who did attend, saying that it was understandable that those who were the first of their families to have a title wanted 'to give full swing to their new honours', and that those who attended because of 'the uneasiness of their condition' might also be excused, but that he could not understand why the others 'appeared to become slaves to the Prince of Orange'. The author, a member of the Church of England, as he expressly stated, then went on to write in defence of King James's policies.⁵⁸⁴ A Jacobite pamphlet like this was of course not tolerated, and on 24 April 1689 a warrant was issued for Mary Thompson's arrest, for employing 'several persons to print seditious libels against the King and Government'. She was indicted at the Quarter Sessions for the County of Middlesex in the summer, and was outlawed. The proceedings against her were stayed, however, as appears from a warrant by Sir George Treby dated 8 December 1689.⁵⁸⁵

In spite of the fact that Mary Thompson was ordered to stop printing in 1688, she continued to exercise the rights of a freeman printer, which she had inherited from her husband. In 1694 and 1698 Mary Thompson had the apprentices James Bostock and William Wise bound to her.⁵⁸⁶ She also continued to receive the dividends of the English Stock until December 1696. The dividend books show that she mortgaged her share to 'Mr Lilly and Mr White', for on 9 October 1693 six of the ten pounds of her dividend, and in 1694 and 1696 all of the dividend was paid to Lilly and White.⁵⁸⁷ The dividend book also provides a clue about Mary Thompson's successor. Although in the 1690s Mary Thompson was still the nominal proprietor of the printing house, by 1695 her son-in-law

David Edwards had in fact taken her place. It was David Edwards who in December 1695, after the sum of two pounds and eighteen shillings had been paid to John Heptinstall, collected the rest of Mary Thompson's dividend and signed the dividend book 'Recd the remainder for my mother, David Edwards'.⁵⁸⁸ The conclusion can only be that Edwards, who had served his apprenticeship with Thomas Braddyl and had become a freeman on 6 April 1691, had married one of Nathaniel Thompson's daughters and had taken over the printing house in the same way in which Thompson had taken over from Thomas Ratcliffe in the 1670s. When exactly David Edwards joined Mary Thompson's printing house it is impossible to say but perhaps the fact that the Lambeth Palace copy of *A Manual of Prayers and Other Christian Devotions*, published under the imprint 'Paris, Printed in the Year 1692', has the words 'David Edwards ye printer' on the first flyleaf, is an indication that he joined the Thompson printing house, where four other editions of the *Manual* had been printed, as early as 1692.⁵⁸⁹ David Edwards printed Roman Catholic works, like Nathaniel and Mary Thompson: in 1695 he published *A Sermon Preached upon the Feast of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist*, and in 1696 the treatise *Usury Explain'd, or, Conscience Quietened in the Case of Putting out Money at Interest* by Philopenes, a pseudonym of the Jesuit John Huddleston, alias Dormer, for whom Nathaniel and Mary Thompson had printed at least six other works.⁵⁹⁰ History repeated itself when David Edwards, who had moved back to Fetter Lane, was prosecuted by Thompson's old enemy Robert Stephens, who on 14 October 1694 obtained a warrant to arrest him for treasonable practices. On 27 July 1695, Stephen's successor John Gellibrand was ordered to arrest him for printing and publishing seditious pamphlets against the government⁵⁹¹ and in the summer of 1696 he clashed with the Stationers' Company, which started legal proceedings against him, together with a William Spiller and the bookbinder Thomas Norris. They had, according to the complaint of the Stationers' Company, printed, bought, imported and sold primers, psalters, psalms, almanacks and prognostications without licence and had done this in such deep secrecy that 'the Company cannot obtain sufficient proof to maintain an action against them'.⁵⁹² The defendants claimed that 'as stationers they may print and sell the books within the words of the patent' and they denied 'all manner of unlawful combination and confederacy' with which the Company charged them. They accused the Stationers' Company in their turn of appropriating the disputed titles to themselves and claimed that the 'poorer sort of tradesmen have as much right as the best of them to the said copies'. Edwards confessed that he had printed 'twenty gross of black primers and twenty gross of white primers' for Spiller, who, he maintained, was 'employed or hired by the Company or some of them to bespeak the said black and white primers on purpose to put the defendant to trouble and charge because some of the company have for years had 'hatred and spleen' against this defendant'. He denied having printed any psalters, psalms, almanacks, prognostications, or any other company copies. The issue of the action is not recorded in the documents but the case against David Edwards was no doubt the reason why on 5 July the Com-

pany ordered Mary Thompson to surrender her £80 share in the English Stock, which they then gave to Abel Roper.⁵⁹³ Mary Thompson died about eighteen months later and was buried on 2 January 1701 from David Edwards's house in Nevill's Alley, Fetter Lane.⁵⁹⁴ David Edwards and his wife, Nathaniel Thompson's stepdaughter Mary Daniel, continued much in the same way as the Thompsons had done, printing books and pamphlets, the periodical *The Postboy*, and getting themselves into trouble with the authorities at least as often as their parents had done before them.⁵⁹⁵

Abbreviations.

BL	British Library.
Bowler	H. Bowler (ed.), <i>London Sessions Records 1605-1685</i> , London 1934.
CI	<i>The Currant Intelligence...</i> , published by J. Smith, 1680-1.
CJ	<i>Journals of the House of Commons.</i>
Clancy	<i>English Catholic Books 1641-1700. A Bibliography</i> , Chicago 1974.
CSPD	<i>Calendars of State Papers. Domestic.</i>
Dem. Rid.	<i>Democritus Ridens</i> , published by F. Smith, 1681.
DI	<i>The Domestick Intelligence</i> , published by T. Benskins, 1681-2.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
Examen	R. North, <i>Examen, or an Inquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a Pretended Complete History</i> , London 1740.
Gillow	J. Gillow, <i>A Literary and Biographical History or Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Day</i> , London and New York, 1885-1902.
HMC	Publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
IEA	W.H. Hart, <i>Index Expurgatorius Anglicanus, or a Descriptive Catalogue of Books, Printed and Published in England, which have been Suppressed or Burned by the Common Hangman</i> , London 1872-84.
IPM	<i>The Impartial Protestant Mecury</i> , published by R. Janeway, 1681-2.
Kitchin	G. Kitchin, Sir Roger L'Estrange, <i>A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century</i> , London 1913 (reprinted New York 1971).
LJ	<i>Journals of the House of Lords.</i>
LPTDI	<i>The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence</i> , published by N. Thompson, 1681-3.
Luttrell, BR	N. Luttrell, <i>A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714</i> , Oxford 1857.

- MA *Mercurius Anglicus*, published by R. Harford, 1679-80.
Mercurius Anglicus, published by R. Baldwin, 1681.
- McKenzie D.F. McKenzie (ed.), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640, 1641-1700, 1700-1800*, Charlottesville, Oxford 1961-78.
- Merc. Libr. *Mercurius Librarius*, 1680.
- NCBEL *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (ed. G. Watson), Cambridge 1971.
- NUC *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, London and Chicago 1968-81.
- PC *The Protestant Courant*, published by R. Baldwin, 1682.
- PD1 *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, published by B. Harris, 1679-81.
- Plomer H. Plomer (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667; from 1668-1725*, London 1907-1922.
- POAS Ford, G. deF. (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, New Haven and London 1963-75.
- PRO Public Record Office.
- Prot.Observ. *The Protestant Observer*, published by J. Low, 1681.
- TC E. Arber (ed.), *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, London 1903-6.
- TDI *The True Domestick Intelligence*, published by N. Thompson, 1679-80.
- TPM *The True Protestant Mercury*, published by L. Curtis, 1680-2.
- Warner J. Warner, *The History of Persecution of English Catholics and The Presbyterian Plot* (ed. T.A. Birrell), Leeds 1953-5.
- Wing D.G. Wing, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Ireland, Wales and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries*, New York 1945-51; (): 2nd ed., New York 1972-82.

1. For the role of the coffeehouses, see B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee-houses. A Reference Book of Coffeehouses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, London 1963, p. 17; E.F. Robinson, *The Early History of Coffeehouses in England*, London 1893, p. 141; A.G. Smith, 'London and the Crown, 1681-1685', (unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of Wisconsin 1967, p. 75; J. Williams, 'The London Coffeehouses and their Literary Associations, down to the Death of Anne', (unpublished thesis, B. Litt.), Oxford University 1936, p. 101, 133; *Examen*, p. 138; *The Character of a Coffee-House with the Symptoms of a Town Wit*, London 1673.
2. For Sir Roger L'Estrange, see G. Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange, A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century*, London 1913; T.C. Faulkner, 'A Selected Edition of Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Observator*', (unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of Wisconsin 1972.
3. L. Rostenberg, 'The Catholic Reaction: Nathaniel Thompson, "Protector of the Faith"', *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious and Legal Publishing, Printing and Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies*, New York 1965, vol. 2, p. 315-343; J.B. Williams, 'Nathaniel Thompson and the "Popish Plot"', *The Month*, 138 (1921), p. 31-37.
4. For William Bladen, see Plomer, 1641-1667; M. Pollard, 'Control of the Press in Ireland through the King's Printer's Patent, 1600-1800', *Irish Booklore*, 4 (1980 [i.e. 1981]), p. 79-95.
5. Wing A 2705; C 4440; see E.R. Dix, *A Catalogue of Early Dublin Printed Books, 1601-1700*, London 1898-1905, part 3, p. 127, 130. For Francis Clarke of Clerke, see *DNB*; A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, edited by P. Bliss, London 1813-1820, vol. 1, col. 657.
6. Wing T 612; E.R. Dix, part 3, p. 131. For Dr Faithful Teate, see E. Calamy, *The Nonconformists' Memorial*, edited by S. Parker, London 1802-3, vol. 2, p. 282.
7. *IPM*, no. 101, 11 April 1682.
8. *PRO*, *SP. Dom.* 29/243/181.
9. For William Godbid, see Plomer, 1641-1667; E.B. Murry, 'Notes on the Printers and Publishers of English Song-Books 1651-1702', in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Transactions*, vol. 1, part 3 (Session 1937-8), Edinburgh 1938, p. 254.
10. McKenzie, 1641-1700, states that Thompson was free by redemption but it appears from the Wastebook 1668-1674 at Stationers' Hall, London, that he was 'servt. to William Bladen, ffynd 20s for being bound by

a fforeigne indenture; and then sworne and admitted'.

11. Stationers' Hall, London, Company Dividend Books.
12. McKenzie, 1641-1700. Ratcliffe's age can be calculated because in a petition to the vestry of St Bennet's on 1 December 1659, in which he requested to be excused from service as a vestryman, he stated that he was 'above threescore years': Guildhall Library, MS 877, I.
13. P.G. Morrison, *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers Listed in Donald Wing's Short Title Catalogue*, Charlottesville Virg. 1955.
14. Morrison does not list any Ratcliffe-Mottershead imprints after 1658, but in his petition to the vestry of St Bennet's, Ratcliffe stated that he was 'partner with one Mr Edw. Mottershed printer'.
15. McKenzie, 1641-1700.
16. Morrison lists Thomas Ratcliffe-Thomas Daniel imprints for the years 1667-1671. The 1671 imprint comes on William Andrews's *Coelestes Observationes*, an almanac printed for the Company of Stationers. The printing was certainly completed in 1670. Wing A 1252.
17. On 24 December 1676 Mary collected her father's English Stock dividend, and signed the Dividend Book, in a very shaky hand, 'M.T.', to which signature the treasurer added the explanatory note 'Mrs Mary Thompson's mark'. In all, there are eleven books with the imprint 'by Thomas Ratcliffe and Mary Daniel', or 'by T.R. and M.D.'. For the English Stock, see C. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company A History, 1403-1859*, London 1960, p. 92-105; 131-2; C. Blagden, 'The English Stock of the Stationers' Company in the Time of the Stuarts', in *The Library*, 5th series, 12 (1957), p. 167-186.
18. See N. Thompson's will, page 108.
19. *Trincalo Sainted*, Wing T 2282; the fake imprint 'for J.B.' referred to Joanna Brome, Sir Roger L'Estrange's publisher.
20. See note 12.
21. HMC, 11th Report, Appendix, Part 2, p. 56: LJ, XIII, 343, 369.
22. Burial Registers St Bennet's in *Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers*, vol. 41, edited by W.A. Littleddale, London 1912, p. 69.
23. OED.
24. CSPD, 29 July 1668. Among Thomas Ratcliffe's workmen was Thomas

Daniel's former master, Thomas Childe, who had been ruined by the Great Fire of 1666. See 'A List of the Several Printing Houses Taken the 24th of July 1668', quoted in Kitchin, p. 178.

25. McKenzie, 1641-1700. Thomas Daniel's brother Robert was apprenticed to Ratcliffe on 2 July 1667.
26. For Humphrey Robinson, Octavian Pulleyn and Andrew Crooke, see Plomer, 1641-1667; McKenzie, 1701-1800, Appendix I, p. 397f.
27. Another famous name among the authors is that of the Puritan pamphleteer William Prynne, six of whose works were printed by Ratcliffe between 1664 and 1670.
28. In 1659 Ratcliffe printed twelve sermons by Reynolds for Thomason. Thomason's collection of pamphlets: *A Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Restoration Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661*, edited by G.K. Fortescue, London 1908.
29. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook D, 16 September 1668.
30. Stationers' Hall, Dividend Book, Christmas 1673 - October 1693; December 1667, 1668; Wastebook 1668-1674, 5 June 1671.
31. Stationers' Hall, Wastebook 1668-1674, 3 and 4 August 1671.
32. Stationers' Hall, Wastebook 1668-1674, 6 June 1670. Michael Dalton, *Officium Vicecomitum*: Wing lists four editions, for 1662, 1670, 1682 and 1700, D 151-4. William Sheppard's name was used because Sheppard was the author of legal books as well as Dalton; see *The Whole Office of the Country Justice of the Peace*, Wing S 3216A, S 3217-9.
33. Richard Drake, *A Manual of the Private Devotions ... of ... Lancelot Andrews*, London 1674, Wing A 3137.
34. Nathaniel Ponder and Francis Smith: see Plomer, 1641-67; Plomer, 1668-1725. For Ponder, Ratcliffe and Thompson printed Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart, *The Reasonableness of Scripture-belief*, 1672, Wing W 3313, and Henry D'Anvers, *Theopolis, or, The City of God*, 1672, Wing D 231. For Francis Smith, who was to become one of Thompson's enemies in the 1680s, they printed Pierre Bertius, *The Life and Death of James Arminius and Simon Episcopus*, London 1672, Wing B 2048.
35. *A Relation of the Fearful Estate*, anr. ed., 1672, Wing B 360. There are seventeen editions of this work between 1649 and 1700.

The bookseller Edward Thomas obtained the copyright to the work on 15 October 1667 from the executors of Andrew Kemble, and entered it in the Company Registers on 4 April 1676. The same work was entered on 7 March 1683 by the Anabaptist bookseller Benjamin Harris. Nathaniel Bacon to whom the work is attributed is Nathaniel Bacon the Puritan, not the Jesuit, see *DNB*, Clancy 1162X.

36. *Janus Alexandrus Ferrarius ... His Epistles ...*, 1673, Wing F 73, TC I, 136.
37. *Jani Alexandri Ferrarii ... Euclides Catholicus*, 1673, Wing F 74, TC I, 129. Janus Alexandrus Ferrarius is the pseudonym of Johann Ludwig Fabricius, 1632-1696; see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig 1877, vol 6.
38. For Moses Pitt, see Plomer, 1668-1725; *DNB*. *A Famous Conference*, 1674, Wing R 368, TC I, 164.
39. René Rapin, *Of Gardens*, 1672, Wing R 268 - 269A, TC I, 127; all these editions were printed by Thomas Ratcliffe and Nathaniel Thompson for Thomas Collins and Benjamin Tooke, or for Thomas Collins, John Ford and Benjamin Tooke. John Evelyn reported the translation by his son in his diary: *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E.S. de Beer, Oxford 1955, vol. 4, p. 1 + note, 1 January 1673. Nicolas de Bonnefons, *The French Gardiner*, the 'third' edition, 1675, Wing B 3602, TC I, 241. John Evelyn recorded the translation in his diary, vol. 3, p. 225 + note, 5 December 1658. John Rose, *The English Vineyard Vindicated*, anr. ed., 1675, Wing R 1938.
40. Thompson's will see page 108. For William Cooper, see Plomer, 1668-1725.
41. *The Philosophical Epitaph*, 1673, Wing C 6062, TC I, 117. William Simpson M.D., *Zymologia Physica*, 1675, Wing S 3840, TC I, 218. Ripley Reviv'd, 1678, Wing S 5286, TC I, 333. Wing names George Starkey as the author, *DNB* mentions George Ripley, and the *Term Catalogues* attribute it to Eirenaeus Philaetes, Citizen of the World.
42. N. Lee, *The Tragedy of Nero*, 1675, Wing L 883, TC I, 221. For James Magnes and Richard Bentley, see Plomer, 1668-1725.
43. Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 1676, Wing M 120, TC I, 246. That Mace stayed in London during the printing of the work appears from the preface: 'I have proved this out [i.e. the method of instruction] by several young ladies, and others in London, during the time of my attending the press, since I began to print; and two of these young ladies, before they had learned out their first month,

... were ... fully satisfied ...'. For Thomas Mace see DNB; S. Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London 1980; H. Watson, 'Thomas Mace: the Man, the Book and the Instruments', in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1908-9, p. 87-107. For 17th century music printing see D.W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, London 1975, p. 56, 110-11, 125.

44. *Tripla Concordia*, 1677, Wing T 2286A, TC I, 254. M. Locke, *The English Opera, or, The Vocal Musick in Psyche, with the Instrumental therein Intermixed, to which is Adjourned The Instrumental Musick in the Tempest*, 1675, Wing L 2770; Wing S 2842, Thomas Shadwell, *The English Opera* refers to the same work. For John Carr, see Plomer, 1668-1725; Murrie, 'English Songbooks, 1651-1702'.
45. For Thomas Grover's will see D.D. Evans, 'The Grovers, Letter Founders', in *The Library*, 5th series, 18 (1963), p. 61-63. £16 was more than enough to buy printer's tools: see S. Hodgson, 'Papers and Documents Recently Found at Stationers' Hall', in *The Library*, 4th series, 25 (1944), p. 27: Hodgson prints a document attached to the petition of the printers John Mayo, John Palmer and Symon Hinch, whose press had been seized with all the equipment belonging to it on 22 December 1685. The press had cost £9 according to the document, while for £12 12s all the other equipment had been bought.
46. CSPD, 9 August 1677. There is a list at Stationers' Hall, London, Box A6, of presses seized by the Company, one of which is 'another at Lambeth'. See p. 11.
47. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 112.
48. For William Andrews's, John Tanner's and John Goldsmith's almanacs, as well as for *The London Almanack*, see Wing, almanacs. See also E.F. Bosanquet, 'English Seventeenth Century Almanacs' in *The Library*, 4th series, 10 (1930), p. 361-397.
49. *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, 1673, Wing C 5517A, TC I, 156. For Comenius or Komensky, see T. Corcoran S.J., *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, Dublin, Belfast 1911.
50. See Wing almanacs.
51. See Bowler, p. 199-200. *Two Seasonable Discourses*, Wing S 2906, consisted of *The Debate or Arguments for Dissolving this Present Parliament, and the Calling Frequent and New Parliaments*. As they were *Delivered in the House of Lords*, Nov. the 20th 1675, and *A Letter from a Parliament-Man to his Friend, concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons this Last Sessions, Begun the 13th of October, 1675*, Wing S 2896. The pamphlets were attributed to the Earl of Shaftesbury. Wood writes 'tho' no name is set to them, yet

it was very well known to all that Shaftesbury wrote them'. *Athenae Oxoniensis*, vol. 4, p. 76. Cf. F. Madan, *Oxford Books, A Bibliography of Printed Books Relating to the University and City of Oxford or Printed or Published There*, Oxford, 1985-1931, vol. 3, no. 3054. See also *CSPD*, November 1675; 29 March 1676.

52. The following account of events in the spring of 1677 is based on *HMC, 9th Report, Appendix, Part 2*, p. 96f.
53. *A Reply upon a Sober and Compassionate Enquiry*: see *CSPD*, 30 January 1677; *PRO, Privy Council Registers*, 31 January 1677.
54. *CSPD*, 3 February 1677.
55. For an account of their tactics see K.H.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, Oxford 1968, p. 402f.
56. In his petition to the House of Lords on 9 March, Thompson expressly stated that he had been in prison since 31 January, because he had no security: *PRO, Privy Council Registers*, 9 March 1677.
57. In 1672 Thompson printed for Benjamin Southwood, John Horne, *A Comfortable Corroborative Cordial, or, A Sovereign Antidote against and Preservative from the Horrors and Harms of Death*, Wing H 2797.
58. For Thompson's information to L'Estrange see below.
59. Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 417.
60. *Some Considerations*, Wing H 2467; *The Long Parliament Dissolved*, Wing H 2463; *The Grand Question*, Wing (G 1508A); see also *CSPD*, 19 February, 22 March, 30 April 1679; 11 February 1680.
61. Attorney Joseph Brown was fined £1000 for 'publishing' *The Long Parliament Dissolved*: *IEA*, no. 242, p. 210; *Kitchin*, p. 214. On 22 December the House of Commons complained that 'the publishing this libel consisted only in superscribing a packet, with this inclosed to the East Indies. Which fine he being not able to pay, living upon his practice, he lay in prison for three years, till His Majesty graciously pardoned him; and recommended him to be restored to his place again of attorney, by his warrant dated the fifteenth of December one thousand six hundred and seventy nine; notwithstanding which he has not yet obtained the said restoration from the Court of King's Bench': *CJ*, 22 December 1680.
62. The 'English Massbook', which Thompson printed was probably J. Dymock, *The Great Sacrifice of the New Law, Expounded by the Figures of the Old*, Wing D 2972, Clancy 335, published anonymously with the date 1676. For J. Dymock see *DNB*; *Gillow*; see also *CSPD*, 21

July 1676, 4 August 1676, where it appears that the Roman Catholic booksellers Anthony Lawrence and James Thompson were involved with *The Great Sacrifice*.

63. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, 5 March 1677.
64. PRO, Privy Council Registers, 9 March 1677.
65. HMC, *9th Report*, Appendix, Part 2, p. 75f.; Kitchin, p. 209f.
66. Bowler, p. 200.
67. *Tripla Concordia*, see p. 7.
68. *A Commentary upon the Present Condition of the Kingdom*, Wing P 1268. The pamphlet is attributed to William Penn by S. Halkett and J. Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, edited by J. Kennedy, W.A. Smith and A.F. Robinson, Edinburgh, London 1926-34. See CSPD, 16 May 1677. PRO, PC 2/66/16.
69. George Carew, *Fraud and Oppression Detected and Arraigned*, Wing C 546. CSPD, 24 September 1677. The book was one of the many tracts written by George Carew, to draw attention to the case of the Courten and Pindar fortunes and the litigation for the recovery of part of the fortune. Part of the litigation was directed against the Dutch East India Company to obtain compensation for two ships, seized by the Dutch. See DNB, Sir William Courten; Sir Paul Pindar.
70. Charles Blount, *Anima Mundi*, Wing B 3297; anr. ed., printed for W. Cademan, 1679, Wing B 3298; anr. ed., printed, 1679, Wing B 3299. The bishop of London's order to burn the book is dated 26 November 1677; it is recorded in Courtbook E, 3 December 1677. The book had been seized by the wardens of the Company.
71. C. Blount, *Janua Scientiarum*, 1684. Wing B 3306; Henry Keepe, *The Genealogies of the High-born Prince & Princess George and Anne of Denmark*, 1684. Wing K 124A. In these two works Thompson printed a list of 'Books printed and sold by N. Thompson ...', with advertisements for *Anima Mundi*. A.T. Hazen, in 'One Meaning of the Imprint' in *The Library*, 5th series, 6 (1951-52), p. 120f., says, 'when a bookseller lists at the end of a volume other "Books printed and sold by" himself, he only means that these books are for sale by him'. This interpretation no doubt holds good where book-sellers are concerned. In Thompson's list in *Janua Scientiarum*, more than half of the books advertised were books that carried his imprint, and therefore he may well be not only the bookseller, but also the printer of Charles Blount's *Anima Mundi*.
72. *The Two First Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Apol-*

Lonius Tyaneus, 1680, Wing P 2132. In spite of Wing's imprint 'for' Nathaniel Thompson, the book was printed 'by Nathaniel Thompson'. *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, Wing B 3300f, for which the Whig bookseller Benjamin Harris was tried and convicted on 5 February 1680, was nevertheless blamed on Thompson by the Whig journalists and booksellers, who maintained that Thompson had printed the quarto edition of the pamphlet that came out in 1679, before Harris's folio edition: *IPM*, no. 154, 28 June 1680; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 36; *CSPD*, 22 May 1680; *An Account of the Proceedings against Nathaniel Thompson upon his Tryal at the King's Bench Bar Westminster*, for A. Banks, 1684, Wing A 349. Thompson's wife Mary was actually arrested for selling *The Appeal*, but clearly the government preferred to prosecute and punish Benjamin Harris with whom they had an account to settle because he was the publisher of the Whig news sheet *Domestick Intelligence*. See T. Crist, 'Government Control of the Press after the Expiration of the Printing Act of 1679', in *Publishing History*, 5 (1959), p. 55. See also *Notes and Queries*, 163 (1932), p. 131f. Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Tory propagandist, maintained that not Thompson, but Langley Curtis was the first publisher of *The Appeal: The Observer*, no. 156, 17 June 1682; no. 161, 29 June 1682.

73. For Seymour's charge against Samuel Mearne and others see *HMC, 9th Report*, Part 2, Appendix, p. 75f.;; Kitchin, p. 205. Thompson's infringement of Company rights: Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, 10 September 1677.
74. *CJ*, 8 March 1677/8; see also K. Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714*, Oxford 1924, p. 168. D. Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2nd ed., London 1956, p. 436.
75. Thompson and his wife were assessed at two shillings, plus one shilling for each of their three children and four apprentices, and ten shillings charged upon their rent of £30 a year. Guildhall, London, Corporation of London Record Office, Polltax 1678.
76. McKenzie, 1641-1700; Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 123, 175.
77. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, 1 July 1678.
78. Stationers' Hall, Box A4.
79. For the Popish Plot see J. Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, Cambridge 1944; J. Lane, *Titus Oates*, London 1972; A. Marks, *Who Killed Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey?*, London 1905; J.D. Carr, *The Murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey*, London 1936; J. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, London 1972; Warner.

80. HMC, 11th Report, Appendix, Part 2, p. 54. CSPD, 27 October 1678.
81. HMC, 11th Report, Appendix, Part 2, p. 55.
82. HMC, 4th Report, Appendix, p. 234. John Austin, *Devotions, Second Part, The Four Gospels in One*, 1675. Wing A 4251; Clancy 60.
83. See Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 81.
84. HMC, 11th Report, Appendix Part 2, p. 54f. CSPD, 27 October 1678; LJ, XIII, p. 310a.
85. HMC, 11th Report, Appendix Part 2, p. 54; LJ, XIII, p. 334.
86. LJ, XIII, p. 369. James Thompson petitioned the House on 14 December, begging to be released in order to settle with his creditors and to go to Flanders to spend the rest of his life there: HMC, 11th Report, Appendix Part 2, p. 56.
87. Guildhall Library, MS 5716. See Registers of St Bennet's, Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. 41, p. 69.
88. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, 16 December 1678.
89. *News from the Stars*, Wing A 1276.
90. *Miscellanea Parliamentaria: Containing Presidents*, Wing P 1948. *The Clergies Honour: or, The Lives of St Basil the Great, Archbishop of Neo-Caesarea, and St Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople Drawn by Way of Parallel*, Wing C 4646.
91. See Appendix II. For the meaning of the imprints see W.W. Greg, 'Entrance, Licence and Publication', in *The Library*, 4th Series, 25 (1944), p. 1f.
92. CSPD, 29 November 1684, Letter to Lord Sunderland.
93. *Trincalo Sainted*: see p. 5.
94. *A True and Perfect Narrative*, Wing T 2533. The pamphlet was reprinted in Edinburgh by 'the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the King's Most Sacred Majesty', 1678, Wing T 2534 and also by B. Took in Dublin: see J. Alden, *Bibliographica Hibernica, Additions and Corrections to Wing*, Charlottesville 1955, T 2534A. The phrase 'with allowance' means that Thompson obtained permission to print his *Narrative*, but he must have met with some difficulty about the licensing of it. In 1682, when Thompson published the letters to Miles Prance, Henry Care, the reputed author of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost* (see note 405), accused Sir Roger L'Estrange of

having refused to license the pamphlet because he was afraid 'he might offend some great persons at Whitehall'. Care was contradicted by Thompson in *LPTDI*, 14 March 1682, and on 15 March L'Es-trange wrote in *The Observator* that he had refused to license Thompson's pamphlet because the matter was 'before the King and Council'. In *England in the Reign of James II and William*, London 1969, p. 80, D. Ogg states that the term 'with allowance' was used if the permission to print was verbal, whereas the phrase 'published by authority' implied almost a command to publish.

95. Larkin was employed to print Richard Janeway's *Impartial Protestant Mercury*.
96. Larkin's deposition in 1682, during the trial of Thompson, Farwell and Paine for the letters to Miles Prance: *The Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson, William Pain and John Farwell*, for Thomas Simmons, 1682, p. 48; Wing T 2207.
97. *A Sermon Preached at St Michaels Wood Street (December 23, 1680). At the Funeral of Ezerel Tonge D.D. ... By T.J. Author of the Hearts Right Sovereign and Rome No Motherchurch of England*, Wing J 995. *Of the Hearts Right Sovereign*, Wing J 996, was published by Edward Foulkes in 1678; for T. Jones see: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, edited by J.E. Lloyd and K. Jenkins, London 1959.
98. *The Cloak in its Colours, or, The Presbyterian Unmasked*, Wing C 4719; anr. ed., 'printed by N.T. 1679, Wing C 4719A. In the pamphlet *A True Narrative of the Popish Plot against King Charles I*, 1680, Wing T 2805, a Captain Bedford is made to declare that 'he was at Thompson's the printers, where was printing the Presbyterian Unmasked'. Morrison does not list this work for Thompson.
99. See Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, p. 585; E. Lipson, 'The Elections to the Exclusive Parliaments 1679-1681', in *The English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), p. 59-85.
100. Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews was murdered by a number of Scottish dissenters on 13 May 1679. See L. Echard, *The History of England*, London 1707-18, vol. 3, p. 551; G. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1972, p. 271.
101. T. Blood, *A Just Narrative of the Hellish New Counter-Plots of the Papists, to Cast the Odium of their Horrid Treasons upon the Presbyterians*, 1679, p. 11; Wing J 1235.
102. *Mr Thomas Dangerfeild's Second Narrative, wherein is Contained a Faithful Charge against the Lady Powis, Mr Stamford ... and Mrs Cellier*, 1680, p. 28, Wing D 193.

103. *The Petitioning Comet, or, A Brief Chronology of All the Famous Comets, and their Events, that have Happened from the Birth of Christ, to this Very Day*, 1681, Wing P 1864. The book appeared on or before 4 February 1681. The preface was signed 'Democritus'.
104. Preface, p. 2.
105. C. Blount, *The Two First Books of Philostratus*, see note 72. Thompson probably also printed C. Blount's *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, Wing B 3303, which appeared in 1680, and was advertised in the list of books in *Janua Scientiarum*. In *Mysticus, Charles Blount, Gent, His Life and Opinions. Printed Gratuitously*, London 1917, p. 10, 15, 16, the author claims that Blount's three works, *The Two First Books*, *Anima Mundi* and *Great is Diana* were all denounced as scandalous. *Anima Mundi* was burnt, *The Two First Books* was banned and *Great is Diana* had an outcry raised against it by the 'pseudo-religious'.
106. The phrase 'in verbo sacerdotis' of course referred to Titus Oates, who posed as an Anglican divine and made his revelations 'in verbo sacerdotis'.
107. The so-called Licensing Act (14 Charles II c. 33) was passed in May 1662 and was to be in force for two years. It was renewed a number of times, the last time in October 1665, when it was continued until the end of the first session of the next parliament, which occurred on 13 March 1679, when parliament was prorogued. The act was not renewed during the short session from 15 March till 27 May 1679, when parliament was prorogued again and later dissolved. See F.S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776*, Urbana 1965, p. 236-63; T. Crist, 'Government Control of the Press'.
108. P.M. Handover, *A History of the London Gazette 1665-1965*, London 1965.
109. Ibidem, p. 17.
110. J.G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist 1659-1689*, London 1925, repr. 1971, p. 179, 183.
111. A subscriber could also have two letters a week for 40s or pay 6d a letter, *ibid.*, p. 183. See also P. Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State, and their Monopoly of Licensed News 1660-1688*, Cambridge 1956, p. 127f.
112. *The London Gazette*, no. 1510, 3-6 May 1680. PRO, PC 2/68/496.
113. *The London Gazette*, no. 1513, 15-17 May 1680. PRO, PC 2/68/512.

114. The title is the title of no. 1. From no. 2 the title was: *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome; or, The History of Popery. Performed by a Single Sheet, Coming out Every Friday. To Each Being Added The Popish Courant.* See R.T. Milford and D.M. Sutherland, 'A Catalogue of English Newspapers and Periodicals in the Bodleian Library 1620-1800', in *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings & Papers*, vol. IV, part 2 (1935), Oxford 1936.
115. *The Compleat Catalogue of Stich'd Books and Single Sheets since the First Discovery of the Popish Plot*, 1680, and the Continuations were reprinted by F.C. Francis as *Narcissus Luttrell's Popish Plot Catalogues*, Oxford 1956.
116. For Langley Curtis, one of the 'tradepublishers' of the 1680s, see M. Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', in *The Library*, 6th Series, 4 (1982), p. 99-134. For H. Care, L. Curtis, B. Harris and F. Smith, see T. Christ, 'Government Control of the Press', p. 194f.
117. *Mercurius Librarius*, a periodical advertising books for sale by the London booksellers was reprinted by E. Arber, *The Term Catalogues 1668-1709, with a Number for Easter Term 1711*, 3 vols., London 1903-6. Only licensed books were meant to be admitted.
118. Preface to volume 1.
119. *The Popish Courant*, no. 1, 3 December 1678.
120. *The Popish Courant*, no. 9, 31 January 1679. Coleman was executed on 3 December 1679. The Jesuits Whitbread, Turner, Gavan, Harcourt and Fenwick were executed on 20 June 1679. See Warner, vol. 1, no. 296.
121. *The Popish Courant*, no. 30, 27 June 1679.
122. *The Compendium* ..., Wing C 1241; Clancy 177.
123. *The Popish Courant*, vol. 2, no. 22, 5 December 1679.
124. IEA, no. 244, p. 213; CSPD, 3 July 1680; *The Tryal of Henry Carr ... at the Guildhall of the City of London, the 2nd Day of July 1680*, London 1681, p. 23. Wing T 2190; Luttrell, BR I, 50; *A Compleat Collection of State Trials*, printed for Timothy Godwin, Benjamin Tooke and others, London 1719, vol. 2, p. 554.
125. *The Popish Courant*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1 August 1679.
126. PDI, no. 33, 27 October 1679.

127. *CJ*, 23 December 1680.
128. *The Tryal of Henry Carr*, see note 124; p. 20.
129. See Milford, 'English Newspapers'. After four numbers the title was changed into *The Anti-Roman Paquet*; or, *Memoirs of Popes and Popery*, nos. 5-21 (6 August-26 November 1680).
130. *CJ*, 27 November, 23 December 1680; see J.R. Jones, 'The Green Ribbon Club', in *Durham University Journal*, 49 (1956), p. 17-20; R. Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London*, Cambridge Mass. 1933, p. 21f. After 18 February 1682, Care adopted the original title again.
131. *Domestick Intelligence*, or, *News both from City and Country*, no. 1-55 (7 July 1679-13 January 1680); *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, no. 56-82 (16 January 1680-16 April 1680). Harris restarted his *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* with no. 83 on 28 December 1680 and continued to produce this paper until no. 114, 15 April 1681. See Milford, 'English Newspapers'.
132. *Poor Robins Character* ..., 1672, Wing P 2877; *An Elegy* ..., 1678, Wing E 439; *A Narrative* ..., for R. Boulter, John Hancock, R. Smith and Benjamin Harris, 1679, Wing B 1677.
133. See *A Short but Just Account of the Tryal of Benjamin Harris, upon an Information ... for Printing and Vending ... An Appeal from the Country to the City*, 1679, Wing S 3565. See also E. Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders 1648-1815*, London 1950; F. Monaghan, 'Benjamin Harris, Printer, Bookseller and First American Journalist', in *Colophon*, 12 (1932); J.G. Muddiman, 'Benjamin Harris, the First American Journalist', *Notes and Queries*, 163 (1932), p. 129f.
134. *PDI*, no. 7, 23 July 1679.
135. *PDI*, no. 10, 8 August 1679.
136. Robert Jenison was one of the Plot witnesses. See *DNB*; Warner, vol. 1, nos. 350; 406-7.
137. *PDI*, no. 57, 29 January 1680; Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 232.
138. *An Appeal*, see note 72; Harris's arrest was reported by Thompson, *TDI*, no. 59, 27 January 1680. For his trial and condemnation, see note 133; *IEA*, no. 235, p. 206; *PDI*, no. 30, 17 October 1679; no. 33, 27 October 1679; no. 43, 2 December 1679; *CI*, 12 February 1680; *MA*, 7 February 1680; Luttrell, *BR I*, 36; J. Willis-Bund, *A Selection of Cases from the State Trials*, Cambridge 1879-82, vol. 2, p. 997; Cobbett's *Complete Collection of State Trials and*

139. Cobbett, *State Trials*, vol. 7, col. 926; *CJ*, 22 December 1680, p. 689; *MA*, no. 23, 7 February 1680.
140. *CSPD*, 12 and 21 February 1680.
141. Nathaniel Crouch was employed by Harris according to *A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue*, see Francis, *Luttrell's Plot Catalogues*. William Becket was one of Harris's authors according to *LPTDI*, no. 4, 19 March 1681.
142. *The True Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence; or, News both from City and from Country*, nos. 1 (23 April 1680) - 7 (14 May 1680). Benjamin Harris announced in *Smith's CI*, no. 24, 4 May 1680, that in spite of rumours that he was concerned with *The True Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, he had nothing to do with it. According to Muddiman, 'Benjamin Harris', p. 149, it was Nathaniel Crouch who published the paper.
143. *The English Intelligencer*, nos. 1 (21 July 1679) - 8 (30 August 1679). *The English Currant*, no. 1 (8 September 1679).
144. *PDI*, no. 20, 12 September 1679.
145. *The Faithful Mercury*, nos. 1-2, (21 July, 25 July 1679). *The Friendly Intelligence*, nos. 1-4 (7 September, 15 September, 19 September, 2 October 1679).
146. John Smith's *The Currant Intelligence* ... had a competitor in *The Currant Intelligence; or, An Impartial Account of Transactions both Forreign and Domestick*, published by the bookseller A. Banks from 13 March till 3 April 1680 (nos. 1-4). Smith and Banks agreed to distinguish their news-sheets, Smith calling his sheet *Smith's Currant Intelligence* ... from 16 March (no. 10), and Banks adding his own name to the title of his news-sheet from 20 March (no. 2). Robert Harford started his news-sheet under the title *Mercurius Anglicus* ..., and changed it into *The True News*, or, *Mercurius Anglicus* from no. 11 (27 December 1679).
147. Nathaniel Thompson's first number came out on 26 August 1679 under the imprint 'London, Printed by N.T. Anno Domini, 1679', and had the serial number 16. Harris published his no. 15 on 26 August and no. 16 on 29 August. Thompson brought out his second number on 29 September and called it again no. 16, now with the imprint 'Printed by Nathaniel Thompson, Anno Domini, 1679'. Harris's title was (until no. 56, 16 January 1680) *Domestick Intelligence*, while Thompson's was *The Domestick Intelligence*.

148. *TDI*, no. 77, 30 March 1680.

149. That Thompson collected his foreign news from the foreign news-sheets is based on the assumption that he followed the same procedure as his Whig rivals. See Richard Janeway's confession, p. 37. Luttrell noted in *A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue* about *The Domestick Intelligence*: 'Writ by one Claypool & tending as much to villify the dissenters'. Claypoole was arrested in December 1679 because he was suspected of 'drawing up the pretended petitions': see *CSPD*, 11 December 1679; *The London Gazette*, 11 December 1679, mentioned 'one Claypoole who writes the *Domestick Intelligence*' among the authors of seditious pamphlets and petitions. He appeared before the Council on 19 December and was discharged: *PDI*, no. 49, 23 December 1679; in February 1680, he clashed with the Lord Chief Justice, because he had taken shorthand notes in court and published them: *TDI* no. 64, 13 February 1680. Another arrest took place in September 1681: Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 129; *The London Gazette*, no. 1655, 29 September 1681. *CSPD*, 29 September 1681, records that Claypoole was the man who provided the newsletter writers with intelligence. Claypoole gave a recognizance of £1000 to appear the next term when he was to be prosecuted for writing factious and seditious news.
150. *TDI*, no. 18, 5 September 1679.
151. Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, see p. 20.
152. *TDI*, no. 66, 20 February 1680.
153. *The Tragical History of Jetzer ... Collected from the Records ... by the Care of Sir William Waller*, 1679, Wing W 548. Ponder published a second and a third edition in 1680, Wing W 549, W 550, and a fourth edition in 1683, Wing W 551. Waller's book about John Jetzer was the story of the condemnation and death at the stake in Bern in 1509 of four Dominicans who had used brother John Jetzer to disprove by means of fake miracles the doctrine of the immaculate conception. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, *Schweizerlexicon*. Thompson advertised the book for Nathaniel Ponder, for whom he had worked in 1672 and in partnership with whom he published *A List of the Knights, Citizens and Burghesses, and Barons of the Cinque Ports*, Wing L 2452.
154. *Maxims of the Roman Catholics*: there does not seem to be a book of this title. John Smith was the author of *No Faith or Credit to be Given to Papists. Being a Discourse Occasioned by the Late Conspirators Dying with the Denial of their Guilt with Particular Reflections on the Perjury of Will. Viscount Stafford*, 1681. Wing S 4128.
155. *TDI*, no. 39, 18 November 1679. For the 'Presbyterian Plot', the

talk of the day in London in the autumn of 1679, see Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 189f.; Warner, vol. 2, no. 262f.; see p. 27.

156. On 19 September 1679 he advertised *The Narrative of Robert Jenison of Gray's-Inn, Esquire*, Wing J 561, for the booksellers Francis Smith, Thomas Basset, John Wright, Richard Chiswel and Samuel Heyrick. On 4 November he advertised *The Additional Narrative of Mr. Miles Prance, of Covent Garden, Goldsmith, who was the Discoverer of the Murther of Sir Edmonbury Godfrey*, Wing P 3170, again for Francis Smith, Thomas Basset, Richard Chiswel and Samuel Heyrick. For the same booksellers and John Starkey he advertised on 25 November 1679 Thomas Dangerfield's narrative: *Mn Tho. Dangerfeilds Particular Narrative of the Late Popish Design to Charge those of the Presbyterian Party with a Pretended Conspiracy against His Majesties Person, and Government. Written by Himself*, Wing D 192. On 30 January 1680 there was an advertisement for *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot in its Various Branches and Progress*, by the author of *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, Henry Care, with the imprint 'for B.R. W.L. H.C. to be sold by L. Curtis'. Wing C 522.
157. *TDI*, 6 December 1679.
158. *TDI*, 7 October 1679.
159. E.M. Thompson, ed., *The Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, being Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher, First Viscount Hatton, 1601-1704*, London 1878, vol. I, p. 206; p. 215f.; *Examen*, p. 542f.; G. Burnet, *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, edited by O. Airy, Oxford 1897-1900, vol. 2, p. 248; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 327f.; Roger North, *The Lives of ... Francis North, Baron Guilford, ... Sir Dudley North; and the Reverend Dr. John North ... with the Autobiography of [John North]*, edited by A Jessop, London 1890, vol. 1, p. 226f.; Kitchin, p. 278.
160. *PDI*, no. 54, 9 January 1680.
161. *TDI*, no. 59, 27 January 1680.
162. *TDI*, no. 60, 30 January 1680.
163. For Oates's and Bedloe's articles against Scroggs, see Warner vol. 1, no. 440; for the Wakeman trial, *ibidem*, no. 406f; for Scrogg's impeachment, *ibidem*, no. 521f. See also Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 17, 32, 34; *TDI*, no. 58, 23 January 1680.
164. See M. Petherick, *Restoration Rogues*, London 1950, p. 183-264. See also note 155.

165. *TDI*, no. 35, 4 November 1679.
166. *TDI*, no. 55, 13 January 1680; no. 56, 16 January 1680; *The London Gazette*, 12 January 1680. Thompson's account of the affair on 13 January was borrowed by him from *The London Gazette*. He introduced it as follows: 'There being an account of a very remarkable discovery in yesterday's *Gazette*, and it having been observed, that the *True Domestick Intelligence* hath of late been much enquired after, it was thought convenient for the further information of the publick to repeat the same in this *The True Domestick Intelligence* as followeth'.
167. *PDI*, no. 56, 16 January 1680; *MA*, no. 16, 14 January 1680. For the Green Ribbon Club, see note 130.
168. For Sir W. Waller see *DNB*. Mr Christian, ex-servant of the Earl of Danby, was involved in a charge of conspiracy against the Duke of Buckingham. He was found guilty on 25 June 1680, with Thomas Blood, Thomas Curtis and Arthur Obryan: Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 34, 48. When Christian died in 1682, Thompson wrote that he had been 'wronged' by the Duke of Buckingham: *LPTDI*, no. 195, 17 August 1682; see Petherick, *Restoration Rogues*, p. 138; J.B., *Some Reflections on the Earl of Danby in Relation to the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, 1679, p. 3, Wing B 127.
169. *TDI*, no. 57, 20 January 1680; *MA*, no. 57, 10 January 1680; *PDI*, no. 52, 2 January 1680. The real Father Bedingfield was the Duke of York's confessor. Oates had tried to implicate him in the Popish Plot by sending a number of forged letters to him: see Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 59; Warner, vol. 1, no. 282.
170. See notes 112 and 113.
171. For Samuel Pepys's complaint against Thompson, Harris and Crouch, see A. Bryant, *Samuel Pepys*, Cambridge 1935, vol. 2, p. 278; Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, A 173, f.72f.; *TDI*, no. 19, 9 September 1679; *PDI*, no. 19, 9 September 1679.
172. *PDI*, no. 23, 23 September 1679. There is no apology in Thompson's *True Domestick Intelligence*.
173. *TDI*, no. 77, 30 March 1680; *CSPD*, 30 March 1680.
174. Thompson's house was outside Waller's jurisdiction and therefore Waller had to lure Thompson into Westminster in order to be able to arrest him.
175. *TDI*, no. 62, 6 February 1680.

176. *TDI*, no. 76, 26 March 1680; see also Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 572; *HMC, Ormonde*, NS, V, p. 296; *CSPD*, 25 March 1680. W. Smith, late schoolmaster of Islington, returned to the affair in 1685, in his pamphlet *Intrigues of the Popish Plot Laid Open: with Depositions Sworn before the Secretary of State*, printed for the Author and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1685, Wing S 4270: 'about the time of this business ... Nat Thompson had published in his newsbook the apprentices intent of burning the Rump, which being no sooner viewed with a pair of Whig spectacles, but it was turned into a Popish Plot, and to be managed by Sir W. Waller; in order to which, he attempted to get a warrant from the Privy Council for Thompson; but that project failing, he decoyed him in another person's name without Temple Bar, and there by his own warrant charged him with high treason ... the next day Sir Wil. made it his whole business to boast what great service he had done to the cause in securing him; further telling me that Thompson had said and done such things that did amount to treason and he did not doubt but to hang him'.
177. *CSPD*, 29 March 1680; PRO, SP 29/413/135.
178. *TDI*, no. 77, 30 March 1680.
179. *A Narrative of the Proceedings at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, April 21, 1680*, Wing N 213.
180. *IEA*, no. 256, p. 236f.; *TDI*, nos. 83,84, 20 April, 23 April 1680; *CJ*, 22 December 1680; *The London Gazette*, no. 1522, 19 June 1680. Badcocke was one of the vestrymen of St Brides: Guildhall Library, MS 6554/2, Vestry Minutes St Bride's. Unfortunately the minutes of 1680 have been lost.
181. *CJ*, 22 December 1680.
182. *CSPD*, 22 May 1680; PRO, SP 29/413/121. The summary in *CSPD* differs from the manuscript text in that Thompson was not accused of printing Douglas's sermon, but *The Appeal* for Murray. For Murray see T. Todd, *William Dockwra and the Rest of the Undertakers. The Story of the London Penny Post, 1680-82*, Edinburgh 1952.
183. Stationers' Hall, Calls to the Livery, 2 June 1679. For the Company barge, see Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 230 note, p. 261. Benjamin Tooke contributed £1 6s, the amount paid by the majority of the liverymen.
184. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, p. 97a; see E. Rees and G. Morgan, 'Welsh Almanacks, 1680-1835: Problems of Piracy', in *The Library*, 6th Series, 1 (1979), p. 144f. Rees and Morgan do not mention Thompson's prosecution. Welsh almanacks were the patent of Thomas

Jones, who had received (on 1 January 1679) the 'Letter Patent for the sole liberty and licence of writing, printing, and publishing an almanack in the British language'. Quoted by Rees and Morgan from Thomas Jones's *Almanack* for 1703. Imperfect copy in the National Library of Wales.

185. *Malice Defeated: or, A Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier, wherein her Proceedings both before and during her Confinement are Particularly Related, and the Memory of the Meal-Tub Fully Discovered*, Wing C 1661; CSPD, 16 August 1680; the astrologer J. Gadbury was reputed to be the author of *Malice Defeated*: see note 551; others attributed the authorship to father Mounson, alias Anderson; see CSPD, 10 September 1680.
186. On 16 March 1681, for example, TPM wrote 'it is he who printed part of Mrs Cellier's libel'.
187. *The History of Popish-Sham-Plots*, 1682, Wing H 2133, p. 69f. Matthew Turner, the Roman Catholic bookseller, was tried in the summer of 1680 for the publication of Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine's *The Compendium*. See *The London Gazette*, no. 1522, 19 June 1680: 'this day ... one Turner, a bookseller, was fined an hundred marks for publishing that scandalous pamphlet called the Compendium'; Luttrell, BR I, p. 48; CJ, 22 December 1680; TPM, no. 54, 13 July 1681, notes that the 'popish bookseller from Holborn' continues in bonds for printing and publishing the 'Compendium of the Plot'.
188. CJ, 17 December 1680, 5, 7, 8, 10 January 1681.
189. *The True Englishman Speaking Plain English in a Letter from a Friend to a Friend*, published as *Treason in Graine: That Most Traiterous or Libel of Fitzharris whereby he Design'd to Raise a Rebellion amongst us ...*, no imprint, Wing T 2076 A; Petherick, *Restoration Rogues*, p. 264f.
190. John Sergeant, see CJ, 26 March 1681; DNB; Warner, vol. 1, nos. 208-13, 328-30; vol. 2, p. 527-32, nos. 606-8; H. Sidney, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney, Including his Correspondence with the Countess of Sunderland and Other Distinguished Persons*, edited by R.W. Blenscowe, London 1843, vol. 1, p. 82, 163, 165, 167, 173, 176. Thompson announced in September 1681 that Sergeant had stayed with the Whig joiner Stephen College: LPTDI, no. 52, 3 September 1681.
191. Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 651-83.
192. Ogg, *Charles II*, p. 636-9; J. Lingard, *The History of England*,

193. *CJ*, 19 November, 21 December, 23 December 1680, 3 January 1681. For Harris's petition to the House of Commons see D. Knott, 'The Booksellers and the Plot. Luttrell Pamphlets in the University of London Library' in *The Book Collector*, 23 (1974), p. 200f.
194. *LJ*, XIII, p. 687a.
195. PRO, PC 2/69/209, 9 February 1681. See also *Notes and Queries*, 163 (1932), p. 148-50.
196. Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 127; *LPTDI*, no. 57, 20 September 1681: 'Benjamin Harris who has been long in prison for criminal matters was examined a second time, he hopes to obtain his liberty and has discovered the authors of the scandalous pamphlets he printed'.
197. See note 130: the Whig pamphleteer Henry Care had the support of the Green Ribbon Club. Francis Smith, Benjamin Harris, Henry Care, Robert Ferguson and John Starkey were supported by Shaftesbury: *The Memoires of the Life of Anthony, Late Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1683, Wing M 1671.
198. That the paper was written by the pamphleteer Henry Care is suggested by a passage in no. 4, 9 March 1681, where 'Ben' says: 'Tickle of Smith and Harris and forget not the Monkey that writes your answer'. 'The Monkey' refers to Henry Care, who was regularly called 'monkey Care' in the Tory press. In June 1680, when all unlicensed news-sheets were banned, Harris brought out one number of Goddaeus's *The Rotterdam Courant* (7 June), but stopped publication after that one number.
199. Langley Curtis was a bookbinder by trade: see Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders*; Plomer, 1668-1725. In the 1680s, Curtis, like Richard Janeway and Richard Baldwin, was a 'trade-publisher', employed by the London booksellers and by authors to publish their books and pamphlets: see Treadwell, 'London Trade-Publishers'. The fact that the imprint on *The True Protestant Mercury* is 'for H.T. and L.V.', accords well with Treadwell's observation that one of the functions of the trade-publisher was to hide the identity of the real publisher. Thompson notes on 22 June 1682, that Langley Curtis had 'stepped aside', and on 5 August, that he had arrived in Amsterdam.
200. *The Observer*, no. 55, 21 September 1681.
201. When Care and Curtis separated, Curtis continued to publish his own *Weekly Paquet of Advice from Rome*, which was written by W. Salmon: vol. 5, nos. 1-36 (25 August 1682 - 27 April 1683).

202. *The Monthly Recorder*, nos. 1-5 (1 January - 1 May 1682); *The Epitome of Weekly News*, nos. 1-2 (28 August - 4 September 1682); *Mercurius Infernus*, nos. 1-4 (4-25 March 1680).
203. *Mercurius Civicus*, or, *The City Mercury*, printed by T.B. and published by L.C., nos. 243 (28 May 1680) - 245 (11 June 1680). T.B. was probably Thomas Benskins, who obtained the freedom of the Company as apprentice to Langley Curtis, on 7 July 1680; see McKenzie, 1641-1700; Plomer, 1668-1725.
204. *The Observer*, no. 156, 17 June 1682.
205. Thomas Benskins, see note 203. *The Protestant Oxford Intelligence*, nos. 1 (10 March 1681) - 7 (31 March 1681); *The Impartial London Intelligence*, nos. 1 (4 April 1681) - 4 (14 April 1681).
206. Harris stopped his *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* on 15 April 1681. Benskins's *Domestick Intelligence* began to appear on 15 May 1681.
207. *Mercurius Bifrons*: or, *The English Janus; The One Side True and Serious, the Other Jocular*, nos. 1-3 (17 February - 3 March 1680).
208. *The Loyal Impartial Mercury* ..., nos. 1-46 (9 June - 17 November 1682). *LPTDI*, no. 167, 13 June 1682.
209. *LPTDI*, no. 27, 7 June 1681; no. 49, 23 August 1681.
210. *A New Apparition* ..., Wing N 551; Benskins's apology was printed in his *Domestick Intelligence*, no. 16, 18 July 1681.
211. Francis Smith, see Plomer, 1641-1667; Plomer, 1668-1725; *HR*, no. 5, 1 March 1681; D.R. Lacey, *Dissent and Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661-1689*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1969, p. 115.
212. Smith published his own accounts of the clashes with the authorities: *An Account of the Injurious Proceedings of Sir George Jeffries Knt.... against Francis Smith, Bookseller*, Wing S 4024, and *An Impartial Account of the Trial of Francis Smith ... for Printing and Publishing ... Tom Ticklefoot*, 1680, Wing S 4026.
213. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence: Domestick and Foreign*, nos. 1-22 (1 February - 14 April 1681); *POAS* I, xxxv f.; Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 75.
214. For Francis Smith's arrest see *LPTDI*, no. 12, 16 April 1681; *The London Gazette* no. 1608, 15 April 1681; *IEA*, no. 276, p. 266; for Fitzharris see p. 33, note 189; *IPM*, no. 12, 3 June 1681; *CI*, no. 12, 4 June 1681; Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 192.

215. Francis Smith Jr. was freed by patrimony on 3 May 1686: McKenzie, 1641-1700.
216. *A New Dialogue between Somebody and Nobody*, nos. 1-5 (25 November - 19 December 1681)
217. Richard Janeway, see Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders*; Plomer, 1668-1725; for Janeway as a trade-publisher see note 199.
218. See Janeway's confession on 7 June 1682, *LPTDI*, no. 167, 13 June 1682; p. 37.
219. *LPTDI*, no. 156, 18 May 1682; *TPM*, no. 142, 17 May 1682; *IEA*, no. 288, p. 277; Luttrell, *BR I*, 186. Earlier in the year, Janeway was indicted for D.N., *A Letter from an Old Common Councilman...*, for W. Inghall, 1681, Wing N9, but the London Grand Jury pronounced the bill against him Ignoramus: *LPTDI*, no. 121, 25 February 1682. On 3 November 1681, Thompson reported that the wardens of the Stationers' Company had found counterfeit almanacs at Janeway's house: *LPTDI*, no. 72, 3 November 1681. See Stationers' Hall, Courtbook E, 1 March 1682: the Company decided to prosecute Janeway for forfeiture of £20, because he had published books without a printer's or bookseller's name. 3 April: the wardens found almanacs at Janeway's house and the Company ordered him to reimburse them for their costs in prosecuting him and for the damage done to the English Stock. Janeway sealed a bill for £15 3s 4d, the cost of the lawsuit being £10 3s 4d.
220. *LPTDI*, no. 161, 30 May 1682.
221. *LPTDI*, no. 167, 13 June 1682; PRO, SP 29/419/9; CSPD, 8 May 1682.
222. Three times a week: i.e. once in the *Popish Courant*, attached to *The Weekly Pacquet*, and twice in Janeway's *Impartial Protestant Mercury*.
223. *LPTDI*, no. 166, 10 June 1682.
224. *The Observer*, no. 150, 8 June 1682.
225. Richard Baldwin, another bookbinder: see Howe, *A List of London Bookbinders*; Plomer, 1668-1725; for Baldwin as trade-publisher, see note 199.
226. *Mercurius Anglicus*, nos. 1-3 (10-17 October 1681). The name *Mercurius Anglicus* had been used from 20 November 1679 - 15 May 1680 (nos. 1-51) by Robert Harford. Baldwin was summoned before the Council (with Janeway, Hancock and Vile) on 14 October 1681 for the publication of R. Ferguson's *No Protestant Plot*; MA,

- no. 3, 17 October 1681; *The London Gazette*, no. 1660, 17 October 1681; *IPM*, no. 51, 18 October 1681; *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681; at the same time the publisher James Vade was summoned for the publication of John Warner's *A Vindication of the English Catholics from the Pretended Conspiracy against the Life, and Government of His Sacred Majesty*, Clancy 1059-61; Wing V 504.
227. *The London Mercury*, nos. 1-56 (6 April - 17 October 1682). *The London Mercury* no. 5 appeared on 20 April 1682, with the imprint 'printed by R. Everingham for Thomas Vile'. *The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Forreign and Domestick*, nos. 1-6 (24 April - 13 May 1682). Baldwin's indictment by the Bristol Grand Jury: *The London Gazette*, no 1717, 4 May 1682.
228. *The Observer*, no. 133, 6 May 1682; *HR*, no. 66, 2 May 1682; no. 67, 9 May 1682; *IPM*, no. 110, 12 May 1682.
229. *PC*, no. 4, 6 May 1682; *LPTDI*, no. 152, 9 May 1682.
230. *PC*, no. 6, 13 May 1682. For Craddock's case against the Earl of Shaftesbury, see Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 689, 695.
231. *LPTDI*, no. 158, 23 May 1682.
232. Those who wanted to advertise in *The London Mercury* were invited to apply to R. Everingham.
233. *The Observer*, no. 35, 20 July 1681; no. 151, 9 June 1682; no. 152, 10 June 1682; see also *Examen*, p. 88, 100f.
234. *The Memoires of the Life of Anthony Late Earl of Shaftesbury*, p. 4.
235. A. Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*, edited by A. Clark, Oxford 1891-1900, vol. 2, p. 429; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 124, 132 etc.
236. North, *The Lives*, p. 200; Muddiman, *The King's Journalist, 1659-1689*, p. 233.
237. For L'Estrange's *Observer* see note 2.
238. *The Observer*, no. 1, 13 April 1681.
239. Faulkner, 'Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Observer*', p. cxlviii.
240. For Edward Rawlins see T.F.T. Newton, 'The Mask of Heraclitus, A Problem in Restoration Journalism', in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 16 (1934), p. 145-160: Rawlins was admitted, at the age of twenty-six, a pensioner of Westminster

- School, 4 July 1672. He went to Peterhouse Cambridge in 1675, and received his B.A. in 1675/76. When he was thirty-four, he was awarded the Master's degree: J. and J.A. Venn, eds., *Alumnae Cantabrigienses*, Part I [to 1751], Cambridge 1922-7, vol. 3, p. 425.
241. *The English Gazette* no. 3, 29 December 1680; *TPM*, no. 1, 28 December 1680; *LPTDI*, no. 59, 27 September 1681.
242. *TPM*, no. 19, 2 March 1681.
243. *HR*, no. 82, 22 August 1682. The authorship of *The Whole Duty of Man*, one of the most popular devotional books at the time, was a much debated secret: see P. Elmen, 'Richard Allestree and *The Whole Duty of Man*', *The Library*, 5th Series, 6 (1951-52), p. 19f.
244. Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. 3, p. 1.
245. The Whig papers *Democritus Ridens*, *A New Dialogue between Somebody ...*, *News from Parmassus*, *News from the Land of Chivalry* etc., none of which lasted for more than a few numbers: see [J.G. Muddiman], *Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews*, London 1920, 1933.
246. A contemporary manuscript note on no. 1 in the Nichols Newspaper Collection in the Bodleian Library reads 'The design of this is malicious, hereby to represent the present times the same & that the same designs are carrying on'.
247. *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Geneva*; nos. 1-2 (20-26 May 1681). The paper carried the imprint 'printed by Nathaniel Thompson'. Other weekly papers of the Pacquet type were *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Germany ...*, printed by A.M. and R.R. for Edw. Giles ... in Norwich; *The Popish Mass Displayed*, printed for Isaac Cleve. Another Tory 'history' was *The History of Reformation ...*, under the fake imprint 'for the Mayor of Goatham'.
248. See p. 80. The authorities intervened and made him stop the publication by arresting him.
249. *CSPD*, 23 February 1681; *PRO*, SP 29/145/54.
250. *PDI*, no. 106, 18 March 1681. The priests in Newgate were repeatedly accused of writing pamphlets and ballads against the Whigs. Later in 1681, the London Grand Jury petitioned the Lord Mayor and the judges and justices of the Quarter Sessions 'that they may be removed further off from this City and parts adjacent ... because amongst other villanies, their business is to contrive libels': *IPM*, no. 23, 12 July 1681; *CI*, no. 23, 12 July 1681; *LPTDI*, no. 37,

12 July 1681; *DI*, no. 14, 11 July 1681; Warner, vol. 2, no. 679.

251. *The Observer Observed*, no. 3, 16 June 1681.

252. *TPM*, no. 155, 1 July 1682.

253. A Letter to L'Estrange: A True Copy of a Letter (Intercepted) Going for Holland Directed thus, for his (and his Wives) Never Failing Friend Roger Le Strange, signed H.B., for H.B., 1680, Wing B 80.

254. *TPM*, no. 19, 2 March 1681; no. 20, 9 March 1681. The news-sheets gave a great deal of attention to this affair and a number of pamphlets were published about it: see *LPTDI*, no. 9, 5 April; *PDI*, no. 110, 1 April; *TPM*, no. 29, 6 April; *The Observer Observed*, no. 2, 10 June; *LPTDI*, no. 27, 7 June 1681. Janeway published *The Birth and Burning of an Image Called St Michael*, by Edmond Sherman, Wing S 3382, and also the *Second Part* by the same author, Wing S 3383.

255. The Churchwardens were fined 10s each and the 'image' was burned.

256. On 24 March the Earl of Shaftesbury had given information to the Privy Council about the plot in Ireland: Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 569; *Smith's CI*, no. 13, 27 March 1680; *PDI*, no. 75, 23 March 1681; *TDI*, no. 74, 19 March 1681 and many other news-sheets in the spring of 1680.

257. A True and Brief Account of the Proceedings between Mr. David Fitzgerald and William Hetherington, before His Majesty in Council, on Friday the 11th of February 1680/1, Wing T 2415: see *LPTDI*, no. 2, 12 March 1681, where he advertised the pamphlet for the first time.

258. *TPM*, no. 21, 9 March 1681.

259. *PDI*, no. 96, 11 February 1681.

260. *The Observer Observed*, no. 2, 10 June 1681.

261. For Plunket see *DNB*; Warner, vol. 1, no. 207; vol. 2, nos. 619-24, 626, 627-8.

262. John Smith, who had published *The Currant Intelligence*; or, An Impartial Account of Transactions both Forraign and Domestick, between 14 February and 4 May 1680, had resumed publication on 26 April 1681 with no. 1 and continued till 24 December 1681, no. 70. *The Currant Intelligence* remained outside the party struggle.

263. *CI*, no. 14, 11 June 1681; *DI*, no. 5, 9 June 1681; *IPM*, no. 14, 10

June 1681.

264. *DI*, no. 12, 4 July 1681; *TPM*, no. 51, 2 July 1681.
265. *DI*, no. 10, 27 June 1681.
266. *IPM*, no. 21, 5 July 1681.
267. For Plunket's speech see Warner, vol. 2, p. 619-24. Thompson printed the speech in his *Domestick Intelligence*, leaving out the last twenty lines because of lack of space.
268. See note 265.
269. *IPM*, no. 43, 20 September 1681; *LPTDI*, no. 58, 24 September 1681.
270. *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681.
271. *LPTDI*, no. 135, 30 March 1682. See also *LPTDI*, no. 140, 11 April 1682: O'Neale's execution and confession that, as a poor man who wanted to get his son out of Mullingar prison, he had been ready to swear anything that Hetherington, Tyrrel, Murphy, Maccleve or MacMoyer had told him; no. 146, 25 April 1682: Thompson maintains that O'Neale's last speech is authentic, in spite of the fact that he could not write; no. 148, 29 April 1682: O'Neale's speech printed in the *Domestick Intelligence* with an attestation of truth by Alexander Lockhart. See *CSPD*, 13 April 1682: Thompson's account of 11 April is confirmed by the post from Ireland.
272. *LPTDI*, no. 90, 15 December 1681; no. 132, 23 March 1682; no. 223, 21 October 1682.
273. See note 257.
274. *LPTDI*, no. 89, 13 December 1681.
275. *LPTDI*, no. 45, 9 August 1681; see also no. 24, 28 May 1681; no. 41, 26 July 1681; no. 63, 11 October 1681; no. 87, 8 December 1681.
276. *LPTDI*, no. 47, 16 August 1681. Contemporary manuscript notes in the margins of the Nichols Newspaper Collection copy demonstrate that the readers understood the references to 'the noble lord' and 'the plotmaster'. In no. 149, 24 August 1681, Thompson referred to Hetherington as 'one of the deputies of the plot-office without Aldersgatestreet', Shaftesbury's City residence.
277. *CI*, no. 21, 5 July 1681; *IPM*, no. 21, 5 July 1681; *DI*, no. 12, 4 July 1681. Curtis, whose first *True Protestant Mercury* after the arrest appeared on 6 July 1681, did not write about the arrest

at all.

278. *LPTDI*, no. 35, 5 July 1681.
279. *LPTDI*, no. 52, 3 September 1681.
280. *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681. See Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 671f.
281. *LPTDI*, *ibidem*; see also no. 67, 22 October 1681; no. 70, 29 October 1681; no. 73, 5 November 1681.
282. *CI*, no. 62, 26 November 1681; *IPM*, no. 62, 25 November 1681; *TPM*, no. 93, 26 November 1681.
283. *LPTDI*, no. 82, 26 November 1681.
284. Turberville died on 18 December 1681; *LPTDI*, no. 92, 20 December 1681.
285. *IPM*, no. 69, 20 December 1681.
286. For Stephen College's trial see Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 241; Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 663; *LPTDI*, no. 123, 2 March 1682.
287. *LPTDI*, no. 130, 18 March 1682.
288. John Rouse was charged with treason on 17 October 1681: in spite of the evidence against him, the Grand Jury pronounced his case Ignoramus on 18 October: see Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 137. John Wilmore was the foreman of the London Grand Jury that threw out the case against College in July 1681: see Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 108; *The Tryals of Thomas Walcot, William Hone, William Lord Russel, John Rous and William Blagg for High Treason, ... July 12, 13 and 14, 1683, 1683*. Wing T 2265.
289. See Petherick, *Restoration Rogues*, p. 264f.; Warner, vol. 2, no. 609f.
290. *The True Englishman Speaking Plain English*: see note 189; see also W. Cobbet, *The Parliamentary History of England*, London 1806-20, vol. 4, Appendix no. XIII, p. CXVIII.
291. *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, no. 12, 10 March 1681; no. 15, 21 March 1681; no. 18, 31 March 1681; *PDI*, no. 106, 18 March 1681; no. 107, 22 March 1681; no. 109, 29 March 1681; *TPM*, no. 38, 18 May 1681; no. 40, 25 May 1681; *IPM*, no. 8, 19 May 1681.
292. *LPTDI*, no. 3, 15 March 1681.

293. *TPM*, no. 40, 25 May 1681. See Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 647.
294. *LPTDI*, no. 18, 7 May 1681.
295. *LPTDI*, no. 19, 10 May 1681.
296. *IPM*, no. 5, 7 May 1681; *TPM*, no. 35, 7 May 1681.
297. *TPM*, no. 41, 28 May 1681; *IPM*, no. 11, 31 May 1681; *CI*, no. 10, 28 May 1681. Langley Curtis published a pamphlet under the imprint 'for Thomas Davies', *The New Popish Shamplot Discovered, or, The Cursed Contrivance of the Earl of Danby, Mrs Cellier and the Popish Lords and Priests in the Tower and Newgate ... to Prove that Sir Edmunbury Godfrey ... Murthered Himself*, Wing N 718, anr. ed., N 718A. Curtis was called to account for this pamphlet on 6 June 1681 and he was forced to give £500 security at the request of the Earl of Danby: *LPTDI*, no. 28, 11 June 1681; *CSPD*, 6 June 1681.
298. *LPTDI*, no. 25, 31 May 1681.
299. *LPTDI*, no. 40, 23 July 1681. For the 'general consult', see Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 95.
300. *LPTDI*, no. 57, 20 September 1681.
301. *IPM*, no. 44, 23 September 1681; *LPTDI*, no. 60, 1 October 1681.
302. *LPTDI*, no. 93, 22 December 1681. See Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 93, no. 11.
303. *LPTDI*, no. 107, 24 January 1682. Oates had previously been accused of sodomy by Osborne, Knox and Lane, who were convicted for this accusation on 25 November 1679. See Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 224f. Oates's 'immorality' was common knowledge, said Warner, vol. 1, no. 442.
304. *LPTDI*, no. 98, 3 January 1682; no. 107, 24 January 1682; for Simpson Tonge see Kitchin, p. 236, 291-94; *Examen*, p. 271; R. L'Estrange, *L'Estrange his Appeal ...*, London 1681, Wing L 1202; R. L'Estrange, *The Shammer Shammed ...*, 1682, Wing L 1306; S. Tonge, *The Narrative and Case of S. Tonge*, 1681, Wing T 1884, 1884A; *Mr. Tonges Vindication in Answer to the Malicious ... Aspersions Thrown upon him by Thomson and The Observer*, 1682, Wing T 1885.
305. *The Observer*, no. 92, 23 January 1682; no. 95, 1 February 1682; no. 261, 20 December 1682.

306. *LPTDI*, no. 223, 21 October 1682; *The Observer*, no. 227, 21 October 1682. Thompson had made the same suggestion when he published the ballad *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor*: when he was called to account for the publication of this ballad, he wrote in his *Domestick Intelligence*, no. 67, 22 October 1681, that the ballad could not refer to Titus Oates, because he was not a doctor.
307. *LPTDI*, no. 209, 19 September 1682.
308. The 'Act for the Repeal of a Statute made in the 35th Year of Queen Elizabeth' was passed by the 1680 Parliament but was not presented for Royal Assent at the express command of the King. See note 341.
309. *The Conventicle - Courant*, nos, 1-30 (14 July 1682 - 14 February 1683).
310. *The Conventicle - Courant*, no. 1, 14 July 1682.
311. *The Observer*, no. 48, 31 August 1681.
312. *LPTDI*, no. 52, 3 September 1681; no. 57, 20 September 1681; no. 59, 27 September 1681; no. 64, 15 October 1681; no. 130, 18 March 1682; no. 196, 19 August 1682; no. 197, 22 August 1682; no. 198, 24 August 1682 and many others.
313. *LPTDI*, no. 226, 28 October 1682; no. 230, 7 November 1682.
314. George Croom had started the publication of *The Loyal London Mercury, or, the Moderate Intelligencer*, with no. 1, on 14 June 1682, and continued publishing it under the imprint 'by G. Croom', until 19 August 1682 (no. 20). On 23 August no. 21 came out under the title *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 'printed for R. Robinson'. It continued to appear till 23 October 1682 (no. 37). On 23 August 1682, Croom started a new *Loyal London Mercury; or, The Currant Intelligence* (no. 1), which appeared until it was suppressed, on 15 November 1682 (no. 25), with the other remaining news-sheets: *CSPD*, 16 November 1682. See *CSPD*, 12 January 1684: Benskins, Croom and Curtis were fined for publishing their 'Intelligences'. There is no report of Thompson being fined.
315. *LPTDI*, no. 234, 16 November 1682.
316. See p. 80f.
317. *An Answer to a Printed Protestation Made by Some of The Societies of the Inns of Court, against Dutiful Addresses: with Thanks to His Majesty for His Most Gracious Declaration to All His Loving*

Subjects, 1681, Wing A 3341. A.C., *An Answer to a Late Treasonable Pamphlet, Entitled, Treason in Grain, &c. For which Pamphlet Edward Fitzharris Lies Condemned*, 1681, Wing C 4.

318. See Appendix II. The imprint 'by N. Thompson for the Author' on *A True Discovery of the Irish Popish Plot Made by Maurice Fitzgerald*, Wing F 1070, is probably faked, at least as far as 'for the author' is concerned: the pamphlet contains a fake dialogue meant to discredit the Irish plot witnesses.
319. *The Presbyterian Pater Noster*, for Tom Tell-Troth, Wing A 3973A; see p. 68.
320. *A Letter to a Noble Peer*, Wing S 110. The Letter was an answer to *The Earl of Essex his Speech* [against Holding the Parliament at Oxford] to His Most Sacred Majesty, which was published by Benjamin Harris and by Francis Smith in 1681. Wing E 3304, E 3305. The Earl of Essex presented his petition against the removal of the parliament to Oxford on 25 January. See Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 65. See also *CSPD*, 29 January 1681.
321. *PDI*, no. 93, 1 February 1681.
322. *An Apostrophe from the Loyal Party*, 1681, Wing A 3562. The London Grand Jury made a presentment against this 'seditious pamphlet' at the Sessions held on 1 June 1681: *IEA*, no. 274, p. 265.
323. *IPM*, no. 12, 3 June 1681; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 93.
324. *The Protestant Observator*, no. 9, 17 December 1681. *A Postscript of Advice from Geneva*, Wing P 3024.
325. There are two editions of *Stafford's Memoires*, one for 1681 and one for 1682. Wing C 6306, C 6307; Clancy 251, 252. The work was advertised many times by Thompson as printed and sold by him; see Appendix II.
326. *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor*, Wing D 1355, see note 306. *A True and Brief Account ...*, Wing T 2415, see note 257.
327. *An Act of the Lord Mayor ... of the City of Dublin*, see Wing (D 2405B). Thompson announced in his *Domestick Intelligence*, no. 26, 4 June 1681 that this pamphlet (first printed in Dublin by J. Ray), was to be had at his house at 12 o'clock. *L.F., Ireland's Sad Lamentation Discovering its Present Danger in Some Remarkable Passages which have Happened since the Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot*, Wing L 18, was a Whig pamphlet against, among other things, the Duke of Ormond's policies in Ireland. *CSPD*, 14 May

1681, records the Act of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin against the pamphlet *Ireland's Sad Lamentation*.

328. *An Excellent New Ballad*, Wing E 3806f. See *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681.
329. *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts and Visions*, Wing C 3915. See *TPM*, no. 23, 16 March 1681 and *Democritus Ridens*, no. 10, 16 May 1681. *The Ghost of the Late House of Commons, to the New One Appointed to Meet at Oxford*, Wing G 639, G 640; the pamphlet *The Fetter-Lane Loyalist, or, A Description of a True Sonne of Rome*, Engraven and Printed and Sold by me Abra: Goulding, 1681, Wing (F 828B), also described Thompson as the publisher of *A Choice Collection*. According to Wing D 1333 the imprint on *A Dialogue between the Ghosts of the Two Last Parliaments*, is 'for Ap. Baks': the British Library and Bodleian Library copies have 'for Al. Banks'. See *POAS*, 2, p. 406f, where the poem is attributed to Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.
330. *A Hue and Cry after Dr T.O.*, printed for Alex. Banks, 1681, Wing H 3274. The pamphlet was answered by *A Vindication of Dr Oates from that Scandalous Pamphlet Called, An Hue and Cry*, London, printed for John Baron, 1681, Wing V 476. For the indictment of Thompson for this pamphlet see *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681.
331. *The Poor Prisoner's Lamentation for the Loss of Sh--- B---*, Wing P 2872; see *LPTDI*, no. 64, 15 October 1681, where Thompson lists the ballad as one of the pamphlets for which he was prosecuted. For James Alexander, see Plomer, 1668-1725 and H.G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, Edinburgh 1970, p. 107.
332. *Treason Unmasked, or, Truth Brought to Light*, Wing T 2081, was later expanded and published by Thompson under the title *The Riddle of the Roundhead*, Wing R 1439.
333. For the King's Evil see Warner, vol. 1, no. 8. *The Manner of His Majesties Curing the Disease Called the King's Evil*, 1679, Wing (M 459A). Monmouth was said to have cured Elizabeth Parcet during his progress in the west of England in the summer of 1680. It was reported in *A True Narrative of the Duke of Monmouth's Late Journey into the West in a Letter from an Eye-Witness thereof to his Correspondent*, 1680, Wing T 2786. See B. Bevan, *James Duke of Monmouth*, London 1973, p. 130. The fact that Monmouth cured the King's Evil was advertised in support of his claims to legitimacy. J.G. Muddiman did not recognize *A Choice Collection* as a fake by N. Thompson: see his article 'Benjamin Harris', p. 148.
334. Thompson's account was also published separately in the pamphlet *A True And Wonderful Account of a Cure of the King's Evil by Mrs.*

F---, under the fake imprint 'for B. Harris', 1681, Wing T 2584. Luttrell recorded the publication in January 1681, after the dissolution of the last Westminster parliament: Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 64; the pamphlet was answered by *An Answer to a Scoffing and Lying Libell, Put forth ... under the Title of A Wonderful Account ...*, for T.B., 1681, Wing A 3347.

335. The rumours were that the ghost had ordered Miss Freeman to tell the King not to remove his parliament to Oxford and that royal blood would be poisoned on 15 May. Luttrell recorded the story in January, *BR I*, p. 66, and added 'but 'tis look't on by most as a shamm'. He also noted in May (p. 86) that nothing had happened.
336. Separately published as *A True Relation of a Strange Apparition which Appear'd to the Lady Gray, Commanding Her to Deliver a Message to the D. of M.*, by B. Harris, sold by L. Curtis, 1681, Wing T 2893. See *CSPD*, 10 February 1681: 'I find many Catholics have it [i.e. Lady Grey's Ghost] though hardly any besides'. The pamphlet was answered by *The Lady Gray Vindicated ... An Answer to ... A True Relation, of a Strange Apparition ...*, 1681, Wing L 165.
337. *The Ghost of Tom Ross to his Pupil the D. of M.*, Wing G 640B. For the attribution of this poem to Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, and for the publishing history of the poem: *POAS*, 2, p. 249f. *The Oxford Alderman's Speech to His Grace the D. of M.*, printed for B. Harris, and are to be sold by L. Curtis, Wing W 3716. *A Canto on the New Miracle Wrought by the D. of M. Curing a Young Wenoh of the King's Evil as it is Related at Large*, Wing C 463; see *POAS*, vol. 2, p. 274. *The Ghost of the Late Parliament*, see note 329.
338. For Shaftesbury's spigot, see Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 202f.
339. *The Weekly Discover Strip't Naked*, no. 2, 23 February 1681. See also *The Fetter-Lane Loyalist*, note 329.
340. *The Protestant Observator*, no. 7, 10 December 1681, mentions 'The Character of a Whig' as a pamphlet printed by Nathaniel Thompson. The reference is probably to Thompson's *The Phanatique in his Colours: Being A Full and Final Character of a Whig*. See Appendix II, 1681, no. 22.
341. On 6 November 1680 the House of Commons appointed a committee to prepare a 'Bill for the repeal of all or any part of the Act of Parliament made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, cap. I; printed in the statute book of Pulton'. The bill was passed during this session. See *CJ*, 6 November, 26 November, 15 December 1680. At the express command of the King,

the act was not presented for Royal Assent. On 25 March 1681 the Oxford House of Commons decided to investigate why it had not been presented for Royal Assent. *CJ*, 25 March 1681.

342. Edward Whitaker, *A Short History ...*, 1681, Wing W 1707. Richard Janeway published *Vestigia Veritatis, or, The Controversy Relating to the Act of the Thirty Fifth of Elizabeth ... Truly Stated*, Wing V 289, and also *A Justification of the Paper Entitled: A Short History of the Life and Death of the Act Made in the 35th of Eliz. Cap. I, &c*, 1681, Wing W 1703.
343. *The Death, Burial, and Resurrection ...*, Wing W 15. Although Wing lists the pamphlet under E.W., the initials of Edward Whitaker, the pamphlet is not by Whitaker.
344. E. Settle, *The Character of a Popish Successour...*, for T. Davies, 1681, Wing S 2670; for J. Graves, 1681, Wing S 2671; 3rd edition, for Richard Janeway, 1681, Wing S 2672. Sir Roger L'Estrange, *The Character of a Papist in Masquerade*, for H. Brome, 1681, Wing I 1215; *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet; Entituled A Character of a Popish Successour*, Wing A 3307. Elkanah Settle confessed in November 1682 that the worst thing he ever did was to write *The Character of a Popish Successour*, but he claimed that he had been incited to do it 'by the little old devil of Aldersgate', i.e. the Earl of Shaftesbury: *LPDTI*, no. 232, 11 November 1682; see Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 628.
345. E. Settle, *A Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor*, 1681, Wing P 2144. The pamphlet is attributed to John Phillips by Wing. The Term Catalogues, *TC* I, p. 443, and the British Library Catalogue attribute it to Settle. *The Character of a Popish Successour Compleat*, 1681, Wing C 2971.
346. *The Speech of His Royal Highness James Duke of York and Albany*, Wing J 387. *An Act Acknowledging and Asserting the Right of Succession*, Wing S 1023. On the same one-page pamphlet Thompson printed *An Act Ratifying All Former Laws for the Security of the Protestant Religion*, Wing S 1156; see *Bibliotheca Lindesiana, A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns and of Others Published under Authority 1485-1714*, Oxford 1910, vol. 2, no. 2511. Thompson reprinted his copy from a broadside published by the Heir of A.[ndrew] A.[nderson], Edinburgh 1681, Wing S 1155.
347. Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 73. *His Majesties Declaration*, 1681, Wing C 3000.
348. Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 73.

349. *An Impartial Account* ..., Wing I 73. The British Library copy is dated 28 June 1681. The catalogue attributes it to the Earl of Shaftesbury.
350. *The Lawyer's Demurrer* ..., 1681, Wing L 740.
351. *An Answer to a Printed Protestation* ..., Wing A 3341. *A Vindication of Addresses in General* ..., Wing V 469. *An Answer to a Printed Protestation* was 'written by an old Cavalier' and repeated the usual arguments: 'Then should it be your duty to give thanks, not to oppose Him with your vainer pranks, more looking like a Conventicle fry, then from a learned grave Society ...'.
352. *The Lawyers Demurrer Argued* ..., Wing L 740A.
353. 'One Yalden': Luttrell wrote, *BR I*, p. 99, 'the chief sticklers for the said address were Sir William Scroggs jun., Robert Fairbeard, Capt. Stowe, Capt. Ratcliffe, one Yalden, with others to the number of 40 or thereabouts; many of them sharpeners about town ...'. John Yalden, son and heir of Robert Yalden, Gentleman, was admitted to Gray's Inn on 22 April 1672. See J. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889*, London 1889. Thompson advertised J. Yalden's *Machiavel Redivivus* on 7 February 1682. See also *DNB*, s.v. Edward Turberville.
354. See *Examen*, p. 585f.; Faulkner, 'Sir Roger L'Estrange's Observer', p. xlvii; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 104f.
355. See British Library Catalogue, s.v. Stephen College. The Whig pamphlets were published by W. Davies, Francis Smith, R. Janeway and by College's wife Edith.
356. *A Modest Vindication* ..., for N. Thompson, 1681, Wing M 2377. Besides the imprints 'by N. Thompson' and 'by N.T.', Thompson also used the imprints 'for N. Thompson' and 'for N.T.', and, from 1683, '(printed and) sold by N. Thompson'. The explanation may be that Thompson was not only employed by the Tory party as their printer, but that his shop was also used as a centre where Tory propaganda pamphlets were on sale for hawkers and mercuries. Thompson's advertisement on 15 August 1682 that at his shop 'you may be furnished with all sorts of new loyal songs printed with the musical notes' seems to confirm this assumption and so does the fact that his Whig reveals regularly accused him of serving this function. In fact, it looks as if Thompson's position was not unlike that of the trade-publishers R. Janeway, Langley Curtis and R. Baldwin, who were employed by the Whigs. See M. Treadwell, 'London Trade-Publishers 1675-1750'.
357. *A Letter Written from Oxford by Mr Stephen Colledge to His Friends*

in London &c, Written by Himself, Immediately after his Condemnation, Wing C 5225. Apart from this letter he also published *The Ignoramus Ballad*, Wing I 43, and *A Letter from Mr Edward Whitaker to the Protestant Joyner upon his Bill being Sent to Oxford*, Wing W 1704, a fake letter against the Whigs.

358. *The Observer*, no. 752, 10 June 1682.
359. *The Last Speech and Confession of Mr Stephen Colledge Executed at Oxford*, Wing C 5223; *IPM*, no. 38, 2 September 1681; no. 103, 18 April 1682. See also p. 69.
360. For the letters to Miles Prance and the prosecution of the authors, Farwell and Paine, see p. 72f.
361. *The Charter; A Comical Satyr*, Wing C 3722; see *LPTDI*, no. 189, 3 August 1682 and no. 192, 10 August 1682. The poem was reprinted in 1683 as *The Saints New Charter. The Loyal Scot ...*, Wing L 3366, with the music, 'for Alexander Banks'; Wing L 3367, anr. edition, without the music, no printer or bookseller's name. *LPTDI*, no. 138, 6 April 1682; *POAS*, 3, p. 101. Thompson regards the fact that his copy of the ballad was printed with the 'musical notes' as an extra attraction. Yet, the music on his broadsides had little more than decorative value.
362. *The Loyal Feast ...*, Wing L 3346; the feast to which this ballad referred was in fact the Whig feast planned for 21 April but forbidden by the government. The ballad was also credited to Thompson in *The Observer*, no. 139, 17 May 1682. *The Coat of Arms of N.T. J.F. and R.L.*, Wing C 4763. *Titus Tell Troth*, Wing T 1316; the ballad was against Oates and the Earl of Shaftesbury. *Thompson Tell-Lyes*, Wing T 1019A.
363. *Stafford's Memoires*, 1682, Wing C 6307; Clancy 253; *A Remonstrance of Piety*, 1682, Wing C 6301; Clancy 246; 1683, Wing C 6301A; Clancy 247. Although the last imprint has the date 1683, Wood notes on the flyleaf of this edition that it was published in November 1682. These works were advertised in the list of 'books printed and sold by N. Thompson' in Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1687. Langley Curtis published an answer to *Stafford's Memoires; The Papist's Bloudy Aftergame, or, A Vindication of the High Court of Parliament, in their Proceedings upon the Late Lord Stafford. In Answer to a ... Libel Called Stafford's Memoires*, for T.S., published by L. Curtis, 1682, Wing P 312. On page 4 the author writes that the Catholics 'begin to outdare and defie the Protestant world ... and thus in a kind of calm ... out comes the plot of the late Lord Stafford's *Memoires* ... a valuable piece of mischief dispersed about the kingdom gratis, and sneaked into your hands as you passed along the streets'. See *IPM*, no. 84,

10 February 1682. *Miracles Revived*, 1682, Wing M 2209; for A. Banks, 1682, Wing M 2208. Advertised by N. Thompson in *LPTDI*, no. 121, 25 February 1682 and later.

364. See notes 344, 257.

365. *Morrison* lists thirty-one items printed by or for N. Thompson in 1683. There are at least seventeen other pamphlets that were printed and/or sold by Thompson. Only two of the pamphlets are not political: *An Elegy on the Most Accomplish'd Virgin, Madam Elizabeth Hurne, who Departed this Life on the 27th of July 1683*, Wing B 2, dated by Luttrell 13 August 1683, and *An Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr Charles Hart, who Departed this Life August the 18th 1683*, Wing E 368.

366. T. Sprat, *A True Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy against the Late King, His Present Majesty and the Government. As it was Ordered to be Published by His Late Majesty*, London, 2nd ed., 1685, p. 3, Wing S 5067.

367. *A List of All the Conspirators*, sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1683, Wing L 2378; 2nd edition, Wing L 2379.

368. Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 275; for Stephen Lobb, an independent minister, see *Examen*, p. 365; Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 273, 275, 462; *DNB*.

369. *A Dreadful Oration*, by N.T., 1683, Wing L 2723.

370. *A Word to the True Blue Protestants*, by N.T., 1683, Wing W 3573.

371. *The True-Protestant Catechism, Explaining the Grounds and Methods of the True-Protestant-Plot; Set Forth for Instruction of the Brethren in the Mystery of Whiggism*, Printed at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, Wing T 2862.

372. *A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings*, by N. Thompson, 1683, Wing L 2418.

373. *The Last Memorial of the Agent from the K. of Poland*, Wing L 490. The pamphlet was advertised by N. Thompson in *LPTDI*, no. 235, 2 February 1683. Shaftesbury had died in Amsterdam on 23 January 1683. Thompson also published *The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland*, Wing W 1659, another edition of which had the title *Dagon's Fall, or, The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland*, Wing D 112, and *A Congratulation of the Protestant Joyner to Anthony King of Poland, upon his Arrival in the Lower World*, Wing C 5814.

374. *Oates' Manifesto*, Wing O 66. The imprint 'for R.L.' led to the

attribution of the pamphlet to Sir Roger L'Estrange. According to Warner, vol. 2, p. 324 n., the author was the Benedictine monk James Corker. Thompson advertised the pamphlet in the list of books printed and sold by N. Thompson, in C. Blount, *Janua Scientiarum*, 1684 and in *LPTDI*, no. 236, 22 February 1683.

375. J. Zeale, *A Narrative of the Phanatical Plot*, for the author sold by most booksellers in Westminster and London, 1683, Wing Z 10. This pamphlet was also advertised in C. Blount, *Janua Scientiarum*, 1684, and entered for Thompson in the Stationers' Registers on 25 August 1683.
376. W.S., *A Letter to Mr Settle, Occasioned by his Late Famous Recanting and Plot Ridiculing Narrative*, Wing S 196, in answer to E. Settle's *A Narrative Written by E. Settle*, Wing S 2700.
377. M.T., *A Full Account of the Apprehending Sir Thomas Armstrong at Leyden*, by N.T., 1684, Wing T 29; *On the Death of Sir Tho. Armstrong; In Answer to a Late Treasonous Libel Dispersed by the Factious*, printed and sold by N. Thompson, 1684, Wing O 306. Luttrell dated this ballad 5 August 1684.
378. See Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 307; Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 299f.
379. *The Proceedings at the King's Bench Bar*, Wing P 3561. P 3561A, according to Wing another edition of P 3561, printed for Alex. Banks 1685, is in fact not another edition of this pamphlet. The title is *The Proceedings at the King's Bench Bar, Westminster, against Titus Oates, on Saturday, the 16th of this Instant May, 1685*.
380. The other pamphlets against Titus Oates were *Oates Thrash'd in the Compter, and Sacked-up in Newgate*, sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1684, Wing O 63; Anthony Harris, *An Account of an Apparition that Appeared to Titus Oates*, by N. Thompson, 1684, Wing H 837; *The Sodomite, or, The Venison Doctor, with his Brace of Aldermen-Stags*, by N. Thompson, 1684, Wing S 4417B; *Tyburn's Courteous Invitation to Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor*, by N.T., 1684, Wing T 3557, and *The Swearers Chorus to the First Presbyterian Plot*, by N.T., 1684, Wing S 6242.
381. C. Blount, *Janua Scientiarum: or, A Compendious Introduction to Geography, Chronology, Government, History, Philosophy, and All Genteel Sorts of Literature*, Wing B 3306. Edward Llewellyn, *The Prodigal Returned Home; or, The Motives of the Conversion to the Catholick Faith of E.L., Master of Arts in the University of Cambridge*, 1684, Wing L 3525; Clancy 610. For the attribution of this work to Edward Llewellyn instead of to E. Lydeott, see Dom

H. Steuert, 'The Prodigall Returned Home' in *The Downside Review*, 64 (1946), p. 78-90.

382. *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs*, by N.T. 1684, Wing T 1004. The collection was entered in the Stationers' Registers on 29 July 1684: see G.E.B. Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A.D.*, London 1913-4, vol. 2, 29 July 1684; *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems ... Collected by N.T.*, Wing T 1005, TC II, p. 138; *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*, Wing T 1003, TC II, p. 140.
383. Titus Oates: *Truth Tryumphant over Perjury Rampant*, Wing T 3161; Argyle: *The Rebel Captive. An Excellent New Song, on the Taking of Argile in Scotland by Three Young Men*, Wing R 592A. Wing also lists W 2862A, Stephen Willoughby, *A Poem on the Coronation of James II*, anr. ed., as printed by Nathaniel Thompson. According to a note in the Bodleian Library copy of Wing and in NUC this entry, Wing W 2862A, is the same as P 2689A, *A Poem on the Coronation of our Most Illustrious Sovereign ...*, by Nathaniel Thompson, 1685, which poem is not by Stephen Willoughby.
384. Bowler, p. 318; Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 68; *TPM*, no. 17, 23 February; no. 18, 26 February, no. 19, 2 March 1681; *The Weekly Discoverer Strip't Naked*, no. 2, 23 February; no. 3, 2 March; no. 5, 16 March 1681; *Smith's Protestant Intelligence*, no. 9, 28 February 1681; *PDI*, no. 100, 25 February 1681. See also IEA, no. 273, p. 260; *CSPD*, 16 March 1681; *The Tryal and Condemnation of Several Notorious Malefactors, at a Sessions of Oyer and Terminer ... April 13, 1681 ... at the Sessions House Old Bailey*, London 1681, Wing T 2148. Hindmarsh was fined £20: Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 311. He also had to give a recognizance of £100: *CSPD*, February 1684.
385. T.A., *Some Reflections upon a Late Pamphlet in a Letter to J.H.*, Wing A 3974, praised Hindmarsh because he had taken *The Presbyterian Pater Noster* out of circulation. Support came in *A Letter to a Noble Lord concerning a Late Prophane Pamphlet Entitled The Presbyterians Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments*, Wing M 13, M 13A. The pamphlet was signed D.M.
386. *TPM*, no. 17, 23 February 1681. Samuel Mearne, bookbinder to the King, and master of the Stationers' Company in 1679, was also indicted by the Whig party for a libellous pamphlet against Sir Patience Ward on 17 October 1681: see Bowler, p. 345.
387. For *The Fetter-Lane Loyalist*, see note 329.
388. See note 322; see also *IPM*, no. 12, 3 June 1681.
389. *CSPD*, 8 September 1681.

390. The remark in the newsletter probably refers to *The Waking Vision, or, Reality in a Fancy*, Wing W 282; see POAS, vol. 2, p. 419; J. Dean, *The Badger in the Foxtrap, or, A Satyr upon Satyrs*, Wing D 492, and *A Vision in the Tower, to the L.H. in his Contemplation*, Wing V 658; the first of these poems appeared under Thompson's imprint, the second had no printer's name, the last had the imprint 'printed by T.N.'. For Bully see Warner, vol. 1, no. 300n., vol. 2, no. 679n. Bully's trial was reported in *The Trial and Condemnation of Several Notorious Malefactors*, see note 384. For Mounson, see *Modesty Triumphant over Impudence, or, Some Notes upon a Late Romance Published by Mrs. Cellier, Midwife and Lady Errant*, 1680, p. 17f., Wing M 2379. Also Warner, vol. 2, nos. 454, 535.
391. CSPD, 3 September 1681. LPTDI, no. 51, 30 August 1681.
392. CSPD, 8 September 1681. See IPM, no. 30, 5 August 1681. At the assizes at Durham, 22 July 1681, Dr Grenville indicted 'a person' who had interrupted him during divine service, when he exhorted his parishioners to re-elect the loyal MP's who had served for the county in the Westminster Parliament. The indictment was rejected by the Grand Jury. Thompson published an account of the affair in LPTDI, no. 50, 27 August 1681, stating that Grenville's indictment of Mr Midford, the son of a rebellious colonel, had been thrown out by the Grand Jury, although proof had been brought forward that Midford had interrupted Dr Grenville, when, after the Nicene Creed, he invited those who intended to take the sacrament at Easter to his house for instruction and exhorted his parishioners to take the forthcoming elections seriously without paying attention to evil rumours.
393. *At the General Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery Held for the City of London, on Wednesday 31 August, at Justice Hall in the Old Baily, in the Three and Thirtieth Year of our Sovereign Lord, Charles &c, for R. Janeway, 1681*, Wing (L 2887L); Luttrell, BR I, p. 120, 139; *The Observer*, no. 59, 5 October 1681; IPM, no. 38, 2 September 1681; LPTDI, no. 52, 3 September 1681; Kitchin, p. 278; see also Sir Roger L'Estrange, *The Dissenters Sayings, The Second Part, Published in their Own Words, for the Information of the People*, 2nd edition, 1681, Wing L 1241.
394. Luttrell, BR I, p. 135; Bowler, p. 348; *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*, Preface; CSPD, 15 October 1681. *A Dialogue ...*, Wing D 1355; *The Poor Prisoner's Lamentation ...*, Wing P 2872; *An Excellent New Ballad ...*, Wing E 3802. IEA, no. 255, p. 232.
395. LPTDI, no. 64, 15 October 1681. *The Hue and Cry ...*, Wing H 3274. All these pamphlets were published at the time when Titus Oates was ordered to leave Whitehall, 31 August 1681. A writ of Certiorari was 'a writ issuing from a superior court upon the com-

plaint of a party that he has not received justice in an inferior court, or cannot have an impartial trial, by which the records of the case are called up for trial in the superior court' (OED). Bowler shows that the indictment mentioned only the *Dialogue*.

396. *LPTDI*, no. 63, 11 October 1681. Bowler, p. 343; *IPM*, no. 51, 18 October 1681; Thompson worked for W. Davis and John Carr, see Appendix II. Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 263 records that Jekyl was fined 200 marks for riot on 24 June 1682. Thompson continued to agitate against John Jekyl in his *Domestick Intelligence* and in his ballads.
397. *CSPD*, 2 November 1681; *Whereas Nath Thompson has Lately in his Publick Intelligence of the 25th of October Published these Words Following ...*, Wing W 1628; *HMC*, 78 *Hastings*, vol. 2, p. 173; *Ormonde*, New Series, VI, p. 215, 217.
398. *LPTDI*, no. 80, 22 November 1681. Francis Charlton was the foreman of the Grand Jury that pronounced the bill against the Earl of Shaftesbury ignoramus on 24 November 1681. He was a friend of Shaftesbury's and as such one of Thompson's targets. See Haley, *Shaftesbury*, p. 669.
399. *The Procession: or, The Burning of the Pope in Effigie, in Smithfield-Rounds, on the 17th of November 1681, being Queen Elizabeth's Birthday*, 1681, Wing P 3630. Sheila Williams, 'The Popeburning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), p. 104-18, mistakenly applies this description to Sir Roger L'Estrange.
400. *A True Copy of a Letter of Consolation ...*, Wing T 2618. The pamphlet describes Thompson's place in the procession of 17 November and the attack by Charlton.
401. On 14 February Thompson had suggested that one of the reasons why Thynne was murdered might be the fact that both he and Count Koningsmark were suitors to Lady Ogle. See *The London Gazette*, no. 1695, 16 February 1682; *LPTDI*, no. 120, 23 February 1682; *TPM*, no. 117, 18 February 1682.
402. Bowler, p. 351. Cowper indicted Thompson because he had printed on 23 February that the coroner had refused to view the body of Thynne, and had been indicted for extortion.
403. J. Farwell, *A Letter to Mr. Miles Prance*, Wing F 537. According to the indictment the letter was published on 23 February: *IEA*, no. 265, p. 243. John Farwell was a Roman Catholic attorney in the Court of Common Pleas. He belonged to the Inner Temple. See Bowler, p. 198; *PRO*, PC 2/69/482.

404. For Miles Prance and his evidence see Lane, *Titus Oates*, p. 159f.
405. *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost*, Wing S 3876; *LPTDI*, no. 128, 14 March 1682. The Nichols Newspapers copy of Janeway's pamphlet is dated in a contemporary hand 11 March 1682.
406. *A Second Letter to Mr. Miles Prance*, by William Paine, Wing P 192. The Nichols Newspapers copy in the Bodleian Library is dated 15 March 1682. According to the indictment it was written and printed on 3 March 1682. *LPTDI*, no. 128, 14 March 1682, wrote that the *Second Letter to Mr. Miles Prance* was to appear 'next Wednesday', i.e. 15 March. William Paine was said to be the brother of H. Nevil Payne, a well-known Roman Catholic agitator. See note 569.
407. *LPTDI*, no. 105, 19 January 1682; *IPM*, no. 77, 20 January 1682. There had been other pamphlets casting doubt on the official theory that Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey had been murdered by the papists. Mrs Cellier's *Malice Defeated* had suggested that Miles Prance had perjured himself. See note 185. The poem *The Humble Wishes of a Loyal Subject*, published in December 1681 for A. Banks, had also suggested that the official explanation of Godfrey's death was untrue. See p. 99.
408. See C. Welsh, 'The City Printers' in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 14 (1915-1917), p. 240. *LPTDI*, no. 127, 11 March 1682.
409. Bowler, p. 353; *CSPD*, 21 March 1682.
410. *LPTDI*, no. 133, 25 March 1682; *IPM*, no. 96, 24 March 1682; Bowler p. 353, names William Cooper and Ezechiel Polster as Thompson's securities, although he notes that the second name is not more than a conjecture. The name of Fitzgerald, landlord of the Queen's Head Tavern, is mentioned in *The London Mercury*, no. 2, 10 April 1682 and *IPM*, no. 101, 10 April 1682.
411. PRO, PC 2/69/480; *CSPD*, 30 March 1682; *DI*, no. 89, 30 March 1682; *LPTDI*, no. 136, 1 April 1682.
412. Letter to the Duke of Ormonde, *CSPD*, 2 April 1684.
413. *LPTDI*, no. 136, 1 April 1682; *CSPD*, 30 March 1682.
414. *LPTDI*, no. 130, 18 March 1682; no. 133, 25 March 1682.
415. *CSPD*, 6 April 1682; PRO, PC 2/69/485; *The London Gazette*, no. 1709, 6 April 1682; *DI*, no. 91, 6 March 1682; Luttrell, *BR I*, 176. See *An Account of the Proceedings against Nat. Thompson, Mr. Farwell & Mr. Paine, at the Council-Board, on Wednesday, April the Fifth*

416. *IPM*, no. 100, 7 April 1682. See note 569.
417. Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 176; *LPTDI*, no. 139, 8 April 1682. Thompson explained to his readers on 8 April, that the Council had not investigated the truth of the charges against him and said that he was grateful to the Council that they had noticed 'the snare' in the petition of the Godfreys, requesting the Council to investigate the truth of the allegations. Had they done this, Thompson maintained, the Whigs would have accused the Council of meddling.
418. *LPTDI*, no. 139, 8 April 1682; no. 142, 15 April 1682.
419. *LPTDI*, no. 150, 4 May 1682; *CSPD*, 4 May 1682.
420. *LPTDI*, no. 161, 30 May 1682.
421. *LPTDI*, no. 153, 11 May 1682.
422. *LPTDI*, no. 162, 1 June 1682.
423. *LPTDI*, no. 162, 1 June 1682.
424. Luttrell records that before the trial took place, a request was made to the Court of King's Bench for permission to indict Miles Prance for perjury. The person who made the request, however, was committed to the custody of the tipstaff, 'it being done only with the intent to take off his testimony at the trial between him and Thompson the printer'. Luttrell, *BR I*, p. 195. The bookseller Thomas Simmons published *The Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson, William Pain and John Farwell*, Wing T 2207, authorized by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Francis Pemberton. Other accounts were published by the bookseller William Mason, and by the publisher Jane Curtis. See also Cobbett, *State Trials*, vol. 8, col. 1359f.; *A Compleat Collection of State Trials*, for T. Godwin e.a., London 1719, vol. 3, p. 37f.
425. *The Tryal of Nathanael [sic]Thompson, John Farwell, William Pain, before the Right Honourable Sir Fran. Pemberton ...*, for William Mason 1682, Wing T 2206. Wing mistakes Simon's Trial, T 2207 for another edition of Mason's Trial, T 2206.
426. *ibidem*.
427. *ibidem*.
428. *The Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson ...*, for Thomas Simmons, 1682.

429. *LPTDI*, no. 163, 3 June 1682.
430. *The Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson ...*, for Thomas Simmons, 1682.
431. *TPM*, no. 157, 8 July 1682.
432. See notes 424, 425. Jane Curtis published *The Most Remarkable Tryals of Nathaniel Thompson, William Paine and John Farwell ... on the 20th of June 1682*. Wing M 2917. She was summoned before the Lord Chief Justice for the publication of the trial; see *TPM*, no. 157, 8 July 1682.
433. *The Sentence of Nathaniel Thompson ...*, Wing S 2554.
434. *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Apparition ...*, Wing S 3875; *More Work for the Popish Implements ...*, Wing M 2718; *Trincalo Sainted ...*, Wing T 2282.
435. See B. Masters, *The Mistresses of Charles II*, London 1979, p. 166 for the departure to France of Louise de Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth.
436. *A Letter from Lucifer ...*, Wing L 1488. *TPM*, no. 155, 1 July 1682.
437. *The Observer*, no. 163, 1 July 1682.
438. *LPTDI*, no. 176, 4 July 1682. 'The person who dare not look the sun in the face' was Langley Curtis, who had thought it wise to go into hiding.
439. *A Pillar Erected ...*, Wing P 2237A; *Popish Nat's Lamentation ...*, Wing P 2953; *Tom-son his Repetition...*, Wing T 1871.
440. Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 207, 16 July 1682.
441. *TPM*, no. 158, 12 July 1682; *Loyal London Mercury*, no. 11, 19 July 1682.
442. *TPM*, no. 163, 28 July 1682.
443. *TPM*, no. 188, 25 October 1682.
444. MS Rawl. D18, f. 44b, 62. The latter of these is dated 'At the Court of Whitehall, October 1st 1682. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook F, 1 March 1688, provides evidence that Thompson mortgaged his English Stock share to John Leigh on 5 September 1682.
445. *PRO*, SP 44/55/216, 28 October 1682.

446. *CSPD*, 16 November 1682.
447. *Popish Nat's Lamentation* ..., see p. 78.
448. *CSPD*, 16 November 1682.
449. *LPTDI*, no. 239, 1 March 1683.
450. *LPTDI*, no. 246, 17 March 1683; *CSPD*, 21 March, 28 March 1683.
451. *CSPD*, 25 October 1684. *The Prodigal Returned Home* ..., see note 381.
452. *CSPD*, 25, 29 October 1682.
453. See *An Account of the Proceedings against Nathaniel Thompson, upon his Tryal at the King's Bench Bar Westminster ... the 26th of November 1684* ..., for A. Banks, 1684, Wing A 349. *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown* ..., 1681, Wing P 568; Clancy, 1404 W.
454. See *An Account of the Proceedings* ..., note 453. 'The Noble Peer's Speech', is the pamphlet *A Speech Lately Made by a Noble Peer of the Realm* (by the Earl of Shaftesbury), Wing S 2901-2, published in December 1680, for which Francis Smith was indicted and convicted: *CSPD*, 18 January, 8, 15 November, 23 December 1681. *IEA*, no. 250, p. 221; see also *CSPD*, 7 June 1683: the pamphlet was printed by J. Astwood according to Sir R. L'Estrange, who also accused R. Stephens of protecting Astwood.
455. See R. Nettel, *Seven Centuries of Popular Song. A Social History of Urban Ditties*, London 1956; H.E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland. Blackletter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1693. Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys*, Cambridge Mass. 1922, p. xi; A. Clark, ed., *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616*, Oxford 1907; C.M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, New Brunswick 1966; L. Shepard, John Pitts, *Balladprinter of the Seven Dials, London, 1765-1844*, London 1969, chapter 2.
456. See *CSPD*, 11 April 1681; Lawrence White rides to fairs and markets with pamphlets to inflame the people. *CSPD*, January 1683 quotes the information of R. Crowder, that Mrs Curtis sang the ballad *The Downfall of the Whigs* with him by her fireside.
457. *TDI*, no. 48, 19 December 1679. The 'Commonwealth Coffeehouse in Bartholomew Lane' was probably the Amsterdam Coffeehouse, owned by the Whig Kidd, and frequented by Titus Oates. See B. Lilly-white, *London Coffeehouses*, p. 80; for the coffeehouses, see note 1.

458. Edward Fitzharris: see page 53. *Advice to the Carver*, a poem on the trial, conviction and execution of William Howard, Viscount Stafford on 29 December 1680. The poem was reprinted by Thompson in his *Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*, 1685, p. 97-115. The poem is given special mention on the titlepage of the collection. See M.T. Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems, 1633-1856. An Annotated Finding List*, Univ. of Texas, 1949.
459. *LPTDI*, no. 28, 11 June 1681.
460. *HR*, no. 29, 16 August 1681.
461. *The Observer*, no. 48, 31 August 1681.
462. *MA*, no. 1, 10 October 1681; the same accusation is found in *The Papists Bloudy Aftergame*, see note 363.
463. *Prologue to Burlesque upon Burlesque; or, The Scoffer Scoft, The Genuine Works of Charles Cotton Esq.*, London 1715, quoted in A.B. Friedman, *The Ballad Revival. Studies in the Influence of Popular upon Sophisticated Song*, Chicago 1961, p. 46-7; J.W. Ebsworth, ed., *The Bagford Ballads*, Hertford 1878, repr. New York 1968, vol. 1, p. xi.
464. The Pepys Ballad Collection, quoted from the photographic copy in British Library, LR 408, n 1, p. 2.
465. H.E. Rollins, *The Pepys Ballads*, Cambridge Mass., 1929-32, vol. 3, p. viii: 'for few ballad writers had political opinions that were carefully thought out, or what opinions they did have could be changed as readily as a coat'.
466. Preface to *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*.
467. *The London Gazette*, no. 1712, 17 April 1681.
468. William Thackeray, 'The Schedule or Catalogue of the Books, Ballads etc. being the Stock of the Antient Ballad-Ware-House, mentioned in the Preceding Indenture', Pepys Ballad Collection, vol. 5; printed in Ebsworth, *The Bagford Ballads*, vol 1, p. lx.
469. *The London Gazette*, no. 1432, 11 August 1679.
470. Richard Baldwin is a good example of a publisher who refused to reveal the name of his author: he even went as far to order his printer to destroy the copy so that the author's identity would not be revealed: see *LPTDI*, no. 158, 23 May 1682.
471. John Dryden worked for the bookseller Henry Herringman: 'he turned

- a journeyman t'a bookseller; wrote prefaces to books for meat and drink, and as he paid, he would write and think': T. Shadwell, 'The Medal of John Bayes', lines 109-11, quoted in C.W. Miller, 'Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller and Publisher', in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 42 (1948), p. 292.
472. H.E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London', in *Studies in Philology*, 21 (1924).
473. See Wing (D 494B, D 494C; D 495, D 496; D 492A; D 492; D 494; D 494A; H 673, H 674).
474. See H.E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index'. E. Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1554-1640*, London 1785-94; and Eyre, *A Transcript, 1640-1708*: 14 December 1624, 1 June 1629, 13 March 1656, 1 March 1675, 1 July 1678.
475. For the ballad partnerships see C. Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad-market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), p. 161-80.
476. The words 'thy bawling spouse' on page 3 of the pamphlet refer to Thompson's wife Mary, who like other printers' wives, sold her husband's publications in the streets; hawkers were commonly described as 'bawling' their wares. See note 72.
477. *The Character of a Modern Sham-plotter*, for Richard Janeway, Wing C 1980.
478. *LPTDI*, nos. 200, 202, 29 August, 2 September 1682. Thompson made the same claim in the preface to *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs*.
479. Chapter 3, p. 67f.
480. *TC* II, p. 138,140.
481. See C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702: A Bibliography with a First-line Index of Songs*, London 1940; A.E. Case, *Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies, 1521-1750*, Oxford 1935. T.T. Dombras, 'Political Miscellanies 1681-1716', (unpublished thesis, D. Phil.) Oxford University, 1950. See also *NCBEL*, vol. 2.
482. See C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, 'English Song-Books 1651-1702, and their Publishers', in *The Library*, 4th Series, 16 (1936), p. 355-401.

483. *Rome Rhym'd to Death*, Wing R 1758.
484. *The Brimingham Ballad* ..., Wing B 4694; *The Tory Ballad* ..., Wing T 1944; first line 'Room, room for Cavaliers, Bring us more wine'. *The Loyal Sheriffs* ..., Wing L 3368; first line 'Now at last the matter is decided'. See Luttrell, *BR* I, p. 206.
485. *The Whigs' Hard Heart* ..., Wing W 1658, first line 'Ye Whigs and Dissenters, I carge you attend ...'. This ballad appeared early in 1684 when most London booksellers had ballads on the great frost: see E. Rimbault, ed., *Old Ballads Illustrating the Great Frost of 1683-4 and the Fair on the River Thames*, London 1844. *Oates Thrash'd in the Computer* ..., Wing O 63, first line 'Hail the Prince of the Plot ...', came out after Oates's conviction in May 1684.
486. For imprints and their interpretation see W. Greg, 'Entrance, Licence and Publication'.
487. See p. 59, 64.
488. *Riddle of the Roundhead*, Wing R 1439; first line 'Now at last the riddle is expounded ...'. *Treason Unmasked*, Wing T 2081.
489. *London's Loyalty* ...; there are several broadside copies of this ballad: *A New Ballad of London's Loyalty*, no place, date, or printer, Wing N 565; same title, printed 'for Richard Sanders'; same title, printed 'for Robert Saunders', Wing N 566. For the charge against the woman hawker see *LPTDI*, no. 104, 17 January 1682; for the fine see *IPM*, no. 107, 2 May 1682. In his *Domestick Intelligence* Thompson records that the witnesses who gave evidence against the hawker, (the stationers Starkey, Miller and Basset: *HR*, no. 66, 2 May 1682) and 'poached up and down the City for evidence against a loyal citizen, only for shewing the ballad *London's Loyalty*', were the same people who also gave evidence against him for *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor* and for *An Excellent New Ballad to the Tune of How Unhappy is Phillis in Love*. Bowler notes on p. 345n. that the booksellers Samuel Mearne and James Vade were indicted for this ballad. The bill against Mearne was ignored and there is no evidence that Vade was actually prosecuted.
490. See H.E. Rollins, 'An Analytical Index', nos. 1581a, 97, 605; Eyre, *A Transcript 1640-1708*, vol. 3, p. 163, 191. *London's Lamentation, or, An Excellent New Song on the Loss of London's Charter*, Wing L 2935, first line 'You freemen and masters and prentices mourn' had the imprint 'printed by N.T. at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden'. *Ryot upon Ryot, or, A Chant upon the Arresting the Loyal L. Mayor & Sheriffs*, Wing R 1527, first line 'Rowze up great

monarch in the royal cause' had the imprint 'Printed, to shew well what they would be at, in the Year MDCLXXXIII'. *The Conspiracy; or, The Discovery of the Fanatick Plot*, Wing C 5931, first line 'Let Pickering now be forgotten', was published with the imprint 'Printed, Anno Domini 1683'. It is strange that the last two ballads were registered as late as 23 August, while they were published as early as 30 April and 11 July 1683. Rollins misread the name of John Mayos as John Mayor in both cases. On the same 23 August, John Zeale's *A Narrative of the Phanatical Plot* was entered for N. Thompson, but this entry was not signed. It was probably entered by John Mayos as well.

491. See McKenzie, 1641-1700; Mayos was one of the witnesses to Thompson's will in 1687.

492. Six of these ballad broadsides had the imprint 'for A. Banks', eight had the imprint 'for Allen Banks' and one was printed 'for Alexander Banks'. Allen Banks had served his apprenticeship with William Lee from 30 April 1659 till 4 May 1666. He was probably a poor man in these years: in August 1676 the Stationers' Company ordered the bookseller Vere to treat with the keeper of Newgate to release Allen Banks from Newgate. In 1674 he was allowed a loan of £5 from the Company. In October 1679 he was removed from the livery of the Company because he had failed to pay his liveryman's fine. He received a pension from the Stationers' Company from the second quarter-day 1678 till the fourth quarter-day 1682: see W. Craig Fergusson, 'The Stationers' Company Poor Book 1608-1700' in *The Library*, 5th Series, 31 (1976), p. 37-51. McKenzie, 1641-1700; McKenzie, 1701-1800; Stationers' Hall, Courtbook D. Alexander Banks was one of Thompson's servants as early as 1677: see p. 10.

493. *The Loyal Feast ... and The Coat of Arms of N.T. J.F. and R.L.*: see p. 64. *An Answer to the Pamphlet Called The Loyal Feast*, Wing A 3429, first line 'Tories are tools of the Irish race'. The ballad was printed 'for J. Tacker'. See W. Chappell and J.W. Ebsworth, eds., *The Roxburghe Ballads*, Hertford 1871-99, repr. New York 1966, vol. 4, p. 256. Sam's was the coffeehouse frequented by Sir Roger L'Estrange; *The Observer*, 22 May 1682; B. Lillywhite, *London Coffeehouses*, nos. 1157f.

494. *Thompson Tell-Lyes ...*, Wing T 1019A, first line 'Hail to the Devil and the Pope', 'Godfrey's Ghost' is of course a reference to Richard Janeway's pamphlet *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost*: see p. 72.

495. *Ignoramus Justice ...*, Wing I 45, first line 'Did you not hear of a Peer that was try'd? ...'. *Justice Tryumphant ...*, Wing (J 1253A), first line 'Now the traytor, King hater ...'. As we have

seen, Banks's name also appeared on *A Dialogue between the Ghosts of the Two Last Parliaments*, which was reprinted by Thompson in *A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles* and in *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*.

496. James Dean was probably not a member of the Stationers' Company. See Plomer, 1668-1725. For James Dean as ballad writer see p. 86. Stationers' Company Courtbook F records that the widow Mallet was in trouble because she had printed the ballad *Mormouth Routed and Taken Prisoner, with his Pimp the Lord Gray* ..., Wing M 2432, for James Dean. Strangely enough it was Dean who informed against her to Sir Roger L'Estrange, although he had sent her the ballad himself. The *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. viii, p. 1672, records that in 1686 James Dean was employed by the Post Office as receiver of letters and that he was reputed as 'desperate'. See Hodgson, 'Papers and Documents Found at Stationers' Hall', p. 28.
497. For C. Corbet see Plomer, 1668-1725; Murrie, 'Notes on the Printers and Publishers of English Songbooks, 1651-1702'. In 1683 Corbet published *A Collection of the Newest and Choicest Songs that are Now Sett by the Masters of His Majesties Musick and Others, with Musical Notes*. See Day and Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702*, no. 61. The book is not the same as no. 65 as Day and Murrie suggest.
498. *The Observer* regularly points out that pamphlets were published with the names of well-known persons on the titlepage in order to boost sales. See, for example, no. 128, 26 April 1682; *HR*, no. 43, 22 November 1681.
499. *A Song of the Light of the Three Nations* ..., Wing S 4680, first line 'Come all you caballers'.
500. *The Dyet of Cowley*, p. 226, first line 'Now by my love, the greatest oath that is ...'; *A Song*, p. 201, first line 'Down with discoverers who so long have plotted ...'; *The West-Country-Man's Song at a Wedding*, by Thomas Jordan, p. 225, first line 'Uds hearty wounds, I'se not to plowing, not I Sir ...'.
501. The 'Scotch Song on the Oxford Parliament' exists in manuscript only: Bodleian Library, MS Don. b8, f. 701; British Library, MS Harl. 6913, f. 205; MS Harl. 6914 f. 10. *An Excellent New Song, or, The Loyal Tories Delight*, printed for J. Dean, 1683, Wing (E 3833A).
502. *Oates's Bug-- Bug-- Boardingschool at Camberwel*: Wing lists D 494B, dated 1683, and gives the Bodleian Library as the location, where, however, there is only a 1684 copy; and D 494C, dated 1684: N. Luttrell dated this copy 8 March 1684/5. The copy is bound in

Poetry Longwaies, 1683-85, a collection of Luttrell's ballads and poems now in the possession of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

503. The Thompson ballad here reprinted is *The Bully Whig, or, The Poor Whores Lamentation for the Apprehending Sir Thomas Armstrong*, sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1684, Wing B 5438, first line, 'Ah cruel bloody Tom'. The ballad is modelled on *Dagon's Fall, or, The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland*, Wing D 112, which is the same ballad as *The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland*, Wing W 1659, first line, 'Ah cruel bloody fate', both printed by N. Thompson. The A.B. ballad was *Raree-Show, or, The True Protestant Procession*, Wing C 5226B, first line, 'This is the cabal of some Protestant lords'. Wing attributes the authorship to Stephen College, but the only connection between this ballad and Stephen College is the fact that the title reminds the reader of Stephen College's ballad *A Ra-ree Show*, Wing C 5226 A.

504. The ballads which have no dates in their imprints as well as the ballads of which no broadside copies exist have been dated on the basis of their contents. Only political ballads have been taken into account.

505. *A New Narrative of the Popish Plot*, first line 'Good people I pray give ear unto me', p. 148; *The Second Part*, first line 'The Plot being thus subtly contrived as you hear', p. 151; *A Ballad upon the Popish Plot, Written by a Lady of Quality*, first line, 'Since counterfeit plots has affected this age', p. 248. See Ebsworth, *The Bagford Ballads*, vol. 2, p. 670f.

506. F.C. Francis, *Luttrell's Popish Plot Catalogues*, lists on page 25: *A Ballad upon the Popish Plot, 1679, The Second Part to the Popish Plot, 1679 and The Third Part to the Popish Plot, 1679*.

507. *A Ballad. The Third Part, to the Same Tune, Written by a Lady of Quality*, Wing P 3118, (G 74C); British Library, Luttrell III, 102-4. These ballads were attributed to Lady Powis. In fact they seem to have been written by Thompson's friend John Gadbury.

508. *The Second Part to the Same Tune, or, An Answer to the Lady of Quality's Popish Ballad of the Popish Plot*, Wing S 2325, (G 100), first line 'Since Hell is broke loose, and the press set a work', see Ebsworth, *The Bagford Ballads*, vol. 2, p. 989.

509. *A Prophetical Catch*, first line, 'Oh the Plot discoverers, Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, Prance'. *A New Ballad Being a Comparison between One that Cut off his Own Nose and Another that Cut his Own Throat*

To Gain Renown, Wing N 554A, first line, 'There is an old story, that's much to the glory'. See Luttrell, BR I, p. 41. Thompson reported the attack on Arnold, which later proved to be self-inflicted injury, in *TDI*, no. 83, 20 April 1680. See Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 191.

510. Robert Stephens was dismissed from office in December 1684. See Rostenberg, 'Subversion and Repression: Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press', in *Literary, Political ... Printing and Bookselling*, vol. 2, p. 344-67; Luttrell, BR I, p. 323. Thompson's pique was no doubt due to the fact that, in the autumn of 1684, Stephens had seized *The Prodigal Returned Home* and 'Doleman upon the Succession'. See p. 81.
511. *An Anagram and Acrostick ...*, first line, 'When Adam proper names conferred'. *Jack Ketch's New Song; or, A Warning to Conspirators*, first line, 'I hang and I behead'. *An Excellent New Hymn to the Mobile, Exhorting them to Loyalty*, Wing E 3807, first line, 'Let us advance the good old cause'. *Great York and Albany, or, The Loyal Welcome to His Royal Highness on His Return from Scotland*, Wing G 1788, first line, 'Now, now the zealots all must droop'. Both ballads were printed by Thompson in 1682.
512. *A New Song in Praise of the Loyal Company of Stationers ...*, Wing N 761A, first line, 'In London was such a quarter'. In his quotation of part of this ballad in 'Charter Trouble', in *The Book Collector*, 6 (1957), p. 369 and in *The Stationers' Company*, Blagden explains the name 'limping Dick the Zealous' as Richard Royston, while in fact Richard Janeway was meant; 'Jack Thumb' was the nickname of John Starkey used regularly in the Tory news-sheets. 'Frank the first and the second', does not refer to Francis Tyton but to Francis Smith and his son Francis; 'hungry Will of the wood' is William Miller. All these men were among Thompson's opponents in the 1680s. Narcissus Luttrell explained these nicknames in manuscript notes on his copy, which is now in the volume *Poetry Longwaies 1683-1685* in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Even Luttrell did not recognize the other names in the ballad. See note 489.
- 513, *A Dialogue between Bowman the Tory ...*, Wing D 1304, first line, 'Come murdering Miles, where is your sedan?' The ballad was probably published on the occasion of the release from prison on bail of the three remaining Roman Catholic Lords, the Earl of Powis, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and Lord Bellasis in February 1684.
514. See Appendix I.
515. See Appendix I.

516. 'Let Oliver ...', title: *An Excellent New Ballad to the Tune of How Unhappy is Phillis in Love*, Wing E 3802; *The Conspiracy ...*, Wing C 5931.
517. *The Whigs Exaltation ...*, Wing W 1657, first line, 'Now now the Tories all shall stoop'. The Thompson and H.B. [Henry Brome?] copies had this title. The slightly longer version for Philip Brooksby was entitled *The Whig Rampant, or, The Exaltation, being a Pleasant New Song* of 82, Wing Q 120, listed under F. Quarles. See POAS, vol. 3, p. 10 for the relationship between this ballad and its earlier models.
518. The three ballads are *A New Song on the Fanatick Plot*, first line, 'Now, now, the Plot is all come out', printed by Thompson in 1683 as a broadside ballad under the title *Murder out at Last*, Wing M 3085; *The Whigs Downfall*, first line, 'Now, now, the anti-Christian crew', and *The Downfall of the Good Old Cause*, first line, 'Now, the bad old cause is tap't'.
519. For ballad tunes see Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*; W. Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, London 1859, repr. New York 1965. For *The Jovial Beggars* see Simpson. *The Swearer's Chorus ...*, Wing S 6242.
520. *A Ballad. The Third Part ...*, see note 507; Oates's *Lamentation*: not in Wing. Ots's *Lamentation*, printed for James Dean, Wing O 533A, is a different ballad.
521. On p. 228 Thompson printed: *The Salamanca Doctor's Farewell: or Titus's Exaltation to the Pillory, upon his Conviction of Perjury*, Wing S 368, first line, 'Come listen, ye Whigs to my pitiful moan', originally printed for G.C. [George Croom] and sold by Randal Taylor; see POAS, vol. 4, p. 15; on p. 261: *A New Song, Perjury Punish'd, or, Villany Lash'd: To the Tune of Packington's Pound*, first line, 'Bold Titus, he walkt about Westminster Hall'. *The Western Rebell ...*, Wing W 1413, first line, 'See the vizor's pulled off and the zealots are arming', for N. Wolfe, 1685; see POAS, vol. 4, p. 32.
522. *The Theater of Music ...*, see Day and Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702*, no. 78.
523. *A New Ballad ...*, Wing N 578, first line, 'Can'st tell me Ceres, what curst fate'.
524. *An Excellent New Hymn to the Mobile ...*, see note 511. *A New Irish Song*, first line, 'My bonny dear Shony, my crony, my honey', from Thomas Jordan, *The Triumphs of London: Performed on Monday, October XXIX, 1683 ...*, London, for John and Henry Playford, 1683;

see Day and Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702*, no. 67. Thomas Jordan was the City Laureate, and the *Triumphs of London* was written on the occasion of the election of the Lord Mayor, Sir Henry Tulse.

525. *The Plot Cram'd into Jones Placket*, first line, 'Have you not lately heard of Lords sent to the Tower' was an expansion of a six-stanza ballad *A Song of the New Plot*, Wing S 4681, published anonymously in August 1681 after the arrest of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Lord Howard of Escrick. Thompson expanded his reprint with four stanzas, the last two of which referred to the election, at the Guildhall on 19 September 1682, of Mr Peter Rich to serve, with Dudley North, as sheriff of London and Middlesex for the ensuing year. Box refused to serve with North. Cf. p. 88.
526. *The Compleat Swearing Master ...*, Wing C 5659. For Oates's evidence see Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, p. 64, 70; Pollock, *The Popish Plot*, p. 77.
527. *A Song of the New Plot*, see note 525.
528. *A Ballad upon the Popish Plot*, see notes 505, 506. For Danby and the Popish Plot see J. Warner, vol. 1, nos. 106-108; Echard, *The History of England*, vol. 3, p. 529, 630.
529. See *LPTDI*, no. 27, 7 June; no. 28, 11 June; no. 30, 18 June 1681.
530. *Toney's Soliloquies*, 1682, Wing T 1872. 120 *Loyal Songs* retained the broadside version of the text. In 1685 the House of Lords adopted a bill for the reversal of Stafford's attainder, but the bill was lost because its progress in the House of Commons was interrupted by Monmouth's landing in the west.
531. *Loyalty Unfeigned ...*, for P. Brooksby, Wing L 3383. The original song is attributed to Sir William Jones in MS Douce 357, f. 103.
532. *The Tory Song ...*, Wing T 1944.
533. *A Hue and Cry after Titus Oates*, for Alexander Banks, 1681, Wing H 3374. *The Poor Prisoner's Lamentation for the Loss of S-- B--*, London, for James Alexander, 1681, Wing P 2872. *Let Oliver now be Forgotten*, for Benjamin Harris, sold by Langley Curtis, 1681, Wing E 3802. *Oates's Manifesto*, for R.L., 1683, Wing O 66.
534. For Sir W. Waller see *DNB*. From April 1680, when Sir William Waller was put out of commission, Thompson regularly described him as one who prosecuted Roman Catholics with a view to his own profit. At the time when he began to write against Waller, Thompson still supported Robert Stephens, who was indicted by the sta-

tioner Samuel Lee and fined £3 6 8 because he had arrested the hawker Judith Jones for selling *The Answer to His Majesties Late Generous Declaration*. See *LPTDI*, no. 37, 12 July 1681; also no. 54, 10 September 1681, when Thompson reported Stephens's seizure of Stephen College's *A Ra-Ree Show*.

535. *Poems Written by the Right Honourable Henry Lord Arundel of War-der, and Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, now Prisoner in the Tower*, London, Printed Anno Domini 1679; 1. A Valediction to the World; 2. Prosecution no Loss; 3. God Chastiseth whom He Loveth; 4. Considerations before the Crucifix; 5. Upon the Pains of Hell. Wing A 3896, A 3897. *A Paradox against Liberty, Written by the Lords during their Imprisonment in the Tower*, London, Printed in the Year 1679; also printed for James Vade, at the Cock and Sugarleaf, in Fleetstreet, 1679. Wing P 329A, P 330; TC I, 359, 440. *Majesty in Misery, or, An Imploration to the King of Kings; Written by his Late Majesty King Charles the First in his Durance at Carisbrook Castle*, 1668, 1681. Wing W 3168; C 2421. Wing attributes this poem to George Wither, see *NCBEL*, vol. 1, col. 1194.
536. The four ballads on the Popish Plot, *Toney's Soliloquies*, and *The Loyal Letany*, 'From a new modell'd Jesuit in a Scotch bonnet', Wing L 3348.
537. Thompson was prosecuted for *A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor*, see p. 70. *A Choice Collection* ..., see p. 60. The four poems of *A Choice Collection* were reprinted in *86 Loyal Poems*: see Appendix I.
538. *The Convert Scot and Apostate English*, Wing C 5982, first line, 'Cleveland thy ashes (sure) will rise'; *The Humble Wishes of a Loyal Subject*, Wing H 3651, first line, 'May blood of innocents no more disgrace'; *The Charter. A Comical Satyr*, first line 'Fire! fire! fire! Help, for we're all in flames! Wing C 3722.
539. See p. 72f.
540. *Democritus Ridens*, 23 May 1681. *Poor Robin's Dream* ..., Wing P 2884. For Thompson as printer for the Roman Catholic priests in Newgate, see *IPM*, no. 86, 17 February 1682; no. 111, 16 May 1682; no. 72, 30 December 1681; *TPM*, no. 108, 18 January 1682; no. 123, 11 March 1682; no. 138, 3 May 1682; no. 155, 1 July 1682; no. 163, 28 July 1682; no. 179, 23 September 1682. Matthew Street was apprenticed to Thompson from 11 October 1680 till 7 October 1689. See McKenzie, 1641-1700.

541. *The Waking Vision, or, Reality in a Fancy*, London, by N.T., 1681, Wing W 282. In his reprint in *86 Loyal Poems of Tyburn's Courteous Invitation to Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor*, by N.T. 1684, Wing T 3557, first line, 'Oh name it once again, will Titus come?', Thompson left out the lines 'There's something still does add to make thee great, thy blasphemy, thy perjury; with buggery methinks I am well pleased though done by force, for then thy pocket's eased ...'. In *180 Loyal Songs* Thompson lost no opportunity to point out to his readers that Titus Oates was a homosexual. The omission of this passage in *86 Loyal Poems* could be an indication that with this collection Thompson had another readership in view.
542. Matthew Taubman, Gent., *An Heroick Poem to His Royal Highness the Duke of York on His Return from Scotland, with Some Choice Songs and Medleys upon the Times*, for John Smith, 1682, p. 12. Wing T 239. The ballad printed for A. Banks was called *The Loyal Health, A Court Song to a Delicate New Tune ...*, first line, 'Since plotting is a trade, like the rest of the nation', Wing L 3347.
543. *The Hue and Song after Patience*, Wing H 3297, first line, 'All hail to London fair town'.
544. *Dagon's Fall: or, The Knight Turn'd out of Commission*, first line, 'Good God, what means this sudden alteration', Wing D 111, published anonymously in April 1680 and advertised in *Mercurius Librarius* of 16 April 1680.
545. *Justice Tryumphant ...*, Wing (J 1253A), first line, 'Now the traytor, king hater'. Luttrell's copy was dated 3 November 1683. The passage quoted refers to the fact that Thompson, L'Estrange and Rawlins figured in the popeburning procession of 1681.
546. *A Letany for St. Omers*, Wing L 2532, first line, 'From Antichrist, both east and west': see Ebsworth, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. 5, p. 191. *The Litany from Geneva*, first line, 'From the tap in the guts of the honourable stump', Wing L 2535, Ebsworth, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. 5, p. 196. Thompson was also one of the targets of part two of *The Letany for St. Omers*, Wing L 2533, first line, 'From all that like the triple crown', where the author writes 'From Pluto and from Popish Nat, who eats in Lent no lean nor fat, from sacramental Roger's cat, and also from a crape cu-rat, libera nos domine'. 'Brawny Settle's poem in prose' was Settle's *The Character of a Popish Successour, and what England may Expect from Such a One*, to which Thompson published an answer.
547. *A Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival of His Grace James Duke of Monmouth at Utrecht [sic], on Saturday Sept. 27 1679*, Wing C

5829A; *The Whigs Elevation, for his Grace the Duke of Monmouth's Happy Return to Court*, Wing W 1656A.

548. *An Elegy on the Most Accomplished Virgin Madam Hume ...*, Wing B 2. *An Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor ...*, Wing E 368.
549. *The Ignoramus Ballad*, Wing I 43. *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Sir William Waller ...*, Wing E 430. *An Elegy on the Death of Lord William Russel ...*, Wing E 414.
550. F. Chenau, *A French Grammar, ...*, by N.T. for Charles Mearne, bookseller to His Majesty ..., 1685, 2nd ed., Wing (C 3779B). H. Offelen, *A Double Grammar ...*, Wing O 145; see W. Viëtor, 'Die älteste deutsch-englische und englisch-deutsche grammatik', in *Englische Studien*, 10 (1887), p. 361-366. For N. Ponder see F. Mott Harrison, 'Nathaniel Ponder: The Publisher of The Pilgrim's Progress', in *The Library*, 4th series, 15 (1934), p. 257-294.
551. *A Reply to that Pernicious and Scandalous Libel, Lately Printed in Holland, in an Almanack, for the Year 1687, Writted [sic] by (whom? but) Jo. Partridge, an English Renegado*. Wing R 1065. The work was 'Published by Authority'. There was another pamphlet with a similar title: *A Reply to that Treasonous and Blasphemous Almanack for 1687: Printed in Holland, by (whom? but) Jo. Partridge an English Renegado for Treason*. This work carried the line 'Cum Privilegio & Gratia Regiae Majestatis'. Both were 'Printed for Nathaniel Thompson at the Entrance into the Old Spring Gardens, 1687'. Gadbury's *A Reply* was answered in *A Short Answer to a Malicious Pamphlet, Called A Reply; Written by John Gadbury, the King of England's Juggler, and Astrologer in Ordinary to the Pope, to Help on the Work*, Wing S 3559, in which there was a biography of John Gadbury, accusing him of popery, and of having been 'intimate with Mrs Cellier, whose Narrative he writ'. *Festum Festorum*, Wing G 83.
552. *Comes Amoris ...*, Wing C 5534; see *The London Gazette*, no. 2191, 18 November 1686. *The Compleat Dancing-Master; Containing Thirty Choice New Country-Dances ...*, for N. Thompson in Old Spring Garden, near Charing Cross; and J. Crouch at the Three Lutes in Drury Lane, TC II, p. 168. See M. Dean-Smith and E.J. Nichol in 'The Dancing Master: 1651-1728' in *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 4 (1943), p. 132: 'At the death of John Playford the elder, rival publications began to appear; in May-June 1686 an advertisement was printed in the Term-Catalogues for the *Compleat Dancing-Master ...*'. For John Carr, Samuel Scott and John Crouch, see Murrie, 'Notes on the Printers and Publishers of English Song-Books 1651-1702'.
553. For the production of Henry Hills, Matthew Turner and N. Thompson

- see Clancy, p. 146, 149; Henry Hills obtained a licence to publish Catholic books on 6 March 1685: *LJ*, XIV, p. 71; Obadiah Walker on 6 May 1686: *HMC, XIIIth Report*, p. 6. See also J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688*, Cambridge 1973, p. 256.
554. *A Papist Misrepresented, and Represented ...*, Wing G 1333f.; Clancy 454f. Thompson advertised the book in as many as five of his lists: see Appendix II.
555. The list appended to *A Brief Explanation of the Several Mysteries of the Holy Mass, and of the Actions of the Priest Celebrating ...*, see note 559.
556. Stationers' Company, Box A3, A4. The fact that Rawlins printed one sheet does not necessarily mean that he printed the whole book. It was not unusual for books to be printed by more than one printer, especially if the copyright owner wanted to prevent piracy by the printer or confiscation by the authorities. See D.F. Mackenzie, 'The London Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Sanders Lectures 1976*, p. 21, 22. For James Rawlins see McKenzie 1641-1700. 'A Catalogue of Controversy Books, Sold by Matthew Turner at the Lamb in High Holborn', in *A Manual of Controversies ...* by Henry Turberville, for Matthew Turner, 1686, Wing T 3259; Clancy 987. The cooperation between Mary Thompson and Matthew Turner in 1688 is evident from the imprints: see Appendix II.
557. *A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book ...*, Wing P 1275: Mary Maples Dunn, *William Penn, Politics and Conscience*, New Jersey 1967, p. 144. See Miller, *Popery and Politics in England*, p. 203; C.E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688*, New York, Toronto, 1931, p. 538. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *A Short Discourse ...*, Wing B 329; *A Short Answer to His Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Paper ...*, Wing S 3561.
558. *The Judgement of the Court of King's Bench ...*, Wing J 1181. See p. 72.
559. *An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments ...*, Clancy 368. *The Succession of the Church ... Cleared and Stated ...*, Wing S 6114; Clancy 932. T.G., *A Brief Explanation of the Several Mysteries ...*, Wing (G 395aA); Clancy 411. T.G. was Thomas Gawen, a convert to Roman Catholicism, according to Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, vol. IV, p. 130f.
560. *A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass, with Profit and Devotion, Containing the Whole Masse in Latine and English*, 1686. Wing (L 426F). The 1687 edition has the imprint 'London. Printed by

T.G., 1687'. Wing (L 463A); Clancy 582. Both editions are bound in *A Manual of Devout Prayers*, 1686 and 1687. See J. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, Meppel, 1979, p. 181. See Appendix II.

561. Peter Manby, *Of Confession to a Lawful Priest*: see T. Jones, *A Catalogue of Tracts for and against Popery (Published in or about the Reign of James II) in the Manchester Library Founded by Humphrey Chetham*, Manchester 1859-65, vol. 2, p. 340; D.G. Wing, *A Gallery of Ghosts, Books Published between 1641-1700 Not Found in the Short-Title Catalogue*, New York 1967, M 36A. H. Turberville, *A Manual of Controversies* ..., see note 556.
562. *A Method of Saying the Rosary* ..., by N.T., 1687, Wing (M 1947E); Clancy 671. *A Most Devout Prayer unto the Glorious Virgin* ..., by N.T., 1687, Clancy 693. *A Manual of Devout Prayers* ..., by N. Thompson, 1687, Wing (M 542D); Clancy 635; anr. ed., printed by N.T., 1687; Clancy 634; see note 560.
563. For Thomas Codrington, William Marsh, Nicholas Cross, John Moor alias Cross, and John Huddleston alias Dormer, see Gillow.
564. See Miller, *Popery and Politics in England*, p. 244.
565. C. Milton, *The State of Church Affairs* ..., Wing M 2085; Clancy 572. Sherlock's pamphlet, Wing S 3366, is the first in a collection of tracts by a number of Anglican divines called *The Notes of the Church, as Laid down by Cardinal Bellarmine, Examined and Confuted* ..., published by R. Chiswell 1688, Wing B 1823, N 1392. *The Use and Great Moment of the Notes of the Church* ..., Wing B 1824; Clancy 990. For the term 'with allowance' see Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, p. 510.
566. Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* ..., translated by T.W., by N. Thompson, 1687, Wing H 1468; Clancy 496.
567. For A. Pulton, E. Meredith, T. Tenison and A. Cressener, see DNB, Gillow. Father Meredith's pamphlets were printed by Henry Hills. *A True and Full Account of a Conference* ..., Wing P 4209; Clancy 818; *Remarks of A. Pulton, Master in the Savoy* ..., Wing P 4207; Clancy 815. *A Full and Clear Exposition* ..., Wing P 4205; Clancy 813; anr. ed., printed by Mary Thompson, 1688, Wing P 4206; Clancy 814. *Some Reflections upon the Author and Licensor* ..., by Mary Thompson, sold by Matthew Turner and John Lane, 1688, Wing P 4208; Clancy 816.

568. *The Considerations which Obliged Peter Manby ... to Embrace the Catholique Religion*, Reprinted for N. Thompson, 1687, Wing M 384; Clancy 622; anr. ed. for N. Thompson, 1687, Wing (M 384A); Clancy 623. The work was first published in Dublin by Christopher Ians, Wing M 383; Clancy 621. *A Reformed Catechism in Two Dialogues concerning the English Reformation ... In Reply to Mas. William King's Answer to D. Manby's Considerations &c. ...*, by Nath. Thompson 1687, Wing M 388; Clancy 627. The editions published by Jos Ray in Dublin 1687 are Wing M 387; M 387A; Clancy 626. I am obliged to Miss Mary Pollard for drawing my attention to the fact that Thompson's and Ray's editions of *A Reformed Catechism* are one and the same work with different title pages. T. Ward, *Some Queries to the Protestants concerning the English Reformation*, Translated by T.W. Gent., Wing W 836; Clancy 1043, 1044. *Monomachia ...*, Wing W 834; Clancy 1041. Thompson also printed Thomas Ward's *Speculum Ecclesiasticum, or, An Ecclesiastical Prospective Glass. Wherein may be Clearly Seen the Doctrine of the Primitive Church ...*, Wing W 838; Clancy 1045. W 838 is not listed by Morrison as printed by N. Thompson. For Thomas Ward, see Gillow.
569. *A Letter to a Dissenter ...*, Wing H 311; 2nd ed., Wing H 312; 3rd ed. Wing H 313. H. Payne, *An Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet, Entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter concerning His Majesties Late Declaration of Indulgence &c. ...*, Wing P 887. See H. Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of Sir George Savile*, London 1898; repr. 1968, vol. I, p. 487; vol. 2, p. 366f. According to J.P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland 1641-1702*, 1958, repr. 1975, Payne was in government pay at the time. Henry Payne was said to be a brother of William Paine, whose letter to Miles Prance Thompson printed in 1682. See W. Thorpe, *H. Nevil Payne, Dramatist and Jacobite Conspirator*, Princeton University 1935; *Modesty Triumphant over Impudence*, Wing M 2379. *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty ...*, Wing N 783; Clancy 718. There is also an edition of this work without a printer's name Wing N 782; Clancy 717. *A Reply to the New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*, printed for J.D., Wing R 1078; anr. ed.: printed for J.D., assignee of N.T., 1687, Wing R 1077. The work contains the Anglican reply to the Roman Catholic pamphlet *A New Test*, and it is very unlikely that Thompson had anything to do with it.
570. *An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments ...*, see p. 104, note 559. Thompson's advertisement for *A Short Catechism by Way of Question and Answer ...* might refer to H. Turberville's *An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine, with Proofs of Scripture for Points Controverted. Catechistically Explain'd, by Way of Question and Answer*. London, by Henry Hills. Wing T 3256, Clancy 980. For P. Manby's *A Discourse of Confession to a Lawful Priest ...*, see

571. *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* ..., see p. 106, note 566. *Indulgences and Priviledges Granted to the Sodality of our Most Sovereign and Immaculate Lady of the Rosary, Founded in the Churches, and Chappels and Oratories of the Order of Preachers*, Clancy 533. The Bodleian Library copy, Line 8° C 437, has no titlepage but the title has been supplied in manuscript, giving the year of imprint as 1670. *A Summary Relation of the Holy Congregation of our B. Lady of Succour, Erected in the Kingdom of New Granada; Approved by His Holiness Pope Innocent the X. and Now Newly Instituted in Her Majesties Royal Chappel at Somerset-House, Printed in the Year 1672.* Wing S 6173.
572. See McKenzie, 1701-1800.
573. Thompson advertised Newbolt's flight in *The London Gazette*, 4 September 1684. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook F, 7 February 1687; 7 March 1687.
574. That Thompson had three presses in 1686 appears from a list in Box A6 at Stationers' Hall. See M. Treadwell, 'A New List of English Master Printers c. 1686', in *The Library*, 6th series, 4 (1982), p. 57. For the dividends of the English Stock see Stationers' Hall Dividend Books; Courtbook F, 1 March 1688: petition Susannah Leigh, stating that Thompson had mortgaged his share to her husband.
575. Westminster Public Library, London, The Parish Poor Rates (Overseer's Account), MS F 413.
576. Bodleian Library Oxford, MS Carte 40, f. 455, 3 September 1686.
577. Luttrell, BR I, 381.
578. J. Gadbury, *Festum Festorum: or, A Discourse Touching the Holy Feast of Easter, Shewing How it may be Established for Ever*, Wing G 83.
579. Thomas Ward, *Monomachia*, see note 568.
580. Luttrell, BR I, November 1687. Westminster Public Library, Parish Register of St. Martin's in the Fields, burial of 'N. Tomson m' on 26 November 1687.
581. Greater London Record Office and Library, MS AM/PW N. Thompson. 8 April 1688.
582. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook F, 1 March 1688. William Cooper,

Thompson's friend, was appointed Stock Keeper on 5 July 1686:
Courtbook F, 5 July 1686.

583. See: Appendix II. Works with the imprint 'for M.T.' have not been taken into account, because 'M.T.' may also refer to Matthew Turner. See Plomer, 1668-1725.
584. *A Letter from an Absent Lord to one of his Friends in the Convention*, Wing L 1441, (L 1442). The Convention Parliament began on 22 January 1689. See Ogg, *England in the Reign of James II and William III*, p. 224f.
585. CSPD, 24 April 1689. Middlesex Record Office, Main Sessions Papers, 1689, 8 December.
586. McKenzie, 1641-1700.
587. Stationers' Hall, Dividend Book, dividends for 1693, 1694, 1696.
588. Stationers' Hall, Dividend Book, dividend for December 1695. I am grateful to Dr M. Treadwell for drawing my attention to this.
589. McKenzie, 1641-1700. For *A Manual of Prayers and Other Christian Devotions*, see J. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, p. 134.
590. *A Sermon Preached upon the Feast of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist*, by J.C., Clancy 150. Huddleston, *Usury Explained* ..., Wing D 1928A; Clancy 517; anr. ed., Clancy 518.
591. CSPD, 14 October 1694; CSPD, 27 July 1695.
592. Stationers' Hall, Box 1, no. 11; Box 33, nos. 247-50.
593. Stationers' Hall, Courtbook F, 5 July 1697.
594. Guildhall Library, MS 10348, Parish Registers St. Dunstan's in the West.
595. See CSPD for numerous indications of trouble with the authorities. See also H.L. Snyder, 'The Reports of a Press Spy for Rob. Harley', *The Library*, 5th series, 22 (1967), p. 326f.: D. Edwards became a spy for Harley, probably 'constrained to put his talents at Harley's service, ... as a means of escaping prosecution'. Snyder lists eleven payments by Harley to Edwards over the years 1706 and 1707, to a total amount of £92; see also J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press*, Cambridge 1979, p. 83-4; 85-8. Edwards married Thompson's stepdaughter Mary: see M. Treadwell, 'London Printers and Printing Houses in 1705', *Publishing History*, 7 (1980), 5-44.

Appendix I.

A. The Contents of *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs* and *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*.

The opening lines of the ballads in Thompson's collections are listed in alphabetical order in the first column, followed by the name of the author and page references to *120 Loyal Songs*, *180 Loyal Songs* and *86 Loyal Poems* respectively.

The second column lists the title of the song in Thompson's collection(s), followed by the title(s) of the same song in manuscript or in broadside editions, with the imprint(s) of the printer(s) or bookseller(s) who published the original broadside ballad. Contemporary manuscript notes giving the date of publication or purchase have been added after the imprints, 'L.ms date' and 'W. ms date' referring to the collectors N. Luttrell and A. Wood respectively. The tune title in the second column is the title used by Thompson in his collections. If the song occurred in collections published before or in the same year as Thompson's collections, the name of that collection has been given with a reference to C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702* (DM), or A.E. Case, *A Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies 1651-1700* (C). For abbreviations of news-sheet titles see page 112f.

The third column lists a brief indication of the subject of the ballad, reference to Wing's *STC* and to modern reprints of the ballad. The abbreviations used are:

- N. Ault : N. Ault, (ed.), *Seventeenth Century Lyrics from the Original Texts, Chosen, Edited and Arranged by Norman Ault*, London and New York 1928, repr. 1950.
- BB : J.W. Ebsworth, (ed.), *The Bagford Ballads*, 2 vols., Hertford 1878; repr. New York 1968.
- C.L. Day : C.L. Day (ed.), *The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey*, Cambridge Mass. 1933.
- Hogg : J. Hogg (ed.), *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1819-21.
- Mackay : C. Mackay (ed.), *A Collection of Songs and Ballads Relative to the Prentices and Trades*, London (Percy Society) 1842.
- OPB : F.B. Fawcett (ed.), *Broadside Ballads of the Restoration Period... Known as the Osterley Park Ballads*, London 1930.
- PB : H.E. Rollins (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads*, 8 vols., Cambridge Mass. 1933.

- POAS : G. deF Lord (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State Augustan Satyrical Verse 1660-1714*, 7 vols., New Haven and London, 1963-1975.
- Rimbault : E.F. Rimbault (ed.), *Old Ballads Illustrating the Great Frost of 1683-84 and the Fair on the River Thames*, London, the Percy Society, 1844.
- RB : W. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols., Hertford 1871-99; repr. New York 1966. (cf. RB: in those cases where only part of the song is quoted by RB).
- Wilkins : W.W. Wilkins (ed.), *Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols., London 1860.

B. The Contents of *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems*. (p. 213f.).

The arrangement follows the same pattern as the arrangement of section A. Page references are for *86 Loyal Poems*, *120 Loyal Songs* and *180 Loyal Songs* respectively.

1. Aduē to my title of saviour
of the nation.
---;273. | Oates's Lamentation, and a Vision that
Appear'd to him since his Tryal; at
the Kings-Bench.
Ots's...Tryal: Overheard by One of his
Keepers in his Chamber: at the Kings
Bench, A Song, for J. Dean, 1685.
tune: State and ambition. | Titus Oates.

Wing O 533A; (O 65aA).
CF.RB 5 601. |
| 2. Ah, cruel bloody fate, what
canst thou now do more?
86;126. | Dagon's Fall.
The Whigs Lamentation for the Death
of Anthony King of Poland, for
N. Thompson, 1683.
Dagon's Fall, or, The Whigs...Poland,
for N. Thompson, 1683.
tune: Philander. | Shaftesbury.

Wing W 1659.

Wing D 112.
Hogg 1 334; RB 5 234;
Wilkins 1 249. |
| 3. Ah, cruel bloody Tom, what
couldst thy hope for more?
260;129. | The Bully Whig, or, The Poor Whores
Lamentation for the Apprehending
Sir Thomas Armstrong.
idem. Sold [by N.T.], 1684.
tune: Ah cruel bloody fate. | Sir Thomas Armstrong.

Wing B 5438.
RB 4 482; Hogg 1 336. |
| 4. Alass what is like to be-
come of the Plot?
170;204. | Cupid Turn'd Musqueteer

tune: Cavalilly man. | Titus Oates's sodomy. |
| 5. As May in all her youthful
dress.
---;251. | A New Love Song.
tune: an excellent new tune.
<i>A Collection of Twenty Four Songs</i>
by F. Leach, for C. Corbet, publ.
by W. Davis, 1685. DM 76.
<i>The Theater of Music...</i> , <i>The First</i>
<i>Book</i> , by J. Playford, for H. Play-
ford and R.C., 1685. DM 78. | not political. |

6. As we were ranging over the
salt seas.
---;346. | The Success of the Two English
Travellers Newly Arrived in London.
idem, for A. Banks.
idem, for P. Brooksby.
idem, for W. Thackeray and T. Passinger.
idem, for C. Bates,
tune. a new Irish tune. | King James II.

Wing S 6113.
RB 5 544. |
| 7. At Winchester was a wedding.
T. D'Urfey.
136,131. | The Winchester Wedding; or, Ralph of
Reading, and Black Bess of the Green.
idem, no imprint.
idem, for P. Brooksby.
idem, for J. Deacon.
several other editions.
tune: There was a lass of Cumberland.
<i>Several New Songs by Tho. D'Urfey,</i>
<i>Gent.</i> , by J. Playford, for
J. Hindmarsh, 1684. DM 72. | not political.

Wing (D 2792A)
Wing (D 2793).

RB 7 208. |
| 8. Bankers now are brittle
ware.
---;219. | The Creditors Complaint against the
Bankers, or, The Iron Chest the Best
Security.
tune: There was a lass of Cumberland. | not political. |
| 9. Bee me shoul and
shoulvation, o hone, o hone.
106;122. | Eustace Comines the Irish Evidence
his Farewell to England.
tune: O hone, o hone. | Popish plot.

Hogg 1 332. |
| 10. Behold the morn dawns
the lark has sung.
---;339. | An Excellent New Wedding Song.
tune: not indicated.
<i>The Theater of Music...</i> , <i>The Second</i>
<i>Book</i> , by J. Playford, for H. Playford,
sold by H. Playford and John Carr,
1685. DM 79. | not political. |

	tune: a new Scotch tune.
See <i>LPTDI</i> , no. 138, 6 April 1682:
Thompson sold this ballad.	POAS 3 101.
17. The cannons all roaring
and trumpets sounding.
---;342.	A Song on St Martin's Feast, May
the 29. 1685.
tune: not indicated.	RB 5 641.
18. Canst tell me Ceres what
curst fate.
---;248. | A New Song upon Titus Oates's
Retreat from Whitehall, into the City.
A New Ballad upon Dr Oates His Retreat
from Whitehall into the City, for
W. Brown, 1681.
tune: Chill tell thee Dick where I
have been. | Titus Oates.

Wing N 578.
Cf. RB 4 157, 158. |
| 19. Chill tell thee Tom the
strangest story.
130;244. | A New Song.
A New Ballad, no imprint.
tune: I'll tell thee Dick. | Monmouth.
Wing N 577.
RB 5 417. |
| 20. A cloud of vapours, wind
and smoke.
---;242. | England's Loyalty, or, York's Welcom
to the Throne.
tune: I never saw a face till now. | James II. |
| 21. Come all you caballers
and parliament votes.
213;201. | A Song of the Light of the Nation
Turn'd into Darkness.
idem, or, Otes Made Freeman of
Whittington's College for Perjury,
Scandalum Magnatum and Something like
Treason, for J. Dean, 1684; L.ms date:
17 May.
tune: Cavalilly man. | Titus Oates.

Wing S 4680. |
| 22. Come all you good people.
---;175. | Oates's Lamentation.

tune: Packington's pound. | Popish plot. John
Arnold of Llanfihangel.
Cf. RB 5 600. |

23. Come beat alarm, sound a charge.
---;356. | Monmouth Degraded, or, James Scot the Little King in Lyme.
idem, A Song, for J. Dean, 1685.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons roar. | Monmouth.

Wing M 2431.
RB 5 655; POAS 4 35. |
| 24. Come bugging Oates prepare thy neck.
---;367. | The King's Bench Salutation, or, A Dialogue between Jack Ketch and Titus Oates.
tune: a new tune. | Titus Oates. |
| 25. Come cut again the game's not done.
243;297. | The Plotting Cards Reviv'd, or, The New Game of Forty One.
The ... Game at Forty One, no imprint
ms date: 31 May.
tune: I'll tell thee Dick. | against the Whigs.

Wing P 2605C.
Hogg 1 248;
cf. RB 5 59. |
| 26. Come let us be joyful and sing.
---;349. | The Tories Triumph, or, The Downfall of the Whigs.
tune: not indicated. | Tory victory.

Hogg 1 346; RB 5 536. |
| 27. Come listen a while tho' the weather be cold.
160;49. | Blanket Fair, or, The History of Temple Street; Being a Relation of the Merry Pranks Plaid on the River Thames during the Great Frost.
idem, for C. Corbet, 1684.
tune: Packington's pound. | Great frost 1683.

Wing B 3167.
Rimbault; cf. RB 5 457. |
| 28. Come listen ye Whigs to my pitiful moan.
---;228. | The Salamanca Doctor's Farewell, or, Titus's Exaltation to the Pillory.
idem, for G.C., sold by Randal Taylor, 1685. ms date: 9 May.
Titus's Exaltation to the Pillory upon his Conviction of Perjury. A Ballad, for G.C., sold by R. Taylor, 1685.
tune: Packington's pound. | Titus Oates.

Wing S 368.

Wing T 1317.
POAS 4 15; RB 5 605. |

29. Come make a good toast and stir up the fire.
257;310. | The Pot Companions, or, Drinking and Smoaking Preferr'd before Caballing and Plotting.
idem, for R. Crumbdy, 1682. W.ms
date: 1682.
tune: Thus all day long we are frolic and gay. | loyal song, King and Duke.

Wing P 3026.
Hogg 1 323; cf. RB 5 88. |
| 30. Come murdering Miles where is your sedan?
---;266. | A Dialogue between Bowman the Tory and Prance the Runagado. A New Song.
idem, for J. Dean, 1684. L.ms
date: 27 February.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons roar. | Miles Prance.

Wing D 1304. |
| 31. Come now let's rejoyce and the City bells ring.
63;62. | A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the Hellish Fanatick Plot.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1682.
idem, no imprint; ms date: 26 July 1682.
tune: Now the fight's done.
See <i>IPM</i> , no 23, 12 July 1681: by father Bully. | Shaftesbury.

Wing C 5815.
Wing C 5815A.

Cf. RB 5 457. |
| 32. The commons now are at a stand.
47;176. | The Honour of Great York and Albany.
idem, A Loyal Song, by N. Thompson, 1683.
tune: a new tune. | Duke of York.
Wing H 2595A.

Hogg 1 307. |
| 33. The De'el assist the plotting Whigs.
251;210. | The Whigs Lamentable Condition, or, The Royalists Resolution.
tune: a pleasant new tune. | against the London Whigs. |
| 34. Defend us from all popish plots that so the people fray.
195;140. | The Norwich Loyal Litany.
idem, for A. Banks, 1682; ms date: May/June. | against the Whigs.
Wing N 1341. |

- A New Song, being the Tories
 Imploration for Protection against
 the Whiggs, for W.D., 1682.
 idem, for J.D., 1682; ms date:
 September.
 tune: not named.
*Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the
 Times*, C 176.
35. The delights of the bottle.
 78;183.
36. Did you not hear of a peer
 that was try'd?
 39;276.
37. Down discoverers, who so
 long have plotted.
 M. Taubman.
 201;305.
38. Drown melancholy in a
 glass of wine.
 227;83.
- The Wine-Coopers Delight.
 idem, for H.L. 1681.
 idem, for the Protestant Ballad
 Singers; ms date: 1681.
 tune: The delights of the bottle.
- Ignoramus Justice.
 Ignoramus Justice, or, The English
 Laws Turn'd into a Gin to Let Knaves
 out and Keep Honest Men in. An
 Excellent New Song, for A. Banks,
 1682.
 tune: Sir Eglamore.
- A Song.
- tune: a new tune.
 M. Taubman, *An Heroick Poem to His
 Royal Highness the Duke of York on
 his return from Scotland...*, for
 John Smith, 1682. DM 58.
- The Courageous Loyalists, or, A
 Health to the Royal Family.
 idem, for J. Deacon.
 tune: London's loyalty.
- Wing (N 755B).
 Wing N 755A.
- RB 5 187.
- Shaftesbury.
 Wing D 496.
- Wing D 495.
 RB 4 53.
- Shaftesbury 1681.
- Wing I 45.
- RB 5 78.
- against the plot-
 witnesses and the
 Whigs.
 RB 5 293.
- to the Royal Family;
 against the Whigs.
 Wing C 6581.
 OPB; cf. RB 5 34,138.

39. Faction and folly (alass)
will deceive you.
219;94.
- The Royal Admiral, an Excellent
New Song on his Illustrious
Highness the Duke of York His
being Deputed High Admiral of
England.
tune: State and ambition.
- Duke of York, Lord
Admiral of the Navy.
40. Fill up the bowl and set
it round.
68;156.
- Loyalty Triumphant, on the
Confirmation of Mr North and
Mr Rich, Sheriffs of London and
Middlesex.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1682.
tune: Joy to the bridegroom.
- confirmation North
and Rich, September,
1682.
41. For Tories now's the time
to sing.
---;359.
- The King and Parliament, or, The
Destruction of Argile.
idem, for J. Dean, 1685.
tune: King James's jig.
- Argyle's rebellion
1685.
Wing (K 548).
RB 5 611.
42. From a new modell'd Jesuit
in a Scotch bonnet.
---;208.
170.
- The Loyal Litany.

The Loyal Letany, no imprint;
W.ms date: April 1681.
tune: not named.
*Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the
Times*, C 176.
- against the Whigs and
Dissenters.
- Wing L 3382A.
RB 5 271.
43. From councils of six where
treason prevails.
T.D. Gent.
196;200.
- A New Litany, to be Sung in All
Conventicles for Instruction of
the Whigs.
A New Litany, Design'd for this
Lent, and to be Sung in all the
Conventicles, in and about London,
for the Instruction of the Whiggs,
for J. Hindmarsh, 1684; ms date:
14 April.
- against the Whigs and
Dissenters.
- Wing L 3348.
Hogg 1 326; RB 4 652.
- Wing D 93; (D 2751A).

- B.L.: Add. MS 29497, f.7; MS
Sloane 2717, f.78.
tune: Cavalilly man. RB 5 343.
44. From over the seas not long
since there came.
26;206. The State Empirick, a New Song.
idem, for Allen Banks, 1682.
tune: Cavalilly man. Popish plot.
Wing S 5299.
45. From the tap in the guts of
the honourable stump.
193;203. A Litany From Geneva, in Answer to
that of St. Omers.
idem, for the use of all true blue
Brimighams, 1682; W. ms date: May.
tune: Cavalilly man. against the Whigs
and Dissenters.
Wing L 2535.
Hogg 1 358; RB 5 196.
*Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the
Times*, C 176.
46. The golden age is come, the
winter storms are gone.
T. D'Urfey
96;152. The Newmarket Song.
idem, Sung before His Majesty at
Newmarket, no name, 1684; L. ms
date: 16 January. loyal song.
Wing (D 2751B;
D 2751C).
POAS 3 494; RB 5 144.
tune: Old Symon the king.
Several New Songs by Tho. D'Urfey,
DM 72.
47. Good people I pray you give
ear unto me.
J. Gadbury.
148;42.
221. A Narrative of the Popish Plot,
Shewing the Cunning Contrivance
Thereof.
idem, for the information of all
anti-plotters, 1681.
A New Narrative ... Thereof, no
imprint.
Bodley: MS Rawl. 169, f.24.
tune: Packington's pound. Popish plot.
Wing N 204.
Wing N 680; (G 93).
48. Good people of England I
hope you have had. The Happy Return of the Old Dutch
Miller. against the Whigs.

BB 2 671.

- J. Dean?
59;257.
- idem, for Allen Banks, 1682; W.
ms date: March.
idem, for Allen Banks, 1683.
tune: Which nobody can deny.
- Wing H 673.
Wing H 674.
Hogg 1 344.
49. Hail thou mighty monarch,
valiant James.
---;225.
- A New Song on the Coronation of
King James II &c, Being St. George's
Day, the 23d. of April 1685.
tune: Hail thou mighty monarch
valiant Pole.
- Coronation James II,
50. (All) Hail to London fair
town.
89;27.
- Hue and Song after Patience.
- trial Sir Patience
Ward.
- The Hue and Song after Patience,
printed in the year of the
Saint's Tribulation; L. ms date:
23 May 1683.
tune: Hail to the myrtle shades.
- Wing H 3297.
Hogg 1 348; RB 5 279.
51. Hail to the knight of the
post.
28;25.
- Titus Tell-Troth: A New Song.
Titus Tell-Troth, or, The Plot-
Founder Confounded. A Pleasant
New Song, for Allen Banks, 1682;
ms date: March; 4 April.
tune: Hail to the myrtle shades.
- Titus Oates.
- Answered by: Thompson Tell-Lyes, or,
An Answer to Titus Tell-Troth, for
G. Parker. Wing T 1019A.
- Wing T 1316.
Hogg 1 314; Wilkins
1 207.
52. Hail to the mighty
monarch valiant Pole.
---;224.
- A New (Song).
A New Song, no imprint.
tune: The grenadeers march.
*A Collection of the Newest and
Chorcest Songs*, by F. Leach for
- Polish King.
Wing N 775.
RB 5 384.

C. Corbet, sold by W. Davis,
1683. DM 61.
A Collection of Twenty Four Songs,
DM 76.

53. Hail to the prince of
the plot.
187;29.

Oates Thrashed in the Compter and
Sacked up in Newgate.
idem, sold [by N.T.], 1684.
tune: Hail to the myrtle shades.

Titus Oates's trial,
1684.
Wing O 63.
Hogg 1 350; RB 5 601.

54. Hark how Noll and
Bradshaw's heads above us.
145;340.

A New Song Sung before the Loyal
Livery-Men in Westminster Hall,
July the 19th 1684. [i.e. 1683].
tune: no name.

against the Whigs.

Hogg 1 341; cf. RB
5 653.

Choice Ayres and Songs..., *The
Fifth Book*, by J. Playford jr.,
sold by H. Playford and J. Carr,
1684. DM 68.

55. Hark the bells and
steeples ring.
---;76.

On the Most High and Mighty Monarch
King James II, his Exaltation on
the Throne of England. Being an
Excellent New Song.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1685; L. ms
date: 10 March.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons
roar.

King James II.

Wing O 317A.

RB 5 520.

56. Hark the fatal day is
come.
185;74.

The Whig Intelligencer, or, Sir
Samuel in the Pound.
idem, for Publishing Scandalous and
Seditious Letters, for the inform-
ation and terror of all libellers,
1684.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons
roar.

trial Sir Samuel
Barnardiston, 1684.

Wing W 1649.
RB 5 80; POAS 3 542.

57. Hark the thundering
cannons roar.
T. D'Urfey.
117;71.
58. Have you not heard of a
festival convent of late?
222;105.
59. Have you not heard of
forty one sir?
189;165.
60. Have you not heard of
knaves?
---;369.
61. Have you not lately heard
of lords sent to the
Tower?
56;143.
62. Hay Jouler and Ringwood
and Towzer.
J. Dean.
84;363.
63. Hells restless factious
agents still plot on.
172;81.
- An Excellent New Song on the Late
Victories over the Turks.
idem, by N. Thompson.
A Carrouse to the Emperor, the
Royal Pole, and the Much Wrong'd
Duke of Lorraine, for P. Brooksby.
[variant].
tune: A pleasant new tune.
Several New Songs, DM 72.
- The Whigs Disappointment upon
their Intended Feast.
tune: Cook Lawrel.
- A New Way to Play an Old Game.
idem, for C. Corbet, 1683.
idem, no imprint; L. ms date:
20 September 1683.
tune: Would you be a man of fashion?
- The Plot Rent and Torn.
tune: Joan's Placket.
- The Plot Cram'd into Jones
Placket. [10 stanzas].
A Song of the New Plot, no imprint; ms
date: 5 August 1681. [8 stanzas].
tune: Joan's Placket is torn.
- The Hunting of the Fox.
idem, A New Song, for J.D., 1682.
tune: Now the Tories that glories.
- No Protestant Plot, or, The Whigs
Loyalty: with the Doctor's New
Discovery.
- defeat of the Turks,
Vienna 1683.
Wing (E 3832A).
- Wing D 2706.
RB 5 361.
- Whig feast, to have
been held April 1682.
RB 5 145.
- Rye House plot.
Wing N 795A.
Wing N 795.
- Popish plot.
RB 5 36, 623;
Hogg 1 356.
- Popish plot.
- Wing S 4681.
Cf. RB 5 622,36.
- against Shaftesbury.
Wing D 492A.
- Rye House plot.

64. Hold fast thy sword and
scepter James.
---;292.
65. I am the man that not
long since.
---;352.
66. I hang and I behead.
212;---.
67. I'll tell ye a tale
(though before 't was
in print).
162;51.
68. I'm glad to hear the
cannons roar.
167;72.
69. I never saw a face till
now.
---;238.
- idem, for C. Corbet, 1683; L.ms
date: 30 June
tune: London's loyalty.
- Loyalty Unfeigned, or, The True
Protestants Admonition.
idem, being a Pleasant New Song,
for P. Brooksby.
tune: an excellent new tune.
- The Downfall of Antichrist, or,
Titus again in Querpo.
tune: Chevy chase.
- Jack Ketch's New Song; or, A
Warning to Conspirators.
tune: not named.
- Freezland Fair, or, The Icey Bear
Garden.
idem, for C. Corbet, 1684; L.ms
date: 4 February.
tune: Packington's pound.
- Rejoyce in Tryumph, or, A Plaudite
on the Ottoman Defeat at Vienna.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons
roar.
- Love in Extremy; or, The Constant
Lovers Resolution.
tune: I never saw a face till now.
A Collection of Twenty Four Songs,
DM 76. [2 stanzas].
The Theater of Music..., *The First*
Book, DM 78. [2 stanzas].
- Wing N 1190.
- against the Whigs.
- Wing L 3383.
RB 4 640.
- Titus Oates punished,
1685.
Cf. RB 5 598.
- against conspirators
Rye House plot.
RB 5 319.
- great frost, 1684.
- Wing F 2153.
- Rimbault; cf. RB 5 458.
- Turks' defeat, Vienna
1683.
RB 8 xcvi***.
- not political.
- RB 5 553.

70. If I live to be old.
---;236. The Old Womans Wish.
tune: The old mans wish. not political.
71. If I live to grow old.
W. Pope.
---;234. The Old Mans Wish.
idem, sold by N.T.; L.ms date:
13 September 1684. not political.
idem, by J. Deacon. [variant]. Wing 0 206A.
idem, by W.O., for B. Deacon.
[variant]. Wing 0 207.
tune: The old mans wish. Cf. RB 6 507.
A Collection of Twenty Four Songs, DM 76.
Two New Songs, The Winchester
Christening and the Wish, by J.P.,
for J. Hindmarsh, 1685. DM 82.
72. If sorrow the tyrant.
Sir E. Morgan.
---;322. The Mug House.
The Gallant's Worthy Commendation of
the Mug, for P. Brooksby.
The Distruction of Care, or, The
Gallant's Worthy Commendation of the
Mug.
tune: not named. loyal song.
RB 5 172; Mackay
1 119.
73. If the whigs shall get up
and the Tories go down.
---;237. Jack Presbyters Wish.
tune: The old man's wish. against the Whigs and
Dissenters.
RB 4 648; Hogg 1 322.
74. In London was such a
quarter.
---;134. A New Song in Praise of the Loyal
Company of Stationers, who (after
the General Forfeit), for their
Singular Loyalty, Obtained the
First Charter of London.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1684; L.ms
date: 13 August. Stationers' Company.
tune: The Winchester wedding. Wing N 761A.
Cf. RB 5 134; Mackay
1, 118.

75. Informing of late is a
notable trade.
246;308.
- A Song upon Information.
Upon Information, for M.R., 1681.
A Song upon Information, for M.R.,
1681.
tune: Conventicles are grown so
brief.
- against informers and
the popish plot.
Wing S 4684.
Hogg 1 310.
76. Jack Presbyter's up and
hopes at one swoop.
253;313.
- The Present State of England.
idem, A Pleasant New True Ballad,
first printed at Edinburgh; and
reprinted at London, 1681.
tune: It was in the prime of cucumber
time.
- against popish plot.
Wing P 3261.
Hogg 1 312.
77. James our great monarch is
crowned with all glory.
---;271.
- A New Song.
tune: State and ambition.
- James II.
RB 5 549.
78. Jenny my blithest maid.
---;312.
- Amorous Jockey, or, Yielding Jenny.
tune: not named.
The Theater of Music..., *The First
Book*, DM 78.
- not political.
RB 8 lxxxvi ~~xxx~~.
79. Joy to Great Caesar.
T. D'Urfey.
179;300.
- The King's Health, Set to Farinel's
Grounds. In Six Parts.
The King's Health, for J. Hindmarsh,
1682.
idem, no imprint, 1684; L.ms date:
9 July 1684.
tune: Farinell's Grounds.
Several New Songs by Tho. D'Urfey,
DM 72.
- song to King Charles.
Wing K 596; (D2739).
C.L. Day.
80. Just as the mist
of error fled.
---;366.
- A Loyal Scotch Song.
tune: Bonny Kate of Edinburgh.
- Titus Oates.
RB 5 597.

81. Lay by your reason,
truth's out of season.
---;100.
- The Newcastle Associators, or, The
Trimmer's Loyalty, being a True
Relation how Several Sanctified
Brethren were Apprehended and how
Several Others Made their Escape
at the Assizes of Newcastle,
August 2nd 1684.
idem, printed and sold by N. Thompson.
tune: Ignoramus.
- Jeffries and the
Newcastle Assizes;
the Rye House plot.
- Wing N 891 A.
RB 5 496;
Wilkins 2 27.
82. Let Baxter teach sedition.
---;142.
- A Conventicle Litany.
- tune: not indicated.
*A Dreadful Oration Delivered by that
Sorely Afflicted Saint Stephen Lobb
Held Forth to the Brethren since his
Last Retirement*, by N.T., 1683.
Wing D 2723.
- against the
Dissenters.
83. Let Caesar live long
and his temper abide.
---;326.
- The King's Health.[2 stanzas].
- The True Loyalist, or, The Obedient
Subject, A Loyal Song, for J. Back;
W.ms date: 1683/1686. [8 stanzas].
tune: not named.
- song to Charles II
and James Duke of York.
- Wing D 2723.
84. Let Oliver now be
forgotten.
T. D'Urfey.
1;1.
- An Excellent New Ballad.
idem, for B. Harris, sold by
L. Curtis, 1681.
tune: How unhappy is Phillis in love.
- Shaftesbury.
- Wing E 3806; E 3806 A.
RB 5 267; OPB;
C.L. Day.
- A New Collection of Songs and Poems*,
by Thomas D'Urfey Gent., for J.
Hindmarsh 1683. DM 64. See *LPTDI*,
no. 64, 15 October 1681.

85. Let Pickering now be forgotten.
101;3. | The Conspiracy, or, The Discovery of the Phanatick Plot.
idem, printed 1683; L.ms date: 11 July.
tune: Let Oliver now be forgotten. | Rye House Plot.

Wing C 5931.
RB 5 311. |
| 86. Let the cannons roar from sea to shoar.
221;177. | Loyalty Respected and Faction Confoundd.
tune: an excellent new tune. | pro James; against Monmouth.
Hogg 1 306. |
| 87. Let the Moors repine, their hopes resign.
119;114. | Tangiers Lamentation on the Demolishing and Blowing up of the Town, Castle and Citadel.
idem, November the 5th, Anno Domini MDCLXXXIII, by N. Thompson, 1683;
L.ms date: 24 November.
tune: the same tune. | destruction of the mole of Tangier, 1683.

Wing T 135A.
POAS 3 473; RB 5 474. |
| 88. Let the trumpet sound and the glass be crowned.
---;333. | A New Song.

tune: not named. | song to the King, the Duke and the Royal Family. |
| 89. Let the Whigs repine and all combine.
205;110. | A New Song on the Old Plot.

tune: Tangier March. | against the Whigs: Shaftesbury, Monmouth, etc.
RB 5 455. |
| 90. Let the Whigs revile the Tories smile.
70;112. | London's Joy and Tryumph, on the Instalment of Sir William Pritchard Lord Mayor for the Ensuing Year.
idem, no name, 1682.
tune: Tangier March. | Sir W. Pritchard's installation.

Wing L 2933A.
Mackay 1 112. |
| 91. Let us advance the good old cause.
6;---. | An Excellent New Hymn, Exalting [sic] the Mobile to Loyalty.
An ... Hymn, Exhorting them to | against the Whigs. |

92. Let wine turn a spark and
ale huff like a hector.
142;58.
93. Listen a while and I'll
tell you a tale.
36;146.
94. Listen if you please a
while.
---;198.
95. Make room for an honest
redcoat.
231;336.
96. May all be benighted.
---;181.
- Loyalty, by N. Thompson, 1682;
W.ms date: January.
tune: to the tune of 41.
- The Praise of the Dairy Maid,
with a Lick at the Cream Pot,
or, a Fading Rose.
idem, for the use of the milkmaids
for ever, 1683.
tune: Packington's pound.
- The Protestant Playl.
idem, for A. Banks, 1682; L.ms
date: 14 June.
tune: Lacy's maggot, or, the hobby-
horse.
- The Sodomite, or, Venison Doctor.
idem, by N. Thompson; L.ms date:
13 September 1684.
tune: not indicated.
- A New Song.
A New Ballade, The Hague, for
S. Browne; ms date: January 1659/60.
tune: Tom of Bedlam.
- Ratts Rhimed to Death, or, The Rump
Parliament Hang'd up in the Shambles,*
1660. C128.
*The Rump, or, An Exact Collection of
the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating
to the Late Times,* for H. Brome and
H. Marsh, 1662. C 128(b).
- The Loyal Wish.
tune: The loyal health.
- Wing E 3807.
RB 5 60.
not political.
- Wing P 3169.
Stephen College.
Wing P 3833.
Hogg 1 324; cf. RB 5 35.
- Titus Oates.
Wing S 4417B.
against the rebels.
Wing N 575.
RB 7 648; Wilkins
1 138; Hogg 1 351.
- loyal wish to James II.

97. My bonny dear shony, my
cronym, my honey.
191;275.
- The Loyal Irishman.
tune: Irish trot, or, Fingaul jig.
T. Jordan, *The Triumphs of London,*
Performed on Monday, October xix
1683. *For the Entertainment of the*
Right Honourable, and Truly Noble
Pattern of Prudence and Loyalty,
Sir Henry Tulze Knight..., for John
and Henry Playford, 1683. DM 67.
98. Now at last the matter
is decided.
65;17.
- The Loyal Sheriffs of London and
Middlesex. Upon their Election.
idem, for M. Thompson, 1682.
tune: Now at last the riddle.
- See *LPTDI*, no.189, 3 Aug. 1683:
two female hawkers arrested for
selling this ballad.
99. Now at last the riddle
is expounded.
10;14.
- The Riddle of the Roundhead.
idem, *An Excellent New Ballad*, by
N. Thompson, 1681.
Treason Unmasked, or, Truth
Brought to Light, for F. Smith,
1681. [4 stanzas].
tune: Now at last the riddle.
100. Now innocent blood's
almost forgot.
239;306.
- Five Years Shamplots Discovered in
One True One.
The Old New True Blew Protestant
Plot, or, Five Years ... One, for
J. Dean, 1683; L.ms date: 7 July.
tune: I told young Jenny.
- against the London
Whigs.
Hogg 1 355.
- election sheriffs 1682.
Wing L 3368.
RB.5 227; Wilkins,
1 238.
- the Whigs exposed.
Wing R 1439.
- Wing T 2081.
Cf. RB 5 226, 489, 44.
Rye House plot.
- Wing O 210.
RB 5 294.

101. Now loyal Tories may triumph in glories.
J. Dean.
173;99. | The Loyal Conquest, or, Destruction of Treason.
idem, A Song, for J. Dean, 1683.
tune: Lay by your pleading. | Rye House plot.

Wing L 3342; (D 494A).
RB 5 321; Hogg 1 328. |
| 102. Now now King James of high renown.
---;221. | A New Song in Congratulation of King James the Second Coming to Town.
tune: Hey boys up go we. | King James II.

RB 5 547. |
| 103. Now now my love; the greatest oath that is.
A. Cowley.
226;304. | The Dyet of Cowly.
tune: not indicated.
<i>Songs Set by Signior Pietro Reggio, The Second Part</i> , DM 52.
many other editions. | not political.
N. Ault. |
| 104. Now now the antichristian crew.
207,10. | The Whigs Downfall.
tune: Hey boys up go we. | against the Whigs.
RB 5 223. |
| 105. Now now the plot is all come out.
99;8. | A New Song on the Fanatick Plot. Murder Out at Last in a Ballad on the New Plot, by N.T., 1683; L.ms date: 30 June.
idem, reprinted Edinburgh, 1683.
tune: Hey boys up go we. | Rye House plot.

Wing M 3085.
Wing M 3086.
RB 5 308; Hogg 1 180. |
| 106. Now now the Tories all shall stoop.
T. D'Urfey.
3;6. | The Whigs Exaltation.
idem, A Pleasant New Song of 82, by N. Thompson, 1682.
idem, for H.B., 1682.
The Whig Rampant, or, Exaltation. Being a Pleasant New Song of 82, for P. Brooksby.
tune: an old tune of forty one. | against the Whigs.

Wing W 1657.

Wing Q 120.
RB 4 264; Hogg 1 180;
POAS 3 10. |

A New Collection of Songs and Poems, DM 64.

The ballad was answered by: The Tories Confession, or, A Merry Song in Answer to the Whigs Exaltation, for H.B., 1682. Wing T 1911.

107. Now now the Zealots all
must droop.
M. Taubman.
8;---

A Song on His Royal Highness Return from Scotland.
Great York and Albany, or, The Loyal Welcome to his Royal Highness on his Return from Scotland, by N. Thompson, 1682.

James Duke of York's return from Scotland.

tune: Hey boys up go we.
An Heroic Poem to His Royal Highness the Duke of York on His Return from Scotland, DM 58.

Wing G 1788.

108. Now now too weak alas
I find our cause.
---;348.

Colonel Sidneys Lamentation and Last Farewel to the World.
idem, Being Condemned for High Treason in Conspiring the Death of His Sacred Majesty, for J. Dean, 1683; L.ms date: 26 November.
tune: What name.

Algernon Sidney's execution, December 1683.

109. Now the bad old cause
is tapt.
209;12.

The Downfall of the Good Old Cause.
tune: Hey boys up go we.

Wing (C 5412A).
RB 5 429.

against the Whigs.
Cf. RB 4 267.

110. Now the Plotters and
plots are confounded.
---;154.

The Whigs Laid Open.
idem, or, An Honest Ballad of these Sad Times, by N.T., 1683.
tune: Old Symon the King.

against the Whigs.

Hogg 1 339; cf. RB 5
168,88.

<p>111. Now the Tories that
glories in royal Jemmy's
return.
M. Taubman.
48;87.</p>	<p>The Well-Wishers to the Royal
Family.
idem, for P. Brooksby, 1682.
tune: a new playhouse tune.
<i>An Heroic Poem to His Royal Highness
the Duke of York on His Return from
Scotland</i>, DM 58.</p>	<p>James Duke of York's
return from Scotland.
Wing W 1284.
RB 5 151.</p>
<p>112. Now the traytor, king-
hater.
---;90.</p>	<p>Justice Tryumphant, an Excellent
New Song in Commendation of Sir
George Jeffreys, Lord Chief-
Justice of England.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1683; L.ms
date: 3 November.
tune: Now the Tories that glories.</p>	<p>Sir G. Jeffries,
September 1683.   Wing (J 1253A).
RB 5 339.</p>
<p>113. O Poland monster of
our isle.
82;295.</p>	<p>A Song upon the King of Poland and
the Prince of the Land of Promise.
A New Song upon the K---g of
Poland and ... Promise, for the
Polonian King 164800; ms date:
11 August 1682.
tune: Hold fast thy crown and
scepter Charles.</p>	<p>Monmouth and Shaftes-
bury.</p> <p>Wing N 776C.</p>
<p>114. Oh stupendous comick
fate, how uncertain
is our state.
---;231.</p>	<p>The Salamanca Doctors Soliloquies,
tune: The thundering cannons roar.</p>	<p>Titus Oates.
Cf.RB 5 599.</p>
<p>115. Oh the mighty innocence
of Russel, Bedfords son.
103;136.</p>	<p>Russels Farewell.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1683.
tune: O the bonny Christchurch bells.</p>	<p>Lord William Russell's
execution.</p> <p>RB 5 324.</p>

116. Oh the plot discoverers,
Oates Bedloe, Dugdale,
Prance.
228;169.
- A Prophetical Catch.
tune: The merry Christchurch
bells.
- Popish plot.
117. Old Chiron thus
preached to his
pupil Achilles.
M. Wise.
---;372.
- A New Song.
A Two Part Song Set by Mr Henry
Purcell within the Compass of
the Flute, no imprint.
tune: an excellent new tune.
*Catch that Catch Can; or, The Second
Part of the Musical Companion; Being
a Collection of New Catches, Songs,
and Glees, Never Printed Before, by
J.P., for John Playford, 1685. DM 73.
A Collection of Twenty Four Songs,
DM 76.*
- not political.
118. Old Jemmy is a lad.
M. Taubman.
44;20.
- Old Jemmy.
idem: An Excellent New Ballad, by
N. Thompson, 1681; ms date:
15 September.
tune: Young Jemmy.
*An Heroick Poem to His Royal Highness
the Duke of York, on His Return from
Scotland, DM 58. See LPTDI, no. 76, 12
November 1681; no. 81, 24 November 1681.*
- James Duke of York.
- Wing O 204.
RB 4 667.
119. Old stories of state
grow now out of date.
---;108.
- Newgate Salutation, or, A Dialogue
between Sir W.W. and Mrs Cellier.
The Newgate ... Cellier, for the use
of the students in Whittington's
College; ms date: 25 June 1681.
tune: The fight is now ended.
- Sir William Waller.
- Wing N 918A.

120. Old Toney's fled, from justice gone.
---;158.
121. Once on a time the doctor did swear.
31;66.
122. Our Oates last week not worth a groat.
234;254.
123. The Plot being thus subtly contriv'd.
151;46.
228.
124. The plot (God wot) is all broke out.
111;217.
233.
- A New-Year's Gift to the Templers,
on that Eminent Lawyer Sir Edmond
Saunders his being Chosen Lord Chief
Justice of England.
idem, by N. Thompson.
tune: Joy to the bridegroom.
- The Compleat Swearing-Master.
idem: A Rare New Salamanca Ballad,
for Allen Banks, 1682.
tune: Now, now the fight's done.
Advertised by Thompson in *120 Loyal
Songs*.
- Oates Well Thrash'd, being a Dialogue
between a Country Farmer and his Man
Jack.
Oates Well-Thres't Being a Dialogue
of Country-Make betwixt a Farmer and
his Man-Boy Jack, who had Lost Much
by the Grain, Hears Presbyter Jack
to Plead for it in Vain, for R.H., 1681.
tune: Which nobody can deny.
- Second part of: Good people I pray give
ear unto me.
- The Plot and Plotters Confounded, or,
The Downfall of Whiggism.
idem, A New Song Made by a Person of
Quality, by N. Thompson, 1683; L.ms
date: 24 November.
tune: Ah Jenny gin your eyes do tell.
- Sir E. Saunders,
Jan. 1683.
- Wing N 819.
Cf. RB 5 231, 225.
- Popish plot.
- Wing C 5659.
POAS 3 4.
- against Titus Oates.
- Wing O 64.
- against the plots.
- Wing P 2592 A.

125. Pray listen well, while
I describe.
---;264.
126. The Presbyter has been
so active of late.
J. Gadbury.
---;171.
127. Prince George at last
is come.
91;23.
155.
128. Rebellion hath broken
up house.
155;149.
129. Remember ye Whigs what
was formerly done.
T. D'Urfey.
158;302.
- A Trimmer in the Church.
tune: A Beggar I will be.
- A Ballad. The Third Part,Written
by a Lady of Quality.
idem, no imprint.
tune: Packington's pound.
The ballad was seized at Matthew
Turner's in Holborn by Sir W. Waller.
- A New Song on the Arrival of Prince
George and his Intermarriage with
the Lady Anne.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1683; L.ms
date: 26 July.
tune: Old Jemmy.
- A General Sale of Rebellious House-
hold Stuff.
idem, for Allen Banks, 1682.
idem, for Allen Banks, 1685.
Rebellion Given over House Keeping:
A General Sale of Rebellious House-
hold Stuff, for J.W., J.C., W.T.,
T.P. and M.C.
tune: Old Symon the King.
- Advice to the City: or, The Whigs
Loyalty.
Advice...Whiggs Loyalty Explain'd,
for C. Tebroc, 1682.
Advice...City: Sung to the King at
Windsor to a Theorbo, for
J. Hindmarsh, 1682.
- against G. Burnet.
Cf.RB 5 476.
- against the Popish
plot.
Wing (G 74C).
BB 2 681.
- Prince George of
Denmark.
- Wing N 768.
- against the Common-
wealth rebels.
Wing G 510.
Wing (G 510 A).
- PB 4 4; Hogg 1 172;
Wilkins 1 3.
- against the London
Whigs.
- Wing A 651.
- Wing D 2697.

- tune: not indicated.
A New Collection of Songs and Poems,
 DM 64.
130. Room, room for cavaliers,
 bring us more wine.
 53;268.
- The Tory Song on His Highness's Return
 from Scotland.
 The Tory Ballad on ... Scotland, for
 N. Thompson, 1682.
 The Brimigham Ballad on Their Royal
 Highnesses Return from Scotland, for
 N. Thompson, 1682; W.ms date: May.
 tune: The Prince of Orange's delight.
- James Duke of York.
 Wing T 1944.
131. Room room for great
 Algernon.
 177;31.
- Pluto, the Prince of Darkness, his
 Entertainment of Collonel Algernon
 Sidney, upon his Arrival at the
 Infernal Palace.
 idem. With the Congratulations of the
 Fanatick Cabal for his Arrival there,
 printed for a warning to all traytors,
 1684; L.ms date: 10 December.
 tune: Hail to the myrtle shades.
- against the Whigs.
 Wing B 4694.
 Cf.RB 4 660.
132. Rouse, rouse my lazy
 Mirmidons.
 J. Dean.
 217;328.
- Oates's Bug---Bug---Boarding-School
 at Camberwell.
 idem. A Song, for J. Dean, 1684;
 L.ms date: 8 March 1685.
 tune: Lord Russell's Farewell.
- Wing P 2658 A.
 RB 5 432; Hogg 1 338.
 against Titus Oates.
133. Rowze up great genius
 of this potent land.
 16;79.
- London's Loyalty.
 A New Ballad of London's Loyalty,
 for Richard Sanders, 1681.
 A New Ballad of London's Loyalty,
 for Robert Saunders, 1681.
 idem, no imprint.
- against the London
 Whigs.
 Wing N 566.
 Wing N 565.

- tune: Burton Hall. POAS 2 432; RB 5 245.
Several New Songs, DM 72.
 See *IPM*, no. 107, 2 May 1682:
 attributed to Thompson; *HR*, no.66,
 2 May 1682; *LPTDI*, no.104, 17 January
 1682; Bowler, p.345: the booksellers
 J. Vade and J. Hindmarsh were indicted
 for this ballad.
134. Rowze up great monarch
 in the royal cause.
 73;85. Ryot upon Ryot; or, A Cant upon the
 Arresting the Loyal Lord Mayor and
 Sheriffs. elections London,
 1682.
 Ryot... or, A Chant upon ... Sheriffs,
 printed to shew what they would be at,
 1683; L.ms date: 30 April. Wing R 1527.
 tune: London's loyalty.
135. Rouze up ye Tories of
 this factious land.
 51;82. London's Joy and Loyalty on His
 Royal Highness's Return from
 Scotland. James Duke of York.
 London's ... His Highness the Duke
 of York's Return from Scotland,
 by N. Thompson, 1682. Wing L 2933.
 tune: London's loyalty. Cf. RB 4 632.
136. See how fair and fine
 she lies.
 ---;140. A New Amorous Song.
 tune: The bonny Christchurch bells. not political.
137. See see the air clears
 the murm'res that
 grumbled.
 ---;343. A Song at the Loyal Feast in
 Westminster Hall, on July 10th 1684.
 Song ... 1684, printed and sold by
 N.T., 1684. loyal song.
 tune: not indicated.

138. See the vizor's pull'd
off and the zealots are
arming.
---;344.
- The Western Rebel, or, The True
Protestant Standard Set up.
idem, June 17 1685, for N. Woolfe,
1685.
idem, by the True-Blue
Protestant Perkin, no imprint.
tune: Packington's pound.
- Monmouth's rebellion.

Wing W 413.

Hogg 1 353; POAS 4 32;
RB 5 651
139. Sike a life as Titus
led.
---;320.
- Titus Oates's Exaltation.
tune: Sike a wife as Willy had.
- Titus Oates.
Hogg 1 18.
140. Since counterfeit plots
have affected this age.
J. Gadbury.
248;54.
237.
- A Song upon the Popish Plot.
A Ballad upon the Popish Plot
Written by a Lady of Quality,
no imprint; L.ms date: 1679
tune: Packington's pound.
- Popish plot.

Wing P 3118; (G 75).
BB 2 686.
141. Since plotting's a trade
like the rest of the
nation.
19;179.
- The Loyal Health, a Court Song.
idem, for A. Banks, 1682; W.ms
date: December 1681; ms date:
13 June 1682.
tune: a delicate new tune.
*An Heroick Poem to His Royal Highness
the Duke of York His Return from
Scotland*, DM 58. [3 stanzas]
- against the Whigs.
Wing L 3347.

Hogg 1 319.
142. Since reformation, with
Whigs in fashion.
13;96.
- Ignoramus: An Excellent New Song.
idem, for A. Banks, 1681; W.ms
date: December.
idem, no name, 1681.
tune: Lay by your pleading.
*Wit and mirth, An Antidote against
Melancholy*, by J.P., sold by Henry
Playford, 1684. C 130(c).
- Shaftesbury.

Wing I 42A.
Wing I 42.
RB 5 200; Hogg 1 315.

- Answered by: A New Ignoramus, Being the Second New Song, for C. Leigh, 1681. Wing N 648.
See *A New Dialogue between Somebody and Nobody*, 12 December 1682.
143. Some say the papists had a plot.
237;212. The Tories Tryumph, or, The Point Well Weathered.
A New Song, Being the Tories Tryumph, or, The Point Well Weathered, for J.D., 1682.
tune: not named. against the Whigs.
Wing N 756.
144. Sound the trumpet, sound the trumpet.
---;331. On the Siege of Buda.
tune: not named. siege of Buda by the Turks.
145. State and ambition alas will deceive ye.
T. D'Urfey.
176;92. State and Ambition. A New Song.
idem, for P. Brooksby.
tune: a new song at the Duke's theatre.
A Collection of the Newest and Choicest Songs, DM 61. [3 stanzas] not political.
Wing S 5297; (D 2786A)
RB 5 561.
146. Teckley that Perkin prince.
---;225. second part of: Hail to the mighty monarch valiant Pole.
147. Tell me Jenny, tell me roundly.
---;290. Coy Jenny and Constant Jemmy.
idem, or, True Love Rewarded with Kindness, for J. Deacon. [3 extra stanzas].
Several other versions.
tune: Tell me Jenny. not political.
Wing C 6734.
RB 3 536.
148. Tell me no more there must be something in it.
263;139. The Jealous Ladies Complaint.
tune: an excellent new tune. not political.

149. That man's a wretched thing.
---;327.	A New Song.
tune: not indicated.	not political.
150. There is an old story, that's much to the glory.
A.T.
241;318. | On the Throat Cutter of Jack-an-Apes Lane.
A New Ballad, Being a Comparison between One that Cut off his Own Nose and Another that Cut his own Throat to Gain Renown, no imprint.
tune: Hang sorrow, cast away care. | John Arnold of Llanfihangel.

Wing N 554A.
Cf. RB 5 346. |
| 151. There was a brave doctor (as ever you saw).
---;323. | The Whig Triumphant, or, The Doctor Rampant.
tune: King James's Jig. | Titus Oates.

Cf. RB 5 600. |
| 152. There was a doctor of ancient fame.
---;279. | Truth Tryumphant, over Perjury Rampant; on the Tryal of the Salamanca Doctor by the King's Bench Bar, May the 8th and 12th 1685.
idem, by N.T., 1685.
tune: Sir Eglamore. | Titus Oates.

Wing T 3161.
Cf. RB 5 600. |
| 153. There was a jovial beggar.
R. Brome.
---;35. | The Beggars Chorus, in the Jovial Crew.
idem, for P. Brooksby.
idem, for J. Clark; W. ms date: 1683.
The Beggar's Chorus, or, The Jovial Crew, no imprint.
tune: a new tune.
<i>Wit and Mirth. An Antidote against Melancholy</i> , C 130(c).
<i>Choice Ayres and Songs...</i> , <i>The Fifth Book</i> , DM 68. | not political.

Wing B 4863A.

Wing B 4863.

BB 1 216. |
| 154. There was a monstrous | The Swearers Chorus to the Presbyterian | Titus Oates. |

- doctor.
127;33.
155. This is like some Utopian
game.
244;299.
156. This is the cabal of some
Protestant Lords.
255;316.
157. Three bonny lads were
Sawney Cloud Hamilton.
---;365.
158. Tony was small but of
noble race.
42;195.
- Plot.
The ... to the First Presbyterian
Plot, by N.T., 1684; L. ms date:
28 January.
tune: The jovial beggar.
- second part of: Come cut again the
game's not done.
tune: I'll tell thee Dick.
- Raree Show: or, The True-Protestant
Procession.
idem. A New Ballad, for A.B., 1681.
tune: The Northumberland man.
- The Rebel Captive.
idem, An Excellent New Song, on the
Taking of Argile in Scotland by
Three Young Men, who Met him as he
was Flying away in Disguise, after
his Men had Deserted him, &c., by
N. Thompson; L. ms date: 25 June 1685.
tune: Sawney and Jockey.
- The Loyal Feast.

idem, Design'd to be Kept in
Haberdashers Hall, on Friday the
21st of April 1682. By his Majesties
Most Loyal True Blue Protestant
Subjects; and How it was Defeated,
for Allen Banks, 1682.
tune: Sawney will never be my love
again.
Answered by: The Coat of Arms of
N.T. J.F. & R.L. An Answer to
- Wing S 2642.
- RB 5 594.
- on prominent Whigs.
- Wing C 5226A.
RB 5 396.
- Argyle's rebellion.
- Wing R 592A.
RB 5 621; Hogg 1 176.
- the Whig feast, 21
April 1682.
- Wing L 3346.
- RB 5 148; 8 754.

- Thomson's Ballad Call'd the Loyal Feast,
Dublin, for A. Banks. Wing C 4763.
An Answer to the Pamphlet Called, The
Loyal Feast: or, A True Description of
His Majesties Deep-Dy'd Scarlet
Protestants: the True Begotten Sons of
the Whore of Babylon, for J. Tacker,
1682. Wing A 3429. RB 8 755.
159. A Tory came late through
Westminster Hall.
T. D'Urfey.
94;103. A New Song Made by a Person of Quality
and Sung before His Majesty at
Winchester.
idem, no name, 1683; L. ms date:
8 October. against the London
tune: Cook Lawrel. Whigs.
Printed on the verso of N. Thompson's
Russels Farewell. Wing N 763.
RB 5 335.
160. Twa bony lads were
Sawney and Jockey.
T. D'Urfey.
134;282. Unfortunate Jockey; or, Jenneys Lamen-
tation for the Loss of Jockey. not political.
Unfortunate Jockey and Mournful Jenny,
for J. Wright, W. Thackeray and
T. Passinger. Wing U 55.
Jenneys Lamentation for the Loss of
Jockey, or, A New Song in the Play
Called the Loyalist, for A. Banks;
W. ms date: March 1682. [3 stanzas]. Wing J 677.
The Scotch Lasses Constancy: or,
Jenny's Lamentation for the Loss of
Jockey ..., for P. Brooksby [3 stanzas]. Wing D 2772.
tune: an excellent new tune. RB 5 613.
A New Collection of Songs and Poems,
DM 64. [3 stanzas].
161. 'T was a foolish A New Song. Duke of Monmouth.

- fancy Jemmy.
215;335.
162. Uds hearty wounds, I'se
not to plowing Sir.
T. Jordan.
225;303.
163. Wealth breeds care, love,
hope and fear.
115;69.
164. What have the Whigs to
say?
---;360.
165. What still ye Whigs
uneasy?
33;117.
166. When Adam proper names
conferr'd.
264;---
44.
- B.L.: MS Sloane 2717, f.109; MS Harl.
6914, f.27b.
Bodley: MS Firth c 16, f 38.
tune: an excellent new tune.
- The West-Country-Man's Song at a
Wedding.
tune: not indicated.
*The Triumphs of London: Performed on
Monday October xxix. 1683, DM 67.
Wit and Mirth. An Antidote against
Melancholy, C 130(C).*
- The Whigs Drown'd in an Honest Tory
Health.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1683.
tune: Hark the thundering cannons roar.
*A Collection of the Newest and Choicest
Songs, DM 61.
Choice Ayres and Songs..., The Fifth
Book, DM 68.*
- A Tory in a Whigs Coat.
idem: A New English Ballad, for
Allen Banks, 1682.
tune: Up with Aley &c.
- An Anagram and Acrostick on the
Salamanca Doctor.
tune: not indicated.
- RB 5 215.
not political.
- against the Whigs.
Wing W 1656.
- against the Whigs.
RB 5 534.
- against the Whigs.
Wing T 1945.
Cf. RB 4 242; 158;
5 75; Hogg 1 300.
- Titus Oates.

167. When first Dorinda
your bright eyes.
---;330. A Love Song.
tune: not named.
*The Theater of Music ... , The
Second Book*, DM 79. not political.
168. When my hairs they
grow hoary.
---;235. The Old Womans Wish.
tune: The old mans wish. not political.
169. When the kine had
given a pail full.
T. D'Urfey.
---;252. Tom and Doll, or, The Modest
Maids Delight.
The Bashfull Maidens No, No, No,
Turn'd into I, I, I.
tune: an excellent new tune.
Choice New Songs Never before Printed,
by John Playford for J. Hindmarsh,
1684. DM 69. not political.
170. When the plot I first
invented.
165;285.
60. Tony's Soliloquies.
idem, no name, 1681.
tune: The lamentation of a bad
market. Shaftesbury.
Wing T 1872.
171. When traytors did at
popery rail.
139;214. A Narrative of the Old Plot,
Being a New Song.
A New Narrative of the Old Plot,
Being a New Ballad, for C. Corbet,
1683.
A New Narrative of the Old Plot, A
Song, for J. Dean, 1684; L. ms date:
31 March.
tune: Some say the papists had a plot. against the Whigs.
Wing N 679.
172. Whigs are now such
precious things.
109;186. Monarchy Tryumphant: or, The Fatal
Fall of Rebels.
tune: The King enjoys his own again. against the Whigs.
Hogg 1 320.
Hogg 1 216.

173. Who wou'd not be a Tory. Fanatick Zeal, or, A Looking-Glass
202;37. for the Whiggs.
tune: A-swearing we will go. against the Whigs.
Cf. RB 5 221.
174. Will you be a reformado? The Poor Spanish Souldiers Complaint.
---;167. tune: Would you be a man of fashion. the poor soldier's
fate.
175. Would you be a man of The Compleat Citizen, or, The Man of
fashion. Fashion.
---;163. The Compleat Citt: or, The Man of
Fashion, for P. Brooksby, 1683. against the Whigs.
Wing C 5632.
tune: Would you be a man of fashion. RB 4 349; Hogg 1 318;
Choice Ayres and Songs..., *The Fifth* OPB.
Book, DM 68.
176. Ye London lads be merry. A New Song on the Parliament Removing
198;162. from London to Oxford.
B.L.: MS Harl. 6913, f.205; 6914, f.10;
Add.MS 29.921; f.103.
Bodley: MS Don.b 8, p.701.
tune: Ye London lads be sorry. Oxford Parliament.
RB 5 24; Hogg 1 308.
177. Ye Whigs and dissenters, The Whigs Hard Heart the Cause of the
I charge you attend. Hard Frost.
125;56. idem, sold [by N.T.], 1684; L. ms
date: 26 January. great frost 1683/84.
tune: Packington's pound. Wing W 1658.
RB 5 461; Rimbault.
178. You Calvinists of England, The History of Whiggism from their
121;192. Rise to their Late Horrid and Un-
parallel'd Conspiracy.
idem, by N.T., 1684. against the Whigs.
tune: When the stormy winds do blow. Wing H 1810.
This ballad is not another edition of
Wing H 1809.

179. You freemen and masters,
and prentices mourn,
76;40. | London's Lamentation for the Loss of
their Charter.
London's Lamentation, or, An
Excellent New Song on the Loss of
London's Charter, by N.T.
tune: Packington's pound. | charter London,

Wing L 2935.
RB 5 250; Wilkins 1 241. |
| 180. You I love, by Jove I do.
---;322. | A New Song. [3 stanzas].
The Wounded Lovers Lamentation
to Sylvia, for P. Brooksby,
J. Deacon, J. Blare, and J. Back.
tune: to an excellent new tune.
<i>A Collection of Twenty Four Songs</i> ,
DM 76. | not political.

Wing W 3663.
RB 7 202; cf. RB 7 110. |
| 181. You London lads rejoyce.
181;287. | A New Song on the Instalment of Sir
John Moor, Lord Mayor of London.
Vive le Roy: or, London's Joy, a
New Song on the Instalment of the
Present Lord Mayor of London, for
Allen Banks; W. ms date: Oct. 1681.
tune: St. George for England. | Lord Mayor Sir John
Moore.

Wing V 665; V 666. |
| 182. You Loyal lads be merry
for Perkin that state
buffoon.
200;160. | A New Song.
tune: Ye London lads be merry. | Duke of Monmouth.
RB 5 470. |

1. All hail great Prince
349.	To His Sacred Majesty King James II.	King James II.
2. Art come sweet Prince.
264.	The Duke's Welcome from Scotland
to London.	James's return from
Scotland, 1682.
3. As distant thunder in a
rowling cloud.
attr. to M. Hewetson.
351.	Ireland's Tears. A Pindarique Poem
upon the Death of our Late Sovereign
Charles the Second; and the Peaceful
and Happy Succession and Inauguration
of our Present Great Monarch King
James the II.
Ireland's Tears. To the Sacred Memory
of our Late Dread Sovereign King
Charles, by N. Thompson, 1685.
A Pindarique Ode on the Sacred Memory
of Our Late Gracious Sovereign King
Charles II. To which is Added,
Another Essay on the same Occasion, by
Sir F.F., Knight of the Bath, J. Play-
ford, for Henry Playford, 1685.	Wing I 1026; (H 1630B).
4. As I was walking, reading
in a book.
attr. to J. Dean.
1.	The Waking Vision, or, Reality in a
Fancy.
idem, by N.T., 1681; W.ms date: April.
See <i>Dem.Rid.</i> , May 16, 1681: 'another
of the Newgate muses'.	Wing F 410.
Shaftesbury and
Monmouth.
Wing W 282.
POAS 2 419; BB 2 788.
5. As Popish farriers use
t'imploy.
21.	A Canto upon the Miraculous Cure of
the K's Evil, Perform'd by the D. of
M. in 80.
A Canto on the New Miracle Wrought by
the D. of M. Curing a Young Wench of
the King's Evil, as it is Related at
Large by B. Harris in his Protestant
Intelligence, Publish'd Friday	Monmouth's claims to
legitimacy.

	Jan. 7th 1681. To Prevent False Reports, no imprint.
<i>A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts and Visions</i> , for B. Harris, sold by L. Curtis, 1681.	Wing C 463.
6. Awake vain men, 'tis time th' abuse to see.
attr. to Mrs J. Philips.
128.	Advice to his Grace.
idem, no imprint; signed: Ephelia.	POAS 2 274; BB 2 800.
Monmouth.
Wing P 2029.
RB 5 50.
7. Behold from the infernal lake I'm come.
120. | A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Salamanca Doctor.
idem, no imprint; W.ms date: December 1681.
See <i>LPTDI</i> , no. 64, 15 Oct. 1681; no 67, 22 Oct. 1681; <i>IEA</i> , p.232. | Titus Oates.

Wing D 1355. |
| 8. Bring me a man with animating stroaks.
97. | Advice to the Carver.
Bodley: MS Douce 357, f.158; Firth b20, f.139.
B.L.: Add.MS 28.253, f.62.
See M.T. Osborne, <i>Advice-to-a-Painter Poems, An Annotated Finding List, 1633-1856</i> , p.48: <i>IPM</i> no. 8, 19 May 1681; <i>LPTDI</i> , no.28, 11 June 1681. | trial and conviction
Lord Stafford 1680.

Cf. RB 4 547. |
| 9. But oh! this late conspiracy, so dire.
209. | The Last and Truest Discovery of the Popish Plot, by Rumsey, West and Other Great Patriots of their Country.
idem, by N.T., 1683; L.ms date: 30 June. | Rye House plot.

Wing L 473.
Cf. RB 5 439. |

<p>10. Carmen turn poets now,
why may not I?
191.</p> | <p>The Car-Men's Poem; or, Advice to a
Nest of Scribblers.
idem, no imprint. L. ms date:
2 February 1680.
B.L.: MS Sloane 1435, f.31.
See <i>A Continuation of the Complete
Catalogue of Stitch'd Books and
Single Sheets</i>, p.17.</p> | <p>Whig pamphleteers.

Wing C 595.
BB 2 ix.</p> |
| <p>11. Clad with the infant
glories of the spring.
J.P., citizen of London.
261.</p> | <p>A Welcom to his Royal Highness into
the City, April the 20th, 1682.
idem, for J. Vade.</p> | <p>James's return from
Scotland 1682.
Wing P 70.</p> |
| <p>12. Cleveland, thy ashes
(sure) will rise.
45.</p> | <p>The Convert Scot and Apostate English.

idem, for A.B., 1681.
See <i>HR</i> no.72, 13 June 1682.</p> | <p>against the plot
witnesses.
Wing C 5982.</p> |
| <p>13. Come Ganemede, and fill
each glass with wine.
164.</p> | <p>The Club of Royalists.
belongs to: Rouse up my muse, for how
in such a cause.</p> | <p>POAS 2 445.</p> |
| <p>14. Comus or Momus, now must
be thy theam.
J. Dean.
62.</p> | <p>The Badger in the Foxtrap, or, A
Satyr upon Satyrs.
idem, no imprint.
advertised by Thompson in C. Blount,
<i>Janua Scientiarum</i>.</p> | <p>Shaftesbury.

Wing D 492.</p> |
| <p>15. Continual hubbub, and the
noise of the plot.
130.</p> | <p>The Solicitous Citizen, or, Much Ado
about Nothing.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i>,
C 176.</p> | <p>London citizens
deceived.</p> |
| <p>16. Dissenting bigots, boast
no more.
280.</p> | <p>A Pindarique Ode upon the Late Horrid
and Damnable Whiggish Plot.
idem, printed and sold by N. Thompson,</p> | <p>Rye House plot.</p> |

- 1684; L.ms date: 10 December 1683. Wing P 2258.
RB 4 441.
17. Dread Sir, if you will rule this land in peace.
5. belongs to: As I was walking reading in a book
18. Early (by four) on Friday morn.
270. Islington Waters. Islington wells;
against the Whigs.
19. Ev'n as a lion, with his paws up-rear'd.
200. The Case is Alter'd Now: or, The Conversion of Anthony King of Poland. Publish'd for the Satisfaction of the Sanctified Brethren. Shaftesbury.
idem, for J.P., 1683. Wing C 870.
POAS 3 376.
20. Farewell great villain, and unpitied lye.
Richard Gibbs.
206. Fitz-Harris his Farewell to the World: or, A Traytors Just Reward. Edward Fitzharris.
idem, no imprint. Wing G 664.
Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times, C 176.
21. Fire! fire! fire! Help for we're all in flames.
134. The Charter. A Comical Satyr. charter of London.
idem. Written by an Unknown Hand, for Alexander Banks, 1682; ms. Wing C 3722.
date: 3 August.
See *LPTDI*, no. 189, 3 August 1682: advertisement for this poem; no. 192, 10 August 1682: about 100 verses added.
Also published under the title: The Saints New Charter ... for Alexander Banks, 1683. Wing S 364. Advertised by N. Thompson in *Assertio*. POAS 3 424.

22. File envious time; why dost our bliss delay.
388. A Poem on the Coronation. coronation James II.
idem of Our Most Illustrious
Sovereign K. James II and His
Gracious Consort Queen Mary, ...,
by N. Thompson, 1685; L.ms date: 2 May. Wing P 2689A.
23. From a new model'd Jesuit in a Scottish Bonnet.
170. The Loyal Letany. against the Whigs and
---;208. idem, no imprint; w.ms date: dissenters.
April 1681. Wing L 3348.
Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times, C 176.
24. From deepest dungeons of eternal night. The Ghost of the Late Parliament to Parliament.
attr. to Wentworth Dillon, A Dialogue between the Ghosts of the
earl of Roscommon. Two Last Parliaments, at their Late
27. Interview, for Al. Banks, 1681. L.ms
date: 7 April Wing D 1333.
The Ghost of the Late House of Commons
to the New One Appointed to Meet at
Oxford, for B. Harris, sold by
L. Curtis, 1681; ms date: 21 February. Wing G 639; G 640.
A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts and Visions.
Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times,
C 176.
See TPM, no.23, 16 March 1681: attributed
to Thompson; *Dem.Rid.*, no.9, 16 May 1681: POAS 2 407; RB 5 12.
by a Newgate muse.
25. From evenings coffee lac'd with long argument.
7. The Deliquium: or, The Grievance of the Shaftesbury, Monmouth.
The ... or, The Grievances ... Dream, no
imprint; w.ms date: the beginning of

- April, 1681; December 1681. Wing D 908.
Cf. RB 5 173.
26. Go, best in all that's
good we cannot bear.
263. A Farewell to His Royal Highness
James, Duke of York on His Voyage
to Scotland.
idem, no imprint. James's departure for
Scotland.
Wing F 424.
27. Goddess of rhyme that
didst inspire.
Richard Duke.
38. An Epithalamium upon the Marriage of
Captain William Bedloe.
idem, no imprint; L.ms date: 1
January 1680. William Bedloe.
Wing E 3177.
POAS 2 131.
28. Good God! What means
this sudden alteration?
117. Dagon's Fall, or, Sir William Waller
Turn'd out of Commission.
Dagon's ... or, the Knight Turn'd out
of Commission, no imprint. Sir W. Waller.
answered by: An Answer to Dagon's Fall,
or, The Knight Turn'd out of Commission:
Being a Vindication, of Sir William
Waller, no imprint, Publ. 15 April 1680.
Wing A 3356. Wing D 111.
- See *A Continuation of the Compleat
Catalogue*: 12 April 1680; *Merc. Libr.*
no. 1, 16 April 1680. cf. RB 5 235.
29. Good people I pray give
ear unto me.
attr. to J. Gadbury.
221. A Narrative of the Popish Plot, Shewing
the Cunning Contrivance Thereof.
idem, for the information of all the
anti-plotters, 1681. Popish Plot.
A New Narrative of idem, no imprint. Wing N 204.
Wing N 680; (G 93).
30. Great monarch of the
world, from whose arm
springs.
attr. to King Charles I.
218. Majesty in Misery: or, An Imploration
to the King of Kings; Written by His
Late Majesty King Charles the First in
his Durance at Carisbroke Castle, 1648.
idem, no name, 1681. not political.
Wing C 2421; C 2422.
RB 7 619.

<p>31. Great Sir, till now I
with impatience staid.
259.</p>	<p>To His Royal Highness the Duke of York
upon His Return to the Care and
Management of the Navy of England.
idem, for B. Tooke, 1684.</p>	<p>Duke of York Lord
Admiral of the Navy,
1684.
Wing T 1376.</p>
<p>32. Greatest of men, yet mans
last friend, farewell.
113.</p> | <p>Shaftesbury's Farewell: or, The New
Association.
idem, printed and sold by W. Davis,
1683.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i>,
C 176.</p> | <p>Shaftesbury's death.

Wing S 2909.
POAS 3 413; RB 5 239.</p> |
| <p>33. Hang all the streets with
sable sad.
P. Ker.
347.</p> | <p>An Elegy on the Deplorable and Never
Enough to be Lamented Death of the
Illustratious and Serene Charles the
Second, King of Great Britain, France
and Ireland... .
idem, by G. Croom, 1685; L.ms date:
17 February.</p> | <p>elegy Charles II.

Wing K 337.
not political.</p> |
| <p>34. Hence all ye visions of the
worlds delight.
Henry, Lord Arundell of
Wardour.
212.</p> | <p>A Valediction to the World.
<i>Poems Written by the Right Honourable
Henry Lord Arundel of Warder, and
Count of the Roman Empire, now
Prisoner in the Tower</i>, 1679. Wing
A 3896; A 3897,
B.L.: Add. MS 29.921, f.48.</p> | |
| <p>35. Hold Stygean sculler what
hast brought me here.
92.</p> | <p>The King of Poland's Ghost: or, A
Dialogue betwixt Pluto and Charon,
upon his Reception.
idem, for J. Hindmarsh, 1683.
idem, A Satire in Verse on the Earl of
Shaftesbury, no name, 1683.</p> | <p>Shaftesbury's death.

Wing K 569.
POAS 3 417.</p> |

36. How Romanlike did our
old rebel dye.
125. | The Reformation, a Satyr.
idem, for C. Corbet, 1684; L.ms
date: 19 December. | against the Whigs.

Wing R 740
RB 5 436. |
| 37. I know you hope all once
to be.
202. | The King of Poland's Last Speech
to his Country-Men.
idem, for J.P., 1682. | Shaftesbury.

Wing K 570. |
| 38. If loaded eyelids, and a
clouded brow.
334. | A Pastoral upon the Death of Her
Grace the Duchess of Ormond.
idem, printed and sold by
N. Thompson, 1684; L.ms date:
7 August. | Duchess of Ormond.

Wing P 678. |
| 39. If then the earnest of
thy favours be.
Henry Lord Arundell of
Wardour.
215. | On Those Words of the Psalm, God
Chastizes Whom He Loveth.
<i>Poems Written by the Right Honourable
Henry Lord Arundel of Wardour.</i>
B.L.: Add. MS 29.921, f.50b. | not political. |
| 40. Inclyte post Carolum
Caroli Spes certa coronae.
A.5.
276. | Serenissimis Principibus Eboracensibus
& Albaniensibus Ducibus, Ter Maximis
Reducibus Congratulator. | James Duke of York. |
| 41. Ingrateful England curst
to that degree.
266. | An Heroic Poem on Her Highness the
Lady Ann's Voyage into Scotland: with
a Little Digression upon the Times.
idem, for R. Bentley, 1681. | Princess Ann's journey
to Scotland 1680.

Wing H 1587. |
| 42. Is Tapski dead? Why
then the statesman ly'd.
80. | The Politician's Downfall: or,
Potapski's Arrival at the Netherlands
and Their Congratulation of the
Protestant Joyner at Their Meeting.
idem, for W. Davis, 1684. | Shaftesbury in hell.

Wing P 2768. |

<p>43. Is this thy glory now?
Is this thy pride?
15.</p>	<p>Sejanus: or, The Popular Favorite now
in his Solitude, and Sufferings.
idem. Written for the Consolation of
E.S. the Famous Bromigem Protestant
in Bonds and Imprisonment, for the
Good Old Cause, and for Truth's Sake
by Tymothy Tory, for Smith, Curtis,
Janeway, Baldwin, all True-Protestant
Booksellers ..., 1681.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i>,
C 176.</p>	<p>Shaftesbury arrested
1681.</p> <p>Wing S 2419.</p>
<p>44. Let Musick cease; yet let
ture subjects sing.
P. K[er].
344.</p>	<p>Scotland's Loyalty, or, Sorrowful
Sighs on the Death of Our Late
Sovereign His Sacred Majesty; Charles
by the Grace of God King of Great
Britain, France and Ireland, &c.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1685; L.ms date:
14 March.</p>	Elegy Charles II. Wing S 2017.
<p>45. Look up? base croaking
zealots of the age.
322.</p>	<p>The Last Speech of Sr. Edmundbury
Godfrey's Ghost.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i>,
C 176.</p>	against the Whigs.
<p>46. May blood of innocents
no more disgrace.
78.</p>	<p>The Humble Wishes of a Loyal Subject.
idem, for A. Banks, 1681; W.ms date:
December.</p>	<p>against the Whigs.
Wing H 3651.
Cf. RB 4 216.</p>
<p>47. My tap is run then Baxter
tell me why.
196.</p>	<p>The Last Will and Testament of
Anthony King of Poland.
idem, for S. Ward, 1682.
The Last Will and Testament of
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, Elect
King of Poland, no imprint.</p>	Shaftesbury. Wing L 514. (L514aA). Wing (L/513B)

- Bodley: MS Eng. Poet. C25, f.73.
BL.: Add. MS 11.268, f.95; Burn. 390, f.26.
Answered by E. Settle: Mac's Triumph in Imitation of the King of Poland's Last Will and Testament, See *CSPD* 11 November 1682; see also: A Supplement to the Last Will and Testament of Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury with his Last Words as they were Taken in Holland where he Died, January the 20th 1682. For John Smith 1683. Wing S 6187. See *The Observer*, no. 234, 1 Nov. 1682. *Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times*. C 176.
48. My ravish'd muse in such bright mazes dance.
369.
- The Description of the Coronation. idem of His Sacred Majesty King James II. And His Most Illustrious Consort Queen Mary. Celebrated on the 23th Day of April 1685. With a Brief Account of the Famous Fireworks on the Thames, April the 24th. A Poem, by N. Thompson, 1685.
- Coronation James II.
49. No name, because you can't write well?
159.
- True Loyalty in its Colours: or, A Survey of the Laudable Addresses of the Young Men and Apprentices of the City of London to His Majesty. idem, for J.R., sold by the hawkers of London, 1681.
- Loyal apprentices' address.
50. No sooner doth the aged phenix dye.
189.
- A Congratulatory Poem to Sir John More, Knight, Lord Mayor Elect of London. idem, for W. Davis, 1681; ms date: September.
- Sir John Moore.
- POAS 3 397; cf. RB 5 229, 478.
- Wing D 1156.
Cf. RB 5 39.
- Wing T 2757.
- Wing C 5836.

51. The noon-day star, that
once outfaced the sun.
341.	Funeral Tears to the Sacred Memory
of Our Late Sovereign King Charles
the Second.	elegy Charles II.
52. Now reader tell me if
you can.
187. | A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the
Whigs.
idem, by N.T., 1684; L.ms date:
29 September. | against the Whigs.

Wing D 1356. |
| 53. Now to be silent, or to
write in prose.
249. | A Congratulatory Poem Upon the Happy
Arrival of His Royal Highness James,
Duke of York, at London April 8 1682.
Written by a Person of Quality.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1682. | James's return from
Scotland.

Wing C 5842. |
| 54. Now York again shines in
our sphere.
55. | A Postscript upon the D. of York's
Return to Scotland: belongs to:
Cleveland thy ashes ... | |
| 55. Oh happy soil! Unhappily
possessed.
57. | The Madmen's Hospital: or, A Present
Remedy to Cure the Presbyterian Itch.
idem. A Poem, by N. Thompson, 1681;
W.ms date: September.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i> ,
C 176. | against the Whigs
and Dissenters.

Wing M 241. |
| 56. Oh name it once again;
will Titus come?
123. | Tyburn's Courteous Lamentation to
Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1684.
idem, reprinted by the heirs of
A. Andrewson, 1684. | Titus Oates

Wing T 3557. |
| 57. O Restless groans! O
slothful tears.
Henry, Lord Arundell of
Wardour.
217. | Upon the Pains of Hell.
<i>Poems Written by the Right Honourable
Henry Lord Arundel of Warder.</i>
B.L.: Add.MS 29.921, f.50. | not political. |

58. Of a just king, the powerful words declare.
243. | A Panegyrick to His Royal Highness, upon His Majesties Late Declaration.

idem, for the author, sold by J.G., 1680; L.ms date: 23 October. | Royal Declaration
Duke of Monmouth
illegitimate.
Wing P 266. |
| 59. Of all the grain our nation yields.
R. Duke.
34. | A Panegyrick upon Oates. Silvestrum Tenui Musam Meditemur Avena.
idem, no imprint; L.ms date: August 1679. | Titus Oates.

Wing P 269 (D 2505C)
POAS 2 127; RB 4 160. |
| 60. One day I heard a zealous shout.
174. | The Fanatick Rampant: or, An Election at Cambridge.
idem, no imprint.
See <i>A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue</i> : date: 1679. | Election Cambridge

Wing F 400. |
| 61. The plot being thus subtly contriv'd as you hear.
228.
151,46. | The Second Part.
See Good people I pray give ear unto me. | |
| 62. The Presbyter has been so active of late.
233.
---;171. | The Third Part.
See Good people I pray give ear unto me. | |
| 63. A Prison or the isle are much the same.
314. | A Paradox against Liberty, Written by the Lords during Their Imprisonment in the Tower.
idem. A Poem, no name, 1679.
idem. A Poem, for J. Vade, 1679;
W.ms date: July.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times</i> , C 176. | not political.

Wing P 330.

Wing P 329A. |

64. Renowned be Christian
arm.
222.
On the Relief of Vienna, a Hymn for
True Protestants.
On... for the True Protestants, for
C.W., 1683; L.ms date: 19 September.
Relief Vienna.
Wing O 323.
RB 5 352.
65. Rouse up my muse! For
how in such a cause.
162.
Loyalty Triumphant: or, A Poem on
the Numerous Loyal Addresses to His
Majesty.
idem, for W. Grace, 1681.
loyal addresses.
Wing L 3382.
66. Sad fate! Our valiant
captain Bedloe.
R. Duke.
43.
Funeral Tears upon the Death of
Captain W. Bedloe.
idem, no imprint; W.ms date: August
1680.
idem, for J. Vade, 1681.
Bodley: MS Sancroft 53, f.41.
Bedloe's death.
Wing D 2505A;
Wing (D 2505B).
POAS 2 361.
67. Shame of my life,
disturber of my tomb.
attr. to Wentworth Dillon,
Earl of Roscommon.
24.
Tom Ross's Ghost to his Pupil.
The Ghost of Tom Ross to his Pupil the
D. of M., no imprint; ms date: August
1680.
Bodley: MS Don. b 8, f.627; Douce 357,
f.62V; Rawl. Poet 173, f.116; B.L.:
Add.MS 23.722, f.72 b; Harl. 6913,
f.57.
*A Choice Collection of Wonderful
Miracles, Ghosts and Visions.*
Monmouth.
Wing G 640B.
68. Since counterfeit plots
have affected this age.
J. Gadbury.
237.
248;54.
Upon the Popish Plot. Written by a
Lady of Quality.
A Ballad upon the Popish Plot Written
by a Lady of Quality, no imprint.
L.ms date: 1679.
Popish Plot.
Wing P 3118 (G 75);
BB 2 686.

69. So weapons prosper which
are form'd against
heaven.
334. | On the Kings Most Happy and
Miraculous Deliverance at Newmarket. | Rye House Plot.

RB 5 300. |
| 70. Some night last past, as
I accursed lay.
Anthony Harris.
311. | An Account of an Apparition that
Appeared to Titus Oates.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1684; L.ms
date 30 October. | Titus Oates.

Wing H 837. |
| 71. Stout Hannibal, before
he.
25. | The Oxford Alderman's Speech to the
D. of M. at his Entrance into that
City about September 80.
idem, no imprint.
Bodley: MS Rawl Poet. 19, f.38; B.L.:
Add. MS 27.408, f.139.
<i>A Choice Collection of Wonderful
Miracles, Ghosts and Visions.</i> | Monmouth.

Wing W 3716. |
| 72. Then is our charter
(Polexfin) quite lost?
241. | The Great Despair of the London
Whigs for the Loss of the Charter. | Charter of London.

POAS 3 444. |
| 73. They who oppose your
right unto the crown.
247. | To His Royal Highness the Duke.
On His Royal Highness's Return. A
Congratulatory Poem, no name, 1680.
To His Royal Highness the Duke, no
imprint, L.ms date: 1679.
B.L.: MS Sloane 1009, f.126b. | James Duke of York.

Wing (O 297A).

Wing T 1375. |
| 74. Thou more than happy
plain.
287. | A Pindarique Ode, upon His Majesties
Review of His Forces at Putney Heath.
idem, for W. Davis, 1684. | Army Putney Heath.

Wing P 2255. |
| 75. Under 500 Kings three
kingdoms groan.
29. | The Parliament Dissolv'd at Oxford,
March the 28th 1681.
idem. From Devonshire. | Parliament.

Wing P 501. |

- Bodley: MS Douce, 357, f.74v; Wood, D 19(2), f.105; F 34, f.159; B.L.: MS Sloane, 3769, f.24.
 Answered by: The Tune to the Devonshire Cant: or, An Answer to the Parliament Dissolv'd at Oxford, for T. Rawe, 1681. Wing T 3251.
 See *Dem. Rid.*, 16 May 1681.
76. A village! Monstrous!
 'Tis a mighty beast.
 156. A Character of London Village. By a Country Poet.
 idem, for J. Allen, 1684. not political.
 Wing C 2019.
77. We dogs and lions by
 their voices know.
 attr. to J. Wilmot,
 earl of Rochester.
 323. Advice to the Painter's Adviser.
 idem, no imprint; L.ms date: 1679.
Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times,
 C 176.
A Compleat Catalogue..., Poetry, no.58;
 M.T. Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter*
Poems, p.82. Charles II.
 Wing A 662.
78. We only can admire
 those happy times.
 95. The Country-Man's Complaint, and Advice
 to the King. against the Whigs.
 idem, no name, 1681; ms date: 9 February
 1681. Wing C 6548.
79. Welcom my lord unto
 these.
 87. A Congratulation of the Protestant
 Joyner to Anthony King of Poland, upon
 his Arrival in the Lower World.
 idem, for N. Thompson, 1683.
 See *LPTDI*, no. 235, 20 Febr. 1683. Wing C 5814.
 Cf. RB 5 237.
80. Well! For a careful
 foresight, sober wit.
 326. The Hypocritical Christian; or, The
 Conventicle Citizen.
 The ... Citizen Displayed. Shewing
 the Refractory Temper of the Whiggish
 Party of the Town in Opposition to the
 against the Whigs
 and Dissenters.

	Establish't Religion and their
Disaffection to the Monarchy, by
G. Croom, 1682.
<i>Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Time</i> ,
C 176.	Wing H 3889.
81. What art thou muse, that
do'st the mind inspire.
362.	An Heroick Poem Most Humbly Dedicated
to the Sacred Majesty of Catherine
Queen Dowager.
idem, by N. Thompson, 1685.	Wing H 1586,
not political.
82. What can we lose for him
when all we have.
Henry, Lord Arundell of
Wardour.
214.	Persecution no Loss.
<i>Poems Written by the Right Honourable
Henry Lord Arundel of Warder.</i>
B.L.: Add. MS 29.921, f.49.	
83. What could a curst
ungrateful age do more.
291. | The Melancholly Complaint of Doctor
Titus Oates.
The ... of D. Otes, of the Black
Ingratitude of this Present Age
towards him and the Evil Rewards he
has Receiv'd for his Numberless
Services Done for the Nation, for
C. Brome, 1684; L.ms date: 24 September. | Titus Oates.

Wing M 1634. |
| 84. What is term'd Popery?
224. | Interrogatories: or, A Dialogue between
Whig and Tory.
idem, for W. Brown, 1681. | against the Whigs
and the Dissenters.
Wing I 272. |
| 85. What shall a glorious
nation be o'r thrown?
166. | The Dissenter Truly Described.

The Hypocritical Whigg Displayed, for
C.H., 1682.
The Dissenter Truely Described, for
N. Thompson, 1681. | against the
Dissenters.

Wing H 3890.
Wing D 1681. |

- Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the Times,*
C 176.
86. When Adam proper names on
beasts conferred.
44.
264;---
- Anagram Titus Oates Just a Sott.
- Titus Oates.
87. When I behold thee on that
fatal tree.
Henry, Lord Arundell of
Wardour.
216.
- Considerations before the Crucifix.
*Poems Written by the Right Honourable
Henry Lord Arundel of Warder.*
B.L.: Add. MS 29.921, f.51.
- not political.
88. When the plot I first
invented.
60.
165;285.
- Tony's Soliloquies.
idem, no name, 1681.
- Shaftesbury.
Wing T 1872.
89. When the charming news had
passed Charing Cross.
176.
- Poor Robin's Dream: or, The Visions
of Hell.
idem: with a Dialogue between the
Two Ghosts of Dr. T. and Capt. B.,
by M.S., 1681.
See *Dem Rid.*, no 10, 23 May 1681.
- Popish plot.

Wing P 2884.
90. When you great sir, began
to dissappear.
255.
- To His Royal Highness the Duke upon
His Arrival.
idem, no imprint; L.ms date: 1679;
W.ms date: 1681.
- James Duke of York.

Wing T 1377.
91. Ye mortal Whigs for death.
199.
- An Epitaph upon his Bowels.
See; My Tap is run then Baxter tell
me why.
92. Yet once more peace turns
back her head to smile.
31.
- The Recovery.
idem, no imprint; W.ms date: 1681,
December or January.
- against the Whigs.
Wing R 654.

*Loyal Poems and Satyrs upon the
Times*, C 176.

cf. RB 4 496,657.

Appendix II.

List of books and pamphlets printed and sold by Nathaniel and Mary Thompson, 1678-1688. For ballads and poems, see also Appendix I.

Lists of books printed and sold by N. Thompson occur in the following works:

- A. C. Blount, *Janua Scientiarum.* 1684.
- B. H. Keepe, *The Genealogies of the High-Born Prince & Princess, George and Anne of Denmark.* 1684.
- C. N.T., *A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs.* 1684.
- D. N.T., *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs.* 1685.
- E. N.T., *A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems.* 1685.
- F. T.G., *A Brief Explanation of Several Mysteries of the Holy Mass.* 1686.
- G. N. Cross, *A Sermon Preach'd before Her Sacred Majesty the Queen.* 1687.
- H. Henry VIII, *Assertio Septum Sacramentorum.* 1687.
- I. T. Kemeys, *Veritas Evangelica.* 1687.
- J. J. Moor, *An Apology for the Contemplations.* 1687.
- K. J. Reed, *Animadversions by Way of Answer to a Sermon.* 1687.
- L. *An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments.* 1686.
- M. R. Lassells, *A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass.* 1687.
- N. J. Huddleston, *A Sermon of Judgement.* 1687.
- O. *The Succession of the Church and Sacraments.* 1686.

1. A True and Perfect Narrative of the Late Terrible and Bloody Murther of Sir Edmondberry Godfrey. By N.T., 1678. Wing T 2533.

1679

1. C. Blount, *Anima Mundi: or, An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the Ancients concerning Mans Soul after his Life: according to Unenlightened Nature.* Amsterdam, Anno Mundi 00000. Wing B 3297.
For W. Cademan, 1679. Wing B 3298.
No name, 1679. Wing B 3299.
Advertised as printed and sold by N. Thompson in A,B,C.
2. The Cloak in its Colours; or, The Presbyterian Unmasked, and Proved as Dangerous as Papists to the Church of England; Together with a Brief and Seasonable Answer to their Late Unreasonable Queries, and List of Pensioners, Humbly Offered to All True Protestant Conformists. By N.T., 1679. Wing C 4719;
(C 4719A).
In Mr. Tho. Dangerfeilds Second Narrative, for T. Cockerill, 1680, Wing D 193, The Cloak in its Colours is attributed to 'the Jesuits in Newgate'.
3. A Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival of His Grace the Duke of Monmouth, at Utretch [sic] on Saturday Sept. 27. 1679. First line: Welcom, renowned Prince! Thrice welcom here. By N. Thompson, 1679. Wing C 5829A.
4. A List of the Knights, Citizens, Burgesses and Barons of the Cinque Ports, that are to be Return'd to Serve in the Parliament of England, to Begin the 17th and then to be Adjourn'd to the 30th. of October 1679. For N. Ponder and N. Thompson. Wing L 2452.
Published by Ponder and Thompson in competition with a similar list published by T. Newcombe, J. Starkey and R. Pawlet. See *TDI*, no.31, 21 October, 1679.
5. J. Hudgebut, *A Vademecum for the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder: with some Rules and Directions for the Same.* Also, some New Ayres Never before Published. By N. Thompson for J. Hudgebut, 1679. Wing (H 3254A).

See *TDI*, no.69, 2 March 1680.

6. R. Whitehall, *Gratulamini Mecum: or, A Congratulatory Essay upon His Majesties Most Happy Recovery.* First line: Thanks High and Mighty One by Whom Kings reign. By N. Thompson, 1679. Wing W 1875.

1680

1. W. Andrews, *News from the Stars: or, An Ephemeris for the Year 1680.* By N. Thompson, for the Company of Stationers, 1680. Wing A 1276.
2. C. Blount, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians: or, The Original of Idolatry, together with the Politick Institutions of the Gentiles Sacrifices.* no name, 1680. Wing B 3303.
Advertised by N. Thompson in A,B,C.
3. C. Blount, *The Two First Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus: Written Originally in Greek, and Now Published in English: together with Philological Notes upon Each Chapter.* For N. Thompson, 1680. Wing P 2132.
See *TDI*, no.46, 12 Dec. 1679; *The London Gazette*, 11 Dec. 1679.
4. E. Cellier, *Malice Defeated: or, A Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier.* For E. Cellier, 1680. Wing C 1661.
Partly printed by N. Thompson. See *TPM*, no.3, 16 March 1681.
5. Dionysius Longinus, *A Treatise of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech.* Written Originally in Greek by Longin; and Now Translated out of French by Mr. J.P. By N. Thompson for J. Holford, 1680. Wing L 3001.
6. *A Full and Exact Relation of Two Old Men Aged above a Thousand Years, Coming Invisibly into the Great City of Tholouze in France, from Damascus in Galilea.* For N.T., 1680. Wing (F 2280A).
anr. ed., for N. Thompson, 1680. L.ms date: 24 Aug. 1680. Wing F 2280.
7. W. Petyt, *Miscellanea Parliamentaria: Containing Presidents.* By N. Thompson for T. Basset and J. Wickins, 1680. Wing P 1948.
8. *A Poem on the Happy Return of His Royal Highness from Scotland.* First line: Is

1681

1. An Act Acknowledging and Asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing S 1023.
2. An Act of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the City of Dublin. In a General Assembly Held at New Hall, the 14th. Day of May 1681, and Published by Order. Dublin, by J. Ray. According to *LPTDI*, no.26, 4 June 1681, Thompson reprinted and sold this pamphlet. Wing (D 2405B).
3. An Act Ratifying All Former Laws for the Security of the Protestant Religion. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing S 1156.
4. An Answer to a Late Pamphlet; Entitled, A Character of a Popish Successor, and what England may Expect from Such a One. By N. Thompson, 1681. See *LPTDI*, no.2, 12 March 1681, and later; *Dem. Rid.*, no.3, 24 March 1681; *TPM*, no.38, 18 May 1681. Advertised in A,B. Wing A 3307.
5. A.C., An Answer to a Late Treasonable Pamphlet, Entitled, Treason in Grain, &c. For which Pamphlet Edward Fitzharris Lies Condemned. By N.T., 1681. Wing C 4.
6. An Answer to a Printed Protestation Made by Some of the Societies of the Inns of Court, against Dutiful Addresses. First line: Gentlemen, I admire not that you disagree. For N.T., 1681. Wing A 3341.
7. An Apostrophe from the Loyal Party to the King's Most Sacred Majesty: Humbly Shewing how the Next House of Commons by Law may be Purged of its Disaffected Members. Printed, 1681. By N. Thompson according to *IPM*, no. 12, 3 June 1681. Wing A 3562.
8. T. Ashenden, The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments. Printed for Tom Tell-Troth at the Sign of the Kings Head in Axe-Yard in King Street, Westminster. L.ms date: 17 Febr. 1681. Thompson was indicted for this pamphlet. Wing A 3973A.

9. The Character of a Disbanded Courtier. For N. Thompson, 1681. Wing C 1969.
Reprinted under the same title and expanded in 1682. For R.J., 1682. Wing C 1970.
10. The Character of a Fanatick in General, by what Other Name however he may be More Specially Distinguished. For N.T., 1681. Wing C 1973.
Reprinted from the 1675 pamphlet: The Character of a Fanatick: by a Person of Quality, Wing C 1972.
Reprinted in 1682 as: The Character of a Protestant Jesuite. For W. Davis, 1682. Wing C 1986. See *LPTDI*, no.97, 31 Dec. 1681.
11. The Character of an Ignoramus Doctor. By M.T., 1681. Wing C 2009.
Advertised in C. See *LPTDI*, no. 115, 11 Febr. 1682.
12. A Choice Collection of Wonderful Miracles, Ghosts, and Visions. For B. Harris, sold by L. Curtis, 1681. W.ms date: April. Wing C 3915
By Thompson according to *The Weekly Discoverer Strip't Naked*, no.2, 23 February 1681; see *CSPD*, 10 February 1681.
13. The Clergies Honour: or, The Lives of St. Basil the Great, Archbishop of Neo-Caesarea, and St. Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople. Wing C 4646.
Drawn by Way of Parallel. By N. Thompson, for W. Cooper, 1681.
See *LPTDI*, no.41, 26 July 1681.
14. A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the Hellish Fanatick Plot. First line: Come now, let's rejoyce. No imprint, ms. date: 26 July 1681. Reprinted by Thompson in 1682. Wing C 5815A.
15. J. Corker, Stafford's Memoires: or, A Brief and Impartial Account of the Birth and Quality, Imprisonment, Tryal, Principles, Declaration, Comportment, Devotion, Last Speech and Final End, of William, Late Lord Viscount Stafford, 1681. Wing C 6306;
Advertised by Thompson in A,B,C,D,H. Clancy 252.
16. J. Dean, The Badger in the Foxtrap, or, A Satyr upon Satyrs. First line: Comus or Momus now must be my theam. no imprint. Wing D 492.
Advertised by Thompson in A,B.

17. The Death, Burial, and Resurrection of the Act of the 35th. of Eliz. Entitled, An Act to Retain the Queens Majesties Subjects in their Due Obedience. Being an Answer to a Late Lying Pamphlet Entitled, The Life and Death of the 35th. of Eliz. For N. Thompson, 1681. Wing W 15.

18. A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Ignoramus Doctor. First line: Behold from the infernal lake I am come. No imprint. Advertised in C. Wing D 1355.

19. The Dissenter Truly Described. First line: What shall a glorious nation be o'rthrown? For N. Thompson, 1681. Wing D 1681.

20. English Loyalty Vindicated by the French Divines; or, A Declaration and Subscription of Threescore Doctors of the Sorbonne, for the Oath of Allegiance, as it was Originally Deliver'd by them in Latin. Faithfully done in English, by W.H. For N. Thompson, 1681. Wing E 3096; Clancy 362.

21. T. D'Urfey, An Excellent New Ballad. First line: Let Oliver now be forgotten. For B. Harris, sold by L. Curtiss, 1681. Wing E 3802.

22. The Phanatique in his Colours: being a Full and Final Character of a Whig in a Dialogue between Tory and Tantiivy. For N. Thompson, 1681. W. ms date: Sept/Oct. Advertised by Thompson as: A Full and Final Character of a Whig... *LPTDI*, no.98, 3 Jan. 1682. Quoted in *The Prot. Observer*, no.7, 10 Dec. 1681. Wing F 394.

23. Five Important Queries Humbly Propounded to All True Lovers of the Peace and Safety of the Church and State. By a Sincere Well-Wisher to the Old Protestant Religion. By N. Thompson, 1681. Advertised in *LPTDI*, no.20, 14 May 1681. Wing F 1107.

24. The Ghost of the Late House of Commons, to the New One Appointed to Meet at Oxford. First line: From deepest dungeon of eternal night. For B. Harris, sold by L. Curtis, 1681. Wing G 640; Wing G 639.

25. A Hue and Cry after Dr. T.O. For Alex. Banks,
1681. W.ms date: September. Wing H 3274.
N. Thompson was indicted for this pamphlet
in October 1681: See *LPTDI*, no.64, 15 Oct.
1681.
26. The Humble Petition of the Protestants of France
to the French King to Recall his Declaration for
Taking their Children from them at the Age of
Seven Years. By N.T., for A. Forrester, 1681. Wing H 3576.
27. The Ignoramus Ballad. First line: Let fourty
eight be now remembered. For N.T., 1681. Wing I 43.
28. James II, The Speech of His Royal Highness James
Duke of York and Albany, His Majesties High
Commissioner at the Opening the Parliament at
Edinburgh in Scotland July 28, 1681. By N.T.,
1681. Wing J 387.
29. T. Jones, A Sermon Preached at St. Michaels
Woodstreet, (December 23. 1680). At the Funeral
of Ezerel Tonge D.D. Memorable for his Good
Service to the Nation in the First Discovery of
the Horrid Popish Plot. By N.T., sold by
T. Parkhurst, B. Shirley, and W. Hinchman, 1681. Wing J 995.
30. The Last Speech and Confession of Mr. Stephen
Colledge, Executed at Oxford... 31 Aug. 1681.
For A. Banks, 1681. Wing C 5223.
Printed by N. Thompson according to *IPM*, no.
38, 2 Sept. 1681.
31. A Letter from Mr. Edward Whitaker to the
Protestant Joyner upon his Bill being Sent to
Oxford. For N.T. 1681. Wing W 1704.
32. A Letter of Advice to the Petitioning
Apprentices. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing L 1569.
33. A Letter to a Noble Peer of the Realm about
his Late Speech and Petition to His Majesty.
Signed L.S. No imprint. Wing S 110.
Attributed to Thompson as: An Answer to the
Noble Speech and Petition, in *PDI*, no.93,
1 Febr. 1681.
34. A Letter Written from Oxford by Mr. Stephen
Colledge to his Friends in London... Immedi-
ately after his Condemnation. By N.T., 1681. Wing C 5225.
35. The Madmen's Hospital, or, A Present Remedy
to Cure the Presbyterian Itch. A Poem. First
line: Oh, happy soil! Unhappily Possess'd.

- By N.T., 1681. W.ms date: September. Wing M 241.
36. A Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the Late Grand Jury at the Old-Baily who Returned the Bill against Stephen Colledge Ignoramus. For N. Thompson, 1681. Wing M 2377.
37. A Most Learned and Eloquent Speech, Spoken and Delivered in the House of Commons, at Westminster, by a Most Learned Lawyer, the 23th June 1647. No imprint. Wing M 2903; M 2903A. Wing M 2904.
- anr. ed., For A. Banks, 1681.
Advertised by N. Thompson as sold by him in *LPTDI*, no.98, 3 Jan. 1682.
38. A New Ballad, of London's Loyalty. First line: Rouse up great Genius of this potent land. For R. Sanders, 1681. Wing N 566.
39. The Petitioning Comet. or, A Brief Chronology of All the Famous Comets, and their Events, that have Happened from the Birth of Christ, to this Very Day. Together with a Modest Enquiry into this Present Comet. By N. Thompson, 1681. L.ms date: 3 Febr. Wing P 1864.
40. W. Petyt, Miscellania Parliamentaria: Containing Presidents. N. Thompson, for T. Basset and J. Wickins, 1681. Wing P 1949.
41. Philangelus, The Protestants Remonstrance against Pope and Presbyter: in an Impartial Essay upon the Times, or Plea for Moderation. By N.T., for W. Davis, 1681. Wing P 1345.
42. O. Plunket, The Last Speech of Mr. Oliver Plunket. Titular Primate of Ireland, Who was Executed at Tyburn on Friday the 1st of this Instant July, 1681. Written by his Own Hand. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing P 2626.
43. The Poor Prisoners Lamentation for the Loss of S-- B--, who so Plentifully Supplied them the Time of his Sheriffalty. For J. Alexander. Wing P 2872.
- N. Thompson was indicted for this pamphlet in October 1681. See *LPTDI*, no.64, 15 Oct. 1681.
44. A Postscript of Advice from Geneva, to be Added to Each of Mr. Care's Several Volumes of Advice from Rome. signed Ingoramus. No imprint. Wing P 3024.

45. The Riddle of the Roundhead. An Excellent New Ballad. First line: Now at last the riddle is expounded. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing R 1439.

46. A Sober and Seasonable Discourse, between a States-man and a Country-Gentleman Making it Manifest that the Sober and Truly Religious People of this Nation, Formerly Called Puritans, and of Late Presbyterians, were not the Designers and Promoters of the Last War. And Proving by Unanswerable Reasons, that there is no Such Danger of a Second War. By N. Thompson, sold by R. Taylor, 1681. Wing S 4401.

47. The Swearing Master: or, A Conference between Two Country-Fellows concerning the Times. Ned and Will. For N.T., 1681. W.ms date: Oct/Nov. Wing S 6244.
See *LPTDI*, no.47, 16 August 1681.

48. M. Taubman, Old Jemmy: An Excellent New Ballad. First line: Old Jemmy is a lad. By. N. Thompson, 1681. Wing O 204.

49. A True and Brief Account of the Proceedings between Mr David Fitz-gerald and William Hetherington, before His Majesty in Council, on Friday the 11th of February 1680/1. Where the Attorney General was Ordered to Prosecute the Said William Hetherington, and one Bryan Mac-Donagh (That Goes under the Name of Bernard Dennis) a Dominican Frier that Came out of Ireland in October last. No name, 1681. Wing T 2415.
Advertised as printed and sold by N. Thompson in *LPTDI*, no.2, 12 March 1681.

50. A True Discovery of the Irish Popish Plot Made by Maurice Fitz-gerald of Killcowan in the County of Lymerick, Jan. the 20th, 1680. By Way of Quest. By N. Thompson, for the author. Wing F 1107.

51. A Vindication of Addresses in General, and the Middle-Temple Address and Proceedings in Particular. In Answer to the Impartial Account of Addresses, wherein the Popular Pretences of Some Men are Exposed. By a Barrister of the Middle Temple. By N. Thompson, 1681. Wing V 469.

52. The Waking Vision; or, Reality in a Fancy.
First line: As I was walking, reading in a
book. By N.T., 1681. Wing W 282.
53. The Weekly Packquet of Advice from Geneva:
or, The History of the Reformation. Nos.1-2,
20-26 May 1681. By N. Thompson, 1681.

1682

1. A. Behn, The Epilogue to the Same, Spoken by
the Lady Slingsby. First line: Fair ladies
pity an unhappy maid. By N. Thompson, 1682.
The Epilogue was printed on the verso of
The Prologue (no.2).
2. A. Behn, Prologue to Romulus, Spoken by Mrs.
Butler. Written by Mrs. Behn. First line:
How shall we please ye now I cannot say. By
N. Thompson, 1682. Wing B 1760.
3. The Brimigham Ballad on their Royal Highnesses
Return from Scotland. First line: Room room
for Cavaliers, bring us more wine. For
N. Thompson, 1682. Wing B 4694.
4. The Charter; A Comical Satyr, Written by an
Unknown Hand. First line: Fire! fire! fire!
Help for we're all in Flames. For Alex. Banks,
1682. Wing C 3722.
5. A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the
Hellish Fanatick Plot. First line: Come now,
let's rejoyce. By N. Thompson, 1682. Wing C 5815;
Wing C 5815A.
6. A Congratulatory Poem to Her Royal Highness:
Upon the Arrival of their Royal Highness's in
England, May the 27th. 1682. First line: Gay
spring, thou happy season of desire. By
N. Thompson, 1682. ms date: 29 May 1682. Wing C 5833.
7. A Congratulatory Poem upon the Happy Arrival of
His Royal Highness James Duke of York at London,
April 8 1682. Written by a Person of Quality.
First line: Now to be silent, or to write in
prose. By N. Thompson, 1682. Wing C 5842.
8. J.Corker, A Remonstrance of Piety and
Innocence; Containing, the Last Devotions and
Protestations of Several Roman-Catholicks,
Condemned and Executed on Account of the Plot...

To which are Added Certain Lessons, Psalms and Prayers... Proper for the Present Exigence of the Times. Printed, 1682.

Wing C 6301;
Clancy 246;
247.

Advertised by Thompson in H.

9. J. Corker, Stafford's Memoires: or, A Brief and Impartial Account... Printed, 1682.

Wing C 6306A;
(C 6307)
Clancy 253.

See 1681 no.15.

10. T. D'Urfey, The Whig's Exaltation; or, A Pleasant New Song of 82. First line: Now now the Tories all shall stoop. By N. Thompson 1682.

Wing W 1657;
(D 2791).

11. An Excellent New Hymne to the Mobile, Exhorting them to Loyalty. First line: Let us advance the good old cause. By N. Thompson, 1682.

Wing E 3807.

12. J. Farwell, A Letter to Mr. Miles Prance, in Relation to the Murther of Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey. Signed: Trueman. For M.G., 1682. N. Thompson was prosecuted for this letter in 1682. *LPTDI*, no. 123, 2 March 1682.

Wing F 537.

13. A Hue and Cry after Tory Honesty, in a Dialogue between a Whiggish and a Tory Evidence. For N.T., 1682.

Wing H 3295A.

14. London's Joy and Loyalty on His Royal Highnesses the Duke of York's Return out of Scotland. First line: Rouze up ye Tories of this factious land. By N. Thompson, 1682.

Wing L 2933.

15. The Loyal Feast, Design'd to be Kept in Haberdashers-Hall on Friday the 21st. of April 1682. First line: Tony was small, but of noble race. For Allen Banks, 1682.

Wing L 3346.

16. The Loyal Scot: An Excellent New Song. First line: Bread of Gued I think the nation's mad. For Alexander Banks, 1682.

Wing L 3366.

17. The Loyal Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Upon their Election. First line: Now at last the matter is decided. For M. Thompson, 1682.

Wing L 3368.

18. Loyalty Triumphant, on the Confirmation of Mr. North and Mr. Rich, Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. First line: Fill up the bowl and set it round. By N. Thompson, 1682.

Wing L 3382A.

19. Miracles Reviv'd, in the Discovery of the Popish Plot, by the Late Dr of Salamanca. For Allen Banks, 1682. Wing M 2208; M 2209.
Advertised many times by N. Thompson in *LPTDI*, the first time in no.121, 25 Febr. 1682.
20. C. Oates, The Character of a Good, and Bad Subject: or, The Duty of the People of England, Scotland and Ireland: Manifestly Proved by the Word of God; wherein is Made Appear the Fatal Consequences of Rebellious Principles: in a Sermon Preach'd by Constant Oates, Preacher of the Gospel. For the author, 1682. Wing O 26.
Advertised in *LPTDI*, no.246, 17 March 1683, as sold by N. Thompson .
21. A Panegyrick on his Grace the Duke of Albe-marle, Installed Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, May the 11th. 1682. First line: Amidst the crowds of jealous tears. By N. Thompson, 1682. L.ms date: 11 May. Wing P 259.
22. W. Paine, A Second Letter to Mr. Miles Prance, in Reply the Ghost of Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey. Signed: Trueman. For N. Thompson, 1682. Wing P 192.
Advertised by Thompson in *LPTDI* no. 128, 14 March 1682.
23. T. Ramsay, Climax Panegyrica Vitae Serenissimi ac Celtissimi Principis, Jacobi Eboraci & Albaniae Ducis, &. Execudebat Nathaniel Thompson, 1682. Advertised in H. Wing R 213.
24. M. Taubman, Great York and Albany: or, The Loyal Welcome to his Royal Highness on his Return from Scotland. First line: Now now the zealots all must droop. By N. Thompson, 1682. Wing G 1788.
25. M. Taubnan, A Song on His Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland. By N. Thompson, 1682. The same as no.24, under a different title.
26. Titus Tell Troth: or, The Plot-founder Confounded. A Pleasant New Song. First line Hail to the knight of the post. For Allen Banks, 1682. Wing T 1316.
27. The Tory Ballad on their Highnesses Return from Scotland. First line: Room room for Cavaliers, bring us more wine. For N. Thompson, 1682. Wing T 1944.

1. An Account of the Apprehending of Two Persons Supposed to be the D. of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Armstrong. Signed W. Law. By N.T., 1683. Wing A 234.
In spite of the title the pamphlet is about the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey of Werk.
2. The Arraignment of Co-ordinate-Power; wherein All Arbitrary-Proceedings are Laid Open to All Honest Abhorrrers and Addressers: with a Touch at the London Petition and Charter. Signed B and y. For T. Hunt, 1683. Wing B 1.
Advertised by N. Thompson in A,B,C.
3. The Broken Merchants Complaint: Represented in a Dialogue between a Scrivener and a Banker on the Royal-Exchange of London. By Nat. T., 1683. Wing B 4843.
4. A Congratulation of the Protestant Joyner to Anthony King of Poland, upon his Arrival in the Lower World. First line: Welcome my Lord unto these Stygian Plains. For N. Thompson, 1683. Wing C 5814.
5. J. Corker, Oates's Manifesto; or, The Complaint of Titus Oates against the Doctor of Salamanca; and the Same Doctor against Titus Oates; Comprized in a Dialogue between the Said Parties, on Occasion of Some Inconsistent Evidence Given about the Horrid and Damnable Popish Plot. For R.L., 1683. Wing O 66.
Advertised by N. Thompson in *LPTDI*, no.236, 22 Febr. 1683, and in A,B,C,D. Attributed to J. Corker by: J. Warner, *The History of English Persecution of Catholics and the Presbyterian Plot*, ed. T.A. Birrell, London 1953, vol.2, p.324.
6. J. Corker, A Remonstrance of Piety and Innocence; Containing, the Last Devotions and Protestations of Several Roman-Catholics, Condemned and Executed on Account of the Plot, Faithfully Taken from their Own Mouths. Printed, 1683. W.ms date: November 1682. Wing C 6301A;
Clancy 247.
Advertised by N. Thompson in H.
7. Dagon's Fall: or, The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony, King of Poland. First

- line: Ah cruel bloody fate. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing D 112.
8. A Dreadful Oration. Deliver'd by that Sorely Afflicted Saint, Stephen Lobb. Held Forth to the Brethren, since his Last Retirement, (at a Private Meeting by Night, to Escape Persecution), in his Antient Meeting-House near Swallow-Street, not Far from that Famous Whigg-Square. By N.T., 1683. Wing L 2723.
 9. T. D'Urfey, An Excellent New Song on the Late Victories over the Turks. First line: Hark, the thundering cannons roar. By N. Thompson, [1683]. Wing (E 3832A).
 10. T. D'Urfey? A New Song Made by a Person of Quality, and Sung before His Majesty at Winchester. First line: A Tory came late through Westminster Hall. Printed, 1683. Wing N 763.
 11. An Elegy on that Worthy and Famous Actor, Mr. Charles Hart, who Departed this Life Thursday August the 18th. 1683. First line: Can Hart be dead and yet neglected lie. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing E 368.
 12. An Elegy on the Death of William Lord Russel, who was Beheaded for High-Treason, in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, July the 21st. 1683. First line: To sigh when rebels fall, or shed a tear. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing E 414.
 13. An Elegy on the Most Accomplish'd Virgin Madam Elizabeth Hurne, who Departed this Life on the 27th of July 1683. First line: Thou most inexorable tyrant death. Signed: B. By N.T., 1683. L.ms date: 13 August. Wing B 2.
 14. An Elegy on the Much Lamented Sir William Waller, who Valiantly Hang'd himself at Rotterdam. First line: Rise grim Alecto, rise, ('tis fit to chuse). By N.T., 1683. L.ms date: 21 August. Wing E 430.
 15. J. Gadbury, John Gadbury: (Student in Astrology) his Past and Present Opinion of the Ottoman or Turkish Power: Together with what he Wrote concerning the Great and Puissant French King; A Prince (if there be Truth in the Stars), not Born to be Miserable. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing G 96.

16. The Honour of Great York and Albany, A Loyal Song. The commons now are at a stand. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing H 2595A.
17. Justice Tryumphant, An Excellent New Song in Commendation of Sir George Jeffries, Lord-Chief-Justice of England. First line: Now the traytor, King hater. Sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1683. Wing (J 1253A).
18. A Lash to Disloyalty. First line: Rouze rouze my muse! Why dost thou silent lie. By N.T., 1983 [i.e. 1683]. Wing L 462 B.
19. The Last and Truest Discovery of the Popish Plot, by Rumsey, West and Other Great Patriots of their Country. First line: But oh, this late conspiracy. By N.T., 1683. Wing L 473.
20. The Last Memorial of the Agent from the K. of Poland, to his Chaplain the Salamanca Dr. For R.H., 1683. Advertised in *LPTDI*, no.235, 20 Febr. 1683, as by N. Thompson. Wing L 490.
21. A Lecture Held Forth at a Conventicle before the Departure of Sir Patience Ward, and Many of Our Dear Brethren in Tribulation. Printed and sold by N.T., [1683]. Wing L 834A.
22. R. L'Estrange, The Lawyer Outlaw'd; or, A Brief Answer to Mr. Hunt's Defence of the Charter. With Some Useful Remarks on the Commons Proceedings in the Last Parliament at Westminster. In a Letter to a Friend. By N.T., for the author, 1683. Wing L 1266; L 1266A.
Advertised in A,B,C,D,E,H,I,G,K,N,O.
23. A Letter to Mr. Settle, Occasioned by his Late Famous Recanting and Plot Ridiculing Narrative. Printed and sold by N.T., 1683. Advertised in A,B,C. Wing S 196.
24. The Life of Boetius, Recommended to the Author of the Life of Julian. Sold by W. Davis, 1683. Advertised in *LPTDI*, no.238, 27 Febr. 1683, as printed by N.T. and sold by W. Davis. Wing L 2024.
25. A List of All the Conspirators that have been Seiz'd, (and were Committed) since the Discovery of the Horrid and Bloody Plot. Sold

- at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden,
[1683].
- Wing L 2378;
L 2379.
26. A List of the Conventicles or Unlawful Meetings within the City of London and Bills of Mortality; With the Places where they are to be Found; as also, the Names of Divers of the Preachers, and the Several Factions they Profess. By N. Thompson, 1683.
- Wing L 2418.
27. London's Lamentation: or, An Excellent New Song on the Loss of London's Charter. First line: You freemen and masters and prentices mourn. By N.T., [1683].
Wing L 2936 with a similar title is a prose pamphlet.
- Wing L 2935.
28. G. Mackenzie, A Vindication of His Majesties Government and Judicatures in Scotland; from Some Aspersions Thrown on them by Scandalous Pamphlets and Newsbooks; and Especially, with Relation to the Late Earl of Argyle's Process. Printed at Edinburgh; and reprinted at London for S. Forrester, 1683.
Advertised in *The Observer*, no. 310, 29 March 1683; *LPTDI*, no.243, 10 March 1683.
- Wing M 212.
29. Murder out at Last, in a Ballad on the New Plot. First line: Now now the plot is all come out. By N.T. 1683.
- Wing M 3085.
30. A New Song on the Arrival of Prince George, and his Intermarriage with the Lady Anne. First line: Prince George at last is come. By N. Thompson, 1683.
- Wing N 768.
31. A New-Year's Gift to the Templers, on that Eminent Lawyer Sir Edmond Saunders, his being Chosen Lord Chief Justice of England. First line: Old Toney's fled the chief of our hopes. By N. Thompson, 1683.
- Wing N 819.
32. J.P., The Royal Anagram, Carolus Secundus Rex Angliae, Ana-Lux Elucesco Regnis San' Ardua.-gram. First line: That human names from the omniscient club. By N. Thompson, 1683.
- Wing P 68A.
33. A Pastoral Occasion'd by the Arrival of His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, &c. Design'd to Marry Her Highness the Lady Ann, Daughter to that Heroick Prince, James, Duke of York and Albany. First line: Welcom Great

- Man. But stay, I hear. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing P 676.
34. The Plot and Plotters Confounded: or, The Downfall of Whiggism. A New Song Made by a Person of Quality. First line: The plot God wot is all broke out. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing P 2592A.
35. Russel's Farewel. First line: Oh, the mighty innocence. By N. Thompson, 1683.
36. The Saints New Charter, Written Occasionally [sic] upon the Quo Warranto with Some Remarques upon the Late Riots. First line: Fire, fire, fire, help for we're all in flames! For Alexander Banks, 1683. Wing S 364.
Advertised by N. Thompson in H.
37. Some Brief Remarks upon the Debates of the House of Commons in the Last Parliament at Oxford. By N. Thompson, for the author, 1683. Wing S 4477A.
Advertised by Thompson in A,B,C,H,N.
38. Strange News from Newgate; or, A Relation How the Ghost of College the Protestant Joyner, Appeared to Hone the Joyner since his Condemnation: being an Account of the Whole Discourse that Passed between them. By N.T., [1683]. Wing S 5898.
39. Tangiers Lamentation, on the Demolishing and Blowing up of the Town, Castle and Citadel, November the 5th. Anno Domini MDCLXXXIII. First line: Let the Moors repine, their hopes resign. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing T 135A.
40. A True-Protestant Catechism, Explaining the Grounds and Methods of the True-Protestant-Plot; Set forth for Instruction of the Brethren in the Mystery of Whiggism. Printed at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1683. Wing T 2862.
41. A Vindication of the Lord Russell's Speech and Innocence, in a Dialogue betwixt Whig and Tory: being the Same that was Promis'd to The Observator in a Penny-Post-Letter. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing V 515.
Advertised by N. Thompson in A,B,C,D,H.
42. Whig upon Whig: or, A Pleasant Dismal Ballad on the Old Plotters Newly Found out. First line: Beloved harken all, o hone o hone. By N.T., 1683. Wing W 1650.

43. The Whigs Drown'd in an Honest Tory Health.
First line: Wealth breeds care; love, hope and
fear. By N. Thompson, 1683. Wing W 1656.
44. The Whigs Elevation, for his Grace the Duke of
Monmouth's Happy Return to Court. First line:
Now now brave Monmouth's come again. By
N. Thompson, 1683. W 1656 A.
45. The Whigs Laid Open, or, An Honest Ballad of
These Sad Times. First line: Now the plotters
and plots are confounded. By N.T., 1683.
46. The Whigs Lamentation for the Death of Anthony,
King of Poland. First line: Ah cruel bloody
fate what canst thou now do more? By
N. Thompson, 1683. Wing W 1659.
47. A Word to the True Blew Protestants, or Those
of the Thorough Reformation. By N.T., 1683. Wing W 3573.
48. J. Zeale, A Narrative of the Phanatical Plot,
Setting forth the Treasonable and Wicked
Designs which they have been Carrying on
against the King & Government ever since the
Last Westminster Parliament. With an Account
of the Treacherous Contrivances against Several
Worthy Persons, and the Measures which they
Used to Take off the Kings Evidence by Subor-
nation. For the author, sold by most book-
sellers in Westminster and London, 1683.
Advertised by Thompson in A,B,C,D and entered
in the Stationers' Company Registers on
25 Aug. 1683. Wing Z 10.

1684

1. C. Blount, Gent., Janua Scientiarum: or, A
Compendious Introduction to Geography, Chron-
ology, Government, History, Philosophy and All
Genteel Sorts of Literature. By N. Thompson,
1684. Wing B 3306.
Advertised in B,C,D,E,G,H,I,J,K,N,O.
2. The Bully Whig: or, The Poor Whores Lamentation
for the Apprehending of Sir Thomas Armstrong.
First line: Ah cruel bloody Tom. Sold at the
Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1684. Wing B 5438.
3. A Dialogue betwixt the Devil and the Whiggs.
First line: Now reader tell me if you can.
By N.T., 1684. Wing D 1356.

4. A. Harris, *An Account of an Apparition that Appeared to Titus Oates. First line: Some night last past as I (accursed) lay.* By N. Thompson, 1684. Wing H 837.

5. *The History of Whiggism from their Rise to their Late Horrid and Unparralleled Conspiracy. First line: You Calvinists of England.* By N.T., 1684. Wing H 1810.
This is not another edition of Wing H 1809, by E. Hickeringhamill.

6. H. Keepe, *The Genealogies of the High-Born Prince & Princess, George and Anne of Denmark, &c. Shewing; The lineal Descent of these Two Noble and Illustrious Families: With their Matches, Issue, Times of Death, Places of Sepulchre, Impresses, Devices, &c. From the Year of Grace M to this Present Year, MDCLXXXIV.* By N. Thompson, 1684. Wing K 124A.
Advertised in A,C,E,H.

7. E. Llewellyn, *The Prodigal Returned Home; or, The Motives of the Conversion to the Catholic Faith of E.L., Master of Arts in the University of Cambridge.* Printed, 1684. Wing L 3525.
N. Thompson was prosecuted for printing this work in 1684. For the authorship: See Dom H. Steuert, "The Prodigall Returned Home", *Downside Review*, 64 (1946), p.78-90.

8. *A New Song in Praise of the Loyal Company of Stationers, who (after the General Forfeit), for their Singular Loyalty, Obtain'd the First Charter of London, Anno 1684. First line: In London was such a quarter.* By N. Thompson, 1684. Wing N 716A.

9. *The Newcastle Associators; or, The Trimmers Loyalty. Being a True Relation how Several Sanctified Brethren were Apprehended, and Found Signing the Association, (Several Others having Made their Escapes) at the Assizes at Newcastle, August 2 1684. First line: Lay by your reason, truth's out of season.* Printed and sold by N. Thompson. Wing N 891A.

10. *Oates Thrash'd in the Compter, and Sack'd up in Newgate. First line: Hail to the prince of the plot. Sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1684.* Wing O 63.

11. On the Death of Sir Tho. Armstrong; in Answer to a Late Treasonous Libel Dispers'd by the Factious. First line: Thou monster Armstrong, cou'd thy soul return. Printed and sold by N. Thompson, 1684. L.ms date: 5 August. Wing O 306.
12. A Pastoral upon the Death of her Grace the Duchess of Ormond. First line: If loaded eyelids and a clouded brow. Printed and sold by N. Thompson, 1684. Wing P 678.
13. A Pindarique Ode upon the Late Horrid and Damnable Whiggish Plot. First line: Dissenting biggots boast no more. Printed and sold by N. Thompson, 1684. Wing P 2258.
14. W. Pope, The Old Man's Wish. First line: If I live to be old. Sold by N.T., [1684]. Wing O 206A.
15. The Proceedings at the Kings-Bench-Bar upon the Execution of the Writ of Enquiry of Damages at the Suit of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, against Titus (Formerly Still'd Doctor) Oates. Sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden, 1684. Wing P 3561A is not another edition of this pamphlet. Wing P 3561.
16. A Relation Extraordinary Contained in a Letter from Lintz concerning Another Great Victory over the Turks. January the 9th. 1683/4. By N. Thompson, 1684. Wing R 777.
17. The Sodomite, or, The Venison Doctor, with his Brace of Aldermen-Stags. First line: Listen if you please a while. By N. Thompson, 1684. Wing S 4417B.
18. A Song at the Loyal Feast in Westminster Hall on July 10th. 1684. First line: See, see the air clears, the murm'res that grumbled. Printed and sold by N.T., 1684.
19. The Swearers Chorus to the First Presbyterian Plot. First line: There was a monstrous doctor. By N.T., 1684. Wing S 6242.
20. M.T., A Full Account of the Apprehending Sir Thomas Armstrong at Leyden. By N.T., 1684. Wing T 29.
21. N. Thompson, A Choice Collection of 120 Loyal Songs, All of Them Written since the Two Late Plots, (viz) the Horrid Salamanca Plot in

- 1678, and the Fanatical Conspiracy in 1683.
Intermixt with Some New Love Songs. ... To
which is Added, An Anagram and Accrostick on
the Salamanca Doctor. By N.T., 1684. Wing T 1004.
22. A True and Particular Relation of the Fire
which Happened in the Castle of Dublin in
Ireland, April the 17th, 1684.
Another Relation of the Dreadful Fire. By
N. Thompson, 1684. Wing T 2515.
The first account is signed B.R., the second
W.C.
23. Tyburn's Courteous Invitation to Titus Oates,
the Salamanca Doctor. First line: Oh name
it once again. By N.T., 1684. Wing T 3557.
24. The Whigs Hard Heart the Cause of this Hard
Frost. An Excellent New Ballad. First line;
Ye Whigs and Dissenters I charge you attend.
Sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring
Garden, 1684. Wing W 1658.
25. Persons Robert, A Conference about the Next
Succession to the Crowne of England ...
Published by R. Doleman. Thompson was
accused by R. Stephens of printing this book,
but there does not seem to be an edition
printed by Thompson.
- 1685
1. The Arraignment of Thomas Howard Duke of
Norfolk, before the Earl of Shrewsbury,
Lord High Steward of England. Also a Brief
Derivation of the Most Honourable Family of
the Howards: with an Account of What Families
They are Related to by Marriage. Transcribed
out of Ancient Manuscripts, Never before
Published. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing (L 142A).
Dedication to Henry Duke of Norfolk signed by
J. Lacy. Advertised in H.
2. J. Blake, Applausus in Honorem Serenissimi
Principis Magnae Britanniae, Franciae &
Hiberniae, Regis Defensoris Fidei ... Suae
Faelicissimae Inaugurationis & Coronationis,
Galviae Compositus. First line: Semper
augusti; pro tempore serenissimo. Typis
N. Thompson, 1685. Wing B 3131.

3. F. Chenau, Francis Chenau's French Grammar, Enrich'd with a Compendious and Short Way to Learn the French Tongue in a Very Short Time. By N.T., for C. Mearne, 1685. Wing (C 3779 B).
Advertised in *The Observer*, no. 21, 26 March 1685 as by N. Thompson for the author; in no. 38, 4 May 1685 as by N. Thompson for C. Mearne.

4. The Description of the Coronation of His Sacred Majesty K. James II. And His Most Illustrious Consort Queen Mary. Celebrated on the 23th Day of April, 1685. With a Brief Account of the Famous Fireworks, which were upon the Thames, April the 24th. A Poem. First line: My ravished Muse in such bright mazes done. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing D 1156.

5. Elegant Apothegms in the Speech of Lewis IV, King of France to his Revolted Subjects. By N.T., 1685. Wing L 3095.

6. [J. Gother], A Papist Misrepresented, and Represented: or, A Twofold Character of Popery. The One Containing a Sum of the Superstitions, Idolatries, Cruelties, Treacheries, and Wicked Principles of that Popery... The Other Laying Open that Popery, which the Papists Own and Profess. Printed 1685. Wing G 1333 f.; Clancy 454f.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,J,K.

7. S. Hayne, An Abstract of All the Statutes Made concerning Aliens Trading in England from the First Year of King Henry the VII. Also, of All the Laws Made for Securing our Plantation Trade to Ourselves. With Observations thereon, Proving that the Jews ... Break them All. By N.T., for the Author, sold by W. Davis, 1685. Wing H 1216.

8. An Heroick Poem, Most Humbly Dedicated to the Sacred Majesty of Catherine, Queen Dowager. First line: What art thou muse, that do'st the mind inspire. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing H 1586.

9. An Humble Hint to the King and Kingdom on the Coronation-Day of James the II, &c., Expressing the Due Love and Loyalty of the Humblest amongst His Majesties Servants. First line: Prosper Great Monarch in that royal throne. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing H 3417.

10. Ireland's Tears. To the Sacred Memory of our Late Dread Sovereign King Charles II. First line: As distant thunder in a rowling cloud. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing I 1026.
11. R. Lowman, An Exact Narrative and Description of the Wonderfull and Stupendious Fire-works in Honour of Their Majesties Coronations, and for the High Entertainment of Their Majesties, the Nobility, and City of London. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing L 3321.
12. H. Howard, 7th Duke of Norfolk, The Duke of Norfolk's Order about the Habit the Ladies are to be in that Attend the Queen at Her Coronation. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing (N 1232A).
13. On the Most High and Mighty Monarch King James II. His Exaltation on the Throne of England. Being an Excellent New Song. First line: Hark the bells and steeples ring. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing O 317A.
14. W. Penn, A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book of Religion and Worship, from the Exceptions of a Nameless Author. For A. Banks, 1685. Advertised by N. Thompson in H. Wing P 1275.
15. A Poem on and to Her Most Gracious Majesty upon the Day of Her Happy Coronation. By one of Her Majesties Servants. First line: In humble verse we hearts and pens employ. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing P 2683.
16. A Poem on the Coronation of our Most Illustrious Sovereign K. James II. And His Gracious Consort Queen Mary, who were Crowned at Westminster, on St. George's-Day, being the 23th. ... April 1685. Written by a Person of Quality. First line: Flie envious time; why dost our bliss delay? By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing P 2689A.
17. The Rebel Captive. An Excellent New Song, on the Taking of Argile in Scotland by Three Young Men, who Met him as he was Flying away in Disguise, after his Men had Deserted Him. First line: Three bonny lads were Sawney, Cloud Hamilton, and Andrew Grier. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing R 592A.

18. R. Scamler, An Anagram and Acrostick, on His Sacred Majesty, King K. James II. Relating to the Late Triple Conjunction of Saturn & Jupiter in Leo, which Began in October 1682, and still Continues. By N. Thompson, 1685. Wing S 807A.
19. Scotland's Loyalty; or, Sorrowful Sighs on the Death of our Late Sovereign His Sacred Majesty; Charles II. By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. First line: Let musick cease; yet let true subjects sing. Signed P.K. By N. Thompson 1685. Wing S 2017.
20. A Song at the Loyal Feast in Westminster Hall, August the 6th. 1685. First line: Hail sacred pile! The ancient seat of loyalty and law. Sold by N. Thompson and J. Crouch, 1685. Wing S 4671A.
21. N. Thompson, A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs, All of them Written since the Two Late Plots (viz.) The Horrid Salamanca Plot in 1678. And the Fanatical Conspiracy in 1683... The Third Edition with Many Additions. By N.T., 1685. Wing T 1003.
22. N. Thompson, A Collection of 86 Loyal Poems, All of them Written upon the Two Late Plots, Viz, The Horrid Salamanca Plot in 1678. And the Present Fanatical Conspiracy in 1683: To which is Added, Advice to the Carver, Written on the Death of the Late L. Stafford with Several Poems on Their Majesties Coronation, Never before Published. By N.T., 1685. Advertised by N. Thompson as 'the second edition' in D,H,I,K,N,O. Wing T 1005.
23. Truth Tryumphant, over Perjury Rampant; on the Tryal of the Salamanca Doctor at the King's Bench Bar, May the 8th and 12th, 1685. First line: There was a doctor of ancient fame. By N.T., 1685. Wing T 3161.

1686

1. The Compleat Dancing-Master; Containing Thirty Choice New Country-Dances with the Trebles and Basses Exactly Set to Every Tune. For N. Thompson and J. Crouch. Advertised in TC 11. p.168. (not seen).

2. An Explanation of the Holy Ornaments and Ceremonies which the Priest Uses at Mass. Collected from Several Authors. And Now Published for the Common Good of All Catholicks and Others. For N.T., 1686. Advertised by Thompson in G,H,I,J,K. Clancy 368.

3. T.G., A Brief Explanation of the Several Mysteries of the Holy Mass, and of the Actions of the Priest Celebrating. Very Necessary for All Roman Catholics for the Better Understanding thereof. ... By T.G. heretofore Fellow of New College in Oxen. By N. Thompson, 1686. Wing (G 395aA);
Clancy 411.

Advertised by Thompson in G,H,I,J,K,N.

4. The Judgement of the Court of King's Bench, ... against Miles Prance, for his Horrid Perjury in the Evidence he Gave at the Tryals of Green, Berry and Hill, relating to the Death of Sir Edmund-Bury-Godfrey, ... Tuesday, 15 Die Junii, 1686. For N.T., 1686. Wing J 1181.

5. [R. Lassells], A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass, with Profit and Devotion. Containing the Whole Mass in Latin and in English. With Divers Choice, Select Prayers before & after Confession and Communion. No name, 1686. Advertised by N. Thompson in F(1686), G,H,I, J,K,O. Wing (L 462F).

6. P. Manby, A Discourse of Confession wherein is Treated of the Last Judgement. Title quoted from Thompson's advertisement in F. Also advertised in G,H,J,K,L,M. (not seen).

7. A Manual of Devout Prayers, Fitted for All Persons and Occasions. To which is Added the Rosary, Prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary, &c. The Prayers of St. Bridget, and Other Most Devout Prayers upon Several Occasions, Never before Published. With a Catholick Kalendar, for the Year of Our Lord, 1686. Printed, 1686. Wing (M 542B);
Clancy 633.

Advertised by Thompson in F,G,H,I,J,K,O.

8. The Method of Saying the Rosary of our Blessed Lady: As it was Ordained by Pope Pius the Fifth, of the Holy Order of Preachers; and as it is Said in Her Majesties Chappel at St. James's. Sixteenth Edition. By N.T., 1686. Wing (M 1947B).
Advertised by Thompson in F.

9. Popery Anatomis'd: or the Papists Clear'd from the False Imputation of Idolatry and Rebellion, in a Letter to a Friend. No name, 1686. Wing P2921; Clancy 789, 790.

Advertised by Thompson in G,H,I,J,K.

10. The Succession of the Church, and Sacraments, from Christ and His Apostles, to the End of the World. Cleared, and Stated according to the Antient Doctrine of the Greek and Latine Fathers. For N.T., 1686. Wing S 6114; Clancy 932.

Advertised by Thompson in G,H,I,K,L,N.

11. H. Turberville, A Manual of Controversies: Clearly Demonstrating the Truth of the Catholick Religion, by Texts of Holy Scripture, Councils of All Ages, Fathers of the First 500 Years, Common Sense and Reason. Fully Answering the Principal Objections of Protestants and All Other Sectaries... The Fourth Edition Corrected. For M. Turner, 1686. Wing T 3259; Clancy 987.

Advertised by Thompson in F,G,H,I,J,K,N,O.

1687

1. E. Le Camus, A Pastoral Letter of the Lord Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop and Prince of Grenoble to the Curats of his Diocese; Touching the Methods they ought to Take, and in what Manner they should Behave themselves towards their New Converts. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing L 806; Clancy 583.
2. T. Codrington, A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties on the First Sunday of the Advent, being November 28th 1686. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing, C 4879A; Clancy 235.
3. Comes Amoris, or, The Companion of Love. Being a Choice Collection of the Newest Songs Now in Use. With a Thorow Bass to Each Song for the Harpsichord, Theorbo, or Bass-Viol. The First Book. By N. Thompson, for J. Carr and S. Scott, sold by J. Carr, 1687. Wing C 5534.

4. N. Cross, A Sermon Preach'd before Her Sacred Majesty the Queen, in Her Chappel at Windsor on the 21st. Day of April, Anno 1686. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing C 7254;
Clancy 279.

5. A Full and Perfect Account of the Particulars of the Terrible and Bloody Fight which the Christian Armies have Obtained over the Whole Turkish Forces near the Bridge of Esseck. With a Particular of what Plunder they have Seiz'd and Taken. Written by a Person of Quality, who was Present in the Whole Action. August the 30th 1687. By N.T., 1687. Wing F 2288.

6. J. Gadbury, Festum Festorum; or, A Discourse Touching the Holy Feast of Easter, Shewing How it may be Established for Ever. N. Thompson, for the Company of Stationers, 1687. Wing G 83.

7. [J. Gadbury], A Reply to that Pernicious and Scandalous Libel Lately Printed in Holland, in an Almanack, for the Year 1687. Writted [sic] by (whom? but) Jo. Partridge an English Renegado. Manifesting his Horrid Treasons, Wicked Blasphemies, ... and Exhibiting the Genuine Signification of the Stars toward Great Britain. For N. Thompson, 1687. Wing R 1065.
 Advertised by N. Thompson in H.N. Another edition of the work had the title: A Reply to that Treasonous and Blasphemous Almanack for 1687: Printed in Holland, by (whom? but) Jo. Partridge an English Renegado for Treason. Manifesting his Absurd Errours in Art; and Declaring the Genuine Signification of the Stars towards Great Britain, Rome, &c. For N. Thompson, 1687.

8. Henry VIII, Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: or, An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther; by Henry the VIII, of England, France & Ireland, King. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing H 1468;
Clancy 496.
 Advertised in N.

9. [J. Huddleston], A Sermon of Judgement, Preach'd before the Queen Dowager in Her Majesties Chappel at Somerset-House; on the First Sunday

in Advent.... Being the 27th of Nov. 1686.
By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing, D 1927;
Clancy 515.

Advertised by N. Thompson in H,I,K,N.

10. [J. Huddleston], A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties in Their Chappel at St. James's the 25th Sunday after Pentecost, November 17th. 1686. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing D 1928;
Clancy 516.

Advertised by N. Thompson in H,I,K.

11. [J. Huddleston], The Why's? and the How's? or, A Good Enquiry: A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties in Their Chappel at St. James's the 2nd. Sunday of Advent, Dec. 6th. 1685. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing D 1929;
Clancy 519.

Advertised by Thompson in H,I,K, where he wrongly dated the sermon 6 Dec. 1686.

12. C.J. and J. M'C., A Net for the Fishers of Men: and the Same which Christ Gave to His Apostles. Wherein the Points Controverted betwixt Catholics and Sectaries are Briefly Vindicated by Way of Dilemma. 1686.

Wing (J 5C);
Clancy 540.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,J,K.

13. [T. Kemey], Veritas Evangelica, or the Gospel-Truth Asserted in Sixteen Useful Questions, which being Seriously Searched into, will Open the Way to Find out Assuredly the True, and Saving Faith of Christ, which is but One, as the Apostle Affirms; Eph.4. One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing K 256;
Clancy 567.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,J,K.

14. R. Langhorne, Considerations touching the Great Question of the Kings Right in Dispensing with the Penal Laws. Written on the Occasion of His Late Blessed Majesties Granting Free Toleration and Indulgence. By H.H., for the Assigns of R. Langhorne, sold by N. Thompson and M. Turner, 1687.

Wing L 396;
Clancy 577.

15. [R. Lassells], A Most Excellent Way of Hearing Mass, with Profit and Devotion. Containing the Whole Mass in Latine and English. With

- Divers Choice, Select Prayers before & after
Confession and Communion. By T.G., 1687.
- Wing (L 463A);
Clancy 582.
- This title is advertised by N. Thompson in
F,G,H,I,J,K,N,O.
16. J. Mackqueen, Gods Interest in the King, Set
forth in a Sermon Preach'd in the Cathedral
of Edinburgh October the 14th. At the
Anniversary Commemoration of His Majesties
Birth. By One of the Ministers of the City.
By N. Thompson and sold by A. Ogston,
Edinburgh, 1687.
- Wing M 226.
17. P. Manby, The Considerations which Obliged
P. Manby, Dean of Derry to Embrace the Cath-
olique Religion. Dedicated to the Lord Prim-
ate of Ireland. Dublin Castle the 11th of
March 1686/7. For N. Thompson, 1687.
- Wing (M 384A);
Clancy 623.
- anr. ed. Reprinted for N.
Thompson, 1687.
- Wing M 384;
Clancy 622.
- Advertised by N. Thompson in H,K.
18. P. Manby, A Reformed Catechism in Two
Dialogues concerning the English Reformation,
Collected for the Most Part, Word for Word,
out of Dr. Burnet, John Fox, and Other
Protestant Historians. ... In Reply to Mas.
William Kings Answer to D. Manby's
Considerations, &c. By N. Thompson, 1687.
- Wing M 388;
Clancy 627.
19. A Manual of Devout Prayers and Devotions,
Fitted for All Persons & Occasions. With
Divers Choice, Select Prayers before and
after Confession and Communion. By N.T.,
1687.
- Clancy 634.
Wing (M 542D);
Clancy 635.
- Anr. ed. By N. Thompson, 1687.
- Advertised by Thompson in G,H,I,J,K,N,O.
20. [W. Marsh], A Sermon Preach'd before the King
and Queen, in Their Majesties Chappel at
St. James on Sunday, October 24, 1686. By
the Reverend Father Dom. W. M., Monk of the
Holy Order of St. Benedict, and of the
English Congregation Chaplain in Ordinary
to His Majestie. By N. Thompson, 1687.
- Wing M 108/
769/2424.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,K.

21. A Method of Saying the Rosary of our Blessed Lady in Latine and English. As it was Ordered by Pope Pius V of the Holy Order of Preachers, and as it is Said in Her Majesties Chappel at St. James's. The seventeenth edition. By N.T., 1687.

Wing (M 1947E);
Clancy 671.

22. [C. Milton], The State of Church-Affairs in this Island of Great Britain under the Government of the Romans and British Kings. By N. Thompson for the Author, sold by the booksellers of London. 1687.
Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,J,K,N.

Wing M 2085;
Clancy 672.

23. [J. Moor], An Apology for the Contemplations on the Life and Glory of Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus. Shewing the Innocency, Equity and Antiquity, of the Honour and Veneration, Given to the Blessed Virgin by the Holy Catholick church. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing C 7249;
Clancy 678.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,K,N.

24. [J. Moor], Contemplations on the Life & Glory of Holy Mary, the Mother of Jesus. With a Daily Office, Agreeing to Each Mystery thereof. Mary, of Whom was Born Jesus. Matth. Cap. I, Verse 16. The third edition. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Clancy 680.

25. [J. Moor], A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties the King and Queen, and Queen Dowager, in Their Chappel at St. James's, on the Feast of the Holy Patriarch St. Bennet, Anno 1685 Old Style. By Father John Crosse of the Holy Order of S. Francis D.D. By N. Thompson, 1687.

Wing C 7251;
Clancy 683.

Advertised by N. Thompson in G,H,I,J,K,N.

26. A Most Devout Prayer unto The Glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God. Also Several Devout Prayers to our Blessed Redeemer, in Honour of His Bitter Passion, &c. By N.T., 1687.

Clancy 693.

27. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. For N.T., 1687.

Wing N 783;
Clancy 718.

Advertised by N. Thompson in H,K,N.

- The Anglican answer to this work:
 A Reply to the New Test of the Church of
 England's Loyalty. For J.D., 1687, Wing R 1078,
 was also published with the imprint: For J.D.,
 Assignee of N.T., 1687, Wing R 1077. Thompson
 was probably not concerned with this work.
28. H. Offelen, A Double Grammar for Germans to
 Learn English; and for English-Men to Learn the
 German-Tongue: Wherein All Latine Words, Be-
 longing to the Grammar, are Translated both into
 the German and English Tongue. For the Author,
 sold by N. Thompson, N. Ponder, and S. Smith,
 1687. Wing O 145.
 The book contains a German titlepage: Zwey-
 fache Gründliche Sprach-Lehr, für Hochteutsche,
 Englisch, und Engelländer Hochdeutsch zu Lernen;
 Darin Alle Lateinische Wörter zur Spach-Lehr
 gehörig ins Hochdeutsch und Englisch Übersetzt
 sein.
 Tot Londen, Gedrukt voor den Autheur en zijn
 te Koop by Nathaniel Thompson, in den Ingangh
 van Old Spring Garden by Charing-Cross. 1687.
 Advertised by N. Thompson in H.
29. Ordo Recitandi Divini Officii pro Anno Domini
 1687. Excudit N. Thompson. Wing (O 416A).
 Advertised in G,H,I,J,K.
30. H. Payne, An Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet,
 Entituled, A Letter to a Dissenter concerning
 His Majesties Late Declaration of Indulgence.
 For N.T., 1687. Wing P 887.
31. A Perfect Relation of the Most Glorious and
 Entire Victory Obtain'd by the Christian Army
 (under the Conduct of the D's of Lorrain and
 Bavaria) over the Whole Turkish Forces near
 Darba, Taking All their Baggage and Canon.
 Brought by Express to His Excellency the
 Spanish Ambassador. August the 20th. 1687.
 By N.T., 1687. Wing P 1513.
32. A. Pulton, Remarks of A. Pulton Master in the
 Savoy, upon Dr. Tho. Tenison's Late Narrative;
 with a Confutation of the Doctor's Rule of
 Faith, and a Reply to A. Cresner's Pretended
 Vindication. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing P 4207;
 Clancy 815.
33. A. Pulton, A True and Full Account of a

- Conference Held about Religion between
Dr. Tho. Terison and A. Pulton, One of the
Masters of the Savoy. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing P 4209;
Clancy 818.
34. [J. Reed], Animadversions by Way of Answer to
a Sermon Preach'd by Dr. Thomas Kenne, Lord
Bishop of Bath and Wells; in the Cathedral
Church of Bath. On Ascension-Day Last,
being the Fifth Day of May, 1687. For
N. Thompson, 1687. Wing R 665;
Clancy 824.
- Advertised by N. Thompson in H,N.
35. The True Interest of the Legal English
Protestants, Stated in a Letter to a Present
Member of the House of Commons. By
N. Thompson, 1687. Wing T 2714;
Clancy 973.
36. The Use and Great Moment of the Notes of
the Church, as Deliver'd by C. Bellarmine De
Notis Eccl. Justified. In Answer to a Late
Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church.
By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing B 1824;
Clancy 990.
- Advertised by N. Thompson in H.
37. T. W[ard], Monomachia; or, A Duel between
Dr. Tho. Tenison, Pastor of St. Martins; and
a Roman Catholick Soldier. For the Author,
1687. Wing W 834;
Clancy 1041.
- The preface records N. Thompson's death.
38. T. W[ard], Some Queries to the Protestants
concerning the English Reformation.
Translated by T.W. Gent. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing W 836;
Clancy 1043;
1044.
- Advertised by Thompson in H,K.
39. T. W[ard], Speculum Ecclesiasticum, or, an
Ecclesiastical Prospective Glass. Wherein
may be Clearly Seen the Doctrine of the
Primitive Church for the First 500 Years
after our Saviour; Especially as to the
Chieftest Points in Debate between Prot-
estants and Roman Catholicks. viz. The
Visible and Continued Succession of the
Church. By N. Thompson, 1687. Wing W 838;
Clancy 1045.

In H (1687), Thompson advertised:

40. Indulgences and Priviledges Granted to the Sodality of our Most Sovereign and Immaculate Lady of the Rosary, &c. Founded in the Churches and Chappels and Oratories of the Order of Preachers. Printed 1670. Bodleian Library, Linc. 8^o C 437, with a handwritten title page. Clancy 538.
41. A Summary Relation of the Holy Congregation of our B. Lady of Succour, Erected in the Kingdom of New Granada; Approved by His Holiness Pope Innocent the X and Now Newly Instituted in Her Majesties Royal Chappel at Somerset House. Printed, 1672. Wing S 6173.
42. A Dialogue between Jack Presbyter and his Master concerning Popery. (not seen).
43. In M he advertised: A Short Catechism by Way of Question and Answer: The Answers of which are Taken from the Express Words of Scripture: with Some Plain Inferences Arising from the Said Texts concerning Succession and the Blessed Sacrament. (not seen).

1688

1. An Answer to the City-Conformists Letter, from the Country Clergy-Man, about Reading His Majesties Declaration. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing A 3399A; Clancy 29.
2. J. Baber, To the King, upon the Queens Being Deliver'd of a Son, June the 10th, MDCLXXXVIII. A Poem. First line: Nine months a loyal zeal has fir'd my breath. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing B 246.
3. J. Barclay, John Barclay his Defence of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to the Sectaries of the Times. Book II, Chap. 2. [Of the Paraenesis ad Sectarios]. Englished by a Person of Quality. By M. Thompson, sold by M. Turner and J. Lane, 1688. Wing B 715; Clancy 73.
4. J. Barclay, John Barclay his Vindication: of the Intercession of Saints, the Veneration of Relicks and Miracles against the Sectaries of the Times. Book II, Chap VII. Englished by

- a Person of Quality. By M. Thompson, sold by M. Turner and J. Lane, 1688. Wing B 716; Clancy 74.
5. [M. Boutauld], A Method of Conversing with God. Translated out of French by J W. of the Society of Jesus. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing (B 3860D); Clancy 135.
 6. Henry VIII, Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: or, An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther:... Second edition, revised and corrected. By N. Thompson, 1688. Wing H 1469; Clancy 497.
 7. [J. Huddleston], A Sermon, Entituled, The Law of Laws, Preached before Their Majesties at Windsor the 17th Sunday after Pentecost, the 19th September 1686. This sermon was mentioned in the preface to Rebellion Arraigned, no. 9. (not seen). Clancy 510.
 8. [J. Huddleston], The Pharisee's Council. A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties in Their Chappel at Whitehall, the Friday after Passion-Sunday, April the 6th, 1688. By M. Thompson for the author, to be sold at the Entrance into the Old Spring Garden. Wing D 1926; Clancy 512.
 9. [J. Huddleston], Rebellion Arraigned. A Sermon Preach'd before Their Majesties in Their Chappel at Whitehall, upon the 30th of January 1687. The Anniversary and Humiliation-Day, in Abhorrency of the Sacrilegious Murder of Our Gracious Sovereign Charles I. By M. Thompson, 1688. Clancy 514.
 10. R. Levison, Untimely Repentance. A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Honourable Lord Petre in his Chappel at Ingastone-Hall, on Palm Sunday, April the 1st, 1688. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing (L 1826A); Clancy 1360 O.
 11. A Manual of Devout Prayers and Devotions for Every Day of the Week. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing (M 544A); Clancy 635A.
 12. A Mirrour of Truth, of the Highest Concern, to All Sorts of People, Noble and Ignoble, Rich and Poor, Sovereign and Subject. Rom. I.14. To the Greeks and to the Barbarians, to the Wise and to the Unwise, I am a

- Debtor. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing M 2224;
Signed on last page: B.P.S. [i.e. brother
Peter Salvin O.S.B.?] Clancy 673.
13. W. Niven, To the King's Most Sacred Majesty, upon the Happy Birth of the Prince of Scotland and Wales. June the 10th. 1688. First line: Great Sir the Heavens did wish'd for tydings bring. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing N 1172A.
 14. R. Plowden, Carmen Genethliacon, Poema in Optatissimum Partum Serenissimi Walliae Principis Nati 10 Junii Anno MDCLXXXVIII. First line: Si faciles in vota deos & cerea flecti. Excudit M. Thompson, 1688. Wing P 2612.
 15. A Poem on the Long Expected Auspicious Birth of the Prince, June the 10th. MDCLXXXVIII. Being Trinity Sunday. First line: A Prince of Wales. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing P 2699.
 16. The Primitive Rule of Reformation according to the First Liturgy of K. Edward VI, 1549, Containing an Extract of the Same so Far as it is Popishly Affected, together with Several Honourable Testimonials thereof from Church and State, of that and Succeeding Ages. As also, the Wishes of Several Churches and Churchmen of the Restoration for Restoring the Said Liturgy in Parts. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing P 3472;
Clancy 806.
 17. [A. Pulton], A Full and Clear Exposition of the Protestant Rule of Faith. With and Excellent Dialogue Laying forth the Large Extent of True Protestant Charity against the Un-charitable Papists. By M. Thompson, 1688. Wing P 4206;
Clancy 814.
 18. A. Pulton, Some Reflections upon the Author and Licensor of a Scandalous Pamphlet; Called, the Missoners Arts Discover'd. With the Reply of A. Pulton to a Challenge Made him in a Letter Prefix'd to the Said Pamphlet. By M. Thompson for the Author, sold by M. Turner and J. Lane, 1688. Wing P 4208;
Clancy 816.

1. A Letter from an Absent Lord to One of his
Friends in the Convention. Wing L 1441;
Mary Thompson was prosecuted for this pamphlet. (L1442).

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. Manuscripts.

Bodleian Library Oxford.

Manuscript Poems and ballads:

MS Ashm.	36, 37 (f. 300).
MS Don.	b8 (f. 627, 681, 701).
MS Douce	357 (f. 62v, 74v, 84, 103, 124, 158).
MS Eng. Misc.	f 79 (f. 60).
MS Eng. Poet.	c 18 (f. 176v); c 25 (f. 73); d 152 (f. 58).
MS Firth	c 16 (f. 38, 145, 265).
MS Mus.	e 20 (f. 19v).
MS Mus. Sch.	C 95 (f. 186, 242, 244, 246),
MS Rawl.	B 35 (f. 37); Qd 13 (f. 61).
MS Rawl. Poet.	37 (f. 112); 116 (f. 90v); 152 (f. 1); 169 (f. 24);
173 (f. 116, 172v); 196 (f. 16, 18, 20, 24, 27v).
MS Wood	D 19 (2) (f. 105); F 34 (f. 159).
MS Carte	40 (f. 455): Letter Alex. Peirce to Gascoigne (Secretary to Ormonde).
MS Rawl.	A 173 (f. 72, 73, 74): Warrants for arrest N. Thompson September 1679.
MS Rawl.	D 18 (f. 44b, 62): Petitions Nathaniel Thompson 1682.

Harding collection: manuscript first-line indexes of ballads and poems.

British Library.

Manuscript Index of first and last lines of poems in MSS collections.

Manuscript poems and ballads:

Add. MSS	11492 (f. 126b); 15005 (f. 97); 23722 (f. 72b);
27407 (f. 23b, 29); 27408 (f. 136, 166); 28101 (f.
166, 189); 28252 (f. 62); 29497 (f. 7); 29921 (f.
48, 49, 50b, 51, 118); 30381 (f. 251); 33351 (f.
466);
MS Burn.	390 (f. 25);
MS Harl.	6913 (f. 37, 205); 6914 (f. 10, 27b, 65b); 6947 (f.
251);
MS Sloane	921 (f. 93b); 1435 (f. 31); 1731A (f. 144); 2717
(f. 78, 93, 109, 110); 3752 (f. 2); 3769 (f. 23).

Corporation of London Record Office. Guildhall, London.

- Assessments 17 Months Tax (1677).
 Assessments Poll Tax (1678).
 Assessments 6 Months Tax (1679).
 Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, vol. 87.
 Index to the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen.

Greater London Record Office and Library.

MS AM/PW N. Thompson's will.

Guildhall Library London.

MS 877/1	Vestry Minutes St. Bennet's Paul's Wharf. 1579-1674.
MS 2696/3	Assessments St. Dunstan's in the West. 1673-1677/8.
MS 2696/4	Assessments St. Dunstan's in the West. 1677-1680.
MS 3016/2	Vestry Minutes St. Dunstan's in the West. 1663-1701.
MS 5716	Parish Registers St. Bennet's Paul's Wharf.
MS 6554/2	Vestry Minutes St. Brides. 1681-1703.
MS 10345	Parish Registers St. Dunstan's in the West.
MS 10347	Parish Registers St. Dunstan's in the West.
MS 10348	Parish Registers St. Dunstan's in the West.

House of Lords Record Office.

Manuscript Minutes 26, 31 October, 2, 21 November 1678.
Minutes Books of the Committee of Examinations 1678, nos. 5, 54.

Middlesex County Record Office.

MS MSP 8, 12 December 1689: Cessat Processus M. Thompson.

National Library Ireland. Dublin.

MS 16998 (f. 183-5): The Lord Lieutenant and Councils Order, October 31, 1671, Concerning Printing: B. Tooke and John Crook vs. Dr. Thomas Bladen.

Public Record Office. London.

Index to Privy Council Registers.
Privy Council Registers, 1670-1688.
State Papers Domestic Charles II, 1676-1688.

Society of Genealogists, London.

Great slip index card room: Names inhabitants London; Boyd's Marriage Index.

Stationers' Hall London.

Apprentices Bound and Turned over, 1640-1748.
Apprentices Register Relief of Orphans Act 1694-1738.
Box 1 (no. 11) Stationers' Company vs. D. Edwards.
Box 33 (nos 247-250) Stationers's Company vs. D. Edwards.
Box A3 Orders Archbishop Canterbury to damask books.
Box A4 List of printers and number of presses.
 Orders Bishop London to damask books.
Box A6 Printing presses seized by the Stationers' Company.
Calls to the Livery, 1600-1764.

Dividend Books English Stock 1644-1724.

Index to the Courtbooks to 1779.

Liber A.

Courtbook D 1654-1679.

Courtbook E 1674-1683.

Courtbook F 1683-1697.

Master and Apprentices Calendar October 1684-March 1748.

Pension Lists March 1677-December 1762.

Wastebook 1668-1674.

Westminster Public Library.

The Parish Poor Rates Book St. Martin's in the Fields.

Parish Register St. Martin's in the Fields.

B. News-sheets.

The Catholick Intelligence; or, Infallible News both Domestick and Foreign, [1680].

The City Mercury; or, Advertisements concerning Trade, by R. Everingham. [1680-1].

The Conventicle-Courant, for the assigns of John Hilton. [1682-3].

The Currant Intelligence; or, An Impartial Account of Transactions both Forreign and Domestick. [Bank's Currant Intelligence], for A. Banks. [1680].

The Currant Intelligence; or, An Impartial Account of Transactions both Forraign and Domestick. [Smith's Currant Intelligence / The Currant Intelligence], for J. Smith. [1680-1].

Democritus Ridens; or, Comus and Momus, a New Jest and Earnest Prattling concerning the Times, for F. Smith. [1681].

Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country. [The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence], for B. Harris. [1679-81].

The Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country. [The True Domestick Intelligence], by N. Thompson. [1679-80].

The Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country Impartially Related, for T. Benskins. [1681-2].

The English Currant; or, Advice Domestick and Forreign, for T. Burrell. [1679].

The English Gazette [The Westminster Gazette], for W.E., sold by T. Fox. [1680-1].

The English Guzman; or, Captain Hiltons Memoirs, for R. Oswell. [1683].

The English Intelligencer, for T. Burrell. [1679].

The Epitome of Weekly News, for S.W., sold by L. Curtis. [1682].

The Faithfull Mercury, Imparting News Domestick and Forein. [1679].

The Haerlem Courant, Truly Rendered into English. [*The Compleat Mercury*; or, *The Haerlem Courant*], sold by H. Rodes. [1681].

Heraclitus Ridens; or, *A Discourse between Jest and Earnest*, for B. Tooke. [1681-2].

The History of Reformation, in a Dialogue between Philanax and Erasmus, for the Mayor of Gotham. [1681].

The Impartial London Intelligence [*The Protestant Oxford Intelligence*, or, *Occurrences Forraign and Domestick*], for T. Benskins. [1681].

The Impartial Protestant Mercury [*The True Protestant Mercury*], for R. Janeway. [1681-2].

The London Gazette. [1679-83].

The London Mercury, for T.V., published by R. Baldwin. [1682].

The Loyal Impartial Mercury; or, *News both Forreign and Domestick*, for E. Brooks. [1682].

The Loyal London Mercury; or, *The Moderate Intelligencer* [*The Loyal London Mercury*; or, *The Currant Intelligencer*], for G. Croom. [1682].

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, by N. Thompson. [1681-3].

Mercurius Anglicus; or, *The Weekly Occurrences Faithfully Transmitted*. [*The True News*; or, *Mercurius Anglicus*], for R. Harford. [1679-80].

Mercurius Anglicus, for R. Baldwin. [1681].

Mercurius Bifrons; or, *The English Janus; the One Side True and Serious, the Other Jocular*, for T.B. [1681].

Mercurius Civicus; or, *A True Account of Affairs both Forreign and Domestick*. [*Mercurius Civicus*; or, *An Account of ... Domestick*], by R.E. for the author. [1680].

Mercurius Civicus; or, *The City Mercury*, by T.B., published by L.C. [1680].

Mercurius Infernus; or, *News from the Other World*, for J. Marlow, sold by L. Curtis. [1680].

Mercurius Librarius; or, *A Faithful Account of All Books and Pamphlets Publ. These Last 14 Days*. [1680].

The Moderate Intelligencer, for R. Robinson. [1682].

The Monthly Recorder, of All True Occurrences both Foreign and Dom-

- estick*, for L. Curtis. [1682].
- A New Dialogue between Somebody and Nobody; or, The Observer Observed.* [A New ... or, The Observer and Heraclitus Observed], for E. Smith. [1681].
- A New News-Book; or, Occurrences Forreign and Domestick, Impartially Related*, for R. Janeway. [1681].
- News from Parnassus.* [Advice from Parnassus], for H.L. [1681].
- News, from the Land of Chivalry, Containing the ... History of Don Rugero de Strangemento ...*, for I.P. [1681].
- The Observer. In Question and Answer.* [The Observer. In Dialogue. / The Observer], for H. Brome [for J. Brome from 14 May 1681], [1681-83].
- The Observer Observ'd; or, Protestant Observations upon Anti-Protestant Pamphlets*, for T. Davies. [1681].
- Poor Robins Intelligence, Revived.* [1679].
- The Popish Mass Display'd; or, The Superstitions and Fopperies of the Romish Church Discovered*, for I. Cleve. [1681].
- The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Forreign and Domestick*, for R. Baldwin. [1682].
- The Protestant Observer; or, Democritus Flens*, for J. Low. [1681].
- The Rotterdam's Courant*, for B. Harris. [1680].
- Smith's Protestant Intelligence: Domestick and Foreign*, for F. Smith. [1681].
- The Snotty-Nose Gazette; or, Coughing Intelligence*, for T.D. [1679].
- The True Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country.* [1680].
- The True Protestant Mercury; or, Occurrences Forein and Domestick*, for L. Curtis. [1680-2].
- The Universal Intelligence: Comprizing the Substance of the Most Remarkable Passages Weekly Published by Others*, for P.E., publ. by L. Curtis. [1680].
- The Weekly Discoverer Strip't Naked; or, Jest and Earnest Exposed to Publick View in his Proper Colours*, for B. Harris. [1681].
- The Weekly Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity: In the Rise ... of the Late ... Rebellion in England*, for B. Tooke. [1681].
- The Weekly Intelligence; Communicating News frim City and Country*, for N. Crouch. [1679].
- The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Geneva; or, The History of the Reformation*, by N. Thompson. [1681].

The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Germany; or, The History of the Reformation of Religion There, by A.M. and R.R. for E. Giles. [1679-80].

The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome; or, The History of Popery.
[*The Anti-Roman Pacquet; or, Memoirs of Popes and Popery.* / *The Weekly ... Rome Restored; or, ... Popery Continued.*], sold by L. Curtis. [1679-83].

The Weekly Visions of the Popish Plot, for T. Benskins. [1681].

C. Pamphlets and Books in which N. Thompson is mentioned.

An Account of the Proceedings against Nat. Thompson, Mr. Farwell & Mr. Paine, at the Councel-Board, on Wednesday, April the Fifth, 1682, for S. Gardiner, 1682.

An Account of the Proceedings against Nathaniel Thompson upon his Tryal at the Kings Bench Bar Westminster ... on Wednesday the 26th of November, 1684, for A. Banks, 1684.

Advice to the Painter, from a Satyirical Night-Muse for Limning to the Life the Witnesses against the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, for C. Leigh, 1681.

At the General Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery Held for the City of London, on Wednesday, the 31 of August at Justice Hall in the Old Baily, for R. Janeway, 1681.

T Blood, *A Just Narrative of the Hellish New Counter-Plots of the Papists, to Cast the Odium of their Horrid Treasons upon the Presbyterians*, for D. Newman, 1679.

The Character of a Modern Sham-plotter, for R. Janeway, [1681].

The Coat of Arms of N.T. J.F. & R. L. An Answer to Thomson's Ballad Call'd The Loyal Feast, Dublin, for A. Banks, [1681].

T. Dangerfield, *The Grand Impostor Defeated*, for R. Janeway, 1682.

Dialogue upon Dialogue, or L'Estrange No Papist or Jesuite; But the Dog Towser, for H.B., 1681.

The Downfall of the Whiggs, or, The Duke of Monmouth's Journey into the North, for T. Johnson, 1682.

A. Elliot, *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates, the Salamanca Doctor, from Perjury*, for the author, sold by J. Hindmarsh, 1682.

The Fetter-Lane Loyalist, or, A Description of a True Sonne of Rome, by A. Goulding, [1681].

Great News from the Old-Baily, Mr. Car's Recantation, by G. Croom, 1683.

Heraclitus Derisus, or, Ben's Monkey Strip't by Sim and Sam, for T.D.
1681.

E.H[ickeringill], The History of Whiggism, or, The Whiggish-Plots, Principles and Practices, for E. Smith, 1682.

E. Hickeringill, The Mushroom; or, A Satyr against Libelling Tories and Prelatical Tantivies, for F. Smith, 1682.

His Majesties Speech as Printed in Thompsons Domestick Intelligence, [1681].

The History of Popish-Sham-Plots from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to this Present Time, for R. Janeway, 1682.

Ignoramus Vindicated, in a Dialogue between Prejudice and Indifference, for W. Inghall the Elder, 1681.

R. L'Estrange, The Dissenters Sayings. The Second Part, for J. Brome, 1681.

A Letter from Lucifer to his Roman Agents N.T. W.P. J.F. & R.L. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Back-Friends, for C. Lee, 1682.

A Letter Intercepted from the Popish Printer in Fetter-Lane to his Friend Heraclitus, for J. Low, 1681.

A Letter to a Person of Quality, Occasioned by the Burning of John Presbyter, in the Dean's Yard, Westminster, Nov. 5 1681, [1681].

A Letany for St. Omers, for W. Richard, 1682; The Second Part, idem, 1682.

The Loyal Observer, or, the Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Roger the Fiddler, alias, the Observer, for W. Hammond, 1683.

More Work for the Popish Implements Nat Thompson and the Observer, for J.B., 1682.

The Most Remarkable Tryals of Nathaniel Thompson, William Paine, John Farwell, at the King's Bench Bar in the Guild-Hall on the 20th of this Instant June 1682, for L. Curtiss, 1682.

A Narrative of the Proceedings at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, April 21, 1680, [1680].

A New Ballad with a Definition of the Word Tory, for R. Lett, 1682.

A New Years Gift to Towzer, Being a Strange and Monstrous Beast, for E. Harrison, 1682.

News from Colchester. In a Letter to a Dear Friend (an Honest Whig) at London, for R. Janeway, 1681.

T. Oates, A Display of Tyranny: or, Remarks upon the Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings, in the Courts of Westminster, and Guildhall, London, 1689.

- The Observer Prov'd a Trimmer: or, Truth and Justice Vindicated in the History of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for J. Allen, 1685.*
- J. Phillips, Horse-flesh for the Observer, for R. Read, 1682.*
- A Pillar Erected to the Memorial of Popish-Nat, Shewing how Unlike the Best, and how Like the Worst of Men he is, for J. Jones, 1682.*
- The Popish Hunt after the Protestant Plot, or, The Blood-Hounds at Full Cry. Together with a Dialogue between Nat. Implement and One of the Jesuits in Newgate, for C. Leigh, 1682.*
- Popish Nat's Lamentation, in a Dialogue between Nat. Thompson, the Popish Printer, and the Popish Midwife, upon his Arrival in Newgate April 5. 1682, for J. Smith, 1682.*
- The Procession: or, The Burning of the Pope in Effigie, in Smithfield-Rounds, on the 17th of November 1681, for W. Cobble, 1681.*
- Reflections on the Murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey. The Design of Thompson, Farwell and Paine to Shamm off that Murder on the Papists, by A.B., publ. by L. Curtis, 1682.*
- A Satyr against Satyrs, or, St. Peters Vision Transsubstantiated. By R.D. A Poem. With a Jeer to N.T.'s Intelligence, sold by R. Janeway, 1680.*
- The Sentence of Nathaniel Thompson, William Paine and John Farwell, ... on the Third of this Instant July, for J. Heathcott, 1682.*
- Sir Edmondbury Godfrey's Apparition to Nat. Thompson, for J.B., 1682.*
- Sir Edmunbury Godfreys Ghost; or, An Answer to Nat. Thompsons Scandalous Letter from Cambridge to Mr. Miles Prance in Relation to the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for R. Janeway, 1682.*
- W. Smith, Intrigues of the Popish Plot Laid Open: with Depositions Sworn before the Secretary of State, for the author, 1685.*
- A Supplement, to the Last Will and Testament of Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, for J. Smith, 1683.*
- M.T., The Counter-rat, or, Oats Sifted and Sack't up in the Counter, for J.S., 1684.*
- Thompson Tell-Lyes, or, An Answer to Titus Tell-Troth, for G. Parker [1682].*
- Tom-som his Repetition to his Wife; Bewailing his Present State, for J. Deacon, 1682.*
- Mr. Tonges Vindication, in Answer to the Malicious and Lying Aspersions Thrown upon him by Thomson and The Observer, for the author, 1682.*
- The Tryal of Nathanael [sic] Thompson, John Farwell, William Pain ... at Guildhall ... the Twentieth of June, 1682, for W. Mason, 1682.*

*The Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson, William Pain and John Farwell
At Guildhall on Tuesday June the 20th 1682, for T. Simmons, 1682.*

*Trincalo Sainted; or, The Exaltation of the Jesuits Implement, and
Printer General, the Notorious Nathaniel Thompson, on this Present
5th. of July 1682, for J.B., 1682.*

*A True Account of the Invitation and Entertainment of the D. of Y. at
Merchant Taylors Hall, by the Artillery Men, on Thursday Oct. 21st
1679, [1679].*

*A True Copy of a Letter of Consolation Sent to Nat. the Printer, near
the Pope's Keys in Fetter-Lane, from the Meal-Tub Midwife, in New-
gate, for W. Johnson, 1681.*

*A True Narrative of the Popish-Plot against King Charles I ... Also a
Compleat History of the Papists Late Presbyterian Plot, for R. Har-
ford, 1680.*

*Whereas Nat Thompson has Lately in his Publick Intelligence of the
25th of October Published these Words Following, [1681].*

*The Whole Series of All that hath been Transacted in the House of
Peers concerning the Popish Plot, by J. Redmayne, 1681.*

*A Word of Patience to the Rioters on their being Found in the Guild-
hall, May 1683, for J. Smith, 1683.*

D. Seventeenth-Century Books and Pamphlets.

Long titles have been abbreviated. Books printed and sold by Nathaniel and Mary Thompson after 1678 and broadside ballads and poems mentioned in Appendix I have not been included.

*T.A., Some Reflections upon a Late Pamphlet in a Letter to J.H., for
J. Hindmarsh, 1681.*

*An Account ... of the Proceedings at the Sessionshouse in the Old-Bayly,
on the 24 November 1681, for R. Evers, 1681.*

*An Account of the Sentence which Past on Titus Oates upon Conviction
of Perjuries ... Saturday, May 16, 1685, for A. Banks, 1685.*

*An Answer to a Scoffing and Lying Libell ... under the Title of A
Wonderful Account of the Curing the Kings Evil by Madam Fanshaw,
the Duke of Monmouth's Sister, for T.B., 1681.*

An Answer to the Pamphlet Called, The Loyal Feast, for J. Tacker, 1681.

- H. Arundell of Wardour, *Poems Written by the Right Honourable Henry Lord Arundel of Warder, and Count of the Sacred Roman Empire [sic], now Prisoner in the Tower*, 1679.
- [J. Austin], *Devotions. Second Part. The Four Gospels in One, Broken into Lessons*, 1675.
- J.B., *Some Reflections upon the Earl of Danby in Relation to the Murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, in a Letter to a Friend*.
- N. Bacon, *A Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira, in the Year 1548*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for E. Thomas, 1672.
- W. Bedloe, *A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot*, for R. Boulter et. al., 1679.
- [A. Behn], *To Poet Bavius; Occasioned by his Satyr he Writ in Verses to the King*, 1688.
- P. Bertius, *The Life and Death of James Arminius and Simon Episcopus*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for F. Smith, 1672.
- T. Blood, *The Narrative of Col. Tho. Blood, concerning the Design ... against ... His Grace George, Duke of Buckingham ... with Maurice Hickey, Philip Le Mar and Several Others*, by R. Everingham, 1680.
- [C. Blount], *An Appeal from the Country to the City*, 1679.
- [N. de Bonnefons], *The French Gardiner. Now Translated into English by John Evelyn Esquire*, 3rd ed., by T.R. and N.T., for B. Tooke, 1675.
- [J. Bury], *A True Narrative of the Late Design of the Papists to Charge their Horrid Plot upon the Protestants ... to Take off the Evidence of Mr. Oats and Mr. Bedloe*, Dublin 1679.
- [H. Care], *The History of the Damnable Popish Plot in its Various Branches and Progress*, for B.R. L.W. H.C., sold by L. Curtiss, 1680.
- G. Carew, *Fraud and Oppression Detected and Arraigned*, 1676.
- A Catalogue of the Names of Such Persons as are, or are Reputed to be of the Romish Religion (not as yet Convicted) being Inhabitants within the County of Middlesex, Cities of London and Westminster*, 1680.
- The Character of a Coffee-House with the Symptoms of a Town-Wit*, for J. Edwin, 1673.
- The Character of a Fanatick*, 1675.

The Character of a Protestant Jesuite, for W. Davies, 1682.

Charles II, His Majesties Declaration to All His Loyal Subjects, Touching the Causes and Reasons that Moved Him to Dissolve His Last Two Parliaments, by the Assigns of J. Bill et. al., 1681.

The Charter of Londons Answer to a Scurlous Libel, Intituled, Its Last Will and Testament, for L. Curtis, 1683.

R. Clavell (ed.), *A Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London 1666, 1673 ;The General Catalogue of Books ... to the End of Trinity Term 1674, 1675; ... to the End of Trinity Term 1680, 1680.*

A Collection of Ballads Originally Formed by John Selden and Enlarged by Samuel Pepys, (Photocopy British Library LR 408 n1).

A Collection of Poems on Affairs of State; Viz. by A— M— Esq. and Other Eminent Wits, 1689; The Second Part of The Collection ..., 1689; The Third Part of the Collection ..., 1689.

A Collection of Poems on State-Affairs, Several Never before Printed, Part I, 1712.

A Collection of the Newest and Choicest Songs that are Now Sett by the Masters of His Majesties Music and Others, for C. Corbet, 1683.

A Collection of the Newest and Most Ingenious Poems, Songs, Catches &c. against Popery, 1689; A Second Collection ..., 1689; A Third Collection ..., 1689; The Fourth (and Last) Collection of Poems, Satyrs, Songs & ..., 1689.

A Collection of Twenty-Four Songs, Written by Several Hands, by F. Leach for C. Corbet, publ. by W. Davis, 1685.

[S. College], *A Satyr against Injustice, or, Sc—gs upon Sc—gs.*

J. Comenius, *Janua Linguarum Reserata, by T.R. and N.T. for the Company of Stationers, 1672.*

Comes Amoris: or, the Companion of Love ..., The Second Book, 1688; The Third Book, 1689; The Fourth Book, 1693; The Fifth Book, 1694.

A Commentary upon the Present Condition of the Kingdom and its Melioration, 1679.

The Compleat Catalogue of All Stich'd Books and Single Sheets Printed since the First Discovery of the Popish Plot, 1680; A Continuation of the Compleat Catalogue..., 1680; A Second Continuation ..., 1680.

- W. Cooper, *The Philosophical Epitaph of W.C. Esq.*, by T.R. and N.T. for W. Cooper, 1673.
- M Dalton, *Officium Vicecomitum, The Office and Authority of Sherifs, for the Company of Stationers*, 1662.
- T. Dangerfield, Mr. Tho. Dangerfeilds Particular Narrative ... to Charge those of the Presbyterian Party ..., for H. Hills et al., 1679.
- T. Dangerfield, Mr. Tho. Dangerfeild's Second Narrative, for T. Cockerill, 1680.
- [H.D'Anvers], *Theopolis, or, The City of God*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, for N. Ponder, 1672.
- R. Drake, *A Manual of the Private Devotions ... of ... Lancelot Andrews*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for R. Bentley, 1674.
- [T. D'Urfey], *Choice New Songs Never before Printed*, by J. Playford for J. Hindmarsh, 1684.
- T. D'Urfey, *A New Collection of Songs and Poems*, for J. Hindmarsh, 1683.
- T. D'Urfey, *Several New Songs*, by J. Playford for J. Hindmarsh, 1684.
- [J. Dymock], *The Great Sacrifice of the New Law Expounded by the Figures of the Old*, 1676.
- The Earl of Essex his Speech at the Delivering the Following Petition to His Most Sacred Majesty, Jan. 25. 1680*, for B. Harris, 1681.
- The Earl of Essex Speech, at the Delivery of the Petition to the King, Jan. 25. 1680*, for F. Smith, 1681.
- An Elegy on the Right Worshipful Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, for B. Harris, 1678.
- [J.L. Fabricius], *Janus Alexandrus Ferrarius, an Augustine Frier his Epistles to the Two Brethren of Wallenberg concerning the Usefulness of the Roman Catholic Faith. Wherein the Ambition and Avarice of the Church of Rome are Lively Demonstrated*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1673.
- [J.L. Fabricius], *Jani Alexandri Ferrarii, Coenobitae Augustiani Euclides Catholicus, Prostant Venales Apud G. Gilbert*, 1673.
- A Famous Conference between Pope Clement the Xth and Cardinal de Monte Alto concerning the Late Discovery of the Masse in Holy Scripture*,

by T.R. and N.T., for M. Pitt, 1674.

[R. Ferguson], *No Protestant Plot: or, The Pretended Conspiracy of Protestants against the King and Government*, for R. Lett, 1681; *The Second Part of ...*, for R. Smith, 1682; *The Third Part of ...*, for R. Baldwin, 1682.

Good Deeds Ill Requited, or, An Answer to Innocence Unveil'd: Being a Poem in Vindication of Dr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe.

[G. Savile, Earl of Halifax], *A Letter to a Dissenter upon Occasion of His Majesties Late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence.*

R. Hancock, *The Loyalty of Popish Principles Examined in Answer to a Late Book, Entitled Staffords Memoires*, 1682.

[D. Holles], *The Long Parliament Dissolved*, 1676.

[D. Holles], *Some Considerations upon the Question whether Parliament is Dissolved by its Prorogation for Fifteen Months*, 1676.

J. Horne, *A Comfortable Corroborative Cordial, or, A Sovereign Antidote against ... Death*, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for B. Southwood, 1672.

T. Hunt, *A Defence of the Charter ... of the City of London*, by R. Baldwin.

An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the Late Addresses, for R. Baldwin, 1681.

An Impartial Account of the Tryal of Francis Smith ... for Printing and Publishing ... Tom Ticklefoot ... as also the Tryal of Jane Curtis ... for ... A Satyr upon Injustice, or, Scroggs upon Scroggs, 1680.

R. Jenison, *A True Narrative of Robert Jenison of Gray's Inn, Esquire*, for F. Smith et al., 1679.

[T. Jones], *Of the Heart, and its Right Sovereign. And Rome no Mother Church of England*, for E. Foulkes, sold by T. Basset, 1678.

[T. Jordan], *The Triumphs of London: Perform'd on Monday, October XXIX, 1683*, for J. and H. Playford, 1683.

The Knave Uncloak'd, or, The Jesuit in his Colours, for T. Parkhurst, 1679.

F.L., *Ireland's Sad Lamentation: Discovering its Present Danger in*

Some Remarkable Passages which have Happened since the Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot, 1680.

The Lady Gray Vindicated: Being an Answer to a Popish Pamphlet, Entituled, A True Relation of a Strange Apparition that Appeared to the Lady Gray, 1681.

The Lawyers Demurrer Argued, by the Loyal Addressers ... of Grays-Inne, for A.B., 1681.

The Lawyers Demurrer, to the Addresses in Fashion, for R. Janeway, 1681.

N. Lee, The Tragedy of Nero, by T.R. and N.T. for J. Magnes and R. Bentley, 1675.

R. L'Estrange, The Character of a Papist in Masquerade ... in Reply to the Character of a Popish Successor, for H. Brome, 1681.

R. L'Estrange, L'Estrange his Appeal Humbly Submitted to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty and the Three Estates, for H. Brome, 1681.

R. L'Estrange, The Shammer Shamm'd: in a Plain Discovery under Young Tong's Own Hand, for J. Brome, 1681.

A Letter from the Grand-Jury of Oxford to the London Grand-Jury relating to the Case of the Protestant Joyner, for Al. Banks, 1681.

M. Locke, The English Opera, or, The Vocal Musick in Psyche, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, sold by J. Carr, 1675.

London's Lamentations for the Losse of their Charter, for A. Banks, 1683.

The Lord Russel's Farewell to the World, for J. Dean, 1683.

D.M., A Letter to a Noble Lord concerning a Late Prophane Pamphlet Entituled, The Presbyterians Pater Noster, Creed and Ten Commandments, [1681].

T. Mace, Musick's Monument, by T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for the author, to be sold by himself in Cambridge and J. Carr, 1676.

The Manner of His Majesties Curing the Disease Called the King's Evil, for D. Newman, 1679.

The Memoires of the Life of Anthony Late Earl of Shaftesbury, for W. Davies, 1683.

Mendacimastix, or, A Whip for the Tolosar Idler, by D. Mallet, 1680.

A Modest Reply to a too Hasty, and Malicious Libel, Entitled, An Elegy on Mr. Stephen College. Vulgarly Known by the Name of the Protestant Joyner, for R. Janeway, 1681.

Modesty Triumphant over Impudence, or, Some Notes upon a Late Romance Published by Mrs. Cellier, Midwife and Lady Errant, for J. Wilkins, 1680.

D.N., A Letter from an Old-Common-Council-Man to One of the New Common-Council for the Present Year, for W. Inghall the elder, 1681.

A New Collection of Poems relating to State Affairs, from Oliver Cromwel to this Present Time: By the Greatest Wits of the Age, 1705.

A New Discourse about the Fire of London, and the Probability of Self-Murder in a Letter to a Friend concerning Sir Edm. Godfrey's Death, for R. Janeway, 1682.

The New Popish Shamplot Discovered, or, The Cursed Contrivance of the Earl of Danby, Mrs. Cellier and the Popish Lords and Priests in the Tower and Newgate ... to Prove that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ... Murdered himself, for T. Davies, 1681.

The Notes of the Church, as Laid Down by Cardinal Bellarmine: Examined and Confuted, for R. Chiswell, 1688.

T. Oates, Articles of High Misdemeanour ... against Sir William Scroggs, for R. Janeway, 1680.

Ot's Lamentation, for J. Dean, 1685.

[R. Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine], *The Compendium, or, A Short View of the Late Tryals in Relation to the Present Plot against His Majesty and Government, 1679.*

The Papists Bloudy After-game, or, A Vindication of the High Court of Parliament in their Proceedings and Sentence upon William Late Viscount Stafford. In Answer to ... Stafford's Memoires, for T.S., publ. by L. Curtis, 1682.

A Paradox against Life. Written by the Lords in the Tower, for J. Vade, 1681.

[J. Partridge], *A Short Answer to a Malicious Pamphlet, Called, A Reply, [1687].*

H. Payne, The Persecutor Expos'd: in Reflections, by Way of Reply, to an Ill-Bred Answer to the D. of B's Paper, by J.L., for the Author, 1685.

- [R. Persons], *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown in England*, 1681.
- [J. Phillips], *The Character of a Popish Successour Compleat*, for J. Graves, 1681.
- A Pill to Purge State-Melancholy: or, A Collection of Excellent New Ballads*, 1715.
- H. Playford (ed.), *The Theater of Music ... The First Book*, 1685; *The Second Book*, 1685; *The Third Book*, 1686; *The Fourth and Last Book*, 1687.
- H. Playford (ed.), *Wit and Mirth. An Antidote against Melancholy*, 1682; 3rd ed., 1684.
- J. Playford (ed.), *Catch that Catch can: or, The Second Book of the Musical Companion*, 1685.
- J. Playford (ed.), *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, 1675; *Choice Ayres & Songs ...*, 1675; *The Second Book*, 1679; *The Third Book*, 1681; *The Fourth Book*, 1683; *The Fifth Book*, 1684.
- J. Playford (ed.), *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, 2nd ed., 1686.
- Poems on Affairs of State: From the Time of Oliver Cromwell, to the Abdication of K. James the Second. Written by the Greatest Wits of the Age. ... The Fifth Edition, Corrected and Much Enlarged*, 1703; Vol. 2, 1703; Vol. 3, 1704; Vol. 4, 1707.
- Poetry Longwaies*. [A Volume of N. Luttrell's ballads, 1683-85. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library].
- Poor Robin's Character of a Dutchman*, for B. Harris, 1672.
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- Achitophel, see Cooper, A.A.
 Alexander, J., 60, 144, 166.
 Alford, T., 30.
 Anderson, heir(s) of A., 122, 146.
 Amsterdam Coffee-house, see Kidd.
 Argyle, Earl of, see Campbell, A.
 Armstrong, Sir T., 67, 163.
 Arnold, Sir J., 92, 164.
 Arundell of Wardour, H., 99, 100, 164, 167.
 Astwood, J., 157.
 Ashenden, T., 58, 68.
 Ayloffe, J., 53.
 Bacon, N., 117.
 Badcocke, W., 30, 131.
 Baldwin, R., 38-9, 41, 44, 63, 80, 101, 133, 135-6, 147, 158.
 Banks, A., 64, 69, 90, 99, 104, 121, 127, 149, 154, 161, 168.
 Banks, Al., 59, 144, 162.
 Banks, Alexander, 10, 60, 63-4, 81-2, 89, 90, 99, 144, 148, 150, 161, 166.
 Banks, Allen, 64, 90-1, 96, 100, 161.
 Basset, T., 6, 15, 129, 160.
 Battersby, 11.
 Baxter, W., 61.
 Becket, W., 23, 127.
 Bedford, Capt., 123.
 Beddingfield, T., 28-9, 130.
 Bedloe, W., 21-2, 27-8, 66, 92, 97, 99, 129, 163.
 Belasis, J., Baron, 164.
 Bellinger, J., 6.
 Benskins, T., 35-6, 39, 40-1, 44, 48-9, 51, 58, 134, 142.
 Bentley, R., 7, 100, 117.
 Berry, H., 31, 72.
 Bethel, S., 53, 66.
 Bishop of London, 12-3.
 Bladen, T., 3.
 Bladen, W., 2-4, 114.
 Blood, T., 17, 123, 130.
 Blount, C., 12, 18, 22, 67, 120, 124.
 Bolron, R., 53.
 Bostock, J., 109.
 Box, R., 89, 166.
 Braddyl, T., 110.
 Bridges, 11.
 Brome, C., 100.
 Brome, H., 165.
 Brome, J., 69, 77, 115.
 Brooks, E., 36, 58.
 Brooksby, P., 87, 165-6.
 Brown, J., 119.
 Brown, porter, 72.
 Brown(e), W., bail for N. Thompson, 8, 96.
 Bull, D., 66.
 Bully, J., 69, 152.
 Burnet, G., 94-5.
 Burrell, T., 23.
 Burroughs, J., 5.
 Butler, J., Duke of Ormonde, 45, 47, 73, 107-8, 143, 154.
 Callaghan, 53.
 Calvert, G., 93.
 Campbell, A., Earl of Argyle, 68, 93.
 Capel, A., Earl of Essex, 47, 54, 58, 65, 143.
 Care, H., 4, 19-22, 25, 35, 37-8, 40, 42, 44, 72, 80, 83, 98, 122-3, 125-6, 129, 133.
 Carew, G., 11, 12, 120.
 Carr, J., bail for N. Thompson, 70; 7, 95, 103, 118, 153, 169.
 Cary, N., 8.
 Cawdron, G., 31.
 Cecil, J., Earl of Salisbury, 9, 54.
 Cellier, E., 17, 27, 31-2, 55, 68-9, 71, 80, 132, 154, 169.
 Charles I., 99, 167.
 Charlton, F., 61, 71, 153.
 Childe, T., 4, 116.
 Chiswell, R., 129, 171.

- Christian, E., 28-9, 130.
 Clancarty, Countess of, 46.
 Clarke or Clerke, F., 114.
 Clark, J., 85-6.
 Clarke, Mary, 8.
 Clarke, S., 5.
 Claypoole, B., 24, 128.
 Clayton, Sir G., 53.
 Cleaver, J., 6.
 Clinch, Constable, 82.
 Codrington, T., 105, 171.
 Cole, F., 85-6.
 Coleman, E., 20, 25, 73.
 College, E., 147.
 College, S., 40, 53, 59, 63-6,
 69, 93, 97, 101, 132, 140,
 148, 163, 167.
 Collier, T., Coffeehouse, 41.
 Collins, T., 7, 117.
 Comenius, J., 7, 118.
 Conway, 46.
 Cooper, A.A., 1st Earl of Shaftes-
 bury, 1, 4, 9, 27-8, 31, 34,
 39-40, 47, 49, 50-4, 59-61,
 63, 65-7, 69, 84, 90, 97, 108,
 118-9, 133, 136, 138-9, 145-9,
 153, 157, 166.
 Cooper, W., bail for N. Thompson,
 15, 72; 7, 108, 117, 154,
 173-4.
 Corbet, C., alias Tebroc, 88,
 90-1, 100, 162.
 Corker, J., 27, 59, 64, 67, 150.
 Cornish, H., 53.
 Corral, F., 31.
 Courten, Sir W., 120.
 Cowper, J., 72, 153.
 Craddock, 39, 136.
 Cressener, A., 106, 171.
 Croke, A., 5, 116.
 Croke, J., 3, 116.
 Croom, G., 58, 78, 142, 165.
 Cross, J., see Moor, J.
 Cross, N., 105, 171.
 Crouch, J., 103, 169.
 Crouch, N., 23, 29, 127, 130.
 Crowder, R., 157.
 Curtis, J., 21, 35, 45, 48, 78,
 80, 98, 155-7.
 Curtis, L., 20-1, 25, 34-9, 41,
 44-6, 48, 52, 58-9, 61, 68,
 71-2, 77-8, 89, 101, 121, 125,
 129, 133-4, 139, 141-2, 145,
 147-8, 155-6, 166.
 Curtis, T., 130.
 D., J., 107.
 Dalton, M., 6, 116.
 Danby, Earl of, see Osborne, T.
 Dangerfield, T., 17, 27, 66, 129.
 Daniel, Mary, stepdaughter N.
 Thompson, 5, 79, 108, 111,
 174.
 Daniel, Mary, see Mary Thompson.
 Daniel, R., 116.
 Daniel, T., 4, 5, 115-6.
 Darby, Mrs., 22.
 Davies, Sir J., 49, 50.
 Davies, T., 62, 141, 146.
 Davies, W., 147.
 Davis, W., bail for N. Thompson,
 70; 100, 153.
 Deacon, J., 78, 87.
 Dean, J., 86, 90-1, 93, 162, 165.
 Deerham, Mr., 50.
 Democritus, 124.
 Dew, R., 62, 146.
 Doleman, see Persons, R.,
 Dillon, W., Earl of Roscommon,
 144-5.
 Dormer, J., see Huddleston, J.
 Dowdell, Mr., 41.
 Downing, W., 31.
 Dryden, J., 73, 158-9.
 Duffy, Friar, 49.
 Dugdale, S., 51, 63, 97, 163.
 Duke, R., 100.
 Dunbarton, Earl of, 80.
 Duncombe, M., sister N. Thompson,
 108.
 D'Urfey, T., 59, 90, 94.
 Du Puy, 54.
 Dymock, J., 119-20.
 Earl, J., 73-4.
 Edwards, D., successor N. Thomp-
 son, 2, 109-10, 174.
 Essex, Earl of, see Capel, A.
 Evans, M., 12.
 Evans, Mr., 30.

- Evelyn, J., 7, 117.
 Evelyn Jr., J., 7.
 Everard, E., 33, 36, 51, 53.
 Everingham, R., 35, 38-9, 136.
 Fabricius, J.L., 117.
 Fairbeard, R., 147.
 Farwell, J., 64, 72-7, 79, 123, 153.
 Fenwick, J., 20, 125.
 Ferguson, R., 40, 80, 133, 135.
 Ferrarius, J.A., see Fabricius, J.L.
 Fitzgerald, D., 45-6, 50-1, 107-8.
 Fitzgerald, Queen's Head Tavern, bail for N. Thompson, 72, 154; 46.
 Fitzharris, E., 33, 36, 53-4, 65, 84, 97, 132, 158.
 Ford, J., 117.
 Foulkes, E., bail for N. Thompson, 8; 123.
 Fowler, Dr. E., 71.
 Freeman, E., 60, 145.
 Fynan, 53.
 G., T., 105.
 Gadbury, J., 27, 97, 103, 108, 132, 163, 169.
 Gavan, J., 20, 33, 125.
 Gawen, T., 170.
 Gellibrand, J., 110.
 Gilbert, W., 6.
 Godbid, W., 4, 114.
 Godfrey, B., 73-6, 99, 155.
 Godfrey, Sir Edmund Berry, 13, 16, 21, 31, 33, 36, 54-5, 72, 75-9, 90, 97, 99, 154.
 Godfrey, M., 73-6, 99, 155.
 Godwin, W., 10.
 Goodenough, R., 77.
 Gooding, Mr., 77.
 Gother, J., 103-4.
 Goulding, A., 68, 144.
 Graves, J., 62, 146.
 Green, R., 31, 72, 99.
 Green Ribbon Club, 21, 28, 40, 52, 66, 126, 133.
 Grenville, Dr. D., 69, 152.
 Grey, Lady M., 60-1, 145.
 Grey, Ford, Lord Grey of Werk, 65, 70.
 Grover, J., 8.
 Grover, T., 7, 118.
 Grover, Mrs., 22.
 Gwyn, F., 50.
 Halifax, see Savile, G.
 Haines, B., 46, 51, 54.
 Hancock, J., 37, 135.
 Harcourt, see Waring, W.
 Harcourt, T., see Whitbread.
 Harford, R., 23, 28, 127, 135.
 Harley, R., Earl of Oxford, 174.
 Harris, B., 21-9, 31, 34-6, 38-41, 44, 46-7, 59-61, 88-9, 98, 117, 121, 125-7, 130, 133-4, 143, 145, 166.
 Harris, S., 26, 66, 80.
 Hastings, T., Earl of Huntingdon, 70.
 Heathcote, J., 77.
 Henchman, W., 16.
 Heptinstall, W., 110.
 Herbert, J., Lord of Cherbury, 70.
 Herbert, E., Countess of Powis, 27, 163.
 Herbert, W., Marquis of Powis, 164.
 Herringman, H., 6, 158-9.
 Hetherington, W., 45-6, 49-50, 53, 139.
 Heyrick, S., 129.
 Hill, L., 31, 72, 99.
 Hill, W., 9.
 Hills, Henry, 103, 169-71.
 Hilton, J., 57.
 Hinch, S., 118.
 Hindmarsh, J., 58, 68, 88, 100, 151.
 Holles, Lord D., 9.
 Houblon, P., 76.
 How, J., 88.
 Howard of Escrick, Lord W., 51, 65, 69, 116, 166.
 Howard, W., Viscount Stafford, 55, 59, 63, 97, 148, 158, 166.
 Huddleston, J., alias Dormer, 105, 110, 171, 174.

Huntingdon, see Hastings, T.
 Huntly, Marquis of, 80.
 Hyde, Sir L., 33.
 Ians, C., 172.
 Jackson, Mrs., 64.
 James, Duke of York, King James II,
 1, 18, 23, 27-8, 33, 44-5,
 50-4, 60, 62, 65, 67-8, 73, 91,
 93, 97-8, 103-7, 109, 130.
 Janeway, R., 4, 32, 36-41, 44,
 48-53, 55, 63-4, 69, 72-3,
 75, 89, 93, 98, 101, 123, 128,
 133, 135, 138, 146-7, 161, 164.
 Jeffries, Sir G., 23, 101.
 Jekyl, J., 70, 153.
 Jenison, R., 22, 126.
 Jenkins, Sir L., 30, 69.
 Jesuits in Newgate, 32, 44, 78,
 99, 137, 167.
 Jetzer, John, 25, 128.
 John of Austria, Don, 96.
 Johnson, A., 3.
 Johnson, W., 71.
 Jones, J., apprentice, 12.
 Jones, J., bookseller, 78.
 Jones, Mrs., 167.
 Jones, T., 132.
 Jones, T., of Llandyrnog, 16, 123.
 Jones, Sir T., 33, 67.
 Jones, Sir W., 166.
 Jordan, T., 96, 162, 165-6.
 Keble, Mr., 80.
 Keeling, J., 65.
 Kemble, A., 117.
 Kendall, G., 5.
 Keroualle, L., Duchess of Ports-
 mouth, 53, 77, 156.
 Kettle, H., 73-4.
 Kidd, 157.
 Kidgell, J., 89.
 Kirkby, C., 101.
 Kistle, R., 64.
 Killigrew, T., 85.
 Knox, T., 141.
 Koningsmark, Count, 153.
 Lane, J., 141.
 Lane, J., 171.
 Langhorne, R., 73.
 Larkin, G., 16, 37, 75-6, 123.
 Lawrence, A., 7, 120.
 Leach, T., 4.
 Lee, C., 77.
 Lee, N., 7.
 Lee, S., 167.
 Lee, W., 161.
 Leigh, J., 79, 107, 156.
 Leigh, Mrs. S., 107-9, 156, 173.
 L'Estrange, Sir R., 1, 2, 8, 11,
 14, 32, 35-6, 38-41, 44-5, 47,
 56-6, 59, 62, 64, 71, 73, 77-8,
 84-5, 87, 90, 100-1, 114, 119,
 121-3, 138, 146, 150, 157,
 161-2, 168.
 Lilly, Mr., 109.
 Llewellyn, E., 81, 150.
 Lobb, S., 65-6, 149.
 Locke, M., 7.
 Lockhart, A., 139.
 Luttrell, N., 85, 90-1, 97, 108.
 Lydeott, E., 150.
 M., J., Capt., 49.
 Maccleve or Macclave, 139.
 Mace, T., 7, 117-8.
 Macgrath, J., 55.
 MacMoyer, 49, 53, 139.
 Macnamara, J., 45-6.
 Magnes, J., 7, 117.
 Mallet, widow, 162.
 Manby, P., 105-7, 171-2.
 Mansell, R., 27, 66.
 Marlow, J., 11, 35.
 Marsh, W., or Marshall, see Wall, W.
 Mason, W., 77, 155.
 Maynard, Sir J., 76.
 Mayo, J., 118.
 Mayos, J., 12, 90, 108, 161.
 Mazarin, Duchess of, 33.
 Mearne, C., 103, 169.
 Mearne, S., 10-2, 68, 121, 151,
 160.
 Meredith, E., 106, 171.
 Midford, Mr., 152.
 Mill, A., 107.
 Miller, W., 93, 160, 164.
 Milton, C., 105.
 Modena, Duke of, 33.
 Monmouth, see Scott, J.,
 Moor, J., alias Cross, 105, 171.

- Moore, Sir J., 70, 72, 89, 96, 98.
 Moreley, J., 108.
 Morton, E., 8.
 Mottershead, E., 4, 115.
 Mounson or Anderson, L., 69, 132, 152.
 Mowbray, L., 53.
 Muddiman, J., 19.
 Murphy, E., 48, 50, 53, 139.
 Murray, R., 31, 53, 131.
 N., Capt., 49.
 Nesse, C., 66.
 Nevil, H., see Payne.
 Newbolt, W., 107, 173.
 Norris, T., 110.
 North, D., 34, 89, 96, 166.
 North, Sir F., 33, 40.
 North, R., 39.
 Oakley, M., sister N. Thompson, 108.
 Oates, S., 66.
 Oates, S., father T. Oates, 57.
 Oates, T., 1, 13, 16, 18, 22, 27, 41, 51, 55-7, 59, 66-8, 86, 91-9, 101, 124, 129, 130, 141-2, 148, 150, 152, 157, 160, 163, 165-6, 168.
 Obryan, A., 130.
 O'Farel, J., 8.
 Offelen, H., 103, 169.
 Ogle, Lady E., 153.
 O'Neale, H., 49, 139.
 Ormonde, see Butler, J.
 Osborne, Mr., 75.
 Osborne, T., Earl of Danby, 9, 28, 36, 54-5, 65, 97, 113, 130, 141, 166.
 Osborne, W., 141.
 Paine, W., 64, 73-6, 79, 108, 123, 154, 172.
 Palmer, J., 118.
 Palmer, R., Earl of Castlemaine, 20, 24, 55, 132.
 Parcet, E., 60, 144.
 Parkhurst, T., 16.
 Partridge, T., 169.
 Passinger, T., 85.
 Payne, H. Nevil, 32, 73, 106, 154, 172.
 Pemberton, Sir F., 108, 155-6.
 Penn, W., 104, 120, 170.
 Pepys, S., 29, 85, 130.
 Percival, T., 68.
 Persons or Parsons, R., alias Doleman, 81, 164.
 Peyton, Sir R., 28, 40.
 Philaletes, E., 117.
 Phillips, J., 146.
 Pierce, A., 107.
 Pindar, Sir P., 120.
 Pitt, M., 7, 117.
 Player, Sir T., 23, 26.
 Playford, H., 88, 95-6.
 Playford, J., 4, 88, 96, 165, 169.
 Plucknet, S., 73.
 Plunket, O., 47-50, 53, 138-9.
 Polster, E., 154.
 Ponder, N., 6, 25, 103, 116, 128, 169.
 Pordage, S., 36.
 Portsmouth, Duchess of, see Keroualle, L.
 Power, R., 45-6.
 Power, R., Earl of Tyrone, 46.
 Powis, Countess of, see Herbert, E.
 Powis, Earl of, see Herbert, W.
 Prance, M., 31, 55, 63-4, 66, 72-7, 89, 93, 97, 99, 104, 108, 122-3, 154-5, 163.
 Preston, W., 13.
 Prynne, W., 116.
 Pulleyn, O., 5, 116.
 Pulton, A., 106, 171.
 Quarles, F., 165.
 Queen Catherine, 33, 45, 50-1, 53-4.
 Ratcliffe, Captain, 147.
 Ratcliffe, T., 2, 4-9, 11-2, 14-5, 32, 104, 110, 115-7.
 Ratcliffe, W., 4.
 Rawlins, E., 36, 41, 44, 71, 78, 87, 136-7, 168.
 Rawlins, J., 8, 10, 104, 170.
 Ray, J., 106, 143, 172.
 Reynolds, E., 6, 116.
 Rich, P., 34, 96, 166.
 Richard's Coffeehouse, 41.

Ripley, G., 117.
 Robinson, Mr., 20.
 Robinson, H., 5, 116.
 Robinson, R., 142.
 Roper, A., 6, 111.
 Rouse, J., 53, 65, 140.
 Royston, R., 164.
 Rumley, W., 27.
 Rupert, Prince, 28.
 Russell, W., Lord, 65-6, 94.
 Rye House Plot, 65-7, 91, 94.
 Salisbury, Earl of, see Cecil, J.
 Salmon, W., 133.
 Sam's Coffeehouse, 73, 161.
 Saunders, Mr., 75.
 Sa(u)nders, R., 89, 160.
 Savile, Sir G., Marquis of Halifax, 33, 106, 172.
 Sawyer, Sir R., 81.
 Scrold, Lieutenant, 13.
 Scott, J., Duke of Monmouth, 28, 54, 56-7, 60-1, 65, 70, 93, 101, 144, 166.
 Scott, S., 103, 169.
 Scroggs, Sir W., 20-2, 27, 33-4, 92, 128-9.
 Scroggs, W. Jr., 147.
 Selden, J., 85.
 Sergeant, J., 33, 132.
 Settle, E., 62, 67, 101, 146, 150, 168.
 Seymour, Capt., 11-2, 121.
 Shaftesbury, see Cooper, A.A.
 Sharp, J., archbishop St. Andrews, 17, 123.
 Sheppard, 6, 116.
 Sherlock, W., 104-5, 171.
 Shirley, B., 16.
 Sidney, A., 94.
 Simmons, T., 77, 155.
 Smith, A., 53, 66.
 Smith Jr., F., 36-7, 80, 99, 135, 164.
 Smith, F., 6, 25, 36-41, 44, 60, 89, 93, 116, 125, 129, 133-4, 143, 147, 157, 164.
 Smith, J., 23, 48, 50, 52, 78, 80, 88, 127, 138, 168.
 Smith, J., 25, 51, 53, 128.
 Smith, S., 103.
 Smith, S., 8, 10.
 Smith, W., 131.
 Snowden, T., 35, 80.
 Southwood, B., 9, 119.
 Spencer, R., Earl of Sunderland, 81.
 Spiller, W., 110.
 Sprat, T., 65.
 Stafford, Viscount, see Howard, W.
 Stamford, Mr., 17.
 Stansby, W., 4.
 Starkey, G., 117.
 Starkey, J., 25, 38, 40, 93, 98, 129, 133, 160, 164.
 Stationers' Company, 3-6, 8-12, 14-5, 31-2, 68, 85, 103, 110, 115, 120, 131, 135.
 Stephens, R., 5, 8-11, 22, 31, 80-2, 98, 110, 157, 164, 166-7.
 Stillingfleet, E., 104.
 Stowe, Capt., 147.
 Street, M., 100, 167.
 Suckley, F., 108.
 Sunderland, Lord, see Spencer, R.
 Tacker, J., 161.
 Taubman, J., 100, 168.
 Taylor, R., 165.
 Teate, Dr. F., 3, 114.
 Tebroc, see Corbet.
 Tenison, T., 106, 108.
 Thackeray, W., 85-6, 158.
 Thomas, E., 6, 117.
 Thomas, Mr., 26.
 Thompson, C., brother N. Thompson, 108.
 Thompson, J., 12-3, 120, 122.
 Thompson, Margaret, daughter N. Thompson, 5, 108.
 Thompson, Mary, 2, 4, 5, 11, 13-4, 77, 79, 87, 89, 103, 105-6, 108-11, 115-6, 159, 170.
 Thompson, Mr., 76.
 Thompson, Nathaniel, passim: in Ireland: 3; freeman of the Company: 4, 115; partner T. Ratcliffe: 4, 5; prosecuted 1676/7; 8f.; invaded English Stock copyrights: 12; prosecuted 1678: 13; TDI: 19f.; arrested by Sir W. Waller: 29f.; printed the Welsh Almanac:

- 31f.; the *LPTDI*: 42f.; in-
dicted for *LPTDI*, 1681: 69;
attacked by Charlton: 71; in
popeburning procession: 71;
prosecuted 1682: 72f.; moved
to Charing Cross: 80; ballad
collections: 83f.; Catholic
books: 103f.; death: 108.
- Thompson, R., sister N. Thompson,
108.
- Thumb, J., see Starkey, J.
- Thynne, T., 72, 153.
- Tomason, G., 5, 116.
- Tonge, Dr. E., 13, 16, 56, 97,
99.
- Tonge, S., 56, 141.
- Tooke, B., 7, 22, 35, 41-2,
68-9, 117, 122, 131.
- Treby, Sir G., 46, 53, 109.
- Tulse, Sir H., 166.
- Turberville, E., 51, 53, 140.
- Turberville, H., 105, 172.
- Turner, M., 24-5, 32, 92, 103-5,
132, 169, 170-1, 174.
- Turner, A., 20, 125.
- Turner, Sir W., 41, 46.
- Tyrone, Earl of, see Power, R.
- Tyrrel, 139.
- Tyton, F., 164.
- Underwood, B., 108.
- Vade, J., 136, 160, 167.
- Vere, T., 85-6, 161.
- Vere, W., 13.
- Vile, T., 35, 37-40, 80, 83,
135-6.
- Villiers, G., Duke of Buckingham,
9, 28, 104, 130.
- Wakeman, Sir G., 20, 22, 27, 129.
- Walker, O., 170.
- Wall, W., alias Marsh(all), 27,
105, 171.
- Waller, Sir W., 25, 27-31, 53,
61, 66, 92, 94, 98, 101, 128,
130-1, 166.
- Warcup, E., 51.
- Ward, Sir P., 66, 70, 72, 101,
151.
- Ward, T., 106, 108, 172,
- Ware, Justice, 61.
- Waring, W., alias Harcourt, 20,
125.
- Warner, J., 136.
- Weston, Sir F., 33.
- Wharton, P., 9.
- Whitaker, E., 61, 64, 146, 148.
- Whitbread, T., alias Harcourt, 20,
24, 125.
- White, L., 157.
- White, Mr., 109.
- Whiteway, S., 31.
- Wickins, J., 15.
- William III, 109.
- Williams, Dr. J., 104.
- Williamson, Sir J., 8, 9, 11, 19.
- Willoughby, S., 151.
- Willmore, J., 53, 64, 140.
- Wise, W., 109.
- Wither, G., 167.
- Wood, A., 41, 85, 118,
- Woolfe, N., 165.
- Wright, J., 85, 129.
- Wyer, F., 49.
- Yalden, J., 63, 75, 147.
- Yalden, R., 147.
- Zeale, J., 67, 161.

CURRICULUM VITAE

G.M. Peerbooms was born in Born, The Netherlands, on 5 September 1934. He was educated at the O.L. Vrouw van Lourdes College and at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, where he read English from 1960-1965. During the academic year 1963-1964 he studied at the University of Exeter. After teaching English at several secondary schools from 1964-1969, he was appointed lecturer at the Instituut Engels-Amerikaans of the Catholic University of Nijmegen.

STELLINGEN

1. Het feit dat Nathaniel Thompson nog in 1689 wordt genoemd door Titus Oates toont aan dat Thompson niet ten onrechte beweerde dat zijn publikaties een belangrijke rol gespeeld hadden in de politieke strijd van de jaren 1681-1683 (zie T. Oates, *A Display of Tyranny*, London 1689).
2. De politieke pamfletten van de zeventiende eeuw zijn te vaak ten onrechte genegeerd als onbetrouwbaar en onbetekend (zie S. Williams, 'The Popeburning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 104-18).
3. De bewering van Treadwell dat de 'trade-publishers' van de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw niet meer waren dan verkopers in dienst van uitgevers en boekhandelaren en niet zelf geïnteresseerd waren in de geschriften die zij te koop aanboden, is onjuist in het geval van Langley Curtis (zie M. Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', *Library*, 6th series, 4 (1982), 5-44).
4. In titel-catalogi van boeken van een bepaald tijdvak dienen de titels niet zodanig verkort te worden dat verschillende werken aangezien kunnen worden voor verschillende edities van een en hetzelfde werk (zie D.H. Wing, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books*, New York 1945-51, P3561 en P3561A; H1809 en H1810).
5. Het lezen van een aantal in poetisch opzicht tweederangs politieke gedichten als die in de verzamelingen van N. Thompson geeft de lezer een uitstekend inzicht in de achtergronden en in de superieure kwaliteit van John Dryden's politieke gedichten.
6. Om een vollediger overzicht te krijgen van de boekproductie in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw moeten de *Term Catalogues* aangevuld worden met gegevens uit advertenties in de nieuwsbladen en boeken van die tijd (zie E. Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, with a Number for Easter Term 1711*, London 1903-6).
7. Gezien het feit dat aan diploma's van scholen van hetzelfde schooltype gelijke rechten verbonden zijn, dient er meer overeenstemming te komen ten aanzien van de wijze van toetsen en de waardering van de verschillende toetsonderdelen van het schoolonderzoek in de moderne vreemde talen.
8. Het feit dat het tertiair onderwijs constateert dat het Frans voor de gemiddelde student een ontoegankelijke taal is bewijst dat het secundair onderwijs er binnen de huidige regelingen niet in slaagt om de leerling voldoende leesvaardigheid bij te brengen voor het lezen van vakliteratuur in die taal.

9. De bezwaren die verbonden zijn aan het feit dat de onderwijsgevende voortdurend alleen opereert kunnen althans ten dele ondervangen worden door een systeem van collegiale supervisie.
10. Als voor de voorgestelde assistent in opleiding geen adequate opleidings- en begeleidingsfaciliteiten ter beschikking gesteld worden kan de aanstelling van deze assistenten niet bijdragen tot de oplossing van het probleem van de 'verloren generatie' (zie Concept Beleidsnota Beiaard, 27 februari 1983).
11. Het met succes invoeren van de vernieuwde studieprogramma's aan de Nederlandse universiteiten en hogescholen wordt ernstig bemoeilijkt door het terzelfder tijd doorvoeren van een aantal andere hervormingsmaatregelen.

(Stellingen behorende bij: *Nathaniel Thompson, Tory Printer, Ballard Monger and Propagandist* van G.M. Peerbooms).