

# Satire, Fantasy and Writings on the Supernatural by Daniel Defoe

The True-born Englishman and Other Poems

Edited by  
W. R. Owens



*THE PICKERING MASTERS*  
THE WORKS OF DANIEL DEFOE

General Editors:  
W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank

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SUPERNATURAL BY DANIEL DEFOE

- Volume 1: *The True-born Englishman and other Poems*, ed. W. R. Owens
- Volume 2: *Jure Divino*, ed. P. N. Furbank
- Volume 3: *The Consolidator*, *Memoirs of Count Tariff*, and *The Quarrel of the School-Boys at Athens*, ed. Geoffrey Sill
- Volume 4: *Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsr. Mesnager*, *Secret Memoirs of a Treasonable Conference at S— House*, and *The Old Whig and Modern Whig Reviv'd*, ed. P. N. Furbank
- Volume 5: *The Conduct of Christians made the Sport of Infidels* and *A Continuation of Letters written by a Turkish Spy at Paris*, ed. David Blewett
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- Volume 8: *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*, ed. G. A. Starr

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Volume 1:  
THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN AND OTHER  
POEMS

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## GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

*Satire, Fantasy and Writings on the Supernatural* is the third set of volumes in the Pickering & Chatto *Works of Daniel Defoe*. The first set of eight volumes, *Political and Economic Writings*, was published in 2000, and the second set of eight volumes, *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History* was published in 2001–2. These three sets will be followed by sets grouping together *Religious and Didactic Writings* (ten volumes); and *Novels* (ten volumes). The aim of the edition is to give as extensive a representation as possible of Defoe's work in all the literary genres to which he contributed, with the partial exception of his voluminous periodical journalism. It is intended to be the most comprehensive collection of his writings ever attempted.

There has never been a complete edition of Defoe and such is the quantity of his writings that it seems unlikely there ever will be. The earliest important collection was *The Novels of Daniel De Foe* (1809–10), an edition in twelve volumes edited by Sir Walter Scott. A twenty-volume *Novels and Miscellaneous Works*, published by Thomas Tegg in 1840–1, was followed by a three-volume *Works*, edited by William Hazlitt (the Younger) in 1840–3. Between 1854 and 1865 a seven-volume edition of *Novels and Miscellaneous Works* was published in Bohn's 'British Classics' series, but a more extensive collection was the sixteen-volume *Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe*, edited by George A. Aiken, published by Dent in 1895. An edition of the *Works*, also in sixteen volumes, edited by G. H. Maynadier, was published in New York in 1903–4, and the last multi-volume edition of Defoe to appear in the twentieth century was *The Shakespeare Head Edition of the Novels and Selected Writings*, published in 14 volumes by Blackwell in 1927–8.

Defoe's position in English literature is in some ways a strange one. Nowadays he is mainly thought of as a novelist – the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, *Colonel Jack*, *Roxana*, etc. – but this was by no means how his contemporaries regarded him. For the most part he published anonymously, and though it became known that he wrote



*Robinson Crusoe*, very few people would have known that he was also the author of *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*. His reputation in his lifetime – and he became very famous – was as a poet, a writer on political affairs, a journalist (especially in the long-running *Review*) and the target for a quite exceptional torrent of vituperation. (As well as being famous, he made many enemies.)

But it is safe to say that neither his contemporaries nor his casual reader today, had or has anything like a clear picture of his work as a whole. Indeed, this is difficult to arrive at, for two separate reasons. First, already during his lifetime, and over the centuries following his death, people have been in the habit of attributing works to him which he probably, and in some cases certainly, never wrote. This occurred on such a scale as to make it uncertain, not merely whether he is the author of certain works, but in one or two cases, whether he wrote *any* works in a particular mode or genre. Secondly, the quantity and range of his writing, even after all deductions of dubious items from the canon, is astounding. There is nothing quite like it in English literature; for a parallel one would have to look to Voltaire.

Defoe's writings include the following. *Verse*: numerous lengthy satirical poems about City politics, contemporary poetry, the English national character, the crimes of the High-church party, the glories of King William, 'reformation of manners', the follies of 'divine right' theories, and Scotland. *Political pamphlets*: a huge array of pamphlets on behalf of the Dissenters, on war and international relations, on constitutional theory, the Jacobite threat, the employment of the poor, Union with Scotland, public finance, debt and bankruptcy, the Africa and South Sea trades, the succession question, the fall of Robert Harley, the split in the Whig party, the Bangorian controversy, and the French and English financial 'bubbles'. *Histories*: a vast history of the Union between England and Scotland, and a lengthy history of the Church in Scotland. *Full-length treatises*: on 'Projects', trade, discoveries, social reform, the history of writing, servants, street crime, magic, the supernatural, apparitions, the devil, sexual conduct, the tradesman, and the English gentleman. *Fantasies and pseudo-biographies*: a lunar fantasy, hoaxes about second sight and prophesy, pretended memoirs of a French agent, and imaginary letters written by a Turkish spy. *Religious and family instruction*: voluminous dialogues concerned with family religion, religious courtship, etc. *Periodicals*: as well as his famous *Review*, which ran for nine years and dealt with a wide variety of topics, six other shorter-lived journals treating of economics, politics, trade, the South Sea bubble, and morals and manners. *Novels*: eight in all.

It is important to stress, however, that this vast *oeuvre* is by no means a mere haphazard jumble; on the contrary, Defoe's outlook was in some ways remarkably coherent. He had a number of favourite theories and principles,

some of them of considerable originality, and they are to be discovered equally in his writings on trade, finance, religion and politics, and in his novels. The interconnections between his various writings are important to our understanding of them and are what only a really large-scale edition such as the present one can bring out. In their introductions to individual volumes, editors will do their best to indicate some of these interconnections.

Before outlining our textual policy, there is an important point to make about the works chosen for inclusion in the present edition. We have already referred to the way in which anonymous works were attributed to Defoe during his lifetime, and since. The first list of his writings, which appeared in 1790, assigned him just over 100 works. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries scholars attributed an ever-increasing number of works to Defoe, until by 1970 the total stood at a quite amazing 570 separate titles. In our book *The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe* (1988) we examined the remarkable process by which the Defoe canon had, as it seemed to us, become so grossly inflated, and in *Defoe De-Attributions* (1994) we put forward reasons for questioning the attribution of about 250 works, suggesting that until satisfactory evidence was produced for Defoe's authorship they should be dropped from the canon. In 1998 we published *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe*, in which we offered evidence for attributing about 270 works to Defoe, dividing these into two categories: works 'certainly' by Defoe, and works 'probably' by him. We did our best to make the word 'probably' mean what it says, and not merely 'possibly' or 'by tradition'. Since the case for each work has been put forward in the *Critical Bibliography*, we in general raise no questions about attribution in the present edition, and 'probable' attributions are presented side-by-side with 'certain' ones.

We should, however, mention here the case of *The Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, a work long attributed to Defoe, and which we included in our *Critical Bibliography*. We were planning to include it with *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions* in the present set of volumes, but an important article by the volume editor, G. A. Starr, 'Why Defoe Probably Did Not Write *The Apparition of Mrs. Veal*' (*Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 15 (2003), pp. 421–50), has prompted us to reconsider. We included it as a 'probable' attribution in our *Critical Bibliography*, but only after a fair amount of hesitation, and Starr's article has tilted the balance of our opinion towards de-attribution. This, of course, as Starr himself says, does not mean that *Mrs. Veal* could not be by Defoe, only that the case for its being so now seems even less strong. Accordingly, we have dropped it from our edition, although Starr refers to it in his Introduction to *The History and Reality of Apparitions*.

The textual policy adopted throughout the edition is as follows. The copy-text chosen is normally the earliest available edition, but additions and revisions in later editions published in Defoe's lifetime and over which there is reason to think he may have had control have been incorporated. Details of the copy-text and any other relevant editions are given in a headnote preceding the Textual Notes to each work. Editors have taken a conservative approach, not attempting officiously to 'correct' or tidy-up the texts by, for example, inserting possessive apostrophes, or standardising grammatical forms, or adjusting inconsistent spelling, or changing punctuation where the sense is perfectly clear as it stands. Spelling, capitalisation, use of italics, etc., have not been modernised, except that the long 's' has been replaced by the round 's', and 'VV' or 'vv' with 'W' and 'w'. The presentation of quotation marks has been regularised: quotation marks at the start of every line of a quotation have been removed and replaced by opening and closing single quotation marks, except that when a quotation runs on for more than one paragraph a quotation mark has been placed at the beginning of each new paragraph.

Minor, straightforward corrections of the copy-text have been carried out silently. These include glaring printer's errors such as use of wrong fonts, turned letters, or repeated words, but also impossible mis-spellings, or cases where the punctuation is plainly wrong and gets in the way of understanding. Similarly, where there is an Errata list, the corrections listed there are carried out silently. All other substantive emendations to the copy-text are recorded in the Textual Notes at the back of the volume. There are two classes of emendation: those incorporating changes in later editions judged to be authorial, and those made by the editor. Where there is no particular reason to think that Defoe had control over a later edition, the reading of the copy-text will be followed. The only exception would be in a case where the copy-text is clearly defective and the reading in another edition makes obviously better sense. No attempt has been made to record all variants from later editions; only substantive emendations to the copy-text have been recorded. In cases where there is more than one edition with textual authority, the editor will assign them sigla (usually the date of publication) and will explain this in the headnote preceding the textual notes. Emendations in works where only the copy-text carries authority will not normally involve the use of sigla, since any such emendations will be editorial. An emendation is indicated by a superscript letter.

*W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank*

## CHRONOLOGY

- 1660 Charles II restored to the throne. Daniel Foe born in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, probably in the autumn, son of James Foe, a merchant, and his wife Alice.
- 1662 Corporation Act requires all civic officers and magistrates to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Act of Uniformity, requiring conformity to a newly-published *Book of Common Prayer*, leads to the ejection of about 2000 clergy from the Church of England. The Foes follow Dr Samuel Annesley out of St Giles and worship henceforth as Dissenters. Butler, *Hudibras*, part I (II and III, 1663, 1677).
- 1664–72 The 'Clarendon Code', a series of acts bringing in severe penalties for religious nonconformity.
- 1665–6 Anglo-Dutch War begins. The Great Plague kills something like 70,000 people in London.
- 1666 The Great Fire of London begins on 2 September and burns for four days and nights. Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*.
- 1667 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, enlarged to twelve books, 1674. Treaty of Breda ends Anglo-Dutch War. Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*.
- 1672 Charles II issues Declaration of Indulgence suspending laws against Dissenters. Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*.
- 1673 Parliament forces Charles to withdraw Declaration of Indulgence.
- 1674 Test Act compels all civil and military office-holders, and all members of the royal household, to repudiate transubstantiation and take the sacrament according to the rites of the *Book of Common Prayer*.
- 1674–9? Defoe attends the Rev. Charles Morton's Dissenting Academy at Newington Green.

- 1678 Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, part I (part II, 1684). The Popish Plot scare. Second Test Act excludes Roman Catholics from Parliament. Dryden, *All for Love*.
- 1679 Whigs begin attempt to exclude James Duke of York from succession to the throne.
- 1680 Bunyan, *The Life and Death of Mr Badman*. Filmer, *Patriarcha*. Rochester, *Poems* (posthumous).
- 1681 Defoe writes religious verse meditations (unpublished). About this time decides against becoming a Presbyterian minister. Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*. Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (posthumous).
- 1682 About this time Defoe sets up as a wholesale hosier and general merchant. Compiles anthology entitled 'Historical Collections' (unpublished) for his fiancée. Bunyan, *The Holy War*. Dryden, *Religio Laici*. Otway, *Venice Preserv'd*.
- 1683 Rye House Plot. Execution of Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell.
- 1684 Defoe marries Mary Tuffley. Moves his business to Freeman's Yard, Cornhill.
- 1685 Accession of James II. Defoe bears arms in support of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, but escapes capture following Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor.
- 1686 James issues a General Pardon, releasing many Dissenters from prison.
- 1687 James issues Declaration of Indulgence granting freedom of worship to Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Halifax, *Letter to a Dissenter*. Newton, *Principia Mathematica*.
- 1688 James reissues Declaration of Indulgence, and orders that it be read from all parish pulpits. Seven bishops refuse, and are tried for seditious libel, but acquitted. In August or September Defoe's first extant publication appears, *A Letter to a Dissenter from his Friend at the Hague*. William, Prince of Orange, lands at Torbay. James II takes flight.
- 1689 William and Mary crowned. Bill of Rights enacted. Toleration Act allows freedom of worship to Protestant Dissenters, but does not grant civil rights. William forms Grand Alliance, and war with France begins. Locke, *First Letter on Toleration*. Marvell, *Poems on Affairs of State* (posthumous).
- 1690 (1 July) William III defeats James II at the Battle of the Boyne. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*.

- 1691 (Probably January) Defoe publishes *A New Discovery of an Old Intreague*, a satirical poem about City politics.
- 1692 (April) Defoe buys seventy civet cats from John Barksdale for £850. (June) becomes secretary-general of a company formed to finance diving-bell operations. He is bankrupted with debts purportedly amounting to £17,000, and imprisoned for debt in the Fleet Prison. Massacre of Glencoe. L'Estrange, *Fables of Esop and other Mythologists*.
- 1694 About now Defoe sets up a brick and tile works at Tilbury. Triennial Act provides for Parliamentary elections every third year. Bank of England established.
- 1695 About this time adds a 'De' to his name. Becomes 'Accomptant' in the Glass Office, for the collection of duty on 'Glasswares, Stone and Earthen Bottles' (retains this post until about 1699). The Press Licensing Act lapses. William captures Namur from the French.
- 1696 Navigation Act forbids American colonists to export directly to Scotland or Ireland. A recoinage takes place. Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (posthumous). Toland, *Christianity Not Mystrious*.
- 1697 (January) Defoe publishes *An Essay upon Projects*, his first full-length book. (September) Treaty of Ryswick ends war with France. Vanbrugh, *The Provok'd Wife*.
- 1698 Defoe publishes three pamphlets on the Standing Army controversy, and *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*, the first of many pamphlets on this subject. (August) completion of William's first Partition Treaty. British merchant vessels begin carrying slaves to West Indies. London Stock Exchange founded. Behn, *Histories and Novels* (posthumous). Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government* (posthumous).
- 1699 (May) *An Encomium upon a Parliament*, a satirical ballad. (June) William drafts second Partition Treaty.
- 1700 (February) *The Pacificator*, a long verse satire on literary issues. (November) two pamphlets, *The Two Great Questions Consider'd* and *The Two Great Questions Further Consider'd*, prompted by Louis XIV's recognition of his grandson's claim to the Spanish throne. Congreve, *Way of the World*.
- 1701 (January?) *The True-Born Englishman*, Defoe's famous verse satire on English chauvinism; (May) *Legion's Memorial*, a furious attack on the House of Commons in the name of the People of England; a dozen pamphlets and poems on political, religious

- and financial issues. (September) James II dies. Louis XIV recognises the Pretender as king of England. (December.) *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England*, a considered statement of Defoe's constitutional theories. War of the Spanish Succession begins in Europe.
- 1702 (8 March) King William dies, being succeeded by Queen Anne. In May England declares war on France. At the general election in July the Tories win a majority. Defoe publishes three lengthy poems, a hard-hitting attack on High-flyers entitled *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*, and three pamphlets inspired by the introduction in the House of Commons in November of a Bill to outlaw the practice of Occasional Conformity. The most famous, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, provokes an enormous outcry from High Tories and Dissenters alike. A warrant is issued for the arrest of its author.
- 1703 In hiding, Defoe publishes *A Brief Explanation of a Late Pamphlet*, and *A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observer* expressing his exasperation at being so misunderstood by his fellow-Dissenters. On 21 May he is arrested and held in Newgate before being released on bail. On 7 July is convicted of publishing a seditious libel and committed to Newgate, fined, bound over for seven years, and made to stand in the pillory three times. On 29 July, to coincide with his first appearance in the pillory, publishes *A Hymn to the Pillory*, an impenitently satirical poem. On 8 November is released from Newgate through the good offices of Robert Harley, and enters Harley's service as confidential agent. (November) second Occasional Conformity Bill introduced, and once again it is defeated in the Lords. The great storm begins on 27 November.
- 1704 (January) Defoe publishes *The Dissenters Answer to the High-Church Challenge*, responding to Charles Leslie, and *An Essay on the Regulation of the Press*. On 19 February the first number of the *Review* appears (continues till 1713). Between February and August publishes nine pamphlets, and secretly launches a periodical, the *Master Mercury* (runs from August to September), satirising Admiral Sir George Rooke. Between April and May a number of High Tory ministers are replaced by moderates led by Robert Harley. (August) Defoe responds to news of the battle of Blenheim with *A Hymn to Victory* (poem). From August to September is in East Anglia. (October) is reported as having fled from justice over his poem 'The Address'. (November)

- Giving Alms no Charity*. (November) third Occasional Conformity Bill introduced, with attempted 'tack', but this is defeated in the Commons and in the Lords. Swift, *Tale of a Tub*.
- 1705 In January the House of Lords invites Defoe to submit a plan regarding a registration office for seamen. (March) Defoe's *The Consolidator*, an allegorical lunar fantasy prompted by the 'tack'. In May and June a general election strengthens the Whigs. (July) *The Dyet of Poland*, Defoe's verse satire on the late Tory administration. (July–November) Defoe goes on a fact-finding tour through the English counties.
- 1706 (May) Battle of Ramillies (May) Defoe publishes first of six *Essays at Removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland*. (July) *Jure Divino*, a poem in twelve books attacking the 'divine right' theory. (August) makes a composition with his creditors. (September, to November 1717) is in Scotland. (November) persuades a Committee of the Scottish Parliament to impose a new middle rate of excise for 'tipponny ale'. (December) *Caledonia*, a poem in praise of Scotland.
- 1707 (January) Treaty of Union is ratified by the Scottish Parliament. (January–March) Defoe publishes three pamphlets in a controversy with the Rev. James Webster, and other pamphlets on Scottish affairs. (March) Act of Union passed. (June) Defoe seeks a governmental post in Scotland (presumably because the Test Act did not apply there). (September) Swedish ambassador lays complaint against Defoe for remarks about Charles XII in the *Review*. Watts, *Hymns*.
- 1708 (February) Harley resigns as Secretary of State, and Defoe enters the service of Godolphin. (March) French attempt at a Jacobite invasion in Scotland. (April–November) Defoe is in Scotland. In May, a general election secures a majority for the Whigs.
- 1709 Early this year Defoe sets up a separate Scottish edition of the *Review*. He acts now and later as a spokesman for the Royal Africa Company. (July) Charles XII is defeated by the Russians at Pultowa and takes refuge in Turkey. In the *Review*, July–September, Defoe urges that Palatine refugees should be welcomed in England. (September) Battle of Malplaquet, with loss of 20,000 allied lives. (September–January 1710) Defoe is in Scotland. On 5 November Henry Sacheverell preaches his inflammatory High-Church sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren*. (December) Defoe signs contract with David Fearn to publish



- the *Scots Postman* for a year. *The Tatler* begins publication. Manley, *The New Atalantis*.
- 1710 (February?) *The History of the Union of Great Britain*. On 27 February trial of Sacheverell begins (he is found guilty, but escapes heavy punishment). (August) Harley becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, following the dismissal of Godolphin, and Defoe re-enters his service. (August) *An Essay upon Publick Credit*. (September) *An Essay upon Loans*. In October the Tories win a crushing victory at the general election. (November–February 1710–11) Defoe is in Scotland, where he forms a partnership to manufacture linen tablecloths.
- 1711 Defoe publishes nearly twenty pamphlets on political and economic topics of the moment. In March the first number of the *Spectator* appears. (April) *The British Visions*, first of a series of hoaxing ‘prophecies’ of events in Europe. (May) Harley is made Lord High Treasurer and raised to the peerage. His South Sea bill passes both Houses. (September) Defoe acts as spokesman for the wine wholesalers Brooks and Hellier. Peace preliminaries signed between Britain and France. South Sea Company launched. (December) Occasional Conformity Bill passed with the help of the Whigs and discontented Tories, who defeat the government in the Lords over its peace policy. Queen dismisses Marlborough. Swift, *Conduct of the Allies*.
- 1712 (January) Queen creates 12 new Tory peers. Peace conference opens at Utrecht. (February) Defoe acts as spokesman for the ‘keel-men’ of Newcastle. Publishes about ten pamphlets, and in May, *The Present State of the Parties in Great Britain*, a lengthy account of political and religious developments in England and Scotland. Stamp Act imposes duty on periodicals. Arbuthnot, *The History of John Bull*. Pope, *The Rape of The Lock* (in *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations*).
- 1713 (January) Defoe acts as spokesman for a Brass company. (April) Treaty of Utrecht ends War of Spanish Succession. Defoe is arrested on account of three ironic tracts on the Hanoverian succession. (May) Defoe launches *Mercator*, a periodical advocating trade with France (it runs to July 1714), and publishes several pamphlets on the subject. (June) Treaty of Commerce with France is rejected. Defoe publishes *A General History of Trade*. At the general election in August the Whigs are heavily defeated. The South Sea Company receives the *asiento*, giving it

- the right to import African slaves into Spanish colonies in the New World. Steele launches the *Guardian*, and the *Englishman*.
- 1714 Defoe edits the *Monitor*, April to August, a periodical defending Tory policies. (June) Schism Act passed. (July) Queen dismisses Harley. (July–September) Defoe writes for a sham rival version of the *Flying-Post*. (August) the Queen dies, being succeeded by the Elector of Hanover (George I). (September?) *The Secret History of the White Staff*, first of a three-part pamphlet ingeniously defending Harley's reputation. Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*. Swift, *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*.
- 1715 (January) Defoe's *The Family Instructor*, fictional dialogues concerning religion, continued in 1718 and 1727. (February) *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*, an apologia for his own life in which it is reported by the publisher that Defoe has suffered a fit of apoplexy and is possibly dying. First volume of Pope's *Iliad* is published. (June) Harley and Bolingbroke are impeached. (July) *An Account of the Conduct of Robert Earl of Oxford*, defending Harley. (September) death of Louis XIV. Earl of Mar raises standard of revolt at Perth. (November) Jacobites defeated at Preston and Sheriffmuir.
- 1716 (May) Septennial Act. (December) Townshend is replaced by Stanhope as Secretary of State. Defoe publishes three or four pamphlets on changes in the Ministry. Execution of Jacobite leaders captured at Preston the previous year.
- 1717 (March) Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, preaches a strongly Erastian sermon on 'The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ'. (April) Townshend is dismissed, and Walpole resigns in sympathy. (April) Defoe publishes lengthy *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*. (May) launches *Mercurius Politicus* (which runs to December 1720). (June) *Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsr. Mesnager*, fictitious memoirs of Louis XIV's peace negotiator. (June–July) the Bangorian controversy rages in the press, the Bishop of Carlisle accusing Hoadly of toning down his sermon before printing it. Defoe teases Hoadly in a pseudo-Quaker *Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadly*. (July) Harley acquitted of high treason.
- 1718 (26 April) Defoe writes to Charles Delafaye, Under-secretary of State, giving an account of his (supposed) activities on behalf of the Whig government. (August) Quadruple Alliance formed against Spain. (August) Byng defeats Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. (August) *A Continuation of Letters Written by a Turkish*

- Spy*, satirical reflections on divisions in Europe. (November) during the interrogation of Nathaniel Mist, witnesses attest that an inflammatory anti-government letter signed 'Sir Andrew Politick', in *Mist's Journal*, was written by Defoe.
- 1719 (January) Schism Act and Occasional Conformity Act repealed. (15 April) *Robinson Crusoe*. (August) *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. (October) the *Manufacturer* is launched (runs until March 1721). Substantial pamphlets on trade and finance.
- 1720 Defoe edits the *Commentator*, a miscellaneous journal (runs from January to September), followed by the *Director* (October 1720–January 1721) a periodical about the South Sea affair. (May) *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. (June) *Captain Singleton*. (August) *Serious Reflections ... of Robinson Crusoe*. (October) the South Sea Bubble bursts. In France, John Law's 'Mississippi Company' collapses, bringing ruin to French investors.
- 1721 (February) Townshend is appointed Secretary of State. (April) Walpole is appointed First Lord of the Treasury. (August) an essay by Defoe's son Benjamin for the *London Journal* leads to Benjamin's arrest.
- 1722 (January) *Moll Flanders*. (February) *Due Preparations for the Plague*, moral and practical considerations prompted by the plague in France. (February) *Religious Courtship*, didactic treatise in dialogue form. (March) *A Journal of the Plague Year*. (August) Defoe and his daughter Hannah sign a ninety-nine year lease on a large estate in Essex, for £1000. Discovery of the Atterbury plot. (December) *Colonel Jacque*.
- 1724 (February) *Roxana*. (April) *The Great Law of Subordination Consider'd*. (May) *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Vol. II, 1725; Vol. III, 1726). (November) execution of Jack Sheppard. (November) *A New Voyage Round the World*. Swift, *Drapier's Letters*.
- 1725 (June) Defoe's *Every-body's Business is No-body's Business*, first of a series of five tracts supposedly by 'Andrew Moreton', a peevish but public-spirited old bachelor. (September) *The Complete English Tradesman*. (October–May 1726) *A General History of Discoveries and Improvements* (in four parts).
- 1726 (April) *An Essay upon Literature*, about the origins of writing. (May) *The Political History of the Devil*, satirising the idea of a physical Devil and hell. (November) *A System of Magick*, a history of magic in lampooning style. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*.

- 1727 (January) *Conjugal Lewdness*, on the use and abuse of the marriage-bed. (February) Spain attacks Gibraltar. (March) *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*. (June) George I dies.
- 1728 Defoe begins his unpublished *The Compleat English Gentleman*. (March) *Augusta Triumphans*, an 'Andrew Moreton' piece, proposing a university for London and schemes for suppressing prostitution, gambling, gin-drinking, etc. (March) *A Plan of the English Commerce*. (August) Defoe and his future son-in-law Henry Baker quarrel over his daughter Sophia's dowry. (October) newspapers report a visit by 'Andrew Moreton' to the King (George II) and Queen at Windsor, to present his scheme for preventing street-robberies (evidently a concerted publishing hoax). Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*. Pope, *The Dunciad*.
- 1729 Defoe's daughter Sophia marries Henry Baker. (May) Defoe publishes pamphlet on imprisonment for debt. Swift, *A Modest Proposal*. Thomson, *Britannia*.
- 1730 (February or March) *A Brief State of the Inland or Home Trade*, a diatribe against hawkers and pedlars. Defoe is in hiding from his creditors.
- 1731 (24 April) Defoe dies, in Ropemaker's Alley. (26 April) he is buried in Bunhill Fields.



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## INTRODUCTION

Although Defoe wrote poetry all through his life, it was in his earlier years that he was most famous and prolific as a poet. He was not a great poet, but he wrote two great poems – *The True-Born Englishman* and *A Hymn to the Pillory* – and a number of good ones. It does not seem too much to claim, with Spiro Peterson, that ‘between the death of Dryden and the arrival of the young Pope, the ablest satirist was Daniel Defoe the poet’.<sup>1</sup> The present volume includes the majority of Defoe’s most important poems, but a number are included in other volumes in *The Works of Daniel Defoe*. Thus, for example, Defoe’s longest and most ambitious poem, the twelve-book *Jure Divino* (1706), is presented separately as volume 2 in the present set; a satirical ballad, *The Address* (1704), is included in *Political and Economic Writings*, volume 2; and several Scottish poems, *The Vision* [1706], *A Reply to the Scots Answer, to the British Vision* [1706], and *Caledonia* (1706), are included in *Political and Economic Writings*, volume 4.

It seems quite likely that as a young man Defoe had high ambitions as a poet, as he did in so many other spheres. He had certainly read widely among classical poets and English poets of the seventeenth century, and would occasionally fall into a rhapsody about the aesthetic attraction of poetry: ‘who can read *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Milton*, *Waller*, or *Rochester*, without touching the Strings of his Soul, and finding a Unison of the most charming Influence there?’.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps surprisingly for someone brought up in a Presbyterian household, his favourite authors were the Earl of Rochester, the ‘matchless’ libertine,<sup>3</sup> and Samuel Butler, who had ridiculed the Puritans in his famous burlesque poem *Hudibras* (1662–77). Defoe was

1 Spiro Peterson, ‘Daniel Defoe’, in *Eighteenth-Century British Poets*, ed. John Sitter, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit, New York, London, 1990), Vol. 95, p. 33.

2 *Review*, 31 August 1706.

3 *Reformation of Manners*, l. 641, p. 174 below. See further John McVeagh, ‘Rochester and Defoe: A Study in Influence’, *Studies in English Literature*, 14 (1974), pp. 327–42.

always quoting from their works, but in fact it would seem that, as far as poetic influence goes, Dryden was the poet he drew upon most heavily. He not only borrows lines from Dryden, but adapts them to his own purposes, as, for example, in the many variations he plays on Dryden's line 'For Priests of all Religions are the same'.<sup>4</sup> *The True-Born Englishman* bears strong traces of the influence of *Absalom and Achitophel*, despite Defoe's declaration that he will not imitate Dryden's 'parallels from Hebrew Times'.<sup>5</sup> The portrait of the English people, always discontented with their rulers – 'And did King Jesus reign, they'd murmur too' – echoes Dryden's Jews, 'a head-strong, moody, murmuring race ... No king could govern, nor no God could please'. Elsewhere, Defoe's description of the English as 'Seldom contented, often in the wrong; / Hard to be pleas'd at all and never long', recalls Zimri in *Absalom and Achitophel*: 'Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong; / Was everything by starts, and nothing long'.<sup>6</sup>

More fundamentally, Defoe seems to have taken over his concept of poetic satire from Dryden. In the preface to *Absalom and Achitophel*, Dryden had said that 'the true end of satire is the amendment of vices by correction', and this was also Defoe's view: 'The End of Satyr is Reformation' he declares in the preface to *The True-Born Englishman*. His own prescription for satire was that the portrait of the character being attacked 'should be just ... Secondly, That the Thing Satirized be a Crime: Thirdly, That the Language, tho' keen, be Decent'.<sup>7</sup> He would sometimes lament what he regarded as a decline in the quality of satire since the great days of Marvell, Denham, Rochester, Butler and Dryden: 'the Satyrs of this part of our Age are so mean, in comparison of the last, that I believe the next will never think them worth Collecting'.<sup>8</sup>

## The True-Born Englishman

Defoe's first popular success as a writer was his poem *The True-Born Englishman*. It appeared in December 1700 or early January 1701 (the exact date of publication is uncertain), and was an immediate and unprecedented

4 For quotations of, and variations upon, this line from *Absalom and Achitophel* (l. 99), see *The Pacificator*, l. 286; *Reformation of Manners*, l. 799; *More Reformation*, l. 277; *A Hymn to the Mob*, l. 361.

5 *The True-Born Englishman*, l. 921; compare *A New Discovery*, l. 93.

6 *Absalom and Achitophel*, ll. 45–6 and 548–9, and *The True-Born Englishman*, ll. 666–82 and 556–7.

7 *Review*, 17 May 1712.

8 *Review*, 28 March 1713.

best-seller. According to Defoe's claim in the preface to a collection of his writings in which this poem had pride of place, no fewer than twenty-one editions had appeared by 1705. Only nine of these were authorised editions; the other twelve had been pirated. The authorised editions, Defoe said, were '*fairly printed, and on good Paper*', selling for a shilling, but sales of these were undercut by pirated editions in smaller format on cheaper paper. Sales of these pirated copies were on a vast scale: '80000 of the *Small Ones* have been sold in the Streets for 2d. or at a Penny'.<sup>9</sup> The poem's success was by no means short-lived. Indeed it was to be the most frequently reprinted poem of the early eighteenth century, some fifty editions having appeared by 1750. Its success transformed its author from a relatively obscure pamphleteer into the most famous poet of the moment; it attracted numerous answers and attacks; and in many of his later works Defoe would describe himself proudly on title-pages and elsewhere as 'The Author of *The True-Born Englishman*'.

Many years later, in *An Appeal to Honour and Justice* (1715), Defoe described how he had been sparked into writing *The True-Born Englishman* by reading a scurrilous attack on William III and his Dutch favourites, published in August 1700. Ever since September 1697, when his nine-year war against the French had ended with the Treaty of Ryswick, William's popularity among his English subjects had waned. He was widely regarded as being cold and aloof in manner, and there were persistent rumours and scandals about his Dutch advisers and his generosity towards them. In Parliament, the main focus of hostility concerned his right to maintain a standing army in peace time. The army had grown enormously in size, and by the end of the war was approaching 66,000 men, together with several thousand foreign troops in English pay.<sup>10</sup> The House of Commons was determined to cut this figure drastically, and on 16 December 1698, in defiance of the King's wishes, MPs voted to reduce it to a mere 7,000 men. Most wounding of all to William was a requirement that none of these could be foreigners, which meant the disbanding of his favourite regiment, his blue-coated Dutch guards. The King regarded this as a personal affront, and seriously contemplated abdication.

Even worse, from his point of view, was to follow. Following his campaign in Ireland in the early 1690s, it had been expected that the costs of the war would have been met by the sales of estates of Jacobite rebels. Instead, William had made lavish grants of the forfeited estates to his generals, mistress, Dutch favourites and supporters. In April 1699, a

9 *A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of The True Born English-man* (1705), sig. A3r.

10 John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702* (Manchester, 1987), p. 103.



Parliamentary commission was set up to investigate the matter, and its report revealed that most of the Irish estates had gone to seven foreign-born favourites of William's. A resolution was passed demanding that no foreigners be allowed to serve in the King's councils, and the upshot of the whole affair was to be 'the most humiliating episode of the King's reign – the Act of April 1700 revoking all his Irish grants'.<sup>11</sup> William had to give way, but immediately ended the session, too angry to make his usual speech from the throne. He left soon after for Holland, where he remained until mid-October.

The fires of xenophobia were thus already burning fiercely when, in August 1700, while the King was out of the country, there appeared a vicious verse-attack entitled *The Foreigners*, by the Whig journalist John Tutchin. After the manner of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, Tutchin drew a parallel between the English and the Israelites of the Old Testament. The 'Israelites' (English) had deposed a tyrant (James II), and had replaced him by a prince (William of Orange) from 'Gibeon' (the United Provinces). Unluckily, they had been foolish enough to allow into the country with him a 'Foreign Brood' of Gibeonites, Dutch 'Vermin', who are

... void of Honesty and Grace,  
A Boorish, rude, and an inhumane Race;  
From Nature's excrement their Life is drawn,  
Are born in Bogs, and nourish'd up from Spawn.

'Bentir' (William's favourite, Hans Willem Bentinck, created first Earl of Portland in 1689), is singled out for particular attack:

BENTIR in the Inglorious Roll the first,  
Bentir to this and future Ages curst,  
Of mean Descent, yet insolently proud,  
Shun'd by the Great, and hated by the Crowd;  
Who neither Blood nor Parentage can boast,  
And what he got the *Jewish* Nation lost:  
By lavish Grants whole Provinces he gains,  
Made forfeit by the *Jewish* Peoples Pains;  
Till angry Sanhedrims such Grants resume,  
And from the Peacock take each borrow'd Plume.

In similar vein, 'Keppech' (another of William's favourites, Arnold Joost van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle in 1697), is described as that 'Imperious Chit of State', who

Mounted to Grandeur by the usual Course

11 Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford, 1999), p. 55.

## Introduction

Of Whoring, Pimping, or a Crime that's worse;  
Of Foreign Birth, and undescended too,  
Yet he, like *Bentir*, mighty Feats can do.  
He robs our Treasure, to augment his State,  
And *Jewish* Nobles on his Fortunes wait:  
Our ravish'd Honours on his Shoulder wears,  
And Titles from our Antient Rolls he tears.

How long, Tutchin asks, will 'a prudent People' allow themselves to be gulled by these 'upstart Foreigners', whose ennoblement makes a mockery of the ancient families of Israel?

Ye *Jewish* Nobles, boast no more your Race,  
Or sacred Badges did your Fathers grace!  
In vain is Blood, or Parentages, when  
Ribbons and Garters can ennoble Men ...  
No more, no more your Antient Honours own,  
By slavish *Gibeonites* you are outdone:  
Or else your Antient Courage reassume,  
And to assert your Honours once presume;  
From off their Heads your ravish'd Lawrels tear,  
And let them know what *Jewish* Nobles are.<sup>12</sup>

In his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* (1715), Defoe described how he read this 'vile abhor'd Pamphlet, in very ill Verse ... In which the Author, *who he was I then knew not*, fell personally upon the King himself, and then upon the *Dutch* nation; and after having reproach'd his Majesty with Crimes, that his worst Enemy could not think of without Horror, he sums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER'. It filled him, he said, 'with a kind of Rage against the Book, and gave birth to a Trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an Acceptation as it did, I mean, *The True-Born Englishman*'.<sup>13</sup> In saying that *The True-Born Englishman* was written in response to *The Foreigners*, and the attitudes it represented, Defoe was no doubt thinking of Part I of his poem, because the satirical portrait of Sir Charles Duncombe, which provides the set-piece of Part II, had been written and circulated in manuscript some years earlier. It is certainly true that Part I is written with a verve and comic zest that makes it easy to believe that it was a sudden inspiration.

The structure of the poem is a simple one, in which Defoe states, and then zestfully expands upon and embroiders, a single central theme. The poem takes England's behaviour towards her saviour William as a prime

12 *The Foreigners. A Poem* (1700), pp. 6, 7, 10, 11.

13 Defoe, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice* (1715), p. 6.

example of her national vice. Other nations have their native vice – for Spain it is pride, for Italy lust, for Germany drunkenness, for France fickleness – but in the case of England it is ingratitude: ‘An Ugly, Surly, Sullen, Selfish Spirit’.<sup>14</sup> Defoe traces the lineage of the English, gleefully showing that they have been composed of the off-scourings of Europe, the Romans, Gauls, Saxons, Danes and Normans, all of whom came to England, settled, and added yet another nationality to the mixture. The evidence for this intermixture is plain to be seen in the English language itself:

From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began  
That vain ill-natur'd thing, an Englishman.  
The Customs, Sirnames, Languages, and Manners,  
Of all these Nations are their own Explainers:  
Whose Relicks are so lasting and so strong,  
They ha' left a *Shiboleth* upon our Tongue;  
By which with easy search you may distinguish  
Your *Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman* English. (ll. 187–94)

What possible right has such a mongrel people to despise *foreigners*? The idea expands in his mind, and he pursues it with unbridled and joyous rage:

We have been *Europe's* Sink, *the Jakes* where she  
Voids all her Offal Out-cast Progeny.  
From our Fifth *Henry's* time, the Strolling Bands  
Of banish'd Fugitives from Neighb'ring Lands,  
Have here a certain Sanctuary found:  
The Eternal Refuge of the Vagabond.  
Where in but half a common Age of Time,  
Borr'wing new Blood and Manners from the Clime,  
Proudly they learn all Mankind to contemn,  
And all their Race are *True-Born Englishmen*. (ll. 249–58)

The ‘Shoals of *Interloping Scots*’ who arrived with James I, ‘grew quickly Lords and Gentlemen, / And all their Race are *True-Born Englishmen*’ (ll. 272–84). Charles II, to replace the loss of so many of the nobility who died fighting for his father, produced ‘Six Bastard Dukes’ by his Italian, French, Scottish and Welsh mistresses, which offspring, Defoe sardonically remarks, ‘if one Age they multiply, / May half the House with *English* Peers supply’ (ll. 289–309). Then there are the waves of immigrants – ‘some for Religion came, and some for bread’ – who in every port ‘plant their fruitful Train, / To get a Race of *True-Born Englishmen*’, and whose children will turn out to be ‘as Ill-natur'd and as Proud as we: / Call themselves *English*, For-

14 *The True-Born Englishman*, below, l. 161. Line references for future citations are given in parentheses.

eigners despise' (ll. 321–33). How utterly absurd it is for the English to boast of the pedigree of their nobility: 'not one have *English* Names, yet all are *English* Peers' (l. 411). The verse runs swiftly and irresistibly on, given cumulative, spiralling energy by the continual return, swelling in irony at each repetition, of the refrain, 'True-Born Englishman'. Part I sweeps to the unanswerable conclusion that 'a *True-Born Englishman's* a Contradiction' (l. 372).

In Part II Defoe turns to examine the character and temperament of the English. He finds them to be a race of drunkards; tenacious of their own opinions, however mistaken; unwilling to accept help and lacking in gratitude to those who help them. Above all, they are always discontented with their rulers, even with William, their great deliverer. The figure of 'Britannia' is brought on to sing William's praises – 'William's *the Name that's spoke by ev'ry Tongue: / William's the Darling Subject of my Song*' (ll. 931–2) – but 'Satyr' returns to lash the ungrateful English, who blame the King for relying on foreign soldiers when in fact his trust was betrayed by Englishmen. An example of the modern 'True-Born Englishman' is presented in the form of the unscrupulous goldsmith and financier Sir Charles Duncombe, who rises from a lowly background, but betrays those who help him, and when he enters public office is concerned only to line his pocket.

It is an important and suggestive fact that the form of *The True-Born Englishman* is a mixed, or hybrid one. The poem is a satire, using the 'polite' form of the heroic couplet, but it is also ballad-like in its use of the refrain. Defoe's radical message is that pride in ancestry and birth is 'all a Cheat, / 'Tis Personal Virtue only makes us great' (ll. 1215–16). His aim is not to mock the English for the 'impurity' of their descent, but to expose the absurdity of those who use the term 'true-born English', taking pride in what they pretend to themselves is purity of descent through the blood line. Nearly thirty years later he would claim that his poem had laughed the phrase out of existence: 'none of our Countrymen have been known to boast of being *True-Born English-Men*, or so much as to use the Word as a Title or Appellation ever since a late *Satyr* upon that National Folly was publish'd ... Nothing was more frequent in our Mouths *before* that, nothing so universally Blush'd for and laugh'd at *since*'.<sup>15</sup> Throughout his writings, Defoe never wavered in his belief that immigration was a good thing, and that England had gained immeasurably from the foreigners who had come to live here. It is not without significance that Robinson Crusoe's father is described as 'a Foreigner of *Bremen*, who settled first at Hull'.

15 Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness* (1727), pp. 400–1.

## A Hymn to the Pillory

In July 1703 Defoe ended up in the pillory as a result of writing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (1702), an impersonation of High-Church fanaticism so brilliant as to earn warm praise from High-Churchmen. When it emerged that the author was a Dissenter, who had been writing ironically, there was a furore, and a warrant was issued for Defoe's arrest. He went into hiding, but in May 1703, having been betrayed by an informer, he was caught at a house in Spitalfields and taken to Newgate. His trial took place at the Old Bailey, where, having unwisely pleaded guilty to the charge of writing and publishing a seditious libel, Defoe was sentenced to stand in the pillory three times, to pay a fine of 200 marks, and to remain in prison until he could find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years.<sup>16</sup>

Although he had been dreading it,<sup>17</sup> Defoe's appearance on the pillory turned out to be a personal triumph. According to contemporary accounts, he was pelted not with rotten fruit and eggs, but with flowers. Indeed it seems that Defoe audaciously stage-managed the whole occasion, composing a defiant 'Hymn to the Pillory' and having copies distributed among the crowd at the foot of the pillory. The theme of his poem is the rights and grandeur of authorship and its power to turn even the pillory to advantage. By a brilliant succession of conceits, the pillory is made to stand for all the institutions of society: the church, the stage, the law, the pageants and political 'places' ('opening Vacancys') of a corrupt state system. The master-stroke of the poem is to turn around the sentence passed upon the solitary victim, and to demonstrate the resources by which the poet may triumph over the pillory, showing that it is the state that is on trial and the poet who is the prosecutor. The poet sends to the pillory the venal politicians, corrupt magistrates, incompetent generals, and disorderly priests who are the real enemies of the state.

When he came to reprint his *Hymn to the Pillory* in the second volume of his *True Collection* in 1705, Defoe claimed that the poem was designed to show his treatment over the *Shortest Way* affair as having been 'unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal'. The very fact that he was not prosecuted for

16 The most detailed account of Defoe's capture and trial is given by Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore and London, 1989), pp. 100–19.

17 In a letter to William Paterson of April 1703, Defoe says that the prospect of 'Jayls, Pillorys and Such like' has convinced him that he lacks 'Passive Courage, and I Shall Never for the Future Think my Self Injur'd if I am Call'd a Coward' (*The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. George Harris Healy (Oxford, 1955), p. 6).

publishing such a bold ‘*Defiance of their illegal Proceedings*’ was, he said, ‘*a fair Concession of Guilt in the former Proceeding*’.<sup>18</sup> It was a reckless action for Defoe to have published such a poem on such an occasion, but his recklessness was fuelled by a supreme confidence in the rightness of his own position.

The virtues of *The True-Born Englishman* and *A Hymn to the Pillory* may be said to complement one another. They have in common, for instance, a note of absolute conviction. In the former, the idea of a ‘true-born Englishman’ is made, progressively, to appear ever more absurd. In the latter, the rectitude of the victim of the pillory is, similarly, made progressively to seem utterly unimpeachable, and of the greatest consequence. Despite this, the two poems are very different in tone – the one unbridled and joyous, the other measured and defiant – but also, significantly, in form. *The True-Born Englishman*, as we have seen, is in heroic couplets, whereas *A Hymn to the Pillory* is in irregular Pindarics.

The Pindaric ode, and especially the improvisatory type used by Defoe, has not, on the whole, had a good press, and it is worth considering the significance of Defoe’s choice of this form. The ancient Greek poet Pindar (518–after 446 BC) is famous above all for his Epinician (or ‘victory’) Odes, written in honour of the victors at the four great panhellenic Games. For these he employed a complex and original triadic structure, allowing abrupt shifts in subject-matter and an amazing variety of effects. In the seventeenth century English poets began to produce imitations of Pindar, the best known being Abraham Cowley’s *Pindarique Odes*, published in 1656.<sup>19</sup> These were a rough approximation of Pindar’s style, with line-lengths varying from two syllables to twelve or fourteen and a capricious pattern of rhymes. ‘Pindaric’ versification on the Cowley model became extremely popular, and even Dryden and Pope experimented with it. Pindar’s own Odes would sometimes celebrate the powers of Poetry itself, and one can perceive something similar in Dryden’s *Song for St. Cecilia’s Day* (1687) and *Alexander’s Feast, or The Power of Music* (1697), and in Pope’s *Ode for Musick, on St. Cecilia’s Day* (1713), which pay tribute to, and at the same time imitate, music. The same is true, later, of Thomas Gray’s odes, *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* (both published in 1757), which celebrate poets and the art of poetry.

There is an obvious appropriateness for Defoe in adopting ‘Pindarics’, which is that the freedom of the form – its irregular strophes, line lengths

18 *A Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of The True-Born Englishman* (1705), sig. A5r–v.

19 Defoe quotes some lines from one of Cowley’s Pindaric Odes at the end of his preface to *The True-Born Englishman*; see below, p. 84.

and rhyme schemes – is so much in keeping with the theme of his poem. Cowley, in his ‘Ode. Upon Liberty’, had specifically equated ‘Pindarique’ verse-making with liberty:

The more Heroique strain let others take,  
Mine the Pindarique way I’ll make.  
The Matter shall be Grave, the Numbers loose and free.  
It shall not keep one settled pace of Time,  
In the same Tune it shall not always Chime,  
Nor shall each day just to his Neighbour Rhime.<sup>20</sup>

Defoe’s cult of Liberty was more strenuous than that of Cowley’s; but it certainly is freedom that he is vindicating in *A Hymn to the Pillory* – the inward liberty, the practice of truth-telling and uninhibited imagination, that a poet may enjoy even as a prisoner of the pillory.

‘Pindarics’ were the necessary form for this poem of Defoe’s, and that it was a work of genius was the fruit of overwhelming personal circumstances. Samuel Johnson was scornful of the vogue for Pindarics. In his ‘Life’ of Cowley he wrote that ‘this lax and lawless versification so much concealed the deficiencies of the barren, and flattered the laziness of the idle, that it immediately overspread our books of poetry; all the boys and girls caught the pleasing fashion, and they that could do nothing else could write like Pindar’. To Thomas Sprat’s assertion that ‘the *irregularity of numbers is the very thing which makes that kind of poesy fit for all manner of subjects*’, Johnson answered crushingly that ‘he should have remembered, that what is fit for every thing can fit nothing well. The great pleasure of verse arises from the known measure of the lines, and uniform structure of the stanzas, by which the voice is regulated, and the memory relieved.’<sup>21</sup>

Defoe’s *Hymn to the Pillory* proves the limitations of Johnson’s Augustanism; nevertheless Johnson was not altogether off the point. Defoe (who preferred the word ‘hymn’ to ‘ode’) felt encouraged to write further ‘hymns’: a *Hymn to the Funeral Sermon*, a *Hymn to Victory*, a *Hymn to Peace* and a *Hymn to the Mob*. He would also sometimes resort to Pindarics when attempting the sublime, as in the stanzas about rebellion in *Jure Divino*, Book IV, or again in a poem such as *Caledonia*, where the form gave him the freedom to expatiate and rhapsodize. But there is something manufactured and factitious about these productions, and none of them, with the possible exception of *A Hymn to the Mob*, could be said to be Defoe at his best.

20 Abraham Cowley, ‘Ode. Upon Liberty’, in *The Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley* (1668), p. 88 (sixth sequence of pagination).

21 Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, 4 vols (1783), Vol. I, pp. 72–3.

## Defoe and Lampoon

In his poem *The Pacificator*, published in 1700, Defoe includes a passage discriminating between various poetic genres and assigning to himself the lampoon:

... let C[reec]h Translate,  
D[Urfe]y make Ballads, Psalms and Hymns for T[at]e:  
Let P[río]r Flatter Kings in Panegyrick,  
R[adcli]ff Burlesque, and W[tycherle]y be Lyrick:  
Let C[ongrev]e write the Comick, F[o]e Lampoon,  
W[es]ly the Banter, M[ilbourn]e the Buffoon.<sup>22</sup>

It is worth meditating on the reasons why he chooses for himself the lampoon. The *OED* defines a lampoon as ‘a virulent or scurrilous satire upon an individual’, and this seems exact. Dryden’s marvellous comic harrassing of Shadwell in *MacFlecknoe*, as the quintessence or personification of ‘Dullness’, is not really a lampoon; for Shadwell as an individual hardly comes into the matter. Equally, Dryden’s great ‘characters’ of Shaftesbury and Buckingham in *Absalom and Achitophel* are not lampoons, being exercises in balanced judgement and not deserving to be called ‘virulent’.

The term ‘lampoon’ seems the right one, on the other hand, for Marvell’s scintillating portraits of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans (Lord Chamberlain of the Household and suspected lover of Queen Henrietta Maria), and of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, and Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine, in *The Last Instructions to a Painter* (1667).<sup>23</sup> Here is the beginning of the one on St Albans:

Paint then *St Albans* full of soup and gold,  
The new court’s pattern, stallion of the old.  
Him neither wit nor courage did exalt,  
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.  
Paint him with drayman’s shoulders, butcher’s mein,  
Membered like mules, with elephantine chine.  
Well he the title of St Albans bore,  
For Bacon never studied nature more.

<sup>22</sup> *The Pacificator*, below, ll. 417–22.

<sup>23</sup> The ‘Instructions to a Painter’ formula, first used for satiric purposes by Marvell in mockery of Waller’s patriotic *Instructions to a Painter* (1665), and later employed by Matthew Prior, Thomas Brown and others, seems to have been an encouragement to the lampoon. See, for example, the vitriolic *Advice to a Painter* (1697), anonymous but thought to be by William Shippen, bitterly lampooning Archbishop Tenison, the Earl of Portland, the Earl of Sunderland, etc., in *Poems on Affairs of State, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, Volume 6: 1697–1704, ed. Frank H. Ellis (New Haven and London, 1970), pp. 15–25.



But age, allaying now that youthful heat,  
Fits him in France to play at cards and treat.<sup>24</sup>

Here, unquestionably, the merciless satirist has an individual in his sights: he is, for hostile purposes, analysing and recreating this individual, physically, psychologically and socially, and is trying to find a 'formula' for him ('Paint then St Albans full of soup and gold').

It is evident that, from the beginning, this lampooning style was felt by Defoe to be a large part of his equipment as a satirist. It is often forgotten that his first major publication dates back as early as January 1691, some six years before he emerged as a professional pamphleteer and prose-writer, and that this was a lengthy satirical poem, entitled *A New Discovery of an Old Intreague*.<sup>25</sup> The circumstances prompting the poem are, very briefly, as follows.<sup>26</sup> One of the acts of King William's first Parliament was, on 14 May 1690, to restore to the City the charter and liberties of which it had been deprived by Charles II. A week later elections to City offices were held, in which a Whig, Sir Thomas Pilkington, was confirmed as Lord Mayor (an office which he already held), and another Whig, Leonard Robinson, was elected as Chamberlain. Antagonism between Whigs and Tories was running high in the City, and the Tories disputed the legality of these and other elections. Eventually, on 2 December 1690, a petition bearing the signatures of 117 Common Councillors was presented to the House of Commons, challenging the election of Pilkington and Robinson and the right of a number of aldermen, who had been arbitrarily appointed by James II, to their dignity. A formal reply to the petition was prepared by the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and both sides were called before the bar of the House of Commons to state their case. However the discussion was adjourned on 11 December and, eventually, dropped altogether. The annalist Narcissus Luttrell commented that the petition 'had like to have been of very ill consequence, it being drove on by the hotspurs generally, and the papists underhand ... and would have unhinged the present government of the city, which is well affected to their majesties'.<sup>27</sup>

The drift of Defoe's poem is much the same as Luttrell's: that these 117 Tory petitioners are all covert Jacobites. He points out that a number of

24 Andrew Marvell, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 157–8.

25 The only published work by Defoe to appear before *A New Discovery* was a very brief pamphlet, *A Letter to a Dissenter from his Friend at the Hague*, published in 1688, dealing with King James's offer to repeal the Test Act.

26 A fuller account is provided in the Headnote to the poem, below, pp. 401–1.

27 Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1857), Vol. II, p. 141.

them, as well as being willing betrayers of the City's and their own livery companies' liberties, had been in the jury lists for the trials of the Whig martyrs Lord William Russell and Henry Cornish.

But very soon after the adjournment of the petition there came dramatic news. On the night of 31 December 1690 Sir Richard Grahme, Viscount Preston, and two companions were arrested while on their way to France, and found to be bearing messages and letters from Protestant Jacobites to the exiled King James (letters, moreover, appearing to incriminate Archbishop Sancroft and Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely). Defoe had evidently more or less completed his poem before the news of the Preston plot broke, but he hastily inserted a few extra lines to capitalize on this new evidence of Jacobite conspiracy.<sup>28</sup>

The poem is, it must be said, a very strange work, showing clear signs of inexperience and haste, and having no clear focus – wandering, or rather hurrying, from one topic to another. Further, it is at moments almost impenetrably obscure. Admittedly, Defoe is depending on his readers' catching allusions to long-forgotten City scandals; but on top of that, he sometimes seems to be throwing words down on the page without order or connection, or even, on occasion, grammar. An American scholar, Mary Elizabeth Campbell, devoted a whole book to explicating the poem, but now and then even she is baffled, or only very tentative in her conclusions.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the poem shows many real flashes of talent. Defoe repeated a favourite line from it in *The True-Born Englishman* and reworked another in *Reformation of Manners*, and he had the confidence to reprint the poem in the second volume of the *True Collection* of his writings in 1705.<sup>30</sup>

But the heart of the poem, or at least the part where Defoe seems most obviously at home as a satirist, is its series of lampoons. One remembers his portraits of the Tory colonels of the militia, Sir William Prichard and Sir Peter Rich, at the Queen's review in Hyde Park; of Henry Compton, the sword- and pistol-wielding Bishop of London, with his troop of 'four hundred booted Priests' (l. 255); and of some of the 117 petitioners, Sir William Dodson, Sir Ralph Box, Sir William Withers and Sir Robert Bedingfield.

28 See *A New Discovery*, ll. 465–7, p. 51 below.

29 Mary Elizabeth Campbell, *Defoe's First Poem* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1938).

30 The repeated line is 184 of *A New Discovery*, line 672 of *The True-Born Englishman*, and for the re-worked line see l. 335 of *A New Discovery*, and ll. 194–5 of *Reformation of Manners*. Defoe took the opportunity of the reprint in 1705 to correct and amend the poem in several places. See Textual Notes, below, pp. 525–6.

These lampoons make some good hits, even if they are by no means as polished and subtle as Marvell's. But a point of great significance is that, as we have already noted, in 1699 Defoe composed a magnificent extended lampoon of the shady financier Sir Charles Duncombe (on the occasion of his election as Sheriff of Middlesex). The term 'lampoon' seems appropriate to it, though it takes the form of a 'fine speech' or shameless self-revelation by Duncombe himself; and, as well as being brilliantly witty in detail, it acquires, by dint of its organisation, a joyous expansiveness, an irresistible cumulative impetus. In a word, it possesses the qualities which make *The True-Born Englishman*, of which it forms a part, a great poem. The Duncombe piece circulated in manuscript during 1699, more than a year before *The True-Born Englishman*, and was even anthologised, before Defoe saw how perfectly Duncombe's career, one long saga of ingratitude, fitted into the larger poem, where ingratitude is depicted as the leading vice of the English character. It is not hard to see why, in *The Pacificator*, Defoe claimed for himself the genre of the lampoon. Lampoons figure considerably in *More Reformation* (1703), where Defoe is outspokenly satirical about some of his judges, and on a large scale in *The Dyet of Poland* (1705), where he presents hostile portraits of many of his old enemies, including the Earl of Nottingham, Admiral Rooke and Sir Edward Seymour; but the miracle of *The True-Born Englishman* is not repeated.

## Reformation of Manners

Lampoons also form the main staple of another lengthy poem, *Reformation of Manners* (1702), where Defoe pillories a whole series of legal, religious, political and military figures. The emergence of Societies for the Reformation of Manners was one of the most significant developments of the 1690s. Ever since the restoration to the throne of Charles II, many observers had felt that England was experiencing a collapse of moral standards, and believed that this unprecedented tide of vice and crime would bring divine retribution upon the country. One of William's first actions as King was to write an open letter to the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, promising that he would seek to bring about 'a general reformation of the lives and manners of all our subjects'.<sup>31</sup> In 1692 the King and Queen issued

31 *His Majesty's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, to be Communicated to the Two Provinces of Canterbury and York, 13 February 1689/90* (London, 1690), cited in Rose, *England in the 1690s*, p. 203.

a joint proclamation against vice, debauchery and profanity, the first of a series of such royal proclamations.<sup>32</sup> The objective of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, whose members were drawn from all sections of society, and from both the Church of England and Dissenters, was to bring about enforcement of the numerous laws that already existed to punish vice. Members went out into the streets with blank arrest warrants, and informers were encouraged to denounce offenders to the civil authorities. At the height of the campaign there were about twenty societies in London, and thousands of prosecutions were launched for profanity, Sabbath breaking, drunkenness, prostitution and gambling.<sup>33</sup>

Defoe was a strong supporter of moral reform, and of legislation to help bring this about, but significantly – and in some ways characteristically – he was by no means a supporter of the activities of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. In his view it was quite wrong to ‘Exclaim against the poor despicable Wretches, whose Oaths, Drunkenness, and other Wickedness are the common Subject of our Societies for Reformation’, while the same vices among the gentry and nobility, magistrates and clergy, went unreformed and unpunished. The way to bring about a general reformation of manners, he never wearied of repeating, was for ‘the Nobility, Gentry and Magistracy of the Countrey to Discourage Vice, and bring it out of Use by their own Example’. Then, at least, magistrates might ‘Punish without Reproach to themselves: A Justice of Peace may set a Drunkard in the Stocks, or a Whore to the Whipping Post without blushing, and the Poor can have no Objection against the Discipline of their Rulers’.<sup>34</sup>

This is the central idea of his poem *Reformation of Manners*, which denounces immorality, drunkenness and profanity in London (Part I) and in the country at large (Part II). Defoe’s targets include judges like Sir Robert Jeffries, Sir Salathiel Lovell and Sir Henry Furnese; wealthy City dignitaries like Sir John Sweetapple, Sir William Cole and Sir Robert Clayton; and

32 William issued similar proclamations in 1698 and 1699, and called for more laws to suppress vice in six speeches to Parliament between 1697 and 1701.

33 See [Josiah Woodward,] *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London* (2nd edn, 1698), *passim*. Modern accounts of the movement include D. W. R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (New Haven, 1957); T. C. Curtis and W. A. Speck, ‘The Societies for the Reformation of Manners: A Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Reform’, *Literature and History*, 3 (1976), pp. 45–64; David Hayton, ‘Moral Reform and Country Politics in the Late Seventeenth-Century House of Commons’, *Past and Present*, 128 (1990), pp. 48–91; R. B. Shoemaker, ‘Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690–1738’, in L. Davison *et al.* (eds), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: The Response to Social and Economic Problems in England, 1689–1750* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 99–120; and Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996).

34 *Review*, 7 April 1709 (Edinburgh edition).

members of the nobility who led notoriously debauched lives, like William Cowper and Charles Mohun. But by contrast with *The True-Born Englishman* and *A Hymn to the Pillory*, where Defoe seizes upon a truly rich and original idea, which liberates all his inventiveness, exorbitant scorn and gaiety, in *Reformation of Manners* the central idea seems rather meagre and infertile. In the introduction to his admirable edition of the poem, Frank H. Ellis writes:

The present poem may appear to be simply a blast of bird shot at such widely scattered targets as a country parson with delirium tremens, a homicidal barrister, an arsonous merchant, and a voyeuristic justice of the peace. But if it should develop that all of these gentlemen were members of the society for the reformation of manners, then the poem would be revealed in its proper perspective and connectedness.<sup>35</sup>

But in fact Defoe does not seem definitely to imply that all the magistrates, statesmen and churchmen he is lampooning are members of such societies, merely that, judging from the hypocrisy of present-day men in authority, it would be no surprise if they were.

The best of the lampoons in *Reformation of Manners*, one feels, is the lengthy one of 'Furious' (John Wroth, an Essex Justice), which, by its sheer severity and crescendo of condemnation, makes a powerful effect:

This is the Man that helps to bless the Nation,  
And bully Mankind into Reformation,  
The true Coercive Power of the Law,  
Which drives the People which it cannot draw:  
The Nation's Scandal, *England's* true Lampoon,  
A Drunken, Whoring, Justicing Buffoon.<sup>36</sup>

There are other incidental successes, but one is left feeling that 'vice', and even more drunkenness, in the way that they are treated here, are too indiscriminate a subject; or rather, Defoe does not have anything very original to say about them.

It is instructive to compare *Reformation of Manners* with *The Poor Man's Plea*, a prose pamphlet on the same subject that Defoe published in 1698, and where his wit and ingenuity, and his grasp of social fact, have free play. Slyly assuming the role of a humble member of the 'plebeii', to whom the gentry and clergy are 'Lights erected on high places to guide and govern us', he argues that the proclamations and Acts of Parliament against

<sup>35</sup> *Poems on Affairs of State*, Vol. 6, p. 398.

<sup>36</sup> *Reformation of Manners*, below, ll. 551–6.

immorality and profanity are useless, since it is only the poor who suffer under them:

These are all Cobweb Laws, in which the small Flies are catch'd, and the great ones break through. My Lord Mayor has whipt about the poor Beggars, and a few scandalous Whores have been sent to the House of Correction; some Alehousekeepers and Vintners have been Fin'd for drawing Drink on the Sabbath day; but all this falls upon us of the Mob, the poor *Plebeii*, as if all the Vice lay among us; for we do not find the Rich Drunkard carri'd before my Lord Mayor, nor a Swearing Lewd Merchant Fin'd, or Set in the Stocks. *The man with a Gold Ring and Gay Cloths*, may Swear before the Justice, or at the Justice; may reel home through the open Streets, and no man take any notice of it; but if a poor man get drunk, or swear an Oath, he must to the Stocks without Remedy.<sup>37</sup>

Plainly, the 'plebeian' author argues, vice will only be discouraged if the gentry and clergy reform *themselves*.

Our feelings about *Reformation of Manners* help to provide a standpoint from which to consider the course of Defoe's career as a poet. When in 1704, after prison and the pillory, he publishes a verse *Elegy on the Author of the True-Born-English-Man* and a poem on *The Storm*, he refers in them to himself as '*metaphorically Dead*' as an author and as a composer of 'satyr'.<sup>38</sup> Now that he is no longer around as a scourge, wickedness and vice in high places will flourish unchecked. From this it is evident that he is thinking of his verse satires as his main claim to fame – which is not an absurd idea, considering the enormous success of *The True-Born Englishman*. What he seems to be saying, with pleasant but rueful irony, is that, because of his indictment for *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* – which among other things required him to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years before he could be released from Newgate – he will no longer be able to publish verse satire. He will be forbidden from making searing verse attacks upon English society and English personalities, as he had done in *The True-Born Englishman* and *Reformation of Manners* (not to mention other poems like *The Spanish Descent*). It is true that he will call his twelve-book poem *Jure Divino* (1706) – a wholesale political and philosophical attack on the notion of the 'divine right' of monarchs – a 'satyr', but he is here using the term in a different and looser sense. Thus, for good or evil, his dire encounter with the law in 1703 changed the direction of Defoe's work as a poet. It is significant that in his *Hymn to Victory* (1704) he speaks of himself

37 *The Poor Man's Plea* (2nd edn, 1698), pp. 9–10, 11.

38 See *An Elegy on the Author of the True-Born-English-Man. With An Essay on the Late Storm*, below, pp. 263, 283.

with humility, or mock-humility, as '*the meanest of the Inspir'd Train*' of poets celebrating the success at Blenheim,<sup>39</sup> and in *The Double Welcome* (1704), a poem greeting Marlborough on his return to England after the great victory, he apologises for his Muse as being 'Abject and low, and scorch'd by Party-Fire'.<sup>40</sup>

## Defoe and the Mob

Writing in July 1708, following Marlborough's victory over the French at Oudenarde, Defoe responded to those expecting another celebratory poem from him by saying that he had given up poetry: '*My Harps are long since hung on the Willows, my Brains have done crowing*'.<sup>41</sup> This, however, did not turn out to be entirely true. *A Hymn to the Mob*, the last poem in the present volume, and also Defoe's last major poem, was published in September 1715. It was inspired by the outbreaks of Jacobite rioting which had marked the coronation of George I the previous October, and which had carried on through the spring and summer of 1715, affecting at least thirty towns in southern and western England. Dissenting meeting-houses were attacked, as they had been on an even larger scale in the Sacheverell riots of 1710. So serious did these violent disturbances become that the Whig ministry rushed the Riot Act through Parliament in July, and suspended habeas corpus in the same month.<sup>42</sup>

*A Hymn to the Mob* is another poem in free Pindarics, rather like *A Hymn to the Pillory*. Indeed there are some important links between the two poems, not least in their attitude to the 'mob'. In the opening stanzas of the earlier poem, Defoe dared to insult the 'mob', which, he says, treats the innocent and guilty alike:

Persons or Crimes find here the same respect,  
And Vice does Vertue oft Correct,  
The undistinguish'd Fury of the Street,  
With Mob and Malice Mankind Greet:  
No Byass can the Rabble draw,  
But *Dirt* throws *Dirt* without respect to Merit, or to Law.<sup>43</sup>

39 *A Hymn to Victory*, below, l. 112.

40 *The Double Welcome*, below, l. 9.

41 *Review*, 29 July 1708.

42 See Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (Oxford, 2000), p. 393.

43 *A Hymn to the Pillory*, ll. 17–22, p. 241 below.

The poem challenges Defoe's fellow-citizens to decide whether they are going to regard themselves as a 'mob', and behave barbarously by pelting the innocent victim, or see the injustice for what it is, and act as the 'people'. In *A Hymn to the Mob*, he makes clever play with the meanings to be attached to the words 'mob', 'crowd', 'rabble', 'the people' – but especially with 'mob'.

From the opening prose preface one gets the impression that 'mobs' and 'rabblies' are a pure menace. 'Tumult of *ev'ry Kind* is Rebellion', it declares, and anyone supporting such activity must be a Jacobite, even though they may deny the name. But the poem itself takes a different approach, paying honour to the 'mob' as the 'Spring of Government, / For Whom, and from Whom Governors were sent' (ll. 3–4). Tyranny is nothing but an encroachment on the rights of the 'mob', 'Back'd with that wicked Thing call'd *Might*' (l. 62), and faced with tyranny the 'mob' has every right to take back its power. Parliaments are no more than representatives of the 'mob': 'A *RABBLE*, only dress'd in finer Cloaths' (l. 91). Great men seek the praise of the 'mob', and even the law appeals to the 'mob' for approval. As the poem goes on, the tone becomes more homiletic. As justice and law derive their authority from the 'mob', so the 'mob' must act with justice and within the law. If that ceases to happen, 'The *Glorious Name* of MOB's no more thy Due, / *Monster* becomes thy Title *now*' (ll. 232–3). 'Street-Madness' is the worst of all the frenzies that afflict mankind, and a good example of this is the ambiguous relationship the 'mob' has had with religion. Sometimes the 'mob' has been on the side of reform: 'The Glory of the Reformation's *THINE*' (l. 429). But at other times it has acted a bad part with regard to religion, as witness the 'mob' that called for Christ to be crucified (l. 457). What has happened to the English 'mob', the poet asks: 'Is this the MOB of *Eighty Eight*, / That put King *James* and *Pop'ry* in a Fright?' (ll. 692–3).

These complex attitudes to the 'mob' can be paralleled in other writings by Defoe. For example, in *A Letter from Captain Tom to the Mobb, now Rais'd for Dr. Sacheverel* (1710), he speaks in the person of Captain Tom, the mythical leader of the mob, sarcastically chastising the High-church rioters for not being a true mob: 'You a Mobb! You are the Scum and Dregs, the Tools and Vassals of the Romish Brood ... You Thieves, you everlasting Blot and Disgrace to the Honour of the Mobility! ... When I and my Friends rose, it was for Justice, and Liberty, and the Government, and the Protestant Religion'.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the claim that English mobs 'seldom have been in the Wrong' *'till Now*' (l. 436) is echoed by the claim in the *Review* for 18 March

<sup>44</sup> *A Letter from Captain Tom to the Mobb* (1710), pp. 3, 6.



1710, that 'Captain TOM has not often been in the Wrong'. In an important passage in *The True-Born Englishman*, Defoe offers another play, or 'conceit' on the word 'mob', writing that when kings resort to tyranny the whole constitution is dissolved: 'The Nation's all a Mob, there's no such thing / As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King' (ll. 808-9).

*A Hymn to the Mob* also provides examples of Defoe's habitual tendency towards facetiousness when discussing Bible stories. Near the beginning of the poem he remarks, rather wittily, that when Adam and Eve had two children 'it look'd like Progeny', but it was 'a MOB when they had *Three*'. This was 'the *First Great Croud* ... the RABBLE of the Family' (ll. 9-18) – and the death of Abel was the result. Later on, there is an ingenious and comical passage about the Gadarene swine. Defoe depicts the swine as contentedly feeding 'on their Native Spot', undisturbed by the 'poor, raving Wretch among the *Tombs*' nearby: '*The Fiend* might all the Men on Earth possess, / If they had not an *Acorn* less'. They are enjoying their '*Right* and *Property*' until Jesus allows Satan to transfer the 'legion' of demons from the madman to them, thus turning them into a 'MOB' (ll. 616-67). This could be read as a reflection on Christ, for letting such an unkind trick be played on the swine, and although Defoe is careful to explain that it is mainly the Devil's fault, for taking a mere permission from Christ as a command, it is not clear what he is referring to in the line 'GO, was the Word that let him [the Devil] in' (l. 635), since the word 'go' does not occur in the Bible account. These are the sorts of risks the irreverent Defoe often ran.

A  
New Discovery  
OF AN  
Old Intreague:  
A  
SATYR

LEVEL'D AT  
Treachery and Ambition:

CALCULATED  
To the Nativity of the *Rapparee*<sup>1</sup> *Plott*, and  
the Modesty of the *Jacobite Clergy*.

DESIGNED  
By Way of Conviction to the CXVII. *PETITIONERS*,  
and for the Benefit of those that study the City<sup>a</sup> *Mathematicks*.

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*Unus Nobis Cunctando Restituit.*— Ennius.<sup>2</sup>

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## PREFACE TO THE One Hundred & Seventeen.

*THE End of Satyr ought to be, exposing Falshood, in order to Reformation. As all Warrings are Unlawfull whose Aim is not Peace; so Satyrs not thus meant, are no more Satyrs but Libells. One great Character,<sup>3</sup> and the Lines of which I liked as well as any, is left out here: Because the Person is Attoning, as I am told, for the past Errors of his Practice, by a future Loyalty to the Government. As for me, if I am blamed for accounting the Petition reflected on, a Branch of our New Jacobite Plott, I referre to the Letters taken with my Lord Preston:<sup>4</sup> and say no more, to any whose meaning was short of that, (as I hope some were) than that they may here see and be convinced whose Tools they have been made, and whose Work they have been doing.*

*For my self, Gentlemen, who I am, you must excuse me, you shall not know: Why I wrote this, I shall answer onely Negatively: Not for Profit, nor make none of it I assure you; and if I thought I could work on you, I would bestow 117 upon you gratis, and lose so much for a Reformation: Not for Applause I assure you, for I shall not so much as ask How you like it: Not for Envy or Malice, for I Honour your Persons, and should be glad to see you become English-men again; and as I hinted above, should be so much a Friend to the Work of Conversion, as to leave out any other Character of a Reforming Brother.*

*If no Reformation follows, I must do as Providence does, let you alone to your Own Wills, and as I never drew my Pen before, so expect no Second Item from*

Your Humble Servant, &c.

## THE INTRODUCTION.

IN ancient Times when men of Worth were known,  
 Not by their Fathers Actions but their own,  
 When Honours sacred Pile could be come at,  
 But by the Steps to Virtue Dedicate;  
 No purchas'd Fame our Panegyricks sung, 5  
 Nor were our widdowed Harps on Willows hung.  
 Renown by Down-right hazard was attain'd,  
 And Deeds of Honour onely Honour gain'd.  
 Expence of Blood the Noble Theam began,  
 And he alone who sav'd a *Roman*<sup>5</sup> call'd a Man. 10  
 No gawdy Heir with<sup>a</sup> purchas'd Honour sate  
 Insulting o're the Legal Magistrate;  
 Nor Glittering Knighthood strutting with Renown, }  
 That from the Fathers well stuf Chest begun, }  
 Purchas'd by high<sup>b</sup> *Mandamus*<sup>6</sup> made his Own: 15  
 But well Fought Victories did Fame advance,  
 The Old try'd *English* way of Fighting *France*.  
 And certain Valour certain Glory won,  
 The honest Bait to Emulation.

No tatter'd *Hero's* in the<sup>c</sup> Shoulder-Belt, 20  
 In Age and Poverty their<sup>d</sup> Bruises felt:  
 By conquering Fortune still acknowledg'd Brave,  
 Yet go Heroick Beggars to the Grave,  
 No mangl'd *Cavalier* at Seventy Four,  
 With Fifteen Wounds obtain'd at *Marston-Moor*,<sup>7</sup> 25  
 His Scars Expos'd to the Unthankfull Court,  
 The Fathers Champion, and the Childrens sport;<sup>8</sup>

Whose stranger<sup>9</sup> Politicks New Systems had;  
And crusht the Carkase to Exalt the Head;  
And so the Basis of Deceit began, 30  
The King put on by putting off the Man.<sup>10</sup>  
And that the Royal Stratagem might take,  
Heroick Paths of Luxury they make:  
New Wayes of Happiness and Life Define,  
And sacrifice to their almighty Wine; 35  
No Idol *Pagod*<sup>11</sup> more Enchantments knew,  
Than this did first contrive, and that pursue:  
Nor do the Ages since Records were known,  
Such Standards of Refin'd Delusion own:  
In close resolved Tyrannick ways<sup>a</sup> pursuing, 40  
By different Means That one great End, our Ruine.  
While Crouds of Thoughtless *Mob* with Changeling Praise,  
To their great God the King did sacrifice.

Nor Hot-brain'd Zeal to Fiery *Moloch*<sup>12</sup> paid  
Inhumane Offerings of the sacred Seed, 45  
(While hapless Mothers their own Breasts deny,  
To Bribe the God with their own Progeny)  
With greater Gust than our Addressors<sup>13</sup> sold  
Their Liberty for Lust, for Flattery their Free-hold;  
With eager Violence their Charters gave,<sup>14</sup> 50  
Bartring the shadow Freedom, for the substance Slave.

And thus the new erected Fabrick throve,  
And Freedom long with dying Pangs had strove,  
Till Fate disclos'd its Restoration nigh,<sup>15</sup> }  
The Mighty Sound dispirits Tyranny, } 55  
So darkest Clouds the Morning Brightness flye. }  
But still the haughty Faction's discontent,<sup>16</sup>  
And struggle with the Chains of Government;  
Restraint from Ill is Freedom to the Wise,<sup>17</sup>  
And he that parts with that<sup>18</sup> will Tyrannize. 60  
Kings but by Agents act Illegal Power;  
No Jalous like a licens'd Prisoner.<sup>19</sup>  
Who first his Freedom sells, receives in Pay  
Licence to tyrannize some other way.

He<sup>20</sup> paid for this who first Indulg'd their Heat, } 65  
Whose Guile by pious Fraud they first defeat;  
Men work for others, but for Themselves they cheat. }  
For when they found  
Their darling lust Ambition he restrain'd,  
That *Nero* would be *Nero* by Himself, 70  
That He Engross'd the Power and *eke* the Pelf;<sup>21</sup>  
That all their Recompences were Delay,<sup>a</sup>  
Or such as Tyrants, always Traytors Pay;<sup>b</sup>  
Then their Engag'd assistance they withdrew,  
And with their Lives New Fortunes they pursue. 75  
So Greedy Traytors when their Hopes decline,  
Their constant<sup>c</sup> Benefactors undermine;  
So Wolves when barren Wastes afford no Prey,  
Will one another brutishly destroy.

A  
SATYR, &C.

OF Modern *Fame* which hourly Pacquets<sup>22</sup> bring, 80  
And actions born of Yesterday, I sing:  
No Errant Knights, but Errant Knaves I quote,  
With Presidents<sup>23</sup> enough, and none remote.  
No Forreign Lists our Catalogue supplies,  
Some of our Own the *French* have took as Prize; 85  
We scorn Reprisals, Knaves of Forreign growth  
Are Contraband:<sup>24</sup>  
Besides, the Prohibition barrs the Trade,  
And none but Knaves of *English* Stamp are made;  
And Troth<sup>a</sup> the stock is so improv'd for sale, 90  
The Manufacture is not like to fail.

No Parallels from *Hebrew* times I take,<sup>25</sup>  
And leave the Jingling Simily to speak;  
Who faithful Balm to *Englands* Wounds applies,  
The Danger shows before the Remedies: 95  
Some Harmony with *Hebrew* Times may be,  
In some things differ, and in some agree.  
The chiming Parallel runs counter more,  
On all the different steps than it<sup>b</sup> agreed before.

The sacred Tribes with Heaven it self convers'd, 100  
And thundring sounds the dreadfull Law rehears'd;  
Immediate Dictates their Records began,  
Carried by Voice, and constant Vision on;  
Humane Debates obey'd the heavenly Mode,  
And all their Statutes were the Laws of God; 105  
*Long Names* and *Pedigrees* cou'd<sup>c</sup> only tell,  
The Hero was the seed of *Israel*:



For different Tribes no different Honour gave,  
 But onely Mark't the *Hebrew* from the slave;  
 By *Jus Divinum*<sup>26</sup> of the Heavenly Call, 110  
 The son of *Jesse*, not the son of *Saul*,<sup>27</sup>  
 The Regal Dignity at *Hebron*<sup>28</sup> took,  
 And all the Tribes the Royal Line forsook.  
 The sacred Oyl was now as loud a Call,  
 As when their Teams were threaten'd by King *Saul*: 115  
 No *Levite* durst in canting phrase dissent,  
 Nor levy Warr with dint of Argument:  
 Nor did with *David* any Priest abide;  
 Whose Dormant Faith attended for the strong'st side:  
 Even *Samuel* a due Obedience paid 120  
 Unto the Monarch he himself had made;  
 Proportion'd Grandure for himself declin'd,  
 T'his<sup>a</sup> proper work the Ark, and Sacrifice confin'd:  
 No Titles rais'd nor Haughty Pallace Fram'd,  
 But still was poor, and still was *Samuel* nam'd; 125  
 The Altar serv'd, a Linnen Ephod<sup>29</sup> wore,  
 Was still as Meek, and Humble, as before;  
 Retyr'd from Court, in reverend Vests array'd,  
 To *Israel's* God, for *Israel's* King he pray'd:  
 Had but<sup>b</sup> the sacred Tribe<sup>30</sup> his steps pursued, 130  
 What Years of peace to *Israel* had ensued?  
 How had our Flourishing Isle glad Hours enjoy'd,  
 For calmer Joys, and Nobler actions made?  
 While their<sup>31</sup> dark Councils now Embroyl the State,  
 Our Feuds encrease, and Vengeance antedate; 135  
 And their unpractis'd Hands exempt from Warr,  
 All the vast<sup>c</sup> profits of Confusion share.  
 Fatal their skill, too undiscern'd the Fraud,  
 While passive Zealots<sup>32</sup> their Harangues applaud;  
 Their Dictates swallow, and at *Jehu's* Rate,<sup>33</sup> 140  
 Swiftly drive on with these *black Guards* of State;  
 A nameless Hydra<sup>34</sup> Crow'd with *Janus* Face,  
 That whisper Civil Fewds, and cry for peace:  
 Domestick Heroes, whose Dragooning Hands  
 Seek out no Forreign Wars, while they can plunder Friends. 145

*Inspire<sup>d</sup> me Jove*, with thunder arm my Pen,  
 To lash the Manners, and describe the Men.

How their lov'd Tyrant they at first ador'd,  
 And hugg'd the Romish Fopperies he restor'd;  
 How their reciprocal Contrivance met, 150  
 And *Mighty Injury* upheld the State:  
 How that<sup>a</sup> loud Echoing Theatre the Church,  
 Burlesque their God, and sacred Theams debauch,  
 Loud thanks return for th' Monster they had made;  
 A *Protestant* Body with a *Popish* Head: 155  
 With humble prayers that Christ would now permit  
 That *Antichrist* should take his sacred Seat;  
 The Body govern, and the Members keep,  
 So Wolves protect the unarm'd and easie<sup>b</sup> Sheep.

    Their<sup>c</sup> *loud Addresses* sanctifie the Fraud, 160  
 And his<sup>35</sup> *Almighty Violence* applaud:  
 Prompt him to Mischiefs with uplifted<sup>d</sup> Note,  
 As Right, and Wrong, had been their own by Vote.  
 Vow'd that if ever he his Fate should try,  
 With *Life and Fortune* they would all stand by, } 165  
 So afterwards they did at *Salisbury*.<sup>36</sup>  
 Nor Murmur'd they untill Dispensing Art,  
 Their well-belov'd Ambition had cut short:<sup>37</sup>  
 But Early \**Thanks* for standing Armies gave,<sup>38</sup> \* The *Car-*  
 And shouted home the glorious Charter *Slave*: *lisle*  
 With Mushrome Joy themselves Themselves deceiv'd, *Address.*  
 And thank their God for what they ne're† Believ'd,<sup>39</sup> 170  
 Triumphant Flames in Hypocritick Scorn,  
 A second time do *London's* \* *Trophies Burn*,<sup>40</sup> } \**Fire-*  
 While Injur'd Heaven does Flash for Flash return. } *works.* 175  
 Yet these the same who when his Fame decreas't,  
 And all his borrow'd Gloryes Overcast;  
 Are found Caballing, and in short Debate,  
 Quitting his Fortunes to avoid his Fate.

*Nassovian*<sup>41</sup> Justice Tyranny supprest, 180  
 The wearied Land for some few dayes had rest;  
 Ah few they were indeed, and<sup>c</sup> very few,  
 Till Discontents<sup>f</sup> our former Feuds renew; }  
 And did King *Jesus* Reign they'd murmur too.<sup>42</sup> }  
 Some smaller aids to our new Joys they lent, 185  
 And feign'd to smile when they could not prevent;

But bauk'd of Lawless power, as once to Reign,  
At their own *awkward* Jest they first repine;  
At Government with passive Fury rail,  
And their forsaken *Idol* now bewail: 190  
His hopefull Voyage to *Irish* Boggs<sup>43</sup> they sing,  
And his Almighty thousands hither bring:  
From Month to Month his Numerous Hosts they show,<sup>44</sup>  
How oft has *England* been Invaded so!  
Of his great Deeds they threatn'd, and of their own, 195  
And talk'd of Fights, but always talk'd at Home.

So Great *Duras*<sup>a45</sup> the Royal Fortress mann'd,<sup>46</sup>  
How oft he swore, how oft the Prince he Damn'd:  
With many a Battering Curse, and many a Gun;  
Still as he run he curst, and as he curst he run. 200  
His willing Bands with wondrous Courage broke,  
Nor fought he for his Monarchs Cause a stroke;  
But fled e're yet the distant Troops appear,<sup>47</sup>  
And<sup>b</sup> had his Guilt been less, so had his fear.

And now for Twins in craft<sup>48</sup> observe the Men, 205  
Who early for the Princes Cause began;  
The *Posse*<sup>49</sup> rais'd, and with united bands,  
In Fraud, and in Ambition too shook hands;  
For Hostages their Noble Pledges gave,  
There needs no arts to keep him true that's Brave: 210  
Once with our Hate successfully they strove,  
Screen'd by their Vices, and their Masters Love;  
Bloted by Pride, as they had oft been told,  
By their own Brass,<sup>50</sup> and by the Kingdoms Gold:  
Their early Dictates of Tyrannick Sway, 215  
When we the King, the King did them Obey:  
They still maintain, nor can they soon forget,  
To crush the Subject, and Embroyle the State;  
New fears of unborn Factions do infuse,  
And thread-bare cries of *Forty One*<sup>51</sup> renews. 220  
Accustom'd to be Jealous even of Light,  
When formidable Nothings did affright;  
Vouch that the Votes that *William's* Scepter gave,  
Made him a King, a Commonwealth to have.  
That those are fittest to direct his Rule, 225

Who meant him that unthinking thing a Tool;  
Unfettered at his hazard, not their own,  
Would pay the *Switzer* off,<sup>52</sup> and Reign alone:  
And now in closest Councils they preside,  
With Friend, and Foe, an equal spoil divide: 230  
With double aspect, seek their single Ends,  
Aiding King *William* with King *James* his Friends;  
To neither true, but hold the Poise at home,  
That both<sup>53</sup> may humble Clients be to great King *Tom*.<sup>a54</sup>

And now the Church that sacred Vizor's on, 235  
And *Rome* begins to pull down *Babylon*:  
Dragooning's ceas'd, and Passive Laws declare,  
They wait to see the Issue of the War.  
Too well the subtil Statesman knew the Tribe,  
To tamper till he found the Sovereign Bribe, 240  
Too well he knew they could not long withstand  
A trifling Oath. *Sherlock*.<sup>b</sup>

*De Facto* now at one Distinction gain'd  
The Mil'tant<sup>c</sup> thousands of the Sacred Train, }  
Who long with starving hopes withstood in vain. }  
Four Golden Candlesticks<sup>55</sup> compose the Van, 245  
With all their Persecution glories on. 4 Non-jur-  
The same that in the fiery Furnace<sup>56</sup> trod, ing Bishops.<sup>d</sup>  
For Sons o'th' Church are all the Sons of God.

A fifth nor Clergy, nor the Laity own, 250  
Was Souldier, Bishop, Lord, and Puritan.<sup>57</sup> *Bish.*  
Blew Cloak, or Cassock, Troop, or Convocation, *London*.<sup>e</sup>  
And thus he tryes his skill upon the Nation.  
In Grand Procession thus he views the Lists,  
His Squadron full four hundred booted Priests; 255  
The black Brigade thus for their Church appear'd,  
And horrid cries for *Abdy*, *Harvy*,<sup>58</sup> rear'd:  
With Notions scar'd, and their own Guilt subdued,  
So once before they fled when none pursued;  
But when the terror of the Church begun, 260  
And Citts in Troops of *Blew-Coat-Whiggs* came on;  
The Martial Zealot in his Cope<sup>59</sup> uprears,  
To Royal<sup>f</sup> Petticoats his Christian Prayers:

And for Disbanding Grace made his Orisons,  
Which, like his Lordship's Repartees, were<sup>a</sup> wise Ones. 265

One purchas'd Priest, whose pay did not miscarry,  
A very Priest, for very Mercenary;  
Conscious of his too tottering Faith, and knew  
That if he took but one, should perjure two;  
In Conscience said hee'd never break them both, 270  
And swore, by God, he would not take the Oath.

But now the gawdy Nicety's in vain,  
*De Facto* Swearers with *De Jure* joyn.  
Sworn and unsworn, one common Cause promote,  
And private Fewds for publick good forgot; 275  
While Doctor *Sherlock*<sup>60</sup> now the Church harangu'd,  
With that same Topick *Cook*<sup>61</sup> had try'd and hang'd.  
The Honest *Levites* who are poor and few,  
As they may well be poor who dare be true;  
With words they wheedle some, with Gold as many, 280  
For Priests were always to be bought for mony.

Room for a Regiment of Bigott Citts,  
Who lately lost, and lately found their Wits;  
By wondrous Fate with \*forfeit Favours grac'd,  
By Mighty *T—m*'s<sup>63</sup> Almighty Magick plac'd:  
View them in Arms when our invaded Coast,  
Some glittering hopes propos'd that all was lost;  
How their advanc'd Battalion's did appear,  
To fight the Men appointed to come here. {\*I don't mean the Lieutenantcy.<sup>62</sup>

Sir *William*<sup>b64</sup> that in Martial Robes did shine, 290  
And Reason good indeed, began the Line;  
With many a Rank of Tory Buff and Feather,  
That's now Restor'd, and gone the Lord knows whither:  
To keep the Peace Precedency's did grant,  
And here, (if not at home) he's Commandant; 295  
Tho might he choose Commands, 't would be agen  
Ten thousand Guinea's, not ten thousand Men:  
Ah! *Tom Papillion*, 'twas a slippery trick,  
To bilk the Mayor, and then to *Holland* sneak:<sup>65</sup>  
See now the Martial Magistrate from far, 300

With all his dreadful Equipage of War;  
Three *equal Halves* compose his stately Meen,  
Half Lord, half Souldier, half a Gentleman:  
And three as equal Dividends make out,  
The gawdy styles of his Pedantick Rout. 305  
True City Champions, tumults to appease,  
And wish't for Conventicling Trophies raise:<sup>66</sup>  
As Taylors, Porters, Prentices, become  
Half drunk, half sober, and a half run home.

Sir *Peter*<sup>a67</sup> next had Primitive command, 310  
Compleatly fix't, had but his Boots come on,  
A Campaign *Physs*, and as it came to pass,  
As much a Souldier, and as much an Ass:  
In different styles his numerous Titles ran,  
Was Hangman, Collonel, and Chamberlain, 315  
Synonimous to that Miraculous store,  
Was very Rich, and also very Poor.  
In later times he learnt to Domineer,  
And now most accurately swaggers here:  
His Favourites now his dear bought Trophies sing, 320  
And he sues for speaking Treason like a King:  
Enrich't with lusty Verdict from the \* Assize,  
Who at two Marks his over-valued Honour prize.

\*Suing  
*Bellamy* for  
words, &  
had two  
Marks  
Dam- 68  
mages.

A third, and fourth, to fill the Cavalcade,  
With match't Battallions meet on the Parade;  
For equal Falshood, equal Fate befell,  
This dub'd a Knight, and that a Collonel.  
A fifth and sixth, with many a subaltern,  
Went out with Fools, and just as wise return.  
But his Condition justly we condole, 330  
For pity is a Tribute to a Fool;  
Who first dismounted in the hot dispute,  
Went out on Horseback, and came home on Foot;  
The unhappy \* shot distinguish't to a Jest,  
Pick't out the Animal, and spar'd the Beast:  
Tho' some affirm the truth did not appear,  
Till he had first be—t himself for Fear;  
Nor with the fright did his Misfortune end,  
But first his brother Beast condol'd, and next his Friend:

\*A Trooper  
shot the  
Major's  
Horse as  
they  
march'd  
thro the  
*Park*.<sup>b</sup>

So once the Woodman to the Man of God, 340  
 When the lost Ax sunk in the Neighbouring Flood,  
 Alas 'twas borrowed.<sup>69</sup>

And thus the Knights with City Discipline,  
 March't to *High Park*<sup>70</sup> indeed to see the Queen.  
 So once the *French* with Forty thousand Men, 345  
 Went up the Hill, and so came down agen:

So once King *James* his Squadrons did delude-a,  
 By storming *Hounslow* Heath instead of *Buda*:<sup>71</sup>  
 Had you the Baggage of the Host but view'd,  
 Besides the running Campers that pursued: 350  
 Had you beheld the Stores, the Magazine,  
 The Bread, the Cheese, the Bottles, and the Wine, }  
 You would have swore't had been a *Scotch* Campaign; }  
 That barren Highlands their fateagues should know,  
 Where neither they could reap, nor others sow: 355  
 Or that *Montross's*<sup>72</sup> Marches they should take,  
 With fifty days Provision at his back.  
 And now the Queen advances to the view,  
 Lord! how the ready Troops in order shew,  
 No more a Figure, their disorder'd<sup>a</sup> Files, 360  
 But<sup>b</sup> one great Throng the well fix't Line compiles;  
 To let the Queen their Annual postures know  
 At their more regular Figure, *Lord-Mayors-Show*.  
 And now the Royal Chariot's shouted home,  
 By that Almighty Monster Captain *Tom*:<sup>73</sup> 365  
 Whose ecchoing shouts when she no more can hear,  
 Their Pot-gun Volleys charge Her Royal Ear;  
 Whose regular noise, had she not known how tame,  
 How unprepar'd, and how resolv'd they came:  
 Some dreadful scrambling<sup>74</sup> combate did present, 370  
 Alike confus'd, thô different in event:  
 And who knows what that day might have produc'd,  
 By Wine and Martial Gallantry seduc'd;  
 Had not the Wiser Sex their Votes deny'd,  
 As to the *Bagg of Bullets* by the side. 375  
 Wisely the advent'rous Wife her presence gave, }  
 To calm with Frowns, the Fop she came to save; }  
 A Whip's a proper weapon for a Slave, }