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Buttressing a Monarchy: Literary Representations of William III and the Glorious Revolution

Richard L. Dolan, Jr.

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BUTTRESSING A MONARCHY: LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF WILLIAM III AND
THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

by

RICHARD L. DOLAN, JR.

Under the Direction of Tanya Caldwell

This study examines ways in which supporters of William III and his opponents used literature to buttress their respective views of government in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Understanding the polemical character of this art provides more insight both into the literature of the 1690s and into the modes of political debate in the period. As the English people moved from a primarily hereditary view of monarchy at the beginning of the seventeenth century to a more elective view of government in the eighteenth century, the Glorious Revolution proved to be a watershed event. Those favoring James II relied on patriarchal ideas to characterize the new regime as illegitimate, and supporters of the coregent asserted the priority of English and Biblical law to assert that the former king forfeited his right to rule.

Chapter one examines three thinkers – Robert Filmer, John Milton, and John Locke – whose thought provides a context for opinions expressed in the years surrounding William of Orange’s ascension to the English throne. In chapter two, John Dryden’s response to James II’s abdication is explored. As the deposed Poet Laureate and a prominent voice supporting of the Stuart line, Dryden sheds light on ways in which Jacobites resisted the authority of the new regime through his response to the Glorious Revolution. Chapter three addresses the work of

Thomas Shadwell, who succeeded Dryden as Laureate, and Matthew Prior, whose poetry Frances Mayhew Rippey characterizes as “unofficial laureate verse.” These poets rely on ideas similar to those expressed by Milton and Locke as they seek to validate the events of 1688-1689. The final chapter explores the appropriation of varied conceptions of government in pamphlets and manuscripts written in favor of James II and William III. Focusing on the polemical character of these works from the late 1680s and the 1690s enhances our understanding of the period’s literature and the prominent interaction of politics and writing.

INDEX WORDS: William of Orange, James II, Glorious Revolution, Robert Filmer, John Milton, John Locke, John Dryden, Thomas Shadwell, Matthew Prior, manuscript, pamphlet

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RICHARD L. DOLAN, JR.

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Georgia State University

2005

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To my parents and Elaine

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Introduction

The 1690s have been unfairly criticized as one of the dullest periods in English literature.ⁱ While the period lacks the euphoria of the years immediately following the Restoration, the literature in the years following William III's ascension is anything but dull. As writers wrestled with the monumental changes to the English government brought about by the Glorious Revolution, they created a body of literature that significantly engages political issues and vibrantly expresses the varied conceptions of government circulating at the time. When William of Orange and his wife, the daughter of King James II, were invited to England and James II fled the country, those opposed to the former king's absolutist tendencies and eager to secure a Protestant succession saw an opportunity to resolve both of those concerns through the appointment of William and Mary as coregents. Those favoring the new government eagerly portrayed the coregents as great deliverers and as securers of British liberty, but the events of 1688-1689 also elicited strong literary responses from subjects loyal to the former king who saw the Glorious Revolution as a bid for power by a foreign prince and an ungrateful daughter. As a result, the Dutch prince's supporters found themselves needing to redefine the monarchy in terms that maintained stability in the wake of what others attempted to construe as a rebellion. The Jacobites in turn worked to show that James II remained England's legitimate king and that removal of a divinely sanctioned ruler destroyed the foundation of government.

In spite of the relative speed with which the actual change of government took place, William of Orange's ascension to the English throne resulted from changing views of monarchy that developed through the seventeenth century. While there was nearly universal support for the

Restoration in 1660,ⁱⁱ debates about the monarchy begun before the Civil War continued to rage through the remainder of the century. On the one hand, works like Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, written by 1642 and published in 1680, and Charles I's (or John Gauden's) *Eikon Basilike* (1649) promoted divine-right monarchy and held considerable sway among those who believed the King ruled as God's anointed on earth.ⁱⁱⁱ On the other hand, works like John Milton's *Eikonklastes* and *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (both published in 1649) advocated views of monarchy moderating kingly authority in light of English and biblical law. As English subjects dealt with these competing views of monarchy during the reign of James II, the varied literature helped shape perceptions of kingship that were carried into the 1690s. The demand for works dealing with the nature of monarchy demonstrates the public's attention to literature dealing with these matters. For example, John Dryden's poem *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), which Steven Zwicker connects with Filmer's patriarchal thought in *Lines of Authority* (132-140), is described by the editors of the California Dryden as "an immediate success" (II 209). Similarly, William's supporters composed three versions of poems with the title *The Orange* and four versions of *Lilli burlero* in the period between William of Orange's landing and James II's flight. G. M. Crump notes that the ballads to the tune of *Lilli burlero* "had so great an effect that a pro-James version circulated, presumably designed to enhance the Royal cause by capturing for it some of the song's popularity" (*Poems on Affairs of State* 4 xxxix).

The opposition to James II, which led to the invitation to William of Orange, issued from English perceptions that James II was bidding for absolutism such as Louis XIV enjoyed in France and that he was working for the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England.^{iv} In light of these fears, coalitions were formed across party lines both in favor of and opposed to the Catholic king's rule. Tory advocates of a strong monarchy and Whigs who approved of James'

offers of religious toleration united on one front while High Church Anglicans found themselves uniting with Whig advocates of a stronger Parliament in their opposition to a Catholic successor to the throne. These shifting allegiances created tenuous alliances that might not have held together if James II had not fled the country so quickly after William of Orange landed at Torbay.

This context provided a fruitful ground for writers in both camps to use poetry, prose, and drama to buttress their positions. As Zwicker observes at the outset of *Lines of Authority*, “partisanship” served “as the grounding of politics and culture” throughout the century, and politics plays a major role as a “shaping force” in seventeenth century literature (1). Both those who supported the resolution of the Glorious Revolution and those opposed to it found manuscript and printed texts – poetic, dramatic, and polemical – to be effective means of promoting their views. The significance of inviting a foreign prince and the daughter of the still living former king to the throne escaped no one, and literary works by Jacobites and by Williamites sought to validate each group’s understanding of the monarchy in the years following 1688.

Advocates of the legitimacy of the new regime and its opponents both centered their arguments on legal issues, but their conflicting views of English law worked themselves out in very different ways. For the former king’s supporters, the issue of hereditary monarchy loomed large, and the fact that a foreigner and an ungrateful daughter now ruled England stood as a poignant reminder that the nation had abandoned foundational principles of government. In contrast, others believed that James II had subverted English law through his heavy-handed approach to government and through his attempts to gain acceptance of Roman Catholicism. For them, the appointment of William III and Mary II re-established English laws that the former

king had disregarded. Nevertheless, the facts that James II was still alive and living in exile, that he had just had a son,^v that Mary II was the daughter of the former king, and that the new king was a foreigner all complicated matters for those who supported the coregents. In light of these factors, Williamites had to contend with arguments against the legality of William III's and Mary II's ascension. At the same time, Jacobites used their interpretation of the same evidence to assert that the Glorious Revolution was not a deliverance from James II's tyranny but a rebellion against the divine order for government.

To advocate their respective views, writers represented the new government diversely. Many satirical poems attack the former king's policies while others offer sallies against the character of the new king and queen. Plays attempted to show either the chaos resulting from the Glorious Revolution or and the restoration of English laws and unity. Many writers used pamphlets to offer reasoned defenses of their perspective on the events of 1688-1689. The variety of approaches adopted by writers attests to the widespread urge Englishmen felt to grasp for new expressions of their government's foundation. For example, Zwicker suggests that Dryden's play *Don Sebastian* "is a reactionary creed: it argue[s] not the high-mindedness of the revolution, but the terms in which its apologetics might be resisted" (175). Conversely, Tony Claydon asserts that William III "was faced with a series of extraordinary challenges to his authority which demanded an effective propaganda if they were to be overcome" (1). Although poets like Prior and Shadwell might shudder to have their art characterized in these terms, the fact remains that they self-consciously worked to support the Dutch prince and his queen through their literary efforts in the 1690s. This intersection of art and polemic provides an important key to understanding the milieu in which these and other writers used creative works to voice political opinion and to take part in political action as they moved into the eighteenth century

proper. In short, Jacobites and by Williamites used artistic means to validate their respective understandings of the monarchy in the years following 1688. The following study explores ways in which writers use their work “To patch the flaws and buttress up the wall” of English government (*Absalom and Achitophel* 802).

During the seventeenth century, many English subjects saw the king as *pater patriae* and emphasized his role as a divine emissary on earth as foundational to their government.^{vi} During Charles I’s reign, contrary opinions were widely expressed, and many works published during the Civil War and Interregnum advocated limited monarchy if not outright republicanism. Those seeking to understand literary representations of the Glorious Revolution cannot ignore these competing ideas because of the intellectual context they provide for the events of the following years. The first chapter of *Buttressing a Monarchy* establishes three patterns of thought about government circulating in England when William of Orange entered the country. The first two flow from Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha* and John Milton’s political writings. Both of these men wrote earlier in the century, but their work saw publication close to the Glorious Revolution. *Patriarcha* was written before 1642 but was not printed until 1680: at that time, its strong emphasis on hereditary monarchy served James II’s supporters well in light of the Exclusion Crisis. Milton’s tracts had been published earlier in the century, but the republication of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in 1689 as *Pro Populo Adversus Tyrannos* suggests the relevance William III’s supporters saw in the work. John Locke’s *Two Treatises on Government* represents the third line of thought. Although the *Two Treatises* was not published until 1690, the work was probably composed nearly ten years earlier, and Locke’s connection with Shaftesbury and others makes it likely that his ideas were circulating well before 1690.

When *Patriarcha* was published in 1680, Filmer's description of the king as a father to his people appealed to James II's supporters in light of the attacks on his succession made during the Exclusion Crisis. Sommerville notes, "Patriarchalist political theory was thus common in early seventeenth-century England. It was frequently used to rebut the claims that royal power springs from the consent of the subjects" (xviii). The publication of his work at the time of the Exclusion Crisis demonstrates the relevance of his arguments to the current debates. While Daly notes that Filmer was used less by Tories than might be expected, *Patriarcha* engendered strong Whig responses (9-10). Filmer's emphases on the absolute authority of the monarch and unwavering adherence to hereditary succession, paired with his strongly Scriptural argument, based in Biblical history, served Whigs and Tories alike. For the Whigs, Filmer's strong assertions provided a target against which they could present their own views. Tories could take Filmer's arguments to fortify their position in favor of monarchy. In the years following the Glorious Revolution, Filmer's position remained important to Jacobites as they construed William III's ascension as violating the principles of hereditary succession outlined in *Patriarcha*. Williamites had to find ways to negate these arguments in order to validate the new king's reign.

John Milton, like Filmer, argued from a primarily Biblical standpoint. His use of Scripture, though, focused more strongly on legal interpretation of Scripture than historical patterns found therein, and Milton's conclusions differed radically from Filmer's. Milton's view of government placed the authority of a monarch under legal obligations set forth in Scripture and English law. The emphasis placed on law by Milton provided an important counterargument for supporters of William III. While direct references to Milton in the wake of the Glorious Revolution are relatively sparse, the publication of *Pro Populo Adversus Tyrannos* demonstrates

the continued awareness of Miltonic views of government after 1688, and examples of arguments similar to those set forth in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Eikonoklastes* are prevalent in tracts and pamphlets composed after the Glorious Revolution. Nicholas von Maltzahn even suggests that “the sacrilege of Milton’s *Eikonoklastes* and *Defensio* – books proscribed and publicly burnt at the Restoration – made him so notorious that he often went unnamed by Whigs, even when his arguments and rhetoric were useful to them in late seventeenth-century controversy” (229). The widespread adaptation of Milton’s thought will be seen through examples in chapters three and four as writers advocate views of government emphasizing this priority of law. But the first chapter shows the types of arguments Milton advanced so that, at the end of the century, “Whigs found sustenance especially in his assaults on the sacerdotal view of kingship” (von Maltzahn 229). As one example, Thomas Shadwell ends his poem *Votum Perenne* with a prayer for William III’s prosperity, but the preceding lines have established the basis of the king’s authority in his actions. This grounding of a king’s authority in his actions closely parallels the grounds for rule set forth in Milton’s pamphlet *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.^{vii}

Like Milton, John Locke advocated a view of government that subjected it to laws above a ruler. For his arguments, though, logic played a primary role.^{viii} The fact that his *Two Treatises of Government* begins by dismantling Filmer’s position point by point highlights the importance of logic for Locke. While the exact place of Locke’s *Two Treatises* in the defense of William III and Mary II remains a matter of debate, the patterns of thought it displays can be seen in many of the works written to defend the Glorious Revolution.^{ix} Locke’s emphasis on the contractual nature of government resonated with many Whigs, and poems and pamphlets like “A Dialogue between King William and the Late King James on the Banks of the Boyne the Day before the

Battle” and *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male-Contents in England* demonstrate the use of the type of ideas Locke expresses in *Two Treatises* by supporters of the Glorious Revolution.^x The political thought of these three men highlights the diversity of viewpoints represented in England in the late 1680s and 1690s. While Filmer, Milton, and Locke in no way exhaust the perspectives embraced by Englishmen, they provide a good starting point for discussing the literary context in which the debates following William of Orange’s arrival in England took place. The following chapters illustrate ways in which others used these men’s ideas to support their own viewpoints or attack the position of their opponents.

The second chapter examines John Dryden’s response to the Glorious Revolution through the appropriation of ideas similar to those expressed by Filmer. While Dryden found himself an outsider after William III’s ascension, he continued in his adherence to Roman Catholicism and in his staunch support of the Stuart line, even though those positions forced him to relinquish his titles of Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal. At the same time, Dryden received sharp criticism from Williamites because of his loyalties. In spite of the change in government and these personal attacks, Dryden maintained his belief in the validity of hereditary succession and worked to find means by which stability could be maintained in light of England’s changing views of government.

Many scholars have recognized the political dimension of Dryden’s work in the 1690s, and this chapter builds on their work to show ways in which Dryden used his drama and translations to promote his views on government.^{xi} Ultimately, Dryden saw the Glorious Revolution as opening the door to political chaos and leading to the disintegration of England’s social fabric. For Dryden and others like him, many questions arose related to the events of 1688. What is the nature of the monarchy if it depends on the will of the people? What should England

make of the nature of church-state relations if the church could forsake the God-ordained king? And, possibly most importantly, how can social stability be maintained if a legitimate monarch can be dethroned so easily? Through his drama and translations in the 1690s, Dryden raises these questions and responds to them. However, Dryden's situation precluded overtly criticizing the new regime. As David Bywaters describes Dryden's predicament, "any open defense of James or Catholicism was liable to be construed as a dangerous attack on the government or a traitorous declaration of sympathy with the ambitions of France" (2). Consequently, the political content of Dryden's work in the 1690s typically lies below the surface.

Two plays serve as examples of Dryden's dramatic response to the Glorious Revolution. In both *Don Sebastian* and *Love Triumphant*, Dryden demonstrates the chaos he sees arising from the changing nature of monarchy in England. In both of these plays, moral ambiguity and pervasive uncertainty are key themes that demonstrate Dryden's own uncertainty about England's future in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. *Don Sebastian*, Dryden's first play after the Glorious Revolution, shows leadership disintegrating at every level and highlights Dryden's belief in the instability growing out of England's actions in 1688. Dryden's final play, *Love Triumphant*, explores similar themes through an intentionally old-fashioned style and a central use of incest in the play. The play draws on incest to discuss themes of love and honor and, probably, to highlight Dryden's belief that England has disrupted the patriarchal structure of the nation through its acceptance of William and Mary as coregents. Characters in the play cannot be defined as clearly virtuous or evil, and the almost complete lack of a moral center in the play parallels Dryden's belief that England is in the same situation in the 1690s. Through these dramatic works, Dryden questions England's future when the legitimate monarch sits in exile and an ungrateful daughter and son-in-law rule the kingdom.

The bulk of Dryden's work in the final decade of his life, however, was translation, not drama. His translation of Juvenal's and Persius' satires along with Virgil's works served Dryden's purpose in exposing the flaws of his country in two ways. First, Dryden sought to establish a consistent literary tradition stretching back to the classical period and continuing through great English writers like Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton. While England's political tradition might have been in jeopardy because of the new regime, the poetic tradition could be portrayed as an ongoing source of stability for the nation. His translations played a role in fortifying England's poetic heritage and building upon it as he brought these works to a contemporary audience in its native language. Second, Dryden, through his translation, could draw subtle parallels between the situations addressed by the original works and his situation in England. Dryden used these works to comment on the political landscape from a distance and mask many of his own comments behind the guise of translation. In both his translation and his drama written after the Glorious Revolution, Dryden maintained his involvement in contemporary political arguments.^{xii} Chapter two's exploration of Dryden's approach to the Glorious Revolution and its results through his writing shows his continued advocacy of a patriarchal model of government.

Chapter three turns from Dryden's Jacobite response to William III to two prominent supporters of the new king and queen, Thomas Shadwell and Matthew Prior. As Poet Laureate, Shadwell held an official position from which he could write in support of his king, and Matthew Prior's political posts and skill as a poet gave his verse a significant platform as he defended William III and Mary II. Both men emphasized William's role as a deliverer of England from the tyranny of James II's rule and the benefits the nation accrued under the leadership of the coregents.

Today, Thomas Shadwell is best known as the victim of Dryden's satire *Macflecknoe*. Shadwell was a successful playwright in the Restoration, though, and his Whig affiliations made him a natural choice for the laureateship after Dryden left the position vacant. Chapter three examines the verse and drama Shadwell wrote as poet laureate and the ways in which they buttress the new regime. Shadwell employs biting satire of Dryden and other Jacobites, on the one hand, and praise of the new king that Borgman characterizes as "ridiculously superlative," on the other (81). These opposing tendencies demonstrate the tension with which Williamites had to deal as they simultaneously rejoiced in the new monarchy and sought to defend it against allegations that it was tantamount to rebellion. Shadwell's play *Bury-Fair*, performed in 1689, takes a markedly different approach than his poetry, though. Both the satiric attacks and superfluous praise found in his laureate verse are conspicuously absent from the play, as Shadwell uses the play's country setting to present hope for national unity in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. The play lacks a clear-cut villain and ends well for nearly all of the characters. In contrast to the lack of moral certainty present in Dryden's drama of the period, Shadwell's outlook is thoroughly optimistic. Shadwell sees law as having triumphed and presents the possibility for all English subjects willing to submit to the law to live together in unity in this play – a perspective which bears similarity to Locke's contractual view of government.

Like Shadwell, Matthew Prior supported William III through satires attacking Jacobites and poems emphasizing blessings brought to English subjects by William and Mary. His criticism of opponents in poems like the satirical *The Orange* indicts those who prefer James II's French affinities and arbitrary treatment of English laws. At the same time, his praise of the coregents centers on William III's role as a protector of English liberty and Mary II's concern for

domestic welfare. His poetry supports the government on grounds similar to those set forth by Locke and Milton as he prioritizes truth and faith as grounds of government in opposition to divine right.

Both Shadwell and Prior are unwavering in their support for the new king and queen. The Glorious Revolution quickly came to be seen as a watershed event in English history, and the certainty with which these two poets supported the new regime demonstrates their sense of the magnitude of what transpired in 1688. Through their work, Shadwell and Prior rely on William III's and of Mary II's character as making them worthy rulers, and they portray James II as threatening the rights of his subjects. These poets use both of these strategies to justify the Glorious Revolution. This approach highlights the influence of patterns of thought like those demonstrated by Milton and Locke upon those defending the new English government.

The final chapter deals with responses to the Glorious Revolution in pamphlets and manuscript poems by both Jacobites and Williamites. Both types of documents create a significant body of literature, yet they were traditionally overlooked or only used as footnotes to support assertions made in studies dealing with other aspects of the period. In recent years, a growing amount of attention has been paid to the importance of pamphlets in the late seventeenth century, but a great deal of work on their importance as political instruments remains to be done. Studies like Harold M. Weber's *Paper Bullets* have recognized the development of English print culture in the late seventeenth century, and Joad Raymond highlights the growth in importance of pamphlets to this culture in *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*.^{xiii} Nevertheless, the import of these works in the 1690s has been relatively ignored. In spite of the rapid growth of printing in England, manuscripts remained in circulation through the 1690s, especially among Jacobites. With fines, imprisonment, and execution as real possibilities for

James II's supporters after the Glorious Revolution, manuscripts provided a relatively anonymous way for writers to circulate poetry satirizing prominent figures.

Three pamphlets illustrate methods by which writers sought to support their view of William III and the Glorious Revolution. Nathaniel Johnston uses strongly patriarchal language in *The Dear Bargain* (1689) as he shows ways in which England suffers under the new king in contrast to her happiness under James II. Like Filmer, Johnston draws on Biblical history to support his perspective. He also highlights the elective character of the new government by suggesting that merchants and Churchmen brought the new king to power, but he insists that the whole nation is in a worse state because of the transition it underwent.

Edmund Bohun, a Williamite, recognizes the power of Filmer's arguments and works to circumvent them in *The Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive Obedience No way concerned in the Controversies Now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites* (1689). Bohun draws on the Law of Nations (*jus gentium*) and conquest theory to suggest that William III assumed the throne as a legitimate monarch.^{xiv} Although Bohun does not directly contradict patriarchal views of government, he shows affinity for Locke's contractual view of government that would be published the following year in *Two Treatises*. For example, in another of his pamphlets, *The History of the Desertion* (1689), he asserts that James II "was bound to govern us according to Law, and we were not bound to submit to any other than a legal Government" (Introductory Epistle). Bohun's manner of justifying the Glorious Revolution served many Anglicans and Tories who believed that James II should be removed but opposed a truly elective monarchy.

The anonymous pamphlet *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male-Contents in England Shewing, That it is neither the Duty, nor the Interest of the People of England to Recall the Late*

King (1689) takes a very different approach to establishing William III's reign. This author's strong emphasis on the legal basis of government bears similarity to views expressed by Milton and Locke. The pamphlet highlights the importance of law and the contractual nature of government as shown through this statement: "When the compact on which Government is founded was broken, when the Laws which gave him his Being and Power were subverted...then sure his Government ceased" (2). Whigs supporting the new king resonated with this type of argument, but it held much less appeal for Tories who had gone over to the Dutch prince's side. These three pamphlets demonstrate the nuances the English people brought to their attempts to buttress the monarchy but also highlight the prominence of Filmer's, Milton's, and Locke's ideas in the debate.

Along with these pamphlets, three manuscript poems are discussed in chapter four. The first two, "Suum Cuique" and "The Tory Creed," criticize William III and his ascension in a direct and brutal manner, which demonstrates the greater freedom the author of a manuscript had in contrast to one whose work was licensed and published. The third poem, "A Dialogue between King William and the Late King James," advocates the Whig position in a strongly contractual manner. The author's assertion that "Titles to crowns from civil contracts spring" (25) parallels Locke's belief that "Voluntary agreement gives...political power to governors for the benefit of their subjects" (II.XV.173). The poem's defense of the Glorious Revolution uses grounds outside the pale of William III's official defense of his crown, and demonstrates the importance of manuscripts as a means of circulating ideas for radical thinkers on all sides.^{xv} While W. J. Cameron's work in *Poems on Affairs of State* has brought many of these poems to a much wider audience, the manuscript collections of satires from the 1690s remains an area where much more fruitful work can be done.

The four chapters of *Buttressing a Monarchy* explore various ways in which Jacobites and Williamites used literature to represent the Glorious Revolution and the government it brought. The patriarchal thought of Robert Filmer and the republican and contractual views of John Milton and John Locke provided strong currents of thought used by many writers to navigate the changing conception of English government, and the varied responses to William III and Mary II demonstrate the challenges faced by the English people as they worked to buttress their monarchy in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. In addition to the lasting artistic contribution of plays like *Don Sebastian* and translations like *The Works of Virgil in English*, these works help modern readers understand ways in which the English engaged in the debate about monarchy through their literature in these years. By engaging works by writers like Dryden who opposed the Glorious Revolution and by writers like Shadwell and Prior who favored it, this study sheds new light on ways in which the English dealt with the changing political landscape. Furthermore, examination of manuscripts and pamphlets augments our understanding of perceptions of government by calling attention to a significant body of literature whose political import has received relatively little attention. The following chapters show the reciprocal relationship between art and politics in the works explored and foster a better understanding of English political culture in the wake of the Glorious Revolution.

Notes

ⁱ Cameron in the Preface to *Poems on Affairs of State* V notes, “Unfortunately, both contemporaries and later commentators thought it ushered in one of the dullest decades in the history of English literature” (vii).

ⁱⁱ In *Country and Court*, J. R. Jones writes, “The prospect of continuing anarchical disorders and arbitrary, purposeless changes enhanced the attractions of the old monarchical order, which alone could appeal to the whole nation” (114).

ⁱⁱⁱ A great debate about the authorship of *Eikon Basilike* took place during the seventeenth century. The bulk of the evidence suggests that John Gauden composed the book and had it published, with the king’s blessing, under the name of Charles I. Scholars continue to debate how much of the book actually came from the king’s hand and how much from Gauden’s. The evidence on each side is discussed in Philip A. Knachel’s introduction to *Eikon Basilike* (xxii-xxxii).

^{iv} For example, Jones writes, “James’s ultimate objective consisted of establishing some form of absolutism” (*Revolution of 1688* 11-12). The fourth chapter of *The Revolution of 1688 in England*, ‘The Catholic Factor’ (75-97), deals with these perceptions, and his assertion that “English Protestants believed that they were threatened by a united, purposeful, efficient, authoritarian and confidently aggressive Catholicism” demonstrates the fear James II’s reign brought (79).

^v Mary of Modena bore a son to James II on June 10, 1688. His birth was celebrated in Dryden’s poem *Britannia Rediviva*, but there was also widespread speculation that the child was not really Mary’s and had been smuggled into her chamber in a warming pan. The birth of this

son, though, would have guaranteed a Catholic succession for James II and was, therefore, unacceptable to many in England who feared the implications of the child's birth for England's future. (Dryden Works III 472-473)

^{vi} Sommerville's introduction to *Patriarcha and Other Writings* gives an overview of the prevalence of this line of thought (xv-xx). In *Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought*, James Daly suggests that Filmer does not typify English thought in the century, but I believe that the impact of Filmerian attitudes on both Williamite and Jacobite thought comes through much of the literature of the period.

^{vii} In *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, Milton argues that a king who acts unjustly forfeits his right to rule because "the Sword of Justice is above him" (Milton Prose Works III 197). Milton demonstrates the subjection of kings to law and the importance of their actions to their authority in *The Tenure*, writing, when "the Law was either not executed, or misapply'd, they were constrain'd from that time, the onely remedy left them, to put conditions and take Oaths from all Kings and Magistrates at thir first instalment to doe impartial justice by Law" (200). These lines show that the king's actions must be in accordance with law for the king to maintain his right to the throne. This idea is discussed more fully in chapter one (35-40).

^{viii} This statement should not be taken as implying that Scripture was unimportant to Locke or that reason was unimportant to Milton. The difference is one of emphasis. While Locke primarily uses logic to establish his arguments, Biblical truth subsumes all other modes of argument for Milton.

^{ix} Richard Ashcraft outlines the competing interpretations of Locke's purpose and perspectives on his use by William III's defenders in the introduction to *Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (1-5).

^x These works are discussed in detail in chapter 4 (273-284 and 299-304).

^{xi} Among those who have dealt with political aspects of Dryden's work in the 1690s are David Bywaters, Tanya Caldwell, Anne Barbeau Gardiner, James Anderson Winn, and Steven N. Zwicker.

^{xii} See, for example, Sloman p 221.

^{xiii} Weber points out that, "The Restoration generated a quantity of publication, a sheer mass of print, equaled by only two or three other events during the seventeenth century: the Civil War, Exclusion Crisis, and Glorious Revolution were defined as well by their participation in a print culture that had not existed before 1641" (4-5). While the existence of a "mass of print" may say little about that print's actual relevance to the Glorious Revolution, it does indicate something of the demand for the material. Chapter four addresses some reasons for the prominence of pamphlets (especially pages 229-230).

^{xiv} Chapter four deals with Bohun's thought (253-273). Mark Goldie's article, "Edmund Bohun and Jus Gentium in the Revolution Debate, 1689-1693" deals with Bohun's appropriation of conquest theory in depth.

^{xv} In *Poems on Affairs of State* 5, Cameron's note on the poem highlights this fact, as does Tony Claydon's discussion of Gilbert Burnet's early practice as a propagandist, which he later adjusted to better meet William's ends (30-33).

Chapter 1

Foundations of Government: Filmer, Milton, and Locke

The Revolution of 1688 sprang from changing perceptions of the monarchy dating back at least to James I's reign. As Robert Zaller points out, in the seventeenth century, "Englishmen were beginning to reflect critically on their kings, on stage and in print, as never before" (762). At the same time, they continued to advance the idea that the monarch ruled by divine right. The opposing tendencies of humanizing the monarch by opening him to criticism and of continuing to see him as ruling by divine onus battled throughout the century until the English people moved to an essentially elective monarchy in the years following the Glorious Revolution.

New patterns of thought that had been building for some time culminated in the years surrounding 1688. The changes did not take place in a vacuum, though. As W. A. Speck asserts in his introduction to *Reluctant Revolutionaries*, in spite of many revisionist historians' limitation of the causes of the Revolution to events within the ten or so years immediately before it, the intellectual milieu surrounding the Revolution drew heavily on ideas evident much earlier in the century. James II attempted to build the power of the monarchy in much the same way his father had forty years earlier and met with much the same resistance. Indeed, James II bore a self-conscious awareness of similarities between his position and that of his father, and comparisons of Tories and Whigs to supporters of Charles I and his opponents were also common during James II's reign and especially in the years following it (Speck 25-26).¹ While conditions were ripe for an armed conflict in 1688, memories of the Civil Wars forty years earlier probably helped curb the appetite for armed conflict of everyone within England. Indeed,

civil war was averted in 1688 when James II left the throne and cast the Great Seal into the Thames. At the same time, the changes that occurred in 1688 probably reached farther than even William hoped or imagined they would. "Parliament was finally transformed from an event into an institution," and William found himself in a situation where he could not rule without parliament (Speck 244-245). The arena in which the events of 1688 took place involves a complex web of conflicting loyalties and unlikely alliances.

This situation creates various problems for understanding the Glorious Revolution. While a facile division of parties into Whigs and Tories with Whigs supporting William of Orange and Tories supporting James II seems obvious at first glance, loyalties and allegiances were much more complex. In addition to personal ambition, which is always a factor in government, two other areas tended to sway opinion. First, religion and church-state relations continued to play a major role in national politics, just as they had since the sixteenth century. Second, pressures simultaneously continued to mount regarding the nature of the monarchy and the relationship of crown and court. Aspects of these pressures certainly bore strong ties to theological views of the monarchy, which will be examined below, but other factors contributed as well. J. R. Jones elucidates some of the contributing factors in *Country and Court* as including the following: the king's efforts to strengthen the military and maintain a standing army, his maneuvers to establish a basis for royal absolutism, and his development of relationships contrary to those traditionally used by English kings to achieve their ends (231, 234-236). As members within both the Tory and Whig parties differed widely on their views regarding these issues, coalitions bridging party lines formed.

Many of the factors leading to this situation initially presented themselves during James II's reign. Tory supporters of a strong monarch who also held high allegiances to the Anglican

Church found themselves with divided loyalties. On one hand, James II held the most legitimate title to the throne and advocated a strong monarchy. On the other, many citizens blanched at his push for more religious toleration for Catholics, which the English people feared. Meanwhile, Whig advocates of religious toleration and a more powerful parliament found themselves similarly divided for opposite reasons. While James II's offers of religious toleration appealed to these Whigs, they disliked his efforts to strengthen the monarchy. Further complicating matters, James II himself was inconsistent in his loyalties as he worked to bring about his policies. Although he initially courted Tory support among longtime friends within the party, he later sought supporters among the Whigs, who seemed more amenable to his views on religious toleration. At the same time, while many of the Whigs favored James II's bid for religious toleration, he failed to win their trust in his support of the English constitution.

In light of these divergent goals, James II sought to walk what was, in many ways, an impossible line. To secure rights for Catholics, he used religious toleration for all Christians as a bargaining chip, which the dissenters had been seeking for years but that many Anglicans and Presbyterians could not stomach. When this issue came to a head with the second Declaration of Indulgence in April 1688, James II was taken by surprise by the seven bishops, led by the archbishop of Canterbury, who openly refused the Declaration (Jones *Country and Court* 239). Meanwhile, the king's efforts to set up an absolute monarchy similar to that which Louis XIV enjoyed in France caused distrust among Whigs, whom James II courted after losing favor with many Tories because of his position on religious toleration, because they did not trust James II not to abuse his royal power. In "The Revolution in Context," J. R. Jones notes that the Whig demands after the Revolution of 1688 "rested on the proposition that James's tyrannical and unlawful actions had dissolved the government, that is destroyed the constitution itself" (26). So,

many of those who would have supported the king's efforts to build a stronger monarchy distrusted his religious policies, and those who favored his position on religious toleration balked at his attempts to strengthen the monarchy. In both cases, he sought a more extreme end than his supporters found comfortable. As a result of this tension, James II found himself courting first one side and then the other, and in the end, he found himself without a strong base of support in either group.

The unraveling of James II's reign began with the significant missteps, which took him from what J. R. Jones calls "a stronger position than any of his Stuart predecessors" in 1685 to the point that he fled the country in 1688 (*Revolution of 1688* 5). James II's dealing with the Duke of Monmouth provides a clear demonstration of the power James held at his ascension and the type of miscalculation to which he was so prone in his brief reign. When Monmouth landed in England on 11 June 1685 making a claim to the throne, the common people greeted him heartily, but Parliament expressed its unswerving loyalty to the king. Monmouth's forces were slaughtered, and Chief Justice Jeffreys had over 200 of Monmouth's followers executed and another 800 transported for ten years of hard labor. The "Bloody Assizes" created a national unity behind the crown and consolidated power under James. This position was short-lived, though. James made one of the blunders that characterized his reign immediately after this victory. His bid for a standing army, based upon the essential uselessness of the militia, set Parliament on edge because of its great fear of a standing army, and it came as an insult to the Tories who provided the support for the militia.ⁱⁱ Furthermore, his refusal to dismiss the Catholic officers he had installed sat ill with MPs who held an unswerving loyalty to the Anglican Church. These actions struck his supporters in two areas near to their hearts and raised both fear and ire. A standing army smacked of absolutism, which the Whigs could not stand and which the

Tories were wary of, and most of the country, regardless of its stand on other issues, feared Catholicism rising again in England.

This pattern continued over the next two years as James II courted Whig support for policies unpopular with his Tory friends and managed to alienate many of his Tory allies. He then turned back to the Tories for support in the days immediately preceding his flight to France. W. A. Speck characterizes James II as torn between his friends and his Catholic faith: “He needed to feel secure and found security in the support of his old friends the High-Church Tories and in Catholicism. Unfortunately for him these became incompatible” (121). As the Catholic king dealt with the tension he felt, and acted inconsistently because of it, he created a situation in which William of Orange could assume the throne.

Attempting to consolidate supporters of religious toleration to maintain freedoms for the Catholics in England, James II turned to the dissenters for support. He believed that they would support toleration for Catholics if it brought dissenters freedom to practice their religion in England. Mark Knights observes that “Dissenters referred to the ‘persecuting clergy’, and claimed ‘that the penal laws must be the very essential part of the church of England’” (48-49). James II must have been aware of this dis-ease and hoped to benefit from it, but he had miscalculated. While he won some support from the dissenting camp, Knights points out that “the number of dissenters who were uneasy about James’s policies has often been understated. Especially after the winter of 1687-8 James found it increasingly difficult to find nonconformist support” (54). By 1688 it became clear that James did not have sufficient support among the dissenters to hold the support of parliament on the issue of toleration. Courting their favor, James lost the support of his Tory friends, and the Church of England was completely alienated from James.

The Anglicans' distrust of James II was enhanced by the Magdalen College affair of 1687. Jane Garrett gives a full account of the events in *The Triumphs of Providence*, and her description demonstrates the strong-handed method James employed that contributed to his downfall (28-32). Upon the death of the college's president in May of 1687, James took it upon himself to command the Fellows to appoint a Catholic president. To add to the unpopularity of this decision, the man James chose, Anthony Farmer, was wholly unsuited for the position. When the Fellows refused the royal order, he sent the Ecclesiastical Commission, escorted by three troops of horse, to Oxford to enforce his command. Upon their arrival, the Fellows demonstrated that Farmer had a track record of unsavory behavior including expulsion from Trinity College at Cambridge, serving as an usher at an unlicensed school (a legal offense), being asked to leave Magdalen College for inappropriate behavior, and "on several occasions attempting to entice [a fellow-student] and others into 'debaucheries, taverns and bawdy houses', and furthermore that he had taken money from them, 'publicly to expose unto them a naked woman, which he did'" (29). James may have been unaware of these behaviors, and, after this affair, Farmer soon disappeared into obscurity. James then installed the allegedly crypto-Catholic Samuel Parker by force and had the Fellows forcibly removed from office. Parker died in March of 1688 and was succeeded by Bonaventura Gifford, who was the titular Bishop of Madura. By July, James II felt himself in dire straits and had the Fellows of Magdalen reinstated. This measure amounted to too little too late, though, and James could not turn back the tide of opposition to his policies.

In a similar manner, James II even managed to alienate those who advocated a strong monarchy. Although Tories endorsed unconditional obedience, they showed that there were limits to their obedience in practice. While his brother had balanced ministers with conflicting

interests to stabilize the nation, James had no qualms demanding absolute obedience from all of his ministers.ⁱⁱⁱ Assuming his advocates' unconditional loyalty backfired. While a few leaders like the Earl of Bath maintained their loyalty to James to the bitter end, others became less supportive if not openly hostile to James' policies because of his actions. The rift first became evident in the months following Monmouth's rebellion discussed above. When James prorogued parliament in November and dismissed those MPs who had voted against upholding the Catholic officers' commissions, he lost the support of many of his Tory allies once and for all. The religious issue came into play here, too, when for example, the faithful and immensely competent Rochester was dismissed because of his refusal to convert to Catholicism. After giving similar treatment to others who failed to demonstrate loyalty, James found himself "dependent on a collection of inexperienced Catholics, careerists and opportunists" (*Court and Country* 233). With the king dividing loyalties among such varied subjects in so many arenas, it is no wonder that numerous factions and coalitions defined the years surrounding William III's assumption of the English throne.

Both J. R. Jones and W. A. Speck boil down the cause of James II's abdication to his refusing to yield ground on the Catholic issue, and, if it had not been for his unrelenting pressure in that area, he may well have held onto the throne. Nevertheless, the anxiety caused by James' adherence to the Roman Church might at least have been tolerated had it not been for his consistent alienation of allies in other ways. Ultimately, James fled when he received word that William of Orange had landed because he realized that he did not have enough support left to guarantee that he could maintain the throne (*Revolution of 1688 5*). In spite of a reversal of policy immediately before the Dutch prince arrived, James failed to muster the support he thought he needed to resist him. Many historians speculate as to whether James II would have

ultimately lost the throne when William came to England in 1688, but James' departure for France in December left things at home in such a state that governmental leaders saw no other recourse than considering him as having abandoned the throne. Consequently, the London peers believed they had no choice other than to offer the throne to James' daughter and son-in-law.

While James II managed to alienate nearly everyone who would have been his ally, William of Orange won support, if not favor, in even the most unlikely of places. While some historians believe William plotted from 1680 to gain the English throne, this notion is difficult to support: these writers, as J. R. Jones points out, "ignore the fact that a close and constant connection existed throughout the periods of Orangist rule between the English court and political nation and their Dutch counterparts" (*Revolution* 209-210).^{iv} James and William maintained a close and cordial correspondence throughout James' reign, and not until James recalled English troops to England in 1688 did the relationship cool (Speck 80-81). Although William III is often negatively characterized as cold, silent, and even surly, he excelled as a diplomat, and this skill allowed him to forge a compromise in 1688 that handed him and his wife the co-regency of England.^v While his personality may not have been the most winsome, his ability in affairs of state was unquestionable. He offered the English two things they believed essential to their well-being. First, his devout Protestantism guaranteed freedom from Roman Catholicism once and for all, and, second, his military allegiances would protect the English from the French.

Throughout his life, William had one major quarrel, and that was with France. While this position in and of itself was not problematic for the typical English citizen, it did pose other problems. Because limiting the French influence in Europe held so much of his attention, William III was often criticized in his new home. So, while many viewed him as a redeemer, he

also brought his fair share of problems as a monarch. He did not particularly care for the English and took almost no interest in homeland affairs during his reign (*Revolution of 1688* 320-322, Rose 38-40). In spite of the Dutch prince's diplomatic ability, he did not receive the warmest of welcomes from all of his English subjects.

Initially, criticisms of William III came from those loyal to James, but these criticisms multiplied over time. As other Englishmen became more acutely aware of some of the new king's negative characteristics, they leveled complaints against him similar to those the Jacobites had voiced from the time of his arrival in England. One example of early Jacobite complaints comes from Nathaniel Johnston, author of *The Dear Bargain*, which was published in 1688 or 1690 and which is discussed at length below.^{vi} Throughout the pamphlet, Johnston makes plain his belief that William's reign was one of self-service as he used the English resources, military, and government to advance his own wars on the continent, and he builds to a conclusion highlighting the extent to which the king's policies damage the English nation:

For let us...take a View of his way of governing at this present, and then judge if we have not brought upon our selves Scorpions instead of Whips, and laid more Weight on the Nation by the Touch of this *Little Finger of a Monarch*, than his Father did by his whole Body. (21)

More significant than the commonplace insult laid on William III's small stature by comparing him to a "little finger of a monarch" is Johnston's assertion that the king's policies place a greater strain on the nation and leave the English people in a worse predicament than any of James II's actions. As the discussion of this pamphlet in chapter four shows, Johnston demonstrates the perception that the Dutch prince subverted English interests to advance his own goals on the continent. William Anderton corroborates this opinion of William's reign in his

Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy &c. (1693) in which he criticizes England's participation in the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-1697). In short, he accuses William of involving the English in a war from which they stand to gain nothing and to lose lives and resources. It is significant that Anderton's complaint about the cost in "blood and treasure" of William's war aligns closely with Johnston's accusation that the English have brought "scorpions instead of whips upon themselves." These two examples are typical of the rhetoric used by Jacobites to criticize William III.

Indeed, the fate of James II and the criticisms of William III demonstrate the changing perceptions of the monarchy late in the seventeenth century. The roots of arguments set forth around 1688 can be found earlier in the century, and understanding the philosophical basis of these arguments is essential to understanding literary representations of the monarchy in the years surrounding the Glorious Revolution because they provide the milieu and language used by writers to present their perspective on the events of 1688 and the new monarch those events brought. Robert Filmer and John Milton illustrate two of the contrasting views present at the time of William and Mary's ascension. Robert Filmer argues that a patriarchal monarchy is the only Christian model of government and relies heavily on tradition and Scripture to do so. Like Filmer, Milton placed primary importance on Scripture to determine a system of government, but Milton foregrounds legal application of Scripture, insisting that the authority of the monarch derives from the people and is only owed insofar as he submits to the Law (*Tenure* 199-200).

That these men wrote their most significant treatises on divine authority and government before the Interregnum and that their work saw a wide audience in the years surrounding the Glorious Revolution highlight the longevity of the patterns of thought used to support William and Mary's reign. As the following chapters will show, many opponents of the new king and

queen followed Filmer's pattern of relying on Scripture and tradition to attack the coregents, and many supporters of the Glorious Revolution rely on forensic application of Scripture like Milton to defend it. John Locke provides a third significant voice in this chapter because his *Two Treatises on Government*, composed around 1680 and published in 1690, responds to Filmer and demonstrates the continued growth of confidence in the decision-making abilities of the people (or at least of the right people) in the later years of the seventeenth century. Although Locke does not discount Scripture, reason plays a much more central role in his thought. Much of the political satire written in the early years of William's reign focuses on the type of attitude Locke advocates, and a variety of responses to the events of 1688 echo Locke's emphasis on reason.

Robert Filmer wrote *Patriarcha* during the 1630s, but it was not published until 1680. In the climate of the Exclusion Crisis, its publication inspired heated responses, which continued to play a part in debates about monarchy right through the publication of *Two Treatises*.^{vii} Filmer places primary importance on the idea that the king is *pater patriae* and allows his entire conception of monarchy to grow from that idea. Earthly monarchs receive their authority from the Divine Monarch and reflect his rule over the universe in their earthly reigns. Filmer goes to great lengths to build an argument from Scripture in support of this position. Although he draws from history and the classics to support his perspective, the biblical argument is the crux of the matter, and an understanding of the method by which Filmer develops his argument helps to understanding the method of Jacobite defense throughout the seventeenth century because it informed many aspects of their efforts.^{viii}

In the first chapter of *Patriarcha*, Filmer asserts that "the greatest liberty in the world is for people to live under a monarch" (4). Although James II's abdication did not lead to a regicide, the Jacobite living in the last two decades of the century could easily draw upon

Filmer's arguments and even draw support from the execution of Charles I. Although Filmer's *Patriarcha* clearly predates Charles I's death, the faction in support of James II had no problem in making overt connection between Filmer's work and the regicide and then applying them to the situation brought on by the Glorious Revolution. Jacobite appropriation of *Patriarcha* at the end of the century grew out of Filmer's argument, and equally important, the method in which Filmer presents his argument.

Seventeenth-century English citizens thought of fathers as heads of households and assigned them authority stemming from this God-given headship. This type of patriarchal thought was widespread in seventeenth-century England, and social histories of the period clearly attest to the prevalence of this mode of thought throughout the period.^{ix} At the same time, not everyone who adhered to a patriarchal view of the family was so willing to tie their social and political theories together (Sommerville ix). Robert Filmer, however, held rigidly to royal absolutism and grounded this belief in a patriarchal understanding of government. His views were clearly shaped by his theology. Filmer's publication of tracts on the Sabbath, adultery, and witches demonstrates ways in which his theological perspective provided the lens through which he filtered all of his thought. Ultimately, *Patriarcha* provides a theological argument about the nature of government, and all of his classical and historical support for his patriarchalism is subsumed by the theological presuppositions set forth at the work's beginning. Filmer places a particularly strong emphasis on biblical history as a pattern, but he openly disagrees with those of the Reformed persuasion who use a similar heuristic and come to opposing conclusions. Indeed, Filmer begins in the Garden of Eden observing that those of the Catholic and Reformed position "who magnify liberty as if the height of human felicity were only to be found in it" forget "that the desire of liberty was the cause of the fall of Adam" (2). In light of this belief

about Adam's fall, Filmer suggests a correlation between the original sin and England's present political upheaval. The correlation rests on the assumptions that God orders the events of the world and that the pattern of history established in Scripture continues to hold relevance.

This perspective is not novel, but it does illustrate the fragmentation brought on by the Reformation in the sixteenth century. While most of Filmer's contemporaries would have held a similar perspective on God's sovereignty over all of creation, many, among whom Milton is a prime example, came to radically different conclusions starting from this same presupposition. Filmer, as Dryden would do later in the century, sought to establish a coherent basis for society, and, for him, that basis lay in the patriarchal model of government. The most significant feature of Filmer's model is its starting point. By starting with the order established in creation, Filmer believes that he establishes his model as holding Divine warrant even before the fall and as the only rational model. He cannot see

how the children of Adam, or of any man else, can be free from subjection to their parents. And this subjection of children is the only fountain of all regal authority, by the ordination of God himself. It follows that civil power not only in general is by divine institution, but even the assignment of it specifically to the eldest parent.... (*Patriarcha* 7)

He proceeds to trace the idea of patriarchal authority from the antediluvian period through the Mosaic era and the time of the judges into the Monarchy of Judah, interspersing examples from secular history. The prevalence of assigning monarchical powers to heads of households and viewing patriarchs as fathers of their people throughout biblical history establishes the familial model of the state as *the* correct model for Filmer. The subjection of children to parents lies at the foundation of God's order in creation, and the state reflects the family on a larger scale.

Because Adam lived 930 years, he had the opportunity to rule over seven or eight generations of children making him, in Filmer's mind, a monarch for all practical purposes.

Arguments about whether Filmer advocated his position because of or in terms of primogeniture are, to a certain extent, superfluous because in either case he relies on the role of the monarch and the respect due to the ruler more than the method of selection. When Algernon Sidney attacks Filmer for advocating paternal authority and succession through primogeniture (see Weil 102-103), he misses the point of Filmer's argument. Filmer's primary concern is the nature of the monarch's authority, not the nature of succession, which Filmer demonstrates writing, "It skills not which way kings come by their power, whether by election, donation, succession or by any other means, for it is still the manner of the government by supreme power that makes them properly kings, and not the means of obtaining their crowns" (44). As Sommerville points out, "His basic claim was that however the government gains power...the power 'is the only right and natural authority of a supreme power'"(11). Thus, in any state, the rulers are accountable to God alone and not to their subjects" (xxii). While primogeniture certainly bore significance for many in the late 1680s, particularly in terms of determining the legitimacy of William and Mary's claim to the throne, this issue did not hold the same significance for Filmer writing during Charles I's reign. Filmer does argue that "civil power not only in general is by divine institution, but even the assignment of it specifically to the eldest parent" (7), but the application of this argument is to the period before the flood. Just a little later, he explains:

...after a few descents, when the true fatherhood itself was extinct and only the right of the father descended to the true heir, then the title of prince or king was more significant to express the power of him who succeeds only to the right of

that fatherhood which his ancestors did naturally enjoy. By this means it comes to pass that many a child, by succeeding a king, hath the title of *pater patriae*. (10)

The phrase “true heir” does not necessitate a first-born child, and Filmer seems to put more interest on the will of the father than the order of birth. He does refer to kingly power escheating to “prime and independent heads of families” (11), but this terminology has nothing to do with succession under normal circumstances. Indeed, the term “primogeniture” is nowhere used in *Patriarcha* even though the term’s use is well attested around the time that he wrote. Although Filmer clearly opposes popular election of the monarch, he places a much stronger emphasis on issues of royal absolutism than on those of succession.

Filmer works intently to establish the superiority of absolute monarchy to any other form of government. Although chapter two of *Patriarcha* relies on Classical history, he develops his core argument from Scripture and places great emphasis upon his contention that “The patriarchs, dukes, Judges and kings were all monarchs. There is not in all Scripture mention and approbation of any other form of government” (23). His biblical argument relies heavily on the historical pattern in the Old Testament and to a lesser extent on New Testament theology. As an example of his reliance on biblical history, Filmer comments on I Samuel 8, where the Israelites express their desire for a monarch like those of other nations:

It seems they did not like a king by deputation, but desired one by succession like all the nations. All nations belike had kings then, and those by inheritance, not by election. For we do not find the Israelites prayed that they themselves might choose their own king; they dreamt of no such liberty, and yet they were the elders of Israel gathered together (verse 4). If other nations had elected their own

kings, no doubt but they would have been as desirous to have imitated other nations as well in the electing as in the having of a king. (24)

He works from the assumption that the farther back one goes in history, the less the effects of sin play on the general order of things. Consequently, when the Israelites request an earthly monarch like the other nations, Filmer finds it significant that they did not ask to elect a monarch and that the other nations did not either. These people lived closer to the time of the first father (*i.e.* Adam) and had no problem grasping the idea of the king as a father to his people.

While Filmer's argument is founded upon biblical history, he also draws on other examples from history to support his perspective. For example, he notes that Plato and Aristotle agree "to fetch the original of civil government from the prime government of families" (14). He goes on to take issue with Aristotle for later suggesting that the first kings were chosen because of merit (14-15). Filmer seems to believe that if people did right, the best would naturally be ruling. He says that "nature intends all men to be perfect both in wit and strength" (15), implying that the hierarchy of rule should be based on something other than merit, which is available to all. Because Filmer believes that "The folly [sic] or imbecility proceeds from some error in generation or education, for nature aims at perfection in all her works" (15), he can assert that adherence to the natural order, built upon a patriarchal monarchy, ultimately provides the greatest opportunity for good government. Relying on history again, Filmer supports "regal government" over "popular government" by contrasting the Roman Empire with the contemporary Roman commonwealth. He asks readers to:

Consider whether the cruelty of all the tyrannical emperors that ever ruled in this city, did spill a quarter of that blood that was poured out in the last hundred years of her glorious popular commonwealth. The murders by Tiberius, Caligula, Nero,

Domitian and Commodus, put all together, cannot match that civil tragedy which was acted in that one sedition between Marius and Sulla. (28)

Filmer claims that this use of history does not excuse monarchs from abuse but makes clear that “the mischiefs to a state [are] less universal under a tyrant king” because “the cruelty of such tyrants extends ordinarily no further than to some particular men that offend them, and not to the whole kingdom” (30).

From this material, we find that Filmer’s basic approach to defending the monarchy becomes clear. While his argument itself is essentially theological, Filmer relies on history to support his argument. In contrast to thinkers such as Milton who give philosophical support for their arguments precedence, the Royalists spend more energy developing tradition-based arguments. For example, Milton begins *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* by asserting, “If men within themselves would be govern’d by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyrannie, of Custom from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation” (191). Milton clearly prioritizes philosophical arguments over raw tradition in these lines. Filmer, though, begins by denigrating this very perspective noting that “school divinity” and many who hold a Reformed perspective have embraced the idea that “Mankind is naturally endowed and born with freedom from all subjection, and at liberty to choose what form of government it please,” an idea that “is not to be found in the ancient Fathers and doctors of the primitive church. It contradicts the doctrine and history of the Holy Scriptures, the constant practice of all ancient monarchies, and the very principles of the law of nature” (2-3). He emphasizes history first and foremost and only mentions the idea’s opposition to “the law of nature” at the end of his list. The fact that he

continues to argue from history rather than “the law of nature” indicates that this term is not placed last for emphasis, but because it holds a lesser degree of importance for his approach.

Even when Filmer does address natural law, he conceives it somewhat differently than thinkers such as Locke would do later in the century. For Filmer, the monarch operates above the laws of the land, and natural law is the divine rule to which rulers are subject. He emphasizes that the law of nature should not “give place to the laws of men” (12) and holds a special hostility to the idea that the multitude holds some sort of right to select their governor according to the law of nature. He calls this idea an “impossibility” and goes so far as to say that “no one form of government or king was ever established according to this supposed law of nature” (20). When he writes about the bounds of the law of nature, Filmer does so in a hierarchical manner, noting that “what freedom or liberty is due to any man by the law of nature, no inferior power can alter, limit or diminish” (21). He then uses this argument to lend credence to his notion that monarchs are above the laws of the *hoi polloi*. Furthermore, natural law does govern the actions of a monarch even where human law holds no sway:

It is necessary also to enquire whether human laws have a superiority over princes, because those that maintain the acquisition of royal jurisdiction from the people do subject the exercise of it to human positive laws. But in this also they err. For as kingly power is by the law of God, so it hath no inferior law to limit it....

A proof unanswerable for the superiority of princes above laws is this, that there were kings long before there were any laws. For a long time the word of the king was the only law. (35)

This passage elucidates several aspects of Filmer's conception of natural law as it elevates the laws governing monarchs to superhuman status and places them in a separate class from the laws governing others.

Although Filmer would not deny that "*absolute monarchs* are but men" (Locke II.13), he remains a long way from Milton's assertion in *Eikonoklastes* that "the reason and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us [Englishmen]" through "Parlaments, and Laws and the power of making more to avoid mischeif" become useless if the English people "suffer one mans blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes op'n to manifest destruction" (416). Filmer, using history to buttress his argument, sees kings as above human laws precisely because of the divinely-ordained order. The distinction of Filmer's argument and that of those who follow in his footsteps later in the century from those who take the opposing view is particularly obvious here. Locke provides another evidence of this distinction some fifty years later writing, "the power of a *magistrate* over a subject may be distinguished from that of a *father* over his children, a *master* over his servant, a *husband* over his wife, and a *lord* over his slave. All which...shew the difference betwixt a ruler of a commonwealth, a father of a family, and a captain of a galley" (I.3). In this case, Locke roots his argument in logical distinctions among types of authority, but Filmer builds his case on an assumption that all leadership described in the Bible has Adam's paternal authority as its source. Because of the radically different presuppositions of the two groups, they argue right past each other. Filmer and others supporting a patriarchal monarchy develop their conception of natural law on the basis of history while history informs their conception of natural law. Supporters of a more elective model of the monarchy than that which Filmer advocated tend to understand history through the lens of natural law. Both groups, as

would be expected, recognize the Divine Hand in history, but the patriarchalists are much more willing to see the events of history as support for future practice.

Two examples from *Patriarcha* nicely illustrate Filmer's position with regard to popularly established government. The Roman ruler Cassius serves as a primary example of the nature of the link between paternal and governmental authority. Cassius is credited with writing the first agrarian law for the Romans, and was condemned by the people as aiming at kingly power because of the law. As a result, Cassius' own father threw him to his death from the Tarpeian rock.^x Filmer is so intent on the value of history as support for his position that he takes Cassius' death as an example of the nature of patriarchal authority (18-19). One assumes that Cassius' father represents characteristics of patriarchal authority that work against Filmer's position because Cassius' father executed his son with "the magistrates and people standing thereat amazed and not daring to resist his fatherly authority" (18), but Filmer finds this event illustrative of the God-given authority of the monarch. Rather than recognizing that a monarch should behave in a certain way but sometimes does not, Filmer suggests that "By the help of this fatherly power Rome long flourished, and oftentimes was freed from great dangers" (18). For Filmer, the historical perseverance of the conception of fathers' rights to treat their children as they see fit parallels the rights of kings over their subjects. The example of Cassius buttresses his idea that God establishes patriarchalism at the beginning of history and intends for it to continue as the divinely ordained mode of government.

Filmer also demonstrates this mindset as he asks his opponents to provide "but one example out of the history of the whole world" of a popular election that truly enfranchised the whole population of a commonwealth (21). For Filmer, the lack of any historical examples of truly popular elections proves that democratic selection cannot be a valid means of empowering

a ruler. Through the example of Cassius' death and the popular response to it, Filmer demonstrates the way the monarchy should be established and maintained, and the lack of positive examples of popular rule succeeding (especially the failure of the Roman republic) proves the inadequacy of non-patriarchal models.

Significantly, Jacobite advocates of a strong monarchy follow Filmer's approach throughout the century: they rely most heavily on history and tradition to buttress their arguments about the throne. As shown in the next chapter, John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* demonstrates this patriarchal rhetoric in the poetry of the Exclusion Crisis as he portrays Charles I as *pater patriae* from the outset of the poem. His play *Don Sebastian* also illustrates this point through parallels between royal relationships in the play's main plot and family relationships in its comic plot. Arguments rooted in Filmer's thought also figure prominently in many of the tracts and pamphlets written around the time of the Glorious Revolution, as will be seen in the fourth chapter.

In contrast to Filmer's reliance on tradition to establish his argument, Milton buttresses his position by relying on religious and philosophical arguments over and above defenses based on history or tradition. Many of these tradition-based arguments directly refuted the Patriarchalist party's claims. While Filmer and the other proponents of Patriarchalism establish a positive apologetic for the monarchy as they set out to explain the basis of rule, Milton writes an essentially negative apologetic wherein he attacks perspective contrary to his own. His bid for limited monarchy relies on refutation of absolutist and patriarchal arguments more heavily than delimiting what he believes the bounds of monarchy to be. Those of Milton's stripe later in the century use an approach similar to Milton's. Even Locke's *Two Treatises* is packaged as "Two treatises of Government. In the former the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer

and his followers are detected and overthrown. The latter is an essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government” (3). The fact that Locke felt it necessary to refute Filmer before establishing a model for government illustrates how deeply ingrained the emphasis on “playing defense” was ingrained in the advocates of limited monarchy.^{xi} Opposing approaches to monarchy – positive and negative, tradition-based and philosophy-based, historical and rational – as represented by Filmer, on the one hand, and Milton and Locke, on the other, provide the fundamental axes around which the literary debate over William III’s monarchy revolved. Although Milton and Locke both take a more theological/philosophical approach to the problem than Filmer, there are important differences between their patterns of thought as will become evident in the following discussion.

Eikonoklastes, Milton’s refutation of “the King’s book,” *Eikon Basilike*, is by its very nature a negative work in that Milton wrote *Eikonoklastes* for the sole purpose of defending against the view of monarchy presented in *Eikon Basilike*. Milton seeks to destroy the arguments set forth in *Eikon Basilike* one by one and to defend the grounds of limited monarchy. Establishing the positive basis of limited monarchy falls beyond the pale of *Eikonoklastes*, and even in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which Milton claims to “set downe from first beginning; the original of Kings” (198), he focuses more on refuting those with views contrary to his than simply on building his own case. For instance, he implies that those who oppose his position rely on questionable sources for their arguments. Immediately after stating his purpose, he writes:

This I shall doe by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among Scisms and Heresies, as our doubling Divines are ready to calumniat, but fetch’t out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited Authors, nor

many Heathen, but Mosaical, Christian, Orthodoxal, and which must needs be more convincing to our Adversaries, Presbyterial. (198)

This accusation relates to the criticism Milton levels against Charles I in *Eikonoklastes* for relying on pagan prayers in *Eikon Basilike*. In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton berates Charles I for not having it in himself to “make a prayer of his own, or at least [excusing] himself the paines and cost of his invention, so long as such sweet *rapsodies* of Heathenism and Kinghterrantry could yield him prayers” (367). The quotation from *The Tenure* along with the attack in *Eikonoklastes* demonstrates both the theological nature of Milton’s argument and the negative mode in which he operates.

Scripture certainly plays a central role for Milton, but he prioritizes reasoned interpretation of the Bible over historical examples. Milton’s description of his method in *The Tenure* illustrates this thrust in his work. On one hand, he demonstrates the dominance of rational arguments in his position. He does not present “rhapsodies” like Charles and his company but “authorities and reasons.” On the other hand, he attacks his opponents’ ignorance of authority and legal precedence (from the earliest biblical history). Significantly, he places “Mosaical” learning at the top of his list. Although the Pentateuch contains Israel’s patriarchal history, it is primarily a set of legal books. The five books of Moses are commonly referred to as the law, as indicated by the Jewish designation of those books as the Torah – the law. Indeed, the Jewish canon is composed of the law, the prophets, and the writings, and Jesus uses this shorthand when he tells his disciples that “the law and the prophets” hang on the two great commandments (Matthew 22:40). For Milton, Mosaic equals “legal,” and his argument hinges on this aspect of Scripture in contrast to Filmer’s emphasis on history.

Milton builds his rational argument around inferences from the created order and concrete assertions drawn Scripture. Even when Milton does use historic examples, he quickly turns them to a theological conclusion. Citing numerous examples from European history, Milton asks “How then can any King in Europe maintain and write himself accountable to none but God, when Emperors in thir own imperial Statutes have writt’n and decreed themselves accountable to Law?” (206). Without addressing the actual practice of monarchs, he draws out the implication of this principle: apart from laws, people are no better than beasts, and monarchs as well as citizens must respect the law. In Milton’s words, if people allow a monarch to rule “above the law,” they may as well ask “a savage beast” to rule (206). This emphasis on logical implications and foregrounding of the rational is typical of Milton’s approach to attacking absolute monarchy. The logical arguments, though, always have their foundation in the Bible. In this case, Milton turns to Deuteronomy 17:14 as a basis for his assertions.^{xii} Later, the consequences of the line of thought Milton develops in *The Tenure* would lead him away from endorsing any form of monarchy.

Indeed by the time Milton wrote *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* in 1659, he advocated republicanism as the only “Christian” form of government. Michael Zuckert’s book *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* places a fine point on the distinction between Milton’s and Locke’s thought on government. In it, Zuckert suggests that by the end of the Commonwealth period Milton believed:

All monarchy, not just the “unaccountable” kind, is “regal bondage”; Christ himself “expressly declared that such regal dominion is from the gentiles, not from him, and strictly charged us not to imitate them therein.” Only a “free commonwealth” comes near to Christ’s precepts.... Fallenness requires

government, but human creatureliness requires liberty; liberty in turn requires quasi- or even complete republicanism. (89)

However, his stand in the works written around the time of the regicide is less completely anti-monarchical, which probably accounts for their being reprinted in the years surrounding the Glorious Revolution, while his more strongly republican tracts were not reprinted. In 1689, an anonymous abridgement of *The Tenure* was published as *Pro Populo Adversus Tyrannos*, which illustrates the relevance of *The Tenure* to the Williamite debate.^{xiii} At the same time, an edition of *Eikonoklastes* was published in Amsterdam with an introduction by the Earl of Anglesey, which might be surprising considering that “All commentators on *Eikonoklastes* have noted and usually disapproved its contempt for the people, which is so much more obvious than it is in *The Tenure*” (*Prose Works* III 149). In spite of Zuckert’s efforts to minimize the impact of Milton on the debate around the Glorious Revolution, Hughes and Sensabaugh both show that these documents, and consequently Milton, did play a noteworthy part in the debate (*Prose Works* III 187-188, Sensabaugh 132-155).

Milton’s attack on the Presbyterians in *The Tenure* (227-242) provides another example of his rhetorical approach to the problem and the type of argument employed by Williamites around the Glorious Revolution. It also reiterates the religious nature of debates about government throughout the century. Milton asserts that “the Presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing, were the men themselves that deposd the King, and cannot with all thir shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from thir own hands,” and Milton goes on to equate their later actions with “rebellion” (227, 228). By taking this approach, Milton vindicates the right of the people to depose a monarch but then suggests that by the posturing of the Presbyterians, they have opened themselves to the charge of rebellion. While their actions in and

of themselves were justifiable, the position in which they placed themselves before the throne suggested that their action was rebellious. Milton explains his position by defining the monarchy as possessed on the grounds of “rightful possession and Supremacy *in all causes both civil and Ecclesiastical*” and subjects as made by “those two Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy observ’d *without equivocating, or any mental reservation*” (228). Based on these terms, Milton develops two sets of implications. The first is that obedience and submission characterize true subjects to a monarch. The second is that by denying the king’s authority to enforce the laws, they are, in effect, deposing the monarch. Milton’s actual language demonstrates the logical force of this argument:

Therefore when the people or any part of them shall rise against the King and his authority executing the Law in any thing establish’d civil or Ecclesiastical, I doe not say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded though establish’d be unlawful, and that they sought first all due means of redress (and no man is funder bound to Law) but I say it is an absolute renouncing both of Supremacy and Allegiance, which in one word is an actual and total deposing of the King, and the setting up of another supreme authority over them. (228)

The contrast between the words “rebellion” and “deposing” highlights Milton’s mode of arguing. For Milton, rebellion takes place when subjects disregard the law or trample it under foot, but the king can be deposed when he steps outside of the law. This distinction allows Milton subtly to redefine the nature of the relationship between the monarch and his subjects so that by the time Milton comes to the crux of this segment of *The Tenure*, he can suggest that the Presbyterians in spite of paying lip service to Charles I were as guilty of dethroning him as those who had actually decapitated him – and neither act really bore the weight of rebellion.^{xiv} This type of

argument would appeal to Williamites in the wake of the Glorious Revolution as it provided a means by which the change in government could be construed as legal. Those who felt that James II had failed in his kingly duties (whether that entailed issues of absolutism or religion) could certainly find justification for their actions against the king in the months leading up to and immediately after December 1688.

Milton continues to lend weight to his vindication of those who acted against Charles I through another largely semantic argument that also resonated with arguments employed around the Glorious Revolution. He ironically asserts that “We know that King and Subject are relatives,” a statement which hearkens back to Grotius and serves as a central tenet of the Filmerian position (229). Milton then equivocates the word “relative” by shifting from his initial use of the word to represent family relationships to a broader definition encompassing a relationship between any two entities. With this definition, Milton can suggest that the king no longer exists once his subjects remove themselves from subjection because the relationship is severed. This analysis leads Milton to conclude that “the Presbyterians for these sev’n years have remov’d and extinguishd the other relative, that is to say the King, or to speak more in brief have depos’d him; not onely by depriving him the execution of his autoritie, but by conferring it upon others” (230). The definitions of “subject” and “subjection” also bear weight here as Milton asserts that a subject’s hostility to a superior removes that subject from a position of subjection. Because “hostilitie and subjection are two direct and positive contraries; and can no more in one subject stand together in respect of the same King, then one person at the same time can be in two remote places,” Milton states that the relationship between the King and the Presbyterian “subject” was severed at the onset of the Presbyterians’ hostility to the monarch (230).

While the above examples illustrate the importance of reason to Milton's method of argument about the monarchy, the rational aspect of Milton's thought cannot be separated from the actual attacks he makes on his opponents. They revolve about Milton's accusation that his opponents are ignorant of or refuse to take into account biblical and historical precedents. Rather than focusing on the events of history, though, Milton focuses on the letter of the law and written documents. While Filmer might argue, "The king beheaded his son so we know monarchs may do as they please with their offspring," Milton would more likely assert, "A king may not take the life of his child for no reason because the Bible and English law prohibit such actions." Milton certainly thinks that history is important and uses it to establish his position. As he writes in *The Reason of Church Government*,

Moses therefore the only Lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vaine it was to write lawes to men whose hearts were not first season'd with the knowledge of God and of his workes, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his lawes; which *Josephus* right well hath noted. That the nation of the Jewes, reading therein the universall goodnesse of God to all creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of *Abraham* their ancestor, from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be mov'd to obey sincerely by knowing so good a reason of their obedience" (Prose Works I 747)

This passage illustrates Milton's use of history to emphasize the significance of his claims.

While the events of history do not necessarily establish right and wrong, they do "season hearts" and prepare them for "the knowledge of God and of his workes." Interestingly, Milton uses the

“legal” example of the Pentateuch to make his point about history: Moses, in writing the law, used the history of the Jewish people to inspire obedience.

In the same way, Milton uses historical examples to elicit some sort of visceral response, but the real point will be found in more concrete assertions. For example, he sets forth the definition of a tyrant as one who, according to St. Basil, “regarding neither Law nor the common good, reigns onely for himself and his faction,” and Milton insists that “Against whom what the people lawfully may doe...I suppose no man of cleare judgement need goe further to be guided then by the very principles of nature in him” (212). Milton goes on to use two examples to illustrate this principle because “it is the vulgar folly of men to desert thir own reason, and ... to think they see best with other mens” (212). Just as he suggests in the above quotation from *The Reason of Church Government*, Milton uses examples to “season hearts.” The first example comes from Seneca when Hercules, “the grand suppressor of Tyrants,” asserts that

_____ *There can be slaine*

No sacrifice to God more acceptable

Then an unjust and wicked King _____ (213).

This example, popular with the regicides^{xv}, is a largely emotional argument drawn from a historical source, but Milton, ever aware of possible rebuttals, immediately follows this example with a biblical one.

The Book of Judges recounts the story of Ehud, who rose up and killed the Moabite tyrant Eglon who had ruled over Israel for eighteen years. Milton provides a response to potential objections that Ehud had special warrant from God and that Eglon was an enemy of the people. First, he claims that a king who behaves tyrannically does not differ from a foreign king at all, an argument that possibly adumbrates and certainly parallels accusations of James II’s Frenchness.

In supporting this point, Milton plays off the universal “brother-hood between man and man over all the world” and the closer bonds that exist among fellow citizens before asserting that “when any of these doe one to another so as hostility could doe no worse, what doth the Law decree less against them, then op’n enemies and invaders?” (214). His second response is more straightforward: to the exception that Eglon was an enemy of the people, he retorts, “what Tyrant is not?” (215). Milton responds more fully to those who would take exception based on Ehud’s special warrant from God. He provides various examples of deposition of kings from Scripture and notes that in each case there was no special warrant and that with all of the options open to God, he could certainly find other ways to remove tyrants if commanding his followers to slay a tyrant set a bad example (216). Biblical justification for the regicide and, later, for inviting William of Orange to England certainly played an important role coming into the Interregnum and William III’s reign.

As Milton attacks the shabby basis of the patriarchalist position, he asserts that “No man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were borne free...born to command and not to obey” (198-199). This claim holds its basis in the biblical concept that people bear the *imago Dei* and the role for humanity established in the Garden of Eden.^{xvi} The legal implication of freedom being a natural right strikes at the very heart of the position espoused by those espousing a patriarchal view of government. The contrast between Milton’s view and the perspective of patriarchalists would become obvious at the publication of *Patriarcha* in 1680. The radical difference in the thinking between the two writers is highlighted when one compares Milton’s statement with Filmer’s, “The greatest liberty in the world...is for people to live under a monarch. It is the Magna Carta of this kingdom. All other shows or pretexts of liberty are but several degrees of slavery, and a liberty only to destroy liberty” (4).

While Filmer promotes monarchy as divinely established in the created order to guarantee liberty, Milton sees civil government as a postlapsarian invention necessary for the preservation of individual freedom. Milton highlights the difference by bringing forth the distinction between “Lords and Maisters” and “Deputies and Commissioners” (199). The former titles may have signified honor at one point but have come to represent “injustice and partialitie,” and the latter terms emphasize the role of these people as ministers of justice who “with much equity decided all things at thir own arbitrement” (199). For many advocates of the Glorious Revolution, this aspect of Milton’s argument sums up all of the others. Precisely because people were created for freedom, civil rulers should not lord their authority over subjects.

Any form of royal absolutism certainly impinges upon the freedom for which people were created, and all of Milton’s arguments grow from this tenet. Milton’s emphasis on the rational aspects of civil law rather than on the power inherent in the monarch stems from his belief that men were created for freedom. His justification of the regicide and re-definition of rebellion grow from his emphasis on the universal brotherhood of mankind and the authority for self-rule that comes with it. Milton relies so heavily on law because it is rooted in the right to preserve liberty common to all. For Milton, the postlapsarian world necessitates civil government, and humanity’s prelapsarian condition dictates that government serve to preserve the freedom into which people are naturally born.

At first glance, Locke’s contractarian theory of government seems similar to Milton’s position. Upon closer examination, however, it is obvious that Locke argues from a different set of presuppositions. As will be seen, Locke’s refutation of patriarchalism draws from a much more purely philosophical base than Milton’s theological argument. Another significant difference is that Locke positively constructs a model for government rather than relying so

heavily on negative apologetics. While both Locke and Milton lay important groundwork for those who wanted to see James II ousted, they cover different territory and appeal to different sets of people opposed to James II or in favor of William III. The varied appropriations of these ideas by Williamites will be examined more fully in the third and fourth chapters of this study. The positive argument Locke develops in his *Second Treatise on Government* coupled with the detailed refutation of Filmer's work in his *First Treatise* makes Locke a third important thinker to consider in establishing the context in which critics and supporters of the Glorious Revolution attempted to buttress their version of the monarchy.

Although John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* was published in 1690, evidence suggests that Locke composed the treatises around the time of the Exclusion Crisis. Peter Laslett thoroughly discusses the evidence for an early composition of *Two Treatises* in his essay "The English Revolution and Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government.'" And, while Laslett's exact dating of the treatises has been called "circumstantial" by some, it is generally agreed that the "evidence as assembled by Mr. Laslett makes it very difficult to believe that a large portion of the book was not written by ...1683" (Dunn 47). Because of the importance of an early composition of the *Two Treatises* to establishing the influence of its ideas by 1689, Laslett's argument for the date of composition is worth looking at more closely. Locating Locke's composition of *Two Treatises* around the time of the Exclusion Crisis in conjunction with Locke's other associations at that time suggests that the thoughts represented in the treatises bore a significant role in the thinking of those involved with William's ascension less than a decade later.

Laslett argues that, while it is clear that parts of the *Two Treatises* were written in 1689 to prepare the text for publication, the bulk of the argument must have been composed earlier and

the substantive portions of that argument must have been unchanged in 1689. In Laslett's words, Locke does not provide "the rationalization of a revolution in need of defence, but a demand for a revolution yet to be brought about" (92). From the outset, Laslett recognizes that others see the evidence for an earlier date of composition for *Two Treatises*. He begins by noting that H. R. Fox Bourne, in "the longest and still the most authoritative *Life*," asserts the probability that Locke composed the *Two Treatises* before William of Orange became William III (42). Although Bourne suggests that the second treatise may not have been written until immediately before William III's ascension, Laslett finds much evidence that the second treatise actually preceded the first and that the majority of both treatises was complete by 1683, the year of Shaftesbury's death.

Laslett posits a substantial unity of the two treatises, which indicates that they were composed together. Supporting this claim, Laslett cites Locke's own reference to the work as "a Discourse concerning Government" in the preface and the lack of any reference in the text (including cross-references) to "the word 'Treatise,' the expression 'Two Treatises,' [or] the title 'An essay of Civil Government' applied to the second book," which, taken together, indicate that the whole was composed at one time rather than as two books (44-45). Laslett notes that the uproar surrounding the publication of Filmer's works in 1680 provides an ample occasion for the treatises. Furthermore, the line-by-line refutation of Filmer in the *First Treatise* is followed by more "exhaustive contradiction of patriarchalism" in the *Second Treatise* so that "If the *First Treatise* belongs to these earlier years, and if the *Second Treatise* is part and parcel of it, then the whole work was written before 1683" (45). Another piece of evidence within the texts is Locke's two references to "King James" in the 1689 version of the work. In 1689, Laslett points out, "the words 'King James' with no number following could mean one thing only – King James the

Second. Yet in the text he printed in that year Locke refers twice to ‘King James’ when he meant James I” (48). This anachronism, especially when coupled with the fact that the reference was corrected in later editions, suggests that Locke composed his two treatises prior to James II’s ascension.

In addition to the relationship between the treatises themselves and evidence within the text, Laslett uses other external evidence to ascribe more specifically an early date to the *Two Treatises*. For example, Locke’s known acquisition of *Ceylon* by Robert Knox in 1681 and loss of it in 1683 is brought into the argument to suggest that unless he had access to it again before 1691, when he received it back from James Tyrell, he must have composed section 92 of the *Second Treatise* prior to 1683. This theory is buttressed by the use of the word “late” to mean “just published” in Locke’s text (*English Revolution* 98-99). Laslett also points out that Locke read Hooker’s *Ecclesiasticall Politie* in the summer of 1681 and quotations from it in his journal and the *Second Treatise* seem to alternate (100). For Laslett, “the conclusion seems inescapable – that in the later part of June 1681 he was working on the *Second Treatise*, incorporating extracts from Hooker into it, but at the same time putting into his diary other extracts of particular philosophical interest” (100). A final piece of evidence Laslett uses is Locke’s citation of Filmer in the *Two Treatises*. Locke states that he uses the 1680 edition, which he acquired on 22 January 1680 (100). Though the fact that this edition remained in Oxford, away from Locke, from July 1681 until Locke’s return from exile in 1691 lends some credence to Laslett’s argument, he finds it more significant that the only reference Locke makes to Filmer in the *Second Treatise* refers to the 1679 edition of Filmer’s work, which Laslett believes supports the argument that Locke began work on at least one of the *Treatises* by 1679 (101). Laslett concludes the weightiest portion of his argument by stating that

the *First Treatise* seems to have been begun later, perhaps six months later or more, when the influence of Filmer had grown so dangerous that a full length examination became necessary to Locke, and had indeed already been undertaken by Tyrell and Sidney. The change of plan as well as the writing of the whole work can be attributed to very particular political and personal circumstances. They come from the events of the Exclusion Campaign of 1678-81, and from Locke's association with the protagonist of that political drama, the first Earl of Shaftesbury. (101)^{xvii}

While the above argument establishes an earlier date of composition than many have attributed to the *Two Treatises*, it remains to clarify the manner in which the work bore its influence between its completion and its publication.

An interesting possibility is that the treatises were circulated covertly among a group of Locke's friends with the cover name *De Morbo Gallico* (102). Although the argument for this assumption put forth by Laslett relies a great deal on speculation, he later notes that Richard Ashcraft "apparently has no difficulty with [Laslett's theory about] *de Morbo Gallico*," which is significant because it shows support for this aspect of Laslett's argument from one who disagrees with other parts of it (*Two Treatises* 123). By the time he wrote his addendum to the introduction to his edition of *The Two Treatises* (twenty-one years later), Laslett had become more convinced of his position. *De Morbo Gallico* is Latin for "the French disease" and a euphemism for syphilis, but it requires no great stretch to see Locke and Shaftesbury thinking of French despotism as something of a disease (*English Revolution* 102). Laslett's argument revolves around several pieces of correspondence in 1681 and 1682 that refer to a volume by that title. Locke is known to have possessed a medical treatise of a similar title, but Laslett finds it unlikely

that this volume is referred to in the correspondence (103-104). First, the medical volume is known to have been in Tyrell's possession at the time, which suggests references to *de Morbo Gallico* in correspondence with others refers to another work. Second, communication regarding the document suggests that it was more important to Locke than a medical treatise. For example, in a letter to Edward Clarke (Locke's agent and relative) written from Holland in 1683, Locke asks if a chest containing *de Morbo Gallico* has been opened and requests a copy if one has been made. He is so interested in the document that he writes, "Neither do I ask whether any thing else in her custody was opened" and "if there were another copy of it I should be very glad to have that at any reasonable rate" (103). It seems unlikely that an obscure medical treatise would excite this sort of interest at that time. Locke next mentions the piece in 1687 when he ends the letter with "You may easily perceive why I would have that tract De Morbo Gallico" (103). As Laslett notes, the changing political situation in England would explain Locke's renewed interest in the tract. Laslett draws these implications from this evidence: "Shaftesbury read and noted it before July 1681; Tyrell had it in his keeping for a little while after this, not knowing what it was; Thomas read it in 1682; By the time of Locke's hurried departure in late 1683, it had been split into two parts; [There is] a confused hint that there may have been another copy somewhere; The fragmentary manuscript was in the keeping of the London landlady, Mrs Smithsby, at whose house Locke lived in 1689, and who returned other things of his then; She may have kept it until that year, so that Locke never saw it between 1683 and 1689, in spite of his requests to have it sent to Holland" (104). Although Laslett concludes that these implications have little bearing on the study of Locke and his relation to the English Revolution, it is significant that Locke composed the *Two Treatises* and that they were circulated, if covertly and in a very limited manner, prior to 1688.

In light of these observations, the *Two Treatises* should be considered as part of the intellectual context of the Glorious Revolution rather than as a response to it. Understanding the basis of government established in Locke's work helps inform our study of the Revolution and the literary battles over the re-defining of the monarchy in its wake. Certainly Locke and his friend Lord Shaftesbury, who played such a prominent role in the cabal seeking to exclude James II from succession, would have discussed the thoughts at the center of the *Two Treatises*, and if they were indeed composed prior even to James II's ascension to the throne, the intellectual content of Locke's treatises would bear a role in the revolution. Although Shaftesbury died in 1683 before the actual revolution, his influence and the ascendancy of the Whig party would have given ample ground for the circulation of ideas similar to those expressed in Locke's *Two Treatises*.

Some contemporary critics such as Michael Zuckert in *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism* suggest that Locke's contractarianism holds only tangential relevance to the Glorious Revolution. Regardless of the degree to which his principles were actually adopted in the wake of the revolution, however, Locke's philosophy and rhetoric certainly influence the contemporary presentation of the revolution.^{xviii} The fact itself that the *Two Treatises* went to press in 1689 and sold well enough to justify a second printing in 1694 with numerous corrections by Locke indicates the importance of the work in two ways. First, it must have seemed important enough to be printed so quickly in the wake of William and Mary's ascension. Second, when a second edition was wanted, Locke thought it worth the time and effort of giving it a careful revision. While Zuckert's argument may accurately portray the impact of the work in terms of the actual political philosophy of the day, the concern here is with another matter: the influence of the *Two Treatises* on the war of words surrounding the revolution. With regards to

that battle, the argument set forth in Locke's book certainly had some bearing. Both the publication of the book at the time of the revolution and its composition some 10 years earlier indicate its importance for understanding the Glorious Revolution.

Locke himself uses his preface to the *Two Treatises* to locate the work at the time of the Glorious Revolution as he claims that what he provides is "sufficient to establish the Throne of our Great Restorer." At the same time, he tells readers that they have "the beginning and end of a Discourse concerning Government; what Fate has otherwise disposed of the Papers that should have filled up the middle, and were more than all the rest, 'tis not worth while to tell thee." This "missing middle," which Locke claims is bigger than the two remaining treatises combined, must serve some rhetorical purpose, or Locke would not have brought it up. In *Lines of Authority*, Steven Zwicker suggests that the purpose of Locke's self-conscious attention in his preface to the lost section serves to "enlarge and elevate" the work and "remove as far as he can without actually producing the missing middle, the impression that the work was intended as a refutation of one book and as a response to a particular crisis" (157). Rather than a work located in the Exclusion Crisis and of little lasting value once *Patriarcha* (the nearly exclusive focus of the *First Treatise*) ceased to draw attention, the *Two Treatises* becomes a piece of "timeless political philosophy" (157). Zwicker goes on to suggest that Locke's success with the preface is illustrated by the fact that it took nearly 300 years to demonstrate its origin. The importance of the preface lies in Locke's awareness that "the refutation of Filmer made more sense in 1681 than in 1689" so that

his response is a Preface that encourages its audience to consider *Two Treatises* as justification of the Glorious Revolution and as refutation of an entire system of political philosophy for which *Patriarcha* serves as a mere emblem. The allusions

to the missing middle of his book allow Locke to portray the whole as a systematic inquiry into fundamentals rather than a caviling animadversion. (157-158)

So, while the work presents itself as having a specific purpose tied directly to William and Mary's ascent and concerns immediate to that event, the root of the *Two Treatises* lies much earlier. Understanding the arguments of *Two Treatises* as originally constructed in light of Exclusion and allowing for the circulation of Locke's ideas (at least orally) prior to the actual Revolution suggests that the contractual model he sets forth should be examined to understand better the context in which the monarchy was buttressed after James II's "abdication."

On its title page, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* claims to "detect and overthrow" the "false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer" in its first part and present "an essay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil-government." Locke proceeds to tear down Filmer's patriarchal model and build a model that seats authority with the people – or, more specifically, he locates the ability to create a government with people who held property. While the first treatise moves through Filmer's arguments in an ordered fashion taking them on one at a time, the actual construction of Locke's argument at times degenerates to abuse as he uses *reductio ad absurdum* and *ad hominem* arguments to refute Filmer. Because *Patriarcha* had been embraced by Tories and Royalists and because it advocated absolute monarchy so strongly, countering its arguments provided a ready springboard for Locke to present his perspective. The contrast Locke establishes between the two views is that Filmer's "system lies in a little compass, 'tis no more but this, *That all Government is absolute Monarchy*. And the Ground he builds on, is this, *That no Man is Born free*" (I.2.12-16), while Locke believes that political power stems from the tenet that men are naturally in "a *State of perfect Freedom* to order their

Actions” (II.ii.3).^{xix} To establish this distinction, though, Locke must “engage with *Patriarcha* as a piece of writing and with the powerful effects it has had on a public easily fooled by glibness and flourishes of expression” (Zwicker 158).

In the *First Treatise*, Locke lays the groundwork for what follows in the second – at least logically. Although primarily concerned with Filmer’s arguments in *Patriarcha*, Locke’s rebuttal of Filmer also lays the groundwork for the contractual form of government based on property that he establishes in the *Second Treatise*. At the very outset of the *First Treatise*, we read that

Slavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, and so directly opposite to the generous Temper and Courage of our Nation; that ‘tis hardly to be conceived, that an *Englishman*, much less a *Gentleman*, should plead for’t. And truly, I should have taken Sr. Rt: Filmer’s *Patriarcha* as any other Treatise, which would perswade all Men, that they are Slaves, and ought to be so, for such another exercise of Wit, as was his who writ the Encomium of *Nero*, rather than for a serious Discourse meant in earnest... (I.i.1-9)

By this approach, Locke begins to establish that patriarchalism is tantamount to slavery and that were it not for *Patriarcha*’s reception, he would have thought it a joke.^{xx} As Locke reduces Filmer’s argument to the extreme of suggesting that men should desire slavery, Locke lays the groundwork for continued comparisons of those who assert the legitimacy of patriarchal models of government to people who prefer slavery to liberty. This sort of allegation would play especially well for Williamites after the Glorious Revolution as they asserted that William of Orange came to secure English liberties (*The Declaration of Rights* 295). Of course, this assertion fails to give Filmer proper credit as shown by Filmer’s own statement that “the greatest liberty in the world is for people to live under a monarch” (4), and nowhere in *Patriarcha* does

Filmer claim to be advocating slavery. By portraying subjection to a monarch as equivalent to slavery through this *reductio ad absurdum*, though, Locke begins to discredit Filmer from the outset. Because the English people pride themselves on their freedom, paralleling subjection to a monarch and slavery provides Locke with a particularly strong criticism of Filmer's system, even if Locke is creating a bit of a straw man.

Locke's belief that Filmer's system lacks biblical or historical credibility leads him to craft the major aspects of his argument against Filmer in terms of philosophical analysis of his writings, which allows him to use reason to downplay Filmer's use of Scripture and history. But Locke also spends a great deal of time using rhetorical tools to get the better of his opponent, and this process of placing Filmer at a rhetorical disadvantage by highlighting negative connotations of Filmer's language plays a key role in the *Two Treatises*. The previous example illustrates this method, and in many instances Locke uses a similar tactic of *reductio ad absurdum* to encourage readers to think the worst of Filmer. One instance is the over-simplification of Filmer's rationale in chapter five of the *First Treatise*. Locke claims that for Filmer, "this is always the conclusion, let *Rule* in any Text, be but once named, and presently *Absolute Monarchy* is by Divine Right Establish'd." While Filmer may make significant stretches to find support for his view of divine right, he takes great pains to provide support for his claims and, regardless of one's opinion of his logic, he does take the time and effort to support his claims through both reason and Scripture.

Another clearer example of Locke's method of pushing Filmer's positions to extreme conclusions comes later in the *First Treatise* as Locke puts forth questions about the patriarchal succession of power. While the issues he raises certainly bear philosophical significance, they

also often avoid addressing the real issues with which Filmer is dealing. For example Locke wonders about the technicalities related to paternal responsibility:

And yet I ask our A--- whether the Grandfather, by his Sovereignty, could discharge the Grand-child from paying to his Father the Honour due to him by the 5th Commandment. If the Grandfather hath by *right of Fatherhood*, sole Sovereign Power in him, and that Obedience which is due to the Supreme Magistrate, be Comanded in these Words, *Honour thy Father*, 'tis certain the Grandfather might dispense with the Grand-sons Honouring his Father, which, since 'tis evident in common Sense, he cannot, it follows from hence that, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, cannot mean an absolute Subjection to a Sovereign Power, but something else. (I.64.4-14)

While this extreme case is problematic, the example is of the same nature as seeking to disprove God's omnipotence by asking, "If God can do anything, can he make a rock that is so big that he cannot move it?" Raising an issue like this one really provides more of a smokescreen than a legitimate challenge to patriarchalism. For Filmer, the issue is the nature of regal authority rather than the nuts and bolts of succession or of the rule itself. This line of reason comes close to violating Locke's own warning to potential critics against "Cavilling here and there, at some Expression, or little incident of my Discourse, is not an answer to my Book" and that he "shall not take railing for Argument, nor think either of these worth my notice" in his preface. Locke's intent may be to expose practical flaws in the application of Filmer's larger ideas about government, but what this approach accomplishes for Locke is the discounting of Filmer's position rather than engagement with Filmer's central concern – the nature of regal authority, not the ways in which nations should flesh out that form of government.

This discussion of Locke's method is not to say he fails to answer Filmer's argument in *Patriarcha*. The examples cited do, however, highlight the common method of using this type of rhetoric in discourse about political issues during the period. Writers often use tangential associations to construe the primary subject in a manner they find advantageous for their own ends, which is exactly what Locke does in much of the *First Treatise*. A parallel example is Dryden's prominent comparison of King David and Charles II in *Absalom and Achitophel*, which serves the double purpose of placing Charles II in a very favorable light by comparing him to the biblical king as monarch and excusing his promiscuity because David engaged in polygamy "ere one to one was cursedly confin'd" (4). As will be shown in the following chapters, during this period, the method of arguing for or against the monarchy plays as important a role as the arguments' actual content because methodology can be used to predetermine the outcome of an attack.

Locke's development of an actual model of government in *Two Treatises* revolves around the idea that government grows out of the instability of life in the state of nature. The state of nature for Locke, though, is not necessarily nasty and brutish in a Hobbesian sense. It is interaction with others that makes government necessary, and this idea that moving into society *permits* the formation of government provides the key to understanding how the *Two Treatises* answers patriarchalism and gives a point of reference for understanding the intellectual milieu of the Glorious Revolution. Locke's most significant departure from Milton or Filmer is that he places the core significance of Natural Law and, consequently, government on the individual rather than on the family or society. Locke's unswerving allegiance to Natural Law stands in clear contradistinction to the Filmerian position but also provides a significant step beyond where Milton went in his anti-monarchical writing. For Milton, the Law always denotes

Scripture and cannot be understood apart from the biblical context. In contrast, Locke seems to place Natural Law at least on par with revelation and never questions the significance of this law for developing governments. As Locke puts it, “The *State of Nature* has a Law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one: And Reason, which is that Law, teaches all Mankind...[that] no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty, or Possessions” (II.6). In this statement, Locke ties the mental faculties (*i.e.* reason) to the Law of Nature and asserts the primacy of reason over Scripture for the development of government. Richard Ashcraft explains that for Locke, “in all instances in which individuals are confronted with conflicting evidence they must rely upon their use of reason in order to weigh the contending probabilities” (66). This emphasis should not be seen as denigrating the role of God in creation or removing God from government. Instead, Locke is insisting that “in those instances where one must decide what is the ‘most probable’ meaning of particular passage” the reader ought “to judge, according to his or her own reason, which meaning has the highest degree of probability” (66). The primacy of reason, then, works in conjunction with rather than opposition to Scripture. Describing punishment in the state of nature, Locke writes, “In transgressing the Law of Nature, the Offender declares himself to live by another Rule, than that of *reason* and common Equity, which is that measure God has set to the actions of Men, for their mutual security...” (II.8). This statement shows Locke’s elevation of reason to a position parallel with Scripture, but the fact that it doesn’t lessen the importance of the Bible for him is shown in the following section as he uses Genesis to support the “great Law of Nature, *Who so sheddeth Mans Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.*” Locke observes that “*Cain* was so fully convinced, that every one had a Right to destroy such a Criminal, that after the Murther of his Brother, he cries out, *Every one that findeth me, shall slay me*; so plain was it writ in the Hearts of all Mankind” (II.11).

One should be careful not to assume Locke's emphasis on reason limits the importance of Scripture in his thinking. After his diatribe against enthusiasm and claims of "revelation" made by enthusiasts in his *Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, he is careful to place both Scripture and reason as guides for evaluating new revelation. In his words, "we have Reason and the Scripture, unerring Rules to know whether it be from GOD or no" (IV.XIX.15). As he goes on to demonstrate in that section of his *Essay*, the twin pillars of reason and Scripture provide the final guidelines for all matters in life. While the argument immediately applies to religious enthusiasm, the principle of looking to both Scripture and reason plays out in *The Two Treatises* as well. The above examples of Locke using biblical examples along with reason demonstrate the importance of this conjunction for Locke. Locke's issue with Filmer, then, is not that he uses Scripture to build his argument but that he misuses it. For Locke, Scripture continues to play an important role in ordering human affairs, but reason must govern the application of Scripture. Locke has no tolerance for applications not drawn from Scripture or that are contrary to reason or to valid use of Scripture. Locke believes that Scripture does not speak prescriptively to formation of government so he builds his theory of government on reason rather than Scripture. While Locke will utilize historical (and biblical) examples, he will not take them as providing a valid theory of government when reason dictates that another model makes more sense. Although this move distinguishes Locke from Milton as well as Filmer, it should not be seen as too radical a break from traditional Christian thought. Rather, it opens the door for rationalism as a religion in much the same way that Luther's *95 Theses* opened the door for Protestantism. Locke's conjunction of Scripture and reason and his final reliance upon reason for the establishment of government, though, does place his thought in a significantly different locus for understanding the Glorious Revolution than that of either Filmer or Milton. Both of those writers primarily rely

on Scripture, admittedly coming to very divergent conclusions, and then proceed to build their arguments. As will be seen in the following chapters, responses to the Revolution run the gamut from those who follow Filmer's emphasis on tradition and Scripture to build an argument against William and Mary to those who follow Milton and use Scripture to support the revolution to those who follow Locke and rely primarily on reason to build a case in either direction.

Locke's argument, then, takes the hypothetical construct of the state of nature and proceeds to develop a theory of government from that point. As John Dunn points out in *The Political Thought of John Locke*, "The state of nature, that state that 'all men are naturally in', is not an asocial condition but an ahistorical condition. It is that state in which men are set by God. The state of nature is a topic for theological reflection, not for anthropological research" (97). So, the approach Locke takes is to describe the condition in which man would exist in the state of nature (not to say that he was there in reality – in Eden, for example) and to expostulate the logical consequences for human government from that point. This approach allows Locke to circumvent Filmer's historical approach through a theological construct. If the "state of nature" exists as "simply an axiom of theology" (Dunn 103), then it supersedes even the primeval accounts from Genesis insofar as its rational content cannot be morally questioned as historical actions might be. Locke's detractors had to contend with the *idea* of the state of nature rather than simply calling his hermeneutics into question. While biblical history records man's failures to do right, whether in government, worship, or personal affairs, and records God's commandments in light of those failures, the state of nature describes how people might function independently of society in accordance with God's laws. From this hypothetical state, Locke proceeds to lay out the philosophical groundwork for forming societies within the bounds of reason and Scripture. The consequence of this maneuver for the seventeenth-century debate over

the nature of government is tremendous. By developing a framework for government that moves beyond taking Scripture as a model for government while remaining solidly within a Christian worldview, Locke provides a powerful weapon in the arsenal of those seeking to defend William and Mary.

By starting with the state of nature and then positing that people may form governments when human interactions deem it beneficial (for protection, avoiding the state of war, *etc.*), Locke lays a strong groundwork for the constitutional argument that follows in the *Second Treatise*. For Locke, property becomes the element that leads to the necessity of government. Characteristically, Locke begins his argument for property with reason and Scripture:

Whether we consider natural *Reason*, which tells us, that Men, being once born, have a right to their Preservation, and consequently to Meat and Drink, and such other things, as Nature affords for their Subsistence: Or *Revelation*, which gives us an account of those Grants God made of the World to *Adam*, and to *Noah*, and his Sons, 'tis very clear that God, as King *David* says, *Psal. CXV.xvj. has given the Earth to the Children of Men*, given it to Mankind in common. (II.25)

Using reason, Locke sets forth that property is necessary for survival and must, therefore, be a natural right of all people who have not forfeited their rights, which lays the groundwork for the ensuing arguments about property built from reason. Using Scripture from the outset serves two functions for Locke's argument. First, it provides an answer to the patriarchalists view of government developed from Scripture that precludes charges of atheism being laid against Locke because of the argument's basis in the Bible – and from the greatest biblical king at that! Second, the early reference to Scripture allows Locke to move on to develop his argument based on reason and the state of nature without constantly referring to Scripture. By laying the argument's

foundation in Scripture, Locke frees himself to build the argument through reason without being accused of developing an exclusively rational argument. Nevertheless, the primary importance of rational arguments becomes immediately obvious as Locke defines property. Locke starts with property in the state of nature, which basically consists of an element of nature linked with a person's labor because "That *labour* put a distinction between them and common" (II.28). Locke maintains that even "amongst those who are counted the Civiliz'd part of Mankind, who have made and multiplied positive Laws to determine Property" the same principle of property continues to apply in certain areas (II.30). Scripture also helps to govern this principle, though. Locke is careful to point out that neither reason nor Scripture gives the right to hoard. He quotes I Timothy 6:17, "*God has given us all things richly,*" and affirms that this passage "is the Voice of Reason confirmed by Inspiration" (II.31). Locke proceeds to assert that the amount one can take is bounded by "As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils" (II.31). This principle of property as a derivative of what one can make use of from nature combined with Locke's construction of life in the state of nature leads to a theory of money, contracts, and ultimately builds to a contractual model of government.

Locke argues that laws ultimately exist to guarantee freedom and to protect property rather than to be restraints upon liberty. This distinction is important because of the different attitude about human nature that it demonstrates. Locke's attitude toward human freedom and the defense of liberty is clearly more optimistic than Filmer's. While Filmer sees the desire of liberty as the cause of Adam's fall (2), Locke sees the law as a guarantee of liberty. As he writes in his discussion of paternal power, "Law in its true Notion, is not so much the Limitation as *the direction of a free and intelligent Agent* to his proper Interest, and prescribes no farther than is for the general Good of those under that Law" (II.57). Locke brings this impetus for law to bear

on the role of parents in bringing children to the point that they can make full use of reason and then claims that the same principle should apply to governments. Rather than parents restricting children from running into evil, they are to help them grow into reasonable beings:

The *Power*, then *that Parents have* over their Children, arises from that Duty which is incumbent on them, to take care of their Off-spring, during the imperfect state of Childhood. To inform the Mind, and govern the Actions of their yet ignorant Nonage, till Reason shall take its place, and ease them of that Trouble, is what the Children want, and the Parents are bound to. (II.58)

While a child “has not *Understanding* of his own to direct his *Will*,” parents are to direct that child in correct behavior (II.58). This same principle applies to natural and civil laws for Locke. The capacity to understand proper behavior, termed a “State of Maturity,” gives one the freedom to act as one will (II.59). A tremendous difference exists between Locke’s view that parental or civil authority (*i.e.* natural or created) exists primarily for the betterment of its people and Filmer’s attitude that the people exist primarily for the government. Compare the attitude voiced by Locke above with Filmer’s statement that:

I see not then how the children of Adam, or of any man else, can be free from subjection to their parents. And this subjection of children is the only fountain of all regal authority, by the ordination of God himself. It follows that civil power not only in general is by divine institution, but even the assignment of it specifically to the eldest parent, which quite takes away that new and common distinction which refers only power universal as absolute to God, but power respective in regard of the special form of government to the choice of the people.

Nor leaves it any place for such imaginary pactions between kings and their people as many dream of. (7)

The crux of the distinction between Filmer and Locke boils down to what each writer pairs with Scripture. For Filmer, authority – rooted in God and bequeathed to Adam and, by extension, other Eldest sons – serves as the basis for government. As demonstrated above, this authority-based system finds its sanction in history rather than looking to philosophical or theological underpinnings. Locke’s view contrasts significantly as he sees the foundation of government as growing out of reason, which is the source of his law of nature. While both writers claim that the model of government they espouse provides the greatest happiness for English subjects, in fact those models could not be more different. Locke starts with the people in the state of nature, while Filmer starts with the monarch holding divinely instituted authority. The implications grow from there for each system of thought. Adherents to James II’s cause tend to start with royal authority and move out from there, while Williamites tend to begin with reason and the will of the people.

Milton holds a similar view to Locke on natural law, but his approach to the issue differs in a way that is significant for understanding how the Glorious Revolution would be presented later in the century. While Locke’s argument grows from abstract philosophical principles (*e.g.* the above-mentioned construction of the state of nature), Milton roots his argument in existing legal and biblical history. Locke presupposes the priority of reason and sees natural law as a reasonable construction needing little or no support, but Milton argues for natural law on the basis of its evidence in existing laws. So, we find Locke writing, “The Fruit, or Venison, which nourishes the wild *Indian*, who knows no Inclosure... must be his, and so his... that another can no longer have any right to it” and about the philosophy of use of “vacant places of *America*”

(II.26.12-15, II.36.18). In contrast, Milton looks to existing laws to demonstrate the limits of authority. For example, after presenting his argument that government is based on oaths and covenants in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, Milton supports his position by writing:

That this and the rest of what hath hitherto been spok'n is most true, might be copiously made appeare throughout all Stories Heathen and Christian; ev'n of those Nations where Kings and Emperours have sought meanes to abolish all ancient memory of the Peoples right by thir encroachments and usurpations. But I spare long insertions, appealing to the known constitutions of both the latest Christian Empires in Europe, the Greek and German, besides the French, Italian, Arragonian, English, and not least the Scottish Histories... (201)

Although the establishment of the argument could almost have been taken from Locke with statements like “no man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were borne free” and “because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needful to ordaine som authoritie, that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right” (198-199), Milton builds his case differently as he primarily relies on Scripture and the constitutions of existing governments. He even notes that in France, “*The Parliament was set as a bridle to the King*; which I instance rather, not because our English Lawyers have not said the same long before, but because that French Monarchy is granted by all to be a farr more absolute then ours” (200). The distinction between Milton’s and Locke’s approach gives them each an appeal to a different set of supporters of the Revolution.

Indeed the complexity and variation among allegiances that arose during James II’s reign provided a forum in which people sought to establish the validity of government in a variety of ways. The common thread through all of these attempts is the search for authority. Whether

people looked to tradition, Scripture, or reason/the Law of Nature, they ultimately sought an authority strong enough to maintain the right of the government and the validity of its rule.

Many Jacobites rely on Filmer's use of Scripture and history to defend the king as *pater patriae* in their presentation of James II as England's legitimate monarch. While overt references to Filmer are sparse, arguments bearing strong roots in Filmer's thought permeate the literature composed by Jacobites in the years surrounding the Glorious Revolution. John Dryden, for example, draws heavily on the language of family in his works during the 1690s. Parallels between earthly monarchs and the divine monarch and frequent references to incest are just two ways in which Dryden relies on Filmerian concepts to support the authority earthly monarchs should hold and denigrate the manner in which William and Mary attained the throne. Additionally, pamphleteers and manuscript poets use concepts presented in *Patriarcha* to emphasize problems with the Glorious Revolution. For example, Nathaniel Johnston's *The Dear Bargain* accepts Filmer's philosophy of government as foundational and, building from it, shows the problems growing from the new regime. Many of the Tory advocates for the coregents' legitimacy show the pervasiveness of Filmer's arguments in England as they seek to work within a loosely patriarchal framework to support the Glorious Revolution. Edmund Bohun's efforts to dismiss passive obedience as a grounds for recalling James II demonstrates the Tory awareness of the need to deal with ideas that grew from patriarchalism to establish a legitimate basis for William III's reign.

At the same time, Milton's writings on government provided many Whigs with a basis on which to attack James II's reign and argue for the results of the Glorious Revolution. As already discussed, the reprinting of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in the wake of the Revolution testifies to its importance to Williamites. Although more moderate supporters of William III and

Mary II (and William himself) shied away from an extreme republicanism, many Whigs found Milton's arguments relevant and attempted to portray the events of 1688-1689 in terms that strongly resonate with Milton's writings during the Civil War and Interregnum. Milton's advocacy of government as a postlapsarian necessity based on Scripture and reason and strong limitations on the bounds of a ruler's authority find expression in pamphlets such as *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male-Contents in England* in which the author writes that James II's subversion of English rights equates to a forfeiture of his right to rule. The poem "A Dialogue between King William and the Late King James on the Banks of the Boyne the Day before the Battle" uses the Miltonian argument that a monarch who violates a nation's laws and the eternal laws of justice gives up his rights as king. While these appropriations of Milton's political philosophy stand outside of the lines of defense William III took up in his justification of the Glorious Revolution, their presence demonstrates another means by which a foundation for government was sought in the literature surrounding the Revolution.

Locke's promotion of a social contract based primarily on reason but not excluding Scripture provided a third line of thought drawn upon as writers sought to buttress the monarchy in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Whether writers had read Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* and used arguments from it or were simply aware of his line of thought as part of the *Ortgeist* in the late 1680s, the rise of reason and an understanding of some sort of social contract clearly come through in much of the period's literature. Shadwell and Prior both demonstrate affinities to Locke's thought on the foundation of government, and his more moderate approach than Milton allowed arguments derived from Locke to be relatively widely embraced among Williamites.

The rhetoric used to establish the government by Filmer, Milton, and Locke plays as important a role as their actual arguments in the literary debate that took place in the years following the Glorious Revolution. The varied ways in which the modes of argument and ideas examined above are echoed and adapted provide keys to understanding how William III and James II were supported and criticized as the English people sought to support their views of government. Through the poetry, prose, and drama written during the 1690s, many writers interacted with these ideas as their work engaged in political action for or against their new rulers.

Notes

ⁱ As two examples, Speck brings forward James II's own comparisons of himself to his father and Dryden's characterization of Whig involvement in the Exclusion Crisis as "the good old cause revived" in "Absalom and Achitophel" line 82 (25-26).

ⁱⁱ See, for example, J. R. Jones' discussion of this parliament in *Court and Country* on pp 229 ff.

ⁱⁱⁱ J. R. Jones describes one example of Charles II's shrewdness in such matters in *Court and Country*

the king could appoint whom he pleased and entirely on his own terms. So on his accession in February 1685 he unexpectedly retained Halifax, as president of the council, although he detested him personally and distrusted his opinions as quasi-republican, because he needed him to influence the forthcoming parliament. On the other hand he demoted the earl of Bath, although he was head of a conspicuously loyal family and the most important provincial magnate in terms of electoral influence. Ministers were expected to share this royal disregard for personal considerations.... (224-225)

^{iv} See Lucile Pinkham's *William III and the Respectable Revolution* for one example of the perspective that William of Orange had been pursuing the throne for some years. Pinkham calls William's crossing the channel "the result of plans laid carefully over many years" (3). J. R. Jones, however, dismisses Pinkham's study and finds it "valuable chiefly as a manual of erroneous historical interpretation" (*Revolution* 10)

^v Assessments of William III's character are readily accessible in works on the Glorious Revolution. See, for example, *Court and Country* (12), Claydon (92-93), Schwoerer (138-144), and Speck (17-18).

^{vi} Wing dates the document at 1688, but, as Steve Tabor, curator for early books at the Huntington Library, informed me, this date seems unlikely because it refers to the dissolution of the Convention Parliament, which occurred in 1690.

^{vii} Outside of Locke's work, Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* (before 1683) and James Tyrrell's *Patriarcha non Monarcha* (1681) are the best-known of these responses to Filmer. The former continued to see publication through the eighteenth century even though it is characterized as "unmanageable" in Laslett's introduction to *Two Treatises of Government*.

^{viii} For example, in *Lines of Authority*, Steven Zwicker outlines the relationship of *Patriarcha* to *Absalom and Achitophel* (130-145). While Dryden did not adopt Filmer's views without reservation, he certainly drew on them as he introduced Filmer's key themes of "patriarchy, paternity, succession, law, slavery, the state of nature, liberty, and freedom" (Zwicker 131).

^{ix} Rachel Weil discusses perceptions of the family in "The family in the exclusion crisis: Locke versus Filmer revisited". Zwicker addresses this issue with regards to the monarchy in *Lines of Authority* (90-95) as do Sommerville (xviii) and Speck (17-19). Zaller deals with perceptions of the monarchy in the seventeenth century throughout "Breaking the Vessels".

^x The account cited by Filmer comes from Bodin's *Six Livres*. Cicero also provides an account in *De Republica* 2:60. In an e-mail on February 14, 2005, Johann Sommerville noted that the account cited by Filmer may have been an invention of a later age. It should also be

noted that Filmer seems to confuse Cassius with his father. According to the historical accounts, Cassius is executed by his father rather than Cassius executing his son. In either case, though, Filmer's point about patriarchal authority is the same.

^{xi} The fact that the treatises were published together in 1690 also illustrates the lasting impact of Filmer's thought. An edition of *Patriarcha* had not been published since 1685, but his thought must still have weighed heavily on the national conscience for the treatises to be published together, especially if they were actually composed around 1680, as Laslett argues. Although James Daly deems Filmer nothing more than an interesting anomaly in the history of English political thought, the continued debate about patriarchalism seems to belie his position.

^{xii} Milton quotes Deuteronomy 17:14 as, "When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say I will set a King over mee, like as all the Nations about mee," and proceeds to write, "These words confirme us that the right of choosing, yea of changing thir own Government is by the grant of God himself in the People" (206-207).

^{xiii} Merritt Hughes notes that this edition along with "*Eikonoklastes* in a Williamite edition" influenced debate in 1689 (*Milton Works III* 187-188). George Sensabaugh discusses the influence of *Pro Populo* at length in *That Grand Whig, Milton* (134-142). While his assertion that "no other tract of the time covered current issues more concisely or argued more forcefully for Williamite principles of government" may overstate the case, it indicates the significance of Milton's thought to the debate (134).

^{xiv} Milton continues to emphasize this point highlighting that once the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were broken and made void by Charles I's actions, "It follows undeniably that the King from that time was by them in fact absolutely depos'd, and they no longer in reality to be thought his subjects" (229). The logic here drives home the point that in

spite of Presbyterian assent to preserving the king's "person, Crown, and dignity," the Presbyterians in fact did not preserve any of those things.

^{xv} Hughes' describes the use of these lines in note #84 on p 213.

^{xvi} Genesis 1:28 states, "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitfull, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the foule of the aire, and over every living thing that mooveth upon the earth."

^{xvii} While Richard Ashcraft and others have continued to debate the argument set forth here, Laslett has responded to those arguments, and, at a bare minimum, it seems that at least the major ideas set forth in Locke's *Two Treatises* were in circulation among members of the Cabal and others at the time of the Exclusion Crisis.

^{xviii} In chapter four of his book, Zuckert seeks to establish the priority of Grotius for the Whig model of government and limits Locke's influence to the "radical Whigs" (102). My contention is not that Zuckert is wrong but that in light of the complex web of relationships among Whigs and Tories, Jacobites and Williamites, and Anglicans and dissenters at the time of the Glorious Revolution, Locke's influence upon the rhetoric used to defend it should not be discounted.

^{xix} Citations from Locke's *Two Treatises* are presented with the book followed by the section and line numbers.

^{xx} Locke's comparison of *Patriarcha* to an exercise of wit refers to Jerome Cardan's *Encomium Neronis* (Laslett 141).

Chapter 2

Private Union and Public Peace: Dryden

John Dryden's poetry and plays written during the final decade of his life contains the same type of keen political insights his earlier work supporting the Stuart monarchs did. However, the changing nature of government left Dryden uncertain about the future of his nation and caused him to reflect critically upon England's coregents and their subjects through his writing. The two plays examined in this chapter, *Don Sebastian* (1689) and *Love Triumphant* (1694), demonstrate ways in which Dryden used drama to highlight the nation's instability in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. In both plays, Dryden relies on dysfunctional families to portray the disruption the new monarchy causes within England. So doing, Dryden emphasizes a Filmerian basis of government in which the king is the *pater patriae*. In addition to these plays, I focus on Dryden's translations of Juvenal and of Virgil. Through translation, Dryden could establish a stable poetic tradition in contrast to the nation's disregard for their monarchical heritage while simultaneously using his translations to mask criticism of the fickleness of the English people and of their government's disintegration. In light of the nation's disregard for its patriarchal tradition, Dryden turns to literary tradition and private virtue as sources of security during these years.

The Glorious Revolution posed obvious problems for those, like John Dryden, who supported the Stuart line in particular and who saw a strong monarchy in general as the source of national stability. While the English people as a whole were certainly thankful that the bloodshed of another Civil War had been avoided, questions about the meaning of the monarchy and the

source of national stability were unavoidable. In light of the difficulties the Convention Parliament of 1688-89 had justifying William III and Mary II's installation as King and Queen and their qualification of James II's action as "abdication," the questions about the new nature of the monarchy took on even greater significance for Jacobite loyalists. As William of Orange came to the throne, several problems for one with Dryden's worldview arose: How could the church turn against the divinely appointed monarch? How should Jacobites respond to James II's abdication, or should they even admit the term "abdication"? What was the significance of an "elected" monarch, and what duty did his subjects owe him? How could this kind of kingdom have any guarantee of future stability? Struggles existed on every front. The Dutch prince had military interests on the continent, the Tories and Whigs had not made peace, relations between the Church of England and dissenters remained tense, and debates about the changing nature of the monarchy all contributed to widespread uncertainty. The years following the Restoration saw the gap between those loyal to the crown as the supreme civil authority and those advocating a strong parliament grow ever wider.

When William and Mary came to the throne, Dryden in particular found himself in a difficult position. On one hand, he had been a loyal supporter of the Stuarts for most of his adult life, and his recent conversion to Roman Catholicism made his position appear even more closely aligned with James II's. On the other hand, his allegiance to the Stuarts was not blind and was probably tied as closely to the office of king as to his support of James II and his brother Charles II. As James Winn demonstrates in *John Dryden and His World*, Dryden did not shy from offering advice to the king and advocated moderation as the best course even when another approach might have better served his own interests. For instance, Winn points out that at the end of *Britannia Rediviva* "Dryden advises moderation, ending the poem with the conventional

image of ‘Balance’... he reminds a king who was all too fond of his status as a sacred monarch that ‘Resistless Force and Immortality / Make but a Lame, imperfect Deity (ll. 349-350)’ (433). When James II left the throne just months after the completion of this poem, speculation about how Dryden would respond to William’s ascension abounded.¹ Dryden did not give satisfaction to those like the writer of *The Address of John Dryden, Laureat to His Highness the Prince of Orange* who satirically depicts Dryden praising the new monarch:

Accept, great *Nassau*, from unworthy me,
 Amongst the adoring Crowd, a bended Knee;
 No Scruple, Sir, to hear my Ecchoing Lyre,
 Strung, tun’d, and joyn’d to th’ Universal Quire:
 For my suspected Mouth thy Glories told,
 A known Out-lyer from the *English* Fold. (3-8)

This commentary demonstrates the common criticism that Dryden was an opportunist who would write for whomever could benefit him the most, and the lines pair the attack with an even baser criticism through the pun on “Out-lyer.” On one hand, as a Dutchman, William of Orange lies outside of the English fold, but Dryden, the Roman Catholic with a “suspected Mouth,” is also accused of being a “lyer” who has no scruples to keep him from praising the new royal couple. But Dryden did have scruples and, while he continued to honor the position of monarch, he also used his writing through the 1690s to criticize the effects of the Glorious Revolution on English government and to show the potentially harmful impact of allowing people to choose a new monarch whenever they wished.

As Dryden had used his poetry to offer advice to James II, whom he had supported, he also offered advice and criticism to William III and his government, whose legitimacy Dryden

questioned. In the 1690s, Dryden demonstrates greater uncertainty about the possibility of establishing a coherent fabric of social order and less confidence in the ability of the government, in the absence of a strong monarch, to hold the nation together. His adherence to a Filmerian view of succession, as demonstrated prior to the Glorious Revolution in works like *Absalom and Achitophel*, caused this uncertainty, and many of his works written after 1688 question explore the nature of authority and sources of stability when government is subject to individual whims. In spite of Dryden's position as an outsider because of his unwillingness to renounce his Roman Catholicism and to clearly support the new regime, these years were very productive for Dryden who had always maintained the existence of a close connection between the roles of poet and king. Tanya Caldwell highlights this connection in *Time To Begin Anew* noting that in *Annus Mirabilis* "by describing his own task in terms used of the king's, Dryden subtly suggests the equation of the power of poet and monarch as sowers, tenders and reapers of England's glory" (28). She goes on to note that in spite of the oft-cited cynicism and "satiric sting" of Dryden's later works, they also maintain a "poetic beauty, freshness and vigor" because of Dryden's conviction that "georgic toils performed by true poets can overcome historical disaster" (29-30). This combination of cynicism and beauty shapes much of Dryden's work during William's reign and provided a mechanism by which he could respond to his changed circumstances.

Dryden's writing served the dual functions of providing commentary on contemporary events and issuing instruction to the English people and monarchy. These functions were mediated through Dryden's dual desire for stability and continuity in the national order. For Dryden, the church had long been seen as a vehicle for social stability. Dryden maintained loyalty to the Church of England until his conversion to Roman Catholicism in the mid-1680s, and, as *Religio Laici* shows, a large part of his loyalty to the Church of England lay in its

authority and tradition.ⁱⁱ For instance, in the preface, Dryden claims to be only making a confession of his own faith but proceeds to state that “the helps I have us’d in this small Treatise, were many of them taken from the Works of our own Reverend Divines of the Church of *England*; so that the Weapons with which I Combat Irreligion, are already Consecrated” (98). This ploy allows Dryden to demonstrate a link between personal faith and the national church. This point is strengthened when Dryden “submit[s] them with all reverence to [his] Mother Church, accounting them no further [his], than as they are Authoriz’d, or at least, uncondemn’d by her” (98). While Dryden has not yet come to advocate the sole authority of the Roman Catholic Church in this poem, he highlights the importance of tradition that informs all of his work and lies beneath so much of the commentary on William and Mary’s reign he would write a few years later. A clear example of this comes near the end of *Religio Laici* where Dryden writes,

In doubtful questions ’tis the safest way
 To learn what unsuspected Ancients say:
 For ‘tis not likely *we* shou’d higher Soar
 In search of Heav’n, than *all the Church before*:
 Nor can we be deceiv’d, unless we see
 The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers disagree*.

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*. (435-440, 446-450)

Just as Dryden later looks to Virgil as authoritative on matters of the state because tradition had ensconced Virgil, he looks to the Scriptures and the ancient creeds for guidance on matters of faith.ⁱⁱⁱ So, after Dryden portrays the importance of tradition to authority, he moves to the proper response when one disagrees with official dogma. Echoing the Apostle Paul's injunction, "If it is possible, as much as depends on you, live peaceably with all men" (Romans 12:18), Dryden suggests that one would do better not to dispute secondary issues than to create civil discord over matters that are not central to salvation. This focus on the importance of public peace would continue to be an over-arching concern throughout Dryden's career.^{iv}

After Dryden's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1685/86, he looks even more strongly to the long-standing Christian tradition as a source of stability. In *The Hind and the Panther*, he continues his advocacy of the importance of maintaining civil order and suggests that liberty of conscience should always be allowed (see, for example, lines 10-21 of the preface), but he also presents some of the reason for his conversion, which highlight the importance of tradition to him. Describing the hind, representative of the Roman Catholic Church, Dryden emphasizes the stability of the true church and points again toward tradition as the church is "A Milk white *Hind*, immortal and unchang'd" (1). Taking something of a *via media*, Dryden does not blatantly call other churches anathema, but he goes to great pains to emphasize their impurity and the devastating outcomes of their factiousness. The commentary on tradition and the history of the reformation is paired with instruction to the English both for peace among the factions and, primarily, on the significance of the Roman Catholic Church as

the one true church. The Panther (the Church of England) receives an especially conciliatory treatment that does hide her weaknesses but also recognizes her potential:

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. (327-34)

While the panther is generally identified with dominion or Satan typologically (*Dryden Works*, III 370), Dryden mitigates the potentially sinister implication with the description of the Panther's beauty and potential ultimate redemption (*i.e.* engrafting to the Roman Church). David Bywaters asserts that "the faint praise with which Dryden introduces the beast...has misled many readers into supposing that the abuse of the Panther in part III results from sudden changes in court policy" and that the praise is part of an Aristotelian rhetorical strategy designed to help readers see the flaws of the Panther (14-15). But Dryden, whose parents were Puritans, whose wife was Catholic, and whose education was Anglican, was able to see the potential for the English Church to be a true church. Dryden certainly intends to show flaws in the English Church, but he does not simply dismiss her as hopelessly flawed. While the allegiances with the Presbyterians were certainly disturbing to Dryden, the larger problem lay in the fact that the English Church's tradition did not stretch back to the apostolic period. Dryden places the error of the English Church as a "soft dismissal from the sky" and charges that

Her house [is] not ancient, whatsoe'er pretence

Her clergy Heralds make in her defence:

A second century not half-way run

Since the new honours of her blood begun. (346-50)

Comparing this passage with his later charge that she is “Fierce to her foes, yet fears her force to try, / Because she wants innate aucturity” shows that the ultimate charge Dryden levels against the Church of England is that she lacks authority because of her youth (452-53). In the end, the Church of England may try to separate herself from the Reformed churches who made open war on the Roman Catholic Church, but she is just as guilty of creating a situation where “Our ai'ry faith will no foundation find” (461). A good summary of the connection between commentary and instruction comes near the end of part 1 as Dryden charges “Thus is the *Panther* neither lov'd nor fear'd, / A meer mock Queen of a divided Herd” (497-98). Dryden believes this situation arises because of the English Church's lack of innate authority, but he holds out the possibility that she might find a source of true authority writing, “soon by lawfull pow'r she might control, / Her self a part submitted to the whole” (499-500). While Dryden makes it clear that he sees the Catholic Church as the true source of religious authority, he refrains from giving clear direction on exactly how the Church of England might relate to the Roman Church. As Dryden goes on to write of the Panther:

So might she shine, reflecting from afar

The rays she borrow'd from a better star:

Big with the beams which from her mother flow

And reigning o'er the rising tides below. (503-506)

It becomes apparent that he envisions the potential authority of the English Church to rule over the factions within the country. While Dryden clearly thought the Roman Church was the true church, he leaves the possibility open for the Church of England to coexist with the Roman Catholics, which would certainly be a more palatable option for the typical Englishman than eliminating the Church of England.

In *Britannia Rediviva*, which was written only months before James II left the throne, Dryden applies the same techniques to the political landscape. The editors of the California Dryden note that as he celebrates the birth of James II's son, Dryden also criticizes the weaknesses on all sides (including James') and proceeds to offer encouragement for the king to provide "ballance" and "counsels James against rashness and unwise exercise of power" (*Works* III 475). Early in the poem, Dryden's praise seems especially effusive as he conjoins the course of nature and the birth of James' son and uses Trinitarian language to link England and Divine blessing. Bringing language about the birth and Trinity Sunday together in the fifth stanza, Dryden writes:

Or did the Mighty Trinity conspire,
As once, in Council to Create our Sire?
It seems as if they sent the New-Born Guest
To wait on the Procession of their Feast;
And on their Sacred Anniverse decree'd
To stamp their Image on the promis'd Seed.
Three Realms united, and on One bestow'd,
An Emblem of their Mystick Union show'd:

The mighty Trine the Triple empire shar'd,
 As every Person wou'd have One to guard. (25-34)

The imagery here displays a multi-leveled alignment with biblical typology as Dryden ties the Trinity's involvement in the birth of James' son to the creation of Adam and to the Second Adam (Christ). The comparison of the prince to "our Sire" and "the promis'd Seed" holds particular significance as it echoes the Filmerian concept of the human monarch holding earthly authority derived from Christ's heavenly authority and of the same type as Christ's. Here Dryden seems to be hoping that James' son will ensure the continuity of the Stuart line and enable the monarchy to continue to hold its place in England. Dryden enhances this imagery in the remainder of the stanza as he likens maintaining monarchical succession's unifying potential for Great Britain to the unity within the godhead. The use of the king's uniting "Three Realms" as an emblem of the Trinity's "Mystick Union" is not bold because of its linking of the king to the Divine but because of its optimism about succession.^v Here Dryden plays on the strength of tradition as a source of stability again as he looks to the monarchy as a source of national unity, but this positive outlook is also tempered later in the poem. After looking to Michael and the English saints in lines 146-151, Dryden offers advice to those who oppose James II and his son's succession. He emphasizes that "Enough of Ills our dire Rebellion wrought" (152) and proceeds to confess national guilt of rebellion:

Here stop the Current of the sanguine flood,
 Require not, Gracious God, thy Martyrs Blood;
 But let their dying pains, their living toyl,
 Spread a Rich Harvest through their Native Soil:

A Harvest ripening for another Reign,
Of which this Royal Babe may reap the Grain. (159-164)

In this confession, Dryden recognizes the havoc wreaked on the nation from the Civil Wars and into James II's reign because of the people's rebellion and cautions the nation against continuing that trend.

At the same time, Dryden finds fault with the king. Toward the end of the poem, he praises James for his justice, which the editors of the California Dryden note is at least "obliquely" critical because "earthly kings ... should mirror the divine King, whose essence is reason and whose prime attribute is mercy" (*III* 483). While justice is certainly an attribute of God, it is his mercy that brings him followers.^{vi} This characterization of James serves as a warning to him not to forsake mercy in his zeal for justice. Dryden drives this point home in the final couplet, "Nor Hopes, nor Fears your steady Hand beguile; / Your self our Ballance hold, the Worlds, our Isle" (360-361). As Dryden seems to do so often, he advises a middle way here. Neither James' hopes for his son's succession nor his fears arising from the pressure against his faith should keep him from keeping England's opposing factions balanced. Dryden extends his view of the importance of English stability by linking the "ballance" of England to that of the world. Perhaps he has in view here the potential of England to model a way of Protestants and Catholics coexisting or standing between the Dutch and French as his friendship with the French King and his Dutch son-in-law might allow him to do. Regardless, James II's "steady hand" proved to be anything but that as his hopes kept him from realizing that his reign was on the brink of coming to an end and his fears led him to abandon London soon after William's landing at Torbay.

Once James II left the throne and Parliament declared William of Orange and his wife Mary co-regents, Dryden faced a series of new challenges. In addition to the religious and political issues described above, Dryden had to come to terms with making a living under a regime hostile to Catholics and in a nation with many people ready to criticize him for his outspokenness over the past years. Overt expressions of his patriarchal views of government could impact Dryden's livelihood or have worse consequences as he had discovered when his prologue to *The Prophetess* was banned.^{vii} Even so, Dryden continued to offer social commentary in his work through the vehicles described above in the final decade of his life, but he had the additional complication of having to do so covertly. In March of 1689, Thomas Shadwell was named Poet Laureate because of Dryden's unwillingness to recant his Catholicism, and Dryden was left needing to find new means of funding for his work. While Dryden looked for patronage from all quarters, he had to carefully mask his political commentary in his works to avoid censorship and to guarantee his continued support. Translations comprised the great bulk of his writing in the 1690s. Therein, he found a vehicle by which he could comment on the state of affairs in contemporary England under the guise of modernizing a classical work: a technique that afforded him the ability to plausibly deny any contemporary allusions in his writing as he cleverly masked them in the translation. At the same time, Dryden continued writing occasional verse during this period and composed some of his best drama (if not his most popular) after William and Mary's ascension.

In late 1689, Dryden's play *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* was first performed, and it was published in January of 1690. In the play, Dryden shows his disillusionment with his country and the course it has taken in recent years. As one who strongly advocates divine-right monarchy and a *via media* in politics, Dryden had obvious reasons for disillusionment in light of

the Glorious Revolution and events leading up to it that easily could be dated back to the Exclusion Crisis, if not earlier. Indeed, David Bywaters believes, “Dryden feels that England is no longer capable of sustaining the heroic values that in his earlier plays he had sought to impart to it” (37). While one can draw strong parallels between the play’s protagonist and James II, the work is certainly not a clear-cut defense of the Jacobite cause. Instead, the play demonstrates leadership disintegrating at every level – either from internal weaknesses or external uncontrollable forces. Whether Benducar reaps the fruits of his rebellion or Sebastian abdicates the throne because of his incest, security in their leader is not available for the subjects, but the point may be moot, as most of the play’s characters do not hold loyalty to anything but their own appetites anyway. As one who held a similar view of monarchical succession to that expressed by Filmer, Dryden believed that the self-serving attitudes portrayed in *Don Sebastian* would tear the social fabric of a nation apart. Dryden uses the selfish views of loyalty expressed by characters in this play to show his keen sense of the instability of post-Revolution England.^{viii}

Two main plots lie at the heart of *Don Sebastian*.^{ix} First, the tragic story of Sebastian and his love for Almeyda provides the core of the play and drives home its main point, but the comic sub-plot of Antonio and Morayma serves to illustrate the same point through its bleak perspective on the family and its satiric reversal of traditional romantic roles. These two plots bear remarkable similarities in their basic structures that strengthen the message of instability as Morayma and Antonio’s relationship and the characters surrounding them provide a dark parody of the main plot and the characters involved in it. The Mufti provides a bridge between the two plots and allows Dryden to insert criticism of the church into both stories while protecting himself from criticism as the Mufti is a Muslim and not a Christian. Donald Benson points out that as early as the mid-1680s Dryden feared the drift of the national church toward

Presbyterianism and that the doctrine of passive obedience would be abandoned (406). Moreover, “by 1686 Dryden had come to believe that, because of this failure theologically to disarm and silence the dissenters, the Church of England no longer represented a hopeful means for settling the nation’s inseparable religious and political problems” (406). While Benson discusses Dryden’s position prior to the revolution, it seems that little has changed by the time he wrote *Don Sebastian*. The comic character Antonio lends credence to the perseverance of this outlook in Dryden’s thought as he is being beaten and exclaims, “I obey thee cheerfully, I see the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is never practis’d thoroughly but when a Man can’t help himself” (I.i.520-22).^x The way the church, the state, and their interrelation play out in *Don Sebastian* provides a sophisticated tool for Dryden to comment on post-Revolutionary England.

Each of the two main plots can be viewed as a diamond with a romantic love at the top, two rivals in the middle and the figure(s) complicating the relationship at the bottom. In the main plot, Sebastian and the Muley-Moluch compete for Almeyda’s love as Benducar and Dorax strive to overthrow them; in the subplot, Morayma and Johayma compete for Antonio’s love while avoiding the jealous Mufti. In the play’s preface, Dryden claims that he portrays Almeyda as like to Sebastian in “greatness of soul” – which Dryden claims is a hint to “the proximity of their blood” (*Dryden Works XV* 71) – and as a woman desirable for her beauty and character. Her beautiful, virtuous, and fiery temperament allows three of the major characters to fall for her for their own reasons and, in turn, allow her to provide credible commentary on other characters.

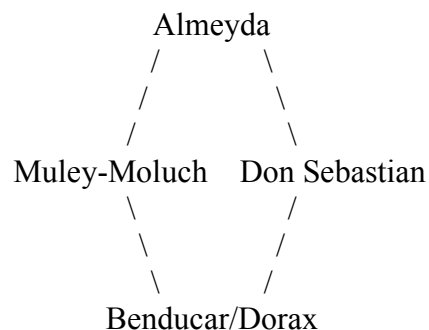
Sebastian and Muley-Moluch stand in contrast to one another and enable Dryden to present competing images of a monarch. Dryden, in the play’s preface, describes Don Sebastian as “a young Prince of great courage and expectation,” and notes that he “forgot not piety” in constructing this character (68, 69). Muley-Moluch recognizes nobility in Sebastian, and the

emperor attributes his sparing of Sebastian “not to my gift, / But to the greatness of thy mind, Sebastian” (I.i.404-405), but Sebastian’s antagonist never rises to great action himself. Indeed, as the play progresses, the emperor becomes more and more caught up in selfish actions in his attempt to wrest Almeyda from Sebastian for himself at any cost. Perhaps this rivalry even calls to mind the competing character within the Biblical king David who, at his best, was described as a man after God’s own heart and, at his worst, had a man killed so he could steal that man’s wife. While this type of rivalry is common in heroic plays, Dryden often uses stock devices to make more subtle points. In this play, these characters believe that their actions are controlled by their own wills and their love for Almeyda, but Dryden cleverly uses their subordinates to manipulate their actions and highlight the weakening power of the monarchy in England – the monarch possesses only an illusion of absolute power if the ground of his authority is the will of the people. The two monarchs’ competition for Almeyda and the conniving of their advisors illustrate the abandonment of moderation in the political arena for the selfish attempts at power that Dryden criticizes throughout his career.

Below the two monarchs are Benducar and Dorax, who exert a great deal more control over the action of the play than either of the monarchs. Once again, these characters provide readers with a pair of oppositions. Dorax forsook his monarch feeling slighted by him but holds onto an idealism at the same time. On the one hand, Dorax calls into question conceptions of monarchy expressed by Filmer and other patriarchalists as he wonders if Sebastian must be his master “Because I happen’d to be born where he/ Happen’d to be King?” (I.i.86-88). On the other hand, Dorax maintains such a high view of revenge that he feels the need to execute it himself in an appropriate manner (*e.g.* III.i.320-330). Bywaters suggests that Dryden uses Dorax as an example for contemporary Englishmen and to expresses “sound political principles”

through his character (48). Benducar, by comparison, represents the politician striving for power at any cost. He involves the emperor's brother in a conspiracy to gain the throne in an effort to gain power for himself, as shown by his statement, "And I can sin but once to seize the Throne./ All after Acts are sanctify'd by pow'r" (IV.i.186-87). In contrast to the opposition between Muley-Moluch and Don Sebastian, though, these two characters represent the same basic idea. Specifically, Benducar and Dorax represent the political forces that, in exerting their own *Wille zur Macht*, emasculate the patriarchal model of government. Although their motivations differ significantly, they both seek to manipulate a divinely appointed monarch to achieve their own end.

As briefly outlined above, this plot traces out relationships among Almeyda, Muley-Moluch, Don Sebastian, Benducar, and Dorax that may be represented as follows:



Almeyda sits at the top of the figure because Muley-Moluch and Don Sebastian both aspire to win her hand. Benducar and Dorax lie at the bottom of the diagram because of their lower social standing. At the same time, though, they arguably create a greater impact upon the outcome of the play than any of the other characters. This schema allows Dryden to represent the disintegrating power of the monarchy as it shifts from a patriarchal to a more elective model with William's ascension. The monarchs are caught between their love interests and the conniving of their subjects such that even the noble Sebastian cannot be restored as monarch until Dorax

repents of his treason. This sort of shifting power structure provides evidence of the shift in the seat of authority in England as the king must rely on his subjects for his well being rather than the subjects relying upon the king. While Dryden attributes Sebastian's ultimate loss of position to necessity in his prologue, it may owe as much to Dryden's belief that a monarch of Sebastian's mettle cannot rule when authority rests on the will of the people rather than divine right. Muley-Moluch's favorite, Benducar, schemes to gain power for himself and provides the emperor with counsel designed to unseat him and enhance Benducar's own power. At the same time, Dorax, who had been a governor under Sebastian, aids Sebastian, but the reason Dorax initially helps is to gain an opportunity to avenge himself on Sebastian, who he feels treated him tyrannously. The actions of these men illustrate that the monarch possesses only an illusion of power if his ability to rule depends on the beneficence of his subjects.^{xi}

Dorax, in particular, bears a striking resemblance to those who had worked to have James II excluded from succession a decade earlier and to those who invited William of Orange to England. While his conduct early in the play may provide commentary on the actions taken by the English nobility, his change of heart and actions on Sebastian's behalf later in the play provide a clear demonstration of Dryden's use of drama to instruct his audience. The English who have forsaken the Stuart line should be able to see the insolence of Dorax's conduct toward Sebastian as he remarks:

Tyrant: it irks me, so to call my Prince;
 But just resentment and hard usage coyn'd
 Th' unwilling word: and grating as it is,
 Take it, for 'tis thy due. (IV.iii.417-20)

Dryden intends Dorax's words to grate on his audience as they have seen Sebastian's impeccable character. Englishmen who made similar allegations against James II should recognize the parallel to their own actions and then learn from Dorax's ultimate repentance.

Dryden may also include parallels to the struggle between James II and Parliament over religious toleration in the discussion between Sebastian and Dorax about Violante and Dorax's love for her. Dryden may be suggesting that reconciliation among James, the Catholics, and the Anglicans may have been possible if the High Church party in Parliament had not revolted so strongly against James II's policy. In this case, Dryden once again asserts the importance of hereditary rule and allowing time to reconcile differences rather than forcing the hand of providence. Sebastian's statement to Dorax that "I meant thee a reward of greater worth" (IV.ii.476) can be seen as a promise by James to the church that he had no intention of stripping them of their power. Dorax's reply rings very true of the Anglican response to some of their former king's actions on behalf of Catholics and dissenters:

Even in the face of Heaven, a place more Sacred,
 Would I have struck the man, who, propt by power,
 Would Seize my right, and rob me of my Love:
 But, for a blow provok'd by thy Injustice,
 The hasty product of a just despair,
 When he refus'd to meet me in the field,
 That thou shoud'st make a Cowards Cause thy own! (488-494)

Dryden finds this sort of exertion of power by the court (and clergy) in the face of royal power particularly dangerous as it undermines royal authority as a basis of national stability. Although Sebastian and Dorax are reconciled, Sebastian must rely on Dorax's aid even after they resolve

their grievances. In much the same way, William was forced to rely on Parliament to lend authority to his reign – a trend that would continue until the present day as the power of the monarch decreased more and more relevant to that of Parliament.

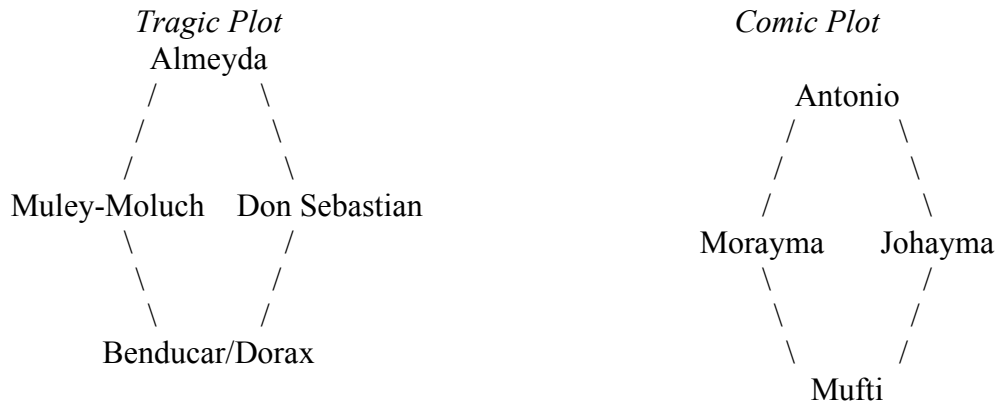
On the other hand, Dorax and Sebastian's reconciliation illustrates Dryden's belief that the crown and court can establish a more appropriate relationship. While Dryden clearly is not optimistic about achieving a return to the political order from the beginning of Charles II's reign, he does leave open a route by which stability and order can be restored in the face of both James II's abdication and the tenuous nature of William and Mary's authority after their essential election to the throne.^{xii} Dorax's effusive comments as he imagines "The whole Creation danc'd at their new being: / Pleas'd to be what they were; pleas'd with each other" (V.i.3-4) is suggestive of the new heavens and earth promised at Christ's Parousia. This redemptive language highlights Dryden's belief that England served as a standard for the other nations of the world, and, more importantly as an illustration of Dryden's mode of writing politically after 1688, it echoes Filmerian notions of divinely appointed stations in life and the joy inherent in accepting one's status. Ultimately Dorax's acceptance of his position as Sebastian's subject allows him to come back to a position in which he can prevent Sebastian from committing suicide.

Another tool Dryden uses in this play that crops up again in his later drama is the placement of a comic plot alongside the tragic plot. As Dryden traces the relationship between Morayma and Antonio, the striking similarities between the group of characters assembled for this segment of the play, which bears only tangential relationships to the main action, suggests that Dryden had a larger purpose than satisfying the English, who were unable to "bear a thorough Tragedy" according to his preface to the play (*XV* 72). Furthermore, the uniformity

with the main action goes beyond Dryden's description of simply having drawn "out of the members of the Captive Court the Subject of a Comical entertainment" (72): this segment of the play serves to reinforce the main action of it. The comic characters actually reverse the roles in the tragedy and satirize their actions providing another example of the disintegration of authority in the family. Utter chaos reigns in these scenes as the father displays no noble actions, his wife attempts to cuckold him, his daughter instructs him in morality, and his slave practically rules the roost. Dryden gives the satire extra bite by making the father in these scenes none other than the head of the Muslim church for the empire. Perhaps Dryden parallels the chaos he felt controlled England at this time. The Mufti may point toward James II whose subjects (family) deserted him for a foreign man in William of Orange, or he may symbolize William himself while Antonio serves as a warning of the fickleness of the English people when a sexier ruler appears.

While it might be tempting to see this subplot as bearing nothing more than a comic intention, the structure of the play prevents such a reading. In addition to the fact that Antonio appears alongside Sebastian at the beginning and end of the play, the scenes in which he appears with the Morayma and Johayma come right after scenes that bear similar functions in the tragic plot, an organization that invites an audience to make comparisons. While it is not unusual for minor characters to speak the epilogue, giving it to Antonio and Morayma might be a means of reinforcing the message of the comic plot.

The relationships among the four characters involved in the comic plot are very similar to those among the characters in the tragic plot but with some significant differences:



The most obvious difference is that the person who should hold the most authority, the Mufti, who is both the nation's religious leader and "the man of the house," is the schemer who, by his actions, places himself in a subordinate position not only to his wife and daughter, but eventually even to his slave. At the same time, the women, who parallel Muley-Moluch and Don Sebastian in the tragic plot, spend their energies trying to capture a servant who is neither their social equal nor of noble character (at least not in comparison to Almeyda). Antonio, the object of the women's advances, possesses nothing like the nobility of character demonstrated by Almeyda. While she would welcome death as more honorable than succumbing to the whims of Muley-Moluch, Antonio fears death and, unlike Sebastian and Alvarez, "looks uneasy at his future Journey" (I.i.305). Dryden invites comparison of Antonio's conduct to that of the Tory party, as Antonio tells Mustapha "I obey thee chearfully, I see the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is never practis'd thoroughly but when a Man can't help himself," while Mustapha beats him like a horse (I.i.520-22). Antonio's succumbing to this rough treatment resembles the Tories' rolling over and allowing James II to be run off the throne by the Whig faction. His character makes the whole subplot more comic as these women of prominence chase after an "Amorous airy spark, *Antonio*; The wittiest Womans toy in *Portugal*," who will be mourned by the nation only as "a

loss of Treats and Serenades” (I.i.293-96), while the head of the church attempts to thwart their advances on him. Interpreting this scene in light of contemporary events, the citizens of England, symbolized by the two women, chase after an idealized ruler, symbolized by Antonio, while the Church proves wholly unable to control the people.^{xiii} This indictment comes across as particularly scathing from the Catholic Dryden who, through this subplot, calls into question the effectiveness of all authority in England.

This subplot plays out in the second, third, and fourth acts of the play with each scene following a scene dealing with similar issues in the tragic plot. These scenes take place in the Mufti’s garden, and the latter two occur at night, which allows Dryden to play on mistaken identities and create a microcosm of the chaos in the whole state of Alcazar in the Mufti’s household. The same disorder that reigns in the castle overtakes the Mufti’s home, which may serve to illustrate the Filmerian conception of the close association between the family and the state. Both of these plots end without clearly determining the outcome, possibly highlighting Dryden’s own uncertainty about England’s future. In scene one of Act Two, Muley-Moluch confesses his love (or, perhaps better, lust) for Almeyda to Benducar, which initiates the main complication in the play and is paralleled in the second scene by Johayma’s flirtation with Antonio right under the Mufti’s nose. Just as the emperor pursues a woman he should hate, boasting “Yes, I will wed thee; In spight of thee, and of my self, I will” (II.i.456-57), Johayma finds herself completely taken in by a heathen philanderer. Dryden hints at the backwardness of her attraction through the pun on “pastor” in II.ii.61, which could refer to the domestic duties Antonio is assigned or the function of a Christian leader. Of course, the ever suspicious Mufti will have none of this nonsense as he keeps the wolf from his fold by the bawdy pun “mind your pruning knife; or I may chance to use it for you” (63-64). In this scene the Mufti’s impious

behavior and his wife's first steps toward cuckolding him demonstrate the types of problems Dryden sees in England's own court and clergy as they forsake what Dryden believes to be sacred principles like passive obedience and as they chased after a foreign leader (*i.e.* William of Orange).^{xiv} These actions are paralleled by the lack of resolution by Muley-Muloch to be a strong king (and deal harshly with Almeyda and, perhaps, Sebastian) and by the treachery of Benducar, so that even Dorax accuses Benducar of having "too little faith to be a Fav'rite" (II.i.302). As these interactions show, the serious problems in the tragic plot are echoed by the comic tool of a potential cuckolding, but it is the same sins that lead to both problems.

It is also in Act II.i that the love affair between Sebastian and Almeyda begins to build, even amidst a sense of foreboding, as suggested by Almeyda's apprehension:

For dire presages fright my Soul by day,
 And boding Visions haunt my Nightly Dreams:
 Sometimes, methinks, I hear the groans of Ghosts;
 Thin, hollow sounds, and lamentable screams;
 Then, like a dying Eccho, from afar,
 My Mothers Voice, that cries, *Wed not, Almeyda!*
Forewarn'd, Almeyda, Marriage is thy Crime. (567-573)

As these lines demonstrate, Almeyda is intuitively aware of the potential consequences of pursuing her relationship with Sebastian.^{xv} In spite of these hesitations, though, their interaction models virtuous love, just as the discourse between Morayma and Antonio echoes the conventions of young love in II.ii. Although it's hard to trust Antonio's genuineness, his speech at the end of the act illustrates the parallels between his relationship with Morayma and Sebastian's with Almeyda. Antonio tells his love:

If her wit be as poynant as her Eyes, I am a double Slave.
 Our Northern Beauties are meer dough to these: Insipid white
 Earth, meer Tobaccopipe-clay; With no more Soul and Motion
 in 'em, than a Fly in Winter.

Here the warm Planet ripens, and sublimes
 The well-bak'd Beauties of the Southern Climes;
 Our Cupid's but a bungler in his Trade;
 His keenest Arrows are in Affrick made. (97-104)

In the preceding scene, Almeyda tells Sebastian:

I go; with Love and Fortune, two blind Guides,
 To lead my way: half loth and half consenting.
 If, as my Soul fore-bodes, some dire event
 Pursue this Union, or some Crime unknown,
 Forgive me Heav'n; and all ye Blest above,
 Excuse the frailty of unbounded Love. (628-33)

Although Almeyda and Antonio show the disparity in character between them, they both hint at potential negative results of love in their speeches, which strengthens the comparison between the two characters. Dryden draws this comparison, though, without taking either of them out of their character. Almeyda makes heroic allusions to Cupid and Fortuna and the suffering that is often caused by their meddling in human affairs even as she asks heaven's forgiveness for pursuing Sebastian. Similarly, Antonio makes a comic reference to Cupid as a "bungler in his trade" and jokes about his slavery to Morayma's beauty and wit, forgetting his real slavery to her

father. The greater significance of the similarities in this act lies in its invitation for careful readers and audiences to pay attention to the resemblance of the two plots.^{xvi}

Act Three commences with Benducar, the Mufti, and the Emperor conspiring to get Almeyda for Muley-Moluch. Scene two echoes the first scene as Johayma conspires to win Antonio; as she is thwarted, her response parodies that of the Emperor, who is torn by rage at Almeyda's rejection. Muley-Moluch commands respect for his power as he holds Sebastian's life in his hand. Paralleling this action in the comic plot, Johayma responds to Antonio's rejection by threatening his life as she calls for her husband. As the emperor uses the power his title affords him to try to command Sebastian, Johayma uses her position as the Mufti's wife to manipulate Antonio. As she does so, the foolishness of the ever-suspicious Mufti is highlighted as he is drawn in by Johayma and Antonio's story, but he recalls the pastoral imagery from the second act by comparing his wife's cries to "the bleatings of the poor innocent lamb" (133-34), which ironically parodies Almeyda's exclamation that the emperor "like a mid-night Wolf invades the Fold" (III.i.128). While the Mufti accuses Antonio of devouring his lamb, which is the exact opposite of the real situation, Almeyda recognizes that Muley-Moluch is a wolf with the power to destroy both her and Sebastian. These scenes highlight the evil arising in the state when a ruler uses his power for selfish ends as the emperor becomes reprehensible through his complete lack of pity in the scene and the chaos arising in the home when a wife is disloyal and a husband dimwitted. Once again Dryden relies on puns as Antonio confesses that his "only fault has ever been to love playing in the dark" (III.ii184). Antonio's honest answer deceives the Mufti, who mistakes Antonio's playing to be of his flute. The conversation ends as the greedy Mufti is not willing to part with his 500-crown slave, and Johayma, in a veiled remark, warns Antonio to obey better in the future. One further contrast to be drawn between III.i and III.ii lies

in the nobility of Almeyda in the face of death, which differs radically from Antonio's desire to save his neck at any cost. The desperation of Antonio in the comic plot compared with Almeyda's heroic behavior presents audiences with a pair of responses to difficulty and suggests the foolishness of self-serving actions like Antonio's.

The second segment of III.ii involves Antonio's encounter with Morayma. While this relationship is legitimate in so far as it involves no adultery, the contrast between Morayma's character and Antonio's lack thereof comes forth through his attempts to seduce her. She wants him for herself and sees through his wiles. For the second time in the scene, he is compared to a snake as Morayma shuns his embrace stating:

Nay, if you are so dangerous, 'tis
best keeping you at a distance; I have no mind to warm a frozen
Snake in my bosom; he may chance to recover, and sting me for
my pains. (210-213)

Of course, her repulsion makes one ask why she pursues him if he's so untrustworthy. This situation echoes the strained relationship between king and court throughout the seventeenth century as kings sought support from Parliament without completely trusting it and Parliament voiced their belief in divine right monarchy and passive obedience while testing the limits of those beliefs. From boyhood on, Dryden witnessed Parliament "stinging" Stuart monarchs. That Dryden has national concerns behind the interaction between Antonio and Morayma comes through in the following ideologically loaded exchange:

Anton. Nay, if you will be using stratagems, you shall give me leave to make use of my advantages, now I have you in my power: we are fairly met; I'll try it out, and give no quarter.

Mor. By your favour, Sir, we meet upon treaty now, and not upon defiance.

Ant. If that be all, you shall have *Carte blanche* immediately; for I long to be ratifying.

Mor. No, now I think on't, you are already enter'd into Articles with my Enemy

Johayma: *Any thing to serve you Madam; I shall refuse no drudgery:* whose words were those, Gentleman? was that like a Cavalier of honour?

Anton. Not very heroick; but self preservation is a point above Honour and Religion too. – *Antonio* was a Rogue I must confess; but you must give me leave to love him. (222-235)

This passage represents Dryden's attitude toward the events of the past 40 years very well. Antonio's conversation with Morayma echoes Parliament's willingness to "use stratagems" to manipulate the king into succumbing to its whims. William of Orange, by any account, became king through treaty rather than through legitimate succession, and James II's perceived (if not actual) defiance of Parliament had much to do with his eventual departure from the throne. Many of Dryden's ilk saw the monarchy as giving "*Carte Blanche*" to Parliament when they invited William to the throne. For many Jacobites, the installation of the coregents was tantamount to adopting a contractual form of government as expressed by Milton and to the abandonment of the traditional belief in the divine support of England's monarch. Morayma's final lines quoted above certainly echo Jacobite attitudes toward those Tories who were willing to send the English off to fight William's wars in exchange for James' reign and Catholic affiliation. The mention of Cavaliers adds weight to this passage as it calls the actions of Parliament throughout the century into question. Antonio's response further indicts Parliament, and the Tories in particular, as they have sacrificed honor, succession, and more for the sake of bringing William to the throne. Indeed, this comment echoes the above-mentioned remark from Antonio, "I see the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is never practis'd thoroughly but when a Man can't help himself" (I.i.521-522). Dryden's beliefs that many Tories had sacrificed James II's reign particularly and his patriarchal view of the monarchy in general figure prominently in the underlying message of this play.

Morayma echoes this sentiment and elaborates upon it as she, incredulous about his excuse for why he was with her stepmother, worries that "I can expect you wou'd have both of us" (244). At the same time, Antonio does

not seem to be pursuing Johayma – he has already described her as “the nauseous Wife” (47) – and muses, “if Morayma comes and takes me in the Arbor with her, I have made a fine exchange of that Diamond for this Pebble” (86-88). The expectation that Antonio will act opportunistically demonstrates expectation Dryden believes should be ascribed to Parliament and the Court in light of their actions throughout James II’s reign and particularly because of their efforts to establish William and Mary on the English throne. William III seems to be aware of the danger of his subjects’ opportunism as well, which his reluctance to sign the Declaration of Rights illustrates.^{xvii} The distrust throughout the Mufti’s family may bear significance as it symbolizes the instability arising through the pervasive distrust in England at the time.

Morayma continues to provide insight into the chaos of the whole situation as she recounts her stepmother’s penchant for “loving till death” and calling forth the prophet Nathan’s rebuke of David after his sin with Bathsheba through her description of Antonio as “my single sheep” (251-58). Even love promotes disorder. Antonio describes him as a “Deity in all Religions,” but Morayma recognizes that he’s “never to be trusted in any: he has another name too, of a worse sound” (273-76), which may refer to the Latin *Cupido* as meaning longing, desire, or greed. This observation seems particularly fitting, because all of the characters in the Mufti’s house are operating out of greedy motives. The Mufti is the worst culprit of all, as he is controlled by money and also freely cheats on his wife. In this respect, the subplot stands in contrast to the tragic plot, as at least some of the characters there are genuinely noble.

In Act IV, the scheme to get Almeyda for Muley-Moluch is put into play, and Antonio and Morayma enact their scheme to escape from the Mufti. The bad counsel from Benducar and Dorax highlights his utterly traitorous motives in scene one as Dryden portrays him first advising Muley-Moluch and then boasting, “I can sin but once to seize the Throne. All after Acts are sanctify’d by pow’r” (186-87).^{xviii} Benducar’s treachery parallels the Mufti’s attempted deception in the garden. Both of these characters show their lack of integrity through their speeches, and Dryden takes advantage of this opportunity for another shot at the clergy as the Mufti declares:

This ‘tis to have a sound Head-piece; by this I have
got to be chief of my Religion; that is, honestly speaking, to

teach others what I neither know nor believe my self. For what's
Mahomet to me, but that I get by him? (IV.ii.1-4)

Here, the concern of the head of the state religion is to get what he can from God and sneaking about trying to catch others in sin: certainly not a formula for building a pious nation! Dryden's portrayal of the Mufti as seeking power above what his religion actually teaches suggests that some members of the English clergy also seek their own well-being at the expense of the Church of England's doctrine. Their disregard for the doctrine of passive obedience is one of the clearest examples. The Mufti's self-absorption comes to the fore in what follows as he continues to misunderstand his daughter based on what he wants to hear from her and there may even be hints at an incestuous desire as Morayma wishes she had placed her passionate embrace where it would have been more acceptable and the Mufti finds that response "as it shou'd be now" (85). The portrait of lecherous desire in the head of the church alludes to Dryden's perception of the nature of the English clergy's desire to bring the legitimate king's son-in-law to rule on his still-living father-in-law's throne. Dryden uses this description of the Mufti's conduct to indict English churchmen who forsook James II. When Antonio and Morayma elope with her father's treasure, the Mufti finds himself left worrying about his reputation. As this subplot draws to a close, the Mufti realizes, "Now if I cry out they will know my voice; and then I am disgrac'd for ever" (191-92). His own servants then beat him until he confesses who he is. Once again, Dryden highlights the character of the Mufti and the fickleness of the English clergy's allegiance as the head of the church prepares to encourage the piety of the people "that they may help me to recover my Jewels, and my Daughter" (222-223).

Dryden brings forth the virtuous aspects of Morayma's character in stark contrast to her father's as she instructs him in morality and offers her life to gain Antonio's freedom. She freely tells him that "this Casket is loaded with your Sins; 'tis the Cargo of Rapines, Simony, and Extortions; the Iniquity of thirty Years Muftiship, converted into Diamonds" (36-38). These actions are complicated, though, by the fact that she is robbing her father and preparing to forsake her religion for Antonio. The question of the possibility of purely virtuous action is raised by these difficulties, just as it is by the revelation of the incestuous marriage of Sebastian and Almeyda. In a family or state overrun by this type of chaos, Dryden seems to wonder how possible pure virtue is.

In the third scene, the two plots meet as Antonio winds up counseling Mustapha and seeing to it that the Mufti is thoroughly discredited. The satire in their dialogue takes a particularly biting edge as Antonio once again demonstrates his fickleness, declaring, "I have always had a longing to be yours again" (11) after Mustapha

embraces what he calls Antonio's "Petition" (5). The word "petition" may bear particular significance as a slight on William III. As Schwoerer points out, one of the terms debated about for the title of the "Declaration of Rights" was "Petition of Rights" (14-15). Dryden may be subtly suggesting a parallel between the nature of Mustapha and the nature of William III. At the same time, the masses and the Mufti are shown to be similar as they are both motivated primarily by their desires for power and wealth. The people shift back and forth in their loyalty with each successive speech, and Antonio stays in the background coaching Mustapha. The revelation of the rampant betrayal in this scene (Mustapha of Benducar, Benducar and the Mufti of Dorax, and Dorax of Sebastian) speaks to the disintegration that has sprung from the selfish actions of each of these characters, excepting Sebastian, earlier in the play. The masses simply sway with the leadership. Insofar as this situation mirrors the situation in the 1690s, it is understandable how frustrated Dryden was with contemporary England's political climate. The instability continues to be a theme in Act V when Morayma and Antonio are finally reunited. Throughout their professions of love, a thread of insecurity runs, as they end their speech with threats of bestowing their love upon another if either should prove inconstant or uninteresting.

Dryden draws both the tragic and the comic plot in *Don Sebastian* to an ending appropriate to the genre, but the plots are also left open so that the tragic plot is not as dark as it could be and the comic plot is slightly unsettling. The tragic plot does not end with the death of a flawed hero, but with his leaving behind royal responsibilities for dubious reasons. Although Alvarez argues that Sebastian bears no guilt of incest because he sinned out of ignorance, Sebastian responds, "O, palliate not my wound: / When you have argu'd all you can, 'tis Incest" (V.i.539-540). The "replaced" monarch remaining alive gives an air of uncertainty to the play's ending and parallels certain elements of the current situation in England. Meanwhile, Morayma and Antonio also end the play with a tenuous relationship. The epilogue certainly does not leave us expecting them to live happily ever after, and they both seem willing to "abdicate" their love if it becomes less than satisfactory. Even in the ending of this play, Dryden emphasizes the breakdown in stability that has arisen in both the family and the state.

While Dryden uses his interpretation of a historical event to comment on the monarchy in *Don Sebastian*, he turns predominantly to translation to provide commentary after the Glorious Revolution. He first translated Juvenal and Persius, and this work was printed in the fall of 1692 and officially published in 1693 (Works IV 513). While Dryden dedicated the translations to the Earl of Dorset, who was both a generous patron of the arts and a supporter of William, the translations themselves do much to portray Dryden's own political views. As Winn notes in his discussion of *King Arthur*, "If his concern for the safety of his family made it necessary for him to avoid brazenly partisan writing, [by choosing] to have his plays vetted by the Lord Chamberlain ... he could still satisfy his need to express his own opinions by using wit and irony" (450). Translation allows Dryden to mask his commentary behind "historical" documents, but as will be seen, this mask barely covers Dryden's commentary in the work.^{xix}

Charles Sackville, the Sixth Earl of Dorset, was a longtime friend of Dryden and reviewed *Cleomenes* before its publication in May of 1692. Their friendship stretched back at least to the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, and Winn notes that "on fairly good evidence" Eugenius probably represents Dorset (162). Despite his Whig affinities that began in the early 1680s, if not earlier, Dorset had shown his willingness to support writers of either Whig or Tory sentiments, aiding Shadwell when Dryden was in office and providing Dryden with a gift after he was replaced by Shadwell (Winn 435). This choice of dedicatee for the *Discourse on Satire* probably served the practical purpose of encouraging future beneficence from Sackville but also provided a "safe" patron for the work. An ally such as Dorset would prove especially valuable to Dryden in helping bring his works to publication or production and help avoid another disaster like the prohibition of *Cleomenes* ordered by the Queen in light of the play's presentation of a failed revolution.

In his translations of Juvenal and Persius, Dryden does indeed use the wit and irony Winn describes to express his opinions, but he also portrays himself as one who must guard his words because of the position in which William III's ascension left him. Early in the *Discourse*, Dryden bemoans his fate since the Glorious Revolution. He thanks Dorset for his "charity" and goes on to observe that since the Revolution, "I have patiently suffer'd the Ruin of my small Fortune, and the loss of that poor Subsistance which I had from two Kings, whom I had serv'd more Faithfully than Profitably to my self." This self-pity, whether it is real or a literary ploy, becomes a recurring theme for Dryden in the years following the Revolution. Dryden unabashedly acknowledges the financial and political straits in which the current regime places him as a Jacobite Catholic (IV 23). He asserts that "I must not presume to defend the Cause for which I now suffer, because your Lordship is engag'd against it," but if he is not "presuming" to defend it, the subtext of this work certainly contains a great deal of hidden defense for the careful reader to find (IV 23).

At points, Dryden's commentary on literature appears to contain covert jabs at William as seen in his praise of Dorset early in the work. Dryden praises Dorset, writing, "I may be allow'd to tell your Lordship, who by an undisputed Title are the King of Poets, what an extent of Power you have, and how lawfully you may exercise it, over the petulant Scriblers of this Age" (IV 9). These lines would at least resonate with the Jacobites who disputed William III's title as king of England, the extent of his power (especially as it was limited by Parliament), and the legitimacy of his reign. For those who embraced a similar view of kingship to that described in *Patriarcha*, the new king's rule certainly lacked a real foundation grounded on heredity. Working from that context, Dryden provides commentary on the state of the realm by comparing it to a realm of poetry in which a King with an "undisputed title" is able to rule "absolute by [his] Office in all

that belongs to the Decency and Good Manners of the Stage” (9). In light of criticisms of William as surly, distant, and debauched, the contrast between him and Dorset becomes apparent. Even Dryden’s encouragement to Dorset about the power of his position as Lord Chamberlain from which he can “banish...Scurrility and Profaneness, and restrain the licentious insolence of Poets and their Actors,” emphasizes the right role of a leader and may stand in contrast to the Whig leaders and those who acted under them to invite William of Orange across the Channel. Whether the point is that James should have acted decisively to restrain those who brought about his demise or that William should control them, the ultimate emphasis becomes clearer in the following sentences. In them, Dryden praises Dorset’s character as the source of his greatness rather than the “Authority, which is annex’d to [his] office” (10). As long as England is ruled by men of a lesser mettle than Dryden attributes to Dorset, England will continue to suffer the instability of her recent history. Praising Dorset for his excellent character, Dryden also highlights the weakness demonstrated by England’s leadership as Jacobites had variously criticized James for leaving, William for coming to England and for accepting the throne, and Parliament for vacillating among leaders and policies.

Other places in the *Discourse* provide Dryden with the opportunity to voice his thoughts more explicitly. Echoing Antonio’s satiric comments in *Don Sebastian*, Dryden writes that

the Fortitude of a Christian consists in Patience, and Suffering for the Love of God, what ever hardships can befall him in the World; not in any great Attempt; or in performance of those Enterprises which the Poets call Heroique; and which are commonly the Effects of Interest, Ostentation, Pride and Worldly Honour: That Humility and Resignation are our prime Vertues; and that these include no Action, but that of the Soul...God has plac’d us in our several Stations; the

Virtues of a private Christian are Patience, Obedience, Submission, and the like; but those of a Magistrate, or General, or a King, are Prudence, Counsel, active Fortitude, coercive Power, awful Command, and the Exercise of Magnanimity, as well as Justice. (16-17)

While Antonio's remark's point out the manner in which the Tory party conveniently interpreted the doctrine of nonresistance in 1688, Dryden demonstrates his increasing withdrawal from public life and lack of confidence in the ability of government to provide any source of tradition and stability.^{xx} Both Bywaters and Zwicker see in post-Revolutionary Dryden a growing affinity for the virtues of the retired life and the opportunities that life affords for practicing the virtues listed in these lines (Bywaters 35-36, *Lines of Authority* 184-186). The emphasis on the "life of the soul" as of primary importance for the common man will be echoed by Dryden's efforts to establish a royal lineage of great poets in the following years and is validated by his translation of the Satires and Virgil's works and by the praise he gives Homer and Shakespeare. This duty for the common man stands in stark contrast to the responsibilities laid upon leaders. While prudence and counsel seem appropriate enough, the next items in the list are more ambiguous. Readers could interpret "active Fortitude, coercive Power, [and] awful Command" with negative or positive connotations, and Dryden adds "justice" after the "Exercise of Magnanimity" so that it almost appears an afterthought. Dryden shows the decline he sees in his age as he recognizes that the modern heroic poet should come as close to the dignity of the great poets of old as "our Modern Barbarism will allow" and his resignation that "we are to rest contented with that only Inferiority, which is not possibly to be Remedy'd" (17). As Dryden sees the greatness of the age ushered in with the Restoration waning, he emphasizes the need for poets to represent duty in terms of the life of the common man. At the same time, Dryden's growing pessimism about

“magistrates, generals, and kings” becomes a hallmark of his writing in the 1690s as he turns more and more to religion and literature as sources of stability rather than looking to the crown and court to provide them.

Later in the *Discourse*, Dryden further prioritizes individual virtue in the face of political trials as he praises Persius as a “Stoick” philosopher. For Dryden, Stoicism is “The most noble, most generous, most beneficial to Humane Kind, amongst all the Sects, who have given us the Rules of Ethiques, thereby to form a severe Virtue in the Soul; to raise in us an undaunted Courage, against the assaults of Fortune...” (55). In light of Dryden’s own recent change of status, embracing stoic virtue allows Dryden to find solace in his response to trials. At the same time, advocating the importance of living at peace with one’s station in life flies in the face of England’s recent religious and political strife so that Dryden’s translations take on a prophetic tone for the whole nation. Indeed, Dryden asserts that

What [Persius] teaches, might be taught from Pulpits, with more profit to the Audience, than all the nice Speculations of Divinity and Controversies concerning Faith; which are more for the Profit of the Shepherd, than for the Edification of the Flock. Passion, Interest, Ambition, and all their Bloody Consequences of Discord and of War, are banish’d from this Doctrine. (56)

One can hear Dryden’s frustration with the religious controversies and political infighting of the past decade in these lines as he criticizes the self-serving clergy of the day. Behind these lines lies Dryden’s belief that the clergy’s reinterpretation of doctrines such as passive obedience demonstrates a decline in the clergy as they seek to bring about their own ends rather than the “edification of the flock.” The satires themselves further highlight the growing lack of hope for society and the monarchy that Dryden expresses in these lines.

In Juvenal's first satire, Dryden finds "the natural groundwork of all the rest" (91). His comment about Juvenal's strategy for the satire is also instructive. Dryden observes that

Our Poet being desirous to reform his own Age, and not daring to attempt it by an Overt act of naming living Persons, inveighs onely against those who were infamous in the times immediately preceding his, whereby he not only gives a fair warning to Great Men, that their Memory lies at the mercy of future Poets and Historians, but also with a finer stroke of his Pen, brands ev'n the living, and personates them under dead mens Names. (91)^{xxi}

This analysis of Juvenal's approach sounds suspiciously similar to Dryden's own tactics throughout his career as most obviously demonstrated in works such as *Absalom and Achithophel* and *MacFlecknoe* but also used in works like those discussed here. In "Complying with the Times": *Dryden's Satires of Juvenal and Persius*, Winn observes that these translations serve Dryden well as "a mode of self-protection" as they allow him to "skew his translation strongly toward criticism of the regime while letting the blame fall on Juvenal or Persius" (80). While Dryden uses his works throughout the 1690s to "give fair warning to Great Men," these lines also demonstrate something of his growing pessimism as he sees that people's memory "lies at the mercy of future Poets" rather than depending on those people's own great actions.

In his translation of Juvenal's first satire, Dryden covertly inserts advice to great men just as Juvenal had done centuries before. Near the end of the poem, Dryden uses the translation to draw critical parallels with William III's wars:

Pamp'ring his Paunch with Foreign Rarities:
Both Sea and Land are ransack'd for the Feast,
And his own Gut the sole invited Guest:

Such Plate, such Tables, Dishes dress'd so well,
That whole Estates are swallow'd at a Meal. (205-209)

While William did not go to war to amass wealth for himself, the English commonly criticized him for using English wealth and lives to finance wars that served his own purposes. William Anderton's "Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy &c." (1693) provides one example of the animosity toward William III's policies as Anderton writes that the king had no intention but "to execute the Designs of the *Confederates* in general, and to serve his own Ambition, and unsatisfied Thirst after Empire in particular" (8). Anderton's scathing analysis of William III rests on the assertion that he came to the throne because of the foreign confederacy against France and that the wars "have indeed drained our Wealth, and occasioned our Bloud to be spilt most profusely" (17). Dryden may very well push for readers to see the types of allegations Anderton puts forth as he completes this translation.

Satire III continues the pattern Dryden has established of preferring the country to the city and is rife with attacks on foreign inhabitants of the capitol (i.e. Greeks in Rome). Because the type of argument Dryden makes in this translation so closely follows the method already established, it will not be discussed in depth here. However, these lines encapsulate the problem Dryden sees with the weaker form of monarchy to which England has moved:

But we Inhabit a weak City, here;
Which Buttresses and Props but scarcely bear:
And 'tis the Village Masons daily Calling,
To keep the World's Metropolis from falling;
To cleanse the Gutters, and the Chinks to close;
And, for one Night, secure his Lord's Repose. (314-319)

After the Glorious Revolution, Dryden saw Parliament as engaged in trying to hold the ramshackle state together by “propping up” the monarchy upon the foundation of the will of the people and “buttressing” it with documents like the Declaration of Rights. These lines hearken back to *Absalom and Achitophel* in which Dryden adumbrates the implications of allowing the people too much sway in government. Echoing arguments established by Filmer, Dryden wonders, “For who can be secure of private Right, / If Sovereign sway may be dissolv’d by might?” (779-780). In *Absalom and Achitophel*, Dryden allows that times may call for drastic measures but cautions against completely undoing the divinely established order:

But Innovation is the Blow of Fate.
 If ancient Fabricks nod, and threat to fall,
 To Patch the Flaws, and Buttress up the Wall,
 Thus far ‘tis Duty; but here fix the Mark:
 For all beyond it is to touch our Ark.
 To change Foundations, cast the Frame anew,
 Is work for Rebels who base Ends pursue. (800-806)

A dozen years before the publication of his translation of Juvenal, Dryden allowed that “innovation” might be necessary to sustain a government if it threatened to fall, but vehemently opposed anything beyond patching and buttressing. In *Absalom and Achitophel*, Dryden clearly attacks a change in the form of government as an affront to God and tantamount to rebellion. In this translation of Juvenal, returning to the idea of “Buttresses and Props” as necessary to uphold the government gives Dryden’s satire an extra thrust as it presents readers with an “I told you so.” For Dryden, the new foundation laid by the Glorious Revolution leaves London barely able to secure one night’s repose.

Satire VI demonstrates similarity in Dryden's thought to the concepts expressed in *Patriarcha* slightly differently as Dryden takes Juvenal's satire on women and applies it to the relationship between the King and his people.^{xxii} While Dryden insists that the satire does not represent his own views toward women, he certainly includes his political views within the translation. This aspect of the satire allows Dryden to draw Filmerian parallels between the relationships Juvenal overtly discusses and the present situation in England. In the Argument, Dryden concedes that "upon the whole matter [Juvenal] is not to be excus'd for imputing to all, the Vices of some few amongst them" and "Neither do I know what Moral he cou'd reasonably draw from it. It could not be to avoid the whole Sex..." (145). These remarks seem appropriate with regards to Dryden's attitude toward England as well. Although he thought many had acted treacherously, Dryden does not mean to indict the entire English population through this satire, just as Dryden did not believe Juvenal could be urging "to avoid the whole Sex" (145). Dryden also recognizes that Juvenal "will bring few over to his opinion," a consideration that Dryden must have also recognized as he covertly attacked the Glorious Revolution, William III, and his supporters in Parliament through the 1690s.

Dryden observes that at the center Juvenal "makes [women's] lust the most Heroick of their Vices," an attribution that seems similar to Dryden's perception of those who forsook James II for his son-in-law (146).^{xxiii} As Dryden concludes his preface to Satire VI, he writes, "if we will take the word of our malicious Author; Bad Women are the general standing Rule; and the Good, but some few Exceptions to it" (147). While Dryden distances himself from Juvenal's position regarding women, he seems to see bad politicians as the "general standing rule" and good ones as "some few exceptions to it." The representation of women in the satire allows him to play on the traditional family roles of husband and wife and of father and children. As he

plays these roles against one another in ways that variously parallel civic relationships, he indicts post-Revolutionary England at many different levels.

In the first 29 lines of the satire, Dryden brings a similar argument forward to *Cleomenes*' contention that the age of heroes has died. The time when "There was that Thing call'd Chastity on Earth" has passed as "At length uneasie Justice upwards flew" (2, 28). Dryden's fourth note says that "The Poet makes Justice and Chastity Sisters; and says that they fled to Heaven together; and left Earth for ever." For Dryden, the implication is that the context in which he composed *Astrea Redux* has passed forever. The departure of James II from the throne, whom he had praised for his justice in *Britannia Rediviva*, is tantamount to the departure of *Astrea* from England – if not because of James' justice, then certainly because of the injustice of William's ascension.

From here, Dryden brings "whoring" into the discussion even before adultery, which is a change from Juvenal (*Dryden Works* IV 620). The prominence of whoring, and this whole discussion of marriage, may bear on Dryden's view that the English court is "whoring" after other leaders. This description may draw from *The Medall*, where Dryden describes Shaftesbury as

...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. (256-259)

In these lines, Dryden describes Shaftesbury as using his wiles seditiously to tear England from her betrothal to Charles II's brother. By 1688, those of Shaftesbury's stripe finally succeeded, and the one whom they bought is William III.^{xxiv} In both instances, this type of argument would

come naturally to Dryden who is all too aware of the Old Testament indictments of Israel for whoring after other gods.^{xxv} By discussing whoring before adultery, Dryden chronicles events of recent years as national leaders recruited William of Orange and

Adult'ers next invade the Nuptial State,
 And Marriage-Beds creak'd with a Foreign Weight;
 All other Ills did Iron times adorn;
 But Whores and Silver in one Age were Born. (32-35)

Dryden fairly obviously critiques William III in these lines. The image of adultery flows right out of Filmer who presents the King as a father of the nation, so Dryden pictures England as a “marriage-bed” straining under a “foreign weight.” Furthermore, the remark about silver being born in the same age as whores calls to mind the debts accrued by William’s wars.^{xxvi} Although the Bank of England was not founded until 1694, the cost of these wars was already being criticized, and England accrued its first national debt in 1693.^{xxvii} Dryden links the Filmerian notion that a divinely appointed monarch had been deposed with his criticism of the financial insecurity that William brings – at least in the mind of an anti-war Jacobite.

It is possible that this Filmerian vein continues to play out in the following section as Juvenal lambastes the institution of marriage by comparing it to death. There are several clues to suggest that Dryden plays on William’s “marriage to England” in these lines. For example, William bore some criticism for his sobriety, which Dryden brings out through “a sober man like thee” in the translation (40), and the clause “Would’st thou become her Drudge who dost enjoy, / A better sort of Bedfellow, thy Boy” may point to William as a debauched monarch (46-47). This discussion of marriage, though, moves much more clearly to William’s recent actions as Dryden translates:

But still *Ursidius* Courts the Marriage-Bait,
 Longs for a Son, to settle his Estate,
 And takes no Gifts, tho ev'ry gapeing Heir
 Wou'd gladly Grease the Rich Old Batchelour.
 What Revolution can appear so strange,
 As such a Leacher, such a Life to change?
 A rank, notorious Whoremaster, to choose
 To thrust his Neck into the Marriage Noose! (52-59)

The editor's note points out that according to Schrevellius the gifts to which Dryden refers "used to be sent to the childless by fortune hunters, and those who had children did not accept" (620). In this context, the lines can be read as William seeking "marriage" to the English people to settle his estate rather than the goodwill and aid of others in his wars. The validity of this assertion is highlighted by Dryden's choice of "What Revolution can appear so strange" for Juvenal's "Quid fieri non posse putes, si jungitur ulla Ursidio?" (41-42).^{xxviii} Dryden's interpolation invites readers to give the lines a political reading. If monarchy is viewed as bearing a familial relationship to the state, it might seem quite strange for William of Orange to tie himself to the English people, who cast off their monarch twice in the seventeenth century. At the same time the Dutch prince had a reputation for forming alliances with any nation that would help him in his wars against the Catholics. Through these lines, Dryden simultaneously calls into question William's sanity for coming to England and the fidelity of the English people.

Dryden also makes use of translation for contemporary political commentary by highlighting the English people's forsaking of a legitimate monarch for a warlord who can only bring the hardship of battle to their marriage. Dryden writes:

Thus *Hippia* loath'd her old Patrician Lord,
 And left him for a Brother of the Sword:

 Forgetting House and Husband, left behind,
 Ev'n Children too; she sails before the wind;
 False to 'em all, but constant to her Kind.
 But stranger yet, and harder to conceive,
 She cou'd the Play-house, and the Players leave.
 Born of rich Parentage, and nicely bred,
 She lodg'd on Down, and in a Damask Bed;
 Yet, daring now the Dangers of the Deep,
 On a hard Mattress is content to sleep. (116-117, 120-128)

The beginning lines certainly highlight the exchange the Whigs and Tories made as they ousted James II for a relative “of the Sword” in William III. Dryden’s growing pessimism comes through particularly clearly as he characterizes Williamites as “False to ‘em all, but constant to her Kind.” Like the women Juvenal satirizes who cannot be faithful to anything but their own nature, Dryden sees the Williamite party as doing exactly what one would expect of politicians as they demonstrate loyalty to no leader unless it serves their own interest. While Dryden follows Juvenal fairly closely in these lines, his substitution of “the Play-house and the Players” for Juvenal’s “*ludos, Paridemque*” keeps the satiric intent of the lines contemporary.^{xxix} William’s lack of interest in the playhouses stood in stark contrast to Charles II’s love of theater and was also notably less than James II’s interest. Furthermore, the financial hardships brought on by William’s wars, as discussed above, ran contrary to the English people’s love of comfort.

Dryden continues to use his translation to highlight the ridiculousness of the English “marriage” to William as running contrary to nature writing “The Tar and Pitch are nauseous to her Nose. / But in Love’s Voyage nothing can offend” (140-141). The satire goes on to address the ugliness of her lord before noting,

But ‘twas his Fencing did her Fancy move;
 ‘Tis Arms and Blood and Cruelty they love.
 But shou’d he quit his Trade, and sheath his Sword,
 Her Lover wou’d begin to be her Lord. (157-160)

The initial implication is that the English overlooked William’s other traits as they viewed him as a defender of Protestantism because of his religious wars. Furthermore, there may be instruction to William to stop his fighting on the continent and be king of England; however, Dryden intends the lines ironically. Dryden may suggest that if the new king were more involved at home, the English would find that he was every bit as much a power-hungry lord as they had thought James II to be.

Juvenal’s criticism of women’s idiosyncrasies also serves Dryden’s purposes. Women’s small faults lead men to the point that “Sev’n Hours in Twelve, you loath the Wife you Praise” (261). Juvenal berates Roman women because “In *Greece*, their whole Accomplishments they seek:/Their Fashion, Breeding, Language, must be *Greek*” (268-269). Dryden’s note 14 invites readers to compare Roman women’s affinity for Greek culture to the English infatuation with all things French. This parallel bears particular relevance with regards to William III’s relationship to the English people because of James’ presence in France and William’s wars with the French. These criticisms lead to the question, “If then thy Lawful Spouse thou canst not love,/What reason shou’d thy Mind to Marriage move?” (286-287). This question serves as a sharp warning

to William that he will find himself unable to love his “new bride” once he becomes accustomed to her treatment of him. The backwardness of the developing relationship between the king and Parliament becomes apparent as that stanza proceeds:

Prepare thy Neck, and put it in the Yoke:
 But for no mercy from thy Woman look.
 For tho, perhaps, she loves with equal Fires,
 To Absolute Dominion she aspires;
 Joys in the Spoil, and Triumphs o'er thy Purse;
 The better Husband makes the Wife the worse.
 Nothing is thine to give, or sell, or buy,
 All Offices of Ancient Friendship dye;
 Nor hast thou leave to make a Legacy. (294-302)

While Dryden has steadfastly advocated divine-right monarchy and the authority of the king, he realizes now that Parliament seeks “Absolute Dominion” and is winning that battle. Particularly relevant is Dryden’s allusion to Parliament’s control over the king’s purse, because Parliament has demonstrated its willingness to withhold funding from the monarch as a means of control. The warning in the above passage concludes with cautions for the new king based on the fate of the old king. With a glance back to James II, Dryden highlights the death of “All Offices of Ancient Friendship,” which might point to the Tory abandonment of James and warns “Nor hast thou leave to make a Legacy,” which might point to James II’s being forced from the throne only months after the birth of his heir.^{xxx}

The majority of the poem’s satire in the poem has either pointed to the fickleness of the English people directly or questioned William’s motives for becoming involved with them.

Dryden seems to draw William III directly into the discussion in the penultimate stanza and certainly invites readers to see the modern implications of the satire. He writes:

Our Age adds Credit to Antiquity.
 Great Ills, we grant, in former times did Reign:
 And Murthers then were done: but not for Gain.
 Less Admiration to great Crimes is due,
 Which they through Wrath, or through Revenge pursue.
 For, weak of Reason, impotent of Will,
 The Sex is huri'd headlong into Ill:
 And, like a Cliff from its foundations torn,
 By raging Earthquakes, into Seas is born. (839-847)

The idea that Dryden's age "adds Credit" to Juvenal's age, and even surpasses it, suggests society's continuing decline. While some in England admire James II's "murder," in the sense that the people were guilty of patricide in removing their monarch, they ought to be ashamed and to realize that the former king's removal will bear consequences in James' successor. Dryden suggests that the people have not thought through the implications of their actions ("weak of Reason") bringing the new king to the throne. The phrase "impotent of Will" is more difficult to unpack, but it seems to suggest that the monarch who comes to power through "Great Ills" perpetrated by the English people will be powerless before them. A more subtle implication may be that William himself becomes impotent in light of this situation. Whatever nuances the line may have, Dryden clearly asserts that monarchy as a whole is "hurri'd headlong into Ill" when its foundation rests upon the people's actions rather than divinely instituted principles of government. The following couplet may refer to James II as a "cliff" torn from his foundation

upon the land of England by the grumbling of his people and cast into the seas as he crossed the channel to France. A broader application is that William's thoughtless ascension shakes the very foundation of monarchy as it makes the king's rule dependent upon the permission of the people.

Dryden's next major translation project was *The Works of Virgil in English*, which Jacob Tonson published in 1697. In addition to the appeal of bringing the great poet's works into contemporary English, translating Virgil probably appealed to Dryden because "He recognized that Virgil was a political poet, even when writing about beekeeping or herding flocks" (Winn 480). Dryden's translation of Virgil afforded him ample opportunities to weave his perspective into his sources' original work. In her book *Time to Begin Anew*, Tanya Caldwell describes the manner in which Dryden uses his translation of Virgil "to uphold English mythical and historical genealogies at a time when patrilinear authority had been fundamentally undermined" and simultaneously "ceases finally to stress the significance of any historical moment; instead he finds authority and consolation in the laws and traditions of poetry" (18-19). Dryden's Virgil holds particular importance as it elucidates Dryden's move from using England's history to support national authority to translating classical sources to elucidate moral truth. As Caldwell puts it, "In downplaying his wonted emphasis on preparing for the nation's future by looking at its past and by focusing instead on the light shed on moral truths by ancient (and not so ancient) voices, Dryden sets the stage for the dawning century" (20). This growing shift in emphasis begins to appear in *Don Sebastian* and other works of the early 1690s but becomes much more evident in his translations of Virgil and the self-consciously old-fashioned *Love Triumphant*.

While the translation of Virgil provided an opportunity for Dryden to show support for the new regime, he obstinately continued to refuse to do so. Patrons for the 5 guinea plates came from both parties, but Winn suggests that Dryden may have even cunningly paired patrons and

pictures to further his Jacobite position (484). It is also significant that Dryden refused the printer Tonson's urging to dedicate the work to William III (Winn 484). One other bit of tangential evidence that Dryden maintained strong Jacobite sentiments through this period is the conspicuous absence of an elegy upon the death of Queen Mary while Dryden was in the midst of this translation. Although Dryden may have decided not to write because of his busyness with the translation, Winn suggests that "Dryden's silence was primarily motivated by his unwillingness to praise a queen he regarded as an undutiful daughter" (477). All of this evidence corroborates the idea that Dryden continues to work in support of the Stuarts and against William's reign through his translation of Virgil.

So, two factors are working simultaneously in Dryden's translation, which was certainly also the best Virgil in English at the time.^{xxxii} First, Dryden relies on a long poetic tradition as a source of stability and truth rather than the English history that would have been established in his proposed epic poem on King Arthur. At the same time, Dryden continues to work subtly against the Williamite monarchy and in support of the Jacobite cause. While an in-depth analysis of the entire translation is beyond the scope of this chapter, a few examples will illustrate that Dryden's Virgil clearly continues to display his political leanings.^{xxxii}

As mentioned above, Dryden chose Jacobites as dedicatees for different segments of *The Works*. Hugh Lord Clifford received the dedication of the pastorals. In addition to the fact that he was a prominent Catholic, Clifford's family also may have provided significant help for Dryden during his translation as he completed his work on the *Pastorals* at their home, Ugbrooke (*Works* VI 890). Prior to the publication of *The Works of Virgil in English*, Clifford helped post bail for the Earl of Castlemaine for Jacobite activities and was himself later implicated, but not convicted, in a plot to restore James II (890-891). In light of his Jacobite loyalties, Lord

Clifford's character certainly did not make him an ideal dedicatee if Dryden was attempting to hide his disdain for William III's reign. Anne Barbeau Gardiner corroborates this link as she recites the Catholic ties of Hugh Lord Clifford and again highlights the help provided by his father to Dryden (*Dryden's Patrons* 330-331).

In his dedication of Virgil's Pastorals, Dryden portrays himself as left "without other support than the Constancy and Patience of a Christian" (3). In light of the destitution he describes, Dryden uses much of the dedication to discuss the comfort and pleasure he found working on the translation (4). As a key aspect of this discussion, Dryden draws out a poetic lineage providing, at least in the realm of letters, a source of support/stability. His praise of Spenser as the heir to Theocritus and Virgil in the pastoral genre highlights this emphasis. Both Dryden's bitterness toward much of contemporary court life as opposed to the rest found in the country and his desire to establish the validity of a poetic tradition rooted in the classical period and continuing through the modern one. Beginning with Theocritus and Virgil, Dryden quickly comes to Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar*, which Dryden finds important because it "is not to be match'd in any Modern Language" and is full of "Nature" and "almost wholly clear from the wretched affectation of Learning"(6). Spenser is linked to the above-mentioned classical writers and praised as "skill'd in *Chaucer's English*" (7).^{xxxiii} The significance of Spenser is that he

has so exactly imitated the *Doric* of *Theocritus*, that his Love is a perfect Image of that Passion which God infus'd into both Sexes, before it was corrupted with the Knowledge of Arts, and the Ceremonies of what we call good Manners. (7)

Dryden highlights the natural tradition in poetry as a vehicle of divine truth uncorrupted by human vice so that this lineage contains poets who rely on their craft as a vehicle of truth rather than artifice, either through embellishment or through the deception used to grasp power and

position in society mediated by “Ceremonies” and “good Manners.” Later, Dryden expresses his debt to the Cliffords in patriarchal language, which obliquely criticizes the disloyalty of the court to the Stuart line while highlighting the social debt to keepers of the poetic tradition of truth. As Dryden praises the family for their support, he links himself to Hugh Lord Clifford by claiming that “I am your Lordship’s by descent, and part of your Inheritance,” thereby establishing a poetic aristocracy in which poets and their patrons are patriarchally linked through a hereditary “Patrician Line” (7). As Dryden asserts that “Patronage and Clientship always descended from the Fathers to the Sons; and that the same Plebeian Houses, had recourse to the same Patrician Line, which had formerly protected them,” he applies Filmerian principles to poetic succession in a manner that hearkens to the political succession Filmer claimed lay at the root of government. While the relationship does not exactly correlate insofar as the relationship of poet as debtor to patron differs from the relationship between the monarch and his people, the duty of one to rely upon the other continues to hold. So, Dryden holds to the legitimacy of the Stuart line by subtly suggesting that the court owed to James II the same sort of allegiance as existed between poets and patrons.

At the same time as Dryden was pulling patrons from amongst the ranks of protestors to William’s reign, he viewed himself as suffering for justice because of his support of James II’s legitimacy. He hints at this fact in his preface, noting that his only support is “the Constancy and Patience of a Christian”(3), and makes it even more clear in the first pastoral. Presenting the argument of this pastoral, Dryden writes

When Augustus had settled himself in the Roman Empire, that he might reward his Veteran Troops for their past Service, he distributed among ‘em all the Lands that lay about Cremona and Mantua: turning out the right Owners for having sided

with his Enemies. Virgil was a Sufferer among the rest; who afterwards recover'd his Estate by Maecenas's Intercession, and as an Instance of his Gratitude compos'd the following Pastoral, where he sets out his own Good Fortune in the Person of Tityrus, and the Calamities of his Mantuan Neighbours in the Character of Meliboeus. (73)

Dryden, however, identifies himself with Meliboeus rather than Tityrus/Virgil. In the *First Pastoral*, Dryden sees himself as “‘exile[d],’ as Miner put it, ‘in his own land’ and forced to speak out through translation” (Caldwell 40). While some Jacobites like the Earl of Mulgrave, to whom Dryden dedicated *Aeneis*, were beginning to re-establish themselves in the House of Lords as part of the “loyal opposition,” Dryden remained on the outside and unable to identify with Tityrus (*Dryden's Jacobitism* 286).

In the pastoral, Meliboeus' musing about Tityrus' fortune highlights the difficulty Dryden finds under the present regime in contrast to one “whose Farm remains/ for you sufficient, and requites your pains” (64-65). He continues:

Behold yon bord'ring Fence of Sallow Trees
Is fraught with Flow'rs, the Flow'rs are fraught with Bees:
The buisie Bees with a soft murm'ring Strain
Invite to gentle sleep the lab'ring Swain. (71-74)

The reference to bees calls to mind the productivity available in a harmoniously ordered society and the leisure to complete the work of a poet/swain. Tityrus found peace through a “Youth of Heav'nly Birth” who “heard my Vows, and graciously decreed/ My Grounds to be restor'd, my former Flocks to feed” (60,62-63). While this imagery resonates with Dryden's praise of the country life expressed in the 1690s in works like *To My Honour'd Kinsman* and his preface to

Virgil's *Georgics*, Dryden does not demonstrate hope that he will ever return to a place where he can enjoy labor like the bees and the repose of the country life. Indeed, Thomas Fujimura characterizes Virgil's first *Eclogue* as melancholy and goes on to write, "but the touch of bitterness which Dryden adds to it, as well as the personal allusions, transforms the poem into an expression of the translator's depressed spirit" (71).

As the poem continues, Dryden shows how different his status under William and Mary is from Tityrus' condition after his fortunes were restored. As exiles in their own land, Dryden and those like him "must beg [their] Bread in Climes unknown,/ Beneath the scorching or the freezing Zone" (85-86). The following lines place some of the Mantuan exiles among the Britains:

A Race of Men from all the World dis-join'd.
 O must the wretched Exiles ever mourn,
 Nor after length of rowling Years return?
 Are we condemn'd by Fates unjust Decree,
 No more our Houses and our Homes to see?
 Or shall we mount again the Rural Throne,
 And rule the Country Kingdoms, once our own?
 Did we for these Barbarians plant and sow,
 On these, on these, our happy Fields bestow?
 Good Heav'n what dire Effects from Civil Discord flow! (90-99)

Dryden makes a few significant departures from Virgil in these lines that highlight their contemporary relevance. The editors of the California Dryden note that Dryden added wretched exiles and changed Virgil's singular pronouns to plurals inviting comparison to the exiled

monarch and his wife (VI 896). In the same note, they point out that Dryden invites inclusion of all Jacobites among the exiles by broadening Virgil's humble cottage to "our Houses and our Homes." These lines would certainly resonate with those who lost property or position because of their inability to take oaths of allegiance to William and Mary. Virgil's description of a few ears of corn comprising his kingdom becomes "the Country Kingdoms, once our own," which highlights the displacement felt by many under William's reign while calling to mind the rising differences between the Court and Country parties in England. The feeling of invasion by barbarians from the north is reiterated as Dryden (in his translation) wonders "Did we for these Barbarians plant and sow?" While "what dire Effects from Civil Discord flow" is identical with Caryll's translation, adding "Good Heav'n" to create an Alexandrine emphasizes the harsh effects Dryden saw growing from the power struggles of the preceding years.

These same themes are played out in Dryden's translation of the *Georgics*. He once again chose a dedicatee who did not support William's reign. The editors of the California Dryden note that Philip Earl of Chesterfield had been among those who raised support for William but later voted against making him king; he also did not take oaths supporting William's title in 1694 and 1696 (VI 911). As Chesterfield had pretty much resigned himself to country life by this point, Dryden's praise, "yet [you] give no proof of the least decay in your Excellent Judgment, and comprehension of all things," probably refers not only to his choice of a contemplative country life which Dryden advocates throughout the 1690s but also to Chesterfield's political judgment (V 139). Dryden seems to be lightly chastising Chesterfield for his early failings of James II but turning from that chastisement in light of the earl's mature decision to stop compromising his conscience to gain power. Dryden demonstrates this dynamic by writing,

Almost every Man will be making Experiments in one part or another of his Life:
 And the danger is the less when we are young: For having try'd it early, we shall
 not be apt to repeat it afterwards. Your Lordship therefore may properly be said to
 have chosen a Retreat; and not to have chosen it 'till you had maturely weigh'd
 the advantages of rising higher with the hazards of the fall. (V 142)

Part and parcel of this praise of choosing a “retreat” over “rising higher” in the town/government is the opportunity given for reflection in the country, which places leisure and thought as higher pleasures. Dryden’s advice to Chesterfield, “You, my Lord, enjoy your quiet in a Garden, where you have not only the leisure of thinking, but the pleasure to think of nothing which can discompose your mind” (143), brings to the fore Dryden’s belief that taking time to read poetry and soak in its truth at your country home is a much greater good than striving for political power under the present regime.

In the *First Book of the Georgics*, Dryden again asserts poetic authority in the absence of a legitimate monarch. Caldwell asserts that “Dryden again suggests that in England’s Lycaean woods poetic authority and protection (as symbolized by the tree) have replaced monarchical” (61). Dryden’s reliance on the English poetic tradition, found, for example, in Spenser and Ogilby, of using imagery from the forest to represent kingship allow him to set forth his “divinely-informed and sanctioned powers as poet over those of William III, whose roots in England are by no means in an ‘Adamantine Centre’” (60, 61).^{xxxiv} Dryden highlights the means by which different soils are most fruitful and writes

This is the Orig’nal Contract; these the Laws
 Impos’d by Nature, and by Nature’s Cause,

On sundry Places, when *Deucalion* hurl'd

His Mother's Entrails on the desert World: (91-94)

These lines follow sections in the poem calling on “propitious *Caesar*” to “guide my course,/ And to my bold Endeavours add thy Force” and describing the ways that nature’s laws influence the means by which one must plough and sow (59-60, 64 ff). What makes the translation significant here is Dryden’s “interpolating the notions of ‘Contract’ and law imposed by a ‘Cause,’” containing a “reminder of the confused state of human laws in contemporary England due to the contract imposed by the Glorious Revolution and the chaos resulting from the ‘causes’ of warring factions” (Caldwell 61). These lines in *Georgics I* gain force by their contrast with Locke’s contract theory outlined in chapter one of this dissertation: by placing the forest/kingdom under the auspices of a natural contract that relies on the beneficence of Caesar for the well-being of the “Poet” and the “Ploughman,” Dryden calls into question the legitimacy of a monarch who tramples the Natural contract with his people by raping the land to finance his own foreign ambitions.^{xxxv}

The *Third Book of the Georgics* contains rules for the care of livestock and “interweaves several pleasant Descriptions of a Chariot-Race, of the Battel of the Bulls, of the Force of Love, and of the *Scythian* Winter” (209). Of particular import to this discussion is the description of the “Battle of the Bulls” and the following lines (339 ff). In these lines, two bulls have a war in the woods, and the vanquished bull withdraws to regain his strength and meditate on his defeat. The passage is rife with political significance, which Caldwell brings forth noting that “[Dryden’s] own verse helps him to make the point as he implicitly contrasts the ‘rage’ of the female lion ‘stung’ by lust with the ‘gen’rous Rage’ of the bull defeated in a battle over love” (64). A clear reference to the absent James II is found as the aftermath of the bulls’ first clash is described:

Nor when the War is over, is it Peace;
 Nor will the vanquish'd bull his Claim release:
 But feeding in his Breast his ancient Fires,
 And cursing Fate, from his proud Foe retires.
 Driv'n from his Native Land, to foreign Grounds; (345-349)

The description of the battle as a “War” highlights the national significance of the battle (Caldwell 64), and the lack of peace in the aftermath of the war provides a reminder that many Jacobites still longed for (and worked for) James’ return. Just one example of the division still present is described in Jane Garrett’s *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696* in which Garrett observes that in light of the Dutch prince’s character and actions, “it is not surprising that plans for the restoration of James began to proliferate soon after that unlucky monarch had set foot in France” (12).^{xxxvi}

In contrast, the “raging lion” described in ensuing lines may represent “London and her people as the embodiment of irrational and uncontrollable female passions” held against the bull “display[ing] the rational and civilizing forces that Dryden associates with England’s patriarchal monarchy...” (Caldwell 67). The lion is depicted in these lines:

For Love is Lord of all; and is in all the same.
 ‘Tis with this rage, the Mother Lion stung,
 Scours o’re the Plain; regardless of her young:
 Demanding Rites of Love, she sternly stalks;
 And hunts her Lover in his lonely Walks. (380-384)

Caldwell argues that this description points toward “irrational feminine forces,” which figured prominently in post-Glorious Revolution England because of the co-regency (66-67). Dryden

may be implicating the irrational English people who hunt a lover rather than fulfilling domestic responsibility to the patriarchal monarch and highlighting the danger of subjecting the nation to “a woman whose rage led her to usurp the throne from her father” (67). Of course, this connection of “irrational feminine forces” with the English people is not isolated in Dryden’s work in the 1690s. As one example, Dryden employs the same method in his translation of Juvenal’s sixth satire discussed above.

As these examples illustrate, Dryden’s translation of Virgil self-consciously works to locate the significance of *The Works of Virgil in English* in contemporary England. His use of translation as a vehicle for political commentary also demonstrates a facet of Dryden’s shift from looking to national history for stability to the poetic tradition. His final play, *Love Triumphant*, provides another instance of this transition in Dryden’s work from the use of historic events to mirror contemporary events to his reliance on literary principles to relate truth. This play is intentionally old-fashioned in its structure and language, but it relies heavily on incest as a vehicle for social commentary. The structure and language of the play further demonstrate Dryden’s efforts to find a stable tradition in the poetic world during the 1690s, and the use of incest highlights the Filmerian nature of Dryden’s thought about government. Although Dryden continued to publish translations and poetry after *Love Triumphant*, his farewell to the stage will serve to conclude this discussion of how he crafted his work to condemn modern life and reflect on ultimate issues.

David Bywaters affirms that Dryden takes a more aloof attitude toward contemporary events in this play. Although obvious applications to William’s reign are present, “they are presented within a universal context of kings and people, sovereigns, princes, soldiers, and subjects, the terms of political conflict in all ages” (111). This perspective works to vindicate

Dryden's political statements that might seem subsumed by actual history as it "portray[s] the poet Dryden as one who sees all things, including current politics, clearly and completely from on high" (112). This attitude in Dryden fits with his constant approach in response to the Glorious Revolution. Bywaters shows the importance Dryden placed on literary achievement:

Repeatedly he suggests that his poetic achievement only is permanent and important: in his personal circumstances and political behavior he merely recapitulates patterns inherent in the human condition – as do also William III, his supporters, and his opponents. His pointed references to the crimes of the government are carefully placed within the universal vision that only a poet might claim. (112)

The old style and slightly detached approach in the play allow it to work similarly to Virgil's works: his tone of one who views things from above coupled with the generalized presentation of "truth" in the play give it a veneer of general applicability while it still responds directly to the immediate *sitz im Leben* from which Dryden writes.

The old-fashioned character of the play and Dryden's emphasis on tradition in no way eliminates the contemporary significance of the play, though. Anne Barbeau Gardiner suggests that Dryden's approach in the play is not actually aloof but that the recent execution of the Jacobite writer William Anderton "probably had the effect of hobbling Dryden's freedom of speech, causing him to become even more elusive in his critique of the government than in his previous works of the 1690s" (Dryden's *Love Triumphant* 153). Although Anderton's execution and the earlier suspension of his own *Cleomenes* (1692) may have influenced his approach, the more universal language and applicability of the play also fits with Dryden's later approach in, for example, his Virgil as discussed above. Certainly his choice of dedicatee for the play did not

fit with a more cautious approach. James Cecil, fourth earl of Salisbury, was a prominent Catholic convert who was thrice arrested for support of James (1689, 1691, 1692). Gardiner characterizes him as “a special target of William’s government” (154). She goes on to recognize the play’s political import calling *Love Triumphant* “a brilliant political parable under the guise of a dramatic romance set in faraway Spain” (155). In her reading of the play, the English, and especially Jacobite, antipathy toward foreigners and particularly toward the foreign William’s use of English resources for his own ends figure prominently in the play’s political message. This facet of the play certainly contributes to its significance but only shows part of the way in which Dryden attacks unjust government in general and William’s reign in particular.

Love Triumphant was poorly received when on the stage. The problems with its reception probably had more to do with its overt content than with the political subtext that has only recently been commented upon. Although incest figured prominently in *Don Sebastian* and takes a part in other works, the knowledgeable pursuit of a (supposed) incestuous relationship by Alphonso in *Love Triumphant* may have been a bit much for audiences to stomach. The California Dryden suggests that the audience may have finally come under the influence of Thomas Rymer, who wrote in 1677 “if the *design* [of a play] be wicked, as ... the making approaches towards an *incestuous* enjoyment; the *Audience* will *naturally* loathe and detest it, rather than favour or accompany it with their good wishes” (quoted in XVI 392). The overt use of incest for a discussion of love and honor, while potentially offensive to audiences, probably also reflects on Dryden’s own negative view of the age.

In the play, the king of Arragon’s supposed son pursues the love of the woman he thinks to be his sister. Alphonso consistently presents his love for Victoria as growing from natural desires even though incest is considered an unnatural crime. As Alphonso prepares to leave

Arragon, he gives the reason as “because [he and Victoria are] denied the common Rights of Nature; / Which the First Brother, and First Sister had” before wondering, “Why were not you and I that Happy Pair?” (39-41). This emphasis on the naturalness of Alphonso’s desire when it is in fact incestuous might be perceived as a rebellion against nature.^{xxxvii} At the same time, Alphonso kicks against his father’s authority, which demonstrates fragmentation of the natural order in the father-son and brother-sister relationships.

Their “father” and “mother” further demonstrate the Filmerian manner in which Dryden draws out the plot as Ximena asks Veramond, “Are you a Father, Sir?” to which Veramond retorts, “Is he a Son?” (III.i.111-112). These exchanges along with others centered on family relationships in general and incest in particular illustrate the lack of harmony at the top of the state in the play and its potential consequences for the fate of the nation. By portraying convoluted and tumultuous family relationships in the royal household, Dryden can assert parallels between that family’s problems and the problems England as a nation faces because of the chaos in her royal family. After Alphonso’s banishment, matters are further complicated when Ximena and Celidea ask Garcia to renounce his union with Victoria arranged by her father. Ignoring the fact that the relationship between Victoria and Alphonso was initially incestuous (at least as far as they knew), Ximena states, “They lov’d not as a Brother and a Sister,/ But as the Fair and Brave each other Love./ For sympathy of Souls inspir’d their Passion” (IV.i.15-17). While Ximena knows that the two are not really brother and sister, her characterization of their love as like that of the “Fair and Brave” rings a little hollow in light of the fact that as far as Alphonso and Victoria knew, they were siblings.

This pervasive lack of clear-cut morality is consistently shown in the main plot. Unlike *Absalom and Achitophel*, *Don Sebastian*, *Cleomenes*, and so many of Dryden’s other works in

which one can find an allegory-like correspondence between characters and contemporary figures, *Love Triumphant* does not invite such comparisons. In this play, Dryden shows his disillusionment through the almost complete lack of a moral center in the play. The point comes through especially clearly in the confused family relationships. On the surface, the relationship between the father and his stepson vaguely calls to mind William III and James II's relationship, but Dryden does not invite a one-to-one comparison between Veramond and James II and between Alphonso and William III. Alphonso is the stepson, which bears similarity to William's position as James' son-in-law, but Alphonso, like James, abdicates his "position" as heir to Ramirez. When asked by Ramirez, "Then what becomes of you?", Alphonso replies

No matter what.

Provide your self of some more worthy Heir.

For I am lost, beyond Redemption lost;

Farewel the Joys of Empire from this moment:

Farewel the Honours of the dusty Field;

Here lay I down this Instrument of Death. (IV.i.304-309)

He then removes his sword. Alphonso's action would be nobler if it were like Don Sebastian's withdrawal because of his crime of incest, but Alphonso resembles a child throwing a tantrum as he forsakes his duty to his nation because he believes he has lost his love. Perhaps Dryden glances at James II's abdication as similarly ill motivated as the former king fled the country forsaking his duty and without putting up any kind of fight. Further heightening links between Alphonso and James II, Veramond praises Alphonso for his consistent support with lines like "what hast thou not done for *Veramond*?" and "'Tis your peculiar Virtue, my *Alphonso*,/ Always to raise me up" (V.ii.210, 221-222). These characterizations are similar to Jacobite descriptions of James as one who constantly worked for the stability of the state (if not always wisely) and who had been a dutiful father-in-law just as Alphonso was a dutiful son-in-law.

By presenting characters who defy clear alignment as virtuous or evil, Dryden presents a play to his audience that calls to mind the lack of moral certainty in contemporary England. The familial language reflects on the relationship of the state to the family and raises the question of how there can be national stability when no stability exists within the family at the top of the state. Victoria, Celidea, and Ximena, the three women in the main plot, are the only characters in the main plot who constantly choose the course of virtue, and the language they use in their debates with male characters highlights the similarity of the state to the family for Dryden and the manner in which the daughters/wives should behave.^{xxxviii} At times the dialogue strongly resembles the language of debates carried on about the proper interaction of citizens and the court with the king, and in those instances, the female characters' responses are instructive for the English people. Particularly telling is the exchange between Alphonso and Victoria in Act IV. After Alphonso has used force of arms to secure a path to his union with Victoria, she still refuses him on the ground of honor. Their exchange is both clearly patriarchal and a strong argument for passive resistance, a theme Dryden has already treated in *Don Sebastian*. Alphonso asks:

What Debts but those of Love have you to clear?
 Are you not free, are you not Sovereign here?
 And were you not a Slave, before I broke
 Your fatal Chains, and loos'd you from the Yoke? (i.137-140)

Victoria replies:

'Tis true, I was; but that Captivity,
 Tho hard to bear, was more becoming me.
 A Slave I am; but Nature made me so,
 Slave to my Father, not my Father's Foe:
 Since, then, you have declar'd me Free, this hour
 I put my self within a Parent's Power. (141-146)

Her response demonstrates the exact attitude Filmer would advocate subjects taking toward a monarch. Indeed, Victoria's claim that she will use her freedom to "put [herself] within a Parent's Power" almost directly mimics Filmer's claim that "the greatest liberty in the world is for people to live under a monarch" (4). Dryden's use of "Nature" to place Victoria in a position of slavery flies in the face of Locke's description of the state of nature as one of liberty and freedom from subjection. As the repartee continues, the two discuss love and honor:

Alph. Your Love you forfeit, if you go away.

Vict. I forfeit my Obedience if I stay.

Alph. You may transfer your Duty, and be mine.

Vict. Yes, when my Father shall his Claim resign:

For when the Nuptial Knot our Love assures;

All that was his before, is, after, yours.

Alph. Then, when you vow'd your Love, you falsly swore.

Vict. I love you much, but love my Honour more. (170-177)

Alphonso's urging that Victoria may transfer her duty to him bears a striking similarity to the English people's transfer of their honor to William in spite of his father(-in-law)'s still legitimate claim to the throne, but unlike the English, Victoria loves her honor to the point that she will not disown the God-given authority over her.

As the play concludes, Dryden brings the heart of the Glorious Revolution to the fore. He reflects on the role of the king as father to his people and the necessity of domestic harmony both in individual homes and in the national family as the reformed tyrant Veramond shows the possibility for change in anyone: "Let Thanks be paid; and Heav'n be prais'd no less/ For private Union, than for publick Peace" (V.ii259-260). These lines sum up Dryden's thoughts on events in the years leading up to and immediately following the Glorious Revolution. In many ways, these final lines in Dryden's valedictory play serve as his parting advice to the English people. The answer to all of his questions about what constitutes national morality, the basis of national stability, and the secret to national welfare can be found in a divinely provided public peace promoted by a public union that mirrors private familial union. While Dryden wrote much after this play, nowhere does he more clearly sum up his views on the grounds of true national happiness.

Indeed, Dryden longed for the virtues of private union and public peace. Contrary to contemporary assertions that Dryden would once again change his stripe after the Glorious Revolution, he continued to write as a loyal Jacobite and as one advocating a middle course to promote stability. In his drama, disintegrating family relationships show the chaos Dryden believes grows from the nation's abandonment of patriarchal government. Dryden's translations work to establish a stable poetic tradition in spite of the uncertainty in government. While he

may believe that the present political age has declined to an age of gold (*Amphitryon* IV.i.556), Dryden also believes that, at least in tragedy and satire, “this Age and the last, particularly in *England*, have excell’d the Ancients in both those kinds” (*Discourse of Satire* 12). At the same time, the work of translation served as “elevation above the [political] fray” as Zwicker puts it in *Lines of Authority* (199). As a translator, Dryden could use his work to promote the private virtues he admired in Persius’ stoic philosophy and to comment safely on the demise of public life. While Dryden may have lost his laureateship with the Glorious Revolution, he certainly did not lose his voice or his ability to comment on the national landscape. Sloman characterizes Dryden as “involved to the end in both religious and political arguments” and asserts that he “had fairly precise things to say” (221). Dryden’s robust oeuvre in the 1690s demonstrates his continued adherence to patriarchal government and his ability to interact powerfully with literary tradition to advocate his beliefs.

Notes

ⁱ James Winn, for example, addresses this issue in *John Dryden and His World* (433-438).

ⁱⁱ Winn highlights Dryden's Puritan heritage in the first chapter of *John Dryden and His World*. Winn notes, however, Dryden's education at Westminster School under Richard Busby was highly Royalist and Anglican, and Winn suggests that this education strongly influenced Dryden's loyalty to the Church of England (39-40)

ⁱⁱⁱ Dryden's emphasis on Scripture is clear in his preface to *Religio Laici*, where he writes:

Let us be content at last, to know God, by his own Methods; at least so much of him, as he is pleas'd to reveal to us, in the sacred Scriptures; to apprehend them to be the word of God, is all our Reason has to do; for all beyond it is the work of Faith, which is the Seal of Heaven impress'd upon our humane understanding.
(*Works* II 101)

While he makes it clear that the Athanasian, Nicene, and, especially the Apostles' Creeds can play an important role in helping to understand Scripture, Dryden focuses on Scripture as Foundational (*Works* II 102).

^{iv} As one evidence of this theme's continued importance to the poet, his final play, *Love Triumphant* concludes with the couplet, "Let Thanks be paid; and Heav'n be prais'd no less / For private Union, than for publick Peace" (V.ii.258-259).

^v Robert Zaller discusses the sacred nature of the monarchy in seventeenth-century thought in his article "Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England." He emphasizes the continued adherence to the idea that the king served as a divine envoy through the century, for which Englishmen's "continu[ing] to emphasize the sacerdotal

elements of the royal office” until William III discontinued the associated practices provides evidence (761, 777).

^{vi} See, for example, Ephesians 2:4-5, which reads, “But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, by his grace ye are saved.”

^{vii} Thomas Shadwell had the prologue banned after the first night because he thought Dryden had hidden commentary on the events of 1689 in the lines (*Dryden Works* XVI 287, 289). While the editors of the California Dryden note that these references can be found throughout the prologue (III 507-509), some of the most obvious criticism of William III’s reign is in these lines:

A sweeping Tax, which on our selves we raise;
 And all like you, in hopes of better days.
 When will our Losses warn us to be wise!
 Our Wealth decreases, and our Charges rise:
 Money the sweet Allurer of our hopes
 Ebbs out in Oceans, and comes in by Drops. (7-12)

^{viii} In *Lines of Authority*, Steven Zwicker provides a lengthy discussion of *Don Sebastian* in which he characterizes the play as giving Dryden “a means of vindicating his personal and political honor while minimizing the damage of his religious conversion and exposing the hypocrisy of the revolution, the bankruptcy of its ideals, the hollowness of its slogans” (183). For Zwicker, Dryden’s play unequivocally criticizes the Glorious Revolution as, “an act of political betrayal motivated by greed, argued with lies, a revolution that everywhere revealed the cupidity, cowardice, and moral indifference of the nation” (190). David Bywaters also sees the play as a

commentary on the Glorious Revolution that suggests, “by overthrowing the settled power that ensures the stability of the state and their own safety, the Protestants had in the Revolution entailed on their own posterity the war and anarchy passed on to them by the rebels of the 1640s” (42). Zwicker’s and Bywater’s readings of *Don Sebastian* highlight the importance of the play as commentary on the Glorious Revolution and the instability Dryden sees it bringing on the nation.

^{ix} Bywaters describes the play as containing three main plots with the rebellion against the Muley-Moloch comprising the third one. However, the rebellion can also be read as linking the comic and tragic plots together, which gives the play more balance. The intersection of rebellion with the two main plots lends greater credence to Bywaters’ assertion that the issues of rebellion in *Don Sebastian* provide “Dryden’s most pointed political commentary”.

^x In *John Dryden’s Jacobitism*, William J. Cameron affirms Dryden’s own “firm belief in the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance” (27). The point Dryden makes through Antonio is that Tory supporters of William and Mary abandoned that doctrine to enable them to invite the William of Orange across the channel.

^{xi} The problems surrounding Benducar and Dorax directly reflect the history of England in the second half of the seventeenth century. As early as the civil wars, Parliament begins to strive for power over the monarchy, and James II abdicates the throne under pressure from his subjects. This event shatters the illusion of a return to the patriarchal model heralded with the Restoration. Benducar and Dorax allow Dryden to represent the disintegrating power of the monarchy as it shifts from a patriarchal to a more elective model with William of Orange’s ascension. Bywaters discusses these characters in depth on pp. 47-55.

^{xii} Steven Zwicker, in *Dryden’s Political Poetry*, suggests that as early as *Threnodia Augustalis* and *Britannia Rediviva* Dryden demonstrates “a loss of the ability so supplely and

powerfully demonstrated in *Absalom and Achitophel* to see nation and king unified in terms of sacred metaphor” (109). In *Don Sebastian*, the failure of the whole creation to finally “dance at their new being” shows the extent to which Dryden sees England as fallen from this potential unity. While a happy resolution for England may be possible, Dryden is ultimately unable to prophetically include it in the play.

^{xiii} In *Lines of Authority*, Zwicker corroborates the political import of the comic plot as he writes:

Through comic scenes that slight the principles of the revolution, through soliloquy that heightens non-juring values, through a steady examination and deflation of such terms as *title, slavery, conquest, tyranny, and sovereignty*, Dryden offers an alternative reading of the revolution, its justification, its rhetoric, and its principal actors. (190)

^{xiv} Zwicker notes that “in episodes of ridicule and burlesque, [Dryden] derides the clergy and the mufti, who are seen alike as bent on profit and self-promotion, who willfully incite riot and tumult” (*Lines of Authority* 193).

^{xv} Sebastian also recognizes that a fortuneteller had warned him that he would wed in incest. The entire dialogue from lines 557-589 revolves around the sense of foreboding attached to their courtship. Almeyda even unwittingly adumbrates the ultimate revelation that their marriage is incestuous as she tells Sebastian her love “is a flame so holy, and so clear” that it gives “No smoak of Lust; but [burns] chast as Sisters love” (576, 578)

^{xvi} Dryden clearly addresses readers of the play in his Preface and emphasizes that over 1200 lines cut from the acted version were added back to the printed text.

^{xvii} See, for example, Lois Schwoerer's discussion in *The Declaration of Rights, 1689*, esp. pp. 11-29.

^{xviii} Bywaters emphasizes the political significance of Benducar writing, "Like Dryden's Whigs in other poems, Benducar rebels not so that he may free the Moors from tyranny, but so that he himself may tyrannize in his king's stead" (43).

^{xix} The political content of Dryden's translations is well documented. Among sources dealing with aspects of politics and translation in Dryden's work are *Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry* (Zwicker), *Dryden: The Poetics of Translation* (Sloman), *Dryden and the Art of Translation* (Frost) and *Time to Begin Anew* (Caldwell).

^{xx} In addition to the exclamation that he sees "the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is never practis'd thoroughly but when a Man can't help himself" in I.i, Antonio makes other self-serving remarks demonstrating that his conscience is only bound to his own well being. In III.ii he observes, "self preservation is a point above Honour and Religion too." Later, when the Mufti sways the rabble from Mustapha by emphasizing the importance of "these three P's, Self-Preservation, our Property, and our Prophet," Antonio chastises Mustapha by telling him, "Now you see what comes of your foolish Qualms of Conscience: The Jewels are lost, and they are all leaving you" (IV.iii)

^{xxi} In "Complying with the Times," Winn suggests that these lines show that "morality is a topic on which 'all good Men' can agree: it transcends the differences between ancient Rome and modern England, Stoic and Christian, Protestant and Catholic" before going on to note that Gilbert Burnet, whom Dryden portrays as an amorous buzzard in *The Hind and the Panther*, was Bishop of Salisbury at the time (82). Although this reading certainly fits, seeing the lines as

referring to more specific issues pertaining to the Glorious Revolution does not stretch the lines implications too far.

^{xxii} The argument made here is developed from Tanya Caldwell's article "Dryden's Sixth Satire of Juvenal and the Sexual Politics of Monarchy."

^{xxiii} Caldwell finds this reference especially relevant to Mary II because of her "Impudence" in claiming the throne with William III" and his belief that she had vengefully worked for the suppression of his poetic talents on account of her "embarrassment over *The Spanish Fryar*" (Sexual Politics 25).

^{xxiv} Caldwell writes:

If he is thinking back to the "Whoring" described in *The Medall*, the point is that the type of debauchery outlined there has resulted in the events of 1688. For, the "adulterer" who has most recently "invade[d]" the "Nuptial State" of England is, of course, William III; involved with him in the betrayal of the rightful king's marriage bed are the English nation and Mary. (Sexual Politics 28)

^{xxv} See, for example, the book of Hosea, in which Hosea's harlot wife symbolizes Israel's playing the harlot before God.

^{xxvi} The passage also draws on the myth of the ages, which Dryden used at the conclusion of Act IV of *Amphitryon*. There, however, he reverses the order of the ages so that "Our Iron Age is grown an Age of Gold:/ 'Tis who bids most; for all Men wou'd be sold" (IV.i.556-557). Caldwell notes that Dryden "may also be claiming that the Dutch prince is turning England into the kind of mercenary and dishonourable mercantilist nation that the English perceived Holland to be" (29)

^{xxvii} In *The Dear Bargain*, Johnston deals with the cost of William's wars, and Anderton also deals with the issue in his *Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy*. These two examples are representative of the widespread dis-ease with the new king's use of English funds for his wars on the continent.

^{xxviii} Juvenal simply writes, "What can you believe impossible if Ursidius marries?"

^{xxix} The California Dryden's note points out that "according to Prateus and Schrevellius, Paris is an actor" (622).

^{xxx} The political impact of Dryden's translation of "ille excludatur amicus/ Jam senior, cujus barbam tua janua vidit" (214-215) as "All Offices of Ancient Friendship dye" comes through in the use of "offices," which has no place in Juvenal's original.

^{xxxi} See e.g. Winn 483.

^{xxxii} Readers interested in a thorough treatment of *The Works of Virgil in English* are referred to Caldwell's *Time to Begin Anew*.

^{xxxiii} In his preface to the *Fables*, Dryden returns to this idea claiming that "Milton was the Poetical Son of *Spencer*," and "*Spencer* more than once insinuates, that the Soul of *Chaucer* was transfus'd into his Body" (25)

^{xxxiv} As Caldwell suggests, Dryden also uses this imagery in *Cleomones* and *Don Sebastian* (*Time to Begin Anew* 60). Spenser's "February" from the *Shepherd's Calendar* (102-238) and Ogilby's fable 36, "Of the Husband-man and the Wood" (*Aesop's Fables* 85-87) are particularly relevant to her discussion.

^{xxxv} This analysis is heavily informed by Caldwell's discussion of the lines in *Time to Begin Anew* (61).

^{xxxvi} The book itself engagingly describes the Jacobite plot for William's assassination in 1696 and its aftermath.

^{xxxvii} Judith Sloman highlights the significance of incest for Dryden writing, "Dryden sees brother-sister incest as a drastic kind of rebellion against authority" (46).

^{xxxviii} Sloman also observes that female characters in the play "have authority in matters of love and sexuality" (47).

Chapter 3

Official and Unofficial Laureate Verse: Shadwell and Prior

In contrast to Dryden's position, other writers wrote a great deal in support of William III and his cause. While Shadwell became the official Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, the diplomat Matthew Prior also wrote verse in praise of the new monarch and the relationship between the crown and country. For Prior's poetry in praise of William and Mary, the term "unofficial laureate verse" is apt because this poetry takes the tone of that expected of a poet laureate even though he lacked the title.ⁱ Frances Matthew Rippy recognizes that after 1690, Prior's verse "took a more distinctly laureate tone. He had written poems before on affairs of state; now they became a major item in his production" (11). At the same time, Francis Bickley characterizes Prior as "unlucky in missing the laureate's crown" because "Shadwell died too early (1692) and Tate just too late (1715)" (253). It seems fair to consider Prior's verse in praise of the new king and queen alongside that of Thomas Shadwell, the official poet laureate because the English expected Prior to write on major affairs of state.ⁱⁱ

While both Prior and Shadwell wrote laudatory verse for England's new king and queen, their laureate verse takes a markedly different tone than that which Dryden wrote even in the early years of Charles II's reign. Although much of their writing is notably celebratory, it also has a slightly defensive or apologetic tone about the Revolution. For example, Thomas Shadwell felt obliged to inscribe his *Congratulatory Poem on His Highness the Prince of Orange His Coming into England* as "Written by T. S. A True Lover of his Countrey" in an effort to show that support of William was neither antithetical to sincere loyalty to England nor mere

opportunism. The ways in which the opposing tendencies to rejoice over the new regime and to buttress it by asserting the legitimacy of William III's reign play against one another. This tension illustrates the way in which England was redefining itself as a nation at the end of the seventeenth century. Dryden himself seemed to recognize this redefinition in his *Fables* as Tanya Caldwell and others have pointed out.ⁱⁱⁱ

Williamites did not have a poet of anything close to Dryden's skill to step in as Poet Laureate when Dryden refused to support William III's reign, and Dorset appointed Dryden's old rival Shadwell to succeed to the post. While Shadwell wrote a few poems and plays in this capacity, they are rarely read today, and the diplomat/statesman/poet Matthew Prior's laureate verse holds at least equal footing with Shadwell's work. Although Shadwell's name is certainly more widely recognized than Prior's, that recognition owes more to his being the subject of Dryden's satire *MacFlecknoe* than to Shadwell's ability as a poet. Actually, Dryden's scathing analysis of Shadwell's ability probably has much to do with the lack of attention paid to his work. Scant criticism has been published on either Prior or Shadwell. Furthermore, the only complete modern version of Shadwell's work is the 1927 edition by Montague Summers (reprinted in 1968), and Wright and Spears' *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior* was published in 1959 and issued in a second edition in 1971. Both of these men's representations of William III, his government, and England in the early years of the William and Mary's reign clearly demonstrate the ways Williamites sought to buttress their view of the monarchy differently from the Jacobites.

In addition to the new government's lack of a poet to match Dryden's abilities, the issues at the heart of the Glorious Revolution raised further problems for Williamites seeking to buttress the new monarchy. Supporters of the new regime had to contend with allegations that

the monarchy depended on the will of the people in light of the events of 1688, and at the same time they felt the need to limit the authority of the king to avoid a repetition of the situation under James II. In the poetry of Shadwell and Prior, readers see these men working with principles similar to those expressed by Milton and Locke to fortify the new type of government developing in the wake of the Glorious Revolution.

Thomas Shadwell: The Official Laureate Verse

The dearth of critical scholarship on Shadwell attests to the effectiveness of Dryden's satire in *MacFlecknoe*. Albert Borgman's and Michael Alssid's biographies along with Montague Summer's introduction to his edition of Shadwell's work are the only biographical works on the poet, and outside of critical editions of a few plays, these three studies comprise the scholarly work on Shadwell. In his preface to *Thomas Shadwell*, Alssid suggests that in addition to the effect of *MacFlecknoe*:

The critical neglect of Shadwell is largely a result of the assumption that excellence in Restoration comedy is available chiefly in the works of men like Etherege, Wycherley, and Congreve.... Shadwell is considered dispensable because, among other things, he did not produce plays which display the kind of wit which we associate with these artists.^{iv}

All the same, Shadwell was successful in his own day. Borgman finds numerous contemporaries who praise Shadwell's work with John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham among them. Borgman fairly lists both praise and criticism of Shadwell by his contemporaries in his chapter on Shadwell's reputation (94-118), but the important thing to note is that there is no shortage of seventeenth century advocates for Shadwell's merit as a

playwright. Modern readers of Shadwell's work can better understand his influence as Laureate by remembering that Dryden's criticism of Shadwell was not normative for the period.

Shadwell was born between 1640 and 1642 in Norfolk to a father "wealthy by inheritance and loyal to Charles I during the turbulent civil wars" (Alssid 17). Shadwell was tutored and instructed in music before leaving for Cambridge. He did not take a degree there but left for the Middle Temple in 1658. An important event in his early career was his meeting William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, prior to the production of *The Sullen Lovers* (1668). The Duke probably encouraged him as a dramatist, and, according to Alssid "may have stimulated Shadwell's interest in...Jonsonian 'humors' comedy, of which Shadwell was to become the chief exponent during the Restoration" (17). Shadwell's enthusiasm for humors comedy and his criticism of modern wit led to Shadwell's initial feud with Dryden, which continued until Shadwell's death of an opium overdose in 1692.^v Throughout his career, Shadwell relied on the lowbrow comedy for which Dryden criticized him, and Shadwell consistently advocated Jonsonian models for drama. Perhaps because of this "earthy" character of his poetry, much of Shadwell's laureate poetry (of which there are only a few examples), which attempts to take a loftier tone, appears a bit stiff and dry.^{vi} In the mid-1680s, Shadwell published no original plays, but between the end of James II's reign and 1692, Shadwell produced five plays and some poems fulfilling his duty as Poet Laureate.

Shadwell's method of supporting the Glorious Revolution is clearest in his poetry, so his poetic efforts on behalf of the coregents will be examined before his dramatic work as Laureate. Shadwell's laureate verse uses either effusive praise or biting satire to establish William and Mary's reign. He sees William III as a great liberator who has come to free the English people from the tyranny of their Catholic king. As will be seen, Shadwell praises the Dutch prince for

the freedom he brings and, in the same vein, praises Mary as a defender of the Church of England throughout his works as laureate. At the same time, he directs satiric attacks at John Dryden, who serves as an easy tool for Shadwell as he attempts to strengthen anti-Jacobite opinion. Through his praise of the new leaders and criticism of Dryden, Shadwell echoes Locke's and Milton's emphasis on the priority of law, be it natural or national, over monarchical authority.

Shadwell's first poem as laureate is *An Ode on the Queen's Birth-Day, Sang before their Majesties at Whitehall*. Of this poem, Borgman writes, "The praise of the sovereign is ridiculously superlative" (81). This observation is both fair and accurate, and this type of gushing praise characterizes all of Shadwell's laureate verse. The last lines of the dedicatory epistle are telling of Shadwell's perspective:

Tho from the *Loins* of *greatest Kings* deriv'd,
That *Title's* not so strong, nor so long-liv'd;
For *Princes* more of *solid Glory* gain,
Who are *thought fit*, than who are *born to Reign*. (344)

In these lines, he describes the "matchless Pair," William and Mary, "Him so wise, so brave; [her] so wise, so fair," as glorious because of their actions rather than their hereditary right. Without overtly advocating the right of rebellion for a more qualified monarch, Shadwell certainly leans toward merit-based rule over hereditary rule. While he gives a nod to William and Mary's pedigree, the thrust of these four lines is that being "thought fit" provides a better foundation for monarchy than birth or title. The adjective "solid" describing "Glory" probably calls forth the turmoil of James' reign as his opponents saw him as one who capriciously changed policies to secure his title. "Solid" implies both a sturdiness of the government and its

rational foundation being more substantial than the previous form of government, which aligns with the view of government set forth in Locke's *Two Treatises*.

The first two stanzas use stereotypical devices common to the time. The first stanza draws parallels between the new reign and the coming of spring because the hope of Liberty ushered in with the new reign is like the hope of "ensuing Plenty" brought with the spring. The second stanza compares the new reign to the Creator's work of redemption. In the final stanza, Shadwell uses imagery he would return to in later works as he compares Mary to Queen Elizabeth. The last few lines of the stanza read:

The trembling Papal World their Force must yield.
 Must bend himself to her victorious Charms,
 And give up all the Trophies of each Field
 Our dear Religion, with our Laws defence,
 To God her Zeal, to Man Benevolence;
 Must her above all former Monarch raise
 To be the everlasting Theme of Praise;
 No more shall we the great *Eliza* boast,
 For her Great Name in Greater *Mary's* will be lost. (346)

The parallel between Elizabeth and Mary as defenders of Protestantism against Papal threats is characteristic of the fear many Williamites had of James II's Catholicism. This tactic proved especially useful to supporters of the Revolution because of the love for Mary held by so many. Craig Rose demonstrates that many English subjects perceived her to be an ally of the Church of England and that she possessed a "personal piety which, though undoubtedly exploited for propagandist ends, was as deep as it was unaffected" (41ff). While some Jacobites saw Mary's

early death as God's judgment upon her for failing to honor the fifth commandment, comparisons of her and Tullia by other Jacobites had little effect on much of the populace's opinion of her.^{vii} While Jacobites frequently satirized Mary II, her use as a tool for Williamite propaganda greatly overshadows the amount of satire written about her.^{viii} For Whigs, the type of praise for Mary offered here by Shadwell worked especially well as a means of garnering support for the coregents because it diverted attention from William's Dutch Calvinism, which many Tories saw as a threat to the true Church of England.

While his abundance of praise and use of Mary's character uphold the new regime in the *Ode on the Anniversary of the Queen's Birth*, Shadwell uses biting satire to attack William's enemies in other poems. One of Shadwell's next works is *A Poem on His Majesty's Happy Accession to the Crown*, which he attributes to Dryden just as he did *The Address of John Dryden, Laureat to His Highness the Prince of Orange*.^{ix} For Shadwell, using Dryden as a foil goes beyond simply mocking his old adversary. The ascription of this poem to Dryden allows Shadwell to satirically borrow language used by a staunch supporter of the former ruler and show the flaws in the Jacobite view of monarchy.

This poem is prefaced with a dedicatory epistle to Dorset. In it Shadwell has Dryden explaining that he converted to Catholicism only because it would keep others from doing so and that he could now go back to his true convictions. Shadwell has Dryden write

According to my Brother Cleveland; and that at this Day it is a Custom among Farmers to banish Rabbets from Burroughing among their Corn, by placing of Vermin at the Entrance of their Holes: My Lord, in the Eye of the world, I was look'd upon as such, and therefore resolv'd by my early Conversion to block up

the Passage; into which I saw many likely to run, if not prevented by my Going over first. (355)

This selection from *The Epistle Dedicatory* is typical of what Shadwell attributes to Dryden in the rest of the dedication and demonstrates the view of Dryden as an opportunist projected on him by many in England as “Dryden” offers an apology similar to his self-effacing dedications to other works. There may even be a larger criticism of all Jacobites as subjects whose loyalty to the former king depended on the benefits that loyalty might accrue for them. The implicit criticism is especially harsh as Shadwell equates Dryden with “Vermin” and has him once again waffling in his loyalties. Later, Shadwell portrays Dryden as even more duplicitous as he writes:

And now, my Lord, I think I have given a sufficient Testimony to the World of the Love and Affection I bear this Nation, and of my Duty to my ancient Mother the Church of England, and of which Church I here profess that I always was, am, and hope by the Grace of God to continue, an obedient member...having declar'd this, I hope to receive the same favourable Protection and Encouragement from the Government that every Protestant does, and that your Lordship will become an Advocate to his Ma^{tie} for the little Pension which I receiv'd Yearly as Poet Laureat. (355)

In addition to portray Dryden as shifting in his loyalties, this passage paints Dryden as groveling for support regardless of the price to his integrity. While Shadwell directs this satire explicitly at Dryden rather than at Jacobites in general, the force of it may serve as metonymy for all of those who waffled in the months surrounding the Glorious Revolution. Although Dryden held fast to his Catholicism, attacking the former laureate would be an especially powerful means of criticizing those who sold out their loyalty to James.^x

The content of this poem is typical of Whig polemics at the time and therefore instructive.^{xi} For example, Shadwell describes James II's reign as characterized by vice just as the anonymous author of "A Hue and a Cry" (1688) accuses the former ruler of "labor[ing] to be absolute" and of having his "chiefs aim to be vailiant thought" (22, 29). Shadwell's praise of William for securing England's liberty also echoes the defense of the Glorious Revolution found in the anonymous pamphlet, *Advice to the Male Contents in England*.^{xii} In Shadwell's poem's brief 82 lines, written in heroic couplets, Shadwell moves from indictment of James as an unlawful monarch to valedictory of William III's ascension. These lines hearken to Dryden's *The Medal* in content if not in tone, which Earl Miner calls, "Dryden's single angry poem" (*Selected Poetry* 238). This parallel is significant because both poems respond to a Whig triumph. Dryden's *The Medal* responds to the jury's ignoramus verdict releasing Shaftesbury from the tower in November 1681, and *To the King* responds to the victory in 1688. In *To the King*, though, the poet's ire is directed against the Stuart line and James II in particular, which gives the poem's satire a double thrust. First, Shadwell satirizes Dryden as he portrays the poet shifting loyalties yet again. Second, and more important, Shadwell satirizes the Stuart monarchs through their portrayal in the poem. *To the King* certainly tends more to abuse than Horatian satire, as a few selections demonstrate. Early in the poem, Shadwell depicts Dryden criticizing the Stuart line:

Our Kings of late, as if the Father swore
 The son to Plague us to his utmost Pow'r,
 Out-doing each his Predecessor's Hate,
 Instead of Ruling, have destroy'd the State:
 But when the last Usurp'd the Royal throne,

(Justly Excluded for Religion)

As much he did their Crimes surpass, and more,

Than they the worst of theirs that went before. (9-16)

These lines strike against absolutism as they accuse recent monarchs of destroying the state rather than ruling it. Not only are the Stuarts accused of hating their nation, but they are also accused of “Crimes” (15), which would be inflammatory to those who remembered the beheading of Charles I and especially to adherents to a Filmerian position because they saw the crime committed in the case of both Charles I’s and his son’s was the removal of a legitimate monarch. While even James’ most loyal supporters would not claim that all of his policies were the best ones for England, accusing him of “crimes” would seem very harsh to most.^{xiii} Adding to the sting of these lines, Shadwell hearkens back to his feud with Dryden at the time of the Exclusion Crisis by calling James II a usurper “Justly Excluded [from the throne] for Religion.”

A further attack on the Catholic monarch’s religion appears early in the poem, too. Shadwell writes, “Hoping, that the Bless’d Hand that gave us ease, / Will hinder a return of the Disease,” and then refers to the monarch “plagu[ing]” his people (7-8, 10). Robert Zaller describes a practice in which the king would touch victims of scrofula with the belief that his touch could cure it (758-759). James II continued this practice, and it may be that Shadwell is ironically playing “the Bless’d Hand” of providence against the king’s “Bless’d Hand” to cure the King’s Evil by describing the king’s hand as actually bringing plague rather than removing it. If this is the case, Shadwell’s criticism is particularly poignant. This sort of emphasis shows a fundamental difference between Jacobites and Williamites as the former tend to focus on the role of the monarch as a divine emissary on earth while the latter subject the monarch to divinely

instituted laws. Like Milton and Filmer, Shadwell brings to the fore the negative consequences of a monarch ignoring those laws.

Shadwell also uses a Drydenesque classical reference to attack James II and move into his praise of William III. He refers to the legend that an old woman in Syracuse prayed for Dionysius's safety every day in spite of his tyranny. When asked the reason for her prayers, she said she was afraid that a worse tyrant might take his place if he died.^{xiv} Shadwell has his Dryden opine

The Hag of *Syracuse*, who us'd to Pray,
 When others Damn'd the Haughty Tyrant's Sway,
 Lest, when he dy'd, a greater Scourge than he,
 Shou'd be advanc'd to the Supremacy;
 Had she been here, might have withdrawn her Curse;
 For Heav'n that *James*, cou'd not ordain a worse. (29-33)

Outside of the obscurity of the reference to the "Hag of *Syracuse*," the criticism that James II's rank among the great tyrants of history is fairly obvious. Allegations of James II's tyranny were, of course, commonplace among his opponents. As Lois Schwoerer has pointed out, even the Declaration of Rights "spelled out King James II's misdeeds (alleged and real)," and shows the conventioners perspective on James' tyranny as it "lists acts which James II and his 'evil' advisers allegedly committed in violation of the nation's religion, laws, and liberties" (19). The prevalence of this type of criticism probably facilitated Shadwell's harsh accusation that "Heav'n... cou'd not ordain a worse" tyrant than James II.

This presentation of James II as such a great tyrant strengthens the poem's contrast between James II and William III, and Shadwell goes to as great an extreme in his praise of

William III as he goes in his criticism of his father-in-law. Highlighting this contrast, he writes, “But as when Vice is to the highest grown,/ Virtue Succeeds, and reassumes her Throne” (34-35). This couplet near the center of the poem lends a loosely chiasmic structure to the whole poem as Shadwell moves from criticism of the former monarch’s reign to praise of the new king and his reign. The chiasmic structure is demonstrated as this center is followed by “And, by one Act, releiv’d the Nation more/ Than all their Malice cou’d depress before” (40-41), a statement that contrasts with “For Heav’n than *James*, cou’d not ordain a worse.” This structure allows Shadwell to highlight the contrast between the two monarchs, a tool used frequently by Whigs.

As the poem draws to a close, Shadwell continues to gush with praise for William III in a manner that almost becomes ridiculous when compared to actual events. The following lines by Shadwell demonstrate this overwhelming praise:

Now, what return for all these kindnesses,
 For slighting of the Dangers of the Seas,
 And leaving thy own Country; to restore
 Freedom to those whose Lives were given o’re?
 A Crown thou hast; but that’s a small Reward,
 If to the Merits of thy Deeds compar’d. (65-71)

While Whig interpretations of the Glorious Revolution commonly presented William III as a generous liberator of the English oppressed by James II, it is a stretch to see William III as coming to England out of pure kindness “to restore Freedom to those whose Lives were given o’re.” William certainly presented the “liberation” of England as his motivation as evidenced by his *Declaration of His Highness, William Henry, Prince of Orange, of the Reasons Inducing Him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for Preserving of the Protestant Religion and for*

Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but Lois Schwoerer and others make it clear that William was not simply liberating England or preserving her freedoms.^{xv} His reluctance to sign the Bill of Rights is one evidence of this. Furthermore, it quickly became evident that William intended to use the English military to aid in his wars on the continent. The abundance of pamphlets bemoaning William's lack of concern for the English people published in the early years of his reign along with clearly Williamite pamphlets like Edmund Bohun's *History of the Desertion* (1689), which uses arguments based on conquest to describe the Glorious Revolution, further demonstrate the complexity of motivations involved.^{xvi} Whether the praise Shadwell offers is deserved or not, portrayal of William as a great liberator is typical of the manner in which Williamites sought to buttress the legitimacy of his rule.

In 1690, Shadwell composed an *Ode to the King on His Return from Ireland*, which takes a slightly different angle in supporting William III's reign. This poem focuses almost entirely on William's bravery in battle. By praising William's valor, Shadwell entrenches William's role as a great liberator of the English and as Europe's defender from the treachery of France. Borgman characterizes the poem as celebrating "in lifeless verse William's courage at the Battle of the Boyne, his wound – the "*Royal Breach*" – and the fear he had been able to instill into the French King" (84). This poem does highlight the expression of the staunch Williamite support of their new monarch effectively, though. Upon his return "To [his] *Britannia's* and *Maria's* Arms" he was "By each alike with *Eager Joys* embrac'd," and while he was at war, "Both equally did for [his] *Absence* Mourn" (3-5). This tack is interesting because the feminine Britannia coupled with Maria hearkens to patriarchal language as it vaguely implies the role of monarch as husband/father. The idea that both the nation and the queen embrace the returning king strengthens the familial imagery here and demonstrates Shadwell's appropriation of patriarchal

concepts. This type of expression is typical of support for the king employed by Dryden and other Jacobites. Through this approach, Shadwell seeks to legitimize William III's reign at a level transcending the accusations that he was a usurper or conqueror by portraying him as a domestic head as well as a liberator. The link between William of Orange's dual roles as domestic head and as liberator is further highlighted in the first stanza by the lines "And both alike Languish'd for your *Return*. / For wheresoe're abroad in Camps y' appear, / We not for Us, but for your *Person* fear" (6-8). A final example of Shadwell's using this language to portray William as the rightful monarch occurs in the concluding couplet of this stanza: "You urge so home, so much your self expose, / Your Courage does affright your *Friends*, as well as *Foes*" (10-11). William's urging "home" to England, rather than to Holland, places his primary domicile in England instead of his birth-home Nassau and highlights his belonging in England. The relationship is reciprocal as well. William III's courage stirs fear in his friends as they fear for his safety, just as his courage causes his enemies to fear for their own safety. He reigns over England as over a home with friends concerned for his safety, not as over a conquered territory with subjects fearing for their lives.

At the same time, the majority of the poem extols William III's military valor, which certainly is the characteristic of his leadership for which the Dutch prince was best known.

Shadwell uses myriad images to demonstrate William's courage in battle. The English troops

Astonish'd with Prodigious Wonder stand,

To see the Crowding Bullets fly

At unregarding Majesty;

While their *Great Leader* is concern'd no more

Than at some gentle and refreshing Showr. (13-17)

While the thrust of the first stanza is that William holds a legitimate title because England is his home, much of the remainder of the poem portrays his earned right to reign because of his bravery. While Shadwell does not make the parallel overtly, many English subjects must have been aware of the contrast between William's looking at a storm of bullets as "some gentle and refreshing Showr" and James' cowardly flight from England when William first approached. Shadwell continues to place William's bravery in *sui generis* by noting that his troops "are soon Inspir'd/ To act such Deeds as He alone can teach" (360). Upholding William III as involved in military activities to the point of leading by example further highlights the contrast between him and James II because James had been so uninvolved in foreign affairs since his ascension. Although James had established himself as a military leader during his brother's reign, by 1688 he had neglected international matters to the point that J. R. Jones characterizes his influence in Europe as "negligible":

Despite his possession of a strong army and navy, English influence was limited. This was not only the result of the qualitative and quantitative deficiencies of the diplomatic service, but even more of the basic reason for these deficiencies, the lack of interest in foreign affairs by the king and his ministers and a woefully uninformed public. (*Revolution of 1688 187*)^{xvii}

If these criticisms of James lie, at least partially, behind Shadwell's praise of William, it makes William's personal involvement stand out even more starkly as he "not alone [his] *Troops* Command[s] but show[s] / What [he] wou'd have 'em *Bear*, what *Do*" (22-23). This emphasis on William III's right to rule because of his actions aligns with Milton's position as set forth in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

In the remainder of the poem, Shadwell works hard to establish William's valor in the traditional context of the monarchy and in distinction from England's enemies. William's "*Vast Soul alone Enjoys the War,*" and his mind prizes glory, his look shows "fierce Joy," and "kindled virtue flashes" in his eyes. That these characteristics signified the highest qualities in a monarch at the time may be seen by looking at Dryden's description of Don Sebastian as spared by Muley-Moluch because of "the greatness of [his] mind" (I.i.405). This character of a king is further illustrated by Sebastian's self- description earlier in the same scene:

If I fall
It shall be like my self; a setting Sun
Shou'd leave a track of Glory in the Skies.
Behold *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*. (338-341)

The characterization of Sebastian's mind here parallels William's "vast soul," just as "a track of Glory in the Skies" anticipates Shadwell's portrayal of William's glory in war. As this example illustrates, in spite of the changing nature of the monarchy, Shadwell worked to establish the new king's rule through rhetoric used to describe monarchy earlier in the century.

Describing William's wound, Shadwell uses even more strongly Tory-like language:

The pain of which found room in every *Breast*,
Unfelt by you alone; or else endur'd
With that *Great Temper*, and that *God-like Mind*
Which in your *Sacred Breast* alone we find. (38-41)

Two strategies stand out in these lines. First, the king as representative of all of his people is shown as William's pain "found room in every *Breast*," an idea which clearly means all of Britain as the following stanza contains "A *Wound*, which deeply pierc'd each *Gen'rous Heart*!/"

Which your Three *Kingdoms* tenderly did feel.” This linkage is shown to be particularly important to Jacobite thought in the preceding discussion, and appropriating this type of patriarchal language would be an especially valuable tool for Williamites seeking to establish William’s legitimacy. Second, Shadwell places William III on a loftier plane than his subjects by describing the recipient of the wound as the only one who does not feel it. At the same time, Shadwell allows that the Dutch prince might have felt the pain, but if he did, he bore it superhumanly – as only a king could. Finally, Shadwell describes William’s mind as “God-like” and uses the phrase “Sacred Breast.” These terms become ironic if the sanctity of a monarch is determined by the will of his subjects. All the same, Shadwell could see the benefits of maintaining the divine sanction of the monarchy because this idea found such strong expression in Filmerian arguments employed by Jacobites. Indeed, in *William III and the Godly Revolution*, Tony Claydon posits that royal propaganda after 1689 revolves around providential language. While the primary scope of the book is rhetoric from the pulpits, Claydon also demonstrates that Williamites gladly use this type of language to lend validity to William’s reign. The new king’s supporters bring approach to bear on William’s wars by turning him into an English patriot. Claydon cites several sermons preached in 1688/1689 and concludes, “Since the king’s campaign of reformation would bring down God’s blessings, it proved his concern for his new realm. The presentation of the monarch as a purging ruler therefore became a simultaneous assertion of his love of England” (132).^{xviii} Shadwell’s portrayal of William here falls in line with the theological rhetoric being used at the same time by highlighting the divine onus for what William did in assuming the throne and then going to Ireland.

In spite of this Filmerian language, Shadwell returns to more contractual language in the final stanza of the poem. While the sections just discussed rely on arguments Jacobites might just

as easily have used to support James II's reign prior to 1688, the final stanza depicts the king as being taught by his subjects and as earning his right to reign through his actions. As many of the English sought to redefine the nature of the monarchy at the century's end, this type of conflicting language was probably inevitable. The English collective unconscious had long held to the divine right of monarchs and to the inalienable rights of the English people. The Magna Charta had set down principles about the relationship among the king, subjects, and law, and those same principles were being actively explored and redefined once again at this point in England's history, so the irony of describing the king's person as sacred and then describing the subjects as paying back the king for good done on their behalf would be lost on many who read Shadwell's poem.^{xix} Because the final stanza illustrates these tensions so well, it is worth citing in full:

Now, since so many, and so great Affairs
 Employ your *Royal Mind* with Cares;
 And you the mighty Weight *alone* Sustain,
 Your happy *Subjects* you with *Arms defend*,
Instruct with *Manners*, and with *Laws amend*;
I, from Mankind, cou'd no Indulgence gain
 If, from the *Public Good*, you longer I detain.
 Welcome, *Great Prince!* from Toils, and Arms,
 To soft *Maria's* Beauteous Charms:
 Who in your Absence *Reign'd* so well,
 And did so much the *Virgin Queen* excel,
 No more shall we old Tales of our *Eliza* tell.

Welcome, *Great Sir!* to fill your *Brittish* Throne:
Brittain, with Justice, you may call your own;
 Which to a Mighty Kingdom you advance,
 From a poor Province, to Insulting *France*. (73-88)

The exchange presented in the first five lines of this stanza flies in the face of the notion that the monarch's person is sacred in and of itself. Here Shadwell has shifted from describing English allegiance as due to William's "*Sacred Breast* alone" to something that William has earned for taking on the weight of England's burdens. In an almost economic exchange, William's work earns him measures of respect from the English people. At the same time, the language Shadwell uses presents a vague interaction so that readers cannot be certain whether William III provides these benefits for his subjects or they provide them for their king. On the one hand, Shadwell may be praising the king for defending his subjects, teaching them, and protecting their laws, but, on the other hand, it may be that they are providing these services for him. The first of the three benefits, "with *Arms defend*," needs little explanation, but the next two items deserve a bit more discussion. "Instruct" often means to teach or impart information, but it can also mean "to form." The OED cites Dryden's use of "instruct" from the *Georgics* III in this context, so that usage was present around the time Shadwell wrote. This meaning makes more sense in a laudatory poem than Shadwell suggesting that the English teach their new king how to behave or vice versa. In this case, "*Instruct with Manners*" might be paraphrased, "the English will fashion your reign as one characterized by right behavior." As the court and king had so frequently been at odds with each other during James II's reign, the promise of a court shaped by "mannerly" behavior would certainly be an appealing prospect to both William III and the English people. Conversely, William III's appropriate behavior toward the English would be a welcome change

from what Williamites viewed as James II's heavy-handed government. The promise to amend the new reign with laws reiterates the Bill of Rights' establishment of the legitimacy of William and Mary's coregency and highlights the importance of law over the person of the monarch for most Whigs, an emphasis prevalent in both Milton's and Locke's writings on government. While Shadwell has just a few lines earlier venerated William's person, he now prioritizes the legal code so that whether the new king amends the English laws through his replacement of a monarch who disregarded those laws or the English laws amend his reign, the priority of the legal aspect of government becomes obvious. This image creates an interesting tension with the second half of the stanza where Shadwell returns to the image of Mary II as excelling Elizabeth I and suggests that William III can justly call England his own. This elevation of William and Mary's status seems to fly in the face of the notion that the monarch's position depends on the assent of the people. The struggle over this issue lies at the heart of the Whig efforts to redefine the monarchy. They simultaneously felt the need to insure that the monarch did not infringe upon their civil liberties or the Church of England and the need to maintain the legitimacy of the monarch and regal authority.

Shadwell seems aware of this tension and the potentially lasting rift it could cause in the nation. His *Song for St. Cecilia's Day, 1690* addresses this issue. While the poem avoids any overt political message, Shadwell does do a good job of using musical harmony to represent the importance of national unity.^{xx} The poem never overtly mentions national issues, but in light of the frequent use of historical, cultural, and social depictions to parallel current events in the period, it is not a stretch to find the underlying focus of the poem.^{xxi}

The first three stanzas ask "Sacred Harmony" to help sing the day's praise by uniting polar opposites:

II.

Join all ye glorious Instruments around,
 The yielding Air with your Vibrations wound,
 And fill Heav'n's Conclave with the mighty Sound.

III.

You did at first the warring Atoms join,
 Made Qualities most opposite combine,
 While Discords did with pleasing Concords twine. (4-9)

The effect of harmony comes forth strongly in stanza II, especially when “wound” is taken in the sense of “to overpower.”^{xxii} Williamites understood England to be a special embodiment of the Lord’s people. Claydon asserts, “For William’s propagandists, the essence of ‘England’ – the thing which defined who Englishmen were and which held them together – was not simply a national stock, or a set of inherited resources. Rather, it was a national covenant with the deity” (127). In that context, this stanza can be understood as a plea for unity among all Christians in England (“ye glorious Instruments”) to present an overwhelming picture of the Kingdom of God (“mighty Sound”) among all believers (“Heav’n’s Conclave”). As Shadwell continues, he relies on Genesis’ depiction of God bringing order out of chaos fashioning the earth. In light of England’s turmoil in the years surrounding the Glorious Revolution, the idea of drawing order from chaos must have been especially appealing. The language of musical harmony is paired with the imagery of the “music of the spheres” to suggest that all of the factions within England can be united to create a pleasing union. Shadwell may also be referring to national division in the third stanza if individual conflicts lie beneath his reference to “warring Atoms.” If so, he more explicitly draws the opposing factions into play through the final line.

Shadwell does not shy away from expressing his opinion of those who promote domestic division as he refers to them as “Discords,” but he holds out the hope that they can be united with “pleasing Concords.” The unity of individual notes in a musical chord adds to this imagery through the puns between “chord” and “Discord”/“Concord.”

As the poem progresses, Shadwell emphasizes the power of art to impart individual and social change. The bawdy seventh stanza suggests that poetic works can incite love as “We touch the soft and tender Flute, / The sprinkling and melodious Lute,” because when the poet “describe[s] the tickling Smart/ Which does invade a Love-sick Heart” they bring on “chill and panting with the pleasing Pain, / Which can be eas’d by nothing but the Swain” (26-31). Music’s ability to bring on sexual pleasure lays the groundwork for the following stanzas in which Shadwell draws on music’s power as it relates to national concerns. There, he writes that “If Poets, in a lofty Epic Strain, / Some ancient-noble History recite” (32-33) of heroes, conquerors, wars, “Or if Muse the Fate of Empires sings, / The Change of Crowns, the Rise and Fall of Kings” (36-37) the effect comes from the power of music:

*‘Tis sacred Musick does impart
Life and Vigour to the Art;
It makes the dumb-Poetic Pictures breath,
Victor’s and Poet’s Names it saves from Death. (38-41)*

As the words of the poet reflect with the power of musical harmony, the work takes on a life of its own and gains the power to impact the world. In this poem we find another example of Steven Zwicker’s argument about the role of literature as a major force in political discourse.^{xxiii} Shadwell’s emphasis on the ability of poetry and music to save victor’s and poet’s names exemplifies Zwicker’s contention that literature becomes a “shaping force” in politics as it

engages both political thought and action (*Lines of Authority* 1). While this chorus certainly falls in line with the classical commonplace of immortality through verse, it also engages in political action by ascribing that immortality to the regime ushered in by the recent “Change of Crowns.” Shadwell addresses this role of art even more strongly in the grand chorus at the poem’s conclusion:

*All Instruments and Voices fit the Quire,
While we enchanting Harmony admire.
What mighty Wonders by our Art are taught,
What Miracles by sacred Numbers wrought
On Earth: In Heav’n, no Joys are perfect found,
‘Till by Celestial Harmony they’re crown’d. (53-58)*

Shadwell advocates the harmony in poetic and musical works as modeling the civil unity the English people need to relearn in the wake of the preceding years’ strife. The enjambment of lines 4 and 5 of the grand chorus depicts the cosmic significance of the artist’s work: line 4 expresses an incomplete thought and positions “*Earth*” and “*Heav’n*” next to each other so that readers are invited to see a link between them as they are crowned by “celestial harmony.” So the work both teaches the “wonders” of harmony and creates the perfection of unity. For Shadwell, then, his writing as laureate not only serves to praise the monarchy, but it also has the potential to create an England unified under God and his regent William III in spite of prior discord and infighting. In this poem, Shadwell holds forth a stronger possibility for national unity than he does in the previously discussed poems where he attacks those opposed to the new regime in a more hostile fashion.

Indeed, none of his laureate verse after this song takes the biting tone of his earlier works. Instead, Shadwell works positively to establish William III's valor and England's might. One more example will suffice to examine Shadwell's method of vindicating the monarchy. In *Votum Perenne. A Poem to the King on New-Years-Day*, 1692, Shadwell writes that "No *Nation* like ours [is] securely Blest" and seeks to establish the grounds of this blessing. He begins the poem with the conventional new-year's image of Janus but empowers William to bring peace by shutting the doors of Janus' temple^{xxiv}:

Now *Janus* in his Office does appear,
 To close the Last, and to unfold this Year;
 His dreadful *Temple* now wide open stands,
 And *Europe* is Oppress'd by *Warring Bands*.
 For You Sir, 'tis reserv'd to quell the *Foes*,
 And only You those Fatal Doors can close. (1-6)

This imagery places England as a new Rome suggesting that England holds a preeminent place in the Western world and adumbrating her move to empire that would come in the following century. Shadwell's reference to Europe's "oppression by warring bands" serves to deflect criticism from William III as the source of England's constant military engagement at the time by placing the blame on the continent's nations rather than on William's opportunism. While complaints about William's use of English soldiers to fight his wars were growing among many in England, Shadwell takes the approach that William can actually foster peace throughout Europe. This poem espouses an extreme nationalism rooted in the fact that England is uniquely blessed to have a monarch like William on the throne.

Shadwell continues this same vein in the second stanza insisting that “No *Nation* is like ours securely Blest, / While all the *World* is Plagu’d, we are at Rest” (14-15) Again, one would need a very loose definition of “rest” for England to be considered “at rest” while her young men were off fighting on the continent, but they were free from the disturbances of war within England’s own shores. The use of “securely” demonstrates the importance of stability in the wake of the preceding decade’s turbulence. Shadwell seems convinced that this new model of government places England in a place of unique blessing in the world. For Shadwell, the coregents demonstrate England’s special place as “Two *Suns* in our *Horizon* shine” (17), and their reign provokes the comment that “This more than *Goshen* is, the *Power Divine*” (16). In Genesis 45, Joseph invites his brothers to live in the land of Goshen, which provided for them securely in spite of the rest of the land being in famine. The parallel becomes even more significant since Joseph’s being sold into slavery placed him in a position from which he could provide for them: similarly, in spite of England’s past treachery, they were being provided for through William. The dual blessing is highlighted as “A *Prince* who bravely can abroad *orecome*, / While his Fair *Queen* can wisely *Reign* at Home” (18-19). Contrasting with those who complained about William’s use of English soldiers for wars abroad, Shadwell highlights the blessing of the new monarchy by pointing to William’s conquests as benefiting England while Mary deserves praise for her rule at home. Once again, Shadwell’s approach places the actions of the coregents above their title as the grounds for their authority and praise just as Milton did through his works earlier in the century.

The next stanza extols the wonder of the events surrounding the bloodless revolution three years earlier which,

...so *Marvellous* have been,
 Th' *Almighty Pow'r* to *Atheists* must be seen:
 Since the vast *Scene* was shifted with such ease,
 Calm was the *Land*, and Quiet were the *Seas*,
 And all along th' *Invasion* it was Peace. (20-24)

Shadwell takes James II's lack of resistance as a sign of divine power over government in these lines and applies the role of God's sovereignty over the monarchy in a different way than the Filmerians had done by suggesting that the displacement of James and ascension of William and Mary demonstrated God's power. The peacefulness with which the transition took place confirms, for Shadwell, the Divine favor upon the new regime. For those supporting Divine Right, the displacement of a monarch represents sin regardless of the outcome. Shadwell, seeking to establish William and Mary, self-consciously uses Filmerian language, familiar to James II's supporters, in this new manner to highlight the legitimacy of William and Mary.

In the remainder of the poem, Shadwell addresses the military concerns with which he began the poem. Particularly, he highlights William III's efforts against France and characterizes Louis XIV as terrified of William. This tactic may have offended some Jacobites because James II had taken refuge in France and had, of course, been on friendly terms with the French court, but the English generally lost no love on the French, so praising William for staving off the French threat was another conciliatory means of supporting the monarchy. Similar to Dryden's assumption of a prophetic role late in his career, Shadwell claims that he must proclaim William's great deeds before proceeding to foretell what is to come. He writes:

You of all *Princes* like, and need Praise least,
 Yet must it in your story be exprest:

Excuse your *Poet* who your praise must Write,

If as *Historian* be your *Deeds* recite.

Who can but with *Poetick* Heat be warn'd

By your great *Wonder* at the *Boin* perform'd? (30-34)

By asserting the poetic necessity of writing William's deeds, Shadwell takes upon himself a seer-like role. Ever since Homer wrote, "Rage – Goddess, sing the rage of Peleus' son Achilles" as he began his *Iliad*, poets have taken on the role of reciting the deeds of god-like heroes whose actions are larger than life. Shadwell attempts to mine that same vein here. In his *Defense of Poesy*, Sidney observes, "Among the romans a poet was called *vates*, which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or prophet...so heavenly a title did that excellent people bestow upon this heart-ravishing knowledge" (6). This tradition plays into Shadwell's poem as he claims the role of "historian."^{xxv} By describing William's valor, Shadwell attempts to place him further in an elevated position and distinguish the monarch from the rest of the population. Indeed, Shadwell ascribes to William not only the ability to serve as a source of poetic inspiration, but also the ability to thwart it:

Which with *Amazement* the *French Generals* fill'd

Though bold in *Arms*, and much in *Conduct* skill'd:

Not *Art*, nor *Nature* could their Men Secure

Against such *Daring Souls* as would no Bounds endure. (41-44)

In these lines, Shadwell describes the effect of William III's and his generals' valor on the French as unstoppable. In these lines "art" primarily refers to military devices as shown by the reference to forts, towns, and camps in the following lines, and "nature" primarily refers to "Tracherous Bogs," floods, hills, and "Streightness." At the same time, though, these lines,

coming right after Shadwell's reference to his being a poet, writing as a historian, and writing with "poetick heat," invite readers to consider higher meanings of "art" and "nature." As Shadwell, Dryden, Milton, and others in the late seventeenth century worked to define the role of a poet as one who fashioned truth and effected social change, Shadwell seems to suggest both that the art of those supporting Louis XIV proved to be no match for William's art of war and that English poetic art achieves boundless potential under the Dutch prince's rule. At the same time, Shadwell asserts that Nature takes William's side in the sense that God, ruling over nature, blessed the English efforts.

This "natural" influence on William's efforts comes forth as Shadwell continues:

Your *Person* cannot in each Place appear,
 Where your own *Ensigns* fly, your *Vertue's* there.
 Though ev'ry Night the *Sun* his Beams withdraws,
 His *Influence* yet by Night does *huge Productions* cause. (64-67)

Shadwell's comparison of William III to "the *Sun*" may invite comparison to Louis XIV, "the sun king," but it also denigrates Louis by suggesting that the English king is the true "sun king." Like the real sun, whose effect causes the tides, William III continues to impact both day and night.^{xxvi} Here, Shadwell's comparison evokes the imagery of the sun's perpetual influence on the tides and suggests that William III holds a similar sway. As the sun's rays warm bodies, William's ensigns warm the hearts of his troops by his "vertue," and his influence continues when they cannot be seen. Shadwell's use of nature strengthens the place of the monarch in English society as it shows, at a secondary level, the divine favor on the monarch and on England through God's blessing of England by allowing both natural and human factors to work for England's good.

Shadwell continues to play on his role as poet/seer as he returns to the use of art to shape perceptions of and buttress support for the monarchy in the poem's final two stanzas. In these lines, he comes to the penitential aspect of his everlasting prayer. He describes a vision that "the busie and enquiring *Muse*...whisper'd to [his] ear" in which William would secure blessings for England and Europe as he would "give the *Shaken World* a *firm* and *glorious Peace*" (84). The substance of the vision demonstrates the manner in which Williamites portrayed the king's role as a stabilizing force in both England and Europe through his military valor:

She in a *Vision* whisper'd to my Ear,
 That a more *Wondrous Scene* would yet appear,
 And this should be the most *Important Year*;
 That my *Great Master* was by *Fate* design'd
 To *Quiet* the *Disturber* of *Mankind*.
 And *Sir*, the *Happy Time*'s approaching now,
 When *his* to your *Superior Fate* must bow. (72-78)

These lines hearken to Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* in which he proclaims the "wonders" of 1666. The poem's emphasis differs from *Votum Perenne*'s, though, as Dryden paints Charles II as a reluctant (although more than competent) warrior and ends the poem by forecasting benefits in commerce brought about by victory in war, while Shadwell focuses almost entirely on William's military valor and warfare as expressions of his fitness to rule. Dryden draws parallels between Charles II and David and highlights Charles as God's instrument in bringing about the wonders England witnessed, but Shadwell emphasizes the secular notion of fate so that England's achievements rest on William's own doing. The "wondrous scene" envisioned by Shadwell entails Louis XIV submitting to William III, and the ultimate peace William secures finds its

source in the military victories for which fate has destined him. This presentation should not be surprising, though, as the Whigs tied a monarch's legitimacy much more closely to his actions than to his person: to a certain extent for Whigs, what a monarch did said more about his right to rule than their lineage. So, Shadwell portrays William III as one who has achieved great victories and is destined for more. Consequently, he is a fit ruler for England. In contrast, *Annus Mirabilis* locates the blessings for England in Charles II's monarchy. As the editors of the California Dryden observe, "[Dryden] tries to show the importance of Charles II in the developing mercantile state that was England," but that importance centered more on the nature of monarchy than upon particular actions:

His theory of the state may be summed up as follows: A healthy state seeks power and wealth; wealth flows in from the expansion of foreign trade; trade is the means of enriching the public treasury, and the nation's treasury alone has the resources to wage modern war; a strong king is needed to foster and protect trade, and to lead his people in war; and by victory in war the expansion of wealth and power is guaranteed. *Annus Mirabilis* attempts to demonstrate that the welfare of the nation, in peace as in war, depended upon 'the care, management, and prudence of our King.' (I 257)

Although Dryden did not write as a Jacobite in 1666, he reflects the view of monarchy embraced by Jacobites later in the century, and this pair of poems provides a concise summary of the contrast between Williamite and Jacobite views of kingship. Whereas the Williamites placed a higher priority on the actions of the monarch in determining legitimacy of the reign, Jacobites emphasized the inherent legitimacy of the monarchy (and its recognition by the English people) as determining the validity of national actions and securing national blessing.

Shadwell's vision contrasts with Dryden's desire expressed in *Annus Mirabilis* as Dryden focuses on national welfare and Shadwell focuses on William's individual success. In his vision, Shadwell sees William's victory over Louis as "giv[ing] the *Shaken World* a *firm* and *glorious Peace*," and while there are national (and European) implications, they revolve around William's leadership and exploits. The difference becomes even clearer at the end of each poem. *Annus Mirabilis* ends with a prayer for national prosperity:

Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go;
 But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more:
 A constant Trade-wind will securely blow,
 And gently lay us on the Spicy shore. (1213-1216)

Yet Shadwell ends his *Votum Perenne* with a prayer for William's prosperity:

Almighty Power make this *Prediction* true,
 And with *Success* in all things prosper *You*;
Heaven from th' *Abundance* of its *precious store*,
 Such *Blessings* on your *Royal Temples* pour,
 Till you can ask, and that can give no more. (85-89)

This focus on William III demonstrates the continuing desire to establish the king's legitimacy and the Williamite method of portraying his personal valor as the locus of that legitimacy. Although this supplication for divine sanction of the new king's reign might seem ironic for the Williamites who worked to displace James II because it contradicts the contractual nature of government, the prayer actually fits quite well with their desire to select a monarch whose actions would support their goals for the nation. This prayer for God's blessing on the monarch who the people have chosen to replace a king who failed to fulfill his legal obligations matches

Milton's perspective as expressed in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.^{xxvii} This approach places the king's right to the throne in his actions, rather than in his person,

On the other hand, Shadwell and other Williamites did not ignore the many benefits the nation as a whole gained under the new coregents. Shadwell's play *Bury-Fair* provides a good example of one way that the Williamites worked to show that the nation was now better off. In this comedy, which was acted in the spring of 1689, Shadwell uses the setting of the famous fair to pit stock city and country characters against one another while providing commentary on the recent changes in society. John Ross's critical edition of *Bury-Fair* (1995) describes the play as one that "affirmed Whig beliefs favouring the de-centering of power from the monarchy to the property-owning classes" (23). Ross also observes that while the play is "neither primarily nor overtly" political,

It can nonetheless be better understood if it is seen as a play of its political moment.... In some half dozen unmistakable topical allusions, and in its general colouring, it is celebrating the 'Glorious Revolution' and the establishment of the Williamite regime, as surely as, say, John Dryden's drama *Don Sebastian* (1689) is lamenting the downside of these events. (23-24)

Shadwell uses the general tenor described by Ross to portray an England in which all is going well and advocate the position in which the English people find themselves following the events of late 1688/early 1689 as better for them than their position prior to the Glorious Revolution. In contrast to Shadwell's poetry, which could be biting in its satire and hostile to enemies of the coregents, the play is much more celebratory and optimistic. The thoroughgoing comic outlook in the play is appropriate to the victors, and Shadwell manages to assert his political viewpoint

without abusing anyone. Even the characters who are buffoons are portrayed in a more playful manner: the satire focuses more on fools than knaves, to use Ronald Paulson's terminology.^{xxviii}

An approach relying on caricature rather than abuse is to be expected from Shadwell, who unabashedly owned his debt to Ben Jonson for his drama. *Bury-Fair* offers nothing unexpected from a comedy of humors in terms of plot, development, or resolution, but the general flavor of the play supports the excitement felt by Williamites in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. The play is set at the time of the country fair and involves conflicts between city and country ideals as the retired wit Bellamy, whom Don Kunz characterizes as "an illustration of the Horation ideal" (305), competes with the rake Wildish for the sensible Gertrude's affections. At the same time, a French barber is convinced to play a count by Wildish to gull the extravagant Lady Fantast and her daughter. There are only minor complications in the plot, which ends well for all of the main characters.

While Shadwell had felt the pinch of decreasing support for Whig policies in the early 1680s to the point that he was banned from the theater, he had not changed his point of view (Ross 10). In contrast to Dryden, who was often criticized for the "flexibility" of his political leanings, Shadwell held fast to his beliefs.^{xxix} Matthew Prior, whose poetry will be discussed below, comments on Shadwell's plight in his *A Satyr on the Poets* (1687):

Some Poets I confess, the stage has fed,
 Who for Half-crowns are shown, for two pence read;
 But these not envy thou, nor imitate,
 But rather starve in *Shadwell's* silent Fate,
 Than new vamp Farces, and be Damn'd with *Tate*. (179-183)

In these lines, Prior contrasts the silence of Shadwell between 1682 and 1688 with those who would write opportunistically. The winds of change were blowing to the point that Shadwell returned to the stage in 1688 with *The Squire of Alsatia*, the first of his final five plays. Even as Prior wrote this poem, he felt comfortable lifting up Shadwell as a paragon of Whig virtue because he did not write for the tastes of the day (political or otherwise).

While *The Squire of Alsatia* came before the revolution, it demonstrates the type of writing Shadwell would bring to his dramas throughout the final years of his career. In the play, he presents various satirical characters who are dealt with good-naturedly. This satire is not the biting mockery of vice but the sympathetic presentation of flawed yet ameliorable characters. As Don Kunz puts it in *The Drama of Thomas Shadwell*, Shadwell demonstrates a transition from satire to sentiment in this play and *Bury-Fair* in which

conflict moves inward to the hearts and minds of eventually exemplary characters.

Hopefully, the new dramatic mode becomes less a matter of coincidental outwitting situations designed to discomfit some straw-man buffoon or knave and more a matter of conquering, discovering, or releasing the self. (301-302)

While *The Squire* bears less relevance here as a pre-Revolutionary work, the application of this principle in *Bury-Fair* provides important insights as to how Shadwell presented the Glorious Revolution and its implications for England.

Kunz elaborates upon Dorset's statement, "I do not pretend to say how great a poet Shadwell may be, but I am sure he is an honest man," by noting that the term "honest" may have had a deeper implication than that Shadwell simply deserved recompense for his prior suffering as a "staunch Whig" (302). For Kunz,

it is entirely possible the new Lord Chamberlain meant the recipient of his patronage was l'honnête homme – a benevolent, sympathetic, and socially responsible citizen. [This] definition, of course, best coincides with the image of Shadwell which derives from the sentimental comedies of his career's last phase; l'honnête indicates the final stage of his metamorphosis from the harsh Elizabethan satyr figure snarling his first few comedies' prefaces under the inspiration of the cankered muse. (302-303)

In the context of *Bury-Fair*, Shadwell becomes a poet liberated by the new monarchy who can express hope for all of society because of the new regime. While Locke's *Two Treatises* were not yet available in print, Shadwell's harsher satire earlier in his career and its more benevolent face later in his career resembles the contrast between Hobbes' harsh view of the state of nature and Locke's gentler interpretation of it.^{xxx} With the transition to William and Mary's reign, it became much more possible to see humanity as flawed, even in terms of a Calvinistic understanding of original sin, but capable of great good. Perhaps the "bountiful Present" given to Dryden by the Earl of Dorset after he appointed Shadwell to replace Dryden is another representation of this capacity (Dryden Works IV 23) To put it expressly in terms relevant to the Glorious Revolution and its literary interpretation, the monarch is no longer solely responsible for determining what is best for the people, but the people (at least the "right" people) gain the ability to determine if the monarch is best for them: in literature, everyone, even characters who have been purely stock sources of mockery, becomes more capable of redemption and worthy of treatment as potentially good. Kunz finds this attitude in Shadwell's play as forecasting the rise of sentimental comedy in the coming years (286), and the new conception of freedom demonstrated by the Glorious Revolution and the thought of men like Locke probably relates to this changing attitude.

Shadwell's attention to this capacity in *Bury-Fair* paired with the few references to the Revolution itself provides the play with its political import. In this play, Shadwell demonstrates the capacity for national unity and redemption in the wake of the events of 1688-89. Even the locale reveals something of Whig belief and highlights the new unity for which Williamites hoped. The rural setting provides for the inclusion of a wide range of characters and, as noted above, highlights Whig desires to see power decentralized. The play involves two love triangles in the main plot and various sub-plots that complement the main one. The first love triangle involves the young wit Wildish and the country gentleman Bellamy pursuing the sensible Gertrude, and the second involves Philadelphia, disguised as a young gentleman, pursuing Bellamy while he pursues her sister Gertrude. Sub-plots include inter-household strife between Mr. Oldwit and his wife Lady Fantast as he attempts to marry off his daughter, Gertrude, and his stepdaughter, Mrs. Fantast; the gulling of Mrs. Fantast by a French barber posing as a count; and the rivalry of Trim and Sir Humphrey who also pursue Mrs. Fantast. Through this varied cast, Shadwell presents stock humor characters representative of city and country, wise and foolish, and French and English sensibilities. Shadwell also throws in "the cranky old husband, Oldwit, versus the vain, aggressive old wife, Lady Fantast" for good measure (Ross 25). All of the action takes place in a single day at the famed Bury fair, and the lack of a clear villain allows Shadwell to conclude with a happy ending.

The play suggests that national unity is once again possible while affirming Whig values. While the central characters have their desires fulfilled, the comic characters, who in some senses embody extreme Tory values, simply wind up leaving. Bellamy and Wildish, who represent opposing values in so far as Bellamy stands for the benefits of the contemplative country life and Wildish lives the life of an urban libertine, are both happy in love at the play's

conclusion. In contrast, the Lady and Mrs. Fantast, who exaggerate obsession with wit, breeding, and fashion, flee before the play's resolution, and the French barber La Roch, who impersonates a count, is taken off by the constable. Shadwell seems to make room for all who will moderate their values to accommodate the new regime while suggesting that those who cannot adjust will find no place under the new system. Bellamy is paired with Philadelphia, who has demonstrated her fidelity to him by disguising herself as Charles and attaching herself to him, and the witty Wildish and the sensible Gertrude are united. These divergent couples find unity in the play. This type of unity may reflect on the possibility for national unity Shadwell hopes the English people can find under the new monarchy.

While the political import of the play as a whole is constructive, that does not mean that the play is without criticism of Jacobite views. Most of this commentary comes in vignettes, though, and examining a couple of them will show how Shadwell uses banter among characters to voice his viewpoint. At the end of Act II, an exchange among Bellamy, La Roch (posing as the French Count), and Wildish demonstrates Shadwell's attitude toward Tory infatuation with French absolutism. Sir Humphrey has knocked down a peasant in one of his practical jokes, and once he and Oldwit decide to let it go, the Count is still ready to run the peasant through. Bellamy tells the Count that if he makes an attempt on the peasant, the peasant "will knock 'em down: and we commend 'em for't," which shocks La Roch (II.ii.401-404). The following exchange ensues:

Bell. Our Peasants wear Shooes and Stockins, and lye warm; and have good Meat and Drink in their Houses.

Wild. Your King is a King of Dogs then: but how much greater is ours, who is a King of Men, and Free Men! Ours Governs the willing, he the unwilling.

Count. Your King great as our King! Jerny, your King can do noting, dere is de Law, de Parliament, I don know vat begar: my King can send for my Head wen he pleas; ye indeed, hum.

Old. My Lord Count, 'tis almost Dinner time.

Wild. The Rogue talks, as if he were of the Blood Royal.

Bell. Yes, like the next Successor.

Count. Yes, Begar, he can send for my Head: and dat be very good for him.

Wild. But my King cannot send for my Head when he please.

Count. Morbleu, dat be very good for you: yes indeed. (II.ii.405-419)

This exchange says much about Shadwell's attitude toward monarchy and, under the guise of critiquing the French monarch, provides a sharp criticism of James II's leanings toward absolutism. On the surface, this banter would be acceptable across party lines, but the dialogue also echoes debates about James II's tendency toward absolutism. James II's flight to and residence in France strengthens this subtext linking the repartee to the English political situation. La Roch's comparison of peasants to slaves and dogs echoes the English fear that James II attempted to violate the basic rights of all Englishmen. In the wake of 1689, the English people were especially conscious of their rights as they had just published the Declaration of Rights, and it came on the heels of William's own *Declaration of His Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange, of the Reasons Inducing Him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for Preserving of the Protestant Religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. As Schworer writes of the Declaration, "never before in English history had an instrument setting out the rights of the nation been presented to a person before he was king" (19). Both declarations highlighted the changing relationship between the monarch and his

people and clearly stepped away from the Filmerian concept of king as *pater patriae*.^{xxxii} Bellamy, representing the country party, highlights the fact that the English people are cared for from top to bottom – even the peasants have food, clothing, and shelter. Wildish expresses the Whig view as voiced in the city by lifting up the English rights as free men. It is especially telling that Wildish exclaims, “Our [king] Governs the willing, he the unwilling.” This statement brings to the fore the fundamental opposition between the Williamites who insisted that the monarch governed by assent of his people and Jacobites who advocated succession and divine right as the grounds of monarchy. Contrasting Wildish’s point with Dorax’s question about Sebastian’s reign, “My Master? By what title, Because I happen’d to be born where he Happen’d to be a King?”, highlights this issue as Dorax repents of this position by the end of the play (I.i.86-88). While Dryden portrays the consequences of rule by assent in *Don Sebastian*, Shadwell emphasizes the glory of that form of government in *Bury-Fair*.

Bellamy and Wildish working together to criticize the Count from distinct perspectives has the further benefit for Shadwell’s argument of subtly presenting one way in which William’s reign unites the country. Bellamy and Wildish represent diverse parties insofar as they represent court and country viewpoints, yet they agree on the benefits of William’s reign in opposition to that of an absolute monarch. La Roch’s retort, “your King can do noting, dere is de Law, de Parliament,” caricatures the Jacobite belief that the monarch has absolute authority in ruling his country and further unites Bellamy and Wildish against La Roch. The second act ends with the three in agreement that the French king’s right to send for his subject’s head is good for the king but that it is “very good” for the English that their monarch cannot send for his people’s heads when he pleases. Shadwell neatly presents opposing viewpoints uniting in their disdain for

absolutism. He briefly demonstrates how adherents to each viewpoint lose in a different way under an absolute monarch and then shows that there are also ways in which everybody loses.

Later in the play, a dialogue between Gertrude and Wildish has Gertrude invoking English liberty over and against Wildish's mocking Tory-like affirmations. Wildish's courtship of Gertrude (III.iii) affords Shadwell the opportunity to present the dialogue between a would-be lover and his love as a parody of civil discourse, a tactic commonly used in Restoration drama as discussed in chapter two and well-documented in, to give one example, works like Zwicker's *Lines of Authority*. As Wildish and Gertrude begin bantering back and forth, Wildish remarks, "You are resolv'd to use your Sovereign Power over me; and I'll show you my Passive Obedience. Do you swagger like a Tyrant? you shall find I can bear like a Slave" (III.iii.18-20). Wildish's reference to Passive Obedience mocks the Tory doctrine as he suggests that he can bear her tyranny just as the Tories suggested the nation should bear up under a tyrannical monarch. Wildish's claim that he can "bear like a Slave" under her rule directly contradicts his arguments against La Roch at the end of Act II. Gertrude answers Wildish, "Yes, you can act a Slave for a time, in hopes of making me one ever after" (III.iii.21-22). Her response expresses the fear of Stuart monarchs that parliamentary concessions serve only to subsume the monarch's power. Her response smacks of James II's fear that as the Commons gained more power, the monarchy became a player in its hands. The next lines add to the humor of the situation as well as making the criticism of both Tories and James more severe:

Wildish. Ah, Madam, those eyes were made to Conquer, and preserve their
Conquests: where e're they come, they'll Govern always.

Gertrude. For all that, if I were Marry'd to you, which Heav'n avert, you wou'd, within three months, be apt to think my Maids eyes, though a Doudy, more Victorious.

Wildish. It is impossible: I cou'd as soon prefer a farthing Candle to the Sun.

(III.iii.23-29)

Gertrude distrusts Wildish's overtures, which leads her to suggest that she would assert her authority in a way he would not like were they married. At the same time, she calls his integrity into question. Perhaps Gertrude's lines also have Whig opinion of James II behind them as she asserts that though he may think her "a Doudy" – that is dull or dimwitted – Wildish would find her "more Victorious." Both contemporary opinion and modern criticism have held that James II was not particularly bright as a politician even as he tried to entrench royal authority, and Gertrude may be parroting that line of thought as she points out the nature of the rule she would have over Wildish.^{xxxii} The overtly political overtones in the lines would encourage audiences to make these connections, just as they often made them with Dryden's plays. Wildish's comparison of her to the sun may invite comparison to the Sun King in France suggesting that the he would prefer to be ruled absolutely than by another monarch, which mocks Jacobite assertions that James should hold the title to reign regardless of his actions.^{xxxiii}

As these two examples show, the play uses bits of dialogue to criticize Jacobites rather than devoting the play's central plot to such an attack. Pairing these vignettes with a play that, on the whole, promotes the possibility of national unity allows Shadwell, through *Bury-Fair*, to create a piece that is largely not controversial and could be enjoyed by most of the nation. Doing so, Shadwell works for reconciliation through *Bury-Fair* in a way that much of his poetry does not. Maybe Shadwell's greater confidence in the dramatic than in the poetic as a means of

creation is part of the reason for the difference. At any rate, Shadwell presents two very different faces in his drama and his poetry of the 1690s. In his poetry, with its biting satire and superlative praise of William and Mary, he plays the role of unwavering supporter of the monarchy who sees the new rulers as able to do no wrong and their enemies as worthy of the harshest criticism. In his drama, Shadwell presents a gentler face. While his support of William and Mary is just as strong, the writing takes a softer approach as he seems to have the nation's well-being and healing more in mind. In all of his writing as Laureate, though, Shadwell worked to establish the new regime as the best thing for England, and he does so by emphasizing the ways in which the coregents actions suit them to rule rather than by relying on the hereditary model advocated by Filmer and others of his ilk.

Matthew Prior: Unofficial Laureate Verse

While Shadwell wrote to support William and Mary as the official Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, Matthew Prior wrote a good body of verse supporting them unofficially. Prior's diverse experience as a diplomat and statesman prevented him from working professionally as a poet, but his poetry was well-received throughout his lifetime. It became a popular expectation that he would write on major state affairs, and, for example, when he did not write quickly enough after Mary's death, he was roundly criticized for it.^{xxxiv} His satirical poetry demonstrates more polish than Shadwell's, and his verse in praise of the monarchy reaches poetic heights never achieved by the official laureate's verse. In *The Life of Matthew Prior*, the first full-length biography of the poet, Francis Bickley observes that "there are indications in Prior's poetry that had he not been born into the most sterile and sophisticated age of English poetry, and led by circumstances into one of the most artificial of professions, he might have won a place among our most lovable, if not among our greatest lyrists" (8). While the validity of

Bickley's conjecture is not of primary importance here, recognizing that Prior's political poetry goes beyond mere occasional ranting provides an important beginning for this discussion.

Prior wrote regularly throughout his diplomatic career. In her biography of Prior, Frances Mayhew Rippy notes that Prior observed that events in his youth prevented him from turning to a career in poetry (4). All the same, Prior's early education steeped him in the classics and his time at St. John's College, Cambridge gave him a firm foundation in logic and divinity. As a boy, he studied under Busby at Westminster, as both Dryden and Locke had done before him, first under the patronage of Dorset and then as a King's scholar. This educational background laid a framework for Prior's work as a poet. Rippy analyzes Prior as

tend[ing] to be an occasional poet, looking to the events of royalty and nobility for his topics. He enjoys manipulating pastoral and mythological machinery, and does so with considerable skill. He can use the poem as a highly successful instrument to win over those whom he may formerly have antagonized... (4)

This approach to portraying contemporary events served Prior throughout his poetic career. Two works Prior wrote shortly after his graduation from Cambridge demonstrate his use of these skills and his ability to portray poetically a situation to the advantage of those he wished to support.

In his *Satyr on the Poets. In Imitation of the Seventh Satyr of Juvenal*, Prior deals with issues related to poetry as a profession and shows his bent toward poetry containing "a witty, cynical, realistic melancholy" (Rippy 5). The poem liberally scorns the leading poets of the day including Settle, Shadwell, and Tate, but Prior reserves his harshest criticism for Dryden. Prior's poet asks for patronage "in the worst of times" envisioning an environment

When Hungry *Bayes* [Dryden] forsakes his empty Rhymes,
 Beseeching all true Catholicks Charity
 For a poor Proselyte, that long did lye
 Under the Mortal Sins of Verse and Heresie. (6-9)

Some of Prior's poetic skill becomes evident here as these lines at once allude to historic events related to Dryden's conversion, pun on the word "lye," and insult Dryden. Dryden's conversion to Roman Catholicism had raised the ire of many of his contemporaries and made him an easy target for many of his detractors. Of course, James II's Catholicism was a primary source of tension at the time, and Dryden's conversion could easily be viewed as opportunism. Rather than simply criticizing Dryden on that basis, Prior uses two strategies Dryden himself frequently employed to criticize him. First, Prior mocks Dryden's habit of self-effacement when writing to patrons. Second, Prior takes the Catholic virtue of charity, a key component of Dryden's new religion, and through it describes Dryden as using his theology to beg for support in a climate that did not value poetry. Prior envisions Dryden giving up this practice in his verse to ask directly for Catholic charity. The lines subtly use Dryden's practice to detract from the validity of a poetic livelihood while making Dryden especially guilty of using his writing to cry for support from "The only great good Man, who will declare/Virtue and Verse the Objects of your care" (3-4). Drawing on the Catholic notion of mortal sin, Prior suggests that verse as well as heresy fall into that category, which is especially damning for Dryden who is "guilty" of both verse and, ironically, heresy because of his forsaking the Church of England. The word "lye" adds to the insult by raising the question of whether Dryden had intentionally lied in his verse either by claiming to support the Church of England when his heart was Catholic or by insincerely professing Catholicism for gain. At the same time, it may be that he has simply lain

under these vices and in beseeching “true Catholicks Charity,” he removes himself from them. In these lines, Prior’s cynicism comes through clearly as he casts doubt on both the legitimacy of poetry and of Dryden’s intentions.

In the remainder of the poem, Prior continues detracting from the morality of poet’s intentions and questioning the possibility of maintaining integrity as a professional poet so that near the end of the poem he advises:

But these [opportunistic poets] not envy thou, nor imitate,
 But rather Starve in *Shadwell’s* silent Fate,
 Than new vamp Farces, and be Damn’d with *Tate*.
 For now no *Sidney* will three hundred give,
 That needy *Spencer*, and his Fame may live. (181-18)

By drawing Shadwell into the argument here, Prior makes his political leanings clear as Shadwell had been silenced because of his political opposition and victimized in *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel*, on which Tate worked. The satire is double-edged as Shadwell’s unwillingness to compromise his convictions in his art is held up to Tate’s penchant for adapting plays to contemporary taste. The Sidney/Spenser reference suggests that the court lacks the willingness to enable a true poet to work his craft and may ironically refer to Jonson’s allegation that Spenser died for lack of bread. While this verse may demonstrate Prior’s inner struggle and ultimate reason for rejection of a career as a professional poet. Prior’s ability to incorporate the layers of meaning in his poetry seen here continues to show itself in Prior’s verse for William and Mary.

In *The Hind and the Panther Transvers’d to the Story of The Country Mouse and the City-Mouse*, Prior collaborates with his old friend Charles Montagu to satirize Dryden and his

controversial poem on his conversion to the Roman church.^{xxxv} While Bickley suggests that it did more immediately for the reputation of Montagu than for Prior (26-28), Rippy asserts that it was “decisive in making the careers of both men” (5). Bickley corroborates the benefit Prior accrued from the work over time, noting that it probably played a part in Prior’s selection for the honor of writing St. John’s annual poetic tribute to the Earl of Exeter in 1688 and Shephard’s assertion that “Matt shall return to town as the successor of Shadwell...in the laureateship” (Bickley 28, 30). *The Country Mouse and the City-Mouse* cleverly parodies Dryden’s apology for his conversion to Roman Catholicism by translating the protagonists of Dryden’s poem to a dialogue in which Dryden, represented, as “Bayes,” which was typical when satirizing him, defends his new work to Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith. This dialogue afforded the authors the opportunity both to parody some of Dryden’s lines from *The Hind and the Panther* and to ridicule Dryden’s defense of his work. The lines drawn from *The Hind and the Panther* demonstrate Prior and Montagu’s wit while highlighting what they see as the ridiculousness of Dryden’s Catholic apology. This is Dryden’s opening:

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. (1-4)

Compare it to that of *The Country Mouse and the City-Mouse*:

A milk-white *Mouse* immortal and unchang’d,
 Fed on soft Cheese, and o’re the *Dairy* rang’d;
 Without, unspotted, innocent within,
 She fear’d no danger, for she knew no *Ginn*. (89-93)

By translating Dryden's hind to a mouse, the poets reduce Dryden's argument to a diminutive stature and the cheese/dairy/gin substitutions make his case appear even more ridiculous. The replacement of key words while maintaining the bulk of Dryden's wording reinforces the authors' mockery of *The Hind and the Panther*.

Interspersed with these bits of verse is the dialogue among Bayes, Smith, and Johnson. Smith and Johnson mock Bayes and sarcastically comment on his lines, but Bayes remains earnest and seems completely unaware of the harsh treatment he receives. Throughout Bayes' defense of his work, Prior draws on themes Dryden uses in his own prologues. For example, immediately following the above lines, Johnson suggests, "Methinks Mr. Bayes, soft Cheese is a little too coarse Diet for an *immortal Mouse*; were there any necessity for her eating, you should have consulted *Homer* for some *Coelestial Provision*," to which Bayes replies, "Faith, Gentlemen, I did so; but indeed I have not the *Latin* one, which I have mark'd by me, and could not readily find it in the Original" (94-99). Both the initial comment and Bayes' response illustrate the tack that Prior claims to have espoused in a letter:

To make the thing yet more ridiculous we took the same humour the D[ryden] of B[ayes] had some years since in his play, the Rehearsal; that is we Bring in B: by whom we mean D: defending (as his way is) the foolishhest things in his Poem, and Smith and Johnson by whom we mean any two Gentlemen of Tolerable Sense and judgment finding those faults which are most Obvious, and urging B. to be ridiculous. (Prior Works 2 833)

As Bayes seems oblivious to the silliness of consulting Homer for the proper dietary habits of mice, two aspects of ridicule come forth. First, as Prior's letter notes, Smith and Johnson "urge Bayes to be ridiculous." The fact that he fails to recognize the sarcasm in the very question calls

Bayes' common sense into question, and his earnestness in relying on ancient pagan texts to debate a religious matter might also highlight his ineptitude for some readers. In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton used a similar approach as he criticized Charles I's pagan source for his prayer in *Eikon Basileke*, so Prior and Montagu may rely on at least one anti-Stuart precedent to show the futility of Dryden/Bayes' use of secular works to make religious points. Prior's understanding of this sort of subtlety serves him in works praising William and Mary and in his criticism of their adversaries.

As *The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd* continues, Prior and Montagu continue to mine this vein so that Bayes becomes more and more absurd. In both this work and Prior's *Satyr on the Poets*, he shows his ability to take a theme and develop it at length to form the reader's opinion as he wishes. This tack paired with his ability to play on subtleties and weave multiple layers of meaning together figure prominently in Prior's verse supporting William and Mary and his works criticizing their detractors. The strength of Prior's "laureate" verse is conceptual: his ability to take a theme and portray it convincingly gives his poetry its power and provided its popularity in the years following the Glorious Revolution.

In December of 1688, Matthew Prior's satirical poem *The Orange* was published. As G. M. Crump notes in POAS 4, this poem was the third on the topic released in the six-weeks between William of Orange's landing and James II's flight (xxxix). The poem, like its predecessors, is set to the popular tune, "A Pudding," and rehearses events of the preceding months. While it carries the same theme as the former versions, Wright and Spears note that "Prior's ballad is, rather, a new poem on the same theme, without verbal resemblance to its predecessor" (II 845). The poem, which was also published as a broadside, begins by advising, "Good People I pray/ Throw the Orange away," and continues satirically describing the ways in

which the people “Will find this same Orange exceedingly sowre” (59). Throughout the poem, Prior relies on imagery that puns on both the orange as William III and as fruit, which illustrates Prior’s ability to use subtly multiple shades of meaning to build a theme to its conclusion.

The Orange utilizes events surrounding the months prior to William III’s landing in December to highlight James II’s inadequacies as a monarch and question the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. Interspersed with this theme are insults directed at various Jacobite supporters of all stripes. The thinly veiled satire provided a rallying cry for those dissatisfied with James’ rule while suggesting that the Orange really was a better choice. The third stanza provides a clear illustration of how Prior uses multiple layers of meaning in *The Orange*:

The sins of his Youth
 Made him think of one Truth,
 When he spawl’d from his Lungs, and bled twice at the mouth,
 That your fresh sort of Food
 Does his Carcass more good,
 And the damn’d thing that Cur’d his putrefied blood
 Was an Orange. (14-21)

Most obviously, these lines refer to the nosebleeds from which James II suffered in late November as pressure from William of Orange mounted. By paralleling the curative powers of the fruit with William as a “cure” for James’ Catholic bloodline, Prior builds his case for the Prince’s illegitimacy. There may be a second level of criticism lying further below the surface. POAS recognizes the first couplet of this stanza as related to James’ philandering, particularly with Lady Southesk. A rumor in 1668 claimed Lord Carnegie, Earl of Southesk, purchased a potion that, when placed in his wife’s womb, would prevent her paramour from begetting a male

heir (236-237). While the rumor may be doubtful and the clap's efficacy is at best doubtful, if Prior has that story in mind, he masterfully alludes to it as he seeks to cast doubt upon James' ability to beget a son.

In the following stanza, Prior moves from questioning the king's capacity to bear a son to suggesting the son is illegitimate. Prior asserts that the son "Is surely his own,/ Because from an Orange it cri'd to be gone" (23-24), but he goes on to cast aspersions on the Prince with

But the Hereticks say
He was got by Da--- [D'Adda],
For neither K--- nor the Nuncio dare stay

Near an Orange. (25-28)

Count Ferdinando D'Adda, who fled in December, was the Papal Nuncio and rumored to be the Prince's father (POAS 4 306). Prior continues his ruse of claiming the king cannot abide oranges suggesting that the son could just as easily have inherited his disdain for "an Orange" from D'Adda as from James. While Wright and Spears suggest that the poem was probably written prior to James II's attempted flight on December 11, the internal evidence here mitigates against that reading. The allegation that "neither King James nor the Nuncio dare stay / Near an Orange" becomes sharper if it were composed after James' left London on December 11 because D'Adda also fled the city on December 12. If the poem were composed after the twelfth, these lines would become especially funny to the people as both men, quite literally, dared not stay near William of Orange.

While stanza four links James with the Catholics to slight his character, stanza five plays off the French connection. Prior continues to cast aspersions on James II, and this stanza uses both his wife and his association with the French monarch to slight James. These lines take Louis

XIV's operations for *fistula in ano* to criticize him and James' wife Mary as "open-arses."^{xxxvi}

The lines read:

Since *Lewis* was Cut
 From his Breech to the Gut,
France fancies an open-arse delicate Fruit;
We wiser than so
 Have two string to our bow
 For we've a good Q--- that's an open-arse too,
 And an Orange. (29-35).

Most likely, "open-arse" refers to Louis' condition after his rectal surgery, but the term is also used to refer to a medlar tree. So, Prior continues to draw on the fruit image by giving the English a choice between an orange and a medlar as they must choose between William III and Mary II and James II and Mary of Modena. Perhaps behind the open-arse/medlar tree imagery is a pun on medlar's homophone "meddler." In this sense, both Louis XIV and Mary of Modena are presented as meddling in English affairs. While attaching the fruit metaphor and its implications to Mary, Prior brings in a third meaning for "open-arse." This layer casts further doubt upon the Prince's legitimacy as the term calls to mind the ease with which Mary delivered him, which might suggest that Prince James was not indeed her own child. This stanza neatly ties together James' affinity for the French, the French influences upon his Catholic wife, and the popular perception that both she and Louis were meddling in England's affairs.^{xxxvii} While the poem begins by advising the English to "throw the Orange away," at this point Prior suggests that the English have two options open to them. The two strings to their bow are the product of the Queen's "open-arse" and an Orange. As Prior intends for the English to choose William of

Orange, he shows his affinity for the views expressed by Milton on the subjection of regal authority to legal authority.

The theme of Mary of Modena's meddling continues as Prior addresses the tension between her and her step-daughter Anne. Anne had both supported William's invasion and had written to her sister that the birth of the Prince "is wonderful if it is no cheat" (POAS 4 307). These actions may have precipitated the Princess' flight with Lady Sarah Churchill at the end of November, and the implication that Mary of Modena's ire forced her to leave provides more fodder with which Prior could abuse James II's wife.

In the final stanzas of *The Orange*, Prior moves on to attacking James' supporters in the Court. He begins with Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, who converted to Roman Catholicism in 1687. He describes the earl as "An honest old Peer/ That forsook God last year" (43-44), which illustrates the Prior's continuation of anti-Catholic treatments and suggests that James II incites Englishmen to forsake their religion to gain the monarch's favor. The rest of the stanza highlights the impotence of those in the Court who came to James' aid. The description of Mordaunt's decrepitness paired with references to his and James' poxes does not paint a very virile portrait of James and his allies:

[he] Pull'd off all his Plaisters, and Arm'd for the War;

But his Arms would not do,

And his Aches, throbb'd too,

That he wish'd his own Pox and his M---s too

On an Orange. (45-49)

Prior highlights the 64-year-old Earl's poor health and suggests that the best help he can offer James II is wishing his pox on William III.

In the following lines, Prior continues to denigrate James II's supporters – Jeffreys, Herbert, Lobb, and Penn. Lumping these men together, Prior portrays James' impotence to muster any real support for his failing monarchy. Linking the aged Earl of Peterborough, two chief justices criticized for self-serving policies, and dissenters as James' coalition does little to lend credibility to his regime. The final lines bring the consequences of failing to throw the Orange away to a head:

The Q--- to be seiz'd
 Will be very ill pleas'd
 And so will K--- Pippin, too dry to be squeez'd

By an Orange. (60-63).

As Prior implies that William's invasion will result in the seizure of James and Mary, he includes final jabs at James' Catholicism and his heir's legitimacy. Calling James "King Pippin" brings to mind Pippin III, father of Charlemagne, who was installed as King of the Franks through Papal support and whose son became the first Holy Roman Emperor. This appellation for James vaguely highlights his Catholic loyalties and may suggest that his son would further submit England to papal control as Charlemagne had done. At the same time, a "pippin" can refer to an apple, which continues to play on the fruit imagery, and in keeping with it, the term "dry" further highlights the theme of James II's impotence.^{xxxviii} Throughout *The Orange*, Prior builds on James' inability to sire a legitimate heir and his inability to assemble an effective government. While this work is essentially critical, in the months and years to come, Prior would use the same techniques employed here positively to substantiate the legitimacy of William and Mary's reign. As James II's heavy-handed and possibly deceitful actions made him unfit to rule, the coregents' valor and love for England make them ideal leaders.

Around April of 1689, Prior composed a poem calling William III to protect England after James II's landing in Ireland on March 12. This poem contrasts starkly with the above poems in its form and content. While the poem is ultimately a song (*To Mr: K---s Tune of the Prince's March*), it resembles the bawdy ballad *The Orange* only in its staunchly Williamite theme. The poem contains twenty-seven short lines in three equal stanzas, and only the first two stanzas were published in 1689 (*Works* 92). Prior relies on the parallel motivations of protecting Mary II's honor and saving the state in the first two stanzas while tying in William III's own glory as a secondary theme. With this poem, Prior begins writing poetry that unabashedly recognizes William and Mary as the rightful monarchs and sees maneuvers to unseat them as attempts at usurpation.

Prior begins the poem by calling William III from domestic rest to war on behalf of his wife. His call revolves around William driving back James II for the sake of his wife in the first stanza:

Great Nassau rise from Beauty
 Leave Maria's softer Charms
 Call the Soldier to his Duty
 Bid the Trumpet sound Alarms.
 To renown Love excites Thee
 O prepare
 Sudden War
 Mary's injur'd Cause invites Thee
 Love and Mary bless thy Arms. (1-9)

The contrast between beauty and duty was well rehearsed in Restoration literature as many plays dealt with love as a potential obstacle to a leader performing his duty. To name one example, in Dryden's *All for Love*, written a decade earlier, Antony is torn between his love for Cleopatra and his duty as an emperor. Here, however, Prior shows no doubt that William will rise to his duty and, indeed, part of his duty should spring from his love for Mary. The rhyming of "Leave Maria's softer Charms" with "Bid the Trumpet sound Alarms" highlights that William's duty springs from love.

Prior unites these themes by tying the necessity of war to the defense of Mary's honor. By driving the former king out of Ireland, William III secures the fame of his love for Mary II and defends her from accusations that her cause is unjust. Jacobites categorized the Glorious Revolution as a rebellion and criticized Mary II for allowing her part in the rebellion.^{xxxix} In a time when people readily saw the Divine fingerprints on events of history, allowing James to regain the throne might forever tarnish Mary by branding her an ungrateful daughter and a usurper. Therefore, Prior includes protection of his wife's reputation as one of William's motivations in battle.^{xl}

In the second stanza, Prior moves from familial to national concern. Whereas he begins the poem by imploring William to "rise from Beauty," in stanza two, Prior writes, "Great Nassau rise to Glory/ Rise to Save our sinking State" (10-11). The new monarch's duty transcends the honor of his wife and extends to the preservation of the state. Maintaining the initial rhyme in each stanza heightens the link between stanzas so that William's motivation grows from both the honor of his wife and of his country. The middle lines of the stanza directly address the issue between James II's and William III's reigns:

Truth and Justice march before Thee

Victory behind shal wait.

Death and Hell n'er shal vex Thee

Faith and Laws

Back thy Cause. (12-16)

“Truth” and “Faith” highlight the contrast between the Protestant William and the Catholic James calling to mind William’s role saving the English people from James’ Catholicism. At the same time, Prior criticizes James’ capriciousness with regards to English law through references to “justice” and “laws” supporting William’s cause. In these lines, Prior rehashes the conclusions of the Bill of Rights with regards to James’ crimes and adumbrates the arguments Locke would present in a few months when his *Two Treatises of Government* was published. For Williamites, a key component of their defense of the coregents’ installation lay in the contrast between William’s upholding English law and James’ violation of it. The sentence at the start of the Bill of Rights introducing James II’s misdeeds makes this clear,

Whereas the late King James the second, by the Assistance of divers Evil
Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers, imployed by him did endeavour to Subvert
and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of this

Kingdome. (in *The Declaration of Rights* 295)

At the same time, the document inserts a parenthetical comment describing the character of “His Highnesse the Prince of Orange” before listing the actual content of the Bill. It describes the Dutch prince as the one “whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power.” Prior poetically buttresses the groundwork laid by William’s supporters in these lines emphasizing the moral high ground that

the coregent's reign demonstrates. As Prior concludes these lines, he hearkens to another William who had unified the English people through military prowess holding forth the possibility of lasting greatness for William of Orange. The lines "All our Isle with Joy expects Thee/ March to Conquer and be great" (17-18) call to mind William the Conqueror and emphasize the possibility of William III being another great unifier of the English people.

In 1690, Prior celebrates the victory in Ireland and England's king's reign with *A Pindarique on His Majesties Birth-Day*. As Rippey states, this poem is the first Prior wrote after assuming his role as an official government spokesperson, for he had just arrived in Holland to assume his post as secretary to Lord Dursley, English ambassador at The Hague (46). The poem relies on the same themes as the song *To Mr: K---s Tune of the Prince's March*, and its seventy-six lines divide fairly evenly between William's actions to that point (lines 1-37) and prophecy about William's coming glories (lines 38-76). Prior uses language similar to that of the earlier song at the beginning of this poem:

Our Great Defender Plowed his Glorious Way,
 To make our Wishes, and his Fame compleat,
 To fix a new our sinking State,
 And fill the great Decrees of Fate. (2-5)

The first line cited here answers Prior's entreaty, "Great Nassau rise to Glory" in *To Mr: K---s* (10), just as making "his Fame compleat" fulfills the assertion that "To renown Love excites Thee" from the first stanza of the previous poem. Because of William's "ris[ing] to Save our sinking State," the state has been "fix[ed] a new" and the "great Decrees of Fate" have been filled.

In the lines immediately following, Prior invokes Apollo to spell out the nature of England's reversal of fortune since the new king's ascension. While most of these lines contain little to set them apart, Prior returns to the themes of William III as *defensor fidei* and liberator of the English people as Apollo sees "Truth Restored, and *Albion Free*" (13). As the pindaric proceeds, Prior has the muses join in singing William's praise. Their recognition of him as "The King, the Conqueror, the Hero" highlights Prior's strategy for upholding the prince's legitimacy as the three-fold acclamation establishes William of Orange as monarch. Once again asserting William's kingship bolsters the Williamite claim to his legitimacy, especially when paired with the definite article. While the term "conqueror" might be construed as suggesting that the new king attained his position by conquest, as Jacobites would paint it, for Prior the term more likely highlights similarities between William III and William the Conqueror who unified England and helped establish a stable government through, among other things, the Domesday Booke. Finally, "the Hero" emphasizes William's character as a warrior king. While Jacobites might wish to appropriate the term "conqueror" as indicting William, Williamites could hold up his valor as a hero in contrast to James II's cowardly flight. Sandwiching "the Conqueror" between the other two appellations also secures a constructive interpretation of all three terms, as "the King" and "the Hero" highlight the nobility of William III's character. The linking of these three terms also demonstrates the Williamite tendency to unite the king's title and character. John Locke expresses this idea in his second treatise:

Though I have said above, Chap. II, *That all men by Nature are equal*, I cannot be supposed to understand all sorts of *Equality*: *Age* or *Virtue* may give Men a just *Precedency*: *Excellency of Parts and Merit* may place others above the Common *Level*: *Birth* may subject some, and *Alliance* or *Benefits* others, to pay an

Observance to those to whom Nature, Gratitude or other Respects may have made it due. (II.54.1-7)

Whether Prior had read these lines from Locke or not, both men drive at the same idea – respect and titles are earned rather than simply inherited. The similarity of these ideas is even stronger in consideration of Prior’s suggestion that William III “Plowed his Glorious Way, / To make our Wishes, and his Fame compleat” (2-3). Both Prior and Locke join the merit inherent in a leader with that individual’s actions and his subjects’ wishes to form a basis for the ruler’s title.

As Prior prognosticates about the future of the reign, there is little unusual other than the reference to suppressing France’s “Tyrannick Might, and Lawless Power” (46). While this assault on Louis XIV falls in line with English attacks across the board, in the context of this poem, it further establishes the contrast between absolute monarchy and the English government with its emphasis on *lex rex*. Because of the well-known ties between James II and the French court, attacking the French adds another level of anti-Jacobite rhetoric to this poem.

In the final stanza of the poem (68-76), Prior invokes the goddess Astraea as uniting her throne with William and Mary’s, which might remind contemporary readers of Dryden’s own poem on the Restoration, *Astraea Redux*. In this stanza, Prior uses rhetoric similar to Dryden’s. Lines such as “Fair Plenty opens wider her bounteous Hand, / And throws her Gifts o’re all the Land” echo Dryden’s prophecy that Charles II’s reign will bring about an age of unparalleled commerce for the British Isles as he writes (68-69):

Their wealthy Trade from Pyrates Rapine free
 Our Merchants shall no more Advent’rers be:
 Nor in the farthest East those Dangers fear
 Which humble *Holland* must dissemble here. (304-307)

The thrust of Prior's lines expresses the same sort of exuberance that Dryden does in *Astraea Redux*; both writers celebrate the new monarch as ushering in a time of joy and prosperity. The writers differ, though, in that Dryden ultimately portrays Charles II as a type of Augustus and highlights the "growth of Armes and Arts" (322). While Dryden links the legal and commercial benefits that Charles II brings, Prior relies exclusively on William III as a source of justice, martial prowess, and establishment of national security. Prior's focus comes as no surprise, though, considering William's almost total lack of interest in the arts during his reign. The concluding lines once again emphasize the legitimacy and benefits of William and Mary's reign through the image of celestial justice:

Astrea [*sic*] has forsook the Stars,
 And joyned her Throne to Theirs,
 Nor shall return from Earth again,
 Whilst *WILLIAM*, and whilst *MARY* Reign. (73-76)

The union of *Astraea's* reign with the coregents' subtly asserts the justice of their reign through her very title. In the wake of the turmoil of James II's reign and the widespread perception that he sought to appropriate power however he could, the prospect of Justice joining with the throne held substantial appeal. Drawing to the conclusion of this poem, Prior once again focuses on the ultimate benefits for the nation growing out of William and Mary's installation as coregents.

The next poem Prior wrote dealing with nationalistic issues is *An Ode in Imitation of the Second Ode of the Third Book of Horace* (published August 1692). This poem is the first of Prior's to be printed by Jacob Tonson, the son of Dryden's publisher, and the first to deal with foreign issues rather than strictly national ones. In it, Prior celebrates the English naval victory at La Hogue in May, which occurred in front of the French army. The poem begins by recounting

the victory and urging the English to rouse themselves from “the Lethargic Dream” imposed by other French victories that year (2). But, by the middle of the poem, Prior has shifted his focus to a treatment of virtue. He then concludes by celebrating his king’s virtue as “treasur[ing] up a greater Name/ Than any of the *Nine* did e’er proclaim” (209-210), which places the English king’s virtue on par with any recounted by others under the muses’ inspiration.

The themes in this poem vary little from those in Prior’s earlier verse. He continues heralding William III’s martial prowess and extolling Mary II’s rule as vice regent in her husband’s absence. This poem describes benefits gained through the conjunction of William’s and Mary’s roles – a strategy employed in many Williamite works. Interestingly, Prior again appropriates patriarchal language to accomplish his task in these lines:

William, so Fate requires, again is Arm’d,
 Thy Father to the Feild [sic] is gone:
 Again *Maria* weeps Her absent Lord:
 The softer Honour of thy Throne
 For *Albion*’s Good consents to Rule alone. (9-13)

Coming on the heels Prior’s chastisement of the English in which he challenges them “Or wake, degenerate Isle, or cease to won/ What they Old Kings in *Gallic* Camps have done” (4-5), these lines bear a Filmerian slant. This type of description of the monarchy, though, was deeply engrained in English culture, and referring to the Dutch king as a father plays down William III’s status as a foreigner. Prior furthers his depiction of William as at home among the English by bringing Mary into the equation. This portrayal humanizes William who had come under criticism at home for his involvement of the English in wars critics saw as benefiting only his interest. By showing Mary as sacrificing for her husband, Prior obliquely suggests that all

English subjects may need to give up some comfort under William's leadership for the ultimate good of the nation. Prior concludes the stanza urging the English to take heart from their leaders' example: "Oh! be thy Courage and thy Fame restor'd,/ Mov'd by Her Tears, excited by His Sword" (14-15). This couplet encapsulates the Williamite strategy of demonstrating the benefits of the coregency through linking their roles.

The entire first half of the poem describes this victory over the French, and then Prior shifts the poem's emphasis to praising William III's virtues. These lines also include Prior's first attacks on the French poet Boileau, which indicates Prior's positioning himself opposite the strongly nationalistic and authoritarian French poet. Prior also uses the traditional trope of the reciprocal relationship between poetry and heroism. Empowering the poet to give life to virtuous deeds adds additional depth to the poet's work. The clearest statement of this position begins section seven:

Virtue to Verse the real Lustre gives,
 Each by the others mutual Friendship lives:
 The Heros Acts Sustain the Poets Thought,
Aeneas suffer'd and *Achilles* fought,
 Or *Virgils* Majesty and *Homers* rage

In vain had strove to Vanquish Envious Age. (108-113)

Prior portrays virtue and verse as bearing a reciprocal relationship such that we remember virtuous actions because of poetry and verse ultimately gains its beauty through its portrayal of heroism. The references to Virgil and Homer give epic weight to the English king's actions while elevating Prior's description of the victory to epic proportions.

At the same time, this introduction gives Prior the opportunity to assert English superiority to the French under William III's rule. Coming immediately after his description of Louis XIV's soldiers as "pale Coward[s]"(95) and immediately before his assault on Boileau, the link between virtue and verse heightens the contrast between the French and English. William's actions are described thus:

While, through the fiercest Troops, and thickest press

Undaunted Virtue carries on Success;

While equal Heav'n guards the distinguish'd brave,

And Armies must not hurt whom Sheilding [sic] *Angels* Save. (104-107)

This description of the king's actions highlights his virtue as the source of his greatness and suggests that God himself protects William and his troops by sending his "Sheilding *Angels*." At the same time, the French poets struggle:

In vain Ye *Gallic* Muses Strive

With Labour'd Verse to keep his Fame alive.

Your costly Monuments in vain you raise

On the weak Basis of his mould'ring Praise. (119-123)

Prior's task can succeed because he extols real virtue, but Boileau struggles like Sisyphus because his "mould'ring praise" of Louis XIV is not based on characteristics inherent in the monarch. In these lines, Prior unites good verse with true virtue, and this attack on the French secures the English poets who write for William III as perpetuating the friendship between verse and virtue while others labor to erect a lasting monument in vain.

One should not take this friendship to mean that William's valor is the same as an arrogant attempt at fame. Attempting a just cause is reward enough:

But Virtue is her own Reward,
 Tho neither Lyre were Strung, or Verse were heard,
 In a Superior Orb the Goddess Rowles
 nor minds our Censure, nor desires our Praise,
 Her Acts no human Accident controuls,
 Nor Envy can depress, nor Flatt'ry raise:
 Tho none Shou'd injure her, tho none Adore,
 Tho Triumphs or Misfortunes were no more
 She Seeks no Lustre and She fears no Night,
 But in her Self compleatly bright
 Not lessen'd tho repell'd by Fate
 Rejects the mean Design, attempts the great
 And in the Battel falls, or Saves the State. (130-142)

The king's actions bear their own reward, regardless of their portrayal by the poets. Right after establishing the validity and importance of his own work, Prior carefully separates his labor from a role in creating William III's valor. The monarch, in his personification of virtue, exists *sui generis*, requiring no praise and unhampered by human devices. Emphasizing that "she seeks no lustre" highlights the independence of the monarch's greatness from the poet's work as Prior has just used virtue, verse, and lustre together thirty lines earlier. The return to the theme of William saving the state brings to mind the debt the English owe their new monarch and the freedom of subjects to choose a ruler who will uphold their national rights and liberties. Milton's emphasis on the importance of a monarch's actions has already been discussed, and this section also aligns closely with Locke's belief that governments are formed for the protection of liberty.^{xli}

Prior continues building his praise of the king through the next sections as he describes him as a near deity.^{xlii} In the final section, he fully expresses the honor he believes William III deserves. To do so, he calls upon “heros” who have fought to re-establish England to “hear the Pious Goddess Swear, / That *William* Treasures up a greater Name / Than any of the *Nine* did e’er proclaim” (208-210). The name the Dutch prince has earned as king of England stands in contrast to the vain striving of the “*Gallic* Muses” and further places England in a unique place as recipients of Divine favor under the new monarchs. Foreshadowing his later *Hymn to the Sun*, Prior goes on to say that the king improves upon the reputation sworn to him by the goddess,

...in His Constellation he Unites

Their scatter’d Rays, and fainter Lights:

That His full glory shal for ever Shine,

Sublime its Sphere, it’s [*sic*] ray Divine. (214-217)

These lines show William III as a great unifier.^{xliii} In the wake of England’s national division prior to his ascension and the fragmented state of Europe, Prior hopes that William will bring stability to the nation and the world through his military victories. In them, Prior sees the hand of Providence slowly working to restore order to the world.

While it might seem that God has ignored England’s plight in recent years, Prior takes this victory as an omen that things will soon be set right. The willingness of people to see God’s hand in every event at this point in history enables Prior to take the victory of La Hogue as a sign that William is the legitimate monarch who will be the instrument of Divine justice on earth.

Concluding the poem, Prior borders on preaching as he recites these facts:

Merit has lain confus’d with Crimes;

Jove has seem’d Negligent of human Cares,

Nor Scourg'd our Follies, nor return'd our Prayers;
 Yet now his Justice lifts the Equal Scales,
 Ambition is Suppress'd, and Right prevails:
 Fate it's great ends by slow Degrees Attains,
 O'er *Europe* Free'd Victorious *William* Reigns,
 And sullen War and Captive Pride
 Behind his Chariot Wheels are ty'd
 In Everlasting Chains. (234-243)

Urging patience, Prior suggests that the wheels of history turn slowly and once William III has united/conquered Europe, right will prevail. This strongly nationalistic conclusion serves to remind England that their new king came to end James II's ambition and rule according to God's (Jove's) justice. In him, they have a ruler who will transcend the goal of stabilizing England's law and religion by ending war across Europe and ushering in a golden age of peace. These characterizations of the new king's reign highlight the Williamite emphasis on merit as a ground for authority and once again brings the ideas from the previously cited passages from Locke and Milton to bear on Prior's support of William III.

At the end of the following year, Prior wrote his *Hymn to the Sun* at The Hague, which was set to music by Purcell for performance before William and Mary on New Year's Day, 1694. The hymn invokes Apollo to bless the New Year and runs through conventional imagery as Prior works to establish the greatness of William and Mary's reign. The poem builds to a conclusion in which "the double powers of the Apollo-Sun (poetry and illumination) are equated with the inexhaustible riches of the reign of William and Mary" (Rippy 47). While the poem's

content is more uniformly positive than the *Ode*, Prior continues relying on his ability to build layers of meaning around a theme to fortify his point.

As Prior begins the *Hymn to the Sun*, he invokes Apollo as the “Light of the World, and Ruler of the Year” (1), and asks him to proclaim around the world “That in fair ALBION Thou hast seen/ The greatest Prince, the brightest Queen,/ That ever sav’d a Land, or blest a Throne” (5-7). The adjectives describing William and Mary invite comparison with Apollo, and, with his characterization of the coregents as the greatest and brightest “That ever sav’d a Land, or blest a Throne,” Prior returns to his pet theme of the salvation they brought to England. Of course, by this time the implication extends beyond simply rescuing England from James II’s tyranny to the victories in successor’s wars but though the other characters may have changed, the song remains the same. This steadfast adherence to the concept of William and Mary as saviors of England is a hallmark of Prior’s laureate verse.

The second verse strengthens the parallel between the coregents and Apollo as Prior empowers their successes to order the calendar in the same way as Apollo orders the celestial calendar:

From the Blessings They bestow,
Our Times are dated, and our *Aera*’s move:
They govern, and enlighten all Below,
As Thou dost all Above. (15-18)

These lines link William’s and Mary’s blessings to Apollo’s, and the four lines are drawn together even more tightly by the movement from the blessings bestowed by the coregents dating their times, to their government. The lines conclude comparing the earthly rulers’ ability to order their kingdom as Apollo orders his kingdom “Above.” Prior begins with this establishment of the

To bless the great ELIZA's Reign;
 And in the Typic Glory show,

What fuller Bliss MARIA shall bestow. (49-57)

In these lines Prior emphasizes the unity of Elizabeth I's counselors (however real or imagined it may have been), the establishment of law, and England's rise to greatness under her reign. The reference to law is especially poignant if Prior has in mind the establishment of religious toleration in contrast to Mary I's persecution of Protestants. In contrast, the reference to happy counsels may represent the council of the gods bestowing blessings upon her reign. In either case, Prior is pairing the happiness Mary II brings to England with the healing William III brings to further assert the blessings the English people accrue under the coregents.

In verse seven, Prior praises the abundance commerce brings so that William and Mary's reign not only peace but also prosperity come to England through their reign. In spite of all of his differences with Dryden, they both shared the view that commercial success was a hallmark of English well-being. The language in this verse also calls to mind the dance of the graces and the dawn of a new day so that Prior uses the verse to portray the beginning of a new era of domestic blessing. After the preceding years' struggles, Prior sees a new day dawning and the source of its prosperity is the new king and queen. As "Many fraught with all the Treasures" of the earth present their gifts before Mary, it is so "That great MARIA all those Joys may know,/ Which, from Her Cares, upon Her Subjects flow" (60, 64-65). These lines again look back to the voyages of discovery under Elizabeth and the wonders presented to her by England's explorers. For Prior, Mary's beneficence toward her people will enable them to bring the wealth of the world before her so that she might have the simple satisfaction of knowing what she has enabled them to accrue. By linking the wealth in store for England with the queen's care for her people,

Prior subtly suggests that the suffering they might endure pales in comparison to the concern she takes for their prosperity.

In the poem's final verse, Prior gives William and Mary's reign eternal significance. Rather than struggling to establish their legitimacy, Prior seeks to give their reign a place at the top of history. By this point in his career and their reign, Prior has moved past simply showing how the monarchs benefit England. He concludes the poem by asking Apollo to

Let all thy tuneful Sons adorn

 Their lasting Work with WILLIAM's Name;

 Let chosen Muses yet unborn

Take great MARIA for their future Theam:

 Eternal Structures let Them raise,

 On WILLIAM's and MARIA's Praise:

 Nor want new Subject for the Song;

 Nor fear they can exhaust the Store;

 'Till Nature's Musick lyes unstrung;

 'Till Thou, great God, shalt lose Thy double Pow'r;

 And touch Thy Lyre, and shoot Thy Beams no more. (68-78)

For Prior, William and Mary's monarchy had worked such a change that the greatness of their rule would be a theme until the end of time, and their reign did indeed leave England a nation forever changed. While Prior certainly did not know all of the changes that would be wrought through their reign, and, more importantly, through their ascension, these lines show the substantial weight he attributed to their reign. Certainly taking an ancient theme like a hymn to Apollo was a common conceit in eighteenth-century England (e.g. Dryden's *Song for St.*

Cecilia's Day), but Prior's use of the classical god in conjunction with the eternal powers of music and illumination broadens the importance of William from simply ending James' Catholic tyranny to a monarch who would go down in history with "Eternal Structures" raised in his praise.

In both Prior's unofficial laureate verse and in Shadwell's verse as the official Poet Laureate, we find unwavering support for William and Mary and a view that they can do no wrong. While Shadwell's biting satire stands in contrast to Prior's focus on the benefits England accrued from her new rulers, neither writer portrays the coregents as having any weakness. In light of the ambiguity Dryden saw in his verse supporting James II, this feature of Williamite verse might seem odd, but the magnitude of what had happened in the Glorious Revolution called for this type of support. As these two writers work to buttress the new monarchy, they rely upon ideas similar to those expressed by Locke and Milton and emphasize the necessity for rulers to submit to England's laws and to engage in great actions. While they use patriarchal language at times, Shadwell and Prior both present kingship as an honor that must be affirmed by the character of the monarch's rule.

Notes

ⁱ Rippy entitles the second chapter of her biography of Prior “Prior’s Laureate Verse” and observes, “throughout the reigns of King William III and Queen Anne, Prior served as an unofficial poet laureate” (44).

ⁱⁱ Rippy affirms that “on the great occasions of state, he was expected to produce a suitable poem” (44). She also considers Prior’s “development as a poet on occasions of state” to be “one of the most revealing aspects of Prior’s political career” (44).

ⁱⁱⁱ See, for example, Caldwell’s epilogue to *Time to Begin Anew* (221-222). Winn makes a similar recognition in “’Tis Well an Old Age Is Out” in *John Dryden and His World* (471-514). As Caldwell highlights, Dryden’s own lines in *The Secular Masque* demonstrate his belief that the final years of the century had brought chaos and disorder and that England must move on to establish a new way of securing her social fabric:

All, all of a piece throughout;
 Thy Chase had a Beast in View;
 Thy Wars brought nothing about;
 Thy Lovers were all Untrue.
 ‘Tis well an Old Age is out,
 And time to begin a New. (86-91)

^{iv} Allsidd characterizes Shadwell’s plays as “bolder, more hammer-like in their satiric blows.” Although he believes that Etherege’s, Wycherly’s, and Congreve’s plays are “better” than Shadwell’s, that sort of qualitative judgment is subjective. Whether or not his own analysis has been shaped by the opinion of Shadwell put forth in *MacFlecknoe* is another issue, but it

certainly indicates the uphill battle Shadwell scholarship faces in spite of his success during the late seventeenth century.

^v Alssid suggests that by 1674 Dryden and Shadwell's disputes had subsided and they were on friendly terms, but the California Dryden's commentary on *MacFlecknoe* makes it clear that the debate continued between the two men straight through the 1670s through their analysis of documents from that decade. Alssid does corroborate 1674 as the date for composition of *MacFlecknoe* in his note (172).

^{vi} Alssid recognizes the poor poetic quality of Shadwell's laureate verse and attributes it to Shadwell's "'earthy, colloquial' talent" that made his drama so successful (115).

^{vii} See Rose (41ff) and Claydon's *William III and the Godly Revolution* (98-100) for descriptions of Mary's popularity.

^{viii} Claydon discusses Burnet's use of Mary to help solidify support for William III on 93-100. POAS 5, 46-47 discusses some of the satires of Princess Mary.

^{ix} The poem is undated but falls between *The Address of John Dryden* and *Ode to the King on His Return from Ireland* in Summers' edition of Shadwell's works. Those poems are dated 1689 and 1690 respectively in Wing, and coupling this fact with William's ascension in early 1689, it seems reasonable to date the poem in early 1689.

^x J. R. Jones highlights the prevalence of opportunism at the time in *The Revolution of 1688 in England*:

James's disappearance made it necessary to fill every office and place, both at the centre and in the localities, within a few weeks of decisions on the form which government should take. In anticipation, the most intense manoeuvring and lobbying took place; as in 1660 every working politician was frantically involved,

with major figures under pressure from relatives, friends and clients. This time there was an added complication in that until the succession was determined, and the system of government settled, no one could be certain how, and by whom, patronage would be dispensed. (312-313)

^{xi} Interestingly, Shadwell also uses Dryden-like imagery in the poem demonstrating his familiarity with his predecessor's style (and possibly answering Dryden's criticism that Shadwell was not classically educated).

^{xii} This pamphlet is discussed in chapter four of this study (273-284).

^{xiii} Robert Zaller does much to trace changing perceptions of the monarchy in the seventeenth century in "Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England." He explains the legal fiction surrounding Charles I's trial and the manner in which it even became possible to accuse a monarch of "crimes."

^{xiv} I am grateful to Derek Hughes (May 14, 2004) and Alexander Gourlay (May 15, 2004) who conveyed this information to me via e-mail.

^{xv} In *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution*, Hugh Trevor-Roper writes that William of Orange "came for his own reasons...to save the liberty not of England but of his own country, the Dutch Republic" (235). Similarly, in *The Revolution of 1688 in England*, Jones writes, "England was always a means, not an end in itself" for William of Orange (190). As a final example, Speck asserts, "It was as much to protect the monarchy as to rescue England from Catholicism that [William of Orange] invaded in November 1688" (18).

^{xvi} See chapter two for a discussion of some of these documents and the final chapter for a more involved examination of tracts and pamphlets published both in favor and against William's reign.

^{xvii} Jones (184-187) lays out the reason for these faults in policy and their effect more fully.

^{xviii} Claydon sees Bishop Gilbert Burnet as central to these propagandists, but in this discussion he also quotes Simon Patrick and John Tillotson. The thrust of all three men's arguments in this context is that England parallels Israel and would secure blessings or imprecations depending on their loyalty to God. Supporting a monarch who would seek the establishment of the Protestant faith, domestically or internationally, becomes patriotic and William becomes an English patriot in this model.

^{xix} See, for example, Trevor-Roper's *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* for a discussion of this transition.

^{xx} Dryden's two poems for this day, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* and *Alexander's Feast*, take on this same task but naturally have subversive elements in line with Dryden's Jacobitism. Robert Maccubbin discusses these aspects of *Alexander's Feast* in *The Ironies of Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast; or The Power of Musique': Text and Contexts*, as does Bessie Proffitt in *Political Satire in Dryden's Alexander's Feast*.

^{xxi} John Dryden's two poems composed for St. Cecilia's day both use this type of imagery, as does Pope's *Windsor Forest* (1713), to take a slightly later example. In addition to Dryden's works discussed in chapter two, Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682) provides an example of a dramatic application of this approach.

^{xxii} This usage of "wound" commonly refers to wine, which makes the imagery even more appropriate for St. Cecilia's Day (OED).

^{xxiii} See, for example chapter two (140).

^{xxiv} In ancient Rome, the open gates of the temple *Ianus Geminus* represented a time of war in the empire, and their being closed represented a time of peace.

^{xxv} According to the editors of the OED a “historian” is “esp. one who produces a work of history in the higher sense, as distinguished from the simple annalist or chronicler of events, or from the mere compiler of a historical narrative” (“Historian”)

^{xxvi} An alternate reading of the final couplet from these lines is to see them as actually referring to Louis XIV, as they accuse him of working subversively (“by night”) to destroy William and England. Although this reading fits the historic situation, the reading above is preferred as it more closely matches Shadwell’s use of art and nature in the poem. Furthermore, Shadwell has already used references to William and the sun in other poems (e.g. in *A Congratulatory Poem on His Highness the Prince of Orange His Coming into England* (339)) and earlier in this poem (373).

^{xxvii} See chapter one for a discussion of Milton’s view of monarchy in *The Tenure* (35-40).

^{xxviii} Paulson’s description in *The Fictions of Satire* is particularly helpful. Distinguishing between Horatian and Juvenalian satire, he writes, “Horace focuses on the fathers who are hated, while Juvenal focuses on the sons who kill their fathers” (21). In *Bury-Fair*, Shadwell, like Horace, “gives his attention almost exclusively to fools” (21).

^{xxix} As Winn and others make clear, Dryden’s change in perspective is probably best attributed to maturing viewpoints rather than opportunism, which was the criticism laid against him by opponents. The point here is the contrast in the two playwrights’ careers, not the character of either poet.

^{xxx} Throughout his book, Kunz draws out the Hobbesian nature of Shadwell's early comedy and its softer tone in works following *The Squire of Alsatia*.

^{xxxii} It should be remembered that the Whigs would not claim that this policy was a change from the previous state of the nation but that James II had violated fundamental English rights and that the declaration simply re-asserted them.

^{xxxiii} On James II, see, for example, Jones in *The Revolution of 1688*: "James [was] incompetent to undertake the crushing daily burden of routine work which enables Louis XIV in France to control every important aspect of government and make every major decision personally" (23).

^{xxxiiii} The frequent comparisons of William III and the sun in Shadwell's poetry makes this reading plausible.

^{xxxv} Frances Mayhew Rippy discusses Prior's response to the death of Mary II (48-50). Rippy also notes that Prior did design a medal to commemorate Queen Mary's death but that it was not considered a sufficient action (48).

^{xxxvi} While debate surrounds which aspects of the work belong to each writer, the overall flavor is typical enough of Prior's work to warrant discussion of the work here. Both POAS 4 (116-118) and Wright and Spears edition of Prior's work (831-835)

^{xxxvii} Wright and Spears note that Louis XIV had this procedure in November of 1686 (II 846).

^{xxxviii} In *The Revolution of 1688*, Jones notes that Mary of Modena "played a much more active role on behalf of Catholics than had Charles's queen, and she was identified with the French interest in the popular view" (31). Jones also discusses Louis XIV's perceived ambitions (205-206).

^{xxxviii} Rather than reading the final lines as one complete thought, we should see the final “By an Orange” as completing the thought begun in line 60 so that the final lines are understood as “The Queen to be seiz’d by an Orange will be very ill pleas’d *etc.*”

^{xxxix} As an example of criticism of Mary II, in Ralph Gray’s “The Coronation Ballad, 11th April 1689,” he writes:

O’ th’ father’s side she had honor we grant,
 But duty to parents she sadly doth want,
 Which makes her a fiend instead of a saint.
 A dainty fine Queen indeed. (81-84)

^{xl} There might also be metonymy here with Mary representing England, which would bring a familial representation of the state into this imagery. While appropriating Jacobite language would be clever and helpful to the Williamite cause, the use of metonymy here is not clear. The stanza seems more in line with the Williamite policy of portraying Mary as a paragon of virtue and keeper of domestic well-being. See, for example, Tony Claydon’s discussion in *William III and the Godly Revolution* pp. 93-100.

^{xli} Locke writes,

Political Power then I take to be *a Right* of making Laws with Penalties of Death, and consequently all less Penalties, for the Regulating and Preserving of Property, and of employing the force of the Community, in the Execution of such Laws, and in the defence of the Common-wealth from Foreign Injury, and all this only for the Publick Good. (II.3.1-6)

This description of political power matches Prior’s description of William III preserving English liberties from foreign and internal injury.

^{xlii} This approach echoes the strategy used by Royalist poets in the years following the Restoration, but their elevation of the monarch rested on the basis of divine monarchy rather than merely on the actions or individual character of the ruler.

^{xliii} Furthermore, these lines also may show Prior's positioning of the English as superior to the French, especially in view of Louis XIV's successes as a unifier and in light of his aspirations to "Universal Monarchy" (*Revolution of 1688* 203-206).

Chapter 4

Other Voices: Pamphlets and Manuscripts

Writers who used pamphlets and manuscripts to disseminate their viewpoints composed a significant body of literature reflecting on William III's reign, but this material has received relatively little attention.ⁱ Pamphlets and manuscripts served these writers' purposes well for a variety of reasons. The relative ease of production, lower costs, and, in many cases, the greater anonymity attached to these documents made them particularly appealing to those presenting controversial and often libelous information.ⁱⁱ Many of these documents, as a byproduct of this anonymity, take a much harsher tone than works examined in previous chapters, and authors do not hesitate to portray their targets in derogatory terms. While some of the pamphlets simply lay out a closely reasoned argument, much of the material is satiric. The rise in satiric material in the final year of James II's reign and at the beginning of William's reign is well documented, and, as Galbraith Crump posits in his introduction to volume 4 of *Poems on Affairs of State*, "Much of the satire of the last eighteen months of [James II's] reign keenly perceives cause and effect and artfully achieves its satiric purpose" (xxxvii).

Examining both prose and poetic representations of the king and queen helps to understand the reliance on "cause and effect" in the literary debate about the monarchy. While the poetic work provides much more in the way of witty connections and criticisms, political tracts often use pithy phrases in conjunction with carefully reasoned arguments to achieve their ends. Both Jacobite and Williamite authors find myriad ways to voice their positions, and the continued distribution of much of this poetry and prose into the early eighteenth century proper

demonstrates the lasting cultural impact of their work. For example, *Poems on Affairs of State Part III* was published in 1697, immediately following the success of *Poems on Affairs of State: From the Time of Oliver Cromwell to the Abdication of K. James the Second*, and twenty-nine out of ninety-six total poems satirize William III and his reign. The success of this printed version of the manuscripts is shown by the fact that *Poems on Affairs of State Part III* went through three editions and a supplement within four months of publication (Seventeenth-Century Scriptorium 46). The volume's popularity well into William's reign provides a clear example of the lasting cultural impact of these satires – if not of the actual willingness of readers to work against the monarchy.ⁱⁱⁱ At a minimum, these works demonstrate changing perceptions of the monarchy and government among all parties in England.

Pamphlets play a particularly significant role in representing the monarchy at the close of the seventeenth century, because they grew in importance right through the century. Joad Raymond highlights the value of the pamphlet in the first chapter of *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (4-26). Raymond notes that Myles Davies, in 1716, suggests that the history of the pamphlet, “a true-born *English* Denison,” cannot be traced much earlier than Elizabeth's reign and that its popularity grows from

...being of a small portable Bulk, and of no great Price, and of no great Difficulty, [a pamphlet] seems adapted for every one's Understanding, for every one's Reading, for every one's Buying, and consequently becomes a fit Object and Subject of most People's Choice, Capacity and Ability. (7)

These three factors certainly lent an appeal to the pamphlet as a means of communicating political content. The typical pamphlet is less than fifty pages long, softbound, and relatively inexpensive. Since the Marprelate controversy a century before, pamphlets had been employed to

convey political and theological opinion, and their effectiveness certainly owed some debt to their design.^{iv} Many more people could afford a few pence for a pamphlet than could pay two or five guineas for a subscription to Dryden's *Virgil*, and the size of the typical pamphlet made it extremely portable. This combination facilitated circulation of pamphlets making them an easy way to disseminate information. At the same time, many pamphlets present readers with a sensational and entertaining mode of argument that can elicit strong responses from readers. Furthermore, the message lies wide-open in pamphlets: generally, they do not require the type of decoding a political poem or play might. In light of these elements, pamphlets held a strong appeal for both Jacobites and Williamites.

In the wake of 1688's events, the pamphleteers carried on what Mark Goldie calls "an explosive pamphlet debate."^v On the one hand, Jacobites, unsurprisingly, sought to show the illegality of the actions of William's supporters. On the other hand, Whigs and Tories supporting William and Mary worked to gain control by imposing their respective ideologies on those events (Goldie 569). While Whigs used the crimes of James II and their accusation of abdication to legitimize the Revolution, Tories who supported William III tended to rely on the doctrine of nonresistance as requiring submission to the new coregents. At the same time, as Goldie elucidates, Williamite Tories adopted a version of conquest theory. Rather than being an appeal to violent assumption of power, though, "Conquest theories were a means by which the Tories could rescue the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance and pre-empt the radical suggestion that William was elected king by the people" (570). The vehemence with which authors advocated each of these positions demonstrates the tension felt over the events of 1688 and the power writers believed their pamphlets might hold.

The Dear Bargain by Nathaniel Johnston is a Jacobite tract dated 1688, but the text makes it clear that it could not have been composed before May of 1689.^{vi} Nathaniel Johnston, medical doctor and polemicist, wrote a handful of tracts advocating a strong monarchy and James II's cause between 1685 and 1690. In this one, he highlights England's suffering under William's reign. He addresses five areas in the pamphlet: the state of trade, the condition of the country, the posture of English military forces both by sea and land, the uncertain state of national religion, and some considerations about the government (2). Johnston's approach to each of these areas is rife with Biblical allusions and provides one example of the Jacobite appropriation of Filmerian language in their rhetoric.^{vii} Additionally, he follows the pattern outlined in these lines as he highlights the blessings he believes England received while the divinely sanctioned monarch sat on the throne and the divine punishments that follow the rebellious installment of the new king and queen.

Johnston begins his discussion of trade by emphasizing the advancements achieved under James II such that "to the very last year of the last Reign, there was not more Merchandize exported, and imported, than had been in the memory of Man" (2). He contrasts James II's Indulgence Acts and plans for trade in the Americas with the cost of settling the new government and the price of carrying out its anti-French policies to demonstrate that the new monarch will only hurt the English. For Johnston, the Dutch "sent us a King after our own Heart." His words call to mind the Biblical King Saul who led the Hebrews from the Law of Moses into religious syncretism contrary to divine commands (3). In Numbers 15:39, the Israelites are warned not to seek after their own hearts, and in 1 Samuel 13:14, the prophet Samuel tells Saul that he will be replaced with a king who seeks after God's heart.^{viii} This allusion emphasizes the fundamental problem with William III on which Johnston focuses throughout this section: the new ruler's

authority derives from the people rather than God so his actions serve his own interest rather than those of God and of the nation as a patriarchal monarch's actions should do. Johnston shows example after example of ways in which William III's motivation is self-interest. Most notably, the king's preferment of the Dutch incenses Johnston. Both by giving advantages to Dutch merchants and by his hostility to France, William places the English at a distinct disadvantage. As the English merchants can no longer freely import merchandise and as goods become scarce, the whole kingdom is affected. Johnston seems to place some degree of blame for the Dutch prince's ascension to the English throne on the merchants, and the wide-ranging impact of this damage to English trade particularly upsets Johnston:

If the damages sustained thereby had only fallen upon the Merchants themselves, a lesser Charity than mine would have mixed some reproach with pity, for the misfortunes they have drawn upon themselves: But, alas! they strike too far into the very vitals of the Nation, and run over the whole Body of the inland People, who to the number of 200000 Persons are, and are like to be, reduced to Beggary, for want of transportation of our Staple Commodities. (6)

Johnston links Whig merchants with responsibility for supporting William and Mary's ascension as he alleges that they brought their misfortunes upon themselves, but he suggests that the result has been detrimental to trade. Taking the role of one who simply wants what is best for England, Johnston characterizes his desires as charitable by implying that others might chastise those responsible for the Revolution. Portraying himself as above such accusations, Johnston expresses concern that the present situation's effects run beyond those responsible for James II's replacement and impact the whole nation because they hurt not only trade but also the prosperity of those living in the country and the security of residents of the city and the country. This notion

of the importance of trade to England fits well with both Dryden's emphasis on trade in poems like *Astraea Redux* and Prior's expressions of the nation's greatness in *A Pindarique on His Majesties Birth-Day*, as discussed in chapters two and three, respectively. In all three cases, the importance of prosperity as a sign of divine blessing comes to the forefront. The contradictory views of the nation's success presented by Prior and Johnston illustrates the problem with using economic growth, national stability, and the like as signs of God's favor. The differing interpretations of the same events demonstrates the ambiguity of such measures and is one of the reasons William III and his government shied away from such an approach to validating his reign.^{ix} In both cases, though, the authors buttress their view with the philosophical underpinnings of patriarchalism, in Johnston's case, or a more contractual view of government, in Prior's case.

Johnston's concern for the "whole Body of the inland People" provides him with a transition to discussing the effect of the Revolution on inhabitants of the country. Linking consideration of the effect of the Glorious Revolution on merchants to trade's impact upon the country allows Johnston to encompass most of the nation in his argument. He accomplishes this transition by beginning with those who import and export and moving to the gentry and farmers. He sees the reigns of Charles II and James II as times of plenty and draws a parallel between England's "blessed" state under them and the famine that has succeeded them. Using typological language, Johnston compares England to Egypt during the seven years of plenty and famine described in Genesis 41-44. He

wish[es that] I had the Art to summ up the Miseries and Calamities which have succeeded these Blessings; and which worse that *Pharoah's* lean Kine, have in twice 7 months consumed the Harvest of as many years: But there is too much

Confusion and Disorder in them, to admit of any rules or methods of Expression; Complaints, in things of this Nature, will be poured out their own way, and in their own measures; there is no digesting of them....(7)

Drawing on the Pharoah's vision of seven healthy cows devoured by seven lean ones, which Joseph interpreted as seven years of plenty followed by seven years of famine, Johnston suggests the health of England's country is in even greater danger.^x The Biblical language implies that justice lies on the side that secured the blessings, just as Egypt was blessed by and through Joseph's presence. While the validity of Johnston's assertions was contradicted in works like the poem's by Prior discussed in chapter two and pamphlets like *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male Contents*, which is examined in more detail below, this Biblical approach and focus on blessings fits well with the Filmerian approach examined in chapter one. In contemporary England, the prosperity under James II contrasted with the want under William III implies that Divine favor rests with the former monarch over the new one. The rest of the citation heightens the intensity of the problem by claiming that the issues cannot be summed up easily. Johnston also shows something of the wit many pamphleteers rely on to strengthen their point asserting that "there is no digesting" the issues the metaphorical famine raises. Nonetheless, he goes on to describe the impact of the new government's policies on different segments of the country population in the following paragraphs.

Johnston sees the reigns preceding the Glorious Revolution as times when "the Tenants and Farmers grew rich; the Landlords had their Rents well paid, and their Estates improved; nothing was wanting but a true sence of their Happiness, and a desire to preserve it" (7). The final phrase places a portion of the blame for the present state on the court's failure to guarantee protection for the country during James' reign, and Johnston indicts the poll tax for William III

in 1689 as an unfair means of taxation. Because poll taxes assess everyone except the indigent, this tax could be construed as harsher than chimney or land taxes, which only affect landowners. This taxation upon the poor people leads Johnston to another Biblical allusion as “the sweat of their brows was taxed, and *Adams* curse aggravated with a new Imposition” (7). In Genesis 3, God tells Adam that he will eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, and Johnston implies that those who have imposed this tax in support of the new regime impose a harsher curse upon the English than God did upon Adam. They take God’s curse and add to it a tax upon “the sweat of their brows” – the labor resulting from the curse. Underneath this argument lies the Filmerian notion that the king should behave as a father to his people, and, for Johnston, this taxation clearly is not an action of paternal care. Filmer asserts the importance of this care by writing, “All the duties of a king are summed up in an universal fatherly care of his people” (12). For Johnston, then, what he perceives as William III’s lack of paternal care for his subjects becomes evidence that the new king is not the true *pater patriae* for his English subjects.

As Johnston proceeds to discuss the situation of the commoners, by which he means “Farmers, and petty Free-holders” (7), he focuses on the links he sees between Dutch merchant activities, supported by the Dutch prince on the English throne, and England’s present condition. Johnston evaluates what he believes is a gross over-taxation of this class writing, “Their share in the common Calamities” is that “they have been so handled by the Raters and Leviers of our Modern Taxes, that the same hath been exacted three times over, from the same Fund” (7-8). Citing the combined effects of the poll, land, and stock taxes allows Johnston to make this claim, and he asserts that, as a result, some are taxed to the entire value of their land. Furthermore, the burden becomes even greater because of the declining value of wool and cattle brought on by William III’s policies. He continues the indictment by playing on the fears of the people. When

the government produces all of these taxes in one year, “we are put in hopes of a convenient augmentation at every Session of Parliament to be doubled or trebled, according to the Arbitrary Necessities of the Government” (8). While discussing the plight of dependents, Johnston uses Biblical language, and in this section, he uses the fear of financial destitution as a motivation for commoners to see problems with the new regime. The combination of paralleling William III’s policies with Biblical punishment and the dire hope of lost revenues on account of the new government leaves the English with little hope of security, let alone prosperity, during William and Mary’s reign.

When he comes to the gentry and other free-holders, Johnston draws on the sum of burdens placed upon them by the government. The crux of the matter for the gentry is that “the Government it self has no other bottom to subsist upon, but this continued pressure of the poor Country” (8). Between the military and taxation, Johnston believes the citizens surrounding the court will destroy the country. He relies on the same arguments cited above regarding taxation and observes that plundering by soldiers, financing the army, and quartering the military, all impact the country gentry most seriously. He buttresses his argument through appeals to English national pride:

Are not the Country men like to be in a miserable State, being already near upon reduced to the condition of *French Peasants*, which we so pity and declame against, under the Slavery of the Lord *Dutch* and Lord *Danes*. So that the Imaginary fear of *French* Government will soon bring us to a real experience of the so much talk’d of Canvas Breeches, bare Legs, and wooden Shoes. (8)

This tension between prevalent fears of subjugation to the French under James II and Tory fears of William III’s using the English for the benefit of the Dutch allows Johnston to suggest that the

present course will leave the country as bad off as it could be whichever king sat on the throne. The reference to stereotypically Dutch dress highlights what Johnston believes to be the reality of subjugation to Dutch interest that the English face. By minimizing fears related to James II's and Louis XIV's alliances, Johnston attempts to show what he believes are very real effects of William and Mary's monarchy.^{xi}

Before moving on to discuss the military, Johnston suggests that the English may actually take action against all these grievances. Comparing the English people to a packhorse, he warns that "our *English* breed are very skittish; they will be apt to Kick and Wince, and cast their masters; we have known them throw their burden, and turn their Riders to Grass" (9). The fates of two Stuart monarchs in the preceding 50 years certainly lend credence to this suggestion, and the suggestion of throwing off this monarch simultaneously gives hope in the present situation while obliquely criticizing the English people for their actions against Charles I and James II. For adherents to a patriarchalist view of succession, the actions of the English people over the past fifty years demonstrated clear breaks with the God-ordained foundation of society. Johnston's metaphor, like Antonio's comments on passive obedience in *Don Sebastian*, highlight the Jacobite belief that English subjects had become untrustworthy and had forsaken the grounds of their government.^{xii}

Discussing the military state of the nation, Johnston contrasts the administration of the army and navy under James II with their administration under William III. While his description of James' military would certainly be subject to criticism because James II because his standing army numbered about 40,000 by the time of his flight (Speck 10), the two pages on James provide ample fodder for the following five pages of invective against William's leadership in that arena. The three areas on which Johnston focuses are the better behavior and morale under

the former monarch, James' financing of the military from his own funds, and his stronger provision for the military. Johnston's concern that a standing army primarily used to fight abroad is bad for England underlies all three of these areas. He sets up his case against the new king's military by claiming that James II was careful "to keep [the military] from being anywise burthensome either to the publick or private Persons" (9). J. R. Jones corroborates Johnston's assertions in *The Revolution of 1688*: James "controlled a larger, more efficient and better disciplined army than any previous English king," but Jones also points out that the standing army (albeit a small one) empowered "James, like Cromwell, to rule without reference to the opinions and interests of the vast majority of the nation" (291-292).

Nevertheless, Johnston selectively chooses aspects of James II's military to discuss and uses these factors, which he construes as protecting the soldiers' well-being and enabling them to defend England without overburdening English subjects, to reinforce his characterization the new king's army as unruly and a burden to the English. He supports this assertion by recognizing "It is true [that under James II] there were three Regiments of Dragoons, and some foot who had been at *Tangier*, who lived disorderly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation, and strictest Command to the Officers to prevent it" (9). But, he goes on to explain

These were the very first who revolted to the Prince; boasting that, besides the *early Service*, they had done him greater by oppressing the Country, which they did for no other end, but that they might alienate their affections from King *James*; and make them more readily admit the Prince, who pretended stricter Care and Discipline. (9)

This implication serves Johnston's purpose by fostering the view that elements of the army who deserted to William III's side in November were more characteristic of that king's military than

James II's. While citing this example might be construed as a concession that James' army was not perfect, Johnston uses it to highlight the contrast between the former and present kings' care for their military and their people. He praises James for his generosity to his military and claims that he had "the Spirit of the *Roman* Generals" and "was in all things more like a Father than a Master to them" (9). Drawing the image of James as "father" into the argument contrasts with his description of William and his generals as "masters" on the following page and emphasizes the Filmerian contention of Jacobites that the new ruler did not legitimately rule as *pater patriae* but as an imported master who would use England for his own ends.

For Johnston, William III's self-interest explains a wealth of problems encountered as a result of his authority in England. The poor condition of English soldiers results from the Dutch prince's "sending away the Money into *Holland*, which should have been laid out" for the English troops (10). Furthermore, English troops are sent abroad and Dutch ones used to defend England with the "design of utterly disabling the strength of our Nation, and bringing us to depend intirely on Strangers" (10). Johnston sees these results as the just deserts of those who abandoned James II, and at this point he shifts his attack to those who worked to empower William and Mary.

While the English may be happy to have their former ruler out of power, Johnston contends, "it is impossible the *Traitors* should be either loved or trusted" (10). He suggests that William III himself does not trust those who won him his position and "is resolved to disperse them, and post them where they may soonest be dispatched, that the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and other *Foreigners*, more trusty to his service, may possess our Country" (10). As Johnston proceeds to describe the poor condition in which English soldiers are forced to live, he recognizes events in Scotland and Ireland as of particular importance. Interestingly, it is not until the eleventh page of

this pamphlet that Johnston comes out and calls James II the rightful king. Although he uses patriarchal language and hints at the legitimacy of James II's reign over-and-against that of William III earlier in *The Dear Bargain*, he does not make that point in so many words until he describes the Highlanders who fought in defense of James. Perhaps the reason is that he uses the first several pages to draw readers into his argument and avoid that potentially inflammatory statement. It is also at this point that Johnston has engaged in a lengthy diatribe against the Dutch treatment of English soldiers, which makes the contrast between an unlawful king who is no father to his people and their true kingly father even starker. Describing the battle at Killiecrankie, Johnston writes:

And had the Valiant Dundee over liv'd that Day, that Kingdom had, long e're this, been reduced to obedience to their Lawful King. May the Courage and Conduct rest upon some other, who may not only oppose the oppression of their Country by Foreign Forces, but drive out the rest of those who have dethroned their Lawful King, and abolished Episcopacy there. (11)

Making the strongly Jacobite John Graham, Viscount Dundee into a martyr for James' cause heightens the criticism of the new king's actions as Johnston implicates those who worked to establish William of Orange along with his foreign forces in the kingdom. Johnston sees Dundee and others like him as suffering death for patriotically defending their nation's liberty from a foreign prince.

By shifting his focus to Ireland in the following paragraph, Johnston continues to highlight the breadth of William III's mistreatment of Englishmen and citizens of Ireland and Scotland. Johnston's description of what befell the former monarch's enemies there serves to reinforce the views that James II is the legitimate monarch and that William III is guilty of great

atrocities against his new subjects. Describing the situation in Ireland, Johnston writes, “there it is the Hand of Heaven hath visibly met them,” and he characterizes the two leaders as “an ungrateful Foreigner” and “God’s own Anointed” (11). The contrast plays an important role in Johnston’s argument because it describes the end that befell those who acted as traitors to the legitimate monarch. He adds to the seriousness of crimes committed by William’s supporters as he notes that they were acting against “him whom they had betrayed...to whom they had so often sworn Fidelity and Allegiance” (11). The situation is so dire there, as Johnston describes in detail, that he must

take Heaven to Witness with what compassion and horreur I enter upon this point; for though all these Plagues, in the opinion of most, fell justly and seasonably upon so many desperate and incorrigible Enemies to their King; yet humanity it self must needs shrink at the sight of so many Agonies, transcending most of the cruel executions that have been inflicted on *Malefactors*. (11)

This caveat along with the subsequent descriptions of events in Ireland serves a dual purpose in the pamphlet. On the one hand, Johnston portrays himself as compassionate rather than bitter in his description of the situation. Rather than claiming that the Irish brought these problems on themselves, Johnston suggests that they have suffered to the extent that “humanity it self must needs shrink at the sight.” This description of his compassion serves to paint the Jacobites as the conciliatory party: they would not even wish what the Dutch prince’s army did upon the most “incorrigible Enemies to their King.” On the other hand, Johnston highlights the extent to which the army is wreaking havoc under William III’s command. Just as Johnston contrasted his compassion with Williamites’ thereof, he contrasts the new ruler’s cruelty with James II’s compassion. The allegation that William’s army creates “Agonies, transcending most of the cruel

executions that have been inflicted on *Malefactors*” is tantamount to claiming that the Dutch eat their young when one considers the brutality of drawing and quartering. While Johnston provides a list of examples, all of the problems stem from the new ruler’s lack of care for his subjects in England. Some of the hardships brought on by this lack of concern include burdens on commoners because of quartering, impressing soldiers from among the rabble, and acting without concern for the English by foreigners. Just as this discussion focuses on ways in which the present king’s reign has left the English people in a worse situation than they were under the former monarch, the next section attempts the same types of presentation with regard to William’s effect on religious practice in England.

Johnston begins treating religion by describing his perception of themes in preaching while James II reigned:

Popery was the Word that alarm’d us all, nothing else was handled in our Pulpits; even Vices seem’d to be allow’d that liberty which was denied to this. Not a word against treason and rebellion; not a word for obedience and patience to be heard of: These were popish virtues and vices, state-subjects fit for old Elizabeth’s homilies. (14)

This analysis suggests that the church forsook traits considered virtuous in both Christian and Roman culture. The preoccupation with Roman Catholicism, for Johnston, left the Church in a state where concern for real virtues was disregarded. This failure in the English pulpits allowed “treason and rebellion” to creep in, and they resulted in James II’s expulsion or abdication – depending on one’s perspective. Johnston sees the Roman Catholics in England as much less of a threat than the Presbyterians and suggests that William has done as much for the Catholics as James ever accomplished.

The true threat to the Church of England in Johnston's eyes is the Presbyterians, who have "drawn almost the whole body of dissenters into their party...have all the Hugonots [*sic*] of France and Holland on their side, and have begun their thorough reformation in Scotland already, to be carried on and compleated in good time in England also" (15). This party can act as it pleases because its members "have no rubs in their consciences" (15). Johnston sees them as a threat because they are free from oaths of supremacy, test acts, and penal laws, and this freedom opens the door to all sorts of power for them. While Roman Catholics have a knack for bungling opportunities like those presented to them by James II, the Presbyterians gain victories for themselves when the chance arises. The most noticeable, according to Johnston, is their making "our poor churchmen...renounce their allegiance, ten times sworn by most of them, to the lawful successors of the crown" (15). This charge highlights the Jacobite beliefs that those who support the new monarchy must do so by renouncing former oaths and that dissenters have deceived members of the Church of England into forsaking their oaths of allegiance to James II.

While some English subjects hail the new regime as a savior from the Roman Catholic threat, Johnston believes,

If it had not been for the artifice of the designers of this revolution, the security of the rights of our church, by calm debates in a parliamentary way, might as well have been consistent with a regulated toleration to all sorts of dissenters in King James's time as now; and whatever reproaches have been cast upon King James on this account, whatever uses have been made of it, either to draw his subjects to rebellion, or justify them in it, might be retorted with advantage (were it to any purpose) upon [William III]. (15)

The argument Johnston builds here hinges on the belief that the hereditary system of monarchy, paired with English law's tempering of the monarch's ability to enforce policies disregarding his people's rights, would eventually allow for a solution amenable to all parties. Instead, the English have subverted their laws to invite William of Orange to the throne and created a situation that is destroying their nation. In addition to his accusation that William III maintains more Catholics in his military than the Catholic king ever had (15-16), he asserts that the new monarch behaves capriciously toward the Church of England – he follows “the very spirit of our Reformation in 1642” believing “*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*” (16). This charge equates William of Orange with those who beheaded James II's father and leads Johnston to focus on William III's tendency to follow the will of the masses in matters of church and the church's reciprocation of this approach.

In addition to the new monarch's adjustments to the liturgy and the clergy's willingness to “renounce the palladium of the English reformation, the regal supremacy” (17), William III convinced the clergy to reverse their stand on passive obedience and non-resistance. In the midst of the appointment of dissenters and ejection of those who took a contrary stand on the Church of England's role, the majority of the clergy assented to these policies so they could continue lining their pockets (or at least supporting their families) in Johnston's eyes. The gravity of this situation exceeds that at the time of the Commonwealth because:

The imposing the engagement, after the murder of King Charles the Martyr, was but a promise of being true and faithful to the commonwealth, as established without king and house of lords; but now an oath of allegiance is to be taken to one that hath not that title of conquest, as that commonwealth pretended, nor of succession till his father, brother, wife, sister, and all their progeny, are

extinct...[and the declaration for William] was to gall, in the highest degree, the consciences of millions, who were content to yield obedience to a king in possession, but [who] never can be induced to believe that King James can, by any act of violence, lose his right, and so cannot declare solemnly that they owe no allegiance to him. (17)

The depth of Johnston's commitment to a patriarchal model of government as similarly described by Filmer comes through clearly in this condemnation. Johnston describes the effect of the Glorious Revolution as worse than the martyrdom of Charles I forty years earlier because it violates the patriarchal principle of hereditary succession. Filmer also opposes this contractual appointment of a monarch: "What can be thought of that damnable conclusion which is made by too many, that the multitude may correct or depose their prince if need be? Surely the unnaturalness and injustice of this position cannot sufficiently be expressed" (32). Mark Goldie points out that Tory supporters of the revolution "justified themselves by adopting a *de facto* position which asserted the duty of subjects to pay allegiance to the king in possession [by] tactfully avoiding the vexed issue of William's title to the throne, a strategy reminiscent of the response of many of the Engagers forty years earlier" (569). Johnston, however, addresses squarely William III's title to the throne in making his argument against these leaders. He does so by highlighting Williamite violations of patriarchal principles including right of succession, non-resistance, and the exception occasionally drawn on the grounds of conquest. This state of affairs puts citizens, and especially churchmen, who wish to abide by historic English principles in the untenable position of having to swear allegiance to a monarch who holds no legitimate right to the throne. Johnston expresses his irritation, imploring, "I pray God their repentance may be as great as their apostacy!" (17). Writers sprinkled pamphlets with this type of witticism,

which probably played as well in the coffeehouse as sound bites do on the evening news today, and which certainly contributed to the popularity of this genre.

Johnston draws on this language again as he accuses William III of having “two faces under one hood” and goes on to observe that “he hath but one principle, that gain is great godliness; and one Dutch soul, interest, to become all things to all men, to gain all to himself” (18). These characterizations further emphasize that the English cannot know what they have with their new king, and the sarcastic use of Biblical language paints an even more negative picture of William III. In usurping the throne, the king has inverted Paul’s statement to Timothy that “godliness with contentment is great gain,” and, if the king is God’s representative on earth, this one has usurped Divine status in taking the throne. While Paul writes in I Corinthians 9:22, “I have become all things to all men that I may by all means save some,” Johnston suggests that William III’s religious concern is not “saving” some but “gaining” a whole nation for himself. This allegation is common in Jacobite literature from the period as reflected in William Anderton’s *Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy, &c.* (1693) in which he alleges that William of Orange had designs on the English throne for some years and that the confederacy against France gave him the opportunity to seize the English throne: “To accomplish this Grand Design of theirs, King *James* must be deposed, to make way for the Ambition and Pride of another” (1). For Johnston and others, this ambition results in a “tottering condition” for William III as he must play both sides against the middle keeping the Tories and Whigs dependent on him, “for if either of them suppress the other, his business is done; we shall either return to our rightful monarch again, or sink to a commonwealth” (18). This emphasis on the tenuous alliance that allowed the Dutch prince to become the English king brings to the fore the English, and especially Jacobite, sense of uneasiness with the nature of government under the new regime.

The instability Johnston describes echoes that portrayed by Dryden in *Don Sebastian* and other works discussed in chapter two and highlights a primary concern of Jacobites. For them, removing the security of divine right from the throne leaves power in the hands of the masses and leaves the nation divided. As Johnston argues, at least England knew where James II stood, and religion is more secure “under one who is steady in some principles” (18). Johnston concludes his pamphlet by arguing that this same opportunism displayed by William III in his dealings with the church manifests itself in the manner of his government. He heads this section, “*What sort of government we have chosen to live under, in exchange for that we have shaken off*” (19). While Johnston purports not to answer, item by item, the grievances with which James II was charged he does assert that the former monarch “had a true English spirit and tender affection to all his subjects” (19). Through this characterization, he prepares to contrast James II’s patriarchal benevolence with William III’s self-serving government.

To show this contrast, Johnston relies heavily on Filmerian language and refers to Tarquin and Tullia and to King Lear in building this argument:

King Lear and his daughters is perhaps a fable, and Tullia’s father was but a slave by birth, and an intruder into the royal family, but the paternal love of King James towards his daughters is as true as it is unparalleled; his care in their education, marriages, and provisions for them, are demonstrations of it. (21)^{xiii}

Drawing these examples into the equation serves Johnston’s purpose by highlighting the contrast between monarchs whose reign had some sort of blight and James II’s indisputably legitimate title. King Lear unwisely sought to “retire” and reaped the whirlwind from his daughters and their husbands. Johnston suggests that James II suffered the same cruelties as Lear without bringing them upon himself. Likewise, Servius Tullius, father of Tullia, might have the

legitimacy of his title questioned because of his former condition as a slave, but James II was clearly the legitimate holder of the English throne. If these two monarchs are regarded universally as having suffered unjustly, then one must assume that James II, who had a legitimate title to the throne and sincere, deep love for his daughters, received even more unjust treatment from them. Johnston uses these similarities to encourage readers to consider the criticism for ingratitude cast on Tullius' and on Lear's daughters and their husbands and to see that William and Mary are guilty of greater ingratitude to James II. Johnston has already established relationships within the royal family as representative of the king's relationship to his subjects, and this treachery by James II's children/subjects stands out as particularly vile in light of the goodness with which Johnston believes the former monarch treated them.^{xiv}

Johnston does, however, provide specific examples of James II's supporters who turned on him. The bulk of his ire is directed at John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Marlborough had been a favorite of James II but had changed his allegiance in favor of the Prince of Orange. Johnston describes Marlborough as "a Judas on both sides" (21). Identifying the duke with the notorious traitor suggests that the new king's supporters are both evil and untrustworthy. Johnston claims that the Duke simultaneously sought reconciliation with King William and tried to stir up Jacobite sentiment in the Commons (21). Indeed, Marlborough spent time in the Tower in 1692 as a suspected Jacobite and in 1694 informed the French of a planned English raid. While in all likelihood these events occurred after Johnston's pamphlet was published, they provide evidence that his characterization of Churchill had more substance than simple spite. He also argues that James II brought his troubles upon himself by not dealing more strongly with the Dukes of Ormond and Grafton, who had both signed the Petition for a Free Parliament (November 17, 1688).

Johnston believes, “that which ought to fill all men of honour, or even common sense, with indignation, is, that this most abused, most injured prince, has brought all these miseries upon himself by his clemency and goodness to his enemies” (21). Jacobites often describe a contrast between James II’s goodness and William III’s harshness to the English, and Johnston works hard to that end here.^{xv} Leading into a section imploring readers to examine their current treatment, Johnston writes:

For, let us, in the second place, take a view of his way of governing at this present, and then judge if we have not brought upon ourselves scorpions instead of whips, and laid more weight on the nation by the touch of this little finger of a monarch, than his father did by his whole body.

After he had brought upon the nation all the calamities above specified, (which perhaps were not to be avoided in such a change) has he ever given the least sign of pity or concern for our sufferings? Could we be worse used had he conquered us in battle? (21-22)

As in all the preceding discussions, these lines highlight ways in which the country is worse off because of the new regime. He attacks William III as a “little finger of a monarch,” which serves the dual purpose of reiterating the common attack on William’s physical size and emphasizing the weight of suffering such a “little” man caused England. For Johnston, it is ironic that one with the Dutch king’s stature can cause such a great deal of trouble for England. From this slight, Johnston moves to the real crux of his argument: the Dutch prince uses England as if he had right of conquest even though he was invited to come to England. As a second William the Conqueror, the new monarch may well bring England to an end.

Johnston expresses his fears thus:

Come we now to the positive part, what he has given us in the stead, and thereby we shall see what his government is like to be, being the last act of our tragedy, viz. absolute and arbitrary, without regard to ancient laws or modern ones, even of his own enacting. (22)

While some of Johnston's criticisms of William and Mary may be legitimate, this statement would prove to be wrong as changes brought on during William III's reign and in the years following would ultimately lead England to her greatest years as a nation. Nevertheless, Johnston, like most Jacobites, saw the Glorious Revolution as instituting a lawless government. For them, hereditary monarchy secured English government. Both Biblical mandate and English history established this pattern of government, and adhering to it prevented the masses from manipulating government to their advantage. Revoking James II's legal right to rule and preventing his son from ascending in favor of his son-in-law made the new monarchy arbitrary and did not guarantee his submission to any of England's other laws. For Jacobites, any weaknesses the former monarch might possess should be subsumed by his legal title, and Johnston will return to this theme as he concludes his pamphlet.

Johnston lists three examples of ways in which William III is destroying the government and nation, but leaves off completing his list because he recognizes that the ultimate arbitrariness with which the Dutchman has gained power proves to be an even greater problem. Johnston raises the following issues: the great number of foreigners William III brings to England, the quartering of them in England's strongholds, and the appointment of foreigners to the most important offices in the nation (22). Johnston wonders how the king will guarantee their continued service in light of their varied religious background without reinstating the sacrament

test and other laws. After posing these questions, Johnston makes a transition to asking how there can be any legal basis for government in light of the Glorious Revolution:

But, alas! What do I speak of legal, or dispensing! Will there be any regard to the one, or need for the other, in such an inundation of armed foreigners? Do we think they have such awful notions of doing things in a parliamentary way as we have; and will take no money but what the House of Commons will give them? ...The [Normans] under the Conqueror, of this man's fatal name, had but one landing-place, and made all England his own; the [Saxons] under Hengist and Horsa, with but the sixth part of the number of our present invaders, having got possession of the isle of Thanet, yet, by little and little, brought over so many from the same shore from whence our new recruits are coming, that they entirely ruined the British monarchy. (23)

Johnston sees the danger for England as great because of the power accorded to the new monarch and his affinity for appointing foreigners to power in England. He makes the historic examples of the Norman and Saxon invasions into types of the Glorious Revolution and takes the power they gained with relatively sparse forces as omens that the greater influx of foreigners under William III paired with what he terms "lethargy" on the part of the English people portends disaster for his nation. Furthermore, Johnston believes that the baseless "fear of an inconsiderable number of papists in England" was manipulated to "scare us thus out of our senses, understanding, and knowledge or our interest" so that the English were led "to change our blessed peace for war and ravage, the well-balanced monarchy, under an indisputable lawful king" for the arbitrary rule of William III and "Mynheer Benting" – his pejorative title for William's powerful advisor William Bentinck (23).

In light of the security and peace Johnston describes England as trading for the insecurity and war brought on by William III and Mary II, Johnston insists that the only recourse is to recall the legitimate monarch, James II. As he draws to a conclusion, he explains that the events enable anyone to stir the masses and grasp power:

I am confounded, I must confess, with horror, to look only back upon the miseries we have hitherto felt; but when I consider that Pandora's box is but just opened, and view a long train of war, famine, want, blood, and confusion, entailed upon us and our posterity, as long as this man, or any descended from him, shall possess the throne, and see what a gap is opened for every ambitious person who can cajole the people to usurp it... (24)

Johnston sees the Glorious Revolution as leading to misery upon misery for the English people and bringing the unintended consequence of opening the door for anyone to follow in William III's footsteps to seize power. He spends the majority of the last page imploring the English to "call back our lawful king, who has shewn himself, upon all occasions, a lover of his people, an encourager of trade, a desirer of true liberty to tender consciences, an hater of all injustice, and a true father to his country" (24). This heavily patriarchal language, culminating in the title "father to his country" highlights the importance of Filmerian thought to the Jacobite defense in this pamphlet. As Johnston concludes, he expresses his belief that James II will be restored by "another hand" if the English do not call him back and once again contrasts James II's goodwill to the English with William III's ambition. His concluding sentence invites comparison with the difficulties of the Commonwealth:

And we may be well assured, that by our king's return, lasting peace, with all the advantages of it, will more especially be restored in one month, than all the power

and contrivance of this government can do in 28 years, if for the scourge to these nations God Almighty permit him and his foreigners to rule over us so long. (24)

The reference to twenty-eight years suggests the period between the Restoration and Glorious Revolution and links the new regime to Cromwell's as both resulted in a break in legitimate monarchical succession. At the same time, Johnston draws Biblical history into the picture, evoking the numerous times the Israelites suffered foreign occupation for their disobedience to God's commands. Johnston uses this parallel to suggest that the English, like Israel, suffer this foreign occupation as a sign of divine judgment for their sins against their rightful lord.

In this pamphlet, Johnston clearly demonstrates the Jacobite belief in patriarchal monarchy and highlights the suffering that results from abandoning the divinely ordained pattern for government. This fear that government becomes arbitrary without hereditary succession was a real one for most of the nation in the late seventeenth century, and those who invited William and Mary to the throne had to contend with the same issues. Tories, in particular, who espoused doctrines such as non-resistance and passive obedience, needed to explain how actively working against James II, who was by all accounts a legitimate monarch, could be justified. Edmund Bohun wrote to legitimize the Glorious Revolution from the Tory perspective by using conquest theory. This approach is particularly bold in light of the Jacobite's derogatory characterization of the new monarch as "William the Conqueror."

Bohun composed two treatises dealing with the Glorious Revolution that were printed in 1689. The first, *The History of the Desertion*, claims to present "an account of all the publick affairs in England, from the beginning of September 1688 to the twelfth of February following" (title page). Bohun believes that this account will convince readers that William III ascended as a legitimate monarch and now holds the legitimate title to the throne. In his introductory epistle,

Bohun asserts, “this is a proper legal *Abdication*, as it is distinguished from a Voluntary *Resignation* on the one hand, and a Violent *Deposition* on the other.” The contention that James II voluntarily withdrew from the throne because he believed that option preferable to “concur[ring] with an *English* Free-Parliament in all that was needful to re-establish our *Laws, Liberties and Religion*” allows Bohun to suggest that William III could fill James’ vacancy and assume the rights that went along with the throne. Bohun explains:

James was bound to govern us according to Law, and we were not bound to submit to any other than a legal Government; but he would not do the one, and saw he could not force us to submit to the other, and therefore deliberately relinquished the *Throne*, and withdrew his Person and Seals, dissolving (as much as he could) the whole Frame of our Government.

The suggestion that the previous king sought to destroy the English “frame of government” lays the foundation for its rebuilding under another ruler, which point Bohun works to establish through this pamphlet.

The bulk of the pamphlet’s 112 pages consists of recitations of royal decrees and responses to them from the clergy, lords, and other persons of influence. Not until the end of the work does Bohun begin to spell out implications of these events. A quick rehearsal of the crux of Bohun’s argument in *The History of the Desertion* serves as a good introduction to the arguments in his second pamphlet from 1689, *The Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive Obedience No way concerned in the Controversies Now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites*. Bohun sees James II as waffling among positions under the influence of those around him – a situation that left the English with no guarantee that his decrees could be trusted (109-110). Bohun cites Lord Churchill as shifting his loyalty to William of Orange because “he could no

longer joyn with Self-interested Men, who had framed Designs against His Majesty's true Interest, and the Protestant Religion, to give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to effect" (111). Bohun sees both developing arguments against James II and ascribing the new king's ascension to conquest as legitimate; he asserts that William III did indeed gain the throne by right of conquest and holds the rights that come with it:

For my part I am amazed to see Men scruple the submitting to the present King; for if ever Man had a just cause of War, he had; and that creates a Right to the thing gained by it: the King by withdrawing and disbanding his Army, yielded him the Throne; and if he had, without any more Ceremony, ascended it, he had done no more than all other Princes do on the like occasions. (111)

The idea that William of Orange came to England to defend English rights and was yielded the throne by James II's flight from England gives William III as strong a claim to the English throne as that of any other monarch in the world. For Bohun, this perspective makes the transition in England a legal and legitimate one so that obligations to James II for which Jacobites stand are in fact groundless.

The argument above, which Bohun only alludes to in *The History of the Desertion*, receives a more thorough treatment in *The Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive Obedience No way concerned in the Controversies Now depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites* (1689). Bohun begins his pamphlet at the point alluded to above. In the second paragraph, he wonders:

For what if God has forbidden us upon pain of Damnation, to resist our Lawful Princes when they do amiss; and has reserved to himself the Censure and Punishment of his own Ministers, as I believe all Lawful Princes are such; and

that God has for great and wise Reasons tied up our hands; Doth it therefore follow from hence, that *James* is still the Lawful King of *England*? (1)

Through this question, the author circumvents interpretation of passive obedience by asserting that once William of Orange assumed the English throne, any title to the privileges of a monarch James II might claim were nullified. At the same time, Bohun carefully negates the right of malcontents to rebel whenever a monarch displeases them because of the consequence “that it [would be] Lawful for every Man to Rebel against his Lawful Prince, whenever he think it necessary” (2). He seeks to “put to an end... this unseasonable dispute” by “endeavour[ing] to prove these Particulars, as to the Friends of the late King”:

1. That those that believed it, were not thereby bound to assert the Misgovernment of *James* the Second.^{xvi}
2. That seeing he has deserted his Throne, and withdrawn his Person and Seals, they are not thereby obliged to endeavour the restoring of him. (2)

Through this approach, Bohun uses William III’s right of conquest to negate the Jacobite accusation that Williamites violated the Church of England’s doctrine of non-resistance by their loyalty to William III. Bohun’s use of conquest to establish William’s and Mary’s legitimacy illustrates an important aspect of the Glorious Revolution’s defense for High Church supporters of the new monarchy because right of conquest does not eliminate patriarchal views of monarchy.

Bohun primarily concerns himself with proving that those who support William III and Mary II are not guilty of treachery and that the assertion that the English should fight for James II’s restoration is groundless. Two main strategies comprise Bohun’s approach. First, he relies heavily on ancient church history to demonstrate that Jacobites have re-worked non-resistance to

achieve their own ends. He cites historical examples of non-resistance to show how the English are redefining non-resistance, and he quotes from ancient sources to disprove Jacobite applications of the doctrine. Second, Bohun argues that simple consistency necessitates submitting to William III, who now holds the title to the English throne, in the same way James II's supporters argued that subjects were to submit to James while he held the throne. Both of these arguments are predicated upon the notion that William III gained the throne by right of conquest, and Bohun frequently alludes to elements of conquest in relation to the history of passive obedience. As Goldie explains, the notion of conquest proved particularly important to Tory supporters of the Glorious Revolution because it gave William III "a total transference of rights" in England and it mitigated Whig theories that tended toward Republicanism (580).

Bohun's conquest theory derived from Hugo Grotius's writings on just war earlier in the seventeenth century.^{xvii} While writers such as Anthony Ascham used Grotius to justify the Commonwealth during the Civil War, Grotius could be much more easily applied to the events of 1688. According to this theory, war could be legitimately entered into in order to assert a prior right (Goldie 580). As Goldie explains, "Grotius gave three just causes for war: defence, the recovery of property, and the punishment of wrong. Bohun invoked the second and third" (580). Bohun may go beyond Grotius' grounds for just war claiming that James II unlawfully deprived William of Orange of his right of succession by assuming that the Dutch prince shared in his wife's title and that the Pretender was indeed illegitimate. His argument based on punishment of wrong, however, is stronger. To make this case, Bohun follows Grotius who believed, "subjects had no redress against their king, whilst allowing that a foreign sovereign could depose a tyrant" (Goldie 580-581).^{xviii} For example, in *The Doctrine of Non-resistance*, Bohun asserts:

Every Man has not the Right of making a Conquest: a *Subject* that rebels against his Prince is but a Victorious Traytor if he prevail; but *William* the Third was a Sovereign Prince when he entered *England*, and by the Law of Nations had a right to vindicate his, and his Ladies Injuries, and obtain by the Sword, what he could not get by a fair Treaty. (26)

While considering William of Orange as a “Sovereign Prince” goes beyond his actual status, Bohun legitimately takes William’s declaration upon entering England as meeting Grotius’ condition of a formal declaration of war for a legitimate invasion (Goldie 581).^{xix} The key for Bohun’s argument here lies in the construction of grounds for William III’s invasion on the basis of laws to which all nations must submit. On this basis, the Glorious Revolution could be construed as a Williamite conquest of James II. Therefore, William and Mary are entitled to the sovereign rights stemming from a just war between nations.

Bohun brings these principles to bear on non-resistance from the beginning of his pamphlet in order to remove the Jacobite claim that the English must work for the reinstatement of James II. First, he accuses Jacobites of being unable to distinguish “between the Doctrine of Non-resistance and that of actually aiding a Prince to destroy and enslave his People” (3). He relies on what he believes to be the universally acknowledged failure of James II to call a free Parliament as evidence of his refusal to submit to English law. For Bohun, this grievance makes the former king guilty of removing English subjects’ rights. This transgression placed James II in the position of allowing another sovereign to force him to obey the laws and, if necessary, replace him on the throne. In light of this interpretation of the rights of monarchs and their responsibility to subjects, Bohun asserts that, until the throne was established for one side or the other, both parties had a right to their position and actions. Since the settlement of William and

Mary on the English throne, those who “declared too soon for the Prince of *Orange*, his now Majesty” are only responsible for choosing his side too soon, and Jacobites are not responsible for their actions prior to the coregents installation (3).

Bohun supports this position by looking back to “Primitive times, when this Doctrine was best both understood and practiced” (3). Before Christianity became legal, Christians expected both persecution and martyrdom from the state and did not resist them (3). Their submission to the state, though, did not lead them to be “so silly as to be fond of their Persecutors or to wish or fight for it” (3). Bohun cites examples from the times of the Church Fathers to establish the historical validity of his interpretation of non-resistance:

They prayed for the Emperor, and performed all the Duties of good Subjects till he persecuted them, and endeavoured to destroy the Church of God; but then they changed their Note.... Who ever pleaseth may see enough of this laid together in *Jovian*, pag. 161 and 162. There is not one of those Princes who persecuted the Church, but he is represented to the World by the Fathers and Church Historians in the blackest Characters...by what hand soever the enraged Fool fell, the deliverance was ascribed to God, who makes use of such instruments as he thinks fit to punish bloody and tyrannical Men. (4)

Bohun takes this pattern as normative and assumes that England’s situation under the former king parallels the situation he describes. Insofar as James II played the tyrant or fool, he deserved his fall, and assertions that the English should wish for a return to his arbitrary rule were not to be taken seriously. Bohun lends weight to his argument that passive obedience does not equate with blind obedience or necessitate uniformly positive depictions of the monarch by noting that English monarchs differed from Roman emperors: the emperors’ legal powers were not tempered

by law in the same way as English kings' were. While he allows that "we are as much bound to submit to the Legal Commands of a King of *England*, as the Primitive Christians were to the Legal Commands of their Princes," Bohun insists that "this was no part of the Controversie under the Reign of *James II*, who had as little Law as Reason for what he did" (5).

This aspect of Bohun's interpretation of non-resistance frees the English from their obligation to fight for James II's restoration because William III is indeed a legitimate monarch. In the pamphlet, he summarizes the Jacobite argument as one that necessitates swearing allegiance to James as long as he lives because he alone has the hereditary title to the throne. Bohun responds that the English have recognized James II's offenses – even in the Bishops' proposals – and these breaches gave William of Orange "a just Cause to make War upon *James II*, and if he was conquered by him, he has as good Right to our Allegiance, on that score, as ever any conquering Prince had" (5). While this mode of argument bears similarities to Filmer's use of historical examples, the thrust of Bohun's approach shows more affinity with Locke's contractual view of government.^{xx} For Tory Williamites, building a case through similar arguments to those used by Filmer while coming to contractual conclusions allows those Tories to maintain the historic foundation for government while changing its structure. Bohun's arguments, then, ultimately assert consistency with the historic model of English government even as they subtly change it. In the subsequent pages, Bohun asserts the legitimacy of William of Orange's conquest and forces the implication that simple consistency should require that Jacobites not only to promise to live peacefully under the new king but also swear allegiance to him.

Bohun shows Jacobites' inconsistency by citing their claim that the English have not suffered enough for their religion to justify rebellion. Alluding to Paul's statement that he makes

up what is lacking in Christ's affliction (Colossians 1:24), Bohun allows, "If they think we have not suffered enough for our Religion, they may be pleased to go for *France* or *Ireland*, and there make up what is wanting" (9). This ironic assertion portrays Jacobites as taking the divine right of their former monarch to such an extreme that they will unjustly suffer for him in the same way that Paul justly suffered for Christ. At the same time, he accuses Jacobites of seeking persecution when, "it is madness to desire to be, and to bring others into affliction and Trouble, when God doth not willingly afflict or grieve the Children of Men, and hath sent us a Deliverance, before we expected it, and sooner than some Men are well-pleased" (9). Bohun's criticism weighs especially heavily against those within the Church of England who appealed to James II for support of the Church to no avail and prayed for deliverance from his religious policies. They prayed for release and refused to accept the deliverance God sent through the Glorious Revolution.

The inconsistency between praying for deliverance and then refusing to accept it becomes greater through Jacobite arguments against the new king's title. Bohun observes that Jacobites ask why William III does not use the title of conqueror if he obtained the throne by conquest, to which Bohun responds, "he that has several Rights to the same thing, may use his best and wave the rest" (9). He sees the Jacobites as presenting a Catch-22: "No Man is bound to produce an invidious Title: Should King *William* have treated us as a conquered People, they would have been the first that would have complained; who now complain, only, because they have not that Case" (9). Bohun suggests that William III's adversaries are simply looking for the best argument they can make against the new king's rule. Returning to church history, the pamphlet points out that in the early years of the Christian church, Rome changed hands over 30 times in one 110-year period with the majority of the rulers suffering murder or deposition. In the midst

of this environment, which included four great persecutions of the church, the Christians never fought to restore a deposed leader but submitted to the prevailing emperor (11). For Bohun, this point provides one of his strongest arguments against the Jacobites and incites him to challenge them thus:

How could they in conscience pray for thirty Emperors in one hundred and ten years, most of which were stained with the Royal Bloods of their Predecessors; and who had no other Title than that of a Prosperous Usurpation and a successful Rebellion? Let the *Jacobites* of our Age come forth now, and try if they can justify these Primitive Christians in all this; let them produce their Arguments and form Apologies for them, which shall not at the same time be unanswerable Objections against their own Practice. (12)

This practice of the early Christian church paired with William III's title by conquest and heredity, both of which Bohun sees as legitimate, provides three levels of validity to William and Mary's reign and removes the grounds on which Jacobites might oppose the new regime. Assuming the correctness of the early Christians' practice, Bohun depicts the contemporary situation as parallel so that those opposed to the revolution must either indict the Church Fathers along with the Williamites or confess that William III holds a proper title to the throne and deserves their allegiance. Bohun draws on Jesus' rhetorical question in response to the man who asked Jesus to force a fair division of their inheritance (Luke 12:13-15). Broadening Jesus' question to include matters of government, Bohun claims that the early Christians and the Williamites followed the example set by Jesus as he asks, "Who made me a Judge and a divider of Civil Inheritances, or of the Titles and Claims of Princes?" (12). While the final portion of the Scripture is Bohun's addition, including "Princes" serves to strengthen the basis of those who

supported the new monarch's belief that God allowed events like the Glorious Revolution to occur and used different rulers to bring about his purposes on earth.

At the same time, Bohun carefully suggests that God continues to superintend creation so that this revolution occurred under his care and provision. Like both Milton and Filmer, Bohun relies heavily on Scripture for these arguments, as he allows no room for a Deistic interpretation of history or the idea that God runs the universe in a *laissez-faire* manner. Jacobites and Williamites used Scripture to support their cases because of the importance most people in England continued to place on the Bible as a guide for action. In this case, Bohun uses Biblical arguments to suggest that the Jacobites' refusal to swear allegiance to William III is tantamount to a lack of faith. Bohun very pointedly brings this issue to them:

Now I would fain have our *Jacobites* tell me, whether the same True God has abandoned the Government of the World, and when he did so? Did he give the Empire of the World to *Nero*, to *Domitian*, to *Julian* the Apostate, all Usurpers, and some of them Murderers of their Predecessors? ... Did not he that gave the Kingdom of *England* to King *James*, give it also to King *William*? (13)

Here, Bohun places the onus on supporters of the former monarch to show how the new monarch's title could be construed as outside the realm of providence. If God superintended William of Orange's ascent to the English throne, then that implies the English must submit to William's rule. The historical examples drawn into the argument strengthen the position taken here as they gave Bohun precedent for claiming allegiance to the king without embracing a republican ideal. Because the Dutch prince was a foreign sovereign, he could intervene on behalf of the English people when they had no other redress.^{xxi}

Concluding the first section of the pamphlet, Bohun summarizes his case in terms of the appropriateness of swearing allegiance to William III and Mary II rather than in terms of the invalidity of Jacobite applications of non-resistance. By doing so, he anticipates the next section in which he attacks the Jacobite notion that English subjects must work for James II's re-installation as monarch on the basis of the doctrine of non-resistance. Continuing his reliance on the legitimacy of William III's conquest and continuing to cite historical examples, he writes:

Now I would fain know of my Country men, who are still dissatisfied, what I or any of the other Members of the Church of *England*, who never resisted King *James* till he left us, have done more than the Primitive Christians did in the like Circumstances; and I would have them produce but one Example in all those times of a Christian that did scruple to submit to, or pray for, the Prince that was set over him, be his Title what it would. And when his hand is in, let him shew me the Christian that desired the Restitution of *Dioclesian* or *Liciniu*, two persecuting Princes, who were as manifestly laid aside as King *James* was or could be; supposing he was purely forced, and that there was nothing of his will in it, which yet were a very extravagant Supposition. (14)

This interpretation of the events of 1688 provides a conservative perspective allowing Tory supporters of the change in government to embrace William and Mary without taking a radical stand against hereditary monarchy. The force of the argument grows from the fact that William III is at a bare minimum the *de facto* king and, because he holds the title, he commands the honor due to the monarch. Of course, Bohun believes that William III received the title on justified grounds and the subtle comparison of James II to Diocletian jabs at the tyranny with which Bohun and others believed James ruled. The concession that the former king was forced from the

throne, which Bohun clearly believes to be false, could be made without any damage to the truth. Bohun can make this concession because William III is now the recognized king of England. Therefore, all citizens must respect his title, just as citizens respected the titles of Roman emperors who achieved power by a variety of means.

Immediately after this conclusion, Bohun claims to move to his second task, which is determining “whether those who stand for the Non-resisting Doctrine are by it bound to endeavour the Restitution of *James* the Second, now [that] he had deserted the Throne, and withdrawn his Person and Seals” (14). This section mines the same vein as the previous one but pays a little more attention to James II’s grievances and focuses more strongly on God’s hand in fixing the titles of rulers. From the outset, Bohun draws on providence, observing that “*God could approve nothing but what was just*, and in this be sure nothing could happen but what he approved” (15). This premise lays the groundwork for the final pages of Bohun’s argument in *The Doctrine of Non-resistance, or Passive Obedience, No way concern’d in the Controversies now depending, &c.*

The idea that God holds ultimate sway over the kingdoms of the world provides the basis for Bohun’s dismissal of passive obedience as a reason to recall James II. Bohun acknowledges hereditary principles but shies away from the extremes to which Filmer applied them. Bohun recognizes that “God has pleased to settle the Kingdom of the World in certain Families and Persons as he thought fit,” but he also insists that “he has not thereby bound up his own hands so, that let them do what they please, every person that is by his Providence exalted to a Throne must necessarily Reign till his Death, and shall then be succeeded by none but his next right Heir” (15). To support this assertion, he uses the Davidic line as an example. While “God never made a personal promise to any Family, but that of *David*,” even then there were “many false

steps, and aberrations from the true Rules of an Hereditary Succession” (15). For conservative Tories who supported William III, this logic mitigates heavily against the Filmerian view embraced by many Jacobites and makes the arguments based on hereditary succession used by writers like Nathaniel Johnston superfluous. Because the promise made by God to David is the exception rather than the rule, doctrines of government founded solely upon hereditary principles are not based on normative principles. Bohun believes that God’s providence and power implies, “That whosoever ascends a Throne, and reigns in any Kingdom, doth it by the Will and Appointment of God; And in this no Wrong is done by God, for he may dispose of what is his own, when and how he please” (15).^{xxii}

Applying God’s providence over governments such that subjects are to submit to whatever monarch they receive allows Bohun to appeal to those who support James II’s title but also believe he abused the throne. Bohun argues that James’ abuses, paired with William III’s legitimate possession of the English title, eliminate any obligation to work for the former monarch’s restoration. Among the eight examples Bohun uses to illustrate the English freedom to support William III without fighting for James II’s restoration is that of Constantine’s defeat of Licinius (17). This example fits the situation in England particularly well because of the history between these two Romans. Licinius had joined Constantine in issuing the Edict of Milan, but Licinius later turned on Christians restricting the Bishops and their freedom to worship. Although Bohun does not point out the parallel explicitly, the similarity would be obvious to English Churchmen reading the pamphlet. Bohun writes:

One of the last of the Pagan Princes, that persecuted the Church, was *Licinius*, upon whom *Constantine* made War, for that very Cause, and reduced him to a private Life, in *Thrace*, in the Year 324 and in the Year 325 put him to death, for

endeavouring to recover his Throne: But neither here did the Christians, that were his Subjects, desire again to be under their Pagan Persecuting Prince, rather than under their Deliverer, *Constantine*. (17)

As the beginning of this pamphlet and *The History of the Desertion* demonstrate James II's abuses of the throne and pay particular attention to the perceived abuses he committed to the Church of England, a reader could very easily substitute "James" for "Licinius" and "William" for "Constantine" in this passage and see the similarities. The reference to Constantine's killing of Licinius for attempting to regain power also preemptively justifies William III's taking similar action should the former monarch attempt to regain the English throne. The similarities here also lend strength to the argument that those loyal to James II but aware of his actions against the Church of England are historically unique in their desire to see him restored.

While Bohun stakes a great deal of his argument for William III on the church's historic submission to whatever government God placed over them, he also devotes energy to demonstrating exactly how he believes James II worked to subvert English liberty. He concludes his discussion of church history by observing that, "In all the various Events of these Times, the Providence of God ordered things for the good of his Church, and the Christians of those Times, left them to his Disposal, and submitted to those he set over them, quietly, and without disputing their Rights or Titles" (18). He then begins elucidating ways in which James II violated his obligations as monarch. Bohun bases his argument on the assumption that James' ultimate goal was "setting up Popery in this Kingdom" (18-19). Bohun levels arguments against James II that are typical of both Whig and Tory Williamites, as shown by the similarity of his language to that of the Declaration of Rights:

It may suffice to say, in general, Never any of our Princes so openly attempted the Ruine of the English Liberties, or went so far in it; never did any Man more openly endeavour the Ruine of an established Religion, or by more illegal Courses than he: nor Laws, nor Oaths, nor Promises, nor Gratitude could restrain him; he broke through all the Barriers God and Man had put in his Way, and seemed resolved to ruine us or Himself; no Remonstrances from abroad, no Petitions at home, could work upon him, till he saw the Sword coming to cut up the *Gourd* he had planted, and was so fond of; then indeed, he seemed to relent and to give back; but still he would be trusted; he would yield up nothing, but so as that he might, when the Danger was over, re-assume the same again. (18-19)^{xxiii}

The idea that James II ultimately sought the establishment of Catholicism in England underlies all of these accusations. While Bohun's assertion that converting England to Catholicism was James' "main and almost only Design" is almost certainly too facile, as Jones describes (*Revolution of 1688* 81-83), attributing this motivation allows Bohun to demonize the former monarch in a way nearly the entire country could embrace. Bohun presents subversion of English liberty and the ruin of the Church of England as key elements in the former monarch's plan to establish Catholicism so that even dissenters favoring William III can see James II's actions against the English Church as forerunners of similar actions against them. At the same time, Bohun characterizes James as untrustworthy and willing to use any means at his disposal to achieve his ends.

James II's violation of his subjects' trust continues as a useful theme in the pamphlet. Bohun uses James' record as king, illustrated with state documents, to lay the groundwork for a more thorough discussion of William of Orange's right to invade and right of conquest. James

II's actions created a state where "the Parties that take his word [are] alone responsible for their Incurable folly" (23). The arbitrariness with which Williamites believe his predecessor ruled obviates submission to him and provides William with just grounds for conquest. While the logic Bohun employs may be suspicious, it demonstrates the vilification of James II in contrast to the praise afforded William III by supporters of the Glorious Revolution. Bohun highlights the difference between the two rulers as he describes William III's justification for his conquest:

But every Conquest will perhaps not create a just and good Title, but here it is confessed the present King had the most just cause to make a War upon *James* the Second, that ever Man had, by them who scruple to submit to him; He managed this War also with the utmost justice, he did not enter into it till he had tried all other ways to obtain Justice, and was denied it and persecuted into boot...he managed the War with so exact a discipline, with so little injury to the rest of the Nation, that the want of the effects of War, Blood and Rapine, is objected against his Victory. (26)

Attributing justice to William III's cause and suggesting that he tried everything possible before entering England with his military heightens the contrast between the two monarchs. Bohun further differentiates between them through his description of the Dutch prince's conduct during the Glorious Revolution. While laws, oaths, or promises could not restrain James II, the new king avoided the effects of war to the point that his enemies suggest that he did not make a real conquest. The magnitude of difference between this description of the two kings and Johnston's description of them in *The Dear Bargain* illustrates the extreme contrasts in perception of the preceding years. Although both men acknowledge patriarchal foundations of monarchy in a manner similar to Filmer, Bohun ultimately subsumes any of these arguments to the legal basis

of monarchy in ways that share more common ground with Milton and Locke than with Filmer. The way in which Bohun asserts William of Orange's the basis upon which he could enter England and his ensuing right of conquest makes the monarchy depend on the laws of the nation rather than the laws of the nation dependent upon the will of the king.

For Bohun, continually returning to the legitimacy of William III's conquest buttresses his anti-Jacobite case. Bohun writes, "Conquest, a voluntary Surrender, and a willful Desertion of a Crown, will put an End to the best founded Title in the World" (31). All three of those things happened in November-December of 1688, as far as he is concerned. At this point in the pamphlet, he supports the idea through a new argument: "not only the three Estates of *England*, but all the Princes and Sovereign States in Christendom (except the King of *France*) have allowed King *William* and Queen *Mary*, as the rightful Sovereigns of *England*; which is a kind of giving Judgment against the late King, after hearing what has been alledged on both sides" (31). This logic highlights the *jus gentium* aspect of Bohun's support of the conquest. It also isolates the new monarch's adversaries by placing their opposition to William and Mary apart from the rest of their nation and the world with the exception of France. This move works particularly well because it aligns those advocating the continuing legitimacy of James II with the one nation in Europe seen most strongly as a threat to English liberty.

The other support for William III's legitimacy used here also draws on broader logic than James II's misgovernment or the conquest of 1688 alone. Relying on natural law, Bohun emphasizes that a monarch deserves allegiance by virtue of that title just as all people owe allegiance to God:

As to the *Oaths* taken to the late King, they create no new Obligation upon us as to the Extent or Duration of our Allegiance; I was under the same Obligations of

Allegiance, before I was sworn, as I was afterwards; and every Subject of *England*, oweth, by the Laws of *England*, a natural Allegiance to his Prince before he is sworn, as every Man owes naturally Obedience to God, before he entreth into the Baptismal Covenant: And so the Primitive Christians were under the same Obligation to their Princes we are, tho' I do not find they ever swore any Allegiance to them. (31)^{xxiv}

Like the preceding argument, this one takes root in the order of creation: a monarch's title brings honor with it, and once that title transfers to another, the benefits of it also move. Illustrating this concept through the obedience owed to God even before baptism, Bohun brings its force beyond national government to eternal principle. While Bohun takes the "Laws of *England*" as the source for the obedience owed to its monarch, the rest of the passage suggests that he has an eye toward more enduring principles as the parallel to baptism and the example of primitive Christians are used for support. Like those who advocate a patriarchal view of monarchy, Bohun attributes great honor and authority to the throne, but his view differs distinctly in that he ties those things to the position rather than to the person or royal line.

He also subsumes the obedience due a king to "the Laws of God and the Laws of the Land" and cautions, "if I obey further actively, I am responsible to God and Man for it" (31-32). These principles work together to suggest that the monarchy commands great respect and holds great authority but is limited rather than absolute. This position resembles Milton's assertion that kings receive power as "Deputies and Commissioners" for the execution of justice and no more (*Milton Prose Works* III 199), and it is even more closely tied to Locke's description of the state of nature in his *Two Treatises*. By placing these constraints on government, Bohun can justify William III's conquest of a monarch who violated laws to which he was subject. This legitimate

transfer of the English title from James II to William III makes the doctrine of non-resistance a moot point in this debate. Because the rights and privileges of the throne legitimately came to the new king, all English citizens owe him the loyalty they owed to the former ruler a few months before.

Maintaining the validity of the doctrine of non-resistance while asserting that it is irrelevant to the Jacobite cause also allows Bohun to uphold a strong view of the monarchy in the face of extreme Whigs fighting for a more republican view of government. Discounting the importance of this doctrine or suggesting that its only place is in defending the Jacobite cause exasperates those who adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance. According to Bohun, Jacobites then conclude “this *Revolution* was not the Work of God” and

from thence they conclude, the Men that do this and all other that joyn with them, have made a Defection from this Doctrine, and from the Church of *England*; and they think themselves bound in Conscience to oppose all those that are thus united, lest they should seem betrayers of this Loyal, Holy, Excellent Doctrine, and of the Honour of that Church that hath ever taught it. (36-37)

Emphasizing that the doctrine of non-resistance holds an important place in society, Bohun separates himself from the more radical factions at the time and promotes a view of the new government as legal and justly instituted. While the bulk of the pamphlet discounts the Jacobite applications of the doctrine, Bohun shows, at this point, that he still supports non-resistance as a principle: he simply does not see it as a relevant argument against William and Mary’s legitimacy. Relying on conquest as legitimate grounds for changes in government, Bohun provides a solid argument for supporting William III that Tories can accept while combating patriarchal arguments raised against the new monarch.

This approach maintains the power of both the church and the monarchy, two authorities that Tories held as important, but it releases them from an obligation to James II based simply on heredity. Although many Whig supporters of William III would resist this interpretation of the Glorious Revolution and its results, this approach allows those of Bohun's stripe to present William's reign as legitimate and orderly. Bohun shows the high stakes he places on the interpretation of the basis of William III's reign as his pamphlet draws to a close:

He, then, that shall endeavour to...persuade Men they are not bound in Conscience to submit to the Laws and lawful Governors of their Country, contradicts this plain Doctrine of the Apostle, and exposeth the Supreme Powers in all Countries to the Rage and Fury of the Multitude, or any Faction that is potent, and thinks it self injured; and consequently he is an Enemy to all Government. (37)

By advocating the continued relevance of non-resistance and passive obedience as ordering principles while insisting that they are not relevant to the actual transition between the former and present monarch, Bohun presents a moderate position supporting the Glorious Revolution. He refutes the Jacobite claim that James II still holds the title to the English throne and argues against more radical Williamites who place the right to rebel in the hands of the people. Approaching the new regime as a just conquest serves Bohun well as it allows his party to maintain their strong view of government and to swear allegiance to William III.

Other Williamites sought to establish the legitimacy of the Glorious Revolution apart from the issue of passive obedience. For them, the doctrine held no sway in England at the close of the seventeenth century, and its invocation only served to hamper the rights of the people. The anonymous *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male-Contents in England Shewing, That it is*

neither the Duty, nor the Interest of the People of England to Recall the Late King (1689?)

derides the doctrine upon which Bohun built his case while coming to the same conclusion: allowing James II to return to the throne “will make us slaves and miserable” (4). The colophon attributes printing to Randal Taylor in 1689, and little other bibliographic information is available on the four-page pamphlet. The author asserts his love of monarchy and the Church of England before proceeding to dismantle arguments for James II’s return to the throne. He addresses passive obedience and the oath of allegiance in turn to show how neither provides adequate basis for seeking James’ return.

The author uses strong language to show the depths to which England sank under James II and the magnitude of her rescue by the Prince of Orange. In the first sentence, the author characterizes the revolution as “Miraculous, Cheap, and Easy” and England as a “poor Bleeding Kingdom” delivered from James II’s reign (1). The anthropomorphic language may demonstrate the extent to which the idea of king as head of the national body was ingrained in seventeenth-century thought, especially when paired with the paragraph’s concluding comparison of England after the Glorious Revolution to the happiness of a man recovering from an illness: “her Prosperity is as discernible, as the recovery of a Mans health and strength is after a long and irksome disease” (1). Jacobites most regularly appropriate this type of thought, and this author’s use of this language allows him to gain an audience with Jacobites while highlighting the head of the nation’s effect upon the whole nation.

For this author, the debate over English subjects’ duty to call back James II makes no sense. As king, James worked to subvert the rights of the English people and to establish Roman Catholicism, and the English people should be glad to be relieved of his rule. The author believes, “So great have been the manifold Blessings from time to time conferred on this

undeserving Nation, that nothing can be more Miraculous, but our Ingratitude” (1). The prosperity the English are now experiencing, along with the clear injustices committed by the former king, should leave the English happy, so the author finds the Jacobite outcry against the Glorious Revolution shocking.

He goes out of his way to identify himself as a believer in monarchy and loyal to the Church of England, but insists that commitment to these principles does not necessitate support of James II. This author takes a rather conciliatory tone in spite of his strong stand against the former monarch. In addition to describing himself as devoted to monarchy and the national Church, the author insists,

I have no secret disgust to the Person of the late *King* to alienate my affections from him; but do heartily pity him, and condole those misfortunes he has taken such pains to draw himself into: I am neither conscious of any angry resentments of the unjust sufferings of the Members of my Communion, nor have the losses I have sustained on his account, bred in me any discontent with my present Circumstances.... (1)

These lines serve a dual purpose in this pamphlet. First, they position the author as someone with similar principles to the Jacobites in spite of his belief that the nation was better off with William III on the throne, and, second, they subtly highlight some of James II’s weaknesses. The author expresses parallels between his thought and Jacobite’s thought in hopes of convincing those readers that this pamphlet is not simply anti-James propaganda. At the same time, though, the author levels a subtle attack on the former king in these lines. First, James II is presented as pitiable because he brought the current situation upon himself. While Jacobites would certainly disagree with the notion that James caused his own misfortunes, the author hides the criticism

behind his admission that he has “no secret disgust to the Person of the late *King*” so that his attack comes across as an observation rather than an affront to the former king. The author uses the same approach as he recognizes that he and his church have suffered at the hands of James II. These damages brought about by the former king have not “bred in me any discontent with my present Circumstances.” These concessions lay the groundwork for the stronger criticism in the following paragraphs.

While the author recognizes that passive obedience “may have its use in several Cases,” he insists that the doctrine holds no ground when rights are violated as they have been under James II (1). The author limits the extent of passive obedience with individual rights as described by England’s law:

men are to submit to many tolerable inconveniences to the publick, and intolerable prejudices to their own private Interests, rather than retract their submission to the Supream Authority, or disturb the Government; but that *Passive-Obedience* taken in its largest Sense, without any restriction, is a Duty incumbent on us, I deny: Religion obliges no man to pay another more than he owes him, and therefore, why should we extend our Allegiance further than the Law carries it? were this Doctrine true, our Lives, Religion, Liberties and Properties are trivial precarious things we only enjoy at the Kings Discretion, and during his Pleasure... (1-2)

While the author avows himself a supporter of monarchy, this passage shows a much more contractual view of government than that espoused by most Tory supporters of William III and by most Jacobites. Although this pamphlet was published a year before Locke’s *Two Treatises*, the argument here resonates with arguments used by Locke in his second treatise. For example,

discussing the *Ends of Civil Government*, Locke writes, “whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any common-wealth, is bound to govern by established *standing laws*, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees; ...And all this to be directed to no other *end*, but the *peace, safety, and public good* of the people” (IX.131). Locke’s positive statement correlates almost perfectly with the negative statement from *Advice to the Male Contents* above. The author’s analysis focuses on the danger to individuals if one individual, the king, can subvert their rights to his caprice. He makes this point more clear, observing that “a whole Nation is by it offered as a sacrifice to the lust and fury of one man, who is either ill disposed himself, or has evil Counsellors about him; the KING and a few Villains about him may cut all the Throats, and engross the whole Wealth of the Kingdom” (2). The emphasis on the precarious nature of property and liberty if laws hold no sway over a monarch draws greater force from the negative description of the possibility of a nation being subjected to the whims of one man and his advisors.

From these principles, the author develops other reasons to oppose blind submission to James II through passive obedience. Turning around the argument that failure to practice passive obedience brings guilt before God, he asks, “are we not justly accountable to God, if we throw away that being which he hath given us, when we might have preserved it by all just and Lawful ways?” (2). Again, the author of this pamphlet places English law above the authority inherent in the monarch – a position that differs significantly from that taken by more conservative Williamites such as Bohun. While Bohun bases his argument on the idea that kings are subject to the law of nations enforceable by other rulers, this author posits that citizens not only are able to resist a ruler who violates their rights, but also are accountable to God if they do not resist.

In the pamphlet, the author also differentiates between the early church and the modern Church of England. While the early church did not have the benefit of Christianity established as a legitimate religion, the author writes, “we are in a Kingdom, wherein our Religion is become our Property” (2). He concedes that the early Christians did not and should not have resisted because, “we are not to turn Monarchies upside down, to make whole Kingdoms swim in Blood, and by force of Arms to introduce our Religion in a State or Kingdom where it is not settled,” but he also insists that “betwixt them and us there is no parallel” (2). The primary implication is that James II’s actions against the Church were tantamount to assaults on church members’ property. Because the laws of the land established both the estates and religion of the nation, affronts to either one violate national law and legitimize actions against the ruler who violates those laws. Unlike the early Christians, Englishmen lived in a nation with an established church that they held an inherent right to defend. A secondary implication is that in James II’s alleged attempts to establish Roman Catholicism he demonstrated a willingness to make a “whole kingdom swim in blood,” which further highlighted the legitimacy of his removal from the throne. Making this point, the author asserts that the admonition that citizens are not to make kingdoms swim in blood applies equally strongly to the former king.

The second Jacobite argument addressed in *Good and Seasonable Advice* is that “the Oath of Allegiance obliges us to Re-call the late King” (2). The author dismisses this argument on two grounds. First, the Oath creates a situation in which people must choose between two evils – breaking the Oath of Allegiance or sacrificing their religion to keep the Oath. Second, because the Oath is reciprocal with both the king and people swearing to certain obligations, violation by either party negates its stipulations. The author addresses the first issue with a question: “Can we think that an Oath can cancel all former obligations, and that God will so

punctually insist on the obligation of it, when at the same time, it interferes with the great Duties we owe to Him, to our Religion and our Country?” (2). When loyalty to God, or at least to the Church of England, and loyalty to the king conflict, this author believes the choice is clear:

If of two evils we must choose the least, is it not better to preserve our Religion, than to assist to root it out, for the sake of an Oath, which in the opinion of all men not prejudiced, must seem unlawful, and better broken than kept, since we cannot be just to it, and to our religion too. (2)

This argument highlights the extent to which James II’s policies for religious toleration opened him to criticism and stirred distrust among his people. Bohun’s assertion that preserving the Church of England takes precedence over the king’s right to rule is similar to Milton’s constant emphasis on the priority of God’s law over a monarch’s authority.^{xxv}

The second argument drives home even more strongly the injustices the writer perceives James II to have committed. Because “Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal,” when the monarch ceases to protect his people, they cease to owe him allegiance. While the previous argument primarily emphasizes James II’s violation of the “property” of the English people’s religion, this argument builds a varied litany of complaints against the deposed monarch:

When the constitution we swore to was dissolved, when the compact on which Government is founded was broken, when the Laws which gave him his Being and Power were subverted, and trampled under foot; when the King would Govern no longer as a King of *England*, then sure his Government ceased: when the Father of our Country became the greatest Enemy of it; when our Governour was turned our destroyer...when our King deserted us without any just fear or danger...alienating his Kingdom, and putting himself under the conduct of a

Foreign Prince, who is the greatest Enemy to our Church and Nation... we shall be better satisfied, if we consider the nature of our *English* Monarchy, which is not boundless, but limited. (2-3)

Again, the similarity to Locke's view of government becomes evident in this list, which begins by focusing on a contract between the king and his people and portrays the king's authority as derived from English laws rather than laws deriving authority from the king's person. While supporters of William of Orange almost had to believe that a monarch's power was to some extent conditional, the author of this tract takes a much more radical approach than most Tory Williamites. Even though the phrase "Father of our Country" turns up in the midst of this list, the nature of the king's role in England is much more centered on political concepts than patriarchal ones in this *Good and Seasonable Advice*. The king is presented as subject to the laws of England, and they serve to protect both him and his people. This principle makes his turning to the French king for protection and his betrayal of his subjects all the more egregious.

While this author claims to be a supporter of monarchy, his argument shows that supporting it does not entail unilateral submission to the king. He sets forth the standard Williamite argument for the rule of law in England as he concludes the section:

If we consider the nature of our *English* Monarchy, which is not boundless, but limited; for our Charter is not our Princes Sword, nor his Will our Law. Our King is not absolute; and this appears, because the Legislative power is not lodged in his hands; our Government being a mixture of Monarchy in the King, Aristocracy in the Peers, and Democracy in the Commons: 'Tis no new thing, that the Nobles and Commons of *England* should remove Kings from the Government, when necessary to prevent a general Ruin, otherwise inevitable. (3)

One could not ask for a clearer statement of the principles most supporters of William and Mary believed justified their actions. For this author, because King James II consistently sought to destroy English property and laws, citizens had the legal right to strip him of his crown. Of course, the author also predicates this discussion on claims that James II voluntarily left the throne, but the point remains that forcibly removing a king who seeks to subvert English law falls well within the rights of the people. The extent to which the law limits the monarchy is clear highlighted by the allusion to Matthew 22 found immediately following the above lines: “for tho we must render to *Caesar* the things that are *Caesars*, I hope the constitution of our Country are to determine what the things of Caesar are” (3). While the author clearly takes the Biblical mandate seriously, the actual authority to determine what is and what is not Caesar’s falls to the government rather than to the king. In the context of the Glorious Revolution, faithfulness to Scripture remained an important aspect of defending Jacobite and Williamite positions, just as it was important for Filmer, Milton, and Locke. For Bohun, this Scriptural reference emphasizes his argument’s harmony with the Bible.

Having refuted arguments that the English are duty bound to recall James II, the author goes on to show that no benefit would come from James’ restoration either. The weight of evidence against the former monarch shows that he would still be untrustworthy in spite of his promises to the contrary:

I would desire to know what security you could propose to her in restoring the late King, when you see what regardless trifles Oaths and Promises are, when Popery is in the other Scale, & the King’s Conscience is managed by a hot-brain’d Jesuit; when you see how insignificant all limitations by Laws is, when claim is laid to a *Dispensing Power*; you cannot suppose he’ll grant himself to be

stript of his Power, and without that you can have no security; can you think he will discard his old Friends, who have stuck so close to him, and for whose sakes he freely quitted his Kingdoms? and if he does not, what a pretty posture will you be in? besides, by what branch of your Oath are you empowered to make conditions with your King? What assurance can you have, that he will esteem your services, if you do not go through stitch with him, since you have many and fresh examples of those whose being only Protestants, was enough to cancel all the obligations they could lay claim to, and all the pleas of merit for their former services? (3)

In this list of questions, the author highlights the major complaints against the former king and emphasizes the distrust of James II Williamites used to sway opinion in favor of the coregents. The emphasis on James' flexibility with his word as he sought to cement his authority and establish Roman Catholicism in England brings two great fears of the English to the fore: Roman Catholicism gaining ground in England and the king achieving the absolute authority that Louis XIV held. After establishing these two risks, the author proceeds to demonstrate that James II's track record shows his friends' and counselors' Catholic influence upon James' policies for England, his understanding of English law to be detrimental to citizen's rights, and his treatment of Protestants to offer no security to the English Church. Furthermore, the Jacobites' understanding of the Oath of Allegiance, as discussed above, allowed no room for them to bargain with their king when he did violate principles of English government. The author of this pamphlet sums up these risks, asserting, "if he regains his Kingdoms, the whole Design of Popery and Arbitrary Government, shall return upon us with more Fury than ever" (4).

Drawing to a close, *Good and Seasonable Advice* insists that since James II is gone, reinstating him equates to voluntarily “put[ting] your Necks into the Yoke of Tyranny,” an action with no basis other than faultily established principles (4). The author also vaguely alludes to potential consequences that further play on English fears. First, he suggests that James II’s return would bring about the destruction of “at least, ten parts of his People” (4). The hint at James’ return bringing about military conflict would certainly stir fears of events during the 1640s being repeated. More boldly, another consequence playing English fears about national security follows this statement: “when that is done, his Kingdom and Himself would be but a PREY to a more powerful Neighbour” (4). The thinly veiled threat is that the strain of a civil war brought on by James II’s bid to regain the throne would open England to French attacks and French superiority. While the likelihood of Louis XIV actually removing James II is dubious, his alliance with James might certainly have negative repercussions for the English.

At the same time, the author sees the Glorious Revolution as a blessing from God showing his special care for England. According to this perspective, seeking a return to the former regime is both unintelligent and ungrateful. The author claims that the English are not “enjoyed to hang our selves for the diversion and sport of Fools and Knaves...when we have the greatest Appearances possible, that GOD by his Providence works effectually and miraculously for our Delivery” (4). This understanding of God’s providence brings the preceding arguments to a head as the author worries that the English devotion to doctrines like Passive Obedience might blind them to God’s deliverance and result in a return to the misery they experienced under the former king:

In a word, do not sacrifice your greatest Interests to an empty Formality, do not desire the Storm to return heavier upon us, do not court Slavery and Servitude,

and fall in Love with Fetters; be not so misled with the narrow Notions of an unbounded Loyalty, as to oppose and dislike our present Happy Settlement. (4)

This summation ties together neatly the arguments presented throughout *Good and Seasonable Advice to the Male Contents*. In contrast to Johnston's arguments for Passive Obedience as grounds for James II's continued legitimacy and Bohun's navigations to demonstrate the Glorious Revolution's legality, this author sees the doctrine as a moot point because kings forfeit their right to rule by ignoring English law. For him, those loyal to James II ignore the priority of English law and overlook God's hand in the demise of their king. Blinded by their loyalty to James II, they fail to see the benefits brought by William and Mary to the wind.

While these pamphlets demonstrate an important way in which the debate over the Glorious Revolution continued to develop in the 1690s, they represent only one method in which writers sought to sway public opinion. Poetry by lesser known (at least to modern readers), and often anonymous, hands also presented interpretations of both James II and his successor. The bulk of this poetry, as pointed out by W. J. Cameron in POAS 5, deals with issues related to William III rather than to James II, but that by no means negates the Jacobite antipathy for William and Mary (xxv). Indeed, both parties launched virulent attacks in the years immediately following the Revolution, and, as one example, Cameron notes that "*Suum Cuique* would be hard to outdo as a personal attack on William" (xxx).

For Whig and Tory supporters of William III, laudatory poetry could be readily circulated, but Jacobites knew that they ran the risk of fines, incarceration, or worse for criticism of the new monarch. To minimize these dangers, many poems critical of the new regime were circulated in manuscript form. In his well-known 1963 article, "A Late Seventeenth-Century Scriptorium," W. J. Cameron describes one potential source of the largest collections of this

verse as originating from a scriptorium where copyists could collect these works in a single volume for distribution among Jacobites. He links six of these volumes, containing 70 or more poems concerning events from the first years of William and Mary's reign, as having a common origin (25, 32-33). Publishing these volumes could be lucrative for the person running such a scriptorium, which might or might not be attached to a printing house, and presenting them as manuscripts had the advantage of allowing authors "to cover their tracks by dictating their satires to a scrivener or even to a number of scribes at once" (25). While the origin of these anthologies is not particularly important here, the fact that at least one publishing house was established for the production of manuscript works indicates the continued risk of publishing anti-establishment works. The apparent market for such works also demonstrates the continued importance that satiric representations of the new king and queen played for Jacobites.^{xxvi}

The Huntington MS Ellesmere 8770 is the earliest collection of these satires of William and Mary's reign, and it contains "about 70 items in roughly chronological order, the earliest of November, 1688, the latest of April, 1692" (33). The volume is composed of quarto quires and has been rebound, but it still contains the original title page, which reads *A Collection of the best Poems, Lampoons, Songs & Satyrs from the Revolucon 1688 to 1692*, and a table of contents. Two selections from the volume, the earliest extant volume of Jacobite manuscript poetry regarding the Glorious Revolution, illustrate Jacobite verse representations of William III. The previously mentioned poem, "Suum Cuique," criticizes the individualistic implications of William's installation, and "The Tory Creed" criticizes members of that party who have gone over to William and Mary's side. These poems demonstrate the type of satire used by Jacobites to denounce the new regime and those supporting it.

“*Suum Cuique*” is dated 1689 in the manuscript and Sir Walter Scott printed it in the Scott-Saintsbury edition of Dryden’s works attributing it to Arthur Mainwaring (POAS V 117). Cameron notes that there is no reason to dispute Mainwaring’s authorship, although there is no corroborating evidence (117). The poem precedes Mainwaring’s allegiance to the Whig party, and the similarity to Dryden’s “high style” suggests an author of Mainwaring’s ilk (117). The poem criticizes those who supported William of Orange’s ascension to the English throne and William’s conduct since ascending the throne. The subject matter echoes criticisms from the Jacobite pamphlets already examined and highlights the betrayal Jacobites felt from those they believed should support their rightful king.

The title, which means, “to each his own,” highlights the Jacobite perception that those who abandoned their support for James II sought their own benefit rather than that of the nation. The first fifteen lines of the poem establish the lawlessness brought with William III and emphasize the consequences of failure to recall James II to the throne. The author compares the kingdom to a farm, which allows him to show the effects on citizens and the nation itself. This metaphor, which has its roots in Virgil’s *Georgics*, represents the king as tending to his kingdom as a farmer tends his fields. In this context, the author suggests that those who worked for the Glorious Revolution have thrown off the legitimate ruler and that the result is chaos for the kingdom:

When lawless men their neighbors dispossess,
 The tenants they extirpate or oppress
 And make rude havoc in the fruitful soil
 Which the right owners pruned with careful toil.
 The same in Kingdoms does proportion hold. (1-5)

Ironically, those who worked for William and Mary's ascent are called "lawless" in these lines, a charge which echoes that leveled against James II in the Bill of Rights.^{xxvii} This author, though, sees James and his party, "the right owners," as having carefully tended to the nation. The connection among the king, his subjects, and the nation that grew out of Filmerian thought and that Dryden used so often comes to the fore as the dispossession of the king and those associated with him ("neighbors") results in the destruction and oppression of subjects ("tenants") and wreaks havoc on the formerly "fruitful soil." In *Patriarcha*, Filmer highlights the relationship between the king and his subjects: "The prerogative of a king is to be above all laws, for the good only of them that are under the laws, and to defend the people's liberties" (44). Tanya Caldwell discusses Dryden's appropriation of the metaphor of the kingdom as a garden in *Time to Begin Anew* (55-88). However, Caldwell asserts that Dryden "suggests that in England's Lycaean woods poetic authority and protection...have replaced monarchical" in the absence of a legitimate monarch (61).

Drawing the metaphor out more explicitly, the author accuses the new king of using foreign forces to enforce his will, of destroying English trade, and of working against the Church of England:

A new Prince breaks the fences of the old
 And will o'er carcasses and deserts reign
 Unless the land its lawful Lord regain;
 He grips the faithless owners of the place
 And buys a foreign army to deface
 The feared and hated remnant of their race;
 He starves their forces and obstructs their trade;

Vast sums are given, yet no native paid;
 The church itself he labors to assail,
 And keeps fit tools to break the sacred pale. (6-15)

The alliterative “Unless the land its lawful Lord regain” draws attention to the Jacobite belief that the Williamites, in contrast to James II, are guilty of violating natural and English laws. As the author insists that the nation will face calamity unless they regain their “lawful Lord,” the author highlights primary importance of the monarchy in Jacobite conceptions of English law. This emphasis is clearly expressed in *Patriarcha*, where Filmer writes, “There is, and always shall be continued to the end of the world, a natural right of a supreme father over every multitude” (11). In these lines, “Suum Cuique” suggests that England will suffer consequences for their failure to maintain allegiance to their rightful king.

The suggestion that the new prince will reign over “carcasses and deserts” echoes the preceding claim that the lawless will “extirpate” the tenants and “make rude havoc” with the land. Through this extended metaphor, the author implies that the English garden will become a barren dessert under the coregency. This writer believes that England cannot prosper when ruled by a monarch who does not have a natural concern for the nation’s welfare. Jacobites frequently based such assertions on the oppression of subjects brought on by the presence of foreign forces in England, the damage to English trade his rule caused, and the harm to the Church of England under his reign. Indeed, the three areas of criticism parallel those set forth by Nathaniel Johnston in *The Dear Bargain* and constantly returned to by writers who opposed the revolution. Jacobites frequently complained of William’s usage of and favoritism to foreign troops along with his alleged mistreatment of English soldiers.^{xxviii} This author and Johnston serve as only two examples of the English complaint that William III placed Dutch commerce above English

commerce and worked to subvert the effectiveness of English trade. Jacobites also leveled the accusation that the new ruler cared little for the Church of England. The English belief that the church and state are united adds to the problems with the new king's alleged disregard for the Church of England because actions that harmed the Church of England could be presented as harming the state as a whole. While support for this charge becomes a bit thornier because William III's close advisor within the English clergy Gilbert Burnet worked hard for moral reform and took highly anti-Catholic stands, the wide perception that William's toleration act of 1689 was harmful to the Church of England lends credence to the poet's accusations about the new king's disregard for the church.^{xxix} In any case, this criticism of William III's attitude toward the English Church provides a springboard for the author's "guilty roll" of William's cronies (16).

The author of "Suum Cuique" provides a scathing indictment of Gilbert Burnet, who served as William III's personal chaplain and whom Tony Claydon describes as one of the chief propagandists for the new regime. Gilbert had received favor from Charles II for his anti-Catholic stands and had left England for the same reason during James II's reign. At The Hague, he quickly rose to favor with William of Orange so that he became a key player in the wake of the Revolution because of his experience and his ability as a native speaker of English (Claydon 29-33). The various descriptions in "Suum Cuique" highlight the ways in which Jacobites thought Burnet and those of his ilk had betrayed their nation. Burnet is one "Who has betrayed a master and a prince," and "One who from all the bonds of duty swerves;/No tie can hold but that which he deserves" (17, 20-21). In these lines the author emphasizes the Jacobite belief in hereditary monarchy by pointing out that support of William and Mary equates to betrayal of

James II and his young son. That this betrayal is tantamount to treason becomes obvious as Burnet's "swerving" from duty deserves a special tie – the hangman's necktie.^{xxx}

That Burnet worked as a propagandist for William and Mary is drawn out further by the author's criticism of Burnet:

An author dwindled to a pamphleteer,
 Skillful to forge and always unsincere,
 Careless exploded practices to mend,
 Bold to attack yet feeble to defend:
 Fate's blindfold reign the atheist loudly owns
 And Providence blasphemously dethrones. (22-27)

Gilbert's two-volume *History of the Reformation* received praise for its in-depth description of the Protestant Reformation as a victory of the true church over the false Catholic Church, but his pamphlets, which were widely circulated at the time of the Glorious Revolution and in its wake, were strongly criticized for their positions against James and their opposition to the important Jacobite doctrine of passive obedience.^{xxxi} The final couplet above is a more difficult to unravel, but Cameron's observation that "Burnet's sympathy with Arminian doctrines was sufficient for him to label predestination as 'superstition'" sheds some light on the issue (POAS V 119). On the one hand, Claydon points out that Burnet's "central argument" in justifying the new monarch's ascension was "that William's invasion had been favoured by God," which points toward a view of providence like that used by Dryden in, for example, *Astrea Redux* (31). On the other hand, Burnet "was fully aware that a political case which rested solely on divine will might easily collapse into a vacuous justification of success by success" and, in light of the success of evil men, Burnet noted "how easily providentialism could backfire, and how it could come to

legitimate any political position” (46). Given these two potentially contradictory positions, Burnet could easily be portrayed as owning fate and “blasphemously dethroning” providence. Through this criticism, a more subtle charge is made against the utilitarianism of Williamites who take any grounds they can to support the new monarch even if it results in logical inconsistency.

In the following lines, John Tillotson receives an equally harsh treatment before the author moves on to attack Henry Compton, who was the only bishop to sign the invitation to William (POAS V 120). The criticism of Compton in “*Suum Cuique*” provides important insight into the means by which Jacobites attacked the new regime. The author charges Williamites with denigrating the sacred body of the monarch through their teaching:

I need not brand the spiritual parricide
 Nor draw the dangling weapon at his side;
 Th’ astonished world remembers that offence
 And knows he stole the daughter of his Prince. (61-64)

The allegation of parricide stems from Compton’s role as Mary and Anne’s religious tutor. Had Compton adequately taught them, the author suggests, Mary would not have supported her husband’s destruction of her father’s reign. The author also attacks Compton’s role in sneaking princess Anne from the castle at the time of William’s invasion in these lines, which enhances the poet’s characterization of Compton as untrustworthy. While the reference to Compton’s “dangling weapon” probably has most to do with his reputation as the “warrior bishop,” an element of veiled sexual innuendo also comes through in the lines. Both the reference to Compton’s “theft” of Anne from her father and the implication of sexual impropriety contribute to a Jacobite characterization of their opponents as disregarding law. This portrayal of Compton

has the wider suggestion that those who invited William of Orange to England place their selfish desires above their country's interest.

The author follows the criticism of these three men with a charge that they have led the country down a path resulting in the destruction of the monarchy. They are "the blind guides of poor elective majesty, / A thing which commonwealthsmen did devise/ 'Till plots were ripe to catch the people's eyes" (69-71). The reference to "blind guides" hearkens to Milton's description of the corrupt clergy in *Lycidas* and may be intended to draw Roger L'Estrange's attack on Milton, *No Blind Guides* (1660). Whether the poet has Milton in mind or not, the blind guides are accused of scheming until they could create sufficient fear among the people to support a transition from monarchy. Events from the time of the Popish Plot could be construed as part of these "commonwealthsmen's" devising, and the Bedpan Controversy certainly qualifies as a plot that caught the people's eye. Through this allegation, the author attributes the worst of motives to these men: they have used subterfuge to destroy the English monarchy and establish an essentially elective government.

The poem ends with a vicious personal attack on William III that includes reference to his appearance, personality, and sexual preference. Cameron insightfully observes, "The character of William [in these lines] is very strong proof that 'the divinity that doth hedge a king' had gone forever" (121). The description of William begins,

There was a monster in a quagmire born,
Of all the native brutes, the grief and scorn,
With a big snout cast in a crooked mold
Which runs with glanders and an inborn cold.
His substance is of clammy snot and phlegm,

Sleep is his essence, and his life a dream.

To Capri the Tiberius does retire

To quench with whore or catamite in fire. (72-79)

The description of William III's nose served Jacobites in a number of satires, and the denigration of his physical appearance shows the ultimate lack of respect afforded the new monarch by English opponents. After this description of his "big snout," the author suggests that the new king's personality mirrors the phlegm coming from his nose. "Suum Cuique" describes William's essence of being "sleep," which is characteristic of phlegmatic personalities, but behind the description lies the other traits of that personality, which include being anti-social, indecisive, and worrisome. The final couplet brings out the common idea that William III was debauched. Parallels between Tiberius and William of Orange could be drawn on the basis of Tiberius' fierce military leadership, but this poem draws on the belief that Tiberius retired to Capri for the fulfillment of his depravity. This comparison of the two kings implies that England served as William's Capri. In the last line, the author strengthens this attack by calling attention to William's long-standing affair with Elizabeth Villiers and an alleged homosexual relationship with Hans Willem Bentinck. The self-serving nature of indulging in these relationships further diminishes the image of the monarch and highlights the lengths to which the "blind guides" would go to establish their commonwealth. "Suum Cuique" uses all of this imagery to show the depths to which England has fallen through the events of the Glorious Revolution.

"The Tory Creed" also attacks William's supporters in the Church of England, but it takes a very different approach. In this poem, religious language mirroring the Athanasian Creed accuses Tories of engaging in logical hocus pocus to allow themselves to affirm the coregents' legitimacy. Basically, Williamite Tories are presented as engaging in linguistic gymnastics so

that they can plead loyalty to William and Mary or James II depending on the following years' events. The poem begins by describing the Tory rationale:

Our zealous sons of Mother Church,
 Fearing they may be left in the Lurch,
 In case new measures shou'd be lane,
 Or either King return again,
 Have wisely come to this Result,
 To make a new *Quicumque vult*. (1-6)

Tories are here portrayed as deciding that a new creed would prevent their being “left in the lurch” however things pan out. The Athanasian Creed serves as a useful tool in this satire because of its dealing with the complex doctrine of the trinity. In addition to the reference to a creed in the title, the author’s use of the creed becomes evident through the phrase “*quicumque vult*,” which translates “whosoever will” and echoes the first line of the Athanasian Creed.^{xxxii}

The Trinitarian application is that William, Mary, and James II equate to one ruler:

Whoever will be true Tory be,
 Must hold that one and one makes three,
 Mary with William’s pow’r indu’d
 Do’s James’s virtually Include. (7-10)

This attribution satirizes the complex negotiations involved in giving William and Mary coregency so that some semblance of the Stuart line could be maintained while simultaneously allowing William of Orange to be the ruler of England. This poem brings to the fore the Jacobite belief that members of the Church of England have violated all the laws of reason and the Church to support William and Mary. Put simply, the Jacobite belief that law ultimately finds its

source in the king clashes with the Williamite emphasis on an individual's inherent rights that the king cannot countermand. Howard Nenner makes this point, noting that the concept of liberty changed after the Glorious Revolution: "An older notion of liberties as grants from the king, and in certain circumstances revocable by him, was transmuted into rights of the people that were immune from the monarch's recall" (88). The poet suggests that Tories who still hold to regal authority have engaged in fallacious reasoning as they attempt to validate the coregents' authority. These lines single out members of the Church of England through the use of a creed for the poem's satiric thrust. In *Court and Coutry: England, 1658-174*, J. R. Jones points out the difficulty the English clergy faced because of tension between their "principles of unconditional passive obedience to authority, and the total inadmissibility of resistance to the king, and the need to preserve the church" (234-235). For this Jacobite, though, the clergy have completely dismantled the authority of the church through their illogical oaths of allegiance to their new rulers.^{xxxiii} The complex doctrine of the Trinity as described in the Athanasian Creed serves the poet's purpose well because of the way in which it winds through the distinctions among the members of the Godhead while affirming their hypostatic union. This reference calls to mind the negotiations related to the description of James II's abdication and the appointment of William of Orange and Mary as king and queen in the Bill of Rights. As Lois Schwoerer describes it in *The Declaration of Rights*, Tories favored language supporting the inference "that the throne was vacant but only with respect to James; it was occupied by the legitimate but unnamed successor" (25). While the language settled upon is vague, it allows Tories to embrace this interpretation. Similarly, settling the crown upon William and Mary but giving William sole exercise of legal authority letting Tories maintain that the rightful successor is on the throne without actually giving her the authority of the crown until after William III's passing. The inclusion of James

II's authority is shown as Mary's authority "Do's James virtually include," and the complexity of this relationship comes through in the Declaration of Rights:

That William and Mary Prince and Princesse of Orange bee and bee declared,
King and Queen of England France and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto
belonging to hold the Crowne and Royall Dignity of the said Kingdom's and
Dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives and the life of
the Survivor of them and that the Sole and full exercise of the Regall Power be
only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange in the Names of the said Prince
and of the said Princesse... (*The Declaration of Rights* 297)

For a Jacobite, the above lines can easily be seen as a scholastic exercise to salve the consciences of those who cannot simply appoint William as king. For this author, Declaration gives Mary, and the Stuart line, an appearance of regal authority without its substance.

Of course, parodying a historic creed to satirize the Tory position adds to the irony of "The Tory Creed." The satire implies that Tory supporters of the Declaration of Rights would be just as willing to play fast and loose with accepted dogma as they are with English law. The author uses the complexity and vagueness of Trinitarian theology to demonstrate the vagueness monarchical authority holds under the new regime. For example, these lines demonstrate the flexibility of Williamite loyalties as expressed by his supporters:

Our former oaths we did agree
Might serve for one, or all the three,
Which to our liking we may frame
Since the object of our Faith's the same,
And therefore can't be sayd to vary

Be it to William, James, or Mary. (21-26)

These lines parallel the Athanasian Creed's affirmation of the unity of the Trinity and the Church's requirement that it be worshipped as one:

In this Trinity, there is nothing before of after, nothing greater or less. The entire three Persons are coeternal and coequal with one another. So that in everything, as it has been said above, the Unity is to be worshipped in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity.

The author uses this unity to give an example of the type of convoluted reasoning employed so Tories could claim that they break no vows in swearing allegiance to the coregents. First, the doctrine that husband and wife are one flesh makes William and Mary one, and, because Mary proceeds from James II, he and she are one. The second point is made through the only direct reference to the Athanasian Creed (outside of *quicumque vult* in line 6):

If Mary then that William joins
Singly proceeds from James's Loyns,
Proceeding must i'the state hold good,
As by the Church is understood,
And that Proceeding makes no more
Is plain from Athanasian Lore. (33-38)

These lines hearken to the ancient doctrine that Jesus is begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. The Athanasian Creed affirms that the three beings in the Godhead are coequal in spite of the differing relationships among members of the Trinity.^{xxxiv} The author uses this choplogic with regards to the monarchy to show that Williamites attempt to "have their cake and eat it too" through these deductions:

From whence we do this inference draw,
 That James is still our King by Law;
 Therefore the Oath we take to them,
 Must virtually be meant to him. (39-42)

The author portrays Tories of tender conscience as attempting to maintain allegiance to the ultimate integrity of the throne by swearing to William and Mary while embracing an essential unity among William, James, and Mary. The author uses the ridiculous nature of this interpretation of the creed to show that Tories engage in equally ridiculous interpretations of hereditary succession to legitimize their newly chosen monarch.

In case readers miss the extent to which “The Tory Creed” intends this mangled reasoning as criticism, the author spells it out in the poem’s final four lines:

Thus, what would puzzle Erra Pater,
 Runs clear from Breast of Alma Mater:
 And he that won’t this Faith defend,
 Dam his Whigg Soul and there’s an end. (45-48)

Erra Pater is the insulting name given to the astrologer William Lilly in Samuel Butler’s poem, *Hudibras*. If the Tory Churchmen embrace logic that would confound this laughable astrologer to the point that their irrational logic can be described as “running clear,” then they have indeed abandoned reason. The militant conclusion echoes the Athanasian Creed but uses much harsher language than the Creed’s, “Everyone must believe [this faith]...otherwise he cannot be saved.” The antagonistic “Dam his Whigg Soul” brings the mockery to a head as it has Williamite Tories placing their Whig allies and Jacobite Tory enemies in the same predicament. The use of “Whig”

in this line also shows the foolishness of Tory subscribers to this “creed” who do not realize that they, in fact, are the ones who have aligned themselves with the Whigs.

The satire in both “*Suum Cuique*” and “The Tory Creed” highlights the Jacobite bitterness over the Glorious Revolution and demonstrates the manner in which a manuscript poem gave a poet greater freedom to criticize than a published pamphlet or play. While the Jacobites used these poems to vent their feelings, William’s supporters were not without their own satires. While many satires in 1688 and 1689 dealt harshly with James II and, especially, his progeny, they often contain more abuse and lampooning than the Jacobite poems discussed above.^{xxxv} However, “A Dialogue between King William and the Late King James on the Banks of the Boyne the Day before the Battle” provides an interesting example of a poem that advocates the Whig position without stooping to abuse.

W. J. Cameron notes that this poem appeared in the works of Charles Blount, published in 1695, and believes that there is no reason to doubt the attribution although no other external evidence exists to corroborate it (POAS V 235). The poem is found in the same manuscript as the two poems discussed above with the slightly different title, “A Conference betweek K James & K W at the River Boyne the Day before the Battle.” Although EL 8770 contains primarily Jacobite poems, this one may have been included because the view of elective monarchy presented contradicts William III’s own understanding of monarchy. As such, the poem works against the Williamite views expressed in poems simply lampooning James II or praising William and Mary like those written by Shadwell and Prior.^{xxxvi}

The poem’s fifty-four lines are metrically uneven and more concerned with the philosophical underpinnings of monarchy than prosody. Each monarch speaks twice, and James II spends his time defending the monarchy as sacred and hereditary while William III rebuffs

those defenses with arguments based on conquest and the will of the people. Although James II's opinions are presented in a relatively balanced manner, Blount clearly gives William a stronger position and has him win this debate.

James II begins by asserting that William III should hear his case on the grounds of James' title as monarch and right as father to Mary and uncle to William. James II questions the new king's motives, asking, "What fever then has boiled you into arms?/ Is it religion or a crown that charms?" (5-6). The second question echoes the Jacobite criticism that William came to England for the monarchy rather than to secure the religious liberty of the nation. Along with this issue, James accuses his son-in-law of ingratitude:

A pious parricide, when to your wife
 You pay a victim of her father's life.
 Your love for her appears in that to me,
 You praise the fruit and yet cut down the tree. (14-17)

These lines highlight the Whig belief that James II was not to be trusted and was entirely self-serving. The final line also denigrates the garden metaphor used to defend the Stuart line in works like "Suum Cuique." The effect is strengthened as the former king focuses on the personal grievance he received from his daughter's husband instead of showing concern for the nation or an ultimate issue of right and wrong.

In William III's response, he focuses on the breaches committed by his father-in-law while he was king. The lines begin by focusing on James II's cowardice and abuse:

I took but up that crown you durst not wear,
 And am no less your conqueror than heir.
 If right divine does e'er to crowns belong,

They lose that right when once the Kings do wrong.
 Them justice sacred makes, law makes 'em strong.
 The monarchy you justly once enjoyed
 By the same rules as justly you destroyed. (18-24)

“I took but up that crown you durst now wear” criticizes James’ flight from England at the end of 1688 as cowardly before the following lines move into the more substantial argument that kings who violate a nation’s laws and the eternal law of justice forfeit their right to rule. The author places a new spin on divine right and the nature of kingly authority through the triplet, “If right divine does e’er to crowns belong, / They lose that right when once the Kings do wrong. / Them justice sacred makes, law makes ‘em strong.” Instead of basing the king’s right in his person or lineage, as Filmer and other patriarchalists did, authority is rooted in Divine justice and English laws, which supercede any authority inherent in the king’s person. The thrust of this argument works against any sort of patriarchal or divine right model of government by placing justice above any concept of the sacred body of the king. This point receives further emphasis by the repetition of “justly.”

The argument in William III’s first speech takes a tone that William himself had rebuffed after this appeal to justice.^{xxxvii} Nevertheless, it serves Blount’s republican principles to have William insist:

Titles to crowns from civil contracts spring,
 And he who breaks the law dissolves the king.
 Nor can you here a parent’s right pretend,
 Since public safety knows no private friend. (25-28)

The linking of crowns and civil contracts parallels Locke who wrote in his *Second Treatise* that “*Voluntary agreement gives the second, viz. political power to governors for the benefit of their subjects, to secure them in the possession and use of their properties*” (XV.173). This similarity shows the Whig belief in the greater importance of a national contract for government than of divine rights vested in a monarch’s person. Furthermore, “And he who breaks the law dissolves the king” closely resembles the grounds for dissolution of government outlined in chapter XIX of Locke’s second treatise, “Of the Dissolution of Government.” Blount’s justification of William III’s actions emphasizes the legality of the Glorious Revolution as a means of securing liberty for English subjects. The final couplet provides even more emphasis on the anti-patriarchal position of many Whigs. While the surface reading is that William tells his father-in-law that simply being loyal to the family takes second place to the public welfare, Blount may also have in mind the denial of the king’s right as *pater patriae* once he endangers the public welfare.

James II’s response to these assertions hinges on the idea that without the monarchy buttressed by divine sanction, the people ultimately rule. This concern expressed by many Jacobites, and seen in Dryden’s play *Don Sebastian*, is presented fairly as Blount has James speak:

But they who crowns from contracts do receive
 Are kings at will, and govern but by leave:
 A marble Caesar pinioned to a throne,
 The people regnant, and the monarch stone. (35-38)

These lines highlight the belief that a government based on the will of the people equates to mob rule and hamstring the monarchy. Perhaps the reason Blount presents the argument so clearly is that he believes the answer to it is even stronger. Rather than setting up a straw man to knock

down, he takes one of the best Jacobite arguments and then has William III dismantle it in the final fifteen lines of the dialogue.

Blount has William rebuff this argument using the history of government. Looking back to the state of nature, William posits that:

When sense was guardian, and when reason young,
 ‘Twas then the weak submitted to the strong.
 Then, as the bull walks monarch of the ground,
 So Nimrod, Cyrus, and the rest were crowned.
 For he who could protect, and conquest bring,
 Was from a captain ripened to a king. (43-48)

These lines again echo Locke’s description of the formation of governments as a means of avoiding the state of war that springs from the state of nature. By submitting to the strong to govern, the people gain a power on earth to which they can appeal for injustices committed. As Locke puts it, “where there is an authority, a power on earth, from which relief can be had by *appeal*, there the continuance of the *state of war* is excluded, and the controversy is decided by that power” (II.iii.21). That this authority is not arbitrary comes through in the following lines of the poem:

Thus they the People’s safety made their choice,
 And Heaven confirmed it by the People’s voice.
 When you to France and priests the laws betrayed,
 The injured nation called me to their aid,
 And in their choice the noblest title brings,
 For subjects are the surest guard of kings. (49-54)

Blount uses these lines to place the ultimate source of security for a nation in the hands of the people. The suggestion that England called William to her aid because of James' betrayal hearkens back to Bohun's argument from conquest, and, once again, Blount's argument follows Locke closely. In chapter VIII of the *Two Treatises*, Locke affirms that "almost all monarchies, near their original, have been commonly, at least upon occasion, *elective*" (106). In these lines, an argument for the primacy of the will of the people comes through very clearly. While we do not know whether Blount read Locke prior to composing this poem or not, it is clear that among at least some of William and Mary's supporters the ideas put forth in the *Two Treatises* had a solid foothold. The expression of this essentially elective view of the monarchy shows that even in the years immediately following the Glorious Revolution changing perceptions of the monarchy that would guarantee the security of the changes brought about by the Revolution were on the rise.

Through the pamphlets and manuscripts examined in this chapter, we gain a more full-orbed perception of the ways in which both Jacobites and Williamites sought to sway public opinion. While most of these works lack the polish of Dryden's works, they provide valuable insights into prevalent viewpoints about the monarchy and highlight ways in which those views were expressed. The great variety of approaches taken by Jacobite and Williamite, Tory and Whig highlights the complexity facing the English people as they sought to buttress the monarchy in the wake of James II's abandonment of the throne and William and Mary's appointment as coregents.

Notes

ⁱ Although Harold Love, W. J. Cameron, and Peter Beal have done work on the production of manuscripts in the seventeenth century, and numerous books on printing in the period address the nature of publication of pamphlets, the bulk of scholarship on the actual content of these types of documents is found in discussions of other works.

ⁱⁱ In “A Late Seventeenth-Century Scriptorium,” Cameron observes, “External evidence indicates that authors could cover their tracks by dictating their satires to a scrivener or even to a number of scribes at once” (25). This chapter deals with manuscripts like Cameron describes rather than court documents circulated among friends.

ⁱⁱⁱ W. J. Cameron’s *A Late Seventeenth-Century Scriptorium* provides a more detailed analysis of the contents of *Poems on Affairs of State* (pp 43ff in particular), and his discussion of many of the selections’ sources in manuscripts will be examined more fully later in this chapter. In *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Harold Love builds on Cameron’s work and shows the longevity of these works. He characterizes the manuscripts in this tradition as part of a “rolling archetype” and asserts, “Beginning as an anthology of topical writing, it eventually turned into an ‘accession’ miscellany, recording the whole political history of William’s reign and opening the way for a new topical compilation covering that of Anne” (273).

^{iv} In *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, William Pierce writes that the Marprelate Tracts were a series of pamphlets published in 1588 and 1589 summarizing religious debates from Mary Tudor’s death to the time they were written (2). These tracts demonstrate the effectiveness of the medium for carrying on debate that questioned the established authority as “the London reforming clergy” were “driven...from all other methods of uttering their protest...had [to] resort to the powerful aid of the press, which, of course, they had to use

secretly” (17). Pierce also notes that other “less daring writings [also] were prented secretly throughout [Elizabeth I’s] reign, either at home or abroad” (23).

^v Goldie describes this debate in his article “Edmund Bohun and *Jus Gentium* in the Revolution Debate, 1689-1693.”

^{vi} The reference to “the late Parliament, begun Feb. 23, 1688,” on the first page, for example, refers to the Parliament during which William and Mary were installed. Pairing this fact with the first sentence’s reference to a visit from the tracts recipient on May 1 makes it clear that *The Dear Bargain* was written after the beginning of May, 1689. If the section on Ireland beginning on page 11 refers to events from William’s campaign during the summer of 1690, that would corroborate Craig Rose’s dating of the pamphlet in that year (273).

^{vii} Numerous Jacobite pamphlets take a similarly Filmerian approach. For Example, William Anderton’s *Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy &c.* (1693) where he compares the Glorious Revolution an “*Usurpation*” and writes, “we have as good as renounc’d our Christianity already, to make and receive him as King” (41). In another pamphlet, *Great Britain’s Just Complaint for Her Late Measures, Present Sufferings, and the Future Miseries She Is Exposed To* (1692), an anonymous author writes that James II “was unjustly, upon false Pretences, deprived of his Birth-right by his Subjects, who by Nature and Oaths were bound to defend him in it” (3). In both of these examples, along with Anderton’s pamphlet, the authors follow Filmer’s belief that God established a natural hereditary foundation for government and that violations of that order by subjects is tantamount to rebellion against God.

^{viii} Numbers 15:39 reads, “And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the LORD, and do them; and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring,” and 1 Samuel 13:14 reads,

“but now thy kingdom shall not continue: the LORD hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the LORD hath commanded him to be captain over his people, because thou hast not kept that which the LORD commanded thee.”

^{ix} For example, Claydon writes that Gilbert Burnet warned against frequently invoking providence because it could be used as a two edged sword when events turned in an unfavorable direction (46-47).

^x The account of the Pharoah’s vision and Joseph’s interpretation is found in Genesis 41:1-36.

^{xi} In *The Revolution of 1688*, Jones points out that by the time of William III’s arrival in England, “it was impossible for James to conclude, or be thought to have concluded, any agreement with France” (255). Nevertheless, James II had been on friendly terms with Louis XIV throughout his reign, and Jones notes that there was “wide publicity” given to rumors of such an alliance (255).

^{xii} Antonio tells Mustapha, “I see the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is never practis’d thoroughly but when a Man can’t help himself” (I.i.521-522). These lines highlight Dryden’s belief that the English paid lip service to this doctrine without truly believing it.

^{xiii} Through the reference to Tullia, Johnston may have Mainwaring’s poem *Tarquin and Tullia* in mind here as Johnston spends some time dwelling on the image of Tullia. The poem itself is full of thinly veiled attacks on the Glorious Revolution and William of Orange. The poem begins thus:

In times when Princes cancelled nature’s law
And declarations (which themselves did draw),
When children used their parents to dethrone

And gnawed their way like vipers to a crown,
 Tarquin, a savage, proud, ambitious prince,
 Prompt to expel yet thoughtless of defence,
 The envied scepter did from Tullius snatch,
 The Roman King, and father by the match. (1-8)

These lines criticize the coregents as ungrateful children who overran divinely established foundations of government to steal power for themselves. The disregard for parental care shown in the poem illustrates the basis of Johnston's criticism of William and Mary.

^{xiv} The manner in which Johnston's discussion of James II's daughters' quickly moves from describing Lear's daughters to attacks on the entire kingdom illustrates these connections (20).

^{xv} The author of *Observations upon the late Revolution in England* (1689) writes, "it was even confessed by unbiased people, that [James II] had the public virtues of a king, and the private ones of a gentleman" (Somers 340). At the same time, he describes the way the people's fears about James II have come to fruition under William III (341-342). Similar approaches will also be seen in the Jacobite poetry discussed in this chapter.

^{xvi} "Assert" here connotes protecting rather than advocating as the OED makes clear in its first definition of "assert" as a verb. Bohun's argument is that James II's supporters were not bound to defend his misgovernment rather than that they were simply free not to speak in favor of it.

^{xvii} Hugo Grotius was a Dutch natural rights theorist whose *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625) first appeared in English in 1654. In his biography of Grotius, Hamilton Vreeland, Jr. describes *De jure* as "destined to shine through succeeding centuries as a star of the first magnitude in the

realm of International Law” (164). The work outlines exceptions to the doctrine of non-resistance in which a king’s power is voided (Goldie 578). These exceptions grow from the *jus gentium* (law of the nations) and supersede a monarch’s rights as king. “Wilful desertion [of the throne]; the transference of sovereignty to a foreign power; the attacking of the senate or parliament where sovereignty was shared between it and the king; the breach of specific limitations made on the monarch when his power was originally conferred; and the attempt of a tyrant to destroy his people” all negate a king’s authority, according to Grotius (Goldie 578). In the context of the Glorious Revolution, Goldie writes, “*Jus gentium* offered a legal framework for the appeal to the naked sword” (578).

^{xviii} The relevant section in Grotius is found in *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* II.25.8, which is headed, “The question whether a war for the defence of subjects of another power is rightful is explained by a distinction.” In that section, Grotius writes, “It should be granted that even in extreme need subjects cannot justifiably take up arms...nevertheless it will not follow that others may not take up arms on their behalf.” He also cites Seneca, who “thinks that I may make war upon one who is not one of my people but oppresses his own...a procedure which is often connected with the protection of innocent persons.”

^{xix} Goldie observes that William’s “position as stadtholder in Holland did not constitute sovereign status,” but that Bohun’s attribution is at least plausible (581). J. R. Jones spells out William of Orange’s exact position as stadholder in more depth in *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (191-194). The full text of William III’s Declaration of October 10, 1688 may be found in Bohun’s *History of the Desertion* (52-65). Essentially, the Declaration lists reasons William of Orange’s landing at Torbay a month later was legitimate.

^{xx} In Chapter XIX of Locke's Second Treatise, he claims that changes in government most often take place via conquest, but he also asserts the right of the people to remove a ruler who violates a nation's laws. Locke concludes his *Two Treatises* writing,

If [the people] have set Limits to the Duration of their Legislative, and made this Supreme Power in any Person, or Assembly, only temporary: Or else when by the Miscarriages of those in Authority, it is forfeited; upon the Forfeiture of their Rulers, or at the Determination of the Time set, *it reverts to the Society*, and the People have a Right to act as Supreme, and continue the Legislative in themselves, or erect a new Form, or under the old form place it in new hands, as they think good. (II.XIX.243)

While this assertion and Bohun's differ in nuance, the basic assumption, that society can replace an unjust or tyrannical ruler, is the same. The fact that James II ruled unjustly and then forfeited his government allows the people to set up a new government in both Locke's and Bohun's thought.

^{xxi} This argument is the same as that set forth by Goldie, which is discussed above (***) .

^{xxii} It should be noted that William III did not embrace this line of reasoning because he recognized that it could just as easily be used against him. Nevertheless, both Tories and Whigs did employ the argument on his behalf. While he does not directly deal with Bohun, Tony Claydon addresses the problem of using providence to defend the Revolution in *William III and the Godly Revolution* (esp. 46-52).

^{xxiii} In *The Declaration of Rights, 1689*, Lois Schwoerer discusses the lengthy debates that went into settling the exact language of The Declaration of Rights in terms upon which Whigs and Tories agreed. The opening sentence of the Declaration begins, "Whereas the late King

James the second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers, imployed by him did endeavour to Subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion and the Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome” (295).

^{xxiv} The logic used here shares ground with Locke’s contractual view of government, although Bohun does not go quite as far as Locke in making the grounds of citizenship voluntary (see chapter VIII of the *Second Treatise*). In contrast to Locke, Bohun does believe that subjects born in a kingdom owe certain responsibilities to their ruler, but both writers emphasize the right of subjects to remove rulers who disregard their obligations to subjects.

^{xxv} Milton returns to this theme throughout *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. For example, he writes that if a “King, or Tyrant, or Emperour” violates God’s Law, “the Sword of Justice is above him” (197). Milton reiterates the divine basis of government writing, “God put it into mans heart to find out that way at first for common peace and preservation” (209). This statement roots government in God’s plan for the protection of people’s rights. Asserting the right of subjects to put down rulers who violate divine laws, Milton allows that people may “teach lawless Kings, and all who so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious will, but Justice is the onely true sovrain and supreme Majesty upon earth” (237).

^{xxvi} Harold Love’s article, “The ‘Cameron’ Scriptorium Revisited,” provides more insight into the nature of this “underground literature” and the implications of its publication (80).

^{xxvii} Although William of Orange and those who came over to England with him might be perceived as the “lawless men” in light of the word “neighbors,” it is equally plausible, and probably wiser in the context of the entire poem, to see the lawless men as those in England who worked for William. The parable of the Good Samaritan found in Luke 10:29-37 provides at least one familiar context available to the author in support of this reading.

^{xxviii} In *Remarks Upon the Present Confederacy*, Anderton asserts that William III came to England so he and the other nations in league against France might have “at their entire Devotion, to draw off Men and Money at their pleasure” (8). The anonymous poem “On the Late Metamorphosis” (1690), found in POAS V, criticizes the new king’s taxation of the English people for his own mercantile activities:

But now I hear, to my eternal trouble,
That all our drink (God bless us) must pay double!
What shall a poor man do, if they invade
Our drinking thus, to carry on his trade? (34-37)

These lines reiterate the Jacobite claim that William III would leave England desolate as he consumed the nation’s resources without any real concern for the country.

^{xxix} Tony Claydon’s *William III and the Godly Revolution* discusses these issues at length. Burnet and his influence on William III’s appointments within the Church of England is discussed (63-68), as is the impact of toleration (*e.g.* 83-84).

^{xxx} See Cameron for another example of this usage of “tie” in relation to Burnet (POAS V 118).

^{xxxi} Again, see Cameron’s note 22 in POAS V (118-119) and Claydon (30-66 in particular).

^{xxxii} The creed begins, “Whosoever will be saved must, above all else, keep the catholic faith. For unless a person keeps this faith whole and entire, he will undoubtedly be lost forever.”

^{xxxiii} This poem may also criticize the doctrine of the trinity, but without any clues to the author of the poem, these possibilities cannot be known with certainty. Therefore, my analysis focuses on the poem’s political implications.

^{xxxiv} The creed reads, “The Holy Spirit by the Father and Son is not made, nor created, nor begotten but proceeds.”

^{xxxv} Although abuse certainly plays a role in much of the Jacobite verse, that poetry contains a much stronger interest in, or at least subtext of, philosophical criticism of the Glorious Revolution. As the “winners,” Williamites composed a number of ballads that amount more to gloating than an assertion of issues.

^{xxxvi} Cameron suggests that the best manuscript text is Portland manuscript PwV 46, currently located in Nottingham (570). While the manuscript is undated, the poem was probably composed in 1690.

^{xxxvii} Cameron, for example, emphasizes, “Right to the throne by conquest was *not* a favored concept at William’s Court, even though many Englishmen were willing to accept the principle, for it would mean that anyone who overthrew William by force would automatically have the right to the throne” (236).

Conclusion

In 1681, John Dryden responded to the events of the Exclusion Crisis with the poem *Absalom and Achitophel*. As he dealt with threats to his view of monarchy, he wrote:

If ancient fabrics nod and threat to fall,
 To patch the flaws and buttress up the wall,
 Thus far 'tis duty; but here fix the mark:
 For all beyond it is to touch our Ark. (801-804)

In these lines, Dryden expressed his belief that a long and sturdy tradition formed the basis of English government and that radical departures from those long-held principles were risky business. Eight years later, the rightful king fled the English throne for France, and a new king and queen were installed as coregents. Responses to this change in government ranged from acclamations that the new monarchy patched the flaws of the previous reign and buttressed up the walls of English liberty to accusations that those behind the Glorious Revolution had overstepped the bounds of law and touched the ark of England's governmental covenant. As writers responded to these events, those who rejoiced in the establishment of William III and Mary II expressed their views with a vigor that matched the vehemence with which others opposed it. Advocates of both perspectives found the intersection of art and politics to be a vital means of interacting with the changing governmental landscape.

This study's exploration of English authors' appropriation of contemporary ideas about government to establish their perspectives on the Glorious Revolution builds on the significant work on the historical milieu of the 1680s and 1690s done by historians like J. R. Jones and Lois

Schwoerer. As Steven Zwicker posits in *Lines of Authority*, these writers' politics were a "shaping force" in the literature they produced, and they believed in "the capacities of literature not only to engage the realm of political thought but to engage in political action" (1). The establishment of William III and Mary II as coregents elicited strong responses in the political arena as the above-mentioned historians describe. Other English subjects responded through actions like the attempted assassination of William III in 1696 described in Jane Garrett's *The Triumphs of Providence*. The authors discussed in this study, though, responded through their writing, as they sought to shape the changing political landscape by artistically – and often covertly – depicting what was, what is, and what could be. Whether one reads one of Matthew Prior's laudatory verses extolling the blessings brought by the coregents or an anonymous squib depicting the new king as debauched, the writers hold in common their efforts to engage in and influence political reality through their work.

For Jacobites, William III's ascension broke the hereditary model of government established by God, and they looked to patterns of thought established by writers like Robert Filmer in *Patriarcha* to show the faulty basis of William's reign. At the same time, Williamites relied on ideas similar to those expressed by John Milton and John Locke to show the legitimacy of the coregents' reign. Many of William III's supporters resonated with Milton's emphasis on God's placement of individual rights above regal authority. Others defended the Glorious Revolution by emphasizing natural law over arbitrary laws handed down by a ruler in a manner similar to Locke. These competing ideas provided grounds for vigorous debate among Englishmen as they recognized that the events of the Glorious Revolution signaled fundamental changes in the fabric of their monarchy. Nevertheless, Filmer, Milton, and Locke represent only three of the diverse perspectives in circulation in the 1690s, and much more work needs to be

done tracing out the other nuances of thought influencing literary aspects of the political debate during these years.

The writers on which I focus in chapters two through four demonstrate the vigor with which English subjects held to views in favor of and opposed to the coregents' reign, yet each chapter could be a book-length study in its own right. John Dryden looms large over the second half of the seventeenth century. As England's first Poet Laureate and a self-conscious voice for the place of English literature among the great literature of the world, Dryden's work during the final decade of his life demands an audience. While I have built upon the work of many others and, I hope, contributed a small amount to our understanding of his place in England under William and Mary, the sheer volume of work he produced during the final decade of his life along with the complexities of Dryden's views about government, religion, and society make his work a mine that still runs deep. Thomas Shadwell and Matthew Prior are two men who played significant roles in the English literary world during their lives but have received scant attention since then. Continued research into the political aspects of their writing will foster a greater understanding of ways in which literature buttressed the coregents' reign. The material examined in chapter four – pamphlets and manuscripts – contains a wealth of information, and scholarship has only scratched its surface. While Cameron's article, "A Late Seventeenth Century Scriptorium" calls attention to the vitality of manuscript poetry as a means of political debate during the 1690s and the Yale *Poems on Affairs of State* series presents some of these works to a wider audience, we will benefit from examination of many more of these poems, which range from witty to contrived, are often abusive, and are almost always entertaining. The approaches taken by all of those discussed in this study demonstrate their engagement with and concern for

the fate of their nation, and, therefore, they provide important insights into English reactions to the Glorious Revolution.

The vigorous literary attacks and defenses made by those supporting William III and by those supporting James II demonstrate the English people's awareness that the Glorious Revolution represented monumental changes in their nation. The approaches taken in the literature discussed here lay important groundwork for the English as they moved from a primarily patriarchal foundation of government to a more contractual form of government in the eighteenth century. Paying attention to the polemical aspects of this literature sheds important light on work done by historians regarding the English response to the Glorious Revolution. Perhaps even more importantly, it highlights the vigor with which the English, regardless of their politics, fought to defend their varied conceptions of the "Ark" of their governmental covenant even as its ancient fabric was forever changed by the events of 1688.

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