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DRYDEN'S POLITICAL TONE

BY

F. LEONARD ST. JOHN

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Dryden's Political Tone," submitted by F. Leonard St. John in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

Edmund Waller's "Instructions to a Painter," representative of the panegyric of the early Restoration period, has skill in argumentation, but very little interest. The famous sweetness with its evenness of tone especially contributes to the dullness. Andrew Marvell's "Last Instructions to a Painter," representative of the reaction to Court policies during the Second Dutch War, has much more variety and interest, even control of tone at times. But because he is factional, Marvell fails in the chief function of the political poem - to persuade. Though the age was conscious of the effectiveness of the mannerly approach, "railing" rather than "raillery" dominated political poetry. As late as the time of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, personal attacks were noted for their directness and virulence. Even the more complex and broader attacks on group and party lacked the detached approach that demands control of tone.

Dryden developed the ability to control tone in the prologues and epilogues he wrote for the theatre of the 1660's and 1670's. These light and often sparkling occasional poems provide many examples of tone aiding argumentation, contributing to the ethical appearance of the speaker, and working on the sympathy of the audience. For greater accuracy in persuasion, Dryden learned to divide his audience into sections and appeal to each section individually. By 1681, when political events provided the occasion for a full-scale political poem, he was ready.

In Absalom and Achitophel, Dryden's tones are a fine mixture of the heroic from the plays and the colloquial from the prologues and epilogues. Most remarkable in this poem is Dryden's ability to adjust his tone according to subject, speaker, and section of audience to which he is appealing. He runs the gamut from the ironic and playful to the serious and indignant. The appropriateness of the tones reveals him to be much more persuasive than the factional railers. Indeed, by adjusting his tone to suit his audience, he defines his audience as the politically moderate. Tone strengthens the unity of Absalom and Achitophel. Consideration of tone shows that it provides a richness and interest to sections such as the "Essay on Innovation" and "The King's Speech" that would otherwise be weak. Tone in The Medal (March, 1682) is almost as varied as that in Absalom and Achitophel. But generally, the tone is harsher, though Dryden, unlike Oldham and the others, always keeps it under control. Delineation of tone here shows that Dryden is appealing to the same audience as that of Absalom and Achtiophel, but less moderate, more pro-Tory. By this time, a reaction had set in in favour of the King, and Dryden's intended audience could tolerate a harsher tone. Comparing Tate's passages in The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel (Summer, 1682) with Dryden's passages, shows only too well that Tate, labouring to imitate Part I, can never arrive at Dryden's subtle adjustments that involve control of tone. Comparing Dryden's satirical portraits of Settle and Shadwell, in the same work, with their attacks on him confirms not only Dryden's superiority in tone and attitude, but his censures of the two Whig poets. Having perfected tone as a weapon for political persuasion, Dryden never again found an ideal occasion for the use of it. In Religio Laici and The Hind and the Panther, he

used it for religious argumentation, less successfully in the latter since his own moderate position is at variance with his audience's moderate position. After the Bloodless Revolution and his forced withdrawal from politics, Dryden moved away from public and oratorical tones toward the more personal tones of the "Epistle to Congreve" and the "Epistle to John Driden."

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Introduction

T.S. Eliot's dictum that "Dryden is one of the tests of a catholic appreciation of poetry"[1] is as true today as it was when written. Eliot's personal enthusiasm for him does not seem to have extended Dryden's reputation greatly. Yet if Eliot qualified his high praise of selected samples of his work ("he lacked profundity", p. 23), F. R. Leavis excluded Dryden from his "Line of Wit" saying: "One has more conviction in calling him a great representative poet than in calling him a great poet, for he is certainly a great representative. He may be a greater poet than Marvell, but he did not write any poetry as indubitably great as Marvell's best."[2] That he is a representative poet bound closely to his age helps to account for his very lack of profundity. He wrote in all poetical forms current to his age, including tragedy, panegyric, satire, elegy, and epistle, and in almost every form he did the best work of his age. But circumstances of the period determined that he would have to write for a living, and he adapted himself only too well to the role of occasional poet. Dr. Johnson, who is probably the most discerning judge of Dryden's character, says that "when occasion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present happened to supply, and, when once it had passed the press, ejected it

[1] T.S. Eliot, Homage to John Dryden: Three Essays on Poetry of the Seventeenth Century (London: Hogarth Press, 1924), p. 13.

[2] F. R. Leavis, Revaluation: Tradition and Development in English Poetry (1947; rpt. New York: Norton, 1963), p. 33.

from his mind; for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further solicitude."[3] Dryden, then, was not the man to spend time re-working, strengthening, and polishing his poems. Hence, his lack of complexity in imagery and thought. Van Doren endeavouring to be kind classified Dryden's output as poetry of statement, but even this has come to be used often in a pejorative sense. Fortunately, in the last two decades much work has been done to show the positive value of Dryden's poetry as well as the deficiences. Several studies on imagery, notably Earl Miner's on metaphor, have dispelled the idea that Dryden's figurative language is purely decorative and non-functional.[4] In addition to imagery, K. G. Hamilton has concentrated on other important elements of the poetry of statement such as sound and amplification.[5] There are advantages as well as disadvantages in Dryden's occasional poetry. If Dryden was forced to write hurriedly to meet a deadline, he was forced also to sharpen his awareness of public events around him and to judge perceptively the attitudes of the people around him. If Dryden could satisfy his occasional audience with imagery that was often superficial, he had to be extremely careful about his rhetoric and tone. In certain

[3]Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birbeck Hill (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905), III, 220-21.

[4]Miner, Dryden's Poetry (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1967); D. W. Jefferson, "Aspects of Dryden's Imagery," Essays in Criticism (1954), 20-41; F. M. Rippy, "Imagery, John Dryden, and 'the Poetry of Statement,'" Ball State University Forum, I, ii (1959), 13-20; Arthur W. Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery (Gainesville, Fla: University of Florida Press, 1962).

[5]John Dryden and the Poetry of Statement (1967; rpt. Michigan State University Press, 1969).

kinds of occasional poetry, most especially political poetry, superficial imagery can be a positive virtue but control of tone is an absolute necessity. In Dryden's political poetry, much of the meaning as well as the value can be found in the tone. "What Dryden calls for," says Macdonald Emslie, "is a sensitivity to the quality and changes in tone and atittude."[6] This study is an attempt to answer that call.

Like many other critical terms, tone is difficult to define. I. A. Richards calls it "the perfect recognition of the writer's relation to the reader in view of what is being said and their joint feelings about it."[7] Judson Jerome sees it as "implicit emotional colouring."[8] Hamilton, narrowing it to couplet poetry, says it is "derived from individual auditory, rhythmic qualities" (p. 28). Probably the best suggestion in relation to couplet poetry is William Piper's that tone arises from meter and rhetoric.[9] For we can observe that a passage of poetry has such and such a tone, and we can decide that this tone is influenced by various couplet techniques such as balance, antithesis, and parenthesis, by tendencies to abstraction or concreteness, by archaism or colloquialism by periphrasis or pleonasm. We can pick out an example

[6]Macdonald Emslie, "Dryden's Couplets: Wit and Conversation," Essays in Criticism, 11 (1961), 264.

[7]I. A. Richards, Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment (London: Kegan Paul, 1929), p. 207.

[8]Judson Jerome, "On Decoding Humor," Antioch Review, 20 (1961), 480.

[9]William Piper, The Heroic Couplet (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), p. 24.

of tone as it occurs, show how and why it works in passage, and indicate its contribution to a poem. But to attempt to isolate it through exhaustive definition or by separating it from the elements that produce it, meter and rhetoric, would be a fruitless endeavour.

In relation to Dryden as representative poet of the age, it is worth noting that the quality of Dryden's poetry is not strictly representative of the quality of contemporary poetry even in the first few years of the Restoration. "Astraea Redux," published a few weeks after Charles II's landing at Dover, though hardly a good poem, is better than any of the others written for the same occasion, including the efforts of Cowley, Davenant, Waller and Denham. In later years he led the pack in every form, influencing his fellow poets, influencing literary taste, and in the end becoming England's second literary arbiter. Yet if he influenced his age, his age influenced him. He did not write in a vacuum. "Astraea Redux" is remarkable for the similarity of its ideas to the ideas of his fellow eulogists.[10] In his maturer years when he was deeply engrossed in political controversy, he never lost this awareness of and willingness to learn from even the most recently published works. Dryden's achievement in the political field, and especially in tone, cannot be measured without consideration of at least some of the work of his contemporaries. For this reason, I am using the collection Poems on Affairs of State first published after the Bloodless Revolution and in the process of re-publication by Yale University since 1963.

[10]For the parallel ideas see H. T. Swedenberg, "England's Joy: 'Astraea Redux' in its setting," Studies in Philology, 50 (1953), 30-44.

Chapter One: Praise and Blame

One of the most important kinds of political poetry written in the Restoration is the panegyric. Charles II proved to be as grateful for poetical praise as his Stuart predecessors and the genre flourished. The occasion of the Restoration itself brought a veritable flood of panegyrics reflecting a feeling of joy that for once was almost universal.[1] Though he had written in praise of Cromwell, Edmund Waller was quick to join the unanimous chorus with "To the King, upon His Majesty's happy return," and followed this with "Upon St. James' Park" (1661), a work that along with Denham's "Cooper's Hill" became a model for couplet writing for the rest of the century. A poem that was to have an almost equal influence on the panegyric as a genre, though in a negative way in connection with Andrew Marvell and others, is Waller's "Instructions to a Painter" (1665). Using the literary device of a patron's detailed requirements for a picture, a device then recently imported from Venice, Waller celebrates the major English naval victory of the Second Dutch War, at Lowestoft. The organization of the whole poem is chronological. It opens with advice for a seascape with two opposing fleets and a prominent place for James, Duke of York. This device is quickly dropped in favour of direct description of incidents: the first sparring between Dutch and English; the English fleet's return

[1] See "The Unanimity of Restoration Panegyric" in Ruth Nevo, The Dial of Virtue: A Study of Poems on Affairs of State in the Seventeenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 138-46.

to Harwich for supplies and the visit of the Court beauties; the battle itself; York's gallantry and Opdam's death; pursuit of the Dutch fleet. Finally, the poet returns to the advice convention to represent the King and pleased parliament. The poem ends in a direct address to the King as leader of the nation.

Though lines and phrases of praise abound in the poem, the most successful are those organized into a pattern. From the opening section where he "bestride[s] the ocean" and "grasps the Indies in his armed hand," James, Duke of York is treated as an epic hero. His Duchess, Thetis-like, is nothing less than "illustrious" and her followers nothing less than "glorious." He is compared to Achilles, to the latter's shame. For, while the Greek hero had Vulcan's shield to protect him from simple arrows and spears, York must face bullets and cannon balls unarmed: "Our bolder hero on the deck does stand/Expos'd, the bulwark of his native land" (131-32).[2] This leads immediately to the incident in which York sees three of his friends cut down by cannon before his very eyes. The wrath of Achilles rises in him: "Before for honor, now for revenge, he fought". (160). And it seems to be almost as cruel:

> Encouraging his men, he gives the word,
> With fierce intent that hated ship to board
> And make the guilty Dutch, with his own arm,
> Wait on his friends, while yet their blood is warm. (171-74)

Like Achilles, he is not content with killing the enemy hero, Admiral Opdam. He must become the driving force behind the defeat of the whole

[2]Unless otherwise indicated, all verse quotations in this chapter are taken from Poems on Affairs of State, I, ed. George de F. Lord (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

enemy force: " . . . Mars he resembles when/Jove sends him down to scourge perfidious men" (209-10). This reference to classical deities ties in neatly to the final section, the address to the King. Charles, the man behind the whole English effort, is compared to the King of the gods: "Jove has his thunder, and your navy you" (316). Since he is the ultimate source of the glorious victory, praise is ultimately his.

Such a pattern illustrates a prime requisite of the Restoration panegyrist, what Warren Chernaik calls skill in arguing a case.[3] No one seriously believed that James, Duke of York, was an Achilles-come-again, a demi-god, sulky and impulsive. He was a very brave man on this occasion, and Waller convinces the reader of this by leading him over a familiar and simplified story pattern. Another method by which Waller presents his case, though not as consistently and not as well, is that of uniting his speaker with his audience. He does this by reference to the essential bond of Britishness. English youth recognize a hero when they see one: "The English youth flock to their Admiral" (10). English sailors are not only brave, but brave without vanity: "To check their pride, our fleet half-victual'd goes,/Enough to serve us till we reach our foes" (97-98). The enemy sailors, by contrast, are spineless drunkards: "The Dutch their wine and all their brandy lose,/ Disarm'd of that from which their courage grows" (43-44). The English as a nation are united against a common foe. The Court ladies visit the ships. Even the Commons is united with the King, and willing to

[3]Warren Chernaik, The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 130.

supply the money he needs to carry the war to a final victory for the nation.

Despite a general competence in arguing his case, Waller has an inability to sustain interest, a quality fatal to panegyric. The narrative action may have something to do with this. In the sequence of battle scenes, Waller maintains a certain amount of interest, even for the modern reader. But he spreads his material too thin. Three hundred and thirty-six lines is a long span for panegyric. The main fault, however, is to be found in his poetic technique. As William Piper says, Waller has a "defective poetic overview" (Piper, 259), characterized by a repetition of the same formula without regard for variety. Even the opening passage of "Instructions to a Painter" tends to monotony, something a poet like Dryden would never allow. Verbs of command are a necessity to the painter device of the opening, but they are used too much and almost always at the opening of a line. Of the first twenty-six lines, thirteen use verbs as first or second word, nine of them verbs of command. One solution might have been inversion. Again, the verb "make," vague, imprecise, and certain not to convince the reader that the poet knows a great deal about the techniques of painting, is repeated here five times.

Closure of couplets also contributes to monotony. Waller was one of the first to learn the art of paragraphing the closed couplet. But compared to Dryden and Pope, his thought moves in jerks. In the first 64 line section of the poem, there are only six enjambed couplets. In all cases the enjambment is hardly noticeable, three involving rather weak "while" clauses (37, 45, 63). The passage on the Duke of York (9-28)

may be broken down into a series of paragraphs that seem more like double-couplet systems than paragraphs. The pattern of couplet yokings looks like this: 2, 1, 2, 2, 1, 2. Here the yoked couplets of the paragraph have their own metaphors, and the single couplet has a simile:

> With his extraction and his glorious mind
> Make the proud sails swell more than with the wind;
> Preventing cannon, make his louder fame
> Check the Batavians and their fury tame.
> So hungry wolves, though greedy of their prey,
> Stop when they find a lion in their way. (19-24)

There is no expansion of any of them, and no real connection between them, except that they all refer back to the "valiant Duke" of line eleven.[4] There is no buildup of thought because the closed couplets are simply variations on the "valiant Duke." The cleverness of the praise fades in the face of the demand made on the reader to follow metaphors that lead nowhere. The result is monotony.

In his Essay on Criticism, Pope advises the critic to ignore the dull poets "And praise the easy vigour of a line,/Where Denham's strength, and Waller's sweetness join."[5] Dryden was one of the first to praise Waller for his sweetness, and by the time of Pope that sweetness was proverbial. Pope's couplet could be used to suggest that Waller lacked the strength that Denham had. In any case, it will be useful to find out if the famous sweetness adds to or takes away from the interest of "Instructions to the Painter." For Dryden, sweetness

[4]William Piper, The Heroic Couplet (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), p. 260, mentions Waller's mixing of metaphors.

[5]Alexander Pope, An Essay on Criticism, (360-61), in Pope: Poetical Works, ed. Herbert Davis (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

is one advantage rhyme has over blank verse, and in his "Epistle Dedicatory of the Rival Ladies" he equates rhyme with sweetness, saying that "the excellence and dignity of it were never fully known till Mr. Waller taught it."[6] There are occasions when Waller's rhyme adds to the interest of the meaning, as in the big battle scene: "Before his ship fragments of vessels torn,/Flags, arms, and Belgian carcasses are borne" (219-20). Rhyme emphasizes the breaking and scattering process that occurs in the confusion of battle. Frequently, there is an awkward straining to maintain rhyme and meter, and it is then that a chiming effect is most noticeable:

> Ships fraught with fire among the heap they throw
> And up the so-entangled Belgians blow.
> The flame invades the powder-rooms, and then,
> Their guns shoot bullets, and their vessels, men. (253-56)

Usually the rhyme is merely adequate to the meaning, while adding to the music of the couplet, doing so unobtrusively and thus preventing the chiming that leads to monotony.

Warren Chernaik's definition of sweetness in smoothness in Waller adds the characteristics of regular meter, smooth sounds of words, and evenness of tone (p. 219). By omitting words with many or harsh consonants, Waller maintains syllabic smoothness in his lines. This smoothness combined with regular iambics helps to move the lines along quickly, although sometimes too quickly for the reader to absorb the sense of mixed metaphors or unusual syntax. Variations in meter are

[6] Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), I, 7. For a discussion of the advantage of rhyme, see "Of Dramatic Poesy, An Essay."

thinly scattered throughout the poem. Ordinarily, they should signal a change in tone. But not here; for the tone is so even that it does much to contribute to the dullness.

> And now our royal Admiral success,
> With all the marks of victory, does bless;
> The burning ships, the taken, and the slain
> Proclaim his triumph o'er the conquer'd main.
> Nearer to Holland, as their hasty flight
> Carries the noise and tumult of the fight,
> His cannons' roar, forerunner of his fame,
> Makes their Hague tremble, and their Amsterdam. (259-66)

The passage opens with an adulatory tone. The metrical substitution of lines 263-64 has no effect on the tone at all. The metrical substitution of line 266 seems to suggest a tone of exultation. But the exultation never really comes off, for the climactic names "Hague" and "Amsterdam" are separated. We are left with a vague adulatory tone. The next couplet, "The British thunder does their houses rock,/And the Duke seems at ev'ry door to knock" (267-68) shows us that Waller is quite satisfied with one vague adulatory tone, while line 273, "The trembling Dutch th'approaching Prince behold," shows that diffuseness of thought is mainly responsible for this tone.

Waller maintains his heroic tone by use of dignified and generalizing words, and sometimes by classical allusion (gazing sea-gods, Charon's boat, etc.). There are a few examples in the poem of a slight descent in tone, as in this slur on the Dutch: "Brandy and wine (their wonted friends) at length/Render them useless and betray their strength" (243-44). But even this does not approach the colloquial. The only other tone changes are a few cases of special heightening as in the final address to the King: "Great Sir, disdain not in this piece to stand,/ Supreme commander both of sea and land!" (311-12). The extreme formality helps place the King above even York. Classical comparison is even

bolder than in the treatment of York, and the variance between ideal and reality even greater. Because of this, the dignity of the tone borders on irony in these lines: "You for these ends whole days in council sit/And the diversions of your youth forget" (321-22). In reality, Charles always hated councils and never forgot his "diversions," and Waller is in danger of losing his argument through his insensitivity to the divergence of tone and meaning. Tone, then, along with the other components of the famous sweetness (rhyme, regular meter, and the smooth sounds of words) combine with Waller's defective poetic overview to erode interest in "Instructions to a Painter."

Unlike the panegyrics of 1660, Waller's "Instructions" was not accepted in all quarters. The weaknesses and corruption of the Court government were revealed to an increasingly disillusioned populace by the progress of the Dutch War of 1664-1667, and the core of a powerful opposition began to form around the Country party. It was not only the Court poets' habit of extravagant praise of those frequently deserving of censure that aroused the ire of the opposition, but the glossing over of Court blunders, and sometimes even the bold transformation of defect into virtue. Waller's couplet, "To check their pride, our fleet half-victual'd goes,/Enough to serve us till we reach our foes" (97-98), turns attention away from the government's failure to provide adequate supplies towards a celebration of the average Englishman's bravery and physical endurance.

"The Second Advice to a Painter" of 1666 was the first to imitate Waller's instructions device for the purpose of ridicule, and this new satirical genre remained popular into the eighteenth-century. More than

any of the others, "The Second Advice" depends on the original for its effect. The opening sets the narrator's attitude:

> Nay, Painter, if thou dar'st design that fight
> Which Waller only courage had to write,
> If the bold hand can, without shaking, draw
> What e'en the actors trembl'd when they saw
> (Enough to make thy colors change like theirs
> And all thy pencils bristle like their hairs)
> First, in fit distance of the prospect main,
> Paint Allin tilting at the coast of Spain. (1-8)

The last couplet refers to Waller's exaggeration of the importance of Sir Thomas Allin's minor victory over the Dutch Smyrna fleet in November, 1664, and, as Lord notes, to Waller's omission of "all reference to Allin's first disastrous attempt on the Smyrna fleet (2 Dec. 1664) when 'owing to bad weather, bad piloting, and darkness, nearly ever one of his nine ships ended the chase on shore.'"[7] The "tilting" goes against the dignity of the preceding line and introduces irony into the tone.

"The Second Advice" covers the same incidents of the War, but adds several more, such as the attempt at Bergen. By a ludicrous juxtaposition, the anonymous poet[8] mocks Waller's attempts at uniting the contemporary with the heroic through classical allusion: "Draw pensive

[7]Lord, p. 24, second note.

[8]Lord, p. 21, assigns this and "The Third Advice" to Marvell. Pierre Legouis, Andrew Marvell: Poet, Puritan, Patriot (abridgement of Fr. ed. 1928; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 164, note 1 denies it to him. Donal Smith's stand in "The Political Beliefs of Andrew Marvell," University of Toronto Quarterly, 36 (1966), 55-67, would seem to agree with Legouis, but John Wallace in his Destiny His Choice: The Loyalism of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge: The University Press, 1968), pp. 154-58, straddles the fence. H. M. Margoliouth, The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), gives only "The Last Instructions" (I, 268-70) and "Further Advice" (I, 289) to Marvell.

Neptune, biting of his thumbs,/To think himself a slave whos'e'er o'ercomes" (157-58). Much of the time, the poet relies on parody. Waller's treatment of the Duchess of York's visit is dignified: "Th' illustrious Duchess and her glorious train/(Like Thetis with her nymphs) adorn the main" (81-82). And here is the parallel passage: "See where the Duchess, with triumphant tail/Of num'rous coaches, Harwich does assail!" (55-56). It begins in a dignified manner, and then descends abruptly to a scornful tone with the contradiction "triumphant tail." Waller's passive verb "adorn" becomes here the active "assail," suggesting sexual aggressiveness, and this image is immediately strengthened by what Lord calls one of the "absurd similes that mock Waller's insipid analogies from natural history" (p. 34): "So the land crabs, at Nature's kindly call,/Down to engender at the sea do crawl" (57-58). Waller's account of the victory at Lowestoft is followed by a picture of the English fleet menacing the coast and terrifying the Dutch. There is no mention of the English losing their opportunity to destroy the Dutch fleet. Nor is there mention of the fact that while the Duke slept, his subordinate, Lord Henry Brouncker, took it upon himself to call off the pursuit. This want "The Second Advice" supplies, with an ironic tone: "But Brouncker, by a secreter instinct,/Slept not . . ." (239-40). It implies that Court justice is a fortuitous thing: "So ere he [York] wak'd, both fleets were innocent,/And Brouncker member is of Parliament" (234-44).

"The Third Advice to a Painter" (1666) helped to counteract the impression given by Dryden in his Annus Mirabilis that the Four Days Battle was really a kind of victory pulled from defeat by the courage

of English leaders: "Now joyful fires and exalted bell/And court-gazettes our empty triumph tell" (163-64). The indignant tone here runs like a vein throughout the poem. After exposing the bungling of the English leaders, including Albemarle, the poet, with sly allusions to the heroic, turns to the Duchess of Albemarle: "Like chaste Penelope that ne'er did roam,/But made all fine against her George came home" (175-76). The portrait of the Duchess is made to speak in a vulgar manner meant to betray her low origins, and she is made to damn, in a gossipy way, various members of the administration.

What the "Second" and "Third" advices as well as the "Fourth," "Fifth," and "Further" advices lack is a definite structure. All make use of the painter device at the opening, and all soon drop it. The "Second," "Third," and "Fourth" borrow from Waller the loose structure of historical chronology interspersed with portraits or comments on important personages in contemporary politics. The "Fifth" and "Further" advices are even more formless, being not much more than series of violent attacks on groups and individuals. Alone among the painter poems, Marvell's "Last Instructions to a Painter" (1667)[9] shows a conscious effort to impose form and thereby unite discordant materials. The poem is made up of <u>six</u> distinct sections of varying length: the two opening sections - address to painter, portraits of some vicious members of the Court; the two central narrative sections - the parliamentary battle, invasion by the Dutch; the two closing sections - aftermath of the invasion, address

[9]Legouis, p. 153, sees Marvell's authorship of this poem as "probable." Margoliouth (I, 269), Lord, p. 99, and others accept it as Marvell's.

to the King. One part balances another. The opening address to the painter balances the envoi or address to the King. The negative behaviour of the portrait subjects matches the behaviour of the Court members after the Dutch raid. The Parliamentary battle balances the naval battle, and unintentionally suggests that divisiveness of the nation was one of the causes for the defeat at the hands of the Dutch. In turn, the Parliamentary battle over the general excise tax is made up of a passage on the chief men of the Court party in action (121-238) and a passage on the chief men of the Country party in reaction and victory (239-307). The naval battle, on the other hand, is composed of parts with little apparent matching: the navy in decay for lack of money, the attitudes toward the Dutch of the corrupt chancellor and Court, the news of Dutch raids, the feeble English defensive measures. Ruyter's incursion on the Thames, and the collapse of the English defence. Into this overall structure is woven a mixture of genres (panegyric, mock-panegyric, direct address, character sketch, narrative action, pastoral, and elegy) that ensures an interest that Waller's poem can never command.

Marvell's "Last Instructions" marks the only relatively consistent attempt at the mock-heroic among the painter poems. Of course, parts I and II of Butler's Hudibras had already been published by this time, and Waller himself had attempted mock-heroic in "The Battle of the Summer Islands." But Marvell's differs from these in being one of the few before Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel to deal with immediate political events. Sometimes Waller unconsciously makes the gap between the real person he wishes to praise and the ideals with which he associates him too wide.

The other "advice" poets do the same thing, but consciously, to show the subject as actually corrupt or vicious. However, in the fervour of the attack, they fail to set up a positive pole of reference, except for scattered classical allusions and the like, and consequently they degenerate into more personal attack, lampoon. Marvell, on the other hand, does not depend entirely on allusions or on the reader's recognition of the true character of a particular individual through reference to personal and extraneous norms. Rather, he sets up a series of norms or ideals within the poem itself.

The Parliamentary debates over the general excise tax Marvell treats as an epic battle. The excise tax becomes in his hands a monster maintained by the powers of evil, here the Court party, and attacked by the epic heroes, here members of the Country party. Like the traditional dragon, it lays waste the City:

> Excise, a monster worse than e'er before
> Frighted the midwife and the mother tore.
> A thousand hands she has and thousand eyes,
> Breaks into shops and into cellars pries,
> With hundred rows of teeth the shark exceeds,
> And on all Trade like cassowar she feeds. (131-36)

The every-day language ("e'er," "shops," "cellars pries," "Trade") conflicts with the epic material and suggests a mocking tone. The introduction to the Court warriors sets the mock-heroic pattern:

> Say, Muse for nothing can escape thy sight
> (And, Painter, wanting other, draw this fight),
> Who, in an English senate, fierce debate
> Could raise so long for this new whore of state. (147-50)

It is of course the epic address to the muse. It begins in the grand style, but the last line, by means of colloquial idiom, deflates the whole and sets up a tension between the heroic and the real.

Often Marvell works in couplets whose second half elaborates on the first. He lashes distinguishable groups within the Court party: "To them succeeds a despicable rout,/But know the word and well could face about" (157-58). And he lashes individual members of a group: "Of the old courtiers next a squadron came,/That sold their master, led by Ashburnham" (155-56). This local satire is measured by the norm of common decency. But a more concrete norm is provided by Marvell's treatment of the Country party. While the behaviour of the Court party in Parliament is determined, aggressive, and mercenary, " . . . th' other side all in loose quarters lay,/Without intelligence, command, or pay" (238-39). While the Court party is composed of "wittals," "grossest cheats," "damning cowards," "French martyrs," "procurers," and "privateers," the Country party attracts sturdy English patriots to its side: "A gross of English gentry, nobly born,/Of clear estates, and to no faction sworn" (287-88). While the Court party is led by self-seekers such as Sir Thomas Higgons, the Country party is aroused to action by selfless men like Sir John Strangeways whom Marvell compares to a hero:

> But Strangeways, that all night still walk'd the round
> (For vigilance and courage both renown'd)
> First spi'd the enemy and gave th' alarm,
> Fighting it single till the rest might arm.
> Such Roman Cocles strid before the foe,
> The falling bridge behind, the stream below. (245-50)

The plain words, carefully measured rhythm, and placing of pauses all help create the tone of gravity. The heroic dignity of this panegyric reflects the serious norm against which the Court is measured and found wanting. Thus the ideal is not extraneous but part of the poem itself.

Lord says that, of the ways by which a satirist may feign objec-

tivity, the painter device "is one of the most effective because of his apparent disengagement and because of the authority with which we tend to endow what we seem to be seeing" (p. lii). In this quotation, I would substitute the verb "can be" for the verb "is," because no one has really used the device effectively. Waller does not convince one that he understands the art of painting. More important, his lavish praise is too obviously one-sided, being intended to advance him at Court. "The Second Advice" uses the painter device more consistently and better than Waller, but its disparagement is just as one-sided as Waller's praise. In using the device in his opening, Marvell can pen lines like this:

> . . . through the microscope take aim,
> Where, like the new Comptroller, all men laugh
> To see a tall louse brandish the white staff. (16-18)

Though it is an in-joke requiring a footnote, it has a certain breeziness that suggests good humour and detachment. Unfortunately, the detachment is somewhat muffled by a metaphor like "this race of drunkards, pimps and fools" (12). The result is an ambiguity in the poet's attitude.

This ambiguity is cleared up in the portraits of the three members of the Court. Marvell manages detachment well at the beginning of the portrait of the Earl of St. Albans: "Paint then St. Albans full of soup and gold,/The new court's pattern, stallion of the old" (29-30). This reminds one of the type-character that Dryden later uses. But as Legouis says, Marvell "avails himself but little of the opportunities that offer of discovering the general in the individual" (p. 172), and the rest of the portrait is composed almost entirely of scurrilous particulars such as this: "He needs no seal but to St. James's lease,/Whose breeches were

the instrument of peace" (41-42). This refers to a rumor that St. Albans had an affair with the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, and made use of her influence over Louis XIV.[10] The portraits of the Duchess of York and the Countess of Castlemaine[11] are even more scurrilous. Marvell can please with a caricature that quickly deflates the Duchess: "Paint her with oyster lip and breath of fame,/Wide mouth that 'sparagus may well proclaim" (61-62). But shortly after, he throws away the audience's faith in him as a detached reporter when he repeats idle gossip: "Express her studying now if china clay/Can without breaking, venom'd juice convey" (65-66). The belief that the Duchess poisoned Lady Denham was held only by the former's worst enemies. Donal Smith says that such an attack need not necessarily reflect Marvell's view, it being only a convention of the court lampoon (p. 56). Nevertheless it reflects the view Marvell expresses in the poem, and we are interested in the poem's view, not in Marvell's personal views. The point is that this portrait and the other two, being lampoons, run at cross-currents to the painter device, and undermine its supposed disinterestedness with self-interest and more than a hint of a negative cliquishness.

By his attacks in the three portraits, Marvell places himself, as speaker, and his intended audience, that is the audience that will

[10] See Lord, p. 101, note.

[11] I cannot agree with Legouis, p. 172, that Marvell should have seen her as "the royal favourite par excellence," for this would involve the King directly, something that Marvell was careful not to do, for reasons which will be clearer later.

accept his harsh criticism, among those who oppose the Court.[12] His narration of the parliamentary battle over the excise tax narrows his audience further and joins it with himself into a kind of clique. First, all of the persons and incidents with which this narration deals would be known only to Parliamentarians, although some would be familiar to ordinary Englishmen of the time. Secondly, all of the Court party satirized are court members who made themselves disliked by the Country party either for aggressive leadership or conspicuous loyalty. Ridiculing the loyalty of the old royalists, Marvell says: "In loyal haste they left young wives in bed,/And Denham these by one consent did head" (153-54). Denham was a standing joke with the Country party. In its view, he was rewarded for his loyalty by being cuckolded by the Duke of York and ending up in a madhouse. Thus, Marvell's clique is the Country party. Implicit in such cliquishness is lack of detachment, and Marvell run the danger of failing to persuade the ordinary reader, the unaligned, to his views.

In the narrative section on the naval battle, Marvell is more convincing, probably because the Court party was more obviously in the wrong, but also because he displays a control over tone that Waller, for example, never has. Marvell is often at his best when he presents the indignation of the patriot in the face of the government's feeble preparation for defense. Of the embezzling ministers he says:

> The seamen's clamor to three ends they use:
> To cheat their pay, feign want, the House accuse.
> Each day they bring the tale, and that too true,
> How strong the Dutch their equipage renew.

[12] William Piper is excellent on Marvell's partisanship and cliquishness, pp. 309-10.

> Meantime through all the yards their orders run
> To lay the ships up, cease the keels begun. (315-18)

The compactness of the first couplet reflects a skeptical tone of a man who knows exactly what is going on behind the scene. The antithesis set up between the last two couplets mirrors the double-dealing. The ironic phrase "and that too true" prepares for the build-up of the patriot's indignation, beginning with the line "The timber rots, and useless axe doth rust" (319), and ending with this couplet: "Thus, like fair thieves, the Commons' purse they share,/But all the members' lives, consulting, spare" (333-34). But this is not really the end, and the indignant tone continues on and on in the attack on Clarendon, and his government's subservience to France, until it becomes clearly a factional tone. Since he shows the Court party as incapable of doing anything properly,[13] Marvell fails to satisfy any moderates that may be in his audience.

Nevertheless, the variations in tone, sometimes accompanied by changes in genre, keep the interest from collapsing altogether. When he wants to show how the government, bent on negotiating a quick peace treaty with Holland, depends on the French rather than on its own preparedness to enforce peace, he uses a child-like tone:

> St. Alban's writ to, that he may bewail
> To master Louis and tell coward tale,
> How yet the Hollanders do make a noise,
> Threaten to beat us, and are naughty boys. (427-30)

The simplicity of the diction suggests that the ambassador is no more articulate than a child. When Marvell wants to show that the Dutch are

[13] Piper, p. 310, sees this attitude as a sign of Marvell's lack of "political imagination."

not the natural enemy of the English, he switches to a quiet, restful tone within a pastoral mode or genre:

> Ruyter the while, that had our ocean curb'd,
> Sail'd now among our rivers undisturb'd,
> Survey'd their crystal streams and banks so green
> And beauties ere this never naked seen. (523-26)

The meter is regular, except for the first foot of the first line which suggests the sudden appearance of the famous admiral. The sounds of the words are also smooth. The caesuras and end-of-line pauses are mild. Allusions to Aeolus, Neptune, and the Tritons fortify the pastoral element. The English landscape seems actively to welcome the Dutch, and even the patriot is for a moment unperturbed: "So have I seen in April's bud arise/A fleet of clouds, sailing along the skies" (551-52). "Tenderly" is the word John Wallace (pp. 168-69) uses for the way Marvell treats the Dutch, and the reason he gives for this is that Marvell sees the English and Dutch as both victims of the French.

Marvell methodically builds up the details of the collapse of English defences: The garrison at Chatham is routed; the chain across the River breaks; unpaid sailors refuse to work; gallants and fops of the court flee in fear; both fighting and merchant ships are burned. The last outrage to the patriot occurs when the Dutch capture the "Royal Charles" that brought the King to his Restoration in 1660. Marvell is careful to implicate the Court party in every aspect of the disaster. Even treasonable acts of those who are not members of the Court have their origin in Court policies. For example, when a Dutch squadron explores the River: "An English pilot too (O shame, O sin!)/Cheated of pay, was he that show'd them in" (583-84). It is not the British who

are to blame, but the Court. To counteract the cowardice of the courtiers and to vindicate the bravery of the British as a people, Marvell inserts an elegy on a hero in the person of Archibald Douglas, a youth who stayed at his post while the Dutch fired the ships, even though it meant certain death. Once again, the interest is maintained notably by tone change, here change from satirical to heroic. On the whole, the heroic praise of Douglas succeeds because it maintains a vein of wit throughout:

> . . . brave Douglas, on whose lovely chin
> The early down but newly did begin,
> And modest beauty yet his sex did veil,
> While envious virgins hope he is a male. (649-52)

The ambiguity of the last line delights and enhances the argument in favour of Douglas. Much of the wit originates in a playful manipulation of the fire imagery related simultaneously to the burning ship and to love:

> And secret joy in his calm soul does rise
> That Monck looks on to see how Douglas dies.
> Like a glad lover the fierce flames he meets
> And tries his first embraces in their sheets. (675-78)

The pun on "dies" was common in the Restoration. Monck, who previously was made into an old bumbler who finds out too late that he has no men to command and consequently must watch instead of direct the action, is here a voyeur. Not all the lines of the elegy are as good by any means. Something of awkwardness appears in such a couplet as this: "That precious life he yet disdains to save/Or with known art to try the gentle wave" (671-72). Whether "known art" means that he is well known as an expert swimmer or simply that he knows the art of swimming, it is poorly chosen and weakens the half-serious tone of "try the gentle wave."

The structural climax of the poem is intended to come in the King's vision and the envoi. But because of Marvell's enthusiasm for damning the Court, the rhetorical climax comes at the end of the Dutch invasion when the Court party seeks a scapegoat and finds one in Peter Pett, the superintendent of the Chatham dockyard. The passage begins:

> After this loss, to relish discontent,
> Someone must be accus'd by punishment.
> All our miscarriages on Pett must fall:
> His name alone seems fit to answer all.
> Whose counsel first did this mad war beget?
> Who all commands sold through the navy? Pett.
> Who would not follow when the Dutch were beat?
> Who treated out the time at Bergen? Pett.
> Who the Dutch fleet with storms disabl'd met,
> And, rifling prizes, then neglected? Pett.
> Who with false news prevented the Gazette,
> The fleet divided, writ for Rupert? Pett.
> Who all our seamen cheated of their debt,
> And all our prizes who did swallow? Pett.

Here the iambs are frequently varied especially at line openings by spondees and trochees. The name "Pett" first appears in the middle of line 367 and there is a heavy stress on it. The series of questions gives Marvell a chance to summarize all the bungling that he and the other "advisors" have mentioned earlier. At the same time, it suggests the King's ministers rehearsing their alibi for the coming Parliamentary inquiry. The alibi repeated soon begins to sound a bit simple-minded. The word "Pett" always coming at the end of the couplet, and not only rhyming but chiming, ridicules in turn each of the guilty members of the Court party.

That there is to be no parliamentary inquiry immediately, Marvell explains by showing how Clarendon outmaneuvers the Country party in the House and persuades the King to prorogue Parliament as soon as the com-

pletion of the Peace Treaty is announced. Because the Speaker of the House, Turnot, had let himself be used as a tool by Clarendon in this maneuvre, Marvell shows him playing the classic fool to Clarendon's knave in vitriolic couplets such as these:

> When grievance urg'd, he swells like squatted toad,
> Frisks like a frog to croak a tax's load;
> His patient piss he could hold longer than
> An urinal and sit like any hen. (877-80)

Change to a more dignified and respectful tone ushers in a kind of tableau of the King and his visions which warn him of the dangers from his advisors. It is almost as if Marvell is thinking wishful thoughts when he writes of the favourites: "Through their feign'd speech their secret hearts he knew" (931). The tone changes again with the envoi (954 ff), this time becoming even more dignified and elevated. I do not feel, as John Wallace does, that this change in tone needs an elaborate explanation to "preserve the integrity of the poem and of Marvell's intentions" (p. 179). Wallace says that "the fence raised by the courtiers obscured Charles until it had been demolished by the satire, and the wrath which the poet had first claimed was the inspiration of his attack obscured for nine hundred lines the true nature of the writer" (p. 179). At least the first half of this is clear from the lines he quotes (949-54) as well as from these lines:

> Bold and accurs'd are they that all this while
> Have strove to isle our Monarch from his isle,
> And to improve themselves, on false pretence,
> About the common Prince have rais'd a fence. (967-70)

Wallace then maintains that "unexpected hope, not rebelliousness, was the immediate cause of 'The Last Instructions,' and as Charles had given a sign that he was not oblivious [by dismissal of Clarendon], Marvell

could seize the moment to outline his vision of what a new administration might achieve" (pp. 181-82). I would explain the loyalty of the envoi as simply a convention of Waller's painter poem. Both the "Second" and "Third" advices castigate the Court yet are respectful toward Charles in their envois and see him as blameless.

That Marvell's loyalty or the loyalty of his persona was necessarily "obscured for nine hundred lines" I cannot agree. Attacking members of the Court party and their policies does not necessarily mean being disloyal to the King. Only the most radical republicans of the Country party at this time refused loyalty to or rebelled against the monarchy. What has been obscured from the beginning of the poem is moderation. In setting the black of the Court against the white of the Country, in scurrillously attacking courtiers in portraits, in refusing to admit that any good can exist within the Court party, Marvell projects an attitude that is factional. In the closing sections of the poem, he is at his most moderate, his ammunition spent, his buckshot scattered at a hundred targets. But what good is a hint of moderation then? He has already lost the moderate and the undecided of his audience. He has already alienated the loyal members of the Court party. And as for the "unexpected hope" that Wallace sees as the cause for Marvell's writing of the poem, it is not easy to believe that Marvell expects to influence Charles much toward better government. It is true that he extricates the King from direct blame and in effect congratulates him for sacking Clarendon. But surely Charles would have preferred no congratulatory poem to one so brutal to his sister-in-law, his mistress, and so many of his staunchest friends. All Marvell is left with, then, is his own

clique, the Country party, and it is already convinced of his argument. Thus, Marvell fails in the chief function of the political poem - to persuade.

Chapter Two: Raillery and Railing

I

Satire up to the Restoration consisted almost entirely of the rather primitive form of personal attack.[1] The courtiers and wits of the Restoration, however, saw their age as much more advanced in refinement and decorum in all areas of social life, owing largely to contact with French society. Manners became more important. As John Hayman says, "the relevant aspect of social manners is the use of raillery in conversation. The concern of commentators on courtesy with this social practice amounts almost to an obsession after the Restoration."[2] Society's concern became the writer's concern. "One might expect," says Hayman further, "that the practice of raillery in Restoration society would have an influence upon the tone and style of much of the literature of the time" (p. 112). In his delineation of raillery, Hayman is especially good in revealing deliberate indirectness and subtlety. His examples of dramatic raillery from Congreve could be multiplied by examples from Wycherley, Etherege, and Farquhar. His examples from love poems and social poems could be multiplied even from the many poems to Phyllis in the period. His example from political poetry, however, one

[1] See James Sutherland, "The Primitives: Invective and Lampoon," English Satire, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958).

[2] John Hayman, "Raillery in Restoration Satire," Huntington Library Quarterly, 31 (1967-68), 107.

from Dryden, does not represent the usual. Dryden was one of the first to recognize the difference between the "railing" of earlier ages, and the "raillery" of the new age, and certainly the first to distinguish betweem them on paper. In his "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1693), he says:

> Let the chastisement of Juvenal be never as necessary for his new kind of satire . . . Yet still the nicest and most delicate touches of satire consist in fine raillery . . . How easy is it to call rogue and villain, and that wittily! But how hard to make a man appear a fool, a blockhead, or a knave, without using any of those opprobrious terms! Neither is it true, that this fineness of raillery is offensive. A witty man is tickled while he is hurt in this manner, and a fool feels it not. The occasion of an offence may possibly be given, but he cannot take it . . . there is a vast difference betwixt the slovenly butchering of a man, and the fineness of a stroke that separates the head from the body, and leaves it standing in its place.[3]

This urbane approach arising partly from manners-consciousness, as well as from the influence of such as Horace and Boileau,[4] was attempted in political verse by Marvell, and then only occasionally. His question-and-answer approach to the Court bunglers in "Last Instructions" is far more effective than any of the direct attacks in the same poem. Direct attack, however, was the method favoured during the turbulent years of the late seventies and early eighties, and most of it was personal attack.

If the political situation during the Third Dutch War of 1672-74 was conducive to anti-government satire, the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis of 1678-81 were much more so. In the late seventies

[3] Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), II, 92-93.

[4] See F. B. Clark, Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England (1660-1830) (Paris: n.p., 1925), and Caroline Goad, Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918).

greater polarization between the Court party led by Danby, and the Country party led by Shaftesbury, took place as both prepared for the elections of 1679. Intrigues and counter-intrigues grew in Court and Parliament alike, and rumours spread among the people concerning the growing influence of York, Catholicism, and France in government. As David Ogg puts it, "England was ripe for a plot."[5] A man by the name of Titus Oates obliged. His revelations of a "Popish Plot" in which Catholics with the help of Louis XIV were to rise and destroy the King and Protestantism in England increased the fears of the people. Events such as the murdur of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey and the discovery of treasonable letters in the hands of York's secretary, Coleman, led to a hysteria that proved convenient for Shaftesbury and the Country party. By taking the lead in the prosecution of the plot, they furthered their own aims, and in the parliamentary election, which was the first to be fought on party lines, gained control of Parliament. This event in turn encouraged Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and their followers to attempt to push through both Houses the "Exclusion Bill" denying York the right to succeed to the throne because he was a Papist. Shaftesbury chose as a substitute for the succession the Duke of Monmouth, Charles' illegitimate son, and, to keep emotions running high, he and his party sponsored regular London demonstrations known as Pope Burnings. Charles' main defense was to keep proroguing Parliament to gain time until the hysteria should subside. This gave rise to the movement of Petitioners and Abhorrers, and soon to the names Whig and Tory. In 1679, the Licensing Act lapsed and was not renewed by the Whig Parliament. This meant that amid

[5]David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934), II, 561.

all the strife, the Whig writers for the first time were on equal ground with their Tory opponents. Up to this time, anti-Court or anti-monarchy propaganda was not allowed to be published and had to depend on secret presses or circulation in manuscript. Now the flood-gates were opened and the presses turned out broadsides and pamphlets in numbers unprecedented on both sides.

Understandably, Monmouth, the man whom the Whigs were putting forward as alternative to the succession of James, Duke of York, became the target of much Tory satire. In 1679, Charles became seriously ill, and York was recalled from exile despite the protests of Monmouth.[6] An anonymous Tory poet used the occasion for "A Ballad Called Perkin's Figary" (1679). The title itself says much about the stand taken by the writer, for "Perkin," referring to an ill-fated Tudor pretender to the throne, was a favorite enemy name for Monmouth (Mengel, p. 122). The ballad form reinforces this position through a refrain: "Yet his Highness, God bless him, is safely come back/To the shame and confusion of Perkin Warbeck."[7] This repeated praise of York has the effect of a party slogan. Monmouth's activities that kept him in the public eye and helped make him popular the satirist counteracts by a brief summary that reduces them to childish games: "he frisketh, he leapeth,/To trumpet and drums he manfully trippeth" (15-16). What appears to be fine raillery is not really so fine since it is preceded by phrases that present the character a bit too obviously. For example, Monmouth is good only

[6]See Elias F. Mengel's note in Poems on Affairs of State (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), II, 122.

[7]Unless otherwise noted, in this chapter I am using the Mengel texts, Poems on Affairs of State, II.

for "cutting of capers and storming dirt pies" (11). His companions are shown to be rather shadowy figures, Sir Thomas Armstrong being a procurer who "may continue/How Perkin may survive" (22-23). So Monmouth is marked as sensual. By the sixth stanza, the poet is in a position to remark that Shaftesbury and the Whigs "Would set up this fop, old England to sway" (38). In the seventh stanza, he attempts briefly to unite his audience with him in condemnation of an illegitimate succession. First he alludes to sectarian extremism in Germany implying that Whigs also are sectarian extremists. Then he applies a moral that has the appearance of an old proverb: "We English will ever be just to the crown,/No bastard succession with us shall go down" (48-49). The point is made with a directness that characterizes the whole poem, including the predictable panegyric on the King and Duke in the last stanza which is, by the way, dulled by the cliché "long may he reign."

A stronger work is the two-part satire titled "Letter of the Duke of Monmouth to the King" and "The King's Answer" (1680). It arose out of the return of Monmouth from exile against Charles' orders, and the King's refusal to accept an excuse from him. The poet achieves an indirectness in the satire by allowing the characters to speak for themselves. The first part, consisting only of twenty-seven lines begins:

> Disgrac'd, undone, forlone, made Fortune's sport,
> Banish'd the kingdom first, and then the Court;
> Out of my places turn'd, and out of doors,
> And made the meanest of your sons of whores,
> The scene of laughter, and the common chats
> Of your salt bitches and your other brats;
> Forc'd to a private life, to whore and drink,
> On my past grandeur and my folly think. (1-8)

More evident here is the virile tone of the plain speaker and a better-than-average use of the heroic couplet. Monmouth seems to be speaking the language he is used to, a rather vulgar language. The first three

lines suggest a straight-forward man, and seem to create sympathy for him. But the fourth, with its low language, is a confirmation of his low birth. In lines seven and eight, Monmouth is wallowing in self-pity, making excuses for his loose-living. After this, all the individual complaints of Monmouth, not, incidentally, arranged to build toward a rhetorical climax, are suspect. The last eight lines show Monmouth's anger rising out of consuming ambition, and the poem ends in this determined tone: "And to my trouble this one comfort brings:/Next unto you, by God, I will be King!"

The second part, twenty lines longer than the first, uses the same blunt and unfortunately unkingly language. Charles is given the role of the sorely tried father who will put up with nothing more from his son. The opening passage of rebuke begins "Ungrateful boy," and continues in a series of questions with an indignant tone, ending thus: "Have I done all that royal dad could do,/And do you threaten now to be untrue?" (13-14). This is followed by a passage alluding to the low circumstances of Monmouth's birth, and intended to destroy his illusions. Yet the vulgarity of it reflects at least as much on the King as on Monmouth. More effective rhetorically is this triplet coming soon after:

> Alas! I never got one brat alone,
> My bitches are by ev'ry fop well known,
> And I still willing all their whelps to own. (23-25)

This effectively answers Monmouth's feigned wish that he had not been a king's son to be thus made unhappy by the constraints willfully placed to frustrate his natural destiny, the kingship. The poet raises doubt whether Monmouth really has any royal blood in his veins at all. He also strengthens the idea that Charles has been too indulgent with

Monmouth. After elaborating on the honors bestowed on an ungrateful son, he makes the King conclude:

> If your feigned wrongs still keep a clutter,
> And make the people for your sake to mutter,
> For my own comfort, but your trouble, know-
> God's blood, I'll send you to the rout below! (42-45)

The poet understands something of the character of Charles, the worldly-wise, who was well informed of Monmouth's intrigues. The oath in the last line proves that the King means business, though there is ambiguity here: Charles may be threatening to execute Monmouth, or he may simply be threatening to strip him of all titles and reduce him to a commoner. Though effective in its way, the tone here is, as always, harsh, never mannerly.

Of the attacks on Monmouth, "A Dialogue between Nathan and Absalom" (1680) represents an extension of this deliberate indirectness. A biblical parallel is set up in which Absalom is Monmouth, David is Charles. That there are similarities with Absalom and Achitophel is not surprising in view of the tradition common to both, a tradition well delineated by R. F. Jones in his "The Originality of Absalom and Achitophel."[8] However, as Mengel says "the scriptural parallel . . . is a loose one, since in II Samuel the Lord sends Nathan to rebuke David, not Absalom, for the 'murder' of Uriah, whose wife Bathsheba David covets" (Mengel, p. 269). This looseness is really part of a simplicity that keeps the poem within the realm of personal attack. For one thing, as Howard Schless says, the poem "presents the earlier stage of the attack on Monmouth with a directness unhindered by the

[8]R. F. Jones, "The Originality of Absalom and Achitopel," Modern Language Notes, 46 (1931), 211-18.

sensationalism of the Popish Plot or the complication of an Achitophel."[9]

Realistic treatment relates this poem with the attacks on Monmouth already mentioned. The language of Nathan the Prophet is appropriately grave:

> Rise, Absalom, rise! To God's dread prophet tell
> What haughty fury bids thee to rebel
> And in full career ride post to Hell,
> Where Lucifer th' arch rebel lost his light
> And mourneth his attempt in endless night. (1-5)

Immediately Absalom is associated with the devel, and with the archetypal rebel. Unlike the biblical David, who reacts to Nathan with humility,[10] Monmouth-Absalom reacts with pride, and the colloquial language illustrates this - "What's that to me?" (6). In his pride, Absalom thinks he is cleverer than the devil himself. To Nathan's remarks that "rebels to fathers doubly merit Hell" (4), Absalom reveals a brazen, self-confident tone:

> Perhaps they do, perhaps I know it well.
> To rebels let the future hell be given:
> To me a crown and throne are present heaven. (15-17)

So the poet makes Monmouth-Absalom admit his guilt openly and override guilt with ambition. Absalom's answer to Nathan's report that the King pleads might almost have come from the mouth of a young gallant: "Bid thou my sire not vex his languid years,/But save his pious breath to say his pray'rs" (28-29). The disrespectful tone is perfect. He is hard, and thinks himself above religious laws. Even love, for him, is

[9]Howard Schless, "Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel and 'A Dialogue between Nathan and Absolome'," Philological Quarterly, 40 (1961), 141.

[10]There is a flaw here in that Charles must of necessity be associated with a biblical David who stooped to a murder for the sake of an amour.

something to be used:

> Talk not of love: if he'd affection show,
> More love than he has paid is yet my due.
> Out of his love let him his throne resign;
> 'Tis time that David sink and Absalom reign. (39-42)

Such impudence is met by the exasperated Naboth with a prophecy of the future of the rebellion, a prophecy that refers ironically to the result of the biblical revolt: "Exalted shall he be/Unto some fatal tree" (52-53).

In the Yale Poems on Affairs of State collection, there are not as many individual attacks on Monmouth's uncle and rival for the throne, James, Duke of York, although attacks on him within larger satires would balance out the totals. "Hodge" (1679) attacks a number of persons, chief of whom is York, as directly and scurrilously as it would appear possible for the limited poet. York is labelled the arch-plotter:

> See where the Duke in damn'd divan does sit,
> For's vast designs racking his pigmy wit.
> Whilst a choice knot of the Ignatian crew
> The ways to treason, murder, conquest show. (53-56)

The antithesis between "vast" and "pigmy" relieves the virulence for just a moment. But almost all the rest of the attack is sheer railing, for example:

> Blast him, O heavens, in his mad career,
> And let this isle no more his frenzy fear!
> Curst James, 'tis thee whom all good men abhor,
> False to thyself, but to thy friend much more. (88-91)

Dryden in his "Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" remarks on the comparative easiness of calling "rogue and villain, and that wittily" (Ker, II, 92-93). This poet cannot even claim the excuse of wit. He seems so caught up in the attack on York that he unjustly implicates James's daughter Mary in Catholic expansionism: "His pocky brat, got on adult'rous Nan,/With Orange join'd the Belgians to trepan"

(68-69). This is a comment on the writer's ignorance, for about this time Mary and her husband were being seriously considered as alternatives to Monmouth in the Whig plans for a Protestant succession.

"Popish Politics Unmasked" (1680) is a treatment of James's political ideas at a time when his enemies began to notice his growing influence on the King. The Duke's monologue to the King on how to run the country is contrasted with Shaftesbury's monologue of warning to the King, as black is against white. The Duke is presented as the archetypal eveil-counsellor, and, contrary to Absalom the archetypal rebel in "Dialogue," some effort is given to development. The Duke urges Charles to be more aggressive toward his subjects. "Tear off your shackles," he says, "make the bumpkins know/There's none but you almighty here below" (30-31). His chief recommendation is violence, and he offers the King the services of rogues fully obedient: "If you but bid them thrust their bloodly knives/Into their fathers' throats, their childrens,' wives'" (71-72). The images of murder are multiplied, though not expanded, reaching a gruesome climax in the cannibal feast of the Irish rogues:

> Poor span-long infants, that like carps, well stew'd
> In their own blood, their Irish chaps have chew'd;
> And fathers' cauls have candles made to light
> Those black inhuman banguets of the night. (97-100).

York comes off as a completely unscrupulous villain. The picture is not carefully organized. His sly side is represented when he advises the King to keep Parliament inactive by constant prorogation, and to invent plots so as to be able to jail rich merchants for involvement and so extract bribes from them. This latter idea is extended over approximately fifty lines. These lines come early:

> To form new plots leave to my priests and me.
> Like pins one plot another shall drive out
> Till we have brought our only Plot about.
> Our first work is to save our friends - that done,
> Like shirts t' our backs, we'll have more plots than one.
> (166-70)

Twenty lines later occurs this passage:

> Thus, great Sir, you're the greatest prince alive
> If plots according to our projects thrive;
> And thrive they shall, if you'll but do your part,
> And from proposed methods never start.
> For plots like clockwork are, one pin pull'd out
> Doth all its order and its beauty rout. (189-94)

Note the repetition of the pin image. Though slightly different, neither adds much to the thought. Here as elsewhere in the poem, too many lines exert a centrifugal force that carries attention away from the main idea. The consequent slow movement of the thought prevents even a semblance of fine raillery, for fine raillery demands quick insights expressed precisely and concisely.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, without being named by the poet, is given the role of the patriot who warns the King of the errors of his royal brother and upholds "the people's rights, and all our English laws" (236). Shaftesbury's speech with its political theory completely opposite to that of James is not much different in tone, except for a couple of instances when it becomes full of righteousness. In the closing, for example, Shaftesbury involves the whole nation as witness:

> Our ancestors shan't curse us in their tomb,
> Nor shall our children in their mothers' womb,
> They left us free, and we ours free will leave,
> Our death our hopes and us shall both deceive. (246-49)

In "The Cabal" (1680), Shaftesbury, as a member of the Green Ribbon Club, is the complete opposite. He is the selfseeker, " . . . the Catilene that left Whitehall/To be made President of the Cabal" (47-48). He is a

turncoat says the poet, for " . . . sooner may you fit the northern wind/Then hope this weathercock will be confin'd" (53-54). John Caryll, in "The Hypocrite," approximately two years earlier, sees Shaftesbury in the same light. The very first line makes the change "Thou'rt more inconstant than the wind or sea." Caryll the Catholic apologist concentrates on Shaftesbury's religious hypocrisy:

> Not Ovid's stories, nor the wife of Lot
> Can boast a change beyond our state bigot:
> All on the sudden, in one fatal morn,
> Our courtier did to a stark Quaker turn. (17-20)

Shaftesbury joins the extreme Protestants so that he can make political use of them against the Papists:

> For the poor Church is all his tender care
> And Pop'ry's growth he sounds in ev'ry ear;
> At which the dirty rout run grunting in,
> As when the old wife's kettle rings the swine. (26-29)

The ironic tone of the first line is clearly indicated by the words "poor" and "tender," but the other three lines, more typically, are vaguely contemptuous. This attack on Shaftesbury is probably the first to take a swipe at his personal appearance, and it is rather cruel: "The silver pipe is no sufficient drain/For the corruption of this little man" (64-65). Shaftesbury was in stature short, and had a silver tap in his side to drain discharge from a liver ailment.[11]

A year later, Mulgrave and Dryden in their "Essay Upon Satire" also ridicule Shaftesbury's physical appearance, this time presenting him as a busy old man who gives up everything else in life, including bodily health, for the sake of political scheming:

> His limbs are crippl'd and his body shakes,
> Yet his hard mind, which all this bustle makes

[11]See Mengel footnote, p. 106.

> No pity of his poor companion takes. (Poems on Affairs of State, I, 104-06)

By elaborating on this idea, the poets succeed in producing something of a unified archetypal plotter. I must agree with Mengel (327) that the Absalom and Achitophel portrait borrows from this, but I cannot see that "The Cabal" portrait borrows anything unless concern with Shaftesbury's physical appearance, and this has already been done in "The Hypocrite." As in the latter, the satirist indulges in random disparagement:

> Roll'd like a hedge-hog up, he shows his snout,
> And at the Council table makes a rout;
> 'Gainst Charles and the succession domineers;
> If ought oppose him he has forks and spears.
> Like a vile sculler he abjures the realm,
> And sinks the bark ' cause he's not chief at helm; (61-66)

There is no bond in thought between the three couplets, and they are united no more than casually to the rest of the poem.

Disillusionment with Charles II's political policies gave rise in the late 1660's to the first satirical attacks on the monarchy. In his "Last Instructions," Andrew Marvell deftly avoided attacking the King by putting all the blame for mismanagement on the chief ministers. But by the early 1670's almost all attacks on the government implicated the person of the King. Marvell himself in a piece such as "Upon the King's Freedom of the City" (1674) could warn the mayor and merchant-citizens to have as little to do with the King as possible. "The History of the Insipids," written in the same year, usually given to

Rochester, but sometimes to Marvell,[12] is a good example of a direct and harsh attack. The satiric formula appears in the first stanza:

> Chaste, pious, prudent Charles the Second
> The miracle of thy restoration.
> May like to that of quails be reckon'd,
> Rain'd on the Israelitish nation;
> The wish'd-for blessing which Heaven sent
> Became their curse and punishment. (Poems on Affairs of State, I, 1-6)

The first two couplets are ironic. Piety almost never and chastity absolutely never were associated with Charles. The last couplet rebounds indignantly on the first two to replace the ambiguity with harsh reality. The attack is just as harsh as that of "Hodge," but more acceptable because of the irony. Using a similar method in other stanzas, the satirist compares Charles to Henry VIII in chastity, and scores him for treating his father's friends as foes and foes as friends, for alternate buying and proroguing of a corrupt parliament, for his commanders' bungling at Lowestoft and Bergen, and for breaking the Triple League against France. Unfortunately, by the middle of the poem, the irony has disappeared to be replaced by sheer anger. The indignation swells and destroys the single direction of the attack. In the last twelve stanzas, the poet derides the newly erected statue of the King, upbraids the citizens for showing respect for the King, curses various projects and policies of Charles, and yet in stanza 23 affects to warn the King to beware of York. The poem closes with several general denunciatons of monarchy, for example:

> Of kings curs'd be the power and name,
> Let all the earth henceforth abhor 'em:
> Monsters which knaves sacred proclaim

[12]See George de F. Lord, Poems on Affairs of State (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), I, 243.

And then like slaves fall down before 'em.
What can there be in kings divine?
The most are wolves, goats, sheep, or swine. (157-62)

The poet intends the proof for this denunciation to be contained in earlier stanzas on Charles' rule and in the allusions to Henry VIII and Louis XIV. But the indignant tone of it has an intensity equal to that of earlier stanzas so that the attempt to build up to this stanza as a climactic generalization fails, and the poet might just as well have begun the poem with this stanza.

As the decade progressed, so did the attacks on Charles in frequency and violence, despite the Licensing Act and the vigilance of Roger L'Estrange, the public censor. Even some of the Court wits surrounding Charles lampooned him. Rochester's well known and witty lines

We have a pretty, witty King,
Whose word no man relies on,
He never said a foolish thing
And never did a wise one.

are probably the mildest he wrote against him. In general, there was little progress in satirical technique, and railing maintained dominance over fine raillery. Thus, the representative "Satire on Old Rowley," (1680) similar in approach and subject matter to "History of the Insipids" is, if anything, poorer. In the opening stanzas the poet attacks the King with directness:

Silly and sauntering he goes
From French whore to Italian;
Unlucky in whate'er he does,
An old ill-favor'd stallion.
Fain the good man would live at ease,
And ev'ry punk and party please. (7-12)

This is the "slovenly butchering" Dryden speaks of as inferior to raillery. By the sixth stanza, the poet is trying to persuade the King, as Marvell had tried, to change ministers:

> Rise, drowsy Prince, like Samson shake
> These green withes from about thee;
> Banish their Delilah, and make
> Thy people no more doubt thee. (31-34)

The stanza earlier quoted has not only aroused the "doubt," but by its bluntness made a cordial relation between narrator and subject rhetorically impossible. Yet the poet wants it both ways. Attitudes are divided, and the poem loses what unity it had. After this, it does not help much that the poem ends on a less scurrilous note than "History of the Insipids."

"The King's Farewell to Danby" (1679) is a better personal attack. For one thing, the attack is concentrated. The King gives his reasons for abandoning Danby (1-24). Then he gives his reasons for a complete about-face (25-34). The poet merely makes a six-line comment at the end. Unlike the other satirists, this anonymous one has some insight into character and makes full use of it. George Savile, First Marquess of Halifax, was in a position to know the King well, and his "Character of King Charless II" has come down to us as a just and accurate sketch. Of Charles' dissimulation he says: "Princes dissemble with too many not to have it discovered; no wonder then that He carried it so far that it was discovered."[13] What better way to expose the dissembler than to have him tell the truth. So Charles, in mentioning the formal pardon[14] he issued to Danby after the public revelation of secret dealings with Louis XIV, suggests that he knew all the time that such a pardon would not save Danby from Parliament's revenge.

[13]Halifax, The Complete Works of George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax, ed. Walter Raleigh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 192.

[14]See Mengel, note 13, p. 115.

> . . . the pardon thoust got is of no more force
> Than th' army at Blackheath, or th' Grenadier Horse,
> Than the saving of Flanders, or Coleman's reprieve. (9-11)

Thirteen more lines expose the extent of Charles' deceptions. The poet also directs a penetrating shaft at the selfishness of Charles. In discussing the King's conduct toward his ministers, Halifax says that "he lived with his Ministers as he did with his Mistresses; he used them, but he was not in love with them" (Works, p. 196). And the satirist makes Charles say at the beginning of the work:

> Farewell, my dear Danby, my pimp and my cheat,
> 'Twas for my own ends I made thee so great;
> But now the plot's out, and the money all spent,
> I must leave thee to hang, and myself to repent.

The last line exposes Charles at his role-playing. The third line suggests that some people suspected at least if not believed that it was Charles' and not Danby's idea to demand bribes from Louis XIV for keeping England out of the war with Holland.

The conclusion of the monologue is determined by Charles' habit of plotting. Realizing that Danby could be dangerous if not protected, he changes his mind: "But should I now leave thee, as I said before,/ Next follows in course my brother and whore" (27-28). This leads immediately to lines on Charles determination to crush all opposition: "I'll break up their House, then imprison 'em too;/I'll lay all in blood, and I'll rule by my will" (32-33). The King is working to do away with the parliament-monarchy balance and establish himself as a despot. This view was commonly held by parliamentarians, especially those with Whig leanings. G. M. Trevelyan sums up the Whig historian's view of Charles ambitions: "The plan of the Second or Catholic Stuart Despotism was long thought to have been due to the personal insanity of James II, for he alone put it in force; but Charles originated the idea,

and though he afterwards abandoned it, he handed it on to his less able brother."[15] The satirist may not have the detachment necessary for fine raillery, but the accuracy of his darts may even pass as wit and assure that the work remain relatively free of railing at least up to this point. By this point in the poem, satiric intent seems to have given way to dead seriousness. Charles' threat to renew the Civil War is taken up in the direct comment of the last six lines. The narrator suggests, rather boldly, that another beheading would solve the whole conflict. Thus, the poet reveals his own Whig extremism, but by this time, the earlier character insights have already done their work of persuading the reader of the poet's truthfulness.

George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, was influential in political circles throughout most of Charles II's reign. "On the Prorogration" (1671) damns him, among others, for his part in the King's policy of undercutting the power of parliament. Specifically, it blames him for the government's pro-French policies, and does not hesitate to mention his murder of the Earl of Shrewsbury so as to retain the Countess as his mistress.[16] The attack is direct, serious, harsh, and relatively uninteresting. Buckingham's later involvement with the Whig Party and the Exclusion Crisis was responsible for more personal attacks. "The Litany of the Duke of Buckingham" (1680) makes use of a then popular

[15] G. M. Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1908), p. 365.

[16] Actually Shrewsbury provoked the famous duel. John H. Wilson in his The Court Wits of the Restoration (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 43-44, scotches many of the old charges against Buckingham and the Countess. Buckingham could not have fought to retain a mistress, nor could she have held Buckingham's horse during the duel, for the Countess by this time had fled to a nunnery in France.

form[17] to crowd in as many of the subject's vices and follies as possible without the restrictions that a more formal portrait would impose. The first stanza with its tension between general and particular is one of the best:

> From a sensual, proud, atheistical life,
> From arming our lackeys with pistol and knife,
> From murd-ring the husband and whoring the wife,
> Libera nos.

Buckingham is charged with slander, cowardice at sea, hypocrisy, homosexuality, and treason. The poem works its effect not by persuasion, but by burying the subject in knavery and folly. The poet evidently believes that if he rails enough, some of his charges will be believed. Much more effective and compact than this is the brief review of Buckingham in "Rochester's Farewell:"

> But when degrees of villainy we name,
> How can we choose but think of Buckingham?
> He who through all of 'em has boldly ran,
> Left ne'er a law unbroke of God or man.
> His treasur'd sins of supererogation
> Swell to a sum enough to damn a nation.
> But he must here (perforce) be let alone,
> His acts require a volume of their own;
> Where rank'd in dreadful order shall appear
> All his exploits from Shrewsbury to Le Mar. (107-16)

This has something of the "fine raillery" of Dryden's definition. Even though it is direct, it is sufficiently generalized to be witty. Control of the couplet, compactness, and pointedness contribute to the wit. The last two couplets strengthen the air of detachment, in effect pretending to leave the nasty particulars to the cataloguers such as the author of "The Litany," while at the same time delivering its own

[17] See Mengel, p. 192, on this. The Whig "Queries" (1679) makes a similar use of short stanzas ending in a refrain. But rather than a review of vices, it is a roll-call of Whig enemies at Court.

satirical thrust. As Jean Auffret notes, Philip Le Marr died in prison after unsuccessfully accusing Buckingham in court of sodomy. "Admirons," says Auffret, "la perfidie de cette rapide allusion à Le Marr. Rapproacher son nom de celui de Shrewsbury, c'est rendre Buckingham également responsable de la mort des deux hommes, tout en insinuant qu'on n'est pas dupe d'un acquittement de complaisance."[18] "The Cabal" (1680) contains a passage on Buckingham, which, though longer, has a part equally good:

> The City's minion, now their scorn and sport,
> There more despis'd than once ador'd at Court;
> Who did his fall so wittily contrive,
> In quaint disguise to riot, rant, and swive;
> And when he's lost himself in infamy,
> Revile the state and rail at monarchy. (80-85)

The anonymous poet here is more particular, yet the particulars are run through so lightly in a fine "throw-away" manner that some appearance of detachment is maintained.

Both of these efforts may well have been influenced by "An Essay Upon Satire" written the previous year. The short passage against Buckingham may have been written by Dryden or by Mulgrave under Dryden's influence. It begins:

> First, let's behold the merriest man alive
> Against his careless genius vainly strive;
> Quit his dear ease some deep design to lay
> 'Gainst a set time, and then forget the day.
> (Poems on Affairs of State, I, 84-87)

The satirist does not bother elaborating on the "deep designs." He assumes that the reader already has heard about them. Instead, he undermines the character normality of the subject. This being done effectively, and it is, the deeds and actions of that character take care of

[18] Jean Auffret, "Rochester's Farewell," Etudes Anglaises, Année 12 (1959), 142-50.

themselves. This touch gives a hint of the possibilities of the indirect approach of "fine raillery" in personal attack.

II

Since the political satirists of the period are for the most part incapable of the mannerly approach, fine raillery in personal attack, they are not likely to be capable of it in more complex political poems. The widening of an attack from the personal to include a whole party or section of the nation, or even a whole political philosophy, brings with it the problem of unity. A broader attack must have its elements integrated and directed toward a single effect. This requires structure or form. As I have mentioned previously, Marvell was almost alone among earlier political satirists of the period showing a consciousness of form. John Caryll was one of the few writing on the Popish Plot before Absalom and Achitophel to show a sense of form. "Naboth's Vineyard" (1679) is a biblical allegory. Under the guise of the Kings I story of Ahab's murder of Naboth and theft of his land, Caryll describes Shaftesbury and the Whigs' plot to take away the Catholics' legal rights and deny the Duke of York's right of succession. Some of the parallels are apt. Malchus obviously is intended for Titus Oates, Python, his fellow plotter, for the spurious Captain Bedloe, and Arod for Judge Scroggs, who dealt so severely with those accused of involvement in the Popish Plot. However, as Mengel notes (p. 82), Ahab is not the reigning monarch Charles II, but probably Shaftesbury. Nor is Jezebel Queen Catherine or the reigning mistress Portsmouth. The vineyard may be intended for the Roman Catholic Church, since the narrator goes out of his way to distinguish its wine from other wines. The

only other interpretation possible for the vineyard would be the right of succession to the throne. In either case, Naboth would be York. If the first is true, then Caryll gives no motive on the secondary level as to why Shaftesbury wants to separate the Catholic Church from its protector York. If the second is true, then Caryll fails to tell us what advantage Shaftesbury would gain from York's exclusion. Indeed, probably both were intended. A poet's inattention to such correspondences permits inattention in the reader. The parallel never fully holds him. Caryll does not take full advantage of the allegorical form.

Nevertheless, the form provides him with a means for persuasion in a more mannerly way than direct attack. To begin with, the audience of his day would be more familiar with the story of Kings I, 21, than a modern audience. The story acts as a pattern, directing the reader in attitudes. Thus, Ahab-Shaftesbury is joined with the forces of evil. Naboth-James is innocence vindicated by the direct intervention of God. The main job of the poet here is to elaborate on the characters and the story so as to convince the reader that the parallel is accurate. In his first attempt to do this, Caryll is not completely successful. He portrays Ahab's brooding reaction to Naboth's refusal well. Ahab-Shaftesbury is evil enough:

> The cov'tous poison through his veins did glide
> And what his greedy eye and heart devour
> He will extort by an usurping pow'r. (70-72)

But he is not aggressive enough, and it is left to Jezebel to institute the plan for seizure of the vineyard and see it through, even though Jezebel is one of the characters with no real-life counterpart. In contrast with Ahab, Shaftesbury was the aggressive leader of the Whig Party whose boldness in politics gave the Whigs the successes and near-sucesses

they had in these years. Actually, Caryll concentrates more energy on the prosecutor of Naboth and the witnesses against him. Arod as the tool of Ahab and Jezebel is automatically associated with evil and thus is his counterpart Judge Scroggs. Caryll lashes Ahab-Scroggs in a satirical portrait that reveals one of the poet's few attempts at wit:

> The chief was Arod, whose corrupted youth
> Had made his soul an enemy to truth;
> But nature furnish'd him with parts and wit,
> For bold attempts and deep intriguing fit.
> Small was his learning, and his eloquence
> Did please the rabble, nauseate men of sense.
> Bold was his spirit, nimble and loud his tongue,
> Which more than law, or reason, takes the throng.
> . . . . . .
> And, as he brought his place, he justice sold,
> Weighing his causes not by law, but gold. (143-54)

Interestingly enough, the two opening couplets anticipate the first two of Dryden's portrait of Achitophel. Line 149 has one syllable too many and a poor use of "loud." The last couplet makes fine use of line segments and climaxes. Though effective both as parallel and satire, this is no less direct an attack than earlier ones mentioned. Caryll is at his most skillful setting up a dramatic episode in which Arod and Jezebel lay their plans. In his speeches, Arod-Scroggs condemns himself. The opening lines show his desire to please the queen: "'Madam,' says he, 'you rightly judge the course/Unsafe, to run him down by open force'" (161-62). The word "rightly" indicates Arod's tone of deference. A note of competition appears in the self-confident couplet: "In great designs it is the greatest art/To make the common people take your part" (163-64). His practice of skirting the laws has made him a cunning but also cynical judge: "Treason, Religion, Liberty are such;/ Like clocks they strike when on those points you touch" (167-68). Arod-Scroggs scorns to be outdone in evil by anyone, and Jezebel recognizes

this, for "a spiteful joy did in her face appear" (178). Caryll uses other indirect ways of blaming Scroggs. In lines 205-10, echoes from Paradise Lost help to universalize the plans of Arod and Jezebel. For example: "Since first for acting God proud angels fells,/Still to ape Heav'n has been the pride of Hell" (205-06). Also, Arod is called "her agent-friend." Lines 211-24, a passage of rhetorical indignation, are used not only to raise suspense about the coming trial, but to remind the audience of the correct attitude toward their clever machinations lest it become fascinated with them. It begins: "Stay, hell hounds, stay! why with such rav'nous speed/Must the dear blood of innocence be shed?" (211-12). The attack on Arod-Scroggs, direct and indirect, is successful as an attack on Scroggs, though it fails as an allegorical attack, for there is no counterpart in Kings I, 26. His henchmen and Python are not mentioned specifically in the biblical story, only the Sons of Belial, and almost nothing is said of them.

The biblical allegory could have provided Caryll with the opportunity to exploit fully not only character portrayal, but dramatic and narrative action. As for the last two, the Trial Scene offers possibilities of showing the true origin of the Popish Plot and the motives of the men behind it. However, it may have been too soon for Caryll or anyone to determine these. In any case, the poet gives Malchus these lines only of reference to the Plot:

> Then he the story of his Plot at large
> Unfolds, and lays to guiltless Naboth's charge.
> How with the Aramites he did conspire
> His country to invade, the City fire,
> The temple to destroy, the King to kill,
> And the whole realm with desolation fill.
> He told how he himself the agent was
> In close consults to bring these things to pass;
> Nor did he fail with proper circumstance
> Of time and place to garnish his romance. (341-50)

The last couplet shows the narrator's skeptical attitude toward Oates' testimony, and, in suggesting Oates' lack of conscience refers back to an earlier statement that he "no remorse could feel" (340). Of the hundred more lines of the Trial Scene, consisting mainly of Naboth's protestation of innocence and Arod's upholding of the perjurors, there is nothing more of contemporary reference. The promise of Arod-Scroggs's cunning perversion of the laws shown in earlier passages is not fulfilled here. The argument of his rather blunt speech that convicts Naboth may be reduced to one couplet: "When the King's evidence you perjur'd call,/Know that your very plea is criminal" (424-25). Interest is thus allowed to slacken so that by the time the death is narrated, the reader is less likely to apply the cruelty to the recent treatment of those suspected in the Popish Plot. After this point, real-life correspondence becomes impossible as Caryll reverts to a mere retelling of the biblical account of God's vengeance on Ahab and Jezebel. Shaftesbury is punished, provided the reader can still remember that Ahab is Shaftesbury. The figures on whom Caryll dwelt the most, Scroggs and Oates, remain unpunished.

Of the satires written during the years of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis from a Whig point of view, John Oldham's "Satires Upon the Jesuits" is one of the best. Since it is actually a group of four satires, the problem of organization is important. The main unifying element is subject matter. Oldham takes up Oates' charge that it is the Society of Jesus that is behind all the plotting and shows that Jesuit political intrigue not only has precedent in the Gunpowder Plot,

but also historical continuity.[19] In Satire I, he presents the ghost of Jesuit Henry Garnett praising assembled Jesuits for the murder of Judge Godfrey and relating it to his own exploit in the Gunpowder Plot as well as to several continental Jesuit persecutions. In Satire II, Oldham as speaker drives home the point that the present Jesuit threat to England is real. In Satires III and IV, Oldham continues the offensive by unmasking the vice and dishonesty existing within the Order and the Roman Catholic Church.

This is Oldham's description of St. Ignatius Loyola ready to speak to his followers:

> Like Delphic hag of old by fiend possess'd,
> He swells, wild frenzy heaves his panting breast;
> His bristling hairs stick up, his eyeballs glow,
> And from his mouth long flakes of drivel flow. (III, 24-27)

There is nothing of the mannerly approach here. Yet such lines are typical of Oldham's approach. The extra syllable of the first line and the lack of parallel and antithesis remind us that Oldham in his own day was considered to be a crude practitioner of the couplet. And although Dryden in his elegy "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham" kindly insists that Oldham's "wit will shine/Thro' the harsh cadence of a rugged line,"[20] wit that might contribute to fine raillery is not present here nor anywhere else either. What little sense of detachment there is in the work is contributed by the form. Oldham does not follow the conventions of formal verse satire in the "Satires" as he does in his

[19] Cooper R. Mackin in "The Satiric Technique of John Oldham's Satyrs Upon the Jesuits," Studies in Philology, 62 (1965), 83, sees Oldham using anachronistic conventions to call attention to this historical continuity.

[20] The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: The Claredon Press, 1958).

imitations of Horace and Juvenal. Instead, like Caryll, he uses a dramatic organization. In Satire I, he sets up a dramatic situation in which the ghost of Garnett addresses a meeting of Jesuits. The opening seems to be straight from the stage: "By Hell, twas bravely done!" Garnett speaking in private can afford to be honest. The satirist does not have to condemn him directly, or interpose, or interrupt. Garnett condemns himself and all past Jesuit plots. And because no member of the Jesuit Cabal interrupts him or offers any opposition to his ideas, all are made to assume the responsibility of recent plots. Form thus adds a certain amount of detachment, though this is largely erased by the violence of the language and the failure of the diatribe to justify its length. In Satire II, Oldham speaks directly as satirist. Garnett is a sort of passive adversarius dragged in at line 172 to support unintentionally the satirist's argument. There is no detachment. Satire III, presenting the dying Loyola giving his will to followers, is much the same dramatic situation as Satire I. Recommending evil methods for achieving evil ends, Loyola condemns the Order, and himself as founder of the Order. Again, as in Satire I, the form lends some detachment. In Satire IV, the statue of Loyola proudly tells how the Church cheats its people. Only at the end does the satirist interrupt. But then he cuts off the long recital of details by ranging himself squarely in opposition to the Jesuits, the Catholic Church, and all they stand for. Form contributes so little detachment that one might suspect that Oldham is simply not interested in detachment. That is not to say that he is not interested in persuading his audience.

The "Prologue" attached to the collection shows that Oldham <u>is</u> interested in persuading. Here, he is following the apologies written

by both Horace and Juvenal. In Satire II: 1, Horace complains to Trebatius that he has no other vocation but writing:

> Quid faciam? saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
> accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis;
> Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
> pugnis; quot capitum vivant, totidem studiorum
> milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba
> Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque. (24-29)[21]

In his Satire I, Juvenal says that

> cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
> Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas
> ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
> nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
> difficile est saturam non scribere, nam quis iniquae
> tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
> causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
> plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici
> et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
> quod superest . . . (26-35)[22]

In his "Prologue" Oldham apologizes not merely for the time he has picked to write but also for his method. Everyone is writing against the Jesuits, but they are not doing it successfully. He will try a

[21]Both text and translation are from H. Rushton Fairclough, Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932).

> What am I to do? Milonius starts a dancing once the heat has mounted to his wine-smitten brain and the lamps twinkle double. Castor finds joy in horses; his brother, born from the same egg, in boxing. For every thousand living souls, there are as many thousand tastes. My own delight is to shut up words in feet, as did Lucilius, a better man than either of us.

[22]Both text and translation are from G. G. Ramsay, Juvenal and Persius (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1930).

> When a guttersnipe of the Nile like Crispinus - a slave-born denizen of Canopus - hitches a Tyrian cloak on to his shoulder, whilst on his sweating finger he airs a summer ring of gold, unable to endure the weight of a heavier gem - it is hard not to write satire. For who can be so tolerant of this monstrous city, who so iron of soul, as to contain himself when the brand-new litter of lawyer Matho comes along, filled with his huge self; after him one who has informed against his noble patron and will soon sweep away the remnant of our nobility already gnawed to the bone.

different method:

> 'Tis pointed satire and sharps of wit
> For such a prize are th' only weapons fit:
> Nor needs there art or genius here to use,
> Where indignation can create a muse. (26-29)

Early in his venture, then, Oldham attempts to persuade his audience that his approach is not harsh in the face of Jesuit impudence, but appropriate. By implication, the urbane and tolerant approach would be inadequate.

In Satire II, Oldham assumes the role of the average patriotic Englishman. Unlike Juvenal, he does not leave the impression that he is personally unstained, but average:

> Nay, if our sins are grown so high of late
> That Heav'n no longer can adjourn our fate,
> May 't please some milder vengeance to devise
> Plague, fire, sword, dearth, or anything but this!
> (II, 1-4)

Simultaneously he is able to fix the Jesuits as the worst of plagues, and he goes on to expand on this idea. In the expansion, he appeals to nationalistic emotions:

> Too dearly is proud Spain with England quit
> For all her loss sustain'd in Eighty-Eight;
> For all the ills our warlike virgin wrought,
> Or Drake and Raleigh, her great scourges, brought.
> Amply was she reveng'd in that one birth
> When Hell for her the Biscayan plague brought forth.
> (II, 25-31)

What patriotic Englishmen would not be aroused to think their great Elizabeth losing in the end to Spanish cunning? There are many places in Satire I too where Oldham plays upon his reader's fear of domination by a foreign nation and a foreign church. In one instance, Garnett's ghost makes a similar reference to Spain when he threatens:

> What Spain or Eighty-Eight could e'er devise,
> With all its fleet and freight of cruelties;

> What ne'er Medina wish'd, much less could dare,
> And bloodier Alva would with trembling hear. (I. 328-31)

The Jesuit peril which was a real thing to most Englishmen is exaggerated to the limits even of Protestant credulity. Garnett advises his fellows to have no mercy when they take over England:

> Make children by one fate with parents die,
> Kill e'en revenge in next posterity:
> So you'll be pester'd with no orphans' cries,
> No childless mothers curse your memories.'
> Make death and desolation swim in blood
> Throughout the land, with nought to stop the flood
> But slaughter'd carcasses; till the whole isle
> Become one tomb, become one fun'ral pile;
> Till such vast numbers swell the countless sum
> That the wide grave and the wider Hell want room.
> (I, 311-20)

Oldham works on the passions of his audience. He argues that the Jesuit peril is at least as real as the peoples' worst fears. He persuades by emotion rather than intellect, and in process gives up all pretence of detachment. This is the "emotional rhetorical mode."[23] The passage is loaded with emotionally charged words and phrases such as "revenge," "childless mothers," and "slaughter'd carcasses." But the images are random and diffuse. In line 318, for example, it appears that Oldham was unable to decide whether to use "tomb" or "fun'ral pile," and so used both of them. Still, the violent language joins with the energetic rhythm to produce a tone that is as singularly harsh as Waller's is singularly adulatory. The emotional rhetorical mode, then, is really a kind of railing.

The emotional rhetorical mode is at its best, as in Juvenal, when the poet has a firm control of it. Juvenal's Satire III, "Quid

[23]This term is used by Ronald James Lee in "The Satires of John Oldham: A Study of Rhetorical Modes in Restoration Verse Satire," Diss., Stanford, 1967.

Romae Faciam?" is an uncompromising denunciation of the vices and evils flourishing in Rome. Umbricius has just finished illustrating how only the rich with their large retinues can move through the streets at night safely while the poorer become victims of robbers and are lucky to escape with their lives:

> dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
> tantumdem est: feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
> irati faciunt. libertas pauperis haec est:
> pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat
> ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti. (297-301)[24]

Juvenal makes a transition by suggestion of a time shift to later in the same evening:

> Nec tamen haec tantum metuas. nam qui spoliet te
> non derit clausis domibus, postquam omnis ubique
> fina catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
> interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem;
> armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
> et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus,
> sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt
> quae fornace graves, qua non incude catenae? (302-09)[25]

He does not stretch credulity unnecessarily by stating directly that a second and even a third misfortune would befall the same person in one

[24] I am using the Ramsay text. As it happens, this is one of the two satires of Juvenal that Oldham translated, but his translation is really an imitation, an expansion of Juvenal updated to Restoration London. Here is the more literal Ramsey translation:

> Whether you venture to say anything, or make off silently, it's all one: he will thrash you just the same, and then, in a rage, take bail from you. Such is the liberty of a poorman: having been pounded and cuffed into jelly, he begs and prays to be allowed to return home with a few teeth in his head.

[25] I am using the Ramsay text and translation:

> Nor are these your only terrors. When your house is shut, when bar and chain have made fast your shop, and all is silent, you will be robbed by a burglar; or perhaps a cut-throat will do for you quickly with cold steel. For whenever the Pontine marshes and Gallinarian forests are secured by an armed guard, all that tribe flocks into Rome as into a fish-preserve. What furnaces, what anvils, are not groaning with the forging of chains?

night. But he is careful not to gainsay it, so that the milieu of night-time Rome seems to be one of continuous crime. It is interesting to see how he can enlarge on the crime problem while at the same time contrasting the country with the city, all in three lines (306-08). The most infested areas of the countryside may be cleaned up by the authorities, but Rome is completely out of control. This thought, frustrating to any decent citizen, leads with complete naturalness into a lament for the virtuous Rome of former times.

Oldham is able to write these lines with their indignant tone:

> Think Tories loyal, or Scotch Cov'nanters;
> Robb'd tigers gentle; courteous, fasting bears;
> Atheists devout, and thrice-wracked mariners;
> Take goats for chaste, and cloister'd marmosites;
> For plain and open, two-edg'd parasites;
> Believe bawds modest, and the shameless stews;
> And binding drunkards' oaths, and strumpets' vows;
> And when in time these contradictions meet,
> Then hope to find 'em in a Loyolite. (II, 240-49)

He handles the couplet here more successfully than usual. The contradictions are set off by caesura and balance, while the second of each pair relies on the first for completion of its meaning. Thus he avoids a jerkiness of thought. The denunciation is energetic. Unfortunately, fifty lines before this, Oldham has said: "'Tis strange with what an holy impudence,/The villain caught, his innocence maintains" (III, 190-91). And he seems to be using the whole fifty lines to say the same thing over and over again, with illustrations. For example, one paragraph of eleven lines begins with a triplet on the idea that a Jesuit will tell lies even on the brink of death, presents a variation on the idea in two couplets, and moves towards a close with these couplets:

> Brave he, to his first principles still true,
> Can face damnation, sin with Hell in view;
> And bid it take the soul he does bequeath
> And blow it hither with his dying breath. (II, 217-20)

There is little development within the paragraph. Oldham might have condensed the whole paragraph into one couplet. More important is the lack of transition. There is no attempt to show how this idea is related to the idea of lines 190-91, no attempt to show by what logic or anti-logic a Jesuit could reach such an extreme position. All we know is that it is an extreme example of Jesuit lying first mentioned in lines 190-91. Oldham quite obviously has not the precision and control of Juvenal. Consequently, his emotional rhetorical mode is not as persuasive as Juvenal. Not that Juvenal is always persuasive. Only a misogynist would agree with Juvenal's Satire 6, with its unrelieved indictment of women's crimes and vices. But Juvenal, at least partly because of his precision, is much more engrossing than Oldham and consequently more authoritative.

In the last two of the "Satires Upon the Jesuits" there is a change in approach. Though there is some denunciation of knavery, there is more ridicule of folly.[26] Oldham, then, sees his targets the Jesuits as both knaves and fools. It is worth noting that Juvenal concentrates mainly on knaves, though he is interested also in the relations between knaves and fools.[27] For example, in Satire X, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," Sejanus is foolish in seeking too much power, and he is destroyed at the whim of his knavish master, the Emperor Tiberius. Horace, on the other hand, is concerned almost exclusively with fools, for as Ronald Paulson points out (p. 21), he sees knavery as necessarily containing its own punishment. For him, knavery is really folly. Thus

[26]Mackin calls attention to this, p. 89.

[27]See Ronald Paulson, The Fictions of Satire (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 24.

the presumptuous chatterer of Satire I: 9, "Bored to Distraction," neglects his court arraignment and ends up under arrest.

It seems to me that Oldham takes the attitude that Jesuit knavery is not always to be seen through because of its very cunning. So, at the end of the Second Satire, he recommends that the authorities bring in harsh laws to drive them out altogether. He tells the Jesuits: "Go, foul impostors, to some duller soil,/Some easier nation with your cheats beguile" (II, 266-67). Their weak point, however, is that the wares they peddle are superstitious religious practices, and in the last two satires, Oldham ridicules these practices mercilessly. In Satire IV, he treats not only Jesuit practice but the whole Catholic practice. For example, the traffic in holy relics:

> Here they each week their constant auctions hold
> Of relics, which by candle's inch are sold;
> Saints by the dozen here are set to sale,
> Like mortals wrought in gingerbread on stall.
> Higher are loads from empti'd charnels brought,
> And voiders of the worms from sextons bought,
> Which serve for retail through the world to vent,
> Such as of late were to the Savoy sent.
> Hair from the skulls of dying strumpets shorn,
> And felons' bones from rifl'd gibbets torn
> (Like those which some old hag at midnight steals
> For witchcrafts) amulets and charms and spells
> Are pass'd for sacred to the cheap'ning rout,
> And worn on fingers, breasts, and ears about. (IV, 150-63)

Using commercial terms in a like manner, Oldham goes on for forty lines more on this topic, covering individual relics of various saints and piling up ever new images. His aim is to exhaust the subject completely, to achieve a Juvenalian finality of expression, so that there is nothing more to be said. Rather than persuading, this method convinces the reader who is already persuaded and it does this by burying in a mound of negatives any positive quality that the reader might think of. But once again, Oldham is not as persuasive as he should be because

he lacks Juvenal's precision. The thought in this passage is static except for a vague movement from relics in general to relics in particular. Lines 158-69 are the only lines with any real precision of thought, and even here the word "rifl'd" weakens the climax word "torn." Imprecision combines with the pejorative tone suggested by the nasty images to establish the passage as one of railing. Nevertheless, for Oldham's rhetorical purpose, superstition is the Jesuit's weak point because the English Reformation has provided the common Englishman with a bulwark against it. The dying Loyola complains that the people

> Believ'd no more than tales of Troy, unless
> In countries drown'd in ignorance, like this.
> Henceforth be wary how such things you feign,
> Except it be beyond the Cape or Line;
> Except at Mexico, Brazil, Peru,
> At the Moluccas, Goa or Pegu,
> Or any distant or remoter place
> Where they may current and unquestion'd pass;
> Where never poaching heretics resort
> To spring the lie, and mak't their game and sport.
> (III, 341-50)

Oldham makes Loyola and his statue frequently refer to local superstition of France, Spain, and Ireland. One of the last warnings of Loyola to his followers is this:

> Let no bold heretic with saucy eye
> Into the hidden unseen archives pry,
> Lest the malicious flouting rascals turn
> Our Church to laughter, raillery and scorn. (III, 641-44)

Few Englishmen in his audience would refuse to accept the compliment that they are part of this elite which is too intelligent to be fooled. Occasions such as this when Oldham manages to be persuasive, of course, are rare. He is too much the railer. That Dryden is being charitable when he says in his elegy "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham" that Oldham's soul was "Cast in the same poetic mold with mine" (4) will be clear when we examine Dryden's own poems.

"Satires Upon the Jesuits" does not seem to us today to be party-oriented, but during the Popish Plot, it was the Whig Party that took the extreme anti-Popery, anti-Jesuit stand. Consequently, although Oldham has almost nothing to say directly of the Tory government, it is understood that the Tories are to blame for the rise of popish influence. During the time of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, there were a few writers who refused to align themselves with any extreme principle or party. Robert Wild, at once a Presbyterian clergyman and a Royalist, in "Last Verses Made by Dr. Wild" (1679)[28] decries a polarization in the nation parallel to that which preceded the Civil War and execution of Charles I. The anonymous Tory writer of "The Waking Vision" (1681) is also a moderate. Writing shortly before Absalom and Achitophel,[29] he uses the Absalom-Monmouth, Achitophel-Shaftesbury, David-Charles parallel, though he does not attempt any elaborate allegory. The plot of the poem is quite simple: the narrator is walking and reading when he sees a crowd headed by Achitophel. In a harangue, Achitophel reminds his followers of their history of opposition to the monarchy and of the necessity for them to use the Popish Plot scare politically. Absalom then makes a bid for the crowd's support in his quest for the throne. Left alone, the narrator makes up his own mind: he realizes that if the Papists are suppressed, the Fanatics will grow in power, and vice-versa. Thus, he addresses a letter to the King advising him to suppress both extremes, and count only on the moderates for support.

[28]There is no absolute certainty that this is his. See Mengel, p. 140.

[29]See Mengel footnote, p. 419.

What is unusual about this work is that the poet witholds denunciation until the very end, and even this is comparatively mild. At the very opening, the narrator presents himself as an open-minded person still capable of being influenced. The influence comes firstly from the book he is reading on Romish plots and secondly from the Whig speeches. Achitophel is made to condemn self and party by his own words:

> Eighty-One offers us a mark as fair
> As ever Forty did. Come--strike--prepare!
> Take oaths of secrecy and covenant
> To ease the nation of her groans and want.
> Right and religion, liberties and laws
> Will make the rout quickly espouse our Cause. (52-57)

The absence of violent language contrasts sharply with Oldham's speech for Garnett and shows that the Tory poet is not pushing the self-condemnation too far. The key emotional work "Forty" prepares for a contradiction in the parallel of the next couplet: "secrecy and covenant" were often thought to be the cause of "her groans and want," not the solution to them. The contradiction continues into the next couplet, as the ideals of the first line are separated from "Cause," and the prejorative word "rout" lends contempt to the tone, revealing Achitophel as a hypocrite. Absalom's speech, like "The Letter of the Duke of Monmouth to the King," seems to substitute determination for legitimacy. But the language is more refined. His overriding ambition is revealed in couplets such as these:

> Do you but help me to obtain the crown,
> I'll rule by law, and all your foes put down;
> I'll part the King and Council quite asunder,
> And will redress the griefs you labour under. (98-101)

The tone is controlled here and adds to the speeches, but not always. For instance, this couplet: "And good old David soon shall know that I/ Will be his heir, or else I'll bravely die" (92-93). The first line

and a half seems to be ironic in tone. Yet the last half line can fit in with the irony only if we see Absalom simultaneously laughing at David and at himself, which is unlikely. In such cases where the poet seems to lose control of the tone, he does not do so because he has been carried away by emotion or violence. He is a thinking man: "Then I began to think which was the worse,/Fanatic blessing, or a Popish curse" (108-09). The word "began" shows that he is not a man to make quick decisions. The weighing on a scale seems to represent his usual habit of mind. In his letter addressed to the King, the poet does not speak as one with any special relation to the monarch, but as one interested only in political quiet: "Dread Sir, if you will rule this land in peace,/Expel your foes, and friends will soon increase" (120-21). There is a great difference between the courtesy shown here and the utter disrespect shown in "Satire on Old Rowley." Having previously shown himself to be a man of judgment, the poet recommends that the King use his judgment also:

> Learn by your father not to trust to those
> That in the end will prove confiding foes.
> Consider on't, you're in a woeful strait;
> Think but on Forty-One and Forty-Eight. (132-35)

The epistle form allows the poet to end with an apologetic tone that would otherwise seem out of place: "Pardon me, Sir, if I your quiet break,/For poets dare at all adventures speak" (154-55). The effect is to clinch the poet's presentation of himself as a mannerly, thoughtful, and serious moderate, a man whose word is more likely to be believed than the word of any of the railers.

In short, the age has made some advance in satirical refinement up to the year 1681. Personal attack is still bold, direct, and violent, though there is an attempt at indirectness in "Dialogue between

Nathan and Absalom," some real character insight in "The King's Farewell to Danby," and even some of the subtleties of fine raillery in "Rochester's Farewell." The more complex satires use form as a means for greater indirectness of attack. In the Tory "Naboth's Vineyard," form provides a means for more mannerly persuasion, yet its author fails to take full rhetorical advantage of the allegorical form. In the Whig "Satires Upon the Jesuits," there is a use of the emotional rhetorical mode. It is persuasive, but not detached enough to persuade many non-Whigs. It is exhaustive, yet diffuse, showing a lack of control over thoughts, let alone tone. The moderate "Waking Vision" is intellectual, the most detached and most persuasive. Though sometimes it shows a control of tone, it has no real mastery of tone or structure. Only the best of the satirists are even occasionally able to control tone, which suggests that tone is a technique to be mastered only after the more basic techniques of rhetoric and the heroic couplet have been mastered.

Chapter III: Dryden's Prologues and Epilogues

Tone in Dryden is an element so closely bound up with persuasion and couplet techniques that it cannot be discussed apart from them. Nevertheless, its importance is sufficient that its success or failure in a Dryden poem can spell the success or failure of that poem. "To the Lady Castlemain, upon Her encouraging His first Play," written in 1663[1] has never been considered among Dryden's important poems. Yet it is, as A.W. Verrall points out, almost flawless technically.[2] Its structure as panegyric is simple enough: a series of clever variations on the kindness of the Lady as a patroness. It has not the weakness of Waller's panegyrics, excessive length. Dryden, even at this early date, shows a mastery of the couplet form:

> Posterity will judge by my success,
> I had the Grecian Poets happiness,
> Who waving Plots, found out a better way;
> Some God descended and preserv'd the Play. (41-44)[3]

The two couplets are joined together perfectly into a paragraph, the second couplet explaining the first. The caesuras of the second couplet slow down the rhythmic movement so that the explanation may be absorbed

[1] See note on the date, The Works of John Dryden, I, ed. Edward Niles Hooker and A. T. Swedenberg Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 255.

[2] A. W. Verrall, Lectures on Dryden, ed. Margaret De G. Verrall (1914; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 34.

[3] The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958). I am using this four-volume edition throughout this chapter.

immediately. The rhetoric is interesting here. Praise of the Lady is roundabout. The poet's witty recognition that his play is not good forces the conclusion that the kindness of the patroness is purely gratuitous. This passage with its playful tone should draw added strength from tension with the elevated tone that dominates the poem, except that by this point in the poem the elevated tone has been undermined by the imagery. Having built up in the first nineteen lines an impression of the Lady as a sort of goddess, Dryden inadvertently chooses images that may have two meanings, one of which is at odds with the picture of the Lady already established.

> You sit above, and see vain men below
> Contend for what you only can bestow:
> But those great Actions others do by chance,
> Are, like your beauty, your Inheritance. (19-22)

Dryden has forgotten that the subject of his panegyric, the Countess of Castlemaine, is also Charles II's mistress. Thus, an informed reader could read "vain men" as Charles and the Earl of Castlemaine, "great Actions" as love-making, and the Countess a prostitute by nature. An ironic tone once suggested encourages a reader to look further for double meanings. The reward is found in this couplet: "Your pow'r you never use, but for Defence,/To guard your own, or others Innocence" (29-30). A reader even vaguely familiar with the Court would know that the source of the Lady's power was in her very lack of innocence to defend. The test of a good panegyric is the poet's skill in arguing his case.[4] For

[4]See Warren Chernaik, The Poetry of Limitation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 130.

the most part, Dryden argues well enough. But lavish praise carries with it a constant necessity for tact in rhetoric and tone. And it is want of tact that weakens this poem.

Dryden was to learn tact in rhetoric and control of tone in the 1660's and 1670's through his regular production of prologues and epilogues for the theatre. Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."[5] The "Prologue to Tyrannick Love," a comparatively early prologue, provides an unusually complete example of the use of the available means of persuasion:

> Self-Love (which never rightly understood)
> Makes Poets still conclude their Plays are good:
> And malice in all Criticks raigns so high,
> That for small Errors, they whole Plays decry;
> So that to see this fondness, and that spite,
> You'd think that none but Mad-men judge or write.
> Therefore our Poet, as he thinks not fit
> T' impose upon you, what he writes for Wit,
> So hopes that leaving you your censures free,
> You equal Judges of the whole will be:
> They judge but half who only faults will see.
> Poets like Lovers should be bold and dare,
> They spoil their business with an over-care.
> And he who servilely creeps after sence,
> Is safe, but ne're will reach an Excellence.
> Hence 'tis our Poet in his conjuring,
> Allow'd his Fancy the full scope and swing.
> But when a Tyrant for his Theme he had,
> He loos'd the Reins, and bid his Muse run mad:
> And though he stumbles in a full career;
> Yet rashness is a better fault than fear.
> He saw his way; but in so swift a pace,
> To chuse the ground, might be to lose the race.
> They then who of each trip th' advantage take,
> Find but those Faults which they want Wit to make.

[5] The Rhetoric of Aristotle, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1932), p. 7.

The opening couplet performs the function of attracting the audience's attention, and it does so by surprise. The egotism of the artist is not a usual topic for an artist. Even before 1669, prologues had become such a convention of the Restoration theatre that writers were hard put to discover an idea that would attract attention. The "Prologue to The Wild Gallant" (1663), for example, does it by posing the question usually reserved for the epilogue: "It is not strange, to hear a Poet say,/He comes to ask you, how you like the Play?" The surprising egotism at the opening of the "Prologue to Tyrannick Love" turns out to be an extreme in writers comparable to malice in critics. No one can sympathize with either extreme. But to commence with the critics would have suggested a one-sided attack and alienated at least some of the audience right away. In the first half of the third couplet, the two extremes are glibly judged in an antithesis and dismissed in the last half flippantly. "You" joins audience to speaker as reasonable men. In line with the rhetoric, the tone is glib. The verb "to see" and the elision of "you'd" add colloquial reinforcement to the glibness. The major stress coming on "Mad-men" suggests intentional exaggeration for the sake of wit. The placing of "judge" and "write" in reverse order to "fondness" and "spite" suggests a witty agility that is not really present though it will be present in more mature works. Dryden takes the approach that such extremes being so obviously unnatural may be treated glibly because an audience of normal intelligence understands immediately and needs no long explanation. Besides, the theatre audience expected entertainment in a prologue or epilogue, not serious teaching. Thus in the prologues and epilogues there is none of the serious ratio-

cination of Religio Laici and The Hind and the Panther. Ratiocination was going forward in prose criticism such as An Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Even when he touches on the critical field in the prologues, he makes no great effort at reasoning. In the "Prologue to Aureng-Zebe," Dryden has the chance to say something about his new preference for blank verse. All that he does is play with a simplified reason when he says that he

> Grows weary of his long-lov'd Mistris, Rhyme.
> Passion's too fierce to be in Fetters bound,
> And Nature flies him like Enchanted Ground. (8-10)

Such a witty dismissal of his earlier plays by the best playwright of the time surely increased his audience's admiration for him. Mockery of his own work entitles him to mockery of the work of others, as in the "Prologue to Albumazar" where he excuses adaptations by contrasting Jonson's remolding of old material with the blatant plagiarism of others,

> Who like bold Padders scorn by night to prey,
> But Rob by Sun-shine, in the face of day;
> Nay scarce the common Ceremony use,
> Of stand, Sir, and deliver up your Muse;
> But knock the Poet down; and, with a grace,
> Mount Pegasus before the owners Face. (19-24)

The wit of the extended simile is found not only in the idea that a poet can practice a trade like the footpad's, but that his manners can be even worse than the footpad's.

The "Prologue to Amboyna" (1673), his first political satire,[6] is one of the best prologues for argumentation. Dryden is interested in proving not so much the truth of his position as the falsity of the

[6]See W. B. Gardner's note in The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden: A Critical Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 224.

Puritan position. The first two couplets present the stock satirical relationship between fawning fool and knave in a simile. Having obtained the audience's scorn for this fool, Dryden can hold up to scorn the modern equivalent who believes that; "They [the Dutch] shall have all rather then make a War/With those who of the same Religion are" (7-8). This couplet contains the Puritan argument that Dryden assumes as a first premise: We must not make war on the Dutch because they are our co-religionists. Most of the prologue is taken up in proving a second premise. First, he shows that the Dutch are not so concerned about a friendly relationship through religion: "The Streights, the Guiney Trade, the Herrings too,/Nay, to keep friendship they shall pickle you" (9-10). The ironic tone in "to keep friendship" and in the colloquial word "pickle" directs the argument. The Puritan's position is indeed foolish. It is also inconsistent. Dryden makes an ironic appeal to history: "Religion wheedled you to Civil War,/Drew English Blood, and Dutchmens now wou'd spare" (15-16). Once again, tone directs. The word "wheedled" warns us of the Puritans' anti-logic. The suggestion that the Puritans are hypocritical is then stated flatly in the line "they have no more Religion, faith - then you." Having shown that neither side is religious, Dryden presents his second premise and gives it an almost proverbial ring: "But States are Atheists in their very frame" (22). The conclusion is understood: the Puritan argument is a false one and England may make war on the Dutch. This brings him to the purpose of the play, to whip up popular support for the war against the Dutch, and he invites his audience to "View then their Falsehoods, Rapine,

Cruelty;/And think what once they were, they still would be" (29-30). Dryden's argument here is not rigidly logical, but then he is not so concerned with being logical as with seeming to be logical.

In the "Prologue to Tyrannick Love," Dryden must justify himself against malicious critics in the audience. In lines 3-4, he establishes the idea to be proved: Critics who condemn whole plays for small errors must be malicious. Dryden begins his argument by undermining the only possible objection such a critic could make to this, that he is not interested in the poet as a person but in his work. In lines 12-15, Dryden presents as his first premise the truism that the good poet is not concerned with trivialities but with larger, bolder elements.[7] The second premise, lines 16-23, in effect says that this poet in this play is going to be bold, not timid and trivial. The strictly logical conclusion would be that this poet will reach excellence. But Dryden does not draw this conclusion here, for the play has yet to be seen by the audience. He does suggest a conclusion that this poet may reach excellence by the use of fanciful, magniloquent language (17) and that this poet does not intend to "lose the race" (23). According to the direction of the overall argument, there is no good reason for the carping critic except a personal one. Dryden's final couplet comes down like a hammer: my piddling critics are really piddling writers,

[7] In "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic License" prefaced to The State of Innocence (1677), Dryden takes a similar position: "If the design, the conduct, the thoughts, and the expressions of a poem, be generally such as proceed from a true genius of Poetry, the critic ought to pass his judgment in favour of the author. 'Tis malicious and unmanly to snarl at the little lapses of a pen, from which Virgil himself stands not exempted." Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), I, 179.

frustrated and consequently envious.

This, then, is the basic argument which the poet strengthens by various techniques of rhetoric. One of the available means of persuasion,which Aristotle recognizes,is that inherent to a particular argument itself. One of the limitations of prologues and epilogues is that their thought must be grasped by an audience in one hearing. There is no room for extensive ratiocination and little room for fine distinctions in terms or subtle turns in thought. Nevertheless, Dryden quickly establishes his quarrel with the critics by an antithesis: "That for small Errors,they whole Plays decry." He persuades by use of what Arthur Hoffman calls strong value and disvalue symbols.[8] For example, the poet blames the critic for malice in line 3, then later associates him with madness. A stronger example, though, is the association of the Puritan with the middle-class fool and cuckold in the "Prologue to Amboyna." These symbols in themselves persuade but they also contribute to the tone of certainty which in turn persuades. This tone of certainty is strengthened by a pretence at drawing on the fruits of mankind's experience. Line 11 has the appearance of the authority of a proverb, an authority that is enhanced by its very conciseness and precision. In the passage beginning on line 16 and continuing to line 23, the tone of certainty becomes itself almost a proof for the argument that he is a bold writer. Along with the vigorous meter, it reflects the good poet's vigour in actual composition. The final couplet is

[8]Arthur W. Hoffman, John Dryden's Imagery (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1962), p. 22.

given a contemptuous tone. Dryden returns to the critics for two lines, as if they are worth no further thought. The ambiguity here suggests a "take that as you will" dismissal. Line 25 could mean that the critics are completely incapable of writing anything themselves, or that their own writings have greater faults than the faults they find in the writings of others. In any case, Dryden taxes them with want of the wit he so self-confidently displays. Such confidence in his ability to persuade increased as his experience in writing prologues and epilogues increased, but especially so when the occasion for the prologue or epilogue was congenial to him. If he had some reason to defend his writing practice in Tyrannick Love, he had none in relation to All for Love. In the prologue to this play, Dryden chooses to argue the merits of the work by a mock-cringing in front of the critics:

> What Flocks of Critiques hover here to day,
> As Vultures wait on Armies for their Prey,
> All gaping for the Carcass of a Play! (1-3)

He can afford the self-confidence, and in a mocking tone he hands over to the critics the best topic for the attack: "Ours gives himself for gone; y'have watch'd your time!/He fights this day unarm'd; without his Rhyme" (6-7). When he turns on them, he turns on them not savagely, but with a tone of condescencion: "Let those find fault whose Wit's so very small,/They've need to show that they can think at all" (23-24). He is looking down from the height of the stage at the critic and pretending to offer some pointers: "Errours like Straws upon the surface flow;/He wou would search for Pearls must dive below" (25-26). But the

first half of the couplet affirms what the earlier prologue states about the bad critic's area of interest. And the second half, tying up with the previous couplet, denies that the bad critics can have any other area of interest. Such a confident tone, reflecting the poet's confidence in his ability to persuade, is itself persuasive.

Although tone is often directed by the meaning, it may itself direct the meaning. In his preface to Tyrannick Love, Dryden answers critics who claim that in lines 14-15 of the Prologue he patronizes his own nonsense[9] with an unnecessary reference to the original inspiration in Horace. But here are Dryden's lines again:

> Poets like Lovers should be bold and dare,
> They spoil their business with an over-care.
> And he who servilely creeps after sence,
> Is safe, but ne're will reach an Excellence. (12-15)

Although the rhyme emphasis is on "sence," it is clearly not "sence" that is in opposition to "Excellence" but "safe." The playful poet-lover analogue of the first couplet permits a contemptuous tone that expresses a licentious audience's contempt for the faint-hearted lover. The contemptuous tone is carried into the second couplet by the restatement of "over-care" in "servilely creeps." The use of the alliterative "s" connecting the key words of the first two suggests the softness of such a writer and contrasts with the firmness of the verdict of the last clause.

The tone in this prologue is closely bound up with another means

[9]Both Gardner, The Prologues and Epilogues of John Dryden, p. 206 and George R. Noyes, ed., The Poetical Works of John Dryden (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), p. 942, note this.

for persuasion which Aristotle calls "ethos." Ethos comes into play "when a speech is so uttered as to make [the speaker] worthy of belief."[10] This impression, Aristotle adds, "should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man" (pp. 8 9). So, the confident manner of the "Prologue to Tyrannick Love" persuades the audience that the speaker's judgments are correct. Though almost no political poet of the Restoration aside from Dryden shows an awareness of ethos, its importance in persuasion and relation to tone demands extensive treatment of it. My first example is one of an ethos of the sophisticated man-about-town. In the "Epilogue to The Man of Mode," the speaker judges Sir Fopling Flutter,

> Sir Fopling is a fool so nicely writ,
> The Ladies wou'd mistake him for a Wit,
> And when he sings, talks lowd, and cocks; wou'd cry,
> I now methinks he's pretty Company. (7-10)

making a distinction between the urbance man and the merely aggressive man. This suggests the speaker's gentlemanly awareness. Constant reference strengthens the impression of the knowledge of contemporary fashions and manners: "His various modes from various Fathers follow,/ One taught the Toss, and one the new French Wallow" (21-22). Such an impression of knowledge implies that the speaker has a right to criticize. Being superior, he has no reason to criticize maliciously. Thus the audience will believe him and feel free to join the laughter.

The ethos of the "Epilogue to Tyrannick Love" seems to depend on the well known character of the speaker, Nell Gwynn. But in fact Dryden creates a more universal impression of an actress with a past:

[10] The Rhetoric of Aristotle, trans. Cooper, p. 8.

" . . . therefore I that was an Actress here/Play all my Tricks in Hell, a Goblin there." A greater problem is the possibility that ethos might depend on the ability of a player. Autrey Nell Wiley seems to believe that ethos is something imposed from the outside when she says that the strength of the prologue and epilogue "rested in the orator and his response to his audience in gesture, glance, and tone of voice."[11] Undoubtedly there were times when the actor used gesture and glance to improve the effectiveness of his presentation. The word "Natures" in the couplet "For after death, we Sprights, have just such Natures,/We had for all the World, when humane Creatures!" might call for raised eyebrows. This couplet, "Gallants, look to 't, you say there are no Sprights;/But I'll come dance about your Beds at nights," might call for a wag of the head or a wink. But such gestures are not absolutely necessary here. As for the ethos that involves tone, Miss Wiley is dead wrong. There is no need of the player's injection of tone into the epilogue, for the tone is already present. The poem reads itself. The potential conflict between the basic components of tone, between rhetoric and meter, and the common tendency of actors and readers to ignore metrical stress for the sake of rhetorical stress has been recognized by Yvor Winters in his "Audible Reading of Poetry" and countered with this rule-of-thumb: "the reader should deal with rhetorical stresses with the utmost restraint -- he should indicate them as far as the occasion requires, but he should not become enthusiastic, undignified, or unmetrical

[11]Autrey Nell Wiley, Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642-1700 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940), p. XLV.

about them. They are not to be superimposed upon the basic rhythm, nor can the basic rhythm be constructed from them."[12] Meter guides rhetoric rather than vice-versa. If the actor ignores the metrical stresses of the opening couplet of the "Epilogue to Tyrannick Love," he may arrive at a tone and ethos different from the ones Dryden intended: "Hŏld, ăre yŏu măd? Yŏu dāmn'd cŏnfŏundĕd Dŏg,/Ĭ ām tŏ rīse, ănd spēak thĕ Ēpĭlŏgue." The two lines are iambic except for the trochaic substitution at the beginning for the sake of the attention-getting imperative "hold." A purely rhetorical reading could shift the stresses to the pronouns "you," "you," and "I." A consequent of this would be an indignant tone instead of a mock-indignant tone, and the projection of an ethos of a self-centered woman rather than the self-mocking woman we find in later lines. Even if, by chance, the tone and ethos are interpreted correctly from the beginning by use of rhetorical stress only, the danger of finding an inconsistent ethos is ever present in lines such as these: "Bŭt, fārewĕll Gēntlĕmēn, măke hāste tŏ mē,/Ĭ'm sūre ĕ're lŏng tŏ hāve yŏur cŏmpănȳ." A purely rhetorical reading would place the heaviest stress of the first line segment on the third syllable, leaving the second syllable unaccented. This suggests the ethos of a conceited actress, an ethos the reader might be tempted to reinforce by placing the stress on the "I'm" of the line following. If we follow the meter, we can see that the second and fourth syllables of the first line must

[12] Yvor Winters, "The Audible Reading of Poetry," Hudson Review, 4 (Autumn, 1951), 440, rpt. in Winters' The Function of Criticism: Problems and Exercises (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1957).

be accented. Though the accent is placed on the second syllable, this syllable is stressed only in relation to the first syllable. The third syllable, though unaccented, actually has a greater stress than the first or second syllable. This progressive emphasis helps form the detached tone of an off-handed, unaffected invitation to the tiring rooms. It can be seen, then, that Dryden has no need to depend on the player for tone or ethos. He controls both.

The purpose of the "Epilogue to Tyrannick Love" is not only to close the gap between players and audience, and to bring the audience back to reality after several hours of heroic illusion,[13] but to win applause:

> O Poet, damned dull Poet, who could prove
> So sensless! to make Nelly dye for Love
> Nay, what's yet worse, to kill me in the prime
> Of Easter-Term, in Tart and Cheese-cake time!
> I'le fit the Fopp; for I'le not one word say
> T' excuse his godly out of fashion Play.
> A Play which if you dare but twice sit out,
> You'l all be slander'd, and be thought devout. (17-24)

But this is part of the fun. The speaker's insolent tone helps set up a rapport with the audience. The pun on "dye" and the implication of "Easter-Term" strengthens the rapport by an assumption of some social awareness in the audience if not in the poet. It is easy to laugh and applaud one who makes fun of herself, for, even if she turns the ridicule around and directs it back at the audience, she is not likely to be severe. Thus the audience is at ease. Nell's refusal to praise the

[13]Autrey Nell Wiley discusses such a purpose in the Introduction to Rare Prologues and Epilogues, pp. xlii, xliii.

play draws her closer to the audience and further from the poet, for unlike him she recognizes the irreligious and sophisticated taste of the audience. The passage ends with a surprising antithesis. Nell gainsays the poet again by discouraging those who would come to the play a second time. Nell is knowing. The audience is knowing. The naïve poet seems to be the outcast. But, of course, the poet is doubly knowing, for he directs them all. And a knowing audience cannot in justice deny him the applause he craves.

Occasionally Dryden assumes the stance of a teacher. The "Prologue to Oedipus" begins in this manner:

> When Athens all the Graecian State did guide,
> And Greece gave Laws to all the World beside,
> Then Sophocles with Socrates did sit,
> Supreme in Wisdom one, and one in Wit. (1-4)

Dryden, the dramatist, or his persona, recounts theatrical history. Dignified tone, stately metre, and compression of thought within well-controlled couplets contribute to an ethos of the man of authority.[14] After this, Dryden recounts the success accorded Sophocles' Oedipus down through the ages. Having established his own authority, Dryden turns history to the advantage of his play:

> Now, should it fail, (as Heav'n avert our fear!)
> Damn it in silence, lest the World should hear.
> For were it known this Poem did not please
> You might set up for perfect Salvages:
> Your Neighbours would not look on you as men:
> But think the Nation all turn'd Picts agen. (13-18)

The argument proceeds by sleight of hand, this play not being Sophocles at all, but an adaptation of Sophocles' play. Dryden's witty concern

[14] So do the thoughts that echo Rymer's recent Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd. See Kinsley note, IV, 1864, and Gardner note, pp. 245-46.

for the nation's image abroad recognizes the trick, and the colloquial language ("Heav'n avert our fear," "perfect Salvages," "turn'd Picts agen.") underscores the new playful tone.[15] Dryden enforces his authority not by pulling the audience up to his level but by a mocking dip half-way down to the level of the audience: "See twice! Do not pell-mell to Damning fall,/Like true Brittains, who ne're think at all" (23-24). Yet the condescension bears with it a patriotic undertone that binds speaker to audience rather than dividing him from it. By this balance of playfulness and seriousness he is able to maintain his authoritative ethos.

Sometimes Dryden deliberately gives the speaker the appearance of an interested, undetached man. Thus he begins the "Prologue to Marriage a-la-Mode":

> Lord, how reform'd and quiet we are grown,
> Since all our Braves and all our Wits are gone:
> Fop-corner now is free from Civil War:
> White-Wig and Vizard make no longer jar.
> France, and the Fleet, have swept the Town so clear,
> That we can Act in peace, and you can hear. (1-6)

In the Restoration theatre, both the playwright and actor knew what it was to battle with a noisy audience. The mildly emotional tone set by the opening word "Lord," suggests a man feeling the joys of a mild but just revenge. But the ethos of the undetached player gradually gives way to the ethos of one more sympathetic to the audience as Dryden prepares for the usual plea for applause near the end of the prologue.

[15] This example could be used to prove Reuben Brower's belief that Dryden's success lay in his ability to be familiar with his audience while drawing on a wide range of European literary tradition. See "An Allusion to Europe: Dryden and the Poetic Tradition," in Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), rpt. in Dryden: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Bernard N. Schilling (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 43-54.

The "Prologue at Oxford, 1680" opens in the same way as the "Prologue to Oedipus," presenting the speaker as a man conversant with theatre history. But here, Dryden is clearly aware that his audience is more homogenous than the regular audiences of the London playhouses — they are all students, all interested in learning, all interested in drama. Ever aware of the available means for persuasion, Dryden utilizes an ethos that is consistently undetached. The political references could hardly be more one-sided:

> And few years hence, if Anarchy goes on,
> Jack Presbyter shall here Erect his Throne.
> Knock out a Tub with Preaching once a day,
> And every Prayer be longer than a Play. (11-14)

Yet even here the tone, playful and witty, reins the thought and prevents the poem from degenerating into railing. Dryden's speaker unites himself with the students as the educated elite, and assumes the rhetorical posture of one who stoically accepts the fact that the people revenge themselves on the elite whenever they can:

> Then all you Heathen Wits shall go to Pot.
> For disbelieving of a Popish Plot:
> Your Poets shall be us'd like Infidels,
> And worst the author of the Oxford Bells. (15-18)

The ethos of the detached man seems to be the tool of persuasion most difficult to master. The best political poets of the day fail to achieve it. Indeed most seem unaware of the importance of the impression a speaker makes on his audience. Waller's panegyric in unvaried tone praises too much. Marvell's patriot condemns too much. He is obviously factional except in the envoi of "Last Instructions" when it is too late. Oldham relies too much on his emotional rhetorical mode to be successful in creating an impression of trustworthiness. Dryden, on the other hand,

achieves detachment frequently even before the great political poems of the Exclusion Crisis. The mock-deprecation of the poet in the "Prologue to All for Love" projects an ethos of a man of good-will and permits the poet to proceed to his mocking attack on the critics without seeming to be an aggressor at all. The same holds true of the "Prologue to Tyrannick Love" except that here he spends more lines justifying himself and does it less wittily. It is most important to give the impression of detachment at the very opening, and Dryden does this: "Self-Love (which never rightly understood)/Makes Poets still conclude their Plays are good." The parenthesis makes the speaker seem honest. The thought of the first couplet represents one extreme, self-love, while the second couplet represents its opposite extreme, hatred of others. The conclusion of the third couplet denies both extremes and thus places the speaker in the position of a moderate. The reader is now prepared to believe an honest and moderate speaker, to take him at his word:

> Therefore our Poet, as he thinks not fit
> T' impose upon you, what he writes for Wit,
> So hopes that leaving you your censures free,
> You equal Judges of the whole will be. (7-10)

Such reasonableness suggests a detached poet, but the poet is not completely detached because in the next six couplets he must justify his own method of writing. Still the ethos of the speaker plus the playful tone neutralize in the justification any suggestion of indulgent self-love that could destroy the sincerity of the argument and the poem as a whole.

The beginning of the "Epilogue Spoken to the King at the opening the Play-House at Oxford on Saturday last. Being March the Nineteenth 1681" with its allusion to the use of the telescope establishes the

character of the speaker as intellectual. The third couplet, with its view of Oxford through a telescope, "Thus crowded Oxford represents Mankind,/And in these Walls Great Brittain seems Confin'd," establishes the detachedness of the speaker by his ability to take a distant view. In his praise of the town of Oxford,

> This Place the seat of Peace, the quiet Cell
> Where Arts remov'd from noisy business dwell,
> Shou'd calm your Wills, unite the jarring parts,
> And with a kind Contagion seize your hearts:
> Oh! may its Genuis, like soft Musick move,
> And tune you all to Concord and to Love. (11-16)

the poet uses quiet, dignified language to create a detached tone and a regular meter to suggest calmness. Even the rhetorical entreaty of the last couplet is relatively unemotional and reinforces the speaker's good-will. Yet the passage is not completely detached. The first couplet praises a Tory town chosen as a meeting-place for Parliament by Charles to get away from the London Whig mob. The speaker then seems to be pro-Tory, if only mildly so. Lines 19-20, "From hence you may look back on Civil Rage,/And view the ruines of the former Age," casts more suspicion on the speaker's detachedness, for although detached moderates might appeal to recent history to warn the more extreme, it was mainly the Tories who saw the earlier period as "ruines." Dryden does not linger on these sentiments, however, and brings the epilogue to a close with couplets that give the distinct impression of honest detachedness: "Mirth is the pleasing business of the Night,/The King's Prerogative, the People's right" (26-27). The entertainment idea is similar to one in "Prologue to the University of Oxford, 1674," but given a witty political turn: "'Tis Wisdoms part betwixt extreams to Steer:/Be Gods in Senates, but be Mortals here" (30-31).

In rhetoric, it is not enough to argue well or to establish an attractive ethos. Although logos and ethos assume some awareness of audience, "pathos" is a more direct concentration on audience. There is no strong argument at all in the "Epilogue Spoken to the King," for an argument would alienate the audience of parliamentarians who have argued politics all day long and now have come to the playhouse to seek diversion from politics. The speaker merely suggests that extremism is not good and that Oxford and the players will entertain and at the same time soothe extremism. From the beginning, Dryden gains the audience's assent to his ideas by compliment:

> Oxford is now the publick Theater;
> And you both Audience are, and Actors here.
> The gazing World on the New Scene attend,
> Admire the turns, and wish a prosp'rous end. (7-10)

The speaker wins the audience over by acknowledging its importance. He shows the parliamentarians that the thinks the best of them in the entreaty: "Oh! may its Genius, like soft Musick move,/And tune you all to Concord and to Love" (15-16). By expecting that they will behave well, he persuades them to be on their best behaviour.

In the "Prologue to Tyrannick Love," Dryden puts the audience in a receptive mood first by using the ethos of a detached speaker, then by a witty ridicule of extremes. Finally, he uses the technique of joining the audience to himself as moderates between the two extremes:

> Therefore our Poet, as he thinks not fit
> T' impose upon you, what he writes for Wit,
> So hopes that leaving you your censures free,
> You equal Judges of the whole will be. (7-10)

This trust in the audience demands a reciprocal trust for the poet. Now he can go on to persuade that his method of writing drama is the best way.

The opening of the "Prologue to Circe, a Tragedy" contains an example of Dryden's use of analogy to capture an audience and bring it to accept what he wants it to accept:

> Were you but half so wise as you're severe,
> Our youthful Poet shou'd not need to fear;
> To his green years your Censures you wou'd suit,
> Not blast the Blossom, but expect the Fruit. (1-4)

In the double couplet conditional sentence, the speaker reproaches the audience for its severity. The first half of the second couplet points out a reasonable kind of judging that takes circumstances into account, while the second half reinforces the idea with an antithesis. Before the audience has a chance to interpret the speaker's attitude as antagonistic, Dryden quickly supplies a witty analogy on its favourite subject, sex, and makes his point again that allowances must be made for neophytes:

> The Sex that best does pleasure understand,
> Will always chuse to err on t' other hand.
> They check not him that's Aukward in delight,
> But clap the young Rogues Cheek, and set him right. (5-8)

Obviously this second analogy is not needed to clarify the idea. But, by accepting the current attitudes of Town and Court toward women, he persuades them to accept him. Implicit in the remainder of the prologue is the assumption that the speaker has the good-will of the audience so that he can go on to alternate similar analogies with direct reproaches without fear of losing it.

Another technique of pathos is the emotionally loaded allusion or analogy. Condescending allusions to the Scots or Irish or contemptuous references to the French almost always found an audience united in full agreement, as Oldham was only too well aware. Besides being united in patriotism, the audience was united in acceptance of and familiarity with

the Bible. Dryden sometimes took advantage of this for persuasion, especially after he collided head-on politically with the Bible-quoting Puritans. Here is the opening to the "Prologue to The Unhappy Favourite" of 1681, written while he was working on Absalom and Achitophel:

> When first the Ark was Landed on the Shore,
> And Heaven had vow'd to curse the Ground no more,
> When Tops of Hills the Longing Patriark saw,
> And the new Scene of Earth began to draw;
> The Dove was sent to View the Waves Decrease,
> And first brought back to Man the Pledge of Peace:
> 'Tis needless to apply when those appear
> Who bring the Olive, and who Plant it here.
> We have before our eyes the Royal Dove,
> Still Innocence is Harbinger to Love,
> The Ark is open'd to dismiss the Train,
> And People with a better Race the Plain. (1-12)

The first three couplets' reference to the Flood of Genesis would be seen in those politically troublesome times, and with the King present in the audience, to apply to the previous age, viz. flood = Civil War. The dignity of the tone, underscored by the elevated language and stately regularity of the meter, simulates biblical dignity and seriousness. Now follows a slight shift in tone to the more colloquial as the speaker picks out from the audience the King. The fourth couplet makes it plain that the dove stands for Charles at his Restoration. The effect of the analogy is to give divine sanction to Charles' reign and to associate him with divinely ordained peace. Having raised an emotion in his audience through biblical analogy, Dryden maintains that emotion by biblical allusion. Speaking of the restless Englishman, he makes a value judgment by an allusion to Exodus, 16: "Why should he quit for hopes his certain good,/And loath the Manna of his dayly food?" (16-17). No answer is expected to the rhetorical question. But those who murmur

against the King's rule are identified with the Israelites who murmured against the rule of God.

In most of the examples given so far of Dryden's use of the means of persuasion, he is directing his remarks to one group, the London or Oxford theatre audience. Yet it is known that the theatre audience of the Restoration Period was not socially uniform. Van Doren is correct, of course, when he says that the age saw a narrowing of the Restoration audience[16] as compared to earlier audiences. Members of the Court and their associates dominated. However, as Emmett L. Avery shows[17] the rising middle class, people like Pepys' relatives and neighbours, men of the Naval Office, Templars, citizen-merchants and parliamentarians, gained more and more influence in the theatre as the period progressed. In writing his prologues and epilogues, Dryden sometimes felt compelled to divide up his audience, speak to each group individually, and thereby improve his accuracy in persuasion. Modern political campaigners, of course, do something the same when they try to reach every section of a society, realizing that even recognition of the existence of a group can gain that group's support. In this approach, tone becomes especially important to Dryden as a means for persuasion, but also important to the modern reader for identifying the audience Dryden is trying to reach.

[16] John Dryden, p. 129. Allardyce Nicoll gives the standard explanation in British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginnings to the Present Time (London: George G. Harrap, 1925), p. 219, and The English Theatre: A Short History (London: Thomas Nelson, 1936), p. 91.

[17] Emmett L. Avery, "The Restoration Audience," Philological Quarterly, 45 (1966), 54-61.

The opening half of the "Epilogue to Tyrannick Love" shows Dryden making adjustments for his speaker Nell Gwynn so that in the second half she may win the audience's applause for herself and for the play:

> I come, kind Gentlemen, strange news to tell ye,
> I am the Ghost of poor departed Nelly.
> Sweet Ladies, be not frighted, I'le be civil,
> I'm what I was, a little harmless Devil
> For after death, we Sprights, have just such Natures,
> We had for all the World, when humane Creatures;
> And therefore I that was an Actress here,
> Play all my Tricks in Hell, a Goblin there.
> Gallants, look to 't, you say there are no Sprights;
> But I'le come dance about your Beds at nights.
> And faith you'l be in a sweet kind of taking,
> When I surprise you between sleep and waking. (3-14)

In the first couplet she jokes with the men of the audience in a breezy tone. The caesuras in the third line, suggesting hesitation, mark the shift in tone to one of appeasement. Nell pretends to mollify the women in the audience, but she is merely giving lip-service to the female point of view. For the phrase "little harmless devil" reflects the male view of herself not the female view. She is catering to the taste of a predominantly male audience, and the tone gradually becomes insolent, matching perfectly the sexual innuendo of her address to the gallants.

The "Prologue to Secret Love" also has the purpose of winning applause for the play. The speaker, Mrs. Boutell in man's clothes, uses the occasion to jest about sexual differences:

> Women like us (passing for men) you'l cry,
> Presume too much upon your Secresie,
> There's not a fop in town but will pretend,
> To know the cheat himself, or by his friend;
> Then make no words on 't, Gallants, tis e're true,
> We are condemn'd to look, and strut, like you. (1-6)

The innuendo of the first couplet indicates immediately that she accepts the lecherous male view of women. In the last two couplets, she ingra-

tiates two groups in the audience, the fops and the gallants, by giving them credit for sexual awareness. Having captured the male majority of the audience in the first half of the prologue, she addresses the ladies in the second half:

> The Ladies we shall not so easily please.
> They'l say what impudent bold things are these,
> That dare provoke, yet cannot do us right,
> Like men with huffling looks, that dare not fight.
> But this reproach, our courage must not daunt,
> The Bravest Souldier may a Weapon want,
> Let Her that doubts us still, send her Gallant. (12-18)

At first, in a grave tone, she pretends to anticipate the ladies' moral objections, but in lines 14-15 wittily turns the thought, assuming that the ladies are every bit as interested in sexual gratification as the men. The final triplet here with its insolent tone implying that the speaker as a woman is on to the ways of women, forces them to laugh at themselves.

The "Prologue to Marriage a-la-Mode" opens with references to two kinds of war, the Dutch War, and the battle between players and audience for dominance in the playhouse. The ironic tone underlines the player's feeling of revenge, for although the Dutch War is admittedly a serious thing, he cannot help smiling with relief at winning so easily on this occasion the private theatre war. The line "Twas a sad sight, before they march'd from home" begins a shift to a more sympathetic tone that unites the player and the various sections of his audience in a bond of understanding. Yet even here there is something of irony:

> But 'twas more sad to hear their last Adieu,
> The Women sob'd, and swore they would be true;
> And so they were, as long as e're they cou'd:
> But powerful Guinnee cannot be withstood,
> And they were made of Play house flesh and bloud. (10-14)

The attitude is like the attitude of indulgent parents toward a naughty child: you are naughty but we forgive you because you belong to us. The speaker goes on to talk about the effect the exodus has on friends of the wits and effectively works on the audience's sentiment:

> Poor pensive Punk now peeps ere Plays begin,
> Sees the bare Bench, and dares not venture in:
> But manages her last Half-crown with care,
> And trudges to the Mall, on foot, for Air. (20-23)

Line 24 begins recognition that the Citts in the audience are different from the rest, and in the usual ridiculing tone casts aspersions on their taste in entertainment. But in the end, even the Citts are reconciled to the club:

> We'll follow the new Mode which they begin,
> And treat 'em with a Room, and Couch within:
> For that's one way, how e're the Play fall short,
> T' oblige the Town, the City, and the Court. (34-37)

The "Prologue . . . spoken at Mithridates . . ., 1681" is a particularly successful and bawdy address to the various parties in the audience. The wit of the opening couplets turns on the idea of the recent theatre vacation as a fast. The speaker proceeds to welcome each group in the audience in turn, gallants, ladies, husbands, cuckolders, and rakes, and show that none of them have been fasting from entertainment completely. For example, the ladies:

> Welcome fair Ladies of unblemish'd Faith,
> That left Town Bagnio's for the fruitful Bath;
> For when the Season's Hot, and Lover's there,
> The Waters never fail to get an Heir. (9-12)

The "fair Ladies" usually addressed from the Restoration stage were the titled and aristocratic females in the first gallery. But the word "Bagnio" has a double meaning. The ladies could have deserted the London

vapour baths for a vacation at the newly fashionable resort of Bath. Then again, they could have left the London brothels for a more lucrative trade in Bath. The second couplet supports the latter interpretation. Thus the ladies are really the playhouse vizards. Dryden's ability to achieve an ironic tone by mixing the dignified, here a classical salutation, with the colloquial is apparent in this address to the jockies:

> Hail you New-Market Brothers of the Switch,
> That leap left Strumpets, full of Pox and Itch,
> A leap more dangerous than the Devil's Ditch. (17-18)

The nasty images appearing in all of the addresses reflect back on the speaker who is supposedly a man-about-town, allows nothing to escape his observation, and has the habit of speaking plainly. Dryden makes the various parties in the audience forget their differences for the time being and unites them in their common boldness and lechery. On the other hand, Dryden is careful not to accuse anyone of religious hypocrisy, which is the worst of sins to the Court and Town. This is a deliberate anticipation of his main argument. They are now only too willing to accept his condemnation of Titus Oates for his moral hypocrisy. While the speaker has all along treated the members of the audience as equals, he now looks down on Oates with a sneer, and the tone becomes playfully ironic: "The Plot's remov'd, a Witness of Renown/Has lodg'd it safe, at t'other End o'th' Town" (26-27). Dryden makes the most of the Loyal Protestant Mercury's report[18] that Oates was kept well supplied with food in the city by the Whigs and that someone trusted him enough to leave two infants on his doorstep. Dryden labels this latter person

[18]See Kinsley, IV, 1876.

"pious Whore," implying that the Whigs think anyone in any way associated with Oates must be religious. In this triplet,

> Heav'n Grant the Babes may Live, for Faith there's need,
> Swearers fall off so fast, if none succeed
> The Land's in danger quite to loose the breed. (33-35)

"Heav'n" and "Faith" suggest religion, but the colloquial tone transforms the meaning into religious hypocrisy. The idea of succession connecting up with "two small squalling Evidences" three lines earlier, implies that the real reason the infants were left on Oates' doorstep is that he is their true father. Though he clearly has the upper hand, Dryden refuses to indict any party for the Popish Plot stir, and remains detached: "Both sides have lost and by my Computation/None but Jack Ketch has gained in the Nation" (40-41). This ability to yield immediate advantage for the sake of reaching a larger audience and increasing the overall chance of persuasion distinguishes the good political poet from the mediocre one. But by this time, Dryden had a firm control of rhetoric, couplet technique, and tone, and could afford to bypass the aggressive approach. When a political turn of events provided the occasion for a full-scale political poem, this work revealed a mature virtuoso in the couplet, in rhetoric, and most especially in tone.

Chapter Four: Tone and Persuasiveness in Absalom and Achitophel

In mid-November 1681, two weeks before Shaftesbury was brought to trial on a treason charge, Dryden published Absalom and Achitophel not merely to abuse a politician in trouble as Marvell had abused Clarendon, but to persuade moderates to support the King's cause against the Whigs, and to prophesy the triumph of the King. As in the prologues and epilogues, Dryden made use of the means of persuasion immediately available. Political use of biblical allegory was not new. Allegories similar to Dryden's had been used regularly since Charles I's reign. The Popish Plot itself had produced similar works such as Caryll's Naboth's Vineyard. Indeed the parallel of Absalom's rebellion against David had been overused in political pamphletry of the previous four decades.[1] It was Dryden's good fortune to recognize the suitability of the biblical parallel to the political situation of the Exclusion Crisis of 1681. Unlike Caryll, he was able to work out the parallels cleverly and often thoroughly: Charles, of course, is David, as he was as far back as "Astraea Redux;" England and the English become Israel and the Jews; Sion is London; Hebron is Scotland; France and Louis XIV are Egypt and Pharoah. Monmouth, like Absalom, is personally attractive and makes a determined attempt to win over the people in the hope of gaining the

[1] See Richard F. Jones, "The Originality of Absalom and Achitophel," Modern Language Notes, 46 (1931), 211-18, rpt. in Essential Articles for the Study of John Dryden, ed. H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Archon Books: Hamden, Conn., 1966); also Ian Jack, Augustan Satire ... 1660-1750 (1952; rpt. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 55-57.

throne. Shaftesbury, like Achitophel once counsellor to the King, becomes leader of the conspiracy. Many of the minor characters are particularly apt. For example, the London Whig Sheriff, Slingsby Bethel, becomes Shimei, the kinsman of Saul-Cromwell, who curses David-Charles. Nevertheless, the parallel disappears at times. Monmouth seeks his uncle's future crown while Absalom seeks his father's present crown. The counter-plotting of Jotham does not suit the contemporary Halifax perfectly. The "Essay on Innovation" and the King's speech have no biblical counterpart at all. And Dryden, as he notes in his preface, purposely stops short of a biblical military encounter between King and son which would end in the death of the latter.

The important point, for my purpose, however, is not that the allegory is imperfect but that it provides for the poem parallels consistent enough to attract the majority of readers conversant with the Bible. Besides this, the allegory works constantly and indirectly in praise and blame of the Tories and Whigs respectively.[2] Its very indirectness provides the detachment so necessary for the narrator if the poem is to be successful in persuasion. Closely interwoven with the biblical allegory is the heroic mode. The allegory provides the material for the heroic mode. It overcomes what Verrall calls the "difficulty in applying 'heroic' treatment to contemporary politics, owing to the familarity of the subject-matter and of the terms." It overcomes the "danger that the style would be degraded by [the subject-matter and terms], not they

[2]In "Dryden and History: A Problem in Allegorical Reading," ELH, 36 (1969), 265-90, John Wallace shows that seventeenth century readers were used to drawing parallels and conclusions from these parallels.

elevated by the style."[3] Familiar names such as "Parliament" or "London" might destroy the seriousness and place the mood of the poem beyond the poet's control. "Sanhedrin" and "Sion" provide the pause for interpretation that gives to the reader the illusion of distance.

While Dryden was turning out his witty prologues and epilogues in the 60's and 70's, he was spending most of his time on the heroic drama. Because of its influence on Absalom and Achitophel, I will devote some space to it. A genre peculiar to the period, it is defined by Dryden as "an imitation in little, of an heroic poem; and, consequently ... Love and Valour ought to be the subject of it."[4] His dozen or more heroic plays of the 60's and 70's gave him the opportunity to imitate epic poets both classical and renaissance. In the love versus valour conflict adapted from Corneille and the other French tragedians, he advanced in the handling of debates, excellent training for the pamphleteer. Simultaneously, he learned the representation of heroic character with its dignified speeches, elevated actions and passions. Almanzor and Aureng-Zebe are superhuman figures who perform great deeds in battle and yet are ruled by their ideal passions for Almahide and Indamora. But it was not so much heroic plots, actions, or characters that he brought to the composition of Absalom and Achitophel, as the heroic style of writing.

[3]A. W. Verrall, Lectures on Dryden, ed. Margaret De G. Verrall (1914; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 56.

[4]Essays of John Dryden, ed. W. P. Ker (1900; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), I, 150.

Dryden's heroic style in the plays is borrowed more from Virgil than from Homer. Reuben Brower shows[5] that in the earliest plays Dryden's imitation of Virgil is purely decorative, whereas in the later Indian Emperor (1667), Dryden is usually more selective, restricting epic imitations to the narratives that require a grandness of style:

> Behind the covert, where this temple stands
> Thick as the shades, there issue swarming bands
> of ambushed men . . . .[6]

To a reader familiar with Virgil this will remind of lines from Aeneas' description of the fall of Troy. It is not the images alone that seem to echo Virgil, but something that Ian Jack notes (p. 6) as characteristic of Dryden's heroic idiom, the music of "sounding words." Words and rhythmic movement are dignified. There are Latinate nouns and adjectives, Latin use of verb parts, Latin order of sentence parts. Brower compares a narrative passage from The Conquest of Granada (1671) with Virgil's Aeneid. Here is the Dryden:

> Not heads of poppies (when they reap the grain)
> Fall with more ease before the labouring swain,
> Than fell this head:
> It fell so quick, it did even death prevent,
> And made imperfect bellowings as it went.
> Then all the trumpets victory did sound,
> And yet their clangours in our shouts were drown'd.[7]

Here is the Virgil:

> Purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
> Languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo

[5]Reuben Brower, "Dryden's Epic Manner and Virgil," PMLA, 55 (1940), 119-38, rpt. in Essential Articles, ed. Swedenberg.

[6]The Indian Emperor, I, ii, in The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, Scott-Saintsbury ed. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), II, 334. Quoted by Brower.

[7]The Conquest of Granada, Part I, I, i, Scott-Saintsbury ed., IV, 38-39. Quoted by Brower.

Demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.
(Aeneid, IX, 435-37)[8]

From Virgil, notes Brower, comes Dryden's "easy sweep of the lines with their characteristically Virgillian parentheses, hence the effective use of the caesura after 'head' ... hence too the suggestive use of rime and assonance in 'sound . . . shouts . . . drown'd'."[9] This style, insofar as it indicates the playwright's manner of speaking consequent to his recognition of his relation to topic, character, and audience, may be called tone, more specifically here heroic tone.

The heroic qualities of Absalom and Achitophel have generally been recognized. One congratulatory poem that Dryden allowed to be attached to a later edition of his poem begins thus: "Homer, amazed, resigns the hill to you,/And stands i' the crowd, amidst the panting crew."[10] Another offers this triplet in praise:

> The inspiring sun to Albion draws more nigh,
> The north at length teems with a work to vie
> With Homer's flame and Virgil's majesty.[11]

Only in our own time has serious investigation of these qualities begun. Arthur Verrall set the pattern for investigation, first by observing the epic language (Miltonic), and by settling boldly on the genre of the

[8]P. Vergili Maronis Opera, ed. A. Sidgwick (1890; rpt. Cambridge: The University Press, 1907), I. Brower quotes the first two passages, and part of the third.

[9]Brower, p. 125.

[10]Walter Scott reproduces the poem in The Works of John Dryden, 2nd ed. (1808; Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1821), IX, 216.

[11]Scott, ed., IX, 215.

work as epyllion.[12] Probably the best example in Absalom and Achitophel of a passage epic in style and unmixed in heroic tone is the elegy on the Duke of Ormond's son:[13]

His Eldest Hope, with every Grace adorn'd,
By me (so Heav'n will have it) always Mourn'd,
And always honour'd, snatcht in Manhoods prime
By' unequal Fates, and Providences crime:
Yet not before the Goal of Honour won,
All parts fulfill'd of Subject and of Son;
Swift was the Race, but short the Time to run.
Oh Narrow Circle, but of Pow'r Divine,
Scanted in Space, but perfect in thy Line!
By Sea, by Land, thy Matchless Worth was known;
Arms thy Delight, and War was all thy Own:
Thy force, Infus'd, the fainting Tyrians prop'd:
And Haughty Pharaoh found his Fortune stop'd.
Oh Ancient Honour, Oh Unconquer'd Hand,
Whom Foes unpunish'd never coud withstand!
But Israel was unworthy of thy Name:
Short is the date of all Immoderate Fame.
It looks as Heaven our Ruine had design'd,
And durst not trust thy Fortune and thy Mind.
Now, free from Earth, thy disencumbred Soul
Mounts up, and leaves behind the Clouds and Starry Pole:
From thence thy kindred legions mayst thou bring
To aid the guardian Angel of thy King.
Here stop my Muse, here cease thy painful flight;
No Pinions can pursue Immortal height:
Tell good Barzillai thou canst sing no more,
And tell thy Soul she should have fled before;

[12]For language see Verrall, Chapter III, and also Anne Ferry, Milton and the Miltonic Dryden (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); Leonora Brodwin, "Miltonic Allusion in Absalom and Achitophel: Its Function in the Political Satire," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 68 (1969), 24-44. For Verrall on genre, see pp. 58-59. For Ian Jack on genre, see p. 76. Morris Freedman in "Dryden's Miniature Epic," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 57 (1958), 211-19, agrees with Verrall. See also Bernard Schilling on epic machinery, Dryden and the Conservative Myth: A Reading of "Absalom and Achitophel" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 143; and Albert Ball, "Charles II: Dryden's Christian Hero," Modern Philology, 59 (1961-62), 25-35.

[13]Brower, pp. 132-33, quotes much of this as an example of the heroic, as does Ruth Nevo, The Dial of Virtue: A Study of Poems on Affairs of State in the Seventeenth Century. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 255.

> Or fled she with his life, and left this Verse
> To hang on her departed Patron's Herse?[14]

The heroic tone is formed mainly by Virgilian allusion. Brower, followed by James Kinsley,[15] gives several examples of imitation of the Aeneid. Lines 832-33 echo Aeneas' eulogy of Anchises:

> Iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
> Semper honoratum, sic di voluisti, habebo.
> (Aeneid, V, 49-50)

Line 844 echoes Anchises' praise of Marcellus:

> Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
> Dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
> Obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem,
> Seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
> Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
> Tu Marcellus eris ....
> (Aeneid, VI, 878-83)

The allusions give to Dryden's lines, as Brower notes (p. 482) dignity, formality, and an oratorical exaltation. The dignity of the tone is produced by the slow movement of the lines, by regular rhythm, and by careful placing of the caesuras as in lines 833-34. The formality of the tone comes partly from the variation of declarative and exclamatory sentences and from the elegiac diction, for example "unequal Fates" alluding to Aeneid II, 257, and X, 380.[16] But it also comes from the very abstractness of the imagery, for example lines 835-41. Thomas, Earl of Ossory is never physically realized. Dryden concentrates on generalities, though at the same time he can inject a convincing tone of certainty by epigrammatic lines such as 846-47. The abstract images

[14] The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958). I am using this edition throughout the chapter.

[15] Brower throughout his article; Kinsley, IV, 1898.

[16] See Brower, pp. 132-33, for elegiac diction.

lead to the concept (850-53) of Ossory's spiritual support for Charles' cause. This is no place for personal grief, and the last two couplets exhibit not a passionate sorrow but a faintly melancholy feeling of a classical elegy.

Passages with epic qualities and heroic tone may be found in other parts of Absalom and Achitophel, notably in the five speeches. Here are three couplets that begin the praises of supporters of the King:

> Him of the Western dome, whose weighty sense
> Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence. (868-69)
>
> Hushai the friend of David in distress,
> In publick storms of manly stedfastness. (888-89)
>
> Of ancient race by birth, but nobler yet
> In his own worth, and without Title great. (900-01)

The first succinctly presents the ideal churchman, the second the friend in adversity, and the third the worthy aristocrat. They are all serious men. The rhythm, formal though not plodding, underlines this. The dignity is increased by Latinate arrangement of words, especially in the last.

It is this epic style with its heroic tone that Dryden brought from his plays and in Absalom and Achitophel mixed with the satirical mode and colloquial tone he had learned in the prologues and epilogues. The result is a fusing of heroic and satiric within the lines as well as an alternation of mainly heroic passages with mainly satirical passages. Such an alloy was not entirely new. Marvell, Cowley, Butler, and Waller had done something similar,[17] but the mixture was under

[17] See Warren Chernaik, The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 182-83; and Nevo, p. 245.

greater control with Dryden. The success of this mixture in Absalom and Architophel has been questioned. Edwin Morgan in his article "Dryden's Drudging" says that "the attempt to turn a satirical 'petty Draught' into something semiheroic and positive can rarely be successful, and it is this attempt that makes Absalom and Achitophel less satisfying as a whole than the best parts of it suggest."[18] He goes on to dismiss heroic elements here as "unpersuasive" and even "contemptible" (p. 426). I think that satire alone could be allowed to be sufficient if the purpose of Absalom and Achitophel were only attack. But Dryden's main purpose was to pursuade moderates and the unaligned to support the King's cause. In order to do this, he had not merely to leave a suggestion of a norm or ideal from which the object of his attack deviates, but to set up an attractive and substantial explanation of the principles of his political position. Hence the serious side of the poem which Dryden chose to present in the heroic style.

The main function of the opening section (1-42) of Absalom and Achitophel is to introduce the allegorical story. Dryden gives us the setting of biblical times, and introduces two of the three important characters, David and Absalom. Still, the opening lines are not heroic. As Ian Jack notes, (p. 73) there is no "invocation or ... other dignified figure" expected of a heroic narrative. Nevertheless, the poet is in complete control of his allegory. Dryden had a problem built into his contemporary political material--how to confront Monmouth's illegitimacy without arousing in his reader thoughts censorious of Charles'

[18]Edwin Morgan, "Dryden's Drudging," The Cambridge Journal, 6 (April, 1953), 426, rpt. in Dryden: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Bernard N. Schilling (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

profligacy. He solved this problem by associating Charles with the freedom of Israelite laws on sexual matters, knowing that his political enemies the Puritans had pretensions to a stricter morality, and by relating Monmouth's position to the strict Israelite laws on royal succession, knowing that his political enemies wished to change the similar English laws. Charles then is protected behind the allegory while Monmouth is exposed by it.

The persuasiveness of the opening section gains much strength from the tone. Here is part of it:

> In pious times, e'r Priest-craft did begin,
> Before Polygamy was made a sin;
> When man, on many, multiply'd his kind,
> E'r one to one was, cursedly, confind:
> When Nature prompted, and no law deny'd
> Promiscuous use of Concubine and Bride;
> Then, Israel's Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
> His vigorous warmth did, variously, impart
> To Wives and Slaves: And, wide as his Command,
> Scatter'd his Maker's Image through the land.
> Michal, of Royal blood, the Crown did wear,
> A Soyl ungratefull to the Tiller's care:
> Not so the rest; for several Mothers bore
> To Godlike David, several Sons before.
> But since like slaves his bed they did ascend,
> No True Succession could their seed attend.

The dignified movement of the first couplet is altered by the colloquial "Priest-craft." "Pious" and "Priest-craft" placed in antithesis suggest the speaker's witty if mild anti-clericalism. This suggestion is reinforced by the antithetical placing of "polygamy" and "sin," giving the neutral verb "was made" the coloring of tyrranical imposition. Hence the impression of a playful yet slightly cynical tone that will modify the whole section. The impression is strengthened by the expansion of the idea in the next couplet. The alliterative "m" of line three yokes together what is usually separated. Being in the same rhyme position, "confind" refers back to "sin" and reverses its meaning. In the next

couplet, Dryden begins to work on the idea of the King as creator. "Nature" connects with "Pious times" to suggest an ideal or edenic world. Simultaneously it is related by alliteration to "no law," and by suggestion to "multiply'd his kind," which alludes to Genesis 9:1 and 9:71. The divinity gave no law against promiscuity. Indeed there is the suggestion, confirmed by line nine, that He commanded it. The couplet closes with polysyllables that produce a tone of certainty. The principal clause expands on the idea that Charles-David is not only imitating the Creator's act of creation but producing imitations of himself who is in turn an imitation of the Creator. Dryden's cavalier attitude is shown by his use of colloquial phrases "Heaven's own heart" and "vigorous warmth" and the triumphant tone of line ten which hints of Charles on a royal progress scattering largesse and thereby pleasing both God and the recipients of his charity.

Charles comes off pretty well then. But only because Dryden, as in his prologues and epilogues, makes certain adjustments to suit the audience he wishes to persuade, and in making these adjustments, he defines his audience.[19] The gibe at the clergy and the other suggestions of a slightly cynical tone delineate an audience made up of people who are not religious, yet not violently anti-religious either. The speaker projects an ethos of a sophisticated wit meant to endear him to this audience. He presumes that the audience is religiously detached enough to perceive and enjoy the witty blasphemies. The interjection of the

[19]William Piper, The Heroic Couplet (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), p. 115, says that "the more points of agreement, rational and irrational, Dryden could remind the different factions of and the more he could soften and de-emphasize their differences, the more of their individual members he could win over to his views of these differences."

colloquial "cursedly" (4), indicating disgust at rigid morality, and the flippant dismissal of Charles' notorious promiscuity suggests an audience firstly of males, secondly of men far removed from the Puritan extremists, an audience that if not all rakes who thoroughly sympathize with Charles' activities, at least the worldly-wise who can wink at such activities. Of course clergymen, Puritans,[20] and women may have been part of the original reading audience, but they were not part of the audience Dryden was seeking to persuade.

At line eleven there is a general change in tone. The tone becomes more serious as the speaker becomes more specific, partly to avoid giving offence to Queen Catherine, partly because he is focussing on the most serious objection to Monmouth's succession to the throne of England, his illegitimacy. Having done this, he introduces Monmouth as Absalom:

> Of all this Numerous Progeny was none
> So Beautifull, so brave as Absolon:
> Whether, inspir'd by some diviner Lust,
> His Father got him with a greater Gust;
> Or that his Conscious destiny made way
> By manly beauty to Imperiall sawy.
> Early in Foreign fields he won Renown,
> With Kings and States ally'd to Israel's Crown:
> In Peace the thoughts of War he could remove,
> And seem'd as he were only born for love.
> What e'r he did was done with so much ease,
> In him alone, 'twas Natural to please.
> His motions all accompanied with grace;
> And Paradise was open'd in his face.

The first six lines of this passage seem to be straight panegyric. Appropriately enough, the tone is serious, even heroic. The stately rhythm and dignified words contribute to this tone. Only the words

[20] Macdonald Emslie in his article "Dryden's Couplets: Wit and Conversation," Essays in Criticism, 11 (1961), 267, calls attention to the opening passage's descent "to the colloquial-urbane, the speaking voice of the Restoration Town-Gentleman--a note that the Nonconformist parson could not catch."

"Lust" and "Gust" obviously dissent, referring back to the irony of the opening passage. The next three couplets, as Chester Gable remarks, insist upon "the two traits of a hero which were proper to the epic--his renown in war and his natural attraction in love."[21] In the four lines following this, Dryden mentions the King's pleasure in his son, and in the six lines beyond this, the King's fatherly indulgence. The panegyric ends with a summarizing couplet.

The usual interpretation of the narrator's attitude toward Absalom - Monmouth is that of lenience. Scott was the first to notice that Dryden had to be careful not to condemn Monmouth outright because the King was still very fond of his eldest.[22] Dryden took care to make Absalom the dupe of the wily Achitophel. Unfortunately, it has often been forgotten, as Christopher Ricks shows, that Dryden by no means lets Monmouth off free. Of the heroic qualities attributed to Absalom, Ricks says: "The compliments will turn out to be damaging. Absalom's beauty? In a few lines we are to be told that the beauty is a political weapon. He is brave? Part of the damage will lie in the association with war; the 'Foreign fields' soon follow, and in originating the rebellion

> Achitophel still wants a Chief, and none
> Was found so fit as Warlike Absalon (220-21)."[23]

Ricks's method of proving his point is to show that a word or words within the lines do not fit well with the seeming panegyric. For example,

[21]Chester Cable, "Absalom and Achitophel as Epic Satire," in Studies in Honor of John Wilcox, ed. A. Dayle Wallace and Woodburn G. Ross (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1958), p. 55.

[22]Scott ed., IX, 200.

[23]Christopher Ricks, "Dryden's Absalom," Essays in Criticism, 11 (1961), 277.

the word "Conscious" (21) to Dryden and his contemporaries could mean "inwardly guilty." Hence, the couplet may be read as satirical also. Absalom's looks are indeed his political weapon, and the speaker's attitude is simultaneously one of praise and one of blame. The next couplet Ricks (p. 278) acknowledges as complimentary but also disparaging because it suggests that while Monmouth "early" did his duty to his father's realm, "now" he is fomenting civil war. The tension between the heroic and satiric produces an ironic tone. The same is true for the next three couplets. The seeming panegyric is really satire. This is a perfect example of irony as Eleanor Hutchens defines it: "purposeful deception in which an intention is carried out through the pretense of carrying out its opposite."[24]

The ironic tone allows Dryden to prepare for the topic of Charles' fondness for Monmouth:

> With secret Joy, indulgent David view'd
> His Youthfull Image in his Son renew'd:
> To all his wishes Nothing he deny'd,
> And made the Charming Annabel his Bride.
> What faults he had (for who from faults is free?)
> His Father could not, or he would not see.
> Some warm excesses, which the Law forbore,
> Were constru'd Youth that purg'd by boyling o'r"
> And Amnon's Murther, by a specious Name,
> Was call'd a Just Revenge for injur'd Fame.
> Thus Prais'd, and Lov'd, the Noble Youth remain'd,
> While David, undisturb'd, in Sion raign'd.

Dryden can explain Charles' indulgence as natural to a father, but the object of it is unworthy. The tone of fairness of lines 35-36 is strengthened by parentheses. Dryden by the question gives his speaker and his audience credit for a sense of fairness. In the next couplet,

[24]Eleanor Hutchens, "The Identification of Irony," ELH, 27 (1960), 358.

the tone is one of worldly blandness, as Ricks points out (p. 280). In effect, it is an appeal to the sophisticated audience of the opening lines. The image "boyling o'r" connects Monmouth with the later extended simile (136-41) describing rebellious faction (Ricks, p. 280), and prepares for the direct condemnation of Monmouth in the following couplet as a murderer. The bland tone is modified only by the sneer of the word "specious." This couplet, puzzling to critics in the past, can be explained best when the mixed tone of the passage is seen.[25] The closing couplet, in Ricks's words, follows "the lines on Ammon's murder as if it had never been mentioned" (281). Dryden pretends to be upholding the heroic panegyric ("Thus Prais'd"), but the word "undisturb'd" suggests that things are about to change, and Monmouth has pushed his luck too far.

In the two sections following the portrait of Absalom, Dryden characterizes the English people, outlines the political situation surrounding the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, and sharpens the norms against which the rebels can be judged. The republicans, though treated first, are not the norm as the narrator's satirical tone assures us. They are glibly presented as deviates from the norm, extremists who "led their wild desires to Woods and Caves,/And thought that all but Savages were Slaves" (55-56). It is the politically moderate who are the norm:

> The sober part of Israel, free from stain,
> Well knew the value of a peacefull raign:

[25] Ricks takes the view that in "Amnon's Murther," referring only to the nose slitting of Sir John Coventry, Dryden "intensified the charge against Monmouth ... beyond the truth" (281). But E. S. de Beer sees the phrase referring also to the killing of a beadle near Whetstone Park in 1671. See "Absalom and Achitophel: Literary and Historical Notes," Review of English Studies, 17 (1941), 306. E. S. Le Comte agrees with this in "Amnon's Murther," Notes and Queries, 10 (1963), 418.

> And, looking backward with a wise afright,
> Saw Seames of wounds, dishonest to the sight;
> In contemplation of whose ugly Scars,
> They Curst the memory of Civil Wars.
> The moderate sort of Men, thus qualifi'd,
> Inclin'd the Ballance to the better side. (69-76)

The praise is free from even a hint of extravagance, thus impressing on the reader the idea that the narrator is perfectly candid. In effect, he is suggesting that he is addressing himself mainly to the moderates in his audience. This agrees with Dryden's remarks in his preface "To the Reader:" "If I happen to please the more Moderate sort, I shall be sure of an honest Party; and, in all probability, of the best Judges; for the least Concern'd, are commonly the least Corrupt" (Kinsley ed.). Dryden's view of the political situation is remarkably just for a time when the turmoil had not yet subsided:

> Some Truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with Lyes;
> To please the Fools, and puzzle all the Wise,
> Succeeding times did equal folly call,
> Believing nothing, or believing all. (114-17)

The colloquial tone reveals a man who can stand back and smile at both extremes. Such detachment has its origin in moderation. The narrator seems to be practising what he preaches. Thus, he is in a position to persuade other moderates (Whig moderates, nonaligned moderates, as well as Tory moderates who have been inactive) to his way of thinking.

In his portrait of Slingsby Bethel the Whig sheriff, Dryden could be more openly censorious than in the portrait of Absalom without fear of offending anyone other than the hard-core Whigs. Nevertheless, his couplets work in something the same way. It is true that the opening lines of the portrait have all the dignity of a heroic panegyric:

> Shimei, whose Youth did early Promise bring
> Of Zeal to God, and Hatred to his King;
> Did wisely from Expensive Sins refrain,
> And never broke the Sabbath, but for Gain:

> Nor ever was he known an Oath to vent,
> Or Curse unless against the Government.
> Thus, heaping Wealth, by the most ready way
> Among the Jews, which was to Cheat and Pray. (585-92)

But words or phrases keep getting in the way of the praise, though the movement of the lines betrays no accommodation for them. "Hatred" and "Expensive" set up an opposition to the solemn tone. The result is a poised, knowing tone of a man emotionally detached from the political situation. The last three couplets, each showing a sting in the tail, produce similar surprising oppositions between the heroic and the colloquial. The next two couplets intensify the oppositions:

> The City, to reward his pious Hate
> Against his Master, chose him Magistrate:
> His Hand a Vare of Justice did uphold
> His Neck was loaded with a Chain of Gold. (593-96)

London's reaction to the contradictory "pious Hate" is completely irrational. The result of this irrational behaviour is expressed in a couplet of epic dignity. Only the colloquial word "loaded" connects with Bethel's unworthiness. It is this mixture of heroic and colloquial within single lines and couplets that Reuben Brower calls Dryden's satiric mode.[26] The colloquial element carries the attack, but the heroic element also plays its part In his "Discourse of Satire" (1693) Dryden says of Boileau's Lutrin, which he greatly admired: "Here is the majesty of the heroic, finely mixed with the venom of the other; and raising the delight which otherwise would be flat and vulgar, by the sublimity of the expression" (Ker, II, 108). The two are mutually enriching. The heroic within the lines provides not only a contrast, but a fixed point from which Dryden can

[26]Reuben Brower, "An Allusion to Europe: Dryden and Poetic Tradition," in Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 4; rpt. in Dryden: A Collection, ed. Schilling.

descend to attack Bethel. Hence the scorpion stings in the couplets quoted above. Sometimes the tone will move in the opposite direction, from the colloquial to the serious or near-heroic, for special effect:

> If any durst his Factious Friends accuse,
> He pact a Jury of dissenting Jews:
> Whose fellow-feeling, in the godly Cause,
> Would free the suffring Saint from Humane Laws.
> For Laws are only made to Punish those,
> Who serve the King, and to protect his Foes. (606-11)

A man capable of packing juries is indeed dangerous, but the narrator mentions the action offhandedly and playfully. His detachment is modified only by the contemptuous use of the Puritan cant terms "godly cause" and "suffring Saint." In the last couplet there is a slight elevation in tone. It is as if Bethel, with supreme effrontery, is proclaiming this in public in all seriousness.

As with all the portraits of the malcontents, that of Shimei is not merely a personal attack, but a universal type. He represents the extreme republican and Puritan middle-class man of commerce, a type disliked by the skeptical and sophisticated moderates of the Court and Town to whom Dryden addressed himself. The heroic tone allows Dryden's narrator and audience, then, to look down on Bethel. On the other hand, the character of Zimri represents the aristocratic dilettante who likes to flirt with republicanism. Besides settling an old score with Buckingham, Dryden was probably also providing food for thought for those nobles among his audience who because of indifference gave no support to the King. In the portrait of Zimri, Dryden eliminates the heroic tone completely, except for the first couplet. Yet he does not descend to a vile tone. He is colloquial without being offensive. Dryden's speaker joins his audience to himself in taking a hard look at a fellow noble. Railing would have suggested a lower-class speaker

trying to pull a nobleman down to his own level, and the sense of an in-group would have been broken. Fine raillery presenting a speaker at once mannerly and detached was the solution:

> Blest Madman, who coud every hour employ,
> With something New to wish, or to enjoy!
> Rayling and praising were his usual Theams;
> And both (to shew his Judgement) in Extreams:
> So over Violent, or over Civil,
> That every man, with him, was God or Devil. (553-58)

The contradiction in "Blest Madman" gives to the couplet a slight tone of condescension, intimating "we understand you and you have our sympathy." In the next two couplets, Dryden denies him the wittiness on which he prided himself and thereby assumes for the speaker and his readers a position of intellectual superiority. The parenthesis is an aside that further unites sophisticated speaker with sophisticated audience. There are two solutions to Buckingham's "Extreams:" he is unable to make subtle distinctions among the people he meets; he is insincere, a hypocrite. The one is pitiable in a gentleman, the other unseemly. In his "Discourse of Satire" (1693), Dryden says of his treatment of Buckingham: "I avoided the mention of great crimes, and applied myself to the representing of blindsides, and little extravagancies" (Ker, II, 93). This approach, backed up by a mastery of couplet and tone, gives the portrait its superiority to that in "Rochester's Farewell." Such raillery could well be afforded, for it is the biblical parallel that implicates Buckingham in great crimes.[27] The character of Corah has, as Brower shows, a fine mixture of heroic and colloquial within the lines.[28] Virgilian and epic allusion is countered by

[27]For the allusion, see J. Q. Wolf, "A Note on Dryden's Zimri," Modern Language Notes, 47 (1932), 97-99.

[28]Brower in Alexander Pope, pp. 4-7.

colloquial tones, and Oates's pretensions to the role of English hero is put to scorn. The speaker's overall tone is one of contempt for an upstart social inferior: "Ours was a Levite, and as times went then,/His tribe were Godalmightys Gentlemen" (644-45).

Although the portrait of Achitophel contains a like mixture of heroic and satiric, its tone or attitude differs noticeably from the playfulness of the Zimri portrait. The opening couplets illustrate this difference:

> Of these the false Achitophel was first:
> A Name to all succeeding Ages Curst.
> For close Designs, and crooked Counsels fit;
> Sagacious, Bold, and Turbulent of wit:
> Restless, unfixt in Principles and Place;
> In Power unpleas'd, impatient of Disgrace. (150-55)

The passage begins with dignity. The words are serious, solemn, damning. By the third line, "close" and "crooked" bring in the colloquial. The shifting pauses of this and the remaining lines seem to imitate the instability attributed to Shaftesbury. The swift movement of the vowels coupled with the alliterative "s" and "p" convey a sneering tone. This sets the pattern. Compare these lines: "Great Wits are sure to Madness near ally'd;/And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide" (163-64). The word "sure" indicates satirical intent, but the lines are deadly serious. There is nothing of the playfulness of the couplet on Zimri beginning "Blest Madman." Dryden is consciously, as Ruth Wallerstein shows, associating Shaftesbury with a tradition of the melancholy temperament then still current in European thought.[29] Compare these lines:

> And all to leave, what with his Toyl he won,
> To that unfeather'd, two Leg'd thing, a Son:

[29]Ruth Wallerstein, "To Madness Near Allied: Shaftesbury and His Place in the Design and Thought of Absalom and Achitophel," Huntington Library Quarterly, 6 (1943), 445-47.

Got, while his Soul did hudled Notions try;
And born a shapeless Lump, like Anarchy. (169-72)

The first couplet, taking a swipe at scientific attempts at classification of man, seems to be raillery, but less so in relation to the second couplet. J. R. Crider[30] is right in interpreting this last as a "like father like son" idea (with the disease of anarchy being passed on), rather than the idea of a gratuitous insult to the son. Either way, the wit is caustic. Of course, Shaftesbury as begetter is intended to be compared to Charles as begetter. This passage is the only one in the portrait where the speaker comes even close to railling. The reason can be found in one of the two main purposes of the poem. Schilling says: "Up to now, Shaftesbury had not been isolated as the main conspirator by an organized campaign. This became Dryden's assignment: so to discredit Shaftesbury that it would be easier to convict him of treason."[31] Having thus far given his speaker the appearance of a moderate and detached man, Dryden apparently felt safe in taking a more Juvenalian approach towards Shaftesbury. Thus the words "false" and "Curst" in the very first couplet of the portrait leave no doubt in the reader. Neither does this couplet: "In Friendship False, Implacable in Hate:/ Resolv'd to Ruine or to Rule the State" (173-74). By his technical mastery (for example, alliteration makes the statement emphatic here), Dryden convinces of his speaker's authority. Though the lines are very general, there is a fascination about them. They are beautifully said, and said with finality. By the concentration and serious relentlessness

[30]J. R. Crider, "Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel, 169-172," Explicator, 23 (1965), Item 63.

[31]Schilling, p. 175.

of the attack, Dryden manages to convince that his indignation is just, that unlike the other rebels who are dangerous only when effectively led, Shaftesbury is the Machiavelli of the age. Even the short panegyric on Shaftesbury works to this end:

> Yet, Fame deserv'd, no Enemy can grudge;
> The Statesman we abhor, but praise the Judge;
> In Israels Courts ne'r sat an Abbethdin
> With more discerning Eyes, or Hands more clean:
> Unbrib'd, unsought, the Wretched to redress;
> Swift of Dispatch, and easie of Access. (186-91)

First, it suggests that the speaker is weighing the character of Shaftesbury very carefully and that the speaker is, above all, truthful. Secondly, it is a rhetorical device used by Dryden, as Schilling (pp. 176-77) points out, as an excuse to deplore the evil road Shaftesbury has taken:

> Oh, had he been content to serve the Crown,
> With vertues only proper to the Gown;
> Or, had the rankness of the Soyl been freed
> From Cockle, that opprest the Noble seed:
> David, for him his tunefull Harp had strung,
> And Heaven had wanted one Immortal song. (192-97)

Though a lament, it is also an exhortation to virtue to the reader, something Edwin Morgan (p. 67) sees as ruining satire. Here, it strengthens the satire, putting the blame squarely on Shaftesbury's shoulders.

The varied mixtures of heroic and satiric, of dignified and colloquial tones in the portraits of the rebels show that Dryden is constantly making adjustments in order to reach his audience. That the mixtures are successful has rarely been denied. Even Morgan (p. 67) when he decries the joining of the heroic with the satiric is probably not thinking of Brower's mixture within the lines where "the vulgar thrust

is inseparable from the reference to high literary styles"[32] so much as of the comparison between Dryden's treatment of the rebels and his treatment of the King and his followers. Yet perhaps it is this very mixture within the lines that permits a successful compromise between positive and negative, between mainly heroic and mainly satirical passages.

Several critics in the past, among them Yvor Winters, have commented on the apparent lack of a unifying principle in Absalom and Achitophel. Though Dryden uses the biblical allegory more consistently than earlier political poets, it is not the unifying principle. Some important parts of the poem have only the slightest connection with the biblical account; for example, the temptation scene, really a Miltonic allegory, originates in the Bible's mere mention of Achitophel giving counsel at Absalom's request. Some parts of the poem are outright additions to the biblical account, for example, the "Essay on Innovation" and the King's speech. Besides this, there is no narrative action. Indeed, Dryden seems to be using the biblical parallel not as a structure so much as material, albeit most attractive material, for his poem. Nevertheless, Winters' evaluation is unnecessarily harsh: "Dryden employs a dull narrative, which elaborately and clumsily parallels the biblical narrative, and he does this in order to praise a monarch who was a corrupt fool."[33] But the biblical parallel is only part of a larger parallel, a moral allegory. Bernard Schilling delineates this moral allegory under the name "conservative myth," showing Dryden's structuring of the conflict between good and evil around the central

[32] Brower, Alexander Pope, p. 8.

[33] Yvor Winters, "The Poetry of Charles Churchill," Poetry, 98 (April, 1961), 49; rpt. Forms of Discovery (Denver: Allan Swallow, 1967).

theme of the divinity of order and the law. As he says: "Dryden sets up a parallel between ideas and events, with one interpreting the other; his myth is so applied as to establish itself as a rational, coherent view of life, going far beyond the mere loyalty to the Kings Charles and James that Dryden was supposed only to be capable of--a loyalty dragged down by the quality of its object."[34] The moral allegory is not quite as effective as Schilling believes, for sometimes he assumes that a passage that is a valuable part of the myth must be equally valuable to the poem.[35] But the moral allegory nonetheless is an ordering principle much more consistent than the biblical allegory.

In the process of revealing the "conservative myth" as an ordering principle, Schilling also shows that the poem is more even than formerly thought. Still, the problem of the seeming unevenness of the poem has not been completely solved. Winters mentions an inclination to remember the poem fragmentarily, meaning the portraits of Zimri and Achitophel with their brilliant satire (p. 126), and Morgan sees the heroic and positive elements of the poem as unsatisfactory and even "contemptible" (p. 267). I believe that a consideration of Dryden's rhetoric and tone will reveal more interest in the less well known parts of Absalom and Achitophel than these critics see and show that much of the unevenness of the poem is more apparent than real. Certainly, the

[34]Schilling, p. 14.

[35]For example, the portraits of the loyal few. I agree with Earl Miner in his review of the book, Philological Quarterly, 41 (1962), pp. 583-84, that Schilling is inclined to ignore lines in Absalom and Achitophel that do not fit well with the conservative myth. As Miner points out, these very lines (33-40, 709, 843, 495-500) show that Dryden's position is not that of a one-sided conservative but of a moderate conservative.

narrator's tone and playful attitude towards Charles and the audience in the opening section provide an interest equal to anything in the portraits of Zimri and Achitophel, and the irony of the anti-panegyric on Absalom has an interest unique to the poem. An equal interest and quality may be found in the passages on the contemporary political situation (43-149) where Dryden combines a rich colloquial tone with the serious tone of an historian and manages to be remarkably just and detached.[36]

Satire is less in evidence in the temptation scene, the very heart of the poem, because mor oblique. The characters of Shaftesbury and Monmouth have already been disparaged in the portraits, but here Dryden permits them to damn themselves through their own words and actions. The biblical allegory does some of the work of blame, but the Miltonic allegory and many allusions to the temptation scenes of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained do more of it.[37] Thus all are related to the rhetoric and tone. The introductory couplet to the temptation scene with its Miltonic allusion to Satan in Paradise Lost prep res us for the language: "Him he attempts, with studied Arts to please,/And sheds his Venome, in such words as these" (228-29). But here are the opening lines of Achitophel's first speech:

> Auspicious Prince! at whose Nativity
> Some Royal Planet rul'd the Southern sky;

[36]Earl Miner, Dryden's Poetry (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1967), pp. 128-29, sees the passage as a remarkable example of the use of biblical metaphor and tone alteration. J. R. Jones, The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683) (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 222, uses parts of this section to illustrate his belief that "the flashes of Dryden's insight illumine more than the light shed by many records."

[37]See Schilling, pp. 195-99; Brodwin and Freedman articles already cited; and A. B. Chambers, "Absalom and Achitophel: Christ and Satan," Modern Language Notes, 74 (1959), 592-96.

> Thy longing Countries Darling and Desire;
> Their cloudly Pillar, and their guardian Fire:
> Their second Moses, whose extended Wand
> Divides the Seas, and shews the promis'd Land:
> Whose dawning Day, in every distant age,
> Has exercis'd the Sacred Prophets rage:
> The Peoples Prayer, the glad Deviners Theam,
> The Young-mens Vision, and the Old mens Dream!
> Thee, Saviour, Thee, the Nations Vows confess;
> And, never satisfi'd with seeing, bless.

This is heroic panegyric with a difference. The heroic comes close to the magniloquence of Milton. The hyperbole is blasphemous. Achitophel seems to be reaching but for metaphors ever more extravagant until he reaches the ultimate blasphemy "Thee, Saviour," and attempts to make Absalom into a Christ. The extravagant figures combine with a general overripeness of language (e.g., heavy alliteration and melodious sound) to inject a derisive tone beneath the heroic surface. It seems as if Achitophel is permitted to praise Absalom while at the same time mocking him. This impression is strengthened by these couplets:

> How long wilt thou the general Joy detain;
> Starve, and defraud the People of thy Reign?
> Content ingloriously to pass thy days
> Like one of Vertues Fools that feeds on Praise. (244-47)

The boldness of the tone and the colloquial language of the first couplet push it into the ironic. The last line has a similar ambiguity of tone. The Miltonic "ingloriously" is ludicrous when applied to "Fools." In the last line, Achiotphel pushes the mockery as far as it will go, for, in effect he is saying that he knows that Absalom is a fool for listening to Achitophel's flattery, but fortunately not a virtuous fool.

Dryden persuades the reader that the Whig position is false by showing that Achitophel's reasoning is false. Shortly after the panegyric that opens his first speech comes this couplet, which Freedman (p. 214) rightly sees as alluding to the forbidden fruit of Paradise

Lost: "Believe me, Royal Youth, thy Fruit must be,/Or gather'd Ripe, or rot upon the Tree" (250-51). The tone is that of a hard realist, though the reasoning is false. Achitophel makes a false deduction in assuming there are only two alternatives. Faulty reasoning also shows up in this analogy:

> Had thus Old David, from whose Loyns you spring,
> Not dar'd, when Fortune call'd him, to be King,
> At Gath an exile he might still remain,
> And heavens Anointing Oyle had been in vain. (262-65)

The analogy is false because Monmouth's position is not Charles' position in Holland in the early months of 1660. For Monmouth is illegitimate, while Charles was then not merely the legitimate heir, but King since the death of his father in 1649. Again, as Achitophel tries to persuade Absalom that he is right, he convinces the reader of his falsity. Absalom can gain, he says,

> Not barren Praise alone, that Gaudy Flower,
> Fair only to the sight, but solid Power:
> And Nobler is a limited Command,
> Giv'n by the Love of all your Native Land,
> Than a Successive Title, Long, and Dark,
> Drawn from the Mouldy Rolls of Noah's Ark. (297-302)

Achitophel is manipulating words. "Solid power" slips into "limited Command." It appears that Achitophel agrees with the narrator that Absalom's claim to the throne can never be maintained by legitimacy but only by popularity. Rule based on the people's love may be in Achitophel's words "nobler," but it cannot be "solid" or stable. The narrator has already shown this in his character of the people: "Gods they had tri'd of every shape and size/That God-smiths could produce, or, Priests devise" (49-50).

The desperate and perverse determination of Achitophel, "resolv'd to Ruine or to Rule the State," is revealed in his willingness

to stoop to any argument to convince Absalom. In his second speech, he follows Absalom's regret that he has kingly qualities without legitimacy with the argument:

> Th' Eternal God Supreamly Good and Wise,
> Imparts not these Prodigious Gifts in vain;
> What Wonders are Reserv'd to bless your Reign?
> Against your will your Arguments have shown,
> Such Vertue's only given to guide a Throne. (376-80)

This is a case of mistaken causal relationship. Achitophel says that because Absalom is gifted, he should have the throne. If this were so, of course, anyone with talent could have the throne. Secondly, Achitophel falls back on the idea that the people have a right to choose the monarch (40 ff.). Thirdly, he attempts to pull Absalom into the camp of the rebels through fear. He makes York seem to be the aggressor and then concludes:

> Your Case no tame Expedients will afford;
> Resolve on Death, or Conquest by the Sword,
> Which for no less a Stake than Life, you Draw;
> And Self-defence is Natures Eldest Law. (455-58)

Once again he is using the specious argument of false deduction, pretending that there are no more than two alternatives. From this it is only one step to the desperate remedy of seizing King Charles (474-76).

The single speech given to Absalom is used to show that Absalom really believes the royal cause is right. Into Monmouth's mouth, Dryden places a panegyric on Charles:

> My Father Governs with unquestion'd Right;
> The Faiths Defender, and Mankinds Delight:
> Good, Gracious, Just, observant of the Laws;
> And Heav'n by Wonders has Espous'd his Cause.
> Whom has he Wrong'd in all his Peaceful Reign?
> Who sues for Justice to his Throne in Vain?
> What Millions has he Pardon'd of his Foes,
> Whom Just Revenge did to his Wrath expose?
> Mild, Easy, Humble, Studious of our Good;
> Enclin'd to Mercy, and averse from Blood.

The restraint of the language contrasts with the extravagance of Achitophel's praise of Absalom. The rehtorical questions lead to a climax in the mention of David's mildness, Charles' most notable attribute. The praise then is based on truth. The tone is respectful, even reverent, but the easy almost colloquial flow prevents the serious tone from becoming dull. Absalom's candidness has been prepared by the narrator's remarks preceding it:

> What cannot Praise effect in Mighty Minds,
> When Flattery Sooths, and when Ambition Blinds!
> Desire of Power, on Earth a Vitious Weed,
> Yet, sprung from High, is a Caelestial Seed:
> In God 'tis Glory: And when men Aspire,
> 'Tis but a Spark too much of Heavenly Fire.
> Th' ambitious Youth, too Covetous of Fame,
> Too full of Angells Metal in his Frame;
> Unwarily was led from Vertues ways;
> Made Drunk with Honour, and Debauch'd with Praise.
> Half loath, and half consenting to the Ill,
> (For Loyal Blood within him strugled still)
> He thus reply'd --

The benign tone on the surface seems to work in Absalom's favour, but the allusion to Milton's Adam and Eve produces an ironic tone. The phrases "unwarily was led" and "Half loath" and especially the parenthetical qualification of the second last line lend a tone of impartiality. Thus the narrator seems to be detached, to be recognizing that Absalom-Monmouth's character and motives are not simple, to be saying all he can in favour of him. Yet "Desire," "Ambitious," "Covetous," "Angells Metal," "Drunk," and "Debauch'd" do the work of damning the man utterly. Something of the same effect is produced by the passage appearing immediately after Achitophel's second speech. Here the narrator again pretends some sympathy for Absalom-Monmouth. "How happy had he been," he exclaims, "if Destiny/Had higher plac'd his Birth, or not so high!" (480-81). The tone is one of pity, but the narrator is simply reminding

his reader once again of Monmouth's illegitimacy. A few lines beyond this, the narrator says:

> 'Tis Juster to Lament him, than Accuse.
> Strong were his hopes a Rival to remove,
> With blandishments to gain the publick Love;
> To Head the Faction while their Zeal was hot,
> And Popularly prosecute the Plot. (486-90)

The first two lines have the tone of fairness. Irony begins to creep in with the tri-syllabic "blandishments." The fourth line with its swiftly moving monosyllables and slightly irregular rhythm which places heavy stresses on "Faction" and "Zeal" is caustic in tone. The fifth with its plosive "p" is contemptuous. Why then the elaborate illustration of Absalom-Monmouth's "Loyal Blood?" Dryden intends to eat his cake and have it too. By the panegyric on Charles, Absalom-Monmouth is made to disparage himself while sparing the reader a panegyric on the King that in the narrator's mouth would be less convincing as well as less interesting. The same device is used in an even bolder way when Dryden makes Monmouth praise his rival and greatest enemy, James, Duke of York. Here Dryden concentrates on James' best qualities, and stretches the truth by associating York with the best quality of Charles: "His Mercy even th' Offending Crowd will find,/For sure he comes of a Forgiving Kind" (359-60). This couplet is perhaps the least convincing of those spoken by Absalom especially since York was known to be vindictive. But immediately it leads to Absalom's wrestling with his problem in a short passage that provides interest in the shifting of tone. It begins with a tone of self-reproach: "Why shoud I then Repine at Heavens Decree;/ Which gives me no Pretence to Royalty?" Absalom laments that his talents and legal position were not more closely matched by Fate. The tone of despair reaches its lowest in the question

> Why am I Scanted by a Niggard Birth?
> My Soul Disclaims the Kindred of her Earth:
> And made for Empire, Whispers me within;
> Desire of Greatness is a Godlike Sin. (369-72)

while ambition wells up in him so that the passage ends in proud triumphant self-exaltation that has the ring of the rhetoric of Milton's Satan about it. The Temptation Scene is effective and persuasive, and its interest lies mainly in its very persuasiveness, in its varied tones and rhetoric. There is not the falling off suggested by Morgan. Though the Temptation Scene as a whole is as interesting as the satirical portraits, couplet for couplet it is not. Not that its couplets are technically inferior, but they seem to be doing less work than those of the portraits. For comparison, here is one couplet from the portrait of Achitophel: "Then, seiz'd with Fear, yet still affecting Fame,/Usurp'd a Patriott's All-attoning Name" (178-79). The following couplets, Achitophel's words on the King, really say the same thing about Achitophel:

> His faithful Friends, our Jealousies and Fears,
> Call Jebusites; and Pharaoh's Pentioners:
> Whom, when our Fury from his Aid has torn,
> He shall be Naked left to publick Scorn. (397-400)

And lines 232-41, 279-88, 411-16, from his speeches say the same thing. The difference between the couplets of the portrait and the couplets from the speeches is that the former being a character summary are tightly packed, whereas the latter being an illustration or proof showing hypocrisy in action must of necessity be more indirect and more gradual in impact. Dryden shapes his couplets to fit his material, and the material of the Temptation Scene demands a looser couplet.

Though the section usually called the "Essay on Innovation" (753-810) is seen as the dividing part of the poem looking back on the

treatment of the rebels and looking forward to the treatment of the loyal party, it is not an isolated section but well prepared for by earlier lines. After Absalom's desertion of the royal party, the narrator suggests a change in him: "He glides unfelt into their secret hearts" (693). The allusion is to Milton's Satan in Paradise Lost: "Into the Heart of Eve his words made way" (IX, 550) and "with guile/ Into her heart too easy entrance won" (IX, 733-734).[38] The deluded Absalom becomes the deluder. When he speaks of his father, he says: "with reverence yet I name" (707). But immediately he can assert that the King: "brib'd with petty summs of Forreign Gold,/Is grown in Bathsheba's Embraces old" (709-10). Such a charge was true, of course, but the nasty manner of it could be expected only from the King's enemies. Absalom, then, is not reverent but hypocritical. A little further on, he says: "He gives, and let him give my right away:/But why should he his own, and yours betray?" (713-14). His use of the word "right" shows that he has become a manipulator of words like Achitophel. He is hypocritical in his pretence to be more interested in the people's welfare than his own, and doubly so in the light of his earlier panegyric where he asks the rhetorical question: "Whom has he Wrong'd in all his Peaceful Reign?/Who sues for Justice to his Throne in Vain?" (321-22). Such a sudden change of opinion confirms his insincerity. Added to all this is the narrator's relation of Absalom's royal progress that ends thus:

> Yet all was colour'd with a smooth pretence
> Of specious love, and duty to their Prince.
> Religion, and Redress of Grievances,

[38] John Milton: The Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957).

> Two names, that always cheat and always please
> Are often urg'd; and good King David's life
> Indanger'd by a Brother and a Wife.
> Thus, in a Pageant Show, a Plot is made;
> And Peace it self is War in Masquerade. (745-52)

Dryden builds to a height the impudence of Achitophel's plans in action by use of tone. The caustic tone is revealed in the antithesis between "cheat" and "please." There is irony in the end-rhymes "life" and "Wife." The two in reality go together though the Whigs try to persuade the people that it is a matter of "death" and "Wife." The last line is, of course, the crowning irony. The ironic tension at this point is so high that it comes as a relief when the narrator breaks into an indignant tone intended to reflect the moderate reader's normal reaction:

> Oh foolish Israel! never warn'd by ill,
> Still the same baite, and circumvented still!
> Did ever men forsake their present ease,
> In midst of health Imagine a desease;
> Take pains Contingent mischiefs to foresee,
> Make Heirs for Monarks, and for God decree?
> What shall we think! can People give away
> Both for themselves and Sons, their Native sway?
> Then they are left Defensless, to the Sword
> Of each unbounded Arbitrary Lord:
> And Laws are vain, by which we Right enjoy,
> If Kings unquestioned can those laws destroy.

Dryden, in fact, is purposely working on the reader's feelings. He is using pathos to persuade. But the indignation does not last long, for the anger is tempered by the second line with its tone of impatience rather than of complete frustration. The narrator looks down on the people and takes a stance of a physician diagnosing a hypochrondriac. In line 759, he gives notice that he will examine both sides of the question. The "we" suggests a common bond between speaker and reader, and it is a bond of intelligence and social status. The next couplet answers the rhetorical question with a resounding negative. The slight condescension reminds us that the reason the narrator can sympathize

with the rights of the people, is not because he has a stake in the fortunes of the people but because he and his immediate audience are above them and understand them better than they understand themselves. This persuasive bond is maintained throughout the essay on innovation while the narrator argues for the King's position:

> Nor is the Peoples Judgment always true:
> The most may err as grosly as the few. (781-82)
>
> Nor only Crowds, but Sanhedrins may be
> Infected with this publick Lunacy. (787-88)

The first couplet has the assurance and authority of an old proverb. The second begins with a serious tone and ends with an amusedly good-natured one. This one quickly changes to indignation: "And Share the madness of Rebellious times,/To Murther Monarchs for Imagin'd crimes" (789-90). Dryden's sparing use of this particular tone emphasizes the justness of it when it <u>is</u> used. For above all else, he wants his narrator to appear moderate. In the last couplet of the long quotation above, the speaker seems to be a detached man who not only sees both sides of the question but recognizes the two extremes for what they are. The narrator courts the reasonable by appearing to reason, to weigh the problem carefully:

> Yet, if the Crowd be Judge of fit and Just,
> And Kings are onely Officers in trust,
> Then this resuming Cov'nant was declar'd
> When Kings were made, or is for ever bar'd:
> If those who gave the Scepter, coud not tye
> By their own deed their own Posterity,
> How then could <u>Adam</u> bind his future Race?
> How coud his forfeit on mankind take place?
> Or how could heavenly Justice damn us all
> Who nere consented to our Fathers fall?
> Then Kings are slaves to those whom they Command,
> And Tenants to their Peoples pleasure stand.

There is less reasoning than there appears to be. But, of course, Dryden is careful to exclude anything that might be related to the

specious reasoning of Achitophel. The words "yet if" and "then" placed at the opening of the couplets give the lines 765-68 the appearance of a syllogism with one of its terms taken for granted. But all that Dryden is doing is affirming that the original Covenant between the people and king included hereditary succession. Not that there is no ratiocination. The conditional clauses straddling the next four couplets form a true enthymeme. Even though Dryden denies the first premise by three rhetorical questions, he draws the natural conclusion anyway to show the direction of Whig thinking, and from this conclusion extracts a series of secondary conclusions beginning "Add," "Nor is," "Nor only," that lead to the idea that the ultimate Whig goal is the state of anarchy. Dryden's reasoning, perfect or imperfect, is persuasive. But his ability to summarize an argument or viewpoint, so evident in his treatment of the Popish Plot earlier in this poem and in his handling of theology in Religio Laici and The Hind and the Panther, is also persuasive. What he does is to summarize the extreme Whig position that he has already damned with satire, and place this up against the extreme Tory position, the doctrine of the divine right of kings,[39] rejecting both extremes. Not only does he seem to know what he is talking about, but he tries to accommodate the more moderate Whigs: "Yet, grant our Lords the People Kings can make,/What Prudent men a setled Throne would shake?" (795-96). The solution then is to maintain the moderate position between the extremes, to maintain the status quo, "to Patch the Flaws, and Buttress up the Wall" (802). "Our Lords" suggests an ironic tone. Even

[39] In The Intellectual design of John Dryden's Heroic Plays (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 44-50), Anne Barbeau discusses Dryden's attitude to the doctrine of the divine right of kings in relation to Hobbes and Filmer.

if some of you gentlemen in my audience, says the narrator, perversely insist on reversing your own social status, you have a patriotic duty to preserve peace and order. The "Essay on Innovation," while containing little heroic allusion, is definitely serious and positive. Morgan believes that this kind of passage in a satire "can rarely be successful" (p. 426). I maintain that it is successful here. It is not a matter of a serious passage being placed next to a satiric passage, but of a mixture of tones within the lines. Though the tones here are mainly serious, they are not dull, not even the indignant tone, for they are a subtle and closely knit part of the rhetoric. They are part of the interesting movement of thought back and forth between the speaker and his audience.

That is not to deny Morgan's belief completely. The heroic panegyrics on the loyal few have their interest in the parallels, in the epic allusions, in their heroic tones, and in couplet control, especially in comparison to other heroic panegyrics either by Dryden himself or by contemporaries such as Waller. But in comparison to the satirical portraits, they are less interesting, though not dull. Dryden, however, seems to have anticipated the problem of unevenness. Hence the brevity of the portraits of the King's supporters. Together, they make up only about one tenth of the poem, one third of this being the elegy on Barzillai's son. No great demands then are made on the reader's attention.

The King's speech is of a similar length. The opening couplet has been cited by Morgan as an example of the heroic dullness that is such a comedown from the earlier satire: "Thus long have I, by native mercy sway'd/My wrongs dissembl'd, my revenge delay'd" (939-40). There

is a solemnity arising out of its slow rhythmic movement and Latin sentence inversion. The long-awaited appearance of the person of the King could hardly have been presented in any other way. Granted, if the King continued in the same heroic tone for any length, he would soon become tiring. This is not the case. In the opening ten lines, the King himself confirms what others have said about his forgiving nature:

> But now so far my Clemency they slight,
> Th' Offenders question my Forgiving Right.
> That one was made for many, they contend:
> But 'tis to Rule, for that's a Monarch's End.
> They call my tenderness of Blood, my Fear:
> Though Manly tempers can the longest bear. (943-48)

There is a colloquial vigour here. Given the number and variety of the offences of the rebels, the reader might expect an indignant tone in the King's words, except that the understatement reveals a tone of patience bordering on the ironic. The King is unemotional, fully in control of himself, and, as he will show, fully in control of his Kingdom. These lines are a little different: "Those heap'd Affronts that haughty Subjects bring,/Are burthens for a Camel, not a King" (951-52). They have a tone of ironic amusement. The abstract is wittily transformed into the concrete. And yet a serious point is made. Something of the same effect is gained in a passage (969-90) further on. These are the opening lines: "Whence comes it that Religion and the Laws/ Should more be Absalom's than David's cause?" (969-70). They signal a shift to a sarcastic tone. These lines are related: "Good Heav'ns, how Faction can a Patriot Paint!/My Rebel ever proves my Peoples Saint" (973-74). The mixture of colloquial and heroic produces an ironic tone. These lines are related: "A King's at least a part of Government,/And mine as requisite as their Consent" (977-78). This is understatement for the purpose of sarcasm. And so is this:

> My Pious Subjects for my Safety pray,
> Which to Secure they take my Power away.
> From Plots and Treasons Heaven preserve my years,
> But Save me most from my Petitioners. (983-86)

The verb "Secure" neatly connects with both "Safety" and "Power" for an antithesis and a pun. The alternative "p"s present another antithesis. This whole part makes a serious point while the ironic and sarcastic tones provide obliquity and interest. The speaker persuades his audience he is right by an ethos developing out of the tone here, an ethos of the gentlemanly man of the world. David is too experienced in human behaviour to be fooled by the rebels, and too conscious of his inevitable triumph to become emotionally upset. The next part begins with a firmer tone: "The Law shall still direct my peacefull Sway,/And the same Law teach Rebels to Obey" (991-92). This dignified couplet shows the King as determined, though by the insertion of this triplet Dryden reminds the reader that David tries to keep an open mind:

> Oh that my Power to Saving were confin'd:
> Why am I forc'd, like Heaven, against my mind,
> To make Examples of another Kind? (999-1001)

The tone is one of lament, referring back to the earlier lament for Absalom (955-68). David turns back to the law again with a renewed determination: "How ill my Fear they by my Mercy scan/Beware the Fury of a Patient Man" (ll. 1004-05). This effectively reminds the rebels, and especially Achitophel-Shaftesbury (385), that they have misjudged his character.

Anne Ferry believes that David's speech is unconvincing because the King proclaims he will triumph by manipulating language and by force, the same weapons Architophel uses.[40] This is part of the passage she

[40]Ferry, pp. 113-14.

has in mind:

> Against themselves their Witnesses will Swear,
> Till Viper-like their Mother Plot they tear:
> And suck for Nutriment that bloody gore
> Which was their Principle of Life before.
> Their Belial with their Belzebub will fight;
> Thus on my Foes, my Foes shall do me Right. (1012-17)

Scott mentions this as an "imprudent" reference to Court attempts to turn the witnesses against Shaftesbury.[41] I would say that it is an attempt to fit recent Whig vulnerabilities into the myth of the confusion that comes to all foes of justice. The King is in effect labelling the rebels paper tigers and thus persuading the undecided to join the winning side. His assured tone underscores the inevitability of his triumph over his enemies. The tone is, along with the allusion to the fall of the evil angels in Paradist Lost, along with the interpolation of the myth of the confusion of all foes of justice, part of the rhetoric here. The suggestion of scorn in the tone of these lines, especially in the words "Viper-like" and "suck," reminds of the scornful rhetoric of Achitophel. Except for this there is little indication of manipulation of language that Anne Ferry sees. She abandons altogether the idea that the King's speech is persuasive and falls back on the earlier persuasiveness of the narrator, for example in lines 114-15. I see no need to do this. The purified language of Milton's unfallen Adam and Eve which she demands from David may be proper for an epic. But the use of it, that is, what I would call the straight heroic, in a long passage in satire would be to confirm Morgan in his charge of dullness. The important point here is that the King's speech has none of the specious reasoning of Achitophel's speeches. Nor has it any

[41] Scott, IX, 311.

suggestion of alternative plots held in abeyance lest the first one should fail. Certainly this is not the rhetoric of the counter plotter:

> Then, let 'em take an unresisted Course,
> Retire and Traverse, and Delude their Force:
> But when they stand all Breathless, urge the fight,
> And rise upon 'em with redoubled might:
> For Lawfull Pow'r is still Superiour found,
> When long driven back, at length it stands the ground.
> (1020-25)

This has the tone of a man sure of his authority, not the tone of the astute politician that Charles could be at times. The argument falls back on the myth of the strength of "Lawful Pow'r." So "right is might," not "might is right" as Mrs. Ferry would have it. The last six lines of the poem with their solemn tone and majestic sweep convince, as Anne Ferry agrees, by giving to this idea divine approval:

> He said. Th' Almighty nodding, gave Consent;
> And Peals of Thunder shook the Firmament.
> Henceforth a Series of new time began,
> The mighty Years in long Procession ran:
> Once more the Godlike David was Restor'd,
> And willing Nations knew their Lawfull Lord. (1026-31)

There is, then, a great deal more interest in the King's speech than Morgan seems to admit. As in the Temptation Scene, the couplets are not as tightly packed as those of the satirical portraits because of the nature of the material. Witty couplets with unexpected turns in meaning do not belong here, for the ideas at this point cannot be either unserious or novel. More suitable are the carefully measured couplets lending authority to the speaker and of necessity depending more on tone and rhetoric for variety and interest. Some lowering in interest is permissible here, I think, even to be expected, because the King's speech is the denouement of the poem, not the climax. The climax comes in the narrative account of Absalom's joining of the Whigs (682-97), and the King's speech is convincing enough as a reversal and a conclusion. It

is true that the King's speech is not by itself impressive enough to persuade the reader of the inevitability of his victory against the rebels. But it was not intended to be. It is simply the last part of a cumulative argument. As Albert Ball shows (pp. 32-33), the King's character has been carefully developed throughout the poem to heroic stature by individual lines and passages such as Absalom's panegyric. Besides this, the earlier satire has done its work of damning the rebels and showing their weaknesses. No biblical or epic battle scene is needed to end the poem. All that is necessary is the attention of the King in person, backed up by the authority of the Law and of God, a word or signal from the monarch that will halt the Whig advance. The King's speech provides this.

A delineation of variations in tone in Absalom and Achitophel reveals strength and interest in sections often though dull and shows that the poem is not as uneven as formerly believed. Dryden varies his mixtures of heroic and satiric tones as his argument demands and in doing so he defines the audience he is seeking to persuade. In general, the tones are detached, serious, dignified, ironic, contemptuous, and playful, revealing an audience of sophisticated and worldly, polite and dispassionate moderates undecided as to which party to support.

Chapter Five: Tone in the Year 1682

Shortly after the publication of Absalom and Achitophel, the Whig jury voted ignoramus and Shaftesbury was released from the Tower. The release was celebrated with bonfires and revelry, and the Whigs struck a medal to commemorate the event. In reaction, Dryden wrote The Medall. A Satyre Against Sedition and published it around the middle of March, 1682. Spence's anecdote that Charles himself suggested the outline of the poem has never been proven either true or false. And so, the fact that the structure of The Medal differs greatly from that of Absalom and Achitophel cannot be attributed with certainty to the King. A more probable explanation for structural difference is that Dryden, an occasional poet par excellence, molded his materials as usual to suit the occasion. The triumph of Shaftesbury could be more effectively countered by a personal attack than a repeat of Absalom and Achitophel's moral allegory. Dryden begins his poem with the device of a re-creation or recasting of the medal and its portrait. This, of course, has always been recognized, but until quite recently it has been assumed that Dryden uses the device of the medal only to attract the attention of his reader and to launch his personal attack. Wallace Maurer,[1] however, has shown that Dryden does not drop the device after the opening, but uses it throughout the poem in an organization easily recognized by contemporary readers: introduction, 1-21; obverse side

[1] A. E. Wallace Maurer, "The Design of Dryden's The Medall," Papers on Language and Literature, 2 (1966), 293-304.

of medal, 22-144; reverse side, 145-324. Maurer further (p. 300-01) divides the reverse side into five scenes followed by an inscription: Shaftesbury's followers, 145-66; London as seat of sedition, 167-204; the Association, 205-55; further attack on Shaftesbury, 256-86; description of England's future if Shaftesbury should succeed. One problem with this arrangement is consistency. The portrait of Shaftesbury and his political career seems to end at line 90 while the address to the City of London begins only at line 167. It is true that lines 91-144 on mob politics and lines 145-66 on the Whig witnesses fit in logically with the thought progression, but not very well with the device of the medal. Possibly the position of these lines can be excused if we accept Nicholas Joost's suggestion to Maurer (Maurer, p. 297, note 8) that Dryden in the poem is following the convention of the advice-to-the-painter poems. But, of course, such an excuse simply underlines the looseness of the structure here. Maurer's fifth scene (287-322) can be fitted into this convention with even more ease, and a case can be made for its belonging to the part on the obverse side of the coin. But what can be said of the fourth scene with its return to the attack on Shaftesbury? It does not really belong in Maurer's plan at all. Indeed it brings us back to the original occasion and purpose of the poem which was to attack Shaftesbury and only secondarily to present a literary recasting of the medal. I think that though the device of the medal definitely had an influence on the ordering of the poem as Maurer shows, the influence is not strong enough to bind and shape the satirical attacks into a perfect whole. The poem's organization, then, is loose. And I am inclined to base it on simple alternations of attacks on Shaftesbury and the Whig party culminating in the picture of England

under Whig control. First is the description of the medal (1-25) and Shaftesbury's political career (26-90). Then follow four sections on the Whigs: mob politics (91-144), the Whig witnesses (145-66), the London Dissenters (167-294), and the effrontery of the Association (205-55). Next comes the second attack on Shaftesbury (256-86), and finally the picture of the future (287-322).

Related to The Medal's difference in structure from Absalom and Achitophel is an overall difference in tone. Recognition of this difference was registered by at least one contemporary in a refusal to admit common authorship at all. The writer of the "Preface" to The Medal Reversed has this to say: "I am not of opinion, that the author of 'The Medal,' and that of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' is one person, since the style and painting is far different, and their satires are of a different hue."[2] The judgment might very well have been based on a simple comparison of openings. Here are the opening lines of The Medal:

> Of all our Antick Sights, and Pageantry
> Which English Ideots run in crowds to see,
> The Polish Medall bears the prize alone:
> A Monster, more the Favourite of the Town
> Than either Fayrs or Theatres have shown.
> Never did Art so well with Nature strive;
> Nor ever Idol seem'd so much alive:
> So like the Man; so golden to the sight,
> So base within, so counterfeit and light.
> One side is fill'd with Title and with Face;
> And, lest the King shou'd want a regal Place,
> On the reverse, a Tow'r the Town surveys;
> O'er which our mounting Sun his beams displays.
> The Word, pronounc'd aloud by Shrieval voice,
> Laetamur, which, in Polish, is rejoyce.

[2]Quoted by Scott, The Works of John Dryden, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1821), IX, 428, footnote. Scott attributes this and The Medal Reversed to Settle, but his attributions have not yet been proved conclusively.

> The Day, Month, Year, to the great Act are join'd:
> And a new Canting Holiday design'd.[3]

Obviously, the device of the medal does not offer the obliqueness of the allegory. In the condescending tone of the first five lines, Dryden belittles the coin by making it the object not of the lovers of justice as the Whigs would have it but of impulsive novelty seekers. Missing here, as in the whole opening, is the easy-going wit of Absalom and Architophel that leads the reader ever so gradually into the subject, and we are reminded that this is not a defense but an attack. Missing is the heroic dignity which can provide the speaker with an elevation from which to descend for satire. Colloquial words such as "Ideots" and "Monster" continually remind us of the interestedness of the speaker. Not that there is nothing of Dryden's old playfulness. In lines eight and nine, he uses caesuras and repeated "so" s to form parallels within the lines, leads us to expect the same within the couplet, and then slyly delivers an antithesis. The matter-of-fact tone is revealed as an ironic tone, as is the tone of the next two couplets where the suggestion is that the Whigs have already replaced the King with a new one. The passage closes in playful malice, with the references to "Polish" language and to "Polish Medall" doing double duty, alluding not only to a standing joke about Shaftesbury's ambition for the Polish throne, but also, as Earl Wasserman shows,[4] to the supporters of elective monarchies. The allusion to the Whig sheriff's behind-the-scenes maneuvering in "Shrieval

[3]This and all other Dryden quotations in this chapter are taken from The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958).

[4]Earl Wasserman, "The Meaning of 'Poland' in The Medal," Modern Language Notes, 73 (1958), 165-67.

voice" and the equating of the Whig celebration with dour Commonwealth celebrations in "Canting Holiday" show that the emphasis is on the malice, not on the playfulness.

The first attack on Shaftesbury (26-90), direct and personal, contains a variety of tones. This is its opening:

> A Martial Heroe first, with early care,
> Blown, like a Pigmee by the Winds, to war.
> A beardless Chief, a Rebel, e'r a Man:
> (So young his hatred to his Prince began.)
> Next this, (How wildly will Ambition steer!)
> A Vermin, wriggling in th' Usurper's Ear.
> Bart'ring his venal wit for sums of gold
> He cast himself into the Saint-like mould;
> Groan'd, sigh'd, and pray'd, while Godliness was gain;
> The lowdest Bagpipe of the squeaking Train.

The deprecating tone arises first out of the opposition between suggestion of the voluntary in "care" and suggestion of the involuntary in "blown." It continues in the third line where Dryden makes fine use of parallelism and inversion. The meaning becomes clear only with the last word and we realize that "Chief" equals "Rebel." The parenthesis of the last half of the couplet reinforces the judgment. The censure peaks in the "Vermin" metaphor of the next couplet. In the couplet following, a shift toward wit begins as Dryden turns Shaftesbury into a type by sheer exaggeration. Here he is defining his audience as those on Shaftesbury's social level who can have nothing but scorn for Shaftesbury's stooping to the level of the sects and (79-80) the level of the mob. In effect, the speaker is saying "Look at him pretending to be one of them! Did you even see anything so ridiculous?" In the second attack on Shaftesbury, Dryden elaborates on the potential cleavage between the Earl and the sects:

> Thy God and Theirs will never long agree.
> For thine, (if thou has any,) must be one
> That lets the World and Humane-kind alone:

> A jolly God, that passes hours too well
> To promise Heav'n, or threaten us with Hell.
> That unconcern'd can at Rebellion sit;
> And Wink at Crimes he did himself commit.
> A Tyrant theirs; the Heav'n their Priesthood paints
> A Conventicle of gloomy sullen Saints. (275-84)

Again, Dryden is developing a character recognizable as a type especially from the aristocratic point of view.[5] The tone is witty, knowing, certain. The tone of certainty is most interesting. It occurs also in these lines of the first attack: "The Wretch turn'd loyal in his own defence;/And Malice reconcil'd him to his Prince" (51-52). The wit turns on the surprising oppositions. Certainty appears in these lines: "Ev'n in the most sincere advice he gave/He had a grudging still to be a Knave" (57-58). The speaker is one-sided and denies Shaftesbury any credit. Indeed he makes Shaftesbury responsible for the breaking of the Triple Alliance that opened the way for the growth of French power: "Thus, fram'd for ill, he loos'd our Triple hold" (65). Though he supported the move, Shaftesbury was probably the least pro-French of the Cabal. But Dryden, by suggesting that Shaftesbury is pro-French at heart, is calling into question the whole anti-French sentiment of Shaftesbury's exclusion policy.[6] It is unfair, but it is typical of Dryden's treatment of the man. There is, of course, nothing in

[5] In "Dryden's Scipio and Hannibal," Times Literary Supplement, July 15, 1965, p. 602, Pierre Legouis notes that Dryden is not labelling Shaftesbury's god as Satanic but Epicurean. Howard H. Schless, Poems on Affairs of State (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), III, 57, notes that Epicurean in the late seventeenth century was considered almost equivalent to atheist.

[6] See Schless, p. 49. W. D. Christie, in his note to Absalom and Achitophel, The Poetical Works of John Dryden (1870; rpt. London: Macmillan, 1925), p. 96, is quick to point out that Dryden himself earlier lauded the breaking of the treaty in Amboyna.

either first or second attack like the panegyric in the portrait of Achitophel. Dryden makes no effort here to give his speaker the ethos of a moderate. His speaker appears to be very much the party-man as in the opening lines of the second attack:

> But thou, the Pander of the Peoples hearts,
> (O Crooked Soul, and Serpentine in Arts,)
> Whose blandishments a Loyal Land have whor'd,
> And broke the Bonds she plighted to her Lord;
> What Curses on they blasted Name will fall! (256-60)

The tone, helped by the alliteration, is aggressive and virulent. The images of pander, whoremaster, and spreader of venereal disease, though repulsive, are also fascinating in association with the evil type-character of Shaftesbury. Interesting also is the development of the image of a cure, a pun on the New Protestant Mercury, becoming poisonous with overuse and resulting in the contemporary political madness. All this adds up to a rather thorough-going denunciation: railing, though well thought out and closely controlled railing that reminds us of Juvenal.

In his treatment of the Whigs also, Dryden uses distasteful images. For example, in this passage:

> The Witnesses, that, Leech-like, liv'd on bloud,
> Sucking for them were med'cinally good;
> But, when they fasten'd on their fester'd Sore,
> Then, Justice and Religion they forswore;
> Their Mayden Oaths debauch'd into a Whore. (149-53)

In equating with lower forms of human and animal life the men who took pay to convict the leaders of the supposed Popish Plot, Dryden does nothing to suggest detachment in his speaker. Towards the common people, Dryden's tone is almost always harsh. In mentioning Shaftesbury turning to the people, he calls them by the pejorative terms "pop'lar gale," "crowd," and "Beast." In one couplet he says that Shaftesbury "Maintains the Multitude can never err;/And sets the People in the Papal

Chair" (86-87). The alliteration, the pejorative word "Multitude" and the pun on "Papal" contribute to the contemptuous tone. Interestingly, the speaker by comparing the extreme liberals, the anarchistic mob, with the extreme conservative, the Pope, reminds us that he himself is still somewhere in the middle of the road. Yet there is no softening in the tone:

> Almighty Crowd, thou shorten'st all dispute;
> Pow'r is thy Essence; Wit thy Attribute!
> Nor Faith nor Reason make thee at a stay,
> Thou leapst o'r all eternal truths, in thy Pindarique way!
> (91-94)

The tone is sarcastic, bordering on the intolerant. The seeming parallel of the second line is broken by the sneer in the last half. As Noyes notes,[7] the extra syllables of the last line, and the reference to Pindar who was thought to be peculiarly wild, reinforce the idea of the crowd as anarchistic. The idea is strengthened by historical reference, and an ironic tone is set up by a double antithesis: "Crowds err not, though to both extremes they run;/To kill the Father, and recall the Son" (99-100). As Dryden moves into political theory, he begins what is really the first positive passage of the poem. "Our Fathers," he says,

> Who, to destroy the seeds of Civil War,
> Inherent right in Monarchs did declare:
> And, that a lawfull Pow'r might never cease,
> Secur'd Succession, to secure our Peace.
> Thus, Property and Sovereign Sway, at last
> In equal Balances were justly cast. (113-18)

The tone of certainty and of authority is maintained by the obvious control of the couplet technique, for example, the balances suggesting the balanced mind of a moderate. This last touch tells us that Dryden is

[7] George R. Noyes, ed. The Poetical Works of John Dryden, Revised ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 965.

still concerned with ethos, though not to the same extent and purpose as in Absalom and Achitophel. For, in the next few couplets he lashes out again at Shaftesbury and the crowd. Then he lapses into slower rhythm and quieter mood, and rebukes the whole English people in much the same way as in Absalom and Achitophel. For example, this ironic couplet: "We loath our Manna, and we long for Quails;/Ah, what is man, when his own wish prevails!" (131-32) recalls this couplet from the section on the English, "God's pamper'd people whom, debauch'd with ease,/No King could govern, nor no God could please" (47-48), and of this one from the "Essay on Innovation," "Did ever men forsake their present ease,/In midst of health Imagine a disease?" (755-56). The subject "we" underlines the mildness of the rebuke, for Dryden here seems to recognize that such a fault is common to all mankind. The remedy for the fault comes in the key point of Dryden's political position, acceptance of a strong monarchy: "That Kings can doe no wrong we must believe" (135). Of course, he is no divine rightist, but, as lines quoted earlier show, a believer in a balance of power. So far, it is obvious through his harsh tone and attitude toward them and by his outline of their extremism in contrast to his own political position, that Dryden excludes the common people from his intended audience.

The poem is also clearly against the Whig party, though the speaker does not issue a blanket condemnation of that party. The section on Whig political impudence (205-45) illustrates this point. Here is the beginning:

> What means their Trait'rous Combination less,
> Too plain t'evade, too shamefull to confess,
> But Treason is not own'd when tis descry'd;
> Successful Crimes alone are justify'd.
> The Men, who no Conspiracy wou'd find,
> Who doubts, but had it taken, they had join'd.

> Join'd, in a mutual Cov'nant of defence;
> At first without, at last against their Prince. (205-13)

The "Combination" is of course the Protestant Association against Popery and the succession of James Stuart. The plans for such a group were found among Shaftesbury's papers when he was arrested, but the existence of such an association was vehemently denied by the Whigs. The speaker adopts a skeptical tone in the first couplet, not only dismissing all denials, but equating the association with the extremism of the executioners of Charles I. In the next couplet, his tone is cynical as he repeats the rationalization of the Whigs who continue to deny the existence of the group. With the tone of the plain-speaker in the last two couplets, Dryden is warning less extreme Whigs that if they continue to support the extremists, they will find themselves involved in open rebellion. After showing the association's plan to gain control of sovereignty, Dryden surprises the reader with this couplet: "These are the cooler methods of their Crime;/But their hot Zealots think 'tis loss of time" (237-38). This he backs up with a vivid passage on raider outlaws. By distinguishing between the different shades of Whigs, Dryden is appealing to Whig moderates to break with their Party. In the next few lines, he makes his main appeal to all moderate Englishmen:

> Such impious Axiomes foolishly they show;
> For, in some Soyles Republiques will not grow:
> Our Temp'rate Isle will no extremes sustain,
> Of pop'lar Sway, or Arbitrary Reign:
> But slides between them both into the best;
> Secure in freedom, in a Monarch blest. (246-51)

The phrase "Temp'rate Isle" works on the audience's patriotism and belief in the myth of the English temperament. The balance and parallels in the fourth and sixth lines emphasize the moderation of a man who can bridge two parties. The shifts in tone in this section, then, point up

the adjustments Dryden is making toward an audience that includes moderates of various shades (Whig, Tory, and unattached) and excludes members of the association, and the extremist elements of the Whig Party.

For the extreme sectarians, Dryden seems to have nothing but contempt. Two out of the four times that he mentions them, it is to show up Shaftesbury's hypocrisy in joining them against the King. For example, from the first attack:

> He cast himself into the Saint-like mould;
> Groan'd, sigh'd, and pray'd, while Godliness was gain;
> The lowdest Bagpipe of the squeaking Train.
> But, as tis hard to cheat a Juggler's Eyes,
> His open lewdness he cou'd ne'er disguise.
> There split the Saint: for Hypocritique Zeal
> Allows no Sins but those it can conceal. (33-39)

The satire works in two directions, not only ridiculing Shaftesbury by associating him with the Dissenters, but ridiculing the Dissenters themselves, as in Absalom and Achitophel, by turning their cant back on them. The words "Saint," "Godliness," and "Zeal" inject irony into the tone. "Saint-like mould" suggests a pose, not only by Shaftesbury, but by the Dissenters themselves. "Squeaking Train" alludes to sectarian pulpit style,[8] and probably also to the penchant of sectarian clergymen to dabble in republican politics. This sectarian image is developed later on in the section on the Faction's hiring of witnesses:

> They rack ev'n Scripture to confess their Cause;
> And plead a Call to preach, in spight of Laws.
> . . . . . .
> 'Twas fram'd, at first, our Oracle t'enquire;
> But, since our Sects in prophecy grow higher,
> The Text inspires not them, but they the Text inspire.
> (156-57, 165-67)

The use of the words "Call," "prophecy," "Text," and "inspire," all of

[8] Schless notes this, p. 48.

which had a special meaning to the Puritan, contribute to a tone of irreverence and scorn. The knowing speaker is adjusting to a knowing audience. He gives the sectarians short shrift, for a gentlemanly audience could not be expected to be interested in a detailed discussion of emotional religionists. Dryden's parting thrust at the sectarians is in his picture of England's future under the Whigs:

> The swelling Poyson of the sev'ral Sects,
> Which wanting vent, the Nations Health infects
> Shall burst its Bag; and fighting out their way
> The various Venoms on each other prey.
> The Presbyter, puft up with spiritual Pride,
> Shall on the Necks of the lewd Nobles ride:
> His Brethren damn, the Civil Pow'r defy;
> And parcel out Republique Prelacy.
> But short shall be his Reign: his rigid Yoke
> And Tyrant Pow'r will puny Sects provoke;
> And Frogs and Toads, and all the Tadpole Train
> Will croak to Heav'n for help, from this devouring Crane.

The infection image carries over from both the passage above on sectarian preaching and the mercury poisoning of the second attack on Shaftesbury. The tone of certainty of the prophet is conveyed by the very consciseness and control over couplet and imagery. The scene is effective, and in its grotesque variety, the closest thing in Dryden to a Breughel nightmare. The sectarians, then, are not a part of Dryden's intended audience. He treats them as the most extreme of Shaftesbury's followers with, at best, a tone of contempt.

Such vigorous images of diminution occur also in Dryden's address to the City of London:

> I call'd thee Nile; the parallel will stand:
> Thy tydes of Wealth o'rflow the fattend Land;
> Yet Monsters from thy large increase we find;
> Engender'd on the Slyme thou leav'st behind.
> Sedition has not wholly seiz'd on thee;
> Thy nobler Parts are from infection free.
> Of Israel's Tribes thou hast a numerous band;
> But still the Canaanite is in the Land.
> Thy military Chiefs are brave and true;

Nor are thy disinchanted Burghers few.
The Head is loyal which thy Heart commands;
But what's a Head with two such gouty Hands?
The wise and wealthy love the surest way;
And are content to thrive and to obey.
But Wisedom is to Sloath too great a Slave;
None are so busy as the Fool and Knave.
Those let me curse; what vengeance will they urge,
Whose Ordures neither Plague nor Fire can purge.

Dryden relates "tydes of wealth" not only to commercial riches but to the garbage and sewage of business and commerce. He relates "Monsters" with the idea of spontaneous generation which in turn suggests the plagues of Egypt, and also the Great Plague of 1666. He identifies the "Monsters" with sedition (175) and infection (176), and with the disease of gout (182). Unfortunately, the image of disease is not consistent. The idea of a disease destroying another disease implicit in the reference to the wonders of 1666 (188) is fuzzy. It is certain, however, that Dryden is attacking the Puritan merchants, and the nasty images reflect his attitude toward them. His attack is relentless:

In Gospel phrase their Chapmen they betray;
Their Shops are Dens, the Buyer is their Prey.
The Knack of Trades is living on the Spoyl;
They boast, ev'n when each other they beguile.
Customes to steal is such a trivial thing,
That 'tis their Charter, to defraud their King. (191-96)

Schless calls this "the traditional picture of hypocritical sectarian who combines religiosity and sharp meterialism."[9] Along with this set pattern, the ironic tone adds interest and prevents the passage from becoming simply scurrility. What is most important to the whole section is the fact that Dryden does not condemn all Puritan merchants. The qualifications of lines 175-76, and 179-80, with their tone of sincerity show him including these moderates in his audience. Many London

[9]Schless, note, p. 54.

merchants at this time became frightened for the stability of the country if the Whigs came to power. Lines 183-84 might be taken for a compliment if it were not for the tone of sarcasm in the couplet following. In effect, he is telling the moderate merchants that it is not enough merely to dissociate themselves from the Whig party, but that they must support the King actively in order to counterract the activity of the extremists.

It has not usually been recognized that The Medal is for its length almost as rich in tone as Absalom and Achitophel. Dobrée, contrasting it with Absalom, too readily classes it as "sheer Juvenalian satire."[10] Sutherland[11] calls it "the poem in which Dryden comes nearest to Juvenal," though he may be thinking only of the two attacks on Shaftesbury. Hamilton, on the other hand, in his chapters on meaning and sound in Dryden,[12] shows an awareness of the subtle adjustments Dryden makes in his attitude. My point is that there is not one tone in The Medal but many tones: the ironic, the sarcastic and playful, as in Absalom and Achitophel; the censorious, and the virulent, as in Absalom and Achitophel. If all the various tones were to be added up, we could easily see that The Medal has a generally harsher tone than Absalom and Achitophel, and a greater feeling of certainty and commitment to party. One would expect a major reason for this general change in tone from a few months earlier, since tone is an important part of

[10]Bonamy Dobrée, John Dryden (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1965), p. 29.

[11]James Sutherland, English Satire (Cambridge, Eng.: The University Press, 1958), pp. 49-50.

[12]K. G. Hamilton, John Dryden and the Poetry of Statement (1967; rpt. Michigan State University Press, 1969), pp. 55-57, 78-79.

rhetoric. I agree with Piper's inclusion of The Medal among the poems in which Dryden faces the problem "of uniting behind his and his party's position as large a segment of the English body politic as possible."[13] It seems to me that the audience Dryden is seeking to reach in this poem is the same one he is seeking to reach in Absalom and Achitophel. The Medal's audience includes the nobility in general, members of the Tory party, moderates and true patriots, moderate religionists, merchants worried about the nation's stability. It excludes the common people or the "mob," Whig extremists, extreme sectarians, Puritan merchants. There is only one difference in the physical makeup of the audience, the addition of the worried merchants, but this provides a clue to a general shift in mental attitude of the audience. J. R. Jones in his book The First Whigs notes that as early as May 1681, "the more substantial citizens were deserting the Whigs, either to abstain from politics altogether or in some cases to join the Tory interest."[14] This shift was part of a larger movement of support away from the Whigs toward the King, a movement that seems to have been very gradual. By the time Dryden published Absalom and Achitophel, November 1681, the balance had not yet turned. Shaftesbury's release from prison and the striking of the medal apparently had little effect on the gradual shift. As Bryant notes,[15] the month after the trial, two thirds of the Ignoramus Jury lost their seats in the election for the Common Council. "A strong reaction," he

[13]William Piper, The Heroic Couplet (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), p. 112.

[14]James Rees Jones, The First Whigs (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 200.

[15]Arthur Bryant, King Charles II (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931), p. 327.

says, "was setting in for monarchy; some of the better-to-do and more peaceful London citizens, sickened by the excesses of the politicians, formed a loyal club, which grew that winter like a snowball" (p. 327). The King and the Tories pressed their advantage everywhere. It is no accident that Dryden reserved some of his harshest tones for the association. As Bryant says, "Charles had resolved that if Shaftesbury must be free, it should be, as he put it, with a bottle at his tail. He therefore published the evidence against him, with a form of an Association, found among his papers" (p. 326). The effect of this action was gratifying to the King. Luttrell's "Diary" for the months of January, February, and March, is full of notes such as this: "Declarations have been presented to his majestie from the citty of Glocester, the Artillery company of the citty of London, and severall gentlemen of the society of Graies Inn, testifyeing their abhorrence of all trayterous associations."[16] Dryden in his treatment of the association is in effect assuming the role of Tory abhorrer. It is no accident that Dryden also took a hard approach to the sectarians. Luttrell's "Diary" is peppered with reports such as this: "Letters from severall parts daily inform of the strict proceedings against dissenters; and severall meetings here in London have been disturbed, and the names of the preachers and the most considerable hearers have been taken in order to a prosecution" (p. 156). In the context of this shift, many individual couplets of The Medal take on new meaning, for example, this one on the London merchants: "Customes to steal is such a trivial thing,/That 'tis their

[16]Narcissus Luttrell, A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714 (1857; rpt. Farnborough, Eng.: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1969), I, 167.

Charter, to defraud their King" (195-96). In the words of David Ogg: "The Ignoramus returned by the Middlesex grand jury precipitated the long-premediated attack on the charters, and soon almost every franchise in the country was subjected to the scrutiny of lawyers prepared to find pretexts for their forfeiture."[17] It is no accident that in his address to London Dryden should compliment its "loyal Head" and in the same breath resume the infection image with reference to "gouty Hands." For by this time, the Tories had had one of their own, Sir John Moore, elected as Lord Mayor (Bryant, pp. 324-25), and were pressing to replace the Whig sheriffs with their own, a feat they did not accomplish until June (Bryant, p. 331). Dryden's aggressiveness then was very much in line with Tory aggressiveness of the time. There was less need to persuade in The Medal than in Absalom and Achitophel, for his audience of moderates was already persuaded. His job then was to confirm the perfidy of Shaftesbury and the Whigs. He could do it in stronger terms because his audience would tolerate stronger terms. Hence the appropriateness of the harsh tone.

The value of the accommodation of tone to audience in The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel is governed less by the political situation than by circumstances surrounding the composition of the poem. It was first published in early November of 1682, almost exactly a year after the publication of the first part. Prefixed to the third edition of the work in the fourth edition of the Second Part of Miscellany Poems (1716) is a note by Tonson on the success of the first part" "several persons pressing him to write a second part, he, upon declining it

[17]David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934), II, 634.

himself, spoke to Mr. Tate to write one, and gave him his advice in the direction of it."[18] As far as Dryden's having a hand in the structure is concerned, I am inclined to agree with Kinsley when he says that "it is unlikely that Dryden contributed much to the drafting of the poem or to the selection of characters. Tate tried to repeat the pattern of Absalom and Achitophel - the dialogues of Absalom and his seducer, the portraits of the King's enemies and friends, and David's own speech - but his work falls far short of Dryden's in formal excellence."[19] The structure, if it can be called a structure at all, is loose in the extreme. The opening section (1-50), a kind of character of the rebellion, introduces the factious crowd, Achitophel, Absalom, and Corah. The narrator intrudes a defence of Michal (51-68) here, and then goes on to Corah's plot (69-102). A short passage on Achitophel's rabble-rousing leads to a series of speeches obviously paralleling the temptation scene of Part I, but lacking its buildup in tension and, more important, lacking its climax: Absalom has doubts about his role in the rebellion (115-56); Achitophel tries to assuage these doubts (157-203); Absalom accuses Achitophel of being a self-seeker (204-39); Achitophel asks for his trust and outlines their line of action (240-75). This is followed by a series of portraits of the chief sectarians and republicans (276-555), again obviously paralleling the portraits of the malcontents in Part I. A short section on the pressures on the King from Parliament and France (556-91) leads into some lines on James's exile, a panegyric on James (592-646), and a defense of James's position (647-70). The narrator returns to the errors of the crown (671-724). The

[18]Quoted by Noyes in his introduction, p. 137.

[19]Kinsley, introductory note, IV, 1922.

King's speech (725-90) echoes that of Part I. These last two sections seem to have no real purpose here, for the narrator returns to the subject of James and his return from exile (791-828) and the vain reaction of Absalom and Achitophel (829-930). Once again, the poem imitates Part I in a gallery of portraits of loyal men (931-1064). Finally, there is a passage on York's fateful voyage, escape, and triumphant return, which might have been the climax of the poem but for its briefness and relative lack of interest. The short ending on the Tory victory in the London elections for sheriff (131-40) is an appendage that can hardly be called a conclusion. This is the overall organization of the poem, then. It is hard to believe that Tate was unable to plot even this structure and had to call on Dryden.

More of a problem is the authorship of the individual passages, couplets, and lines themselves. In his note to the third edition, Tonson says that lines 310-509 "were intirely Mr. Drydens compositions, besides some touches in other places."[20] Scott agrees that Dryden probably touched up many of Tate's lines so as to help close the gap of disparity between his and Tate's work. But he also gives the character of Arod, description of the Green-ribbon Club, and "much of the character of Corah" to Dryden.[21] Schless calls into question Scott's attributions and his habit of claiming everything of value for Dryden and giving everything else to Tate (p. 279). Schless is right, of course, to call attention to the fact that Scott arrives at "the extent of Tate's powers" by circular reasoning. But, if we sample Tate at his best, we

[20]Noyes, p. 137. Kinsley, IV, 1922.

[21]Scott, IX, 317.

will probably come to the same conclusion as Scott.

By the time of his writing of Absalom and Achitophel II, Tate had had some practice in the use of the couplet in prologues, though not in his tragedies such as The Loyal General, which was written in blank verse. In his "Prologue to King William and Queen Mary, At a play Acted before their Majesties at Whitehall, on Friday the 15th of November 1689" we meet him after he has had several years more practice, and, more important, in the role of political poet, this time for the opposite side. Probably the best lines of the panegyric are these from the middle:

> Such Pious Valour justly is Ador'd,
> And well may different Tongues, that had implor'd,
> His Guardian-Aid, consent to call him Lord.
> Fortune and Chance, elsewhere may shew their Powers,
> Give Kingdoms Lords, but Providence gives Ours!
> Our kind Restorer first, who, to maintain
> Our rescu'd Freedom, Condescends to Reign.
> For Albion's Wounds a Sov'raign Balm decreed,
> But Heav'n not sent Him, 'till the utmost Need,
> To make its Champion Priz'd, and let Him lay
> Engagements, such as we cou'd nere Repay.
> His Fames vast only Price was his before,
> Maria's Charms--Empire cou'd add no more,
> Nature in Her exhausted all its store.
> What we conferr, on Us descends again,
> Who wait the ripening Blessings of his Reign.[22]

The trick in avoiding monotony in panegyric is to praise with variety and wit. Evidently Tate is aware of this as his attempts in the first, second, and fifth couplets show. The roundabout praise of William III, however, has not enough freshness in either idea or expression to be witty. Not one phrase stands out with sufficient sharpness to attract interest. The result is a rather dull evenness.

[22]From Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642-1700 (London: G. Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940), ed. Autrey Nell Wiley, pp. 276-77.

The same may be said of the defense and praise of Queen Catherine in Absalom and Achitophel II:

> Such was the Charge on pious Michal brought,
> Michal that ne'er was cruel e'en in thought,
> The best of Queens, and most obedient Wife,
> Impeach'd of curst Designs on David's Life!
> His Life, the Theam of her eternal Pray'r,
> 'Tis scarce so much his Guardian Angels Care.
> Not Summer Morns such Mildness can disclose,
> The Hermon Lilly, nor the Sharon Rose.
> Neglecting each vain Pomp of Majesty,
> Transported Michal feeds her thoughts on high.
> She lives with Angels, and as Angels do,
> Quits Heav'n sometimes to bless the World below.
> Where cherisht by her Bounties plenteous Spring,
> Reviving Widows smile, and Orphans sing,
> Oh! when rebellious Israel's Crimes at height
> Are threatened with her Lord's approaching Fate,
> The Piety of Michal then remain
> In Heav'ns Remembrance, and prolong his Reign.

The interest and wit in the praise might be expected to come from phrases such as "scarce so much his Guardian Angels Care," and "She lives with Angels," phrases describing her piety and concern for the King. But they are too common an exaggeration of the virtuous qualities that the Queen undoubtedly possessed. The praise is ordinary, even dull. The first three couplets are the only part of the passage that has tonal interest. By the repetition of "Michal" and of "His Life," Tate suggests an incredulous and indignant tone. As in his praise of the Queen, so in his defense, his hyperboles are too commonplace to be effective. The absurdity of Oates's charge that the Queen was plotting to kill the King was recognized by all except the most factious or the most gullible. Tate is belabouring the obvious. He is expending unnecessary energy, something Dryden would almost never do, and thus conveys the feeling that he is not detached.

Whether this is typical of the adjustment to the audience of Absalom and Achitophel may be seen by examining several different

passages. Here is the opening:

> Since Men like Beasts, each others Prey were made,
> Since Trade began, and Priesthood grew a Trade,
> Since Realms were form'd, none sure so curst as those
> That madly their own Happiness oppose;
> There Heaven it self, and Godlike Kings, in vain
> Showr down the Manna of a gentle Reign;
> While pamper'd Crowds to mad Sedition run,
> And Monarchs by Indulgence are undone.
> Thus David's Clemency was fatal grown,
> While wealthy Faction aw'd the wanting Throne.
> For now their Sov'reigns Orders to contemn
> Was held the Charter of Jerusalem.
> His Rights t' invade, his Tributes to refuse,
> A Privilege peculiar to the Jews;
> As if from Heav'nly Call this Licence fell,
> And Jacob's Seed were chosen to rebell!

This is less obviously Tate's than the defence of Michal. Probably Tate wrote it and Dryden touched it up. Clearly the language echoes the language of Absalom and Achitophel I. But whether this is due to Tate's reliance on the First Part for inspiration or to Dryden's hurriedly repeating himself is difficult to say. Possibly it is due to both. Charles' "Manna," the "Godlike Kings," "pamper'd Crowds," "David's Clemency," and "Indulgence" all recall Part I. They are a kind of shorthand that permits a concise run-through of the contemporary political situation yet does not make the poem dependent on the First Part for meaning. Their suggestion of lack of variety and inventiveness, however, dulls the wit that ordinarily arises out of the conciseness of such couplets. What is left is a harsh tone far removed from the detachment of the opening of Absalom and Achitophel I. The temporal clauses lack the subtle disparagement of the time clauses of Part I. Indeed the very first clause, condemning mankind in general, prevents a rapport, at least momentarily, between speaker and audience. Yet the formulated phrases of these clauses exclude merchants and clergy from the formal audience, while those of the next seven lines exclude the mob and Whig

Parliamentarians ("wealthy Faction"). But the most important couplet is this one: "For now their Sov'reigns Orders to contemn/Was held the Charter of Jerusalem" (11-12). It shows that the shift in political support from the Whig party towards the King was still in progress in the spring and summer of 1682 when Absalom and Achitophel II was written. It shows that the Tories were thus enabled to continue their attacks against the charters of the cities, and that the poets were addressing themselves to an audience similar to the audience of The Medal in political outlook.

In the speeches between Absalom and Achitophel, the poet suggests that Absalom is not all evil: "And (Filial Sense yet striving in his Breast)/Thus to Achitophel his Doubts exprest" (123-24). But the only filial sense Absalom exhibits in the poem is an unwillingness to be responsible for David's murder. This takes up only eight lines (142-49), whereas Absalom's new awareness that he will be Achitophel's puppet takes up all of the second speech and part of the first. Here are the opening lines of the second:

> I not dispute (the Royal Youth replyes)
> The known Perfection of your Policies,
> Nor in Achitophel yet grudge, or blame,
> The Privilege that Statesmen ever claim;
> Who private Interest never yet persu'd,
> But still pretended 'twas for Others good. (204-09)

There is nothing here of the dupe suggested in Absalom and Achitophel I. The ironic tone shows that Absalom is almost equal to Achitophel in political awareness, and in this speech he is close to a quarrel and open break with Achitophel. The poet's attitude to the two is at least as harsh as the speaker's attitude toward Shaftesbury in The Medal. Once again it shows that Tate is to some extent attuned to his audience, though the repetitiveness and flatness of Achitophel's last speech

reveal that Tate cannot maintain this attunement long.

The most important panegyrics in the poem are not on the King but on James, Duke of York, and his followers. The first panegyric on James (592-646) deals with his exile to Scotland in February, 1679. The parting of the two brothers is described with an artificial pathos that reminds one of Waller:

> Our Monarch scarce from pressing Tears refrains,
> And painfully his Royal State maintains,
> Who now embracing on th' extremest Shore
> Almost Revokes what he Injoyn'd before. (600-03)

Tate uses an heroic apostrophe:

> Go injur'd Heroe while propitious Gales,
> Soft as thy Consorts breath, inspire thy Sails;
> Well may She trust her Beauties on a Flood,
> Where thy Triumphant Fleets so oft have rode!
> Safe on thy Breast reclin'd her Rest be deep,
> Rockt like a Nereid by the Waves asleep;
> While happiest Dreams her Fancy entertain,
> And to Elysian Fields convert the Main!
> Go injur'd Heroe while the Shores of Tyre,
> At thy Approach so Silent shall admire,
> Who on thy Thunder still their Thoughts imploy,
> And greet thy Landing with a trembling Joy.

He calls attention to York's seaworthiness by introduction of the trusting Duchess. He alludes to York's valour in the Dutch Wars by mentioning the present Dutch reception of him. This, the best part of the panegyric, is certainly better than Waller on York in "Instructions to a Painter." It has not Waller's evenness that leads to dullness. Some lines such as 623-24 are as commonplace as Waller's. Some lines, such as the opening six, are of much better quality, a quality that arises out of the mixture of the heroic and the colloquial and makes one wonder if Dryden had not a share in them. The second panegyric comes immediately after the King's speech, and the occasion for it is James's return from exile in Scotland (791-828). The passage is dull and adds nothing

to the picture of James. Its opening, however, tells us something of the poet's political orientation:

> From Hebron now the suffering Heir Return'd,
> A Realm that long with Civil Discor'd Mourn'd;
> Till his Approach, like some Arriving God,
> Compos'd, and heal'd the place of his Aboad. (793-96)

James's suppression of liberty in Scotland is seen by historians as a clear omen of his later tyranny. In Absalom and Achitophel I, Dryden simply would have avoided mentioning such an incident. But Tate, stretching the credulity of his audience, turns it into another example of James's ability. The final panegyric occurs just after the account of James's escape from the sinking ship Glocester in May, 1682. It includes an exclamatory address,

> See where the Princely Barque in loosest Pride,
> With all her Guardian Fleet, Adorns the Tide!
> High on her Deck the Royal Lovers stand,
> Our Crimes to Pardon e're they toucht our Land. (1125-28)

whose success is prevented by the stereotyped language and the ludicrous "Royal Lovers."

The number of lines on the King is small. The opening refers to David's mildness but only as part of the political situation of the time. In his first speech, Achitophel briefly (172-78) warns Absalom of the vengeance of David. In his second speech, Achitophel mentions the King (250-65) as the main strength of his brother's position. The King is brought in again to add pathos to the exile of James. Finally, David is given a speech (725-90) not to resolve the rebellion but to serve the same purpose as the "Essay on Innovation" in Absalom and Achitophel I, to support the theory of monarchy. From this it can be seen that James, not the King, is the hero of the poem. Schless (p. 280) is right in seeing that this fact, along with the fact that the loyalist portraits are

mainly of men of the extreme Yorkist faction, shows the poet's polarization. Here is a passage from one of the loyal portraits:

> Bezaliel with each Grace, and Virtue Fraught,
> Serene his Looks, Serene his Life and Thought,
> On whom so largly Nature heapt her Store,
> There scare remain'd for Arts to give him more!
> To Aid the Crown and State his greatest Zeal,
> His Second Care that Service to Conceal;
> Of Dues Observant, Firm in ev'ry Trust,
> And to the Needy always more than Just.
> Who Truth from specious falshood can divide,
> Has all the Gown-mens Skill without their Pride;
> Thus crown'd with worth from heights of honor won,
> Sees all his Glories copyed in his Son,
> Whose forward Fame should every Muse engage:
> Whose Youth boasts skill denyed to others Age.

Except for the second line, the lines are commonplace. The tone is unvaried and flat. The naïvety of the poet's attitude originates in the sheer carelessness of the lines. Thus, "His Second Care that Service to Conceal" raises the question of hypocrisy and double-dealing in the subject. Bezaliel is the Duke of Beaufort, a man violently anti-exclusionist, and as David Ogg (II, 635) says, very active in 1682 in the Tory compaign against the City Charters. The Second Duke of Albermarle (Abdael, 967-84) and the Duke of Grafton (Othniel, 991-1002) were Monmouth's rivals for Charles' favour while Arlington (Eliab, 985-1002) and Louis de Duras (Helon, 1003-12) were trusted friends of York. The presence of these in the poem mirrors the political shift. Ogg notes that James's return to England after the Glocester tragedy in May 1682 "was speedily marked by changes which accentuated the reactionary character of Charles' rule. Halifax was again eclipsed; Sunderland, with the help of the Duchess of Portsmouth, emerged from obscurity" (Ogg, II, 633). The length of the series of portraits (931-1064) is about the same as that of the parallel series of Absalom and Achitophel I, but the earlier part of the poem has not worked up enough momentum to

carry the reader's interest past it. The poem is bogged down in dullness long before this. Tate, then, has a general awareness of the political shift of the time, but, while he is capable of a general attunement to audience, he has not the ability to bring off a subtler adjustment that involves control of tone.

The portraits of the rebels illustrate the difference between Dryden and Tate in this respect. Tate did the character of Ishban, Robert Clayton, the rich London Whig:

> Ishban of Conscience suited to his Trade,
> As good a Saint as Usurer e'er made.
> Yet Mammon has not so engrost him quite,
> But Belial lays as large a Claim of Spight;
> Who, for those Pardons from his Prince he draws,
> Returns Reproaches, and cries up the Cause.
> That Year in which the City he did sway,
> He left Rebellion in a hopefull way.
> Yet his Ambition once was found so bold,
> To offer Talents of Extorted Gold;
> Cou'd David's Wants have So been brib'd to shame
> And scandalize our Peerage with his Name:
> For which, his dear Sedition he'd forswear,
> And e'en turn Loyal to be made a Peer.

This is Tate at his best, though composing in his usual manner. The rhythm of the opening couplet seems to be a deliberate imitation of Dryden's opening couplet on Shimei: "Shimei, whose Youth did early Promise bring/Of Zeal to God, and Hatred to his King." And it calls attention to Tate's imitation of the ideas in Dryden's portrait. "Belial" and "Spight" echo the impudence of Shimei. The third couplet, though it has a competent use of balance and antithesis, also echoes the Shimei passage. It begins with an ironic tone that might be expected to continue into the next couplet. But the fourth couplet is awkwardly handled. The auxiliary "did" has no purpose except to maintain the meter. The repeated "he" has the same function. The fifth couplet is apparently intended to begin an explanation of "hopeful way." But

the words "yet" and "once" contradict the intention and mislead the reader. In the next couplet, the verb "brib'd" is not appropriate to "wants," and so the real irony of the second half of the first line is weakened. "Peerage" is the explanation of "hopeful." The last couplet shows an awareness of movement by line segments. The second half of the first line and the second line are climactic. The heaviest stress is on the rhyming word "Peer" which should come as a surprise but cannot since the word "Peerage" has already been used. The trouble with Tate seems to be that even when he borrows good ideas, he cannot make the most of them because his technical ability falters.

Here is the beginning[23] of the section of the rebel portraits written entirely by Dryden:

> Next these, a Troop of buisy Spirits press,
> Of little Fortunes, and of Conscience Less;
> With them the Tribe, whose Luxury had drain'd
> Their Banks, in former Sequestrations gain'd:
> Who Rich and Great by past Rebellion grew,
> And long to fish the troubled Streams anew.
> Some future Hopes, some present Payment draws,
> To Sell their Conscience and espouse the Cause,
> Such Stipends those vile Hirelings best befit,
> Priests without Grace, and Poets without Wit.
> Shall that false Hebronite escape our Curse,
> Judas that keeps the Rebells Pension-Purse;
> Judas that pays the Treason-writers Fee,
> Judas that well deserves his Namesake's Tree;
> Who at Jerusalem's own Gates Erects
> His College for a Nursery of Sects.
> Young Prophets with an early Care secures,
> And with the Dung of his own Arts manures.

The first line sets the belittling tone. It does this through the colloquial "Troop," the ironic label "Spirits" and the words "buisy" and "press," which suggest an aggressive worldly ambition inappropriate to

[23] I believe that at least part of the portrait of Rabsheka is Dryden's. The last two couplets are good examples of Drydenian playfulness.

"Spirits." The chiasmus of the second line introduces a sneer with the suggestion that anyone who gives up his conscience should at least have the compensation of riches. This couplet is joined with the next four couplets into a paragraph. The perfection of the yoking is something of which Tate is incapable. For example, the third couplet's successful clarification of the second couplet contrasts with Tate's lines 290-95. Dryden's metaphor of line 315, while not absolutely necessary here, is not superfluous either, for it adds a playfulness to the tone. The next couplet is an example of the successful use of climaxes that again contrasts with Tate (296-97). Each half of the first line begins with the same object "some," at once setting up parallel and inversion. The first line climax comes with the verb "draws" in the rhyming position. The second line is arranged with parallelism and antithesis. The surprising antithesis is between the two half lines, whereas for variation's sake in the next couplet's second line it is within the half-lines. Here the minor climax comes with "Conscience" and the major with the rhyming "Cause." There the arrangement is the same, though the rhythm is swifter, suggesting a contemptuous dismissal. Thus far, Dryden's technical confidence and control allow him to take greater advantage of the playful approach than Tate. He is more convincing. "Priests" and "Poets" are the species that help Dryden make the transition to the individual portraits. The sudden shift to a harsh tone in the last four couplets reflects not merely the extremism of its object, Robert Ferguson, but the willingness of the audience to accept railing. The repeated "Judas" underlines the virulence of the tone. The next couplet has a tone indignant in the face of Ferguson's boldness. This modulates into a tone of contempt in the last couplet indicated by the phrase

"Young Prophets" suggesting that Ferguson's brand of inspiration has nothing to do with the divinity. The harsh tone does not last long. It is as if Dryden at this point, even with the leave of his audience, cannot be bothered becoming angry over the whole situation. He sits back and yet scores the same hits as Tate.

It might be of interest to examine the rhetorical device of using nationalism as a point of common agreement between speaker and audience. In Absalom and Achitophel I, Dryden takes several occasions to turn back Whig charges that the King's party is pro-French and win audience approval. For example, he says of Barzillai's son: "Thy force, Infus'd, the fainting Tyrians prop'd:/And Haughty Pharaoh found his Fortune stop'd" (842-43). In Absalom and Achitophel II, Tate not only repeats Dryden's unjust charge in The Medal that Shaftesbury is responsible for the growth of French power, "Recount with this the tripple Cov'nant broke,/And Israel fitted for a Foreign Yoke" (226-27), but takes sixteen lines accusing the rebels of denying the King help against France (556-71) and twenty two lines for Louis' success at bribing English parliamentarians (671-98). Here is a sample from the latter passage:

> We grant his [Louis'] Wealth Vast as our Ocean's Sand,
> And Curse its Fatal Influence on our Land,
> Which our Brib'd Jews so num'rously pertake,
> That even an Host his Pensioners wou'd make;
> From these Deceivers our Divisions spring,
> Our Weakness, and the Growth of Egypt's King;
> These with pretended Friendship to the State,
> Our Crowd's Suspition of their Prince Create,
> Both pleas'd and frighten'd with the specious Cry,
> To Guard their Sacred Rights and Property;
> To Ruin, thus, the Chosen Flock are Sold,
> While Wolves are tane for Guardians of the Fold.

Tate's tone is harsh. In his fury, he answers charges of Court corruption by turning the argument of the Whigs back in their teeth. His approach is direct, obvious, and interested. Dryden's approach is

different. Here are the transitional couplets between the portraits of Judas and Phaleg:

> What have the Men of Hebron here to doe?
> What part in Israel's promis'd Land have you?
> Here Phaleg the Lay Hebronite is come,
> 'Cause like the rest he could not live at Home;
> Who from his own Posessions cou'd not drain
> An Omer even of Hebronitish Grain,
> Here Struts it like a Patriot, and talks high
> Of Injur'd Subjects, alter'd Property. (328-35)

The pointed rhetorical questions have the scornful tone of the man who has suddenly discovered the weakness of his subject that offers the most fun. In the second and third couplets, Dryden plays with the idea almost proverbial among Englishmen that all Scotsmen are poor; in the last, that Scotsmen away from home are pretentiously brash. In lines 348-49, he dismisses Phaleg with the stereotyped idea of Scotland the inhospitable: "For never Hebronite though Kickt and Scorn'd,/To his own Country willingly return'd." Thus Dryden makes more effective use than Tate of a similar idea, and seemingly with less effort.

As we have seen, frequent tonal adjustments mirror Dryden's concern with audience. It is worth noting that Dryden has a decided preference for a particular section of his audience, the mannerly and cultivated gentleman. Unlike most of his pamphleteering contemporaries, he was born into a family with close connections in the lower nobility and had married into the higher nobility. Besides, the gentlemanly approach seems to have suited his temperament. Even at his harshest, in The Medal, he never loses control. Probably temperament as much as lack of time influenced him to slough off on Tate the serious attacks on the Whigs for Absalom and Achitophel II. In tone, Dryden's portraits of Doeg and Og differ completely from Tate's general tone. The contrast could destroy what little unity the poem has were it not for the fact

that Dryden's Hebronite portraits modulate between the general tones. Unlike the other portraits of the rebels, those of Doeg and Og are mainly literary. In scoring Settle and Shadwell for their Whig writings, Dryden is fully in control of his material yet completely at ease. While the "Essay on Innovation" and Religio Laici must have cost him a great deal of time in investigation of political theory and theology, these two portraits probably did not, for he is in his own field. The effortlessness and detachment of the attacks reveal the professional literary critic on holiday. Here is the opening of the first:

> Doeg, though without knowing how or why,
> Made still a blund'ring kind of Melody;
> Spurd boldly on, and Dash'd through Thick and Thin,
> Through Sense and Non-sense, never out nor in;
> Free from all meaning, whether good or bad,
> And in one word, Heroically mad:
> He was too warm on Picking-work to dwell,
> But Faggotted his Notions as they fell,
> And if they Rhim'd and Rattl'd all was well. (412-20)

The very first couplet illustrates Dryden's working on his audience through tone. The colloquial language suggests that the speaker himself is "knowing" and he accepts his audience as "knowing," as being in close touch with reality. The clause interruption not only helps to hold off the climax word "Melody," and increase the surprise, but suggests that the thinker is weighing his thought. The qualifications of the words "still" and "kind" confirm the tone of condescension toward Settle. The rhythm of the next couplet, helped by the alliteration, is swift. The first line in sense and tone seems to be praise. The second line reverses this feeling. The wit is in the arrangement of words, with minor climax in "Nonsense" at the caesura, and major at the end of the couplet. The next couplet has an even more positive tone of praise. Dryden slips in the unexpected word "Meaning," but comes down hard on Settle with

"Heroically mad," words with enough stress on them to climax the preceding three couplets. In the triplet, a few words of writer's jargon like "Picking-work" remind the audience that this is a judgment by a man who knows poetry from the inside. "Notions" strengthens the condescension in the tone. The sound in the last line is perfectly adjusted to sense. It rises with the alliterative "Rhim'd and Rattl'd" as if this is Settle's triumph, and falls off at the end just as Settle supposedly quits after achieving this goal. Dryden's confidence seems to grow as he progresses:

> Let him be Gallows-Free by my consent,
> And nothing suffer since he nothing meant;
> Hanging Supposes humane Soul and reason,
> This Animal's below committing Treason. (431-34)

In the first line, Dryden assumes the tone of the magnanimous judge, while in the second, taking full advantage of parallel and inversion, he laughingly pretends to excuse Settle. Though there is still a trace of condescension in the second couplet, arising out of "Supposes," the very exaggeration imparts to the ridicule a good-natured detachment.

The accuracy of Dryden's censures can be shown by consideration of Settle's political verse, specifically the poem that drove Dryden to compose his portrait of Doeg. On April 6, 1682, Settle published Absalom Senior as a Whig reply to Absalom and Achitophel II and included in it a satirical portrait of Dryden. It is worth noting that in his portrait, Settle has nothing to say about Dryden's verse except as it relates to his portrait of Buckingham:

> But, Amiel has, alas, the fate to hear
> An angry poet play his chronicler;
> A poet rais'd above oblivion's shade,
> By his recorded verse immortal made. (1308-11)[24]

[24] I am using the Schless edition. The word "angry" would be appropriate here only if it were public knowledge to contempories that Dryden bore a grudge against Buckingham. Certainly the tone of the Zimri portrait belies it.

Dryden's statement that Settle "faggoted his Notions as they fell" seems to apply here. The second couplet seems to have been written down as it occurred to him and never revised. The sense of the second couplet is not clear. The second "poet" could refer to Buckingham since Settle has mentioned the Duke as writer in the previous section. "His" could refer to Dryden, so that the joke would be really on Buckingham. Almost certainly, however, both noun and pronoun refer to Dryden, and show Settle going through the rhetorical maneuvre of praising his victim just as Dryden in Absalom and Achitophel had praised Shaftesbury to give the impression of detachment. Unfortunately, this couplet does not fit well with the previous one nor with those that come after it:

> But, Sir, his livelier figure to engrave,
> With branches added to the Bays you gave
> (No Muse could more heroic feats rehearse!):
> Had, with an equal all-applauding verse,
> Great David's scepter and Saul's javelin prais'd:
> A pyramid to his saint, Interest, rais'd. (1312-17)

Settle manages to get across the idea that Dryden is a hireling, but the meaning of the individual lines is often unnecessarily puzzling. "Livelier figure to engrave" is vague. The parenthetical phrase referring to Buckingham's ridicule of Dryden in The Rehearsal shows Settle quite unaware of the possibilities of couplet thought progression. The verb "had" seems to have no subject unless we skip back to line 1310 and annex "poet." The unnecessary annoyance here might be enough to make a reader see Dryden's unjust "free from all meaning" at least based on truth. Obviously Settle has trouble with couplet transitions. However, once he enters a passage that requires only minor transitions, he is competent. An example is the very next one (1317 ff.) in which he treats Dryden as a turncoat recalling The Medal's Shaftesbury. The same is true when he settles down to consideration of Dryden as the perennial rake:

> Laura, though rotten, yet of mold divine;
> He had all her claps, and she had all his coin.
> Her wit so far his purse and sense could drain,
> Till every pox was sweet'n'd to a strain.
> And if at last his nature can reform,
> A-weary grown of love's tumultuous storm,
> 'Tis age's fault, not his; of pow'r bereft,
> He left not whoring, but of that was left. (1336-43)

This is Settle at his satirical best. Yet one gains the impression that he is perfectly attuned neither to subject nor to audience. Line 1337 echoes Zimri: "He had his Jest, and they had his Estate" (562). The last couplet copies the last couplet of the Zimri portrait: "Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,/He left not Faction, but of that was left." Undoubtedly, Settle intended this as a backhand at Dryden. But it simply reminds the reader that the little vigour the passage contains is borrowed from Absalom and Achitophel I. It reminds the reader of the accuracy of Dryden's line on Doeg, "He means you no more Mischief than a Parat" (426).

Settle begins Absalom Senior in this manner:

> In gloomy times, when priestcraft bore the sway
> And made Heav'n's gate a lock to their own key;
> When ignorant devotes did blindly bow,
> All groping to be sav'd they knew not how:
> Whilst this Egyptian darkness did o'erwhelm,
> The priest sat pilot even at empire's helm. (1-6)

The time clauses, like Tate's, echo the opening of Absalom and Achitophel I and introduce the first subject, not the illegitimacy that threatens authority, but tyranny that threatens freedom. From here to line 235, Settle delineates the history of Baalist-Papist subversion of Israel-England including a Miltonic passage on the fiendish spite of the Papacy, the defeat of Jabin-Philip II by Deborah-Elizabeth I, a passage on the gunpowder plot in which the biblical parallel lapses, and Saul-Cromwell's revenge on the Papists. Such a chronology was standard procedure for

Whig pamphleteers. One is reminded of the first of Oldham's Satires upon the Jesuits. However one-sided he is, Oldham was appealing to English patriotism at a time when anti-Papist and anti-foreigner feeling resulting from the Popish Plot was at its height. But, as we have seen, the reaction had set in by the time of the publication of The Medal and was well underway by April, 1682. Such an attack on the Papists at this time would seem to be largely a wasted effort. Yet the rest of the poem is written in the same manner. A large number of passages (for example, one on Godfrey's murder, one on the power of the monarchy, one on James in Scotland) belong to a section dealing with the danger growing out of the combining of the forces of the Papists and James for a new tyranny. Another section is made up of the portraits of Tories who are tools of the Papists. This is followed by a kind of temptation scene in which the ghost of Coleman persuades Achitophel-Halifax to work for Absalom-James, and by a series of portraits of much-maligned Whigs. The whole ends rather weakly with an English rejection of James. Granting that Settle has found a perfect Achitophel in Halifax, the new Whig target for abuse, and that many other parallels are appropriate, as Schless says they are (p. 106), it seems to me that Settle is so busy constructing a Whig counterpart to Absalom and Achitophel I that he is unable to make adjustments to suit the recent political shifts. Thus, while he should be moving to the right to capture the sympathy of the moderates moving in that direction, he clings to a strictly partisan Whig position. Schless, in suggesting that Settle like Dryden in Absalom and Achitophel is "appealing to the uncommitted moderates, whether of the right or of the left" (p. 106), is wrong.

Settle's lack of awareness of audience runs like a malady from general structure to the niceties of tone. This sample of his heroic tone comes from the chronology of the Popish threat to Elizabeth I:

> But Deborah her Barak calls to war;
> Barak, the sun's fam'd fellow-traveler,
> Who, wand'ring o'er the earth's surrounded frame,
> Had travel'd far as his great mistress Fame.
> Here Barak did with Deborah's vengeance fly,
> And to that swift prodigious victory,
> So much by human praises undefin'd
> That Fame wants breath, and Wonder lags behind. (101-08)

There is not the rhythmic energy of Dryden's heroic lines here. Indeed, these are barely competent. Diction is sometimes weak. "Surrounded" is questionable. So is "great mistress" because, coming before the couplet climax in "Fame," it throws the reader's attention momentarily back to Deborah. "Did" in line 105 is superfluous. Settle transfers his emphasis from the "victory" to a silly personification of fame and wonder. This is hardly impressive heroics, but almost the whole poem, half again as long as Absalom and Achitophel I, is composed of passages of the same level of heroic seriousness. Consequently, there seems to be some justice in Dryden's calling Doeg "Heroically mad." This is part of the portrait of Barzillai-Shaftesbury:

> Such our Barzillai; but Barzillai, too,
> With Moses' fate does Moses' zeal pursue;
> Leads to that bliss which his silver hairs
> Shall never reach, rich only to his heirs.
> Kind patriot, who, to plant us banks of flow'rs,
> With purling streams, cool shades, and summer bow'rs,
> His age's needful rest away does fling,
> Exhausts his autumn to adorn our spring,
> Whilst his last hours in toils and storms are hurl'd,
> And only to enrich th' inheriting world,
> Thus prodigally throws his life's short span
> To play his country's generous pelican.

Settle seems to think that he can rescue Shaftesbury simply by changing his allegorical name from Achitophel to Barzillai and giving him some

lines of heroic panegyric. "His age's needful rest" alludes to Dryden's portrait of Achitophel and suggests that Settle is consciously rebuting Dryden's couplet: "Else why should he, with Wealth and Honor blest,/ Refuse his Age the needful hours of Rest?" His weapon of rebuttal is to supply the wrong answer to a rhetorical question, and to ignore the irony of Dryden's couplet.

For his effect, Settle depends on the elaborate biblical parallels and a gradual pile-up of disparagement, rather than on satirical lines. His best attempts at satire are in the portraits of the Tories. The portraits of Corah-Scroggs begins in this way:

> In the same role have we grave Corah seen,
> Corah, the late chief scarlet abbethdin;
> Corah, who luckily i'th' Bench was got
> To rate the blood hounds off to save the Plot;
> Corah, who once against Baal's impious cause
> Stood strong for Israel's Faith and David's laws.
> He pois'd his scales and shook his ponderous sword,
> Loud as his father's Bashan-bulls he roar'd:
> Till by a dose of foreign ophir drench'd,
> The fever of his burning zeal was quench'd. (730-39)

A quick reading of the lines leaves the impression of a satirical tone, but the tone evaporates on close inspection. The repetition of "Corah" suggests true satirical needling. But Scroggs as an <u>active</u> Tory does not come off, for in the second couplet Settle uses a passive verb, and in the third couplet the vague "stood strong." The tone of the third and fourth couplets is uncertain. In the third, it seems to be a tone of praise for Scroggs's proceedings against the Papists, and yet in the fourth it seems to be a tone of ridicule for the same thing. If Settle is ridiculing Scroggs for intimidation of the Papists, as "burning zeal" in the next couplet suggests, then Settle is attempting to play the role of the moderate, condemning both extremes. The role is incongruous, for nowhere else in the poem does he show any recognition that a moderate

position exists, let alone distinguish it from the extremes. The conclusion of the poem, structurally a complete trailing off, reveals his usual Whig position, with a slightly better tone and a slightly better adjustment to the political situation. It ends in this manner:

> Yet all divine shall be his God-like sway,
> And his calm reign but one long halcyon day, --
> And this great truth he's damn'd that dares deny;
> 'Gainst Absalom even oracles would lie,
> Though sense and reason preach 'tis blasphemy.
> Then let our dull mistaken terror cease,
> When even our comets speak all health and peace. (1476-82)

In effect, he is saying that if Englishmen continue their complacent support of James, they will suffer for it when he comes to the throne. The ironic tone is conveyed by the obvious contraries, "oracles"/"lie," "sense"/"Blasphemy," "comets"/"peace," and by the subtler "mistaken terror." With tone, Settle is trying to rise above his ordinary lines and end in a relatively sophisticated manner. But by this time, it does not matter very much. In general, then, Dryden's literary criticism of Settle is correct. Settle is limited in every way, and most especially in tone.

Dryden's portrait of Shadwell as Og is a reply to Shadwell's Medal of John Bayes, which is itself an answer to The Medal. Shadwell published his poem, subtitled "A Satire Against Folly and Knavery," on May 15, 1682, a little more than a month after Settle's Absalom Senior. First of all, Shadwell manages a better adjustment to the political situation than Settle. For example, in his address to the City of London counteracting that of The Medal, he correctly sees the aggressive Tory campaign for the mayorality and shrieval offices as part of a general campaign to suppress the liberty of London:

> If a good mayor with such good shrives appear,
> Nor Prince nor people need a danger fear:

> And such we hope for each succeeding year.
> Thus thou a glorious city may'st remain,
> And all thy ancient liberties retain,
> While Albion is surrounded with the main.[25]

This seems to be almost a plea to his audience not to let the general reaction in favour of the Tories go any further. Shadwell's rebuttal of The Medal's unjust blaming of Shaftesbury for breaking the Triple Alliance shows an even better attunement to contemporary politics and audience:

> You own the mischiefs, sprung from that intrigue,
> Which fatally dissolv'd the Triple League,
> Each of your idol mock-triumv'rate knows
> Our patriot strongly did that breach oppose;
> Nor did this lord a Dover-journey go,
> "From thence our tears, the Illium of our woe." (205-09)

It is the tone that makes the passage successful. The first two couplets, answering Dryden's charge directly, have the dull neutral tone found throughout hundreds of couplets of Tate and Settle. However, the sudden switch to the negative at the opening of the third couplet tips us off to the irony. The heavy stresses come on the enigmatic "Dover-journey" on which Shadwell slyly refuses to elaborate except by quoting almost word-for-word Dryden's line on the breaking of the Triple Alliance. Thus Shadwell indicates his awareness of the rumours recently then circulating about Charles' secret Treaty of Dover and at the same time he scores Dryden's line as sheer rhetoric. In refusing to make anything more of the Treaty of Dover, Shadwell shows that he is only too well aware of the danger of doing so in view of the growing support of the people for the King. Besides, he is more interested in the usual approach of the Whigs picturing themselves as the loyalists and the Tories as the factious. Here is the end of his attack on the Tory

[25] I am using the Schless edition, 309-15.

Addressers:

> They from protection would throw all the rest
> And poorly narrow the King's interest.
> To make their little party, too, seem great.
> They with false musters, like the Spaniards, cheat.
> He's king of all, and would have all their hearts,
> Were't not for these dividing Popish arts. (350-55)

The thought is good, but the tone is commonplace. "Poorly" spoils that of the first couplet. The contempt in the second couplet's "little party" is good. The third couplet begins like a positive and indignant retort to the Addressers but ends in a weak and repetitious reference to Tory faction. One begins to wonder whether the quality of his tone is not a matter of pure chance.

Shadwell spent most of his time writing prose comedies, and, up to the time of the Exclusion Crisis, had little opportunity to practice couplet writing except in a few prologues and epilogues. Consequently, when he did write, he seems to have imitated the couplet movement of others. Like Tate, Settle, Pordage, and every other political pamphleteer of the time, he seems to have studied Dryden's couplets, and echoes in The Medal of John Bayes are common. Dryden's Achitophel is "Swift of Dispatch, and easie of Access." Shadwell's Monmouth is "Sweet and obliging, easy of access." Some of Shadwell's best couplets appear in his opening:

> How long shall I endure, without reply,
> To hear this Bayes, this hackney-railer, lie?
> The fool, uncudgell'd, for one libel swells,
> Where not his wit, but sauciness excels;
> Whilst with foul words and names which he lets fly,
> He quite defiles the satire's dignity. (1-6)

His strict closures, a greater than usual use of caesuras, and the second couplet's parallel and antithesis show that he is at least competent in couplet techniques. Unfortunately, words of many consonants

such as "hackney-railer" and "uncudgell'd" destroy the smoothness of the lines and suggest an anger uncontrolled. Shadwell takes pains to disparage Dryden's satire by defining "true satire":

> For libel and true satire different be;
> This must have truth, and salt, with modesty.
> Sparing the persons, this does tax the crimes,
> Galls not great men, but vices of the times,
> With witty and sharp, not blunt and bitter, rhymes. (7-11)

With this, Shadwell seemingly makes an auspicious beginning. His confident tone here leads his reader to expect a high level of satire from him, a level to which it is soon apparent he cannot rise. As for sparing the individual and attacking the vices, Shadwell does not practice what he preaches. Macdonald was the first one to note that this poem contains more detailed allusions to Dryden's personal life than any other of the numerous attacks on him.[26] Here is the opening of the long passage on Dryden's career:

> At Cambridge first your scurrilous vein began,
> When saucily you traduc'd a nobleman,
> Who for that crime rebuk'd you on the head,
> And you had been expell'd had you not fled.
> The next step of advancement you began
> Was being clerk to Noll's Lord Chamberlain,
> A sequestrator and committee-man. (112-18)

A comic element enters in the second couplet, an element independent of biography, but it disappears as suddenly as it appears because Shadwell must continue the next anecdote of his laborious chronology. Who cares whether Pickering was "sequestrator and committee-man" or not? For

[26] Hugh Macdonald, John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 232-33. I believe Schless (p. 75) and James Osborn, "The Medal of John Bayes," in John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems, rev. ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965), are doing Dryden a disservice in assuming that Shadwell's details can be accepted as at least based on truth until proven wrong by contrary evidence.

contrast, here is the opening of Dryden's Og-Shadwell portrait:

> Now stop your noses Readers, all and some,
> For here's a tun of Midnight-work to come.
> Og from a Treason Tavern rowling home.
> Round as a Globe, and Liquor'd ev'ry chink,
> Goodly and Great he Sayls behind his Link. (457-61)

In the first line, Dryden invites his audience to join in the fun. The comic element is so general that it has no dependence on Shadwell's personality. We recognize this as a caricature of a self-indulgent party scribbler. The wit turns on "Midnight-work," which in its context means wine, but also could mean dung cart. It turns on "Treason Tavern," general, unlike Shadwell's specific "Cambridge." This is the place where Og absorbs both ideas and entertainment. But it also suggests the city meeting places of Whig plotters and members of the Green Ribbon Club. The wit follows from "Chink," which provides the transition from the cask/cart metaphor to the ship metaphor.

Shadwell's statement that satire must have "modesty" finds an echo, as we have seen, in the fine raillery of Dryden's most effective political satire. To prove his point that Bayes does not write true satire, Shadwell attempts to show that hireling Bayes is crude: "Thou styl'st it satire to call names: Rogue, Whore,/Traitor, and Rebel, and a thousand more" (16-17). This is reminiscent of Dryden's more indirect attack on Shadwell's humour in the purely literary Mac Flecknoe.[27] Flecknoe is eulogizing the work of his successor Shadwell, and in a series of rhetorical questions shows that Shadwell's hero, Jonson, will

[27]Shadwell probably saw it in manuscript long before it was published. See Van Doren's Appendix "The Autorship of Mac Flecknoe," in John Dryden: A Study of his Poetry (1920; rpt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960). Mac Flecknoe offers excellent examples of control of tone, and a fine use of parallel for oblique satire. But it is not political, and it has not the political approach even of the prologues and epilogues.

never reach Shadwell's supposedly high level:

> Where made he love in Prince Nicander's vein,
> Or swept the dust in Psyche's humble strain?
> Where sold he Bargains, Whip-stitch, kiss my Arse,
> Promis'd a Play and dwindled to a Farce? (179-82)

The descent to the coarse in the last half of the third line is an interpolation of lines from the second act of Shadwell's comedy The Virtuoso. Shadwell's exposition of Dryden's immodesty is never so brief and by the way. Here is part of it:

> Thou never mak'st, but art, a standing jest;
> Thy mirth by foolish bawdry is express'd,
> And so debauch'd, so fulsome, and so odd,
> As--
> "Let's bugger one another now, by God!"
> (When ask'd how they should spend the afternoon)
> This was the smart reply of the heroic clown.
> He boasts of vice (which he did ne'er commit),
> Calls himself Whoremaster and Sodomite;
> Commends Reeves' arse and says she buggers well,
> And silly lies of vicious pranks does tell. (35-45)

Unlike Dryden, Shadwell does not know when to leave off, and his ethos suffers. Dryden protects himself behind a persona of Flecknoe, and even then, his quotation is easily verifiable. Shadwell has no persona, speaks bluntly, and even in his own time was probably difficult to verify. Moreover, the length of his vulgar report undermines his own pretension to modesty and ironically proves that what Dryden says about him in Mac Flecknoe is true. Shadwell closes his attack and the poem itself with this triplet:

> Pied thing! half wit! half fool! and for a knave,
> Few men, than this, a better mixture have:
> But thou canst add to that, coward and slave. (385-87)

The sum of the parts is greater than the whole. Typically, the tone is that of sheer railing. Shadwell ends not in a climax, but in a complete exhaustion of epithet. One has the feeling that he is not only tired but impotent. By contrast Dryden ends his portrait of Og in a tone of

contempt born of supreme detachment, as if Shadwell is simply not worth bothering about: "I will not rake the Dunghill of thy Crimes,/For who wou'd reade thy Life that reads thy rhimes?" (504-05).

If Dryden's tone in The Medal is harsher than that of Absalom and Achitophel I, it reflects the adjustments the poet made for an audience that had moved more toward the right. Even when he uses a harsh tone, he always keeps it under control, and when he has a choice, as in his parts of Absalom and Achitophel II, he leans more toward the detached tone. Contemporary pamphleteers such as Tate, Settle, and Shadwell seem to have copied him. But their efforts are comparatively dull, and none of them reached the stage of technical virtuosity where, like Dryden, they could vary and control tone.

Chapter Six: Dryden's Later Use of Tone

We have seen that Waller, the representative panegyrist of the early Restoration, is unable to vary his tone and thereby maintain interest in his work. Marvell, the representative satirist of the same time, has some variety of tone, but he is too factional to be persuasive. Though the wits of the period prided themselves on the politeness and detachment of fine raillery, as late as the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis the majority of political writers resorted to violent personal abuse to make a point. Greater detachment and persuasiveness is occasionally found in personal attacks and more often in the broader party attacks. But the true raillery with its subtlety of tone came only with the arrival of Dryden in the political arena. Through his prologues and epilogues he learned tact in approach to audience, so that by 1681 in Absalom and Achitophel he was able to combine their colloquial tone with the heroic tone of his plays not only to add interest to the various parts of a complex poem, but to persuade his audience to accept his own moderate position. Even in The Medal where his tones are generally harsher, he manages to be persuasive to some extent because he has judged his audience to be one willing to accept a harsher approach to the King's enemies. Comparison of Dryden's contributions to Absalom and Achitophel II with Tate's simply shows the gap between Dryden and his contemporaries in tone and couplet control, while comparison of Settle's and Shadwell's attacks on Dryden with his attacks on them in Absalom and Achitophel II shows their self-interested scurrility a poor substitute for his witty

detachment.

Unlike Pope, Dryden wrote a great deal of his poetry under the stimulus of a state occasion or public event. That his temperament was peculiarly suited for writing occasional poetry he proved early in his career when he turned out poems such as Astraea Redux, To My Lord Chancellor, and Annus Mirabilis for specific events. One of the reasons that Absalom and Achitophel is the best political verse satire in the language is that it is such a fine occasional poem. It was right for the time. Politically influential people had to choose between two contending parties. Because Dryden understood both the political situation and the politically influential people, he had a good chance of being persuasive. Because he possessed, as I have shown, the best equipment possible for persuasion, and most impressively in spite of the fact that he was a party man, he is able to make the most of his opportunity. He goes beyond the obvious rhetoric of an Oldham or a Settle to a rhetoric that involves refinement of tone. Thus by use of a serious tone he can make the blasphemy in Achitophel's speech disagreeable to his audience, yet by a playful tone he can make the narrator's blasphemy in the opening passage agreeable and even enjoyable. Tone, then, determines not the whole success but the degree of success. Unfortunately for Dryden, having discovered his forte to be political satire, he never again found the perfect occasion for it in his lifetime. The complete triumph of the Tories in the last years of Charles' reign meant that his activities as pamphleteer were largely suspended. In the reign of James, political circumstances were such that he could no longer assume the role of spokesman for the majority. And after the Revolution

of 1688, of course, he was forced to withdraw from politics altogether. The question remains, then, of the later use Dryden made of tone. Having perfected tone as a weapon for political persuasion, what use did he find for this weapon in the almost two decades that remained of his life?

Certainly he did not use it in "Threnodia Augustalis" on the death of Charles II, an historical poem, strictly speaking, but political in the sense that it is a formal conclusion to Dryden's efforts on Charles' behalf. His relative indifference to the occasion is betrayed in the many false rhymes and dull analogies. Curiously, one of the few passages of value in the 500-odd lines hints at the reason for his coolness in its ambiguous tone towards the monarch's patronage of poets:

> Tho little was their Hire, and light their Gain,
> Yet somewhat to their share he threw;
> Fed from his Hand, they sung and flew,
> Like Birds of Paradise, that liv'd on Morning dew.
> Oh never let their Lays his Name forget!
> The Pension of a Prince's praise is great.[1] (377-82)

By this time Dryden's salaries as Laureate and Historiographer Royal were over a thousand pounds in arrears.

Religio Laici is a more interesting case. Published a little more than two weeks after Absalom and Achitophel II, it has usually been viewed as a private apologia oddly appearing at the end of a line of political poems, but having no apparent public occasion. It would be tempting to go along with Edward Niles Hooker's view that it is really "a political act, a bold stroke delivered in a time of crisis," and

[1] The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958). I am using this edition throughout the chapter.

part of a little known political controversy within the Church of England.[2] But, as Phillip Harth shows,[3] the poem is too closely bound up with contemporary Anglican apologetics to be mainly political, though, politics and religion being closely related in the seventeenth century, there are political references and implications in both the preface and the body of the poem. We can believe Dryden in his preface when he says that "the verses were written for an ingenious young Gentleman my Friend; upon his Translation of The Critical History of the Old Testament, compos'd by the learned Father Simon." Dickinson's publication provided the excuse, and his own recent success in the political field provided the incentive, as Harth (p. 195) suggests, for him to try the religious field.

Though it is a religious poem, Dryden brought to it the same equipment for persuasion he had used before. Unlike Absalom and Achitophel, it is a work of relatively straightforward argumentation tied neither to allegory nor myth. As in Absalom and Achitophel, Dryden presents two sides to several questions, but weights the argument in favour of his own position, here the doctrinal position of the Anglican

[2]Edward N. Hooker, "Dryden and the Atoms of Epicurus," ELH, 24 (1957), 177, rpt. in Dryden: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Bernard N. Schilling (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

[3]Phillip Harth, Contexts of Dryden's Thought (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), Chapters 3,4, and 5. This is the best book so far on Religio Laici and The Hind and the Panther. In it, Harth thoroughly analyzes the rhetoric of the two poems and relates it to religious controversy and popular apologetics of Dryden's time.

Church.[4] Though he is more one-sided than in Absalom and Achitophel, he is still the moderate Anglican speaking to a moderate Anglican audience. In the first half of the poem, he dismisses the Deists who were posing a threat not only to Anglicanism but to all Christianity. In the second half, he answers Simon and the traditionalists on the one hand, private interpretation of the Bible on the other hand, dismisses both extremes, and accepts the position of the Anglican Church as the via media. The argument proceeds by question and answer, objection and reply. And Dryden handles tone in the argument well. Having quickly dismissed in the manner of standard Christian apology the ancient philosophers' opinions on the ultimate good, "How can the less the Greater comprehend?/Or finite Reason reach Infinity?" (39-40), he introduces the Deist:

> The Deist thinks he stands on firmer ground;
> Cries ἕυρεκα: the mighty Secret's found:
> God is that Spring of Good; Supreme, and Best;
> We, made to serve, and in that Service blest;
> If so, some Rules of Worship must be given,
> Distributed alike to all by Heaven. (42-47)

With the emphasis on "thinks" and "firmer," the tone of the first line is the equivalent of a knowing look, referring us back to the previous conclusion. The second line breaks into open mockery that is continued

[4] In 1961, Thomas H. Fujimura in "Dryden's Religio Laici: An Anglican Poem," PMLA, 76, 205-17, and Elias J. Chiasson in "Dryden's Apparent Skepticism in Religio Laici," Harvard Theological Review, 54, 207-21, rpt. in Essential Articles for the Study of John Dryden, ed. H. T. Swedenberg, Jr. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1966), showed the error of Bredvold's conclusion that the poem is fideistic. See Louis I. Bredvold, The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden, Ann Arbour: The University of Michigan Press, 1934). This led eventually, of course, to Harth's proofs that Dryden was never a fideist nor a Pyrrhonist, and to a questioning of Bredvold's whole critical procedure.

in the next two couplets in a subdued fashion as Dryden imitates the rather simple-minded reasoning he attributes to the Deist. Throughout fourteen lines more Dryden's tone indicates his own indulgence. The Deist is condemned even before Dryden makes a formal reply. But the reply is crushing, with its indignant tone often thought of as Popean:

> Vain, wretched Creature, how art thou misled
> To think thy Wit these God-like Notions bred!
> These Truths are not the product of thy Mind,
> But dropt from Heaven, and of a Nobler kind. (64-67)

In fact, he says, the Deist is falling back not on reason for his conclusions but on Divine Revelation. In Dryden's proofs for the truth of Divine Revelation, the tone is important also:

> Whence, but from Heav'n, cou'd men unskill'd in Arts,
> In several Ages born, in several parts,
> Weave such agreeing Truths? or how, or why
> Shou'd all conspire to cheat us with a Lye?
> Unask'd their Pains, ungratefull their Advice,
> Starving their Gain, and Martyrdom their Price. (140-45)

The compactness and precision of the thought, together with the balances and carefully measured rhythm contribute to a tone of certainty that suggests no rejoinder is possible.

Consideration of Simon's biblical work leads Dryden to see this scholar's undermining of the authority of Scripture as a ploy to strengthen the claims of tradition, the pope and councils, and he presents the standard Anglican replies. But the most persuasive parts of these replies are satirical. This is the way he pictures the Roman Church:

> In times o'ergrown with Rust and Ignorance,
> A gainfull Trade their Clergy did advance:
> When want of Learning kept the Layman low,
> And none but Priests were Authoriz'd to know:
> When what small Knowledge was, in them did dwell;
> And he a God who cou'd but Reade or Spell;

> Then Mother Church did mightily prevail:
> She parcel'd out the Bible by retail:
> But still expounded what She sold or gave;
> To keep it in her Power to Damn and Save:
> Scripture was scarce, and as the Market went, 380
> Poor Laymen took Salvation on Content;
> As needy men take Money, good or bad:
> God's Word they had not, but the Priests they had.

As Kathryn Harris notes,[5] it is a parody of Dryden's own opening of Absalom and Achitophel. The playful intent is replaced by disparagement. The disparaging tone rises particularly with "gainful Trade." The anti-clerical poet saves some of his best darts for the clergy, for example, line 375, and develops the trade metaphor around them. Lines 380-81 with their glib tone would be a dismissal of the Roman clergy especially satisfying to the Anglican audience Dryden has in mind, and would win sympathy for himself as an informed yet dutiful layman. After mentioning the advent of the Reformation, Dryden retains the trade metaphor for a satirical sally against the layman of the opposite extreme, the Protestant who relies on private interpretation:

> Then, every man who saw the Title fair,
> Claim'd a Child's part, and put in for a Share:
> Consulted Soberly his private good;
> And sav'd himself as cheap as e'er he cou'd. (394-97)

The tone is ironic, for into this plain statement Dryden insinuates the motive of Puritan middle-class thrift.

Also persuasive is Dryden's tone of humble compromise reminiscent of the opening of the "Essay on Innovation," a tone he uses in reply to the Deist's objection that revealed religion has not been revealed to

[5]Kathryn Harris, "John Dryden: Augustan Satirist," Diss. Emory University 1968, p. 145.

all people:

> Of all Objections this indeed is chief
> To startle Reason, stagger frail Belief:
> We grant, 'tis true, that Heav'n from humane Sense
> Has hid the secret paths of Providence:
> But boundless Wisedom, boundless Mercy, may
> Find ev'n for those be-wildred Souls, a way:
> If from his Nature Foes may Pity claim,
> Much more may Strangers who ne'er heard his Name.
> And though no Name be for Salvation known,
> But that of his Eternal Sons alone;
> Who knows how far transcending Goodness can
> Extend the Merits of that Son to Man?

The word "indeed" in the first line gives an air of honesty, which is picked up by the phrase "We grant, 'tis true." Dryden's solution is to admit that Christians do not know everything about God, and to fall back on the dogma-shattering idea that with God all things are possible, an idea that might be expected from the more moderate and liberal-minded Anglicans. This tone of compromise with its humility is part of the rhetorical strategy to persuade by giving the appearance of trustworthiness, and such ethical proofs are more important in Religio Laici than in Absalom and Achitophel, I think, because Religio Laici is intended for instruction, as Dryden mentions in his preface. The poet is not really debating with the Deist, Sectarian, and Papist at all, but instructing Anglicans by presenting their Church's general arguments against these enemies. While he is persuading Anglicans that their position is the best position, he must also convince them that he is a sincere and orthodox Anglican. As Phillip Harth succintly puts it: "To the extent that Dryden is only a voluntary spokesman for his Church in Religio Laici, and a layman as well, a greater degree of modesty is expected of such a speaker, who must present his arguments with consider-

able diffidence. Dryden's solution is to capitalize on his inferiority as a layman and even to emphasize it in the course of creating a sympathetic ethos" (p. 45). Illustrative of this is the passage where Dryden begins to answer the objection that if all tradition is set aside, free interpretation will fill the vacuum left:

> Shall I speak plain, and in a Nation free
> Assume an honest Layman's Liberty?
> I think (according to my little Skill,
> To my own Mother-Church submitting still:)
> That many have been sav'd, and many may,
> Who never heard this Question brought in play. (316-21)

The sincerity of the tone is especially needed here, for the reply is not theological at all but simple common sense. This personal element, though a rhetorical technique, is never found in Absalom and Achitophel, for while Dryden is the private layman here, he is the public spokesman with a more oratorical tone there. It is because of this tone and ethos that Religio Laici's conclusion seems plausible and acceptable to its audience. As in the closing passages of The Medal, Dryden builds the satire against the Dissenters to a peak:

> While Crowds unlearn'd, with rude Devotion warm,
> About the Sacred Viands buz and swarm,
> The Fly-blown Text creates a crawling Brood;
> And turns to Maggots what was meant for Food.
> A Thousand daily Sects rise up, and dye;
> A Thousand more the perish'd Race supply. (417-22)

The fluent diction combines with the driving rhythm to suggest an energy uncontrolled. The nastiness created by the insect imagery has an affinity with Pope. After this part, the tone switches again:

> And, after hearing what our Church can say,
> If still our Reason runs another way,
> That private Reason 'tis more Just to curb,
> Than by Disputes the publick Peace disturb.

For points obscure are of small use to learn:
But Common quiet is Mankind's concern. (445-50)

For a way out of a religious problem, Dryden has fallen back on a political solution related to the conservative myth of Absalom and Achitophel. The rhythmic smoothness and verbal plainness of the couplets help convince us of its sanity.

After the accession of James II and the laureate's well known conversion to Rome, Dryden produced The Hind and the Panther in 1687. Though in his preface he talks about "that defence of my self, to which every honest man is bound, when he is injuriously attacqu'd in Print," and he makes the claim "that [the poem] was neither imposed on me, nor so much as the Subject given me by any man," it is clear even here that the work is a public and occasional rather than a private poem, for he mentions James's recent "Declaration of Liberty of Conscience," "which, if I had so soon expected, I might have spar'd my self the labour of writing many things which are contained in the third part of it." Like Religio Laici, The Hind and the Panther is a religious poem, with a more considerable admixture of politics. Like Religio Laici, it arose out of contemporary religious controversy.[6] In Absalom and Achitophel Dryden is a moderate Tory persuading political moderates to support the King. In Religio Laici he is a moderate Anglican layman persuading

[6]Earl Miner in his notes to The Works of John Dryden (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), III, 329-32, shows that The Hind and the Panther covers all the main topics of religious controversy in the reign of James II listed in the Anglican Catalogue or bibliography. Harth, pp. 235-44, shows that the poem is really part of a religious controversy which began with Martin Clifford's attack on the authority of the Church of England in the early 1670's.

Anglican moderates to support the via media. In The Hind and the Panther he is a moderate Catholic[7] seeking to persuade the same audience of Anglican laymen to support James in a greater toleration of the Catholic Church. Dryden is eminently successful in the first work, and only a little less so in the second. But then in both he is a true spokesman for his audience, able to adjust and reconcile differences. And though he uses the same techniques in The Hind and the Panther, the most ambitious of all those poems, he is unsuccesful at persuasion, not merely because James's "Declaration" changed the politico-religious situation overnight, but because he is writing from a minority position, a position that, while relatively moderate, was too extreme for the majority in the Anglican audience to accept even before the "Declaration."

For such a long poem, the structure is quite loose. Lilian Feder sees it as a public debate.[8] But I think Harth (pp. 36-37) is right in classifying it along with Religio Laici as more of a dialogue in which Dryden weights the argument in favour of Rome. The beast fable produces some detachment, though not so much as the allegory gives to Absalom and Achitophel, and it is even more often in abeyance than the allegory in the latter. Part One, consisting of descriptions of the various churches as beasts and of their origins, has more of the fable than Part

[7] In Chapter 8 of his book, Harth shows that Dryden took the moderate Catholic position on authority and ignored the extreme Blackloists who rejected the authority of Scripture in favour of church authority alone.

[8] Lilian Feder, "John Dryden's Use of Classical Rhetoric," PMLA, 69 (1954), p. 1278, rpt. in Essential Articles, ed. Swedenberg.

Two but less than Part Three with its fables within a fable. Part Two is a dialogue between the Panther and the Hind mainly on the recent political alignments of the Anglican and Roman Churches.

Dryden presents his new church in the guise of the Hind most attractively. He does this first by short descriptive passages which Harth (pp. 43-44) calls "objective ethos." The first lines of Part One are a most obvious example:

> A Milk white Hind, immortal and unchang'd,
> Fed on the lawns, and in the forest rang'd;
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin.
> Yet had she oft been chas'd with horns and hounds,
> And Scythian shafts; and many winged wounds
> Aim'd at Her heart; was often forc'd to fly,
> And doom'd to death, though fated not to dy. (I, 1-8)

Introducing the fable narrative, Dryden uses language as dignified as that of Religio Laici yet more figurative. The last half, with its allusion to the classical chase, sets the heroic tone that dominates the first 34 lines of the poem. The beauty of the animal and her vulnerable position work on the sympathy of the reader. To continue the effect, Dryden frequently inserts little bits of descriptive detail. For example, when the Lion permits the Hind to draw near the watering hole, Dryden says that she "drank a sober draught," and that the beasts of prey "Survey'd her part by part, and sought to find/The ten-horn'd monster in the harmless Hind" (I, 534, 536-37). The Hind's pleasing nature is generally borne out by the tones of her speeches. In this manner she welcomes the Panther as her guest:

> So might these walls, with your fair presence blest
> Become your dwelling-place of everlasting rest,
> Not for a night, or quick revolving year,
> Welcome an owner, not a sojourner. (II, 701-04)

The tone is modest, courteous, and, by the phrase "fair presence blest" and the offer of the last line, magnanimous. It has that personal element with which I shall deal at greater length near the end of the chapter. Even after the Panther tells the malicious fable of the Swallows, the Hind replies:

> If as you say, and as I hope no less,
> Your sons will practise what your self profess,
> What angry pow'r prevents our present peace?
> The Lyon, studious of our common good,
> Desires, (and Kings desires are ill withstood,)
> To join our Nations in a lasting love;
> The barrs betwixt are easie to remove,
> For sanguinary laws were never made above. (III, 672-79)

The trusting tone of the first triplet prepares for the conciliatory tone of the couplet and second triplet. All this, of course, is meant to conciliate the Anglican audience. By presenting the Hind as attractive, by distinguishing the Panther from the Sects, and by playing up their common cause in the Civil Wars, Dryden hopes to bring about a rapprochment, political if not religious, between Anglican and Roman Churches.

On the other hand, far from the majority of tones are conciliatory. The long passage (327-510) descriptive of the Panther in Part One offers several examples of tone. It begins with a conciliatory tone:

> The Panther sure the noblest, next the Hind,
> And fairest creature of the spotted kind;
> Oh, could her in-born stains be wash'd away,
> She were too good to be a beast of Prey!
> How can I praise, or blame, and not offend,
> Or how divide the frailty from the friend!
> Her faults and vertues lye so mix'd, that she
> Nor wholly stands condemn'd, nor wholly free. (I, 327-34)

There is nothing of the heroic here. Indeed the colloquial "sure the noblest" suggests the narrator's non-acceptance, though tolerance, of

the Anglican Church. The dual nature suggested by "spotted kind" and amplified in the second couplet, becomes the main topic of the couplets following with their antitheses frailty/friend,faults/vertues and so on, and of the whole passage. Sometimes the tone is directed toward praise:

> Stedfast in various turns of state she stood,
> And seal'd her vow'd affection with her bloud;
> Nor will I meanly tax her constancy,
> That int'rest or obligement made the tye,
> (Bound to the fate of murdr'd Monarchy:)
> (Before the sounding Ax so falls the Vine,
> Whose tender branches round the Poplar twine.)
> She chose her ruin, and resign'd her life,
> In death undaunted as an Indian wife. (I, 434-42)

But this is political loyalty, and hence the praise is political praise. And Dryden is not about to admit that the duality of the via media is a perfect compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism. Indeed he seems to deny the Catholic component of Anglicanism altogether:

> Her house not ancient, whatsoe'er pretence
> Her clergy Heraulds make in her defence.
> A second century not half-way run
> Since the new honours of her bloud begun.
> A Lyon old, obscene, and furious made
> By lust, compress'd her mother in a shade. (I, 347-52)

The dismissal of the Church of England's historical continuity would be annoying to an Anglican audience, but doubly so in view of the calm detached tone. Instead of easing this annoyance, Dryden in the last couplet launches into a satirical account of the Protestant origin of Anglicanism, the real purpose of the whole passage. Thus he can say of the Panther:

> Oh with what ease we follow such a guide!
> Where souls are starv'd, and senses gratify'd.
> Where marr'age pleasures, midnight pray'r supply,
> And mattin bells (a melancholy cry)
> Are tun'd to merrier notes, encrease and multiply. (I, 365-69)

The cutting irony destroys any illusion Dryden might have created previously that the Anglican Church is doctrinally much less heretical than the other reformed churches. In the passage as a whole, Dryden is conciliatory, disparaging, commending, ironic, and playful, but the blame far outweighs the praise.

In contrast to this attitude is Dryden's new attitude to the Church about which he had ironically exclaimed in Religio Laici: "Such an Omniscient Church we wish indeed;/'Twere worth Both Testaments, and cast in the Creed" (282-83). In the long dialogues of Parts Two and Three, Dryden allows the Hind to conquer the Panther easily:

> Nor wou'd I thence the word no rule infer,
> But none without the church interpreter.
> Because, as I have urg'd before, 'tis mute,
> And is it self the subject of dispute. (II, 357-60)

This is the plain style Dryden says in the preface he will use for disputation.[9] Of course, it is like that of Religio Laici and the argumentative parts of Absalom and Achitophel. The tone is muted for the sake of clarity. After the climax of Part Two when the Hind reveals herself as the final authority, the last appeal, Dryden uses the "magnificence of verse" he promises in the preface. This is a passage leading up to a description of the place of the Church in the salvation of mankind:

> So when of old th' Almighty father sate
> In Council, to redeem our ruin'd state,

[9]Clarence H. Miller, "The Styles of The Hind and the Panther," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 61 (1962), 511-27, is not fully convincing in his attempt to show that the poem carries out the stylistic intentions of the preface.

> Millions of millions at a distance round,
> Silent the sacred Consistory crown'd,
> To hear what mercy mixt with justice cou'd propound.
> All prompt with eager pity, to fulfill
> The full extent of their Creatour's will. (II, 499-505)

The magnificence recalls the epic style of Milton. The majestic tone is also carried into Dryden's description of the sign of the true church: "One in herself not rent by schism, but sound,/Entire, one solid shining Diamond" (II, 526-27).

Dryden should not have expected to reconcile his Anglican audience to the King by glorifying the Roman Church, by allowing the Hind's complete rhetorical triumph over the Panther, and by attacking the Church of England in satirical tones. The question of the whole poem's success in tone and persuasion, however, is obscured by contemporary circumstances which I will mention shortly. Certainly there are places where Dryden seems to have forgotten his persuasive purpose. For example, in Part One after he has made a series of satirical attacks on the sects, he cannot resist this exclamation: "Oh happy Regions, Italy and Spain,/Which never did those monsters entertain!" (I, 291-92). In this exultant tone, he alienates most Englishmen, Protestant or Catholic, who have been conditioned by English nationalism to despise these countries. The approach is as unsound as that in his last laureate poem Britannia Rediviva (1688) on the birth of James II's son, where, after a long passage expressing the hope that the new prince will unite the British people, he becomes carried away with enthusiasm and says:

> Behold another Sylvester, to bless
> The Sacred Standard and secure Success;
> Large of his Treasures, of a Soul so great,
> As fills and crowds his Universal Seat. (84-87)

Roman influence at court was the very source of division between the Royal Family and the English people. Even the satirical attacks against the sects, while acceptable to his audience in Absalom and Achitophel, The Medal, and Religio Laici, may not have been acceptable to Anglicans even in the months before the "Declaration," for by then Anglicans were beginning to join the sects against the King. Perhaps one reason that Dryden did not play down doctrinal differences between Anglican and Roman Churches is that the necessity of defending his conversion demanded that he show the superiority of Roman to Anglican claims. In other words, necessity dictated a certain inflexibility in his tone and rhetoric. So, although he was once able to adjust tone successfully to suit the change in thinking that occurred in his audience between the time of the publication of Absalom and Achitophel and the time of The Medal, he could not do it between the time of Religio Laici and The Hind and the Panther, because he himself had changed more than his audience, and in the opposite direction. His moderate position proved to be far from his audience's moderate position. Of course, the "Declaration" changed almost everyone's position to some extent, and it is possible that some of the passages treating the Panther in harsh tones were inserted after the "Declaration"[10] when the need of persuading Anglicans was past.

After the Bloodless Revolution of 1688, Dryden was relieved of his posts of Laureate and Historiographer Royal. This forced withdrawal from politics meant, of course, the retirement of his public and oratorical voice. When he returned to playwriting for an income, it was

[10]For some possibilities, see Kinsley, IV, 1968.

with displeasure though not timidity. Having friends like Dorset, powerful in the new government, he evidently felt that he could attempt to elude the tight censorship without risk of being personally molested. Consequently all of his plays of the late 80's and early 90's have political allusions and even incidents paralleling the contemporary political situation, particularly Don Sebastian, the only one of them that has come down to us in its uncensored version.[11] Though he could never again find public use for his talent of political persuasion, he continued to be persuasive in the form that crowned his early rhetorical efforts, the prologue. Here is the opening of the "Prologue to Don Sebastian," his first public address after the Revolution:

> The Judge remov'd, tho he's no more My Lord,
> May plead at Bar, or at the Council-Board:
> So may cast Poets write; there's no Pretension,
> To argue loss of Wit from loss of Pension.
> Your looks are cheerful; and in all this place
> I see not one, that wears a damning face.
> The British Nation, is too brave to show,
> Ignoble vengeance, on a vanquish'd foe. (1-8)

Beginning with the phrase "Judge remov'd" he shows his awareness that change of office is currently on everyone's mind and informs his audience that, though he is one of the best known losers, he will not try to avoid the issue. The air of frankness of the first two couplets is developed by the balance of line segments suggesting careful thought. Yet the feminine rhymes of the second couplet inject a certain playfulness at the poet's expense, though slight enough not to spoil the frank

[11] See John Robert Moore, "Political Allusions in Dryden's Later Plays," PMLA, 73 (1958), 36-42, and John Loftis, "The Political Themes of Restoration Drama," in The Politics of Drama in Augustan England (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963).

tone. In the third couplet, he turns directly to the audience and pretends to see a good humour in it that he can explain only by the patriotic aphorism of the next couplet. Out of disagreement he draws agreement, for no one in the audience would deny British fairness. With metaphors that are apt and sometimes amusing, he reinforces his plea to the audience to let bygones be bygones. After the half-way mark of the prologue, he uses his old technique of appealing to various sections of the audience:

> You've seen young Ladies at the Senate door,
> Prefer Petitions, and your grace implore;
> How ever grave the Legislators were,
> Their Cause went ne'er the worse for being fair.
> Reasons as weak as theirs, perhaps I bring;
> But I cou'd bribe you, with as good a thing.
> I heard him make advances of good Nature;
> That he for once, wou'd sheath his cutting Satyr:
> Sign but his Peace, he vows he'll ne'er again
> The sacred Names of Fops and Beau's profane
> Strike up the Bargain quickly; for I swear,
> As Times go now, he offers very fair.

The sly implication of the first two couplets is directed at government officials in the audience. The brazen insinuation of the third couplet not only gives recognition to all the rakes in the theater but objectifies the ethos of the actress and separates it from the poet's so that the couplets following will seem detached. Thus line 33 does not seem to be egotistical. Lines 34-35 play on the long-standing battle between playwrights and the pit. The incongruity of "sacred Names" and "Fops and Beau's" suggests that the poet is desperate about reconciling himself to even the worst members of the audience. The actress then is allowed to give advice to the audience in compromising tones and effect the reconciliation. She addresses those in the audience responsible for

enforcing the new laws: "Horses, by Papists are not to be ridden;/But sure the Muses Horse was ne'er forbidden" (41-42). Having teased the audience enough, Dryden through his speaker ends balancing the score with a malice directed at himself: "Fine him to daily Drudging and Inditing;/And let him pay his Taxes out, in Writing" (45-46).

Freed from involvement with political turmoil, Dryden moved away from the public approach to the more personal. Of course, the personal element was quite often present in his poetry of earlier decades, but, as Reuben Brower shows,[12] a definite trend toward it appears in the mid 80's. Having already considered public and impersonal tones in The Hind and the Panther, I would like to return to the poem briefly for a glance at personal tone. Dryden's gradual severing of ties with the Court of James II is reflected in the overwhelming predominance of lower styles in The Hind and the Panther over the elevated style, though, of course, the beast fable also had something to do with this predominance. Brower notes that in Part Two, "the tension of the couplet [is] relaxed to fit the run of gossipy speech" (p. 218). The sarcasm of the opening couplet marks the tendency: "Dame, said the Panther, times are mended well/Since late among the Philistines you fell." These are some of the Panther's remarks on the Popish Plot:

> 'Tis true, the younger Lyon scap'd the snare,
> But all your priestly calves lay strugling there;
> As sacrifices on their Altars laid;

[12]Reuben Brower, "Dryden and the 'Invention of Pope'," in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Literature: Essays in Honor of Allan Dugald McKillop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 212, 217.

While you their careful mother wisely fled
Not trusting destiny to save your head. (II, 7-11)

In effect she is saying that for all the Hind's idealistic claims to immortality, when threatened she is very practical. The tone is of course malicious. The Hind begins her reply in this manner:

As I remember, said the sober Hind,
Those toils were for your own dear self design'd.
As well as me; and, with the self same throw,
To catch the quarry, and the vermin too,
(Forgive the sland'rous tongues that call'd you so). (II, 18-22)

The first phrase tells us that the Hind, like a female social rival, will maintain an equally polite tone at all costs. The effect of the malice of line 21 is tripled by the parenthesis with its cool self-exoneration. Brower is more interested in the pastoral-descriptive passages of Part Three which prefigure Pope, but the domestic and familiar are more important not only in narrative passages like this near the end where the Panther

... with affected Yawnings at the close,
Seem'd to require her natural repose.
For now the streaky light began to peep;
And setting stars admonish'd both to sleep.
The Dame withdrew, and, wishing to her Guest
The peace of Heav'n, betook her self to rest. (III, 1291-96)

but also in dialogue, for example where the Hind speaks of James's forthrightness:

Your Test he would repeal, his Peers restore,
This when he says he means, he means no more.
Well, said the Panther, I believe him just,
And yet--
And yet, 'Tis but because you must,
You would be trusted, but you would not trust. (III, 882-86)

The Hind's tone is one of honesty and sincerity, enough so that the Panther is obliged to reply with an equal show of honesty, the slight

hesitation giving the appearance of sincerity.

The true Horatian style came into its own in Dryden only in the late epistles, but some of these proved to be the best of their kind before Pope.[13] "To My Dear Friend Mr. Congreve" written in 1694 on the appearance of Congreve's second comedy begins in this way:

> Well then; the promis'd hour is come at last;
> The present Age of Wit obscures the past:
> Strong were our Syres; and as they Fought they Writ,
> Conqu'ring with force of Arms, and dint of Wit;
> Theirs was the Gyant Race, before the Flood;
> And thus, when Charles Return'd, our Empire stood. (1-6)

The first two words bend the tone toward the familiar. Because of them, we are reminded that the general summary of earlier English literature is a private opinion directed at a private individual, though its authority is none the less than if it were public, for its very precision and compactness take care of that. The forthrightness of the speaker sweeps away any hint of insincerity and prepares for the benevolent tone toward Congreve eight lines later: "Till you, the best Vitruvius come at length;/Our Beauties equal; but excel our strength" (15-16). The old political finesse reappears as Dryden moves back and forth comparing Congreve to various dramatists of both the early and late seventeenth century, and finally to himself. In this last, the old poet assumes a fatherly attitude toward the young playwright: "Oh that your Brows my Lawrel had sustain'd,/Well had I been Depos'd, if You had reign'd!" (41-42). Within a few lines of this, he strikes out at the partisanship that determines the holder of the laureateship " ... now,

[13] See J. A. Levine, "The Status of the Verse Epistle before Pope," Studies in Philology, 59 (1962), 658-84.

not I, but Poetry is curs'd;/For Tom the Second reigns like Tom the first" (47-48). Dryden ends as the experienced poet-politician encouraging the younger writer with a prophecy of a successful future and some good advice: "Maintain Your Post: "That's all the Fame You need;/For 'tis impossible you shou'd proceed" (64-65).

"To my Honour'd Kinsman, John Driden of Chesterton" is even more Horatian in tone possibly because it is closer to moral poetry, concerning itself with human character and with right and wrong ways of living. The opening provides several examples of tone shift:

> How Bless'd is He, who leads a Country Life,
> Unvex'd with anxious Cares, and void of Strife!
> Who studying Peace, and shunning Civil Rage,
> Enjoy'd his Youth, and now enjoys his Age:
> All who deserve his love, he makes his own;
> And, to be lov'd himself, need only to be known.
> Just, Good, and Wise, contending Neighbours come,
> From your Award, to wait their final Doom;
> And, Foes before, return in Friendship home.
> Without their Cost, you terminate the Cause;
> And save th' Expence of long Litigious Laws:
> Where Suits are travers'd; and so little won,
> That he who conquers, is but last undone:
> Such are not your Decrees; but so design'd,
> The Sanction leaves a lasting Peace behind;
> Like your own Soul, Serene; a Pattern of your Mind.

The first three couplets are general in thought and impersonal in tone, with the relaxed rhythm preventing a tone of declamation. The next ten lines are more particular and more personal. The praise in the lines 7-10 with its quiet assertiveness underlines the speaker's sincerity. In the next three lines, Dryden unexpectedly moves out to the real world to contrast in an ironic tone its evil with the goodness of this ideal world. Focussing on the way of life of John Driden, the speaker begins to contrast his single state with the harsh realities of the married

state, as further on he will contrast the ideal life of the squire with the ideal life of the physician.

Turning more to the character of John Driden after line 117, Dryden introduces the political involvement of the member for Chesterton. As J. A. Levine says,[14] "the microcosmic metaphor of the retirement theme" foreshadows the political macrocosm of the later part of the poem. In pointing our his cousin's moderation in hunting, Dryden foreshadows his own later recommendation of England's moderation in King William"s War. In praising his cousin's single state, Dryden foreshadows his own desire that England rely only on itself and make no alliances. This moral handling of politics has none of the oratory of Absalom and Achitophel suggestive of the party man seeking to persuade. Dryden's concluding idea on political moderation is similar to that of the "Essay on Innovation" without the heightened tone:

> A Patriot, both the King and Country serves;
> Prerogative, and Privilege preserves:
> Of Each, our Laws the certain Limit show;
> One must not ebb, nor t'other overflow:
> Betwixt the Prince and Parliament we stand;
> The Barriers of the State on either Hand. (171-76)

The smooth rhythm and the balances and parallels suggest a quiet yet deliberative tone. Dryden's attitude is reminiscent of Marvell's attitude in his "Horatian Ode" where the speaker is above party politics and seeks only the best for England. The personal element grows as Dryden moves toward the end and considers the common grandfather, who went to jail rather than lend money to Charles I. This consideration places

[14] J. A. Levine, "John Dryden's 'Epistle to John Driden'," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 63 (1964), 457, rpt. in Dryden's Mind and Art: Essays, ed. Bruce Alvin King (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1969).

not only the squire as the "true Descendant of a Patriot line" but the poet also, and as Levine notes,[15] the virtues of the squire are transferred to the poet. The poem closes with a direct address including these lines with candid tone drawing the two men together:

> The Beauties to th' Original I owe;
> Which, when I miss, my own Defects I show;
> Nor think the Kindred-Muses thy Disgrace;
> A Poet is not born in ev'ry Race.
> Two of a House, few Ages can afford;
> One to perform, another to record. (199-204)

It is clear now that control of tone remained important in Dryden's poetry in the years after Absalom and Achitophel. The last two decades of the century saw him still using his special talents for tonal effect, though for different purposes. In Religio Laici, he uses tone to instruct an Anglican audience in rebuttals to Deist, Sectarian, and Papist, and his tones are almost as varied as ever. In The Hind and the Panther, he uses tone to persuade Anglicans to tolerate the Papists, but even his control of tone cannot bridge the gap between his moderate position and his audience's moderate position. That he does not abandon the political approach and its use of tone after the Revolution is shown by the "Prologue to Don Sebastian." But a switch to more personal tones begun in The Hind and the Panther becomes more prominent in social poems such as the "Epistle to Congreve" and "To My Honour'd Kinsman" prefiguring the rise of social verse in the next century and the achievement of Pope.

[15] Levine, "John Dryden's 'Epistle to John Driden'," pp. 473-74.

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